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Australia and New Zealand

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Scholars of Australian Anglicanism have commonly labelled the period between the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788 and the age of reform in the 1830s as a moment of Anglican 'ascendancy' or 'establishment'.[1] The small coterie of chaplains who made up the tiny Church establishment in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (modern Tasmania) are conventionally portrayed as the allies of the ruling military elite and agents of a brutal convict regime. The image of the parson-magistrate Samuel Marsden dolling out severe punishments to Irish political prisoners stands as a symbolic moment in early Australian Church history, one that supposedly captures the close ties between the 'flogging parson' and the autocratic colonial state.[2]

It is not hard to find other moments in Australian history when the colonial Church appears dressed in the guise of loyal accomplice of an authoritarian colonial state. Recent historiography has nevertheless tried to give a more positive account of the role played by the clergy and the Church of England in Australia's transition from a 'convict farm' to a settler society. The clergy who made up the early colonial chaplaincy did not necessarily see their primary role as building a hierarchical colonial society or upholding the interests of the colonial 'fiscal-military' state. Clergy were journalists, educators, intellectuals, farmers, community leaders, convict advocates, and progenitors of colonial families.[3] They were also missionaries: while Marsden worked with the Evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS) to establish the first Anglican mission in New Zealand in 1814, other Australian clergy were involved in small-scale mission ventures among Australia's indigenous peoples. The early

[1] Brian Fletcher, 'The Anglican Ascendancy 1788–1835', in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (Carlton, Victoria, 2002), pp. 7–30.

[2] *Manning Clark's History of Australia*, abridged by Michael Cathcart (London, 1995), pp. 27, 50.

[3] Michael Gladwin, *Anglican Clergy in Australia, 1788–1850: Building a British World* (London, 2015).

Australian Church of England cannot, therefore, be understood as a monolithic institution: convicts, emancipated felons, free settlers, colonial officials, military personnel, and clergy—we might also add indigenous communities to the list—all held different views on the functions that the Church of England should play in colonial settings. There was little agreement about how the Church should be structured, what its mission in colonial society should be, and what kind of relationship it should adopt towards the secular authorities. This chapter will show that labels such as 'ascendancy' and 'establishment' fail to capture the diversity of the Anglican presence in early Australia and New Zealand.

THE CHARACTER OF EARLY AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND ANGLICANISM

The Church in New South Wales and Tasmania (the latter became a separate colony in 1825) was a privileged establishment whose primary responsibility was to provide spiritual ministrations to a European population of convicts, military personnel, and free settlers. The Church was 'established' in the sense that the clergy—they are more accurately termed state-appointed chaplains—were appointed by the crown and were subject to the authority of the military governors who ran the early convict regime. By the late 1810s the state was paying the salaries of Roman Catholic ministers, but for most of our period the Anglican clergy enjoyed a privileged status: Anglican ministers led national days of thanksgiving and they also enjoyed privileged access to the convict community. This Church 'establishment' was neither a large nor powerful institution. Clergy in New South Wales were particularly overworked. In 1836 there were only seventeen in a colony that stretched to the Lachlan River in the east and Port Macquarie (modern Newcastle) in the north. Anglicans set down firm institutional roots in Tasmania (it had thirteen clergy in 1836), but the Church had a more limited presence in the new colonies of Western Australia (founded 1829) and South Australia (1836).[4]

New Zealand's infant Church had a very different character. New Zealand had no large European population in the early nineteenth century, and it did not become a British colony until the infamous Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 organized the transfer of sovereignty from Māori communities to the crown. The Church that Samuel Marsden founded at Rangihoua Bay in the far north of New Zealand in 1814 was very much a missionary institution orientated

[4] John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia* (Melbourne, 1966), pp. 16–17.

towards the Māori population; the small communities of transient Europeans who clustered around coastal whaling and flax stations were largely ignored. Yet elements of the traditional establishment model did make it to early colonial New Zealand: the early CMS missionaries were, for instance, designated as justices of the peace. Quite what this role entailed in a country that was not yet a British territory was not clear.

Despite these differences, the Australian and New Zealand Churches should both be treated as outposts of the Evangelical wing of the Church of England. High Churchmen viewed Australia's Church establishments as remote and insignificant institutions until at least the early 1830s. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)—the Church's main outreach association—only supported a handful of schoolteachers in New South Wales in the pre-1830 period, and it was not until an Anglican bishopric was established in New Zealand in 1841 that the Church hierarchy gave any sustained attention to that part of the world. The same colonial administrators who were strengthening the Church in what was left of Britain's North American empire showed little interest in doing the same in distant Australia.

In the early years of Australian settlement the imperial authorities were happy to let the Evangelical network known as the Clapham Sect find suitable clergy for New South Wales.[5] The first three appointments—Richard Johnson, Samuel Marsden, and John Crowther—were Yorkshire Evangelicals who had all been educated at Hull Grammar School and Magdalene College, Cambridge (Crowther never reached Australia, returning to England after his ship hit an iceberg). All three had come under the influence of the prominent Evangelicals Joseph Milner, the master at Hull, and Charles Simeon, a prominent Clapham figure. Underlying Yorkshire's Evangelical networks was the Elland Society, a voluntary organization that provided funds for aspiring clergy. Marsden was definitely connected to the society and it is probable Johnson was too.[6] The two clergy whom Marsden recruited in England in 1808—Robert Cartwright and William Cowper—were also drawn from the Evangelical Yorkshire ferment and both were the kind of 'plain pious men' of 'sincere piety & religious zeal' that Richard Johnson thought were needed in the rough-and-tumble world of colonial Australia.[7] Marsden also recruited two artisan missionary settlers for New Zealand, and in the following years these men would be joined by another lay missionary—Thomas Kendall, a Lincolnshire draper—and two ordained ministers, John Gare Butler (who arrived in 1819) and Henry Williams (arrived 1823), both of whom

[5] Fletcher, 'Anglican Ascendancy', p. 8.

[6] John Walsh and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Papers of the Elland Society, 1769–1828* (Woodbridge, 2016); Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World* (Oxford, 1996), p. 5.

[7] Richard Johnson to Bishop Howley of London, 16 Mar. 1815, Lambeth Palace Library [LPL], Howley Papers, vol. 7, f. 111.

had followed non-religious careers before coming under the influence of Evangelical Christianity.

The state's failure to support the Church in the Australia colonies adequately had the knock-on effect of forcing colonial administrators to appoint clergy who had arrived in Australia through unconventional and unofficial means. Henry Fulton, who served at Norfolk Island, was a Church of Ireland clergyman who had been transported after being implicated in the 1798 rebellion. John Youl served spells as a Congregational missionary in Tahiti and as a Nonconformist minister in New South Wales before being appointed to Port Dalrymple in northern Tasmania in 1817. Youl's appointment is important on two counts: on the one hand it shows how colonial administrators were forced to adopt a pragmatic approach to recruitment; on the other, it tells us something about the porous nature of the boundaries separating Anglicanism and Dissenting religion in early colonial Australia. As we shall see, a later generation of Anglican clerics would insist on more strictly defined denominational identities.

Clergy were not, of course, the only vectors through which Anglicanism was exported overseas. Lay settlers led Anglican services and read printed sermons to scratch congregations in remote European settlements.[8] Shipments of prayer books and bibles were sent to the Australian colonies by the Prayer Book and Homily Society and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Senior Anglicans recognized that donations of this sort were the only way that prisoners in distant convict stations could be kept within the Anglican fold. Richard Johnson, the first chaplain, brought out hundreds of bibles and prayer books when he travelled with the First Fleet. But, like the clergy, religious literature did not always arrive through officially prescribed channels. In 1814, for instance, colonial officials accused the clergy and Evangelical mission societies of smuggling unauthorized versions of the Psalms into the colony.[9] The image of convict and non-Anglican clergy delivering services from non-official prayer books vividly illustrates the limitations of the British Empire's Napoleonic-era 'Anglican design'.

THE COLONIAL CLERGY

Recent scholarship has given a more rounded portrait of the Australian clergy than the stereotype of the 'flogging parson' would suggest. Colonial clergy

[8] Joanna Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies', in Keith Francis and William Gibson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon, 1689–1901* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 513–29.

[9] Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, 7 Oct. 1814, *Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Governors' Despatches to and from England*, 26 vols. (Sydney, 1914–25), VIII, p. 337.

were not always the cringing lackeys of an authoritarian state; for the most part this was a group that was struggling to maintain its clerical authority and independence in an inhospitable environment. Meting out horrific punishments was only one way to impose authority; others chose more humane strategies.

Colonial officials assumed that the role of the colonial chaplain was to stand as a moral leader and impose a degree of 'Awe and religious Restraint' over the convict population.[10] Chaplains found it difficult to do this, not least because they were tasked with serving huge geographical areas—Robert Knopwood's 'parish' was the whole of Tasmania. Furthermore, like their counterparts elsewhere in the early nineteenth-century British world,[11] Australian chaplains found that their modest salaries (new chaplains got £250 a year, while Marsden as senior chaplain received £400) made it difficult to project the kind of social authority that was expected of a minister of the Church of England. Robert Cartwright had to take up farming to feed his family, and later clergy would complain when they were forced to go cap in hand to parishioners for financial aid. Some chaplains profited from grants of land and cattle from the crown (Marsden had amassed over 5,200 acres by 1827), but hand-outs of this kind only strengthened the clergy's dependence on the civil authorities.

Chaplains also found that the demands placed on them by the colonial state sat uneasily with their personal interests, religious ambitions, and sense of social justice. Certainly we can find moments when clergymen did perform the role of moral policeman. Evangelicalism of the moderate, early nineteenth-century Claphamite kind had both its emancipatory and disciplinary aspects, and clergy who ran successful farms wanted to stamp down on recalcitrant convict workers just as much as the secular authorities. Cartwright, for instance, claimed in 1814 that he had convinced Governor Lachlan Macquarie to force convicts to attend Anglican services.[12] Clerics coerced intelligence out of condemned prisoners and ordered degrading punishments, such as the shaving of convict women's heads.[13] Alison Vincent and Michael Gladwin have both tried to argue that the clergy were not always the unthinking agents of a repressive convict bureaucracy. The clergy's concern with salvation did indeed lead them to voice concerns about the conditions and treatment of the

[10] Macquarie to Lord Liverpool, 27 Oct. 1810, *Historical Records of Australia I*, VII, p. 346.

[11] Michael Gauvreau, 'The Dividends of Empire: Church Establishments and Contested British Identities in the Canadas and the Maritimes, 1780–1850', in Nancy Christie (ed.), *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America* (Montreal, ~~ON,~~ 2008), pp. 199–250.

[12] See Cartwright's evidence to Commissioner Bigge in November 1819: John Ritchie (ed.), *The Evidence to the Bigge Reports: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie*, 2 vols. (Melbourne, 1971), I, p. 152.

[13] Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, 4 Dec. 1817, *Historical Records of Australia I*, IX, p. 509; Michael Gladwin, 'Flogging Parsons? Australian Anglican Clergymen, the Magistracy, and Convicts, 1788–1850', *Journal of Religious History*, 36 (2012): 386–403 (p. 399).

convict community. Ministers advocated the causes of individual convicts, appealed for reduced sentences, arranged convict marriages (sometimes without the consent of masters), and provided legal advice to illiterate convicts.[14] This more positive view of relations between convicts and clergy has been accompanied by a reassessment of convict religiosity: recent scholarship has used unlikely source material, such as tattoos, to find signs of popular religious devotion among the convict and emancipist community.[15] The number of former convicts who went on to serve as sextons and church patrons suggests that the Church held out benefits for those who were looking to enter 'respectable' civil society.

The Anglican clergy were one of a number of expatriate colonial groups who were trying to find a way of asserting their rights and privileges in what was still an authoritarian and militaristic empire.[16] One of Marsden's chief aims in the 1810s and early 1820s was to carve out an independent position for both the Anglican clergy and the Church itself. Marsden, like Richard Johnson before him, complained that the Church's close association with the military regime compromised the clergy's independence and authority: as Marsden put it in 1821, 'a naval or military government imagines the clergy are to obey all orders, however degrading to themselves, and unbecoming religion'.[17] Clergy were constantly searching for the independence that would allow them to propose reforms of the convict regime and put forward plans for Australia's commercial development. The most vocal did find ways to make their views heard in metropolitan Britain. Marsden, for instance, communicated his criticisms of Lachlan Macquarie's governorship through a network of London lobbyists; he also took the opportunity presented by the parliamentary inquiry that arrived in New South Wales in 1819 to voice his ideas on how the system of convict discipline could be made more efficient and effective.[18]

Clergy also tried to assert their independence by initiating an evangelizing programme that went beyond the narrow aims of the state's religious policy. Richard Johnson's Evangelical ambitions are reflected in the church he built in 1793 and the *Address* that he disseminated to New South Wales's inhabitants in 1792. While the T-shaped church, with its separate naves for the military, convicts, and free settlers, underlined that all were equal before God, the *Address* sought to encourage the 'unhappy convicts' and free settlers to read,

[14] Gladwin, 'Flogging Parsons?', pp. 394–8; Alison Vincent, 'Clergymen and Convicts Revisited', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 1 (1999): 95–114.

[15] For a contrary and older view, see Allan M. Grocott, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches: Attitudes of Convicts and Ex-Convicts towards the Churches and Clergy in New South Wales from 1788 to 1851* (Sydney, 1980).

[16] C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World* (London, 1989).

[17] Marsden to Bishop Howley, 11 Mar. 1821, LPL, Howley Papers, vol. 1, f. 737.

[18] A. T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden: The Great Survivor* (Melbourne, 1977), pp. 153–4, 218–19.

pray privately, and attend communal worship.[19] When the expected Evangelical Revival failed to materialize, chaplains focused their attention on communities who seemed ripe for instruction. One was the colonial youth. Marsden helped to build female orphanages at Sydney in 1801 and Parramatta in 1814 because he felt the spiritual instruction of young women was the 'principal means of checking the growing national sins'—primarily because it would temper 'the vicious inclinations of young men'.[20] The education of Australia's young people would remain under the control of the Anglican clergy until Richard Bourke—an Anglo-Irish liberal—took the reins of government in 1831 and ushered in a new era of religious pluralism by providing money for non-Anglican schools.[21]

MISSION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

The Evangelical project also extended to the indigenous inhabitants of Australia and New Zealand. Even the staunchest apologist would have to admit that Anglican clergy took a leading role in the destruction of indigenous communities and cultures. In 1830 the Revd William Bedford—who was then the senior chaplain in Van Diemen's Land—blessed the infamous 'Black Line' that tried to flush the last indigenous Tasmanians out of Van Diemen's Land.[22] In New Zealand, Anglican missionaries were responsible for compiling a translation of the 1840 Waitangi Treaty that failed to communicate European notions of sovereignty and possession to Māori communities. Even humanitarian intentions had damaging legacies. Richard Johnson and later Anglican missionaries would help to lay the foundations of Australia's shameful history of child removal when they took Aboriginal children into their homes for protection and Christian instruction. That these children acted as translators and intermediaries for the colonial authorities usefully illustrates the extent to which the clergy's Evangelical ambitions could coincide with the aims of the secular authorities.[23]

[19] Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, vol. I: *The Beginning* (Melbourne, 1997), pp. 177–80.

[20] Marsden to John Stokes, 8 Oct. 1814, in George Mackaness (ed.), *Some Private Correspondence of the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Family, 1794–1824* (Sydney, 1942), letter no. 23.

[21] Fletcher, 'Anglican Ascendancy', pp. 17–19.

[22] John Harris, *One Blood. 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope* (Sutherland, NSW, 1990), p. 95; Tom Lawson, *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania* (London, 2014), esp. chs. 3–4.

[23] Meredith Lake, 'Salvation and Conciliation: First Missionary Encounters at Sydney Cove', in Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May, and Patricia Grimshaw (eds.), *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History* (Melbourne, 2008), pp. 87–102.

Clergy also consciously set out to destroy Aboriginal cultures. Most—Marsden was one exception—assumed that indigenous communities could attain the civilizational standards reached by whites. There was little to distinguish Anglican missions from those pursued by Presbyterians, other Nonconformists, and Catholics—all assumed that Aboriginal people could be weaned from their 'roving habits' and schooled in the arts of agriculture and manufacture if they were settled on permanent mission stations.[24] However, it was not until 1832 that the CMS sent two missionary husband-and-wife teams—one was Anglican, the other Lutheran—to open a station among the Wiradjuri people in the Wellington Valley in the far east of New South Wales. In 1836 the missionaries were reporting that between forty and sixty Aboriginal people were 'regularly addressed on the Subject of religion'.[25] The history of the mission lies outside our period, but we should note that it was not a long-term success. The mission could not isolate itself from settler society and the small number of indigenous people who were on site left permanently when it emerged that one of the missionaries—William Watson—had forcibly taken Aboriginal children from their parents.[26] The mission collapsed in 1843 and Watson established a new mission at nearby Apsley with his wife and 'family' of twenty-six 'adopted' Aboriginal children.[27]

Anglican missionaries had a limited impact on Australia's Aboriginal cultures and religions. Missions could only attract a tiny proportion of the indigenous population and missionaries found that their chief role was not to convert but to protect: missions quickly became refuges harbouring Aboriginal people fleeing from the encroachment of a frontier that brought disease, dispossession, and death.[28] Christian missionaries were spurred on when they found evidence that Aboriginal communities believed in a 'High God' or 'All-Father', but most became pessimistic about the possibility of conversion. This pessimism stemmed in part from the fact that missionaries had definite ideas about what conversion amounted to. Watson and his Wellington colleagues would only, for instance, baptize those who acknowledged their sin and who could display some outward sign that they had experienced conversion. Reading out loud passages from the Prayer Book

[24] Jean Woolmington, '"Writing on the Sand": The First Missions to Aborigines in Eastern Australia', in Tony Swain and Deborah Bird Rose (eds.), *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: Ethnographic and Historical Studies* (Bedford Park, South Australia, 1988), pp. 77–92 (p. 79).

[25] 'Rev. Watson's Third Report (1836)', pp. 1–2, Transcripts of Letters, Journals, Diaries and Reports sent to the London Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, 1832–40, <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/school/hss/research/publications/the-wellington-valley-project/watson/>, accessed 3 Oct. 2013.

[26] Woolmington, '"Writing on the Sand"', p. 83.

[27] Harris, *One Blood*, p. 73.

[28] Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions* (St Leonards, NSW, 1996), pp. 58–63.

was not enough.[29] Twentieth-century historians have adopted similarly rigid definitions of Christian conversion: for Tony Swain, conversions were short-lived and superficial; for Jean Woolmington, pre-existing Aboriginal cosmologies made Christian conversion unlikely if not impossible.[30]

Conversion may have been rare and improbable when such rigid criteria were applied, but this does not mean that Aboriginal communities wholly rejected missionary teachings. Swain has found evidence that in the pre-1830 period Aboriginal cosmologies in New South Wales changed in a way that cosmologies elsewhere did not, and that these changes were directly linked to the expansion of the settler and missionary dominion.[31] For Swain, Aboriginal communities responded to destruction of their land by developing a new belief system that postulated that the spirits of the dead ascended to the sky (some on questioning called this 'heaven'), as opposed to a local and earth-bound site, as was the custom in 'traditional' beliefs. The settler invasion also led Aboriginal communities to adopt concepts of good and evil that were apparently alien to pre-colonial Aboriginal cosmologies. All this does not mean that indigenous communities were abandoning their religions for Christianity; a better explanation is that Aboriginal communities were appropriating aspects of Christian teachings in order to make sense of, and cope with, the death and dispossession that came with the European invasion.

Anglican missionaries felt that their chances of success were much greater in New Zealand as there the Māori seemed to possess recognizable religious systems built on a belief in gods (*atua*). Historians have credited Anglican missionaries with laying the foundations of a Māori Church, though again pioneer missionaries had to battle through an early survival period.[32] The three 'Godly mechanics' that the CMS sent out to Rangihoua between 1809 and 1813 were supposed to orchestrate a 'civilize first' policy that was predicated on demonstrating the superiority of European arts, manufactures, and agriculture to the Māori. This they failed to do. The mission was dependent on the support of Māori sponsors and the missionaries were soon arguing with one another. Two were dismissed in 1823 (one for adultery, the other drunkenness), though one of the malcontents—Thomas Kendall—had made a contribution to European–Māori communication when he published *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* with the help of two high-status Māori and a Cambridge orientalist.

[29] Harris, *One Blood*, p. 69.

[30] Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Australian Aboriginal Being* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 125; Woolmington, '"Writing on the Sand"'.

[31] Swain, *A Place for Strangers*, pp. 125–33.

[32] Allan Davidson, 'Culture and Ecclesiology: The Church Missionary Society and New Zealand', in Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (eds.), *The Church Missionary Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000), pp. 198–227 (p. 207).

It was not until a strong-minded former naval officer, the clergyman Henry Williams, arrived to take over the mission in 1823 that Anglican outreach in New Zealand gained traction.[33] By the early 1840s Anglican missionaries were reporting that tens of thousands of Māoris had converted to Christianity. Even if we reject such claims as hyperbolic we still have to explain why Māori communities showed greater interest in Christianity from the late 1820s onwards. This interest was nothing new; what was different was that missionaries like Williams were catching up with demand by providing the Māori with the bibles and prayer books that would tell them about Christianity and Anglicanism. Changes in missionary strategy are, however, only part of the explanation. Jamie Belich has pointed out that the rising Māori interest in Christianity was connected to the changing landscape of Māori politics in the aftermath of the bloody inter-tribal 'Musket Wars' of the mid-1820s. In the ensuing period of peace Christianity replaced the European musket as a means by which rival communities accumulated prestige and power (*mana*). Churches and European priests were a marker of status and honour; they would also help Māoris acquire the literacy skills that would facilitate trade with Europeans.[34]

The limited nature of the European settlement in the pre-1840 period meant that Māoris could engage largely on their own terms with Western society. Māoris converted Christianity to their own uses. One of Williams's many worries was that the Māori understanding of baptism was not the same as his own. Examples of this Māori sampling of European religion can be clearly seen in the Māori prophetic movements that burst on to the scene from 1830 onwards. Williams noted that the founder of one of these movements, a seer (*matakite*) of the Nga Puhi people named Papahurihia, had resided 'awhile with us & obtained a superficial knowledge' but had 'gone forth two-fold more the child of the Devil'. Papahurihia used elements of Christian ritual (Williams noted in 1834 that his followers had 'services & baptism'),[35] but what he really got from his time among the Anglican missionaries at Rangihoua was knowledge of the Bible: one of his key teachings was that the Māori were a chosen people like the Israelites in the Old Testament, and he also seems to have invoked the serpent from the book of Genesis as a familiar-like figure. Missionaries may have had firm understandings on what conversion to Christianity amounted to, but no one could stop non-European communities from building their own syncretic forms of religion out of the various

[33] Davidson, 'Culture and Ecclesiology', p. 207.

[34] Jamie Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders—From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland, 1996), pp. 217–23.

[35] Allan K. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History* (Palmerston North, 1987), p. 45.

Christian messages that were being handed to them by Catholic, Wesleyan, and Anglican missionaries.

A LAY CHURCH

Lay European settlers developed their own ideas on how an Anglican Church should operate in the colonies. The 1820s saw tensions develop between Anglican clergy who were trying to express their authority and clerical independence and an Anglican laity calling for a louder voice in Church administration.[36] We know that the 1820s saw the emergence of a popular reform movement that demanded representative political institutions, trial by jury, and the extension of religious toleration to non-Anglicans; what has received less attention is that the Church in the Australian colonies generated its own internal reform movement around the same time. In both New South Wales and Tasmania lay Anglicans demanded a democratic form of Church government that was based on elected churchwardens, rentable pews, and the public auditing of church accounts. Before then observers had commonly argued that Australia had neither a political public nor an Anglican laity. Marsden claimed that the government's control over the chaplaincy had alienated the free population and left the impression that religion was purely 'for children, the common soldier, & the convict in irons'.[37] But in the early 1810s there were signs that a lay community was beginning to stir: laypersons gained experience from funding and running Sydney's many charitable organizations, and private colonists helped fund school buildings, chapels, and burial grounds from 1812 onwards.[38]

While the lay community was starting to call for a louder say in how the Church was run, clergy were taking steps to exert the kind of ministerial control over Church property that they thought was the custom back in England. The two campaigns could clash. Thomas Hobbes Scott, New South Wales's first archdeacon, caused a stir when he evicted the banker, publisher, and reform advocate Edward Smith Hall from a pew in St James's church in Sydney in July 1828—an action that Scott claimed fell within his rights as the 'ordinary' of the church. The issue of the archdeacon's power to manage church pews quickly became bound up in a larger debate about what Hall's newspaper, the *Monitor*, called 'the capricious power' of the clergy and, by

[36] Joseph Hardwick, *An Anglican British World: The Church of England and the Expansion of the Settler Empire, c.1790–1860* (Manchester, 2014), ch. 2.

[37] Marsden to unnamed correspondent, undated, in Mackaness (ed.), *Some Private Correspondence*, letter no. 14.

[38] Brian Fletcher, 'Christianity and Free Society in New South Wales 1788–1840', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 86 (2000): 93–113; Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, p. 137.

extension, the authoritarian rule of the existing colonial administration.[39] Hall took the case to Sydney's Supreme Court but neither he nor anyone else was satisfied with the final ruling: Hall was found to have trespassed into the pew; Archdeacon Scott was told he could not claim the rights of an ordinary in England; and the judge ruled that there could be no churchwardens in New South Wales as colonial churches were in no way comparable to English parishes.[40] The designs of both the lay and clerical members of the Anglican community were therefore frustrated by the ambiguities surrounding the legal status of a Church struggling to free itself of its chaplaincy past.

ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM AND THE CHANGING SHAPE OF AUSTRALIAN ANGLICANISM

The vision of an inclusive and lay-orientated colonial Church was not shared by imperial administrators. Recent scholarship has shown how a new kind of centralizing agenda influenced the world of colonial governance in the 1820s and early 1830s. Appointments to colonial posts were increasingly made in London and officials at the Colonial Office discovered new ways of gathering information on empire.[41] Similar processes can be seen in the ecclesiastical sphere. In 1824 an 'Ecclesiastical Board' was set up to regulate the selection of colonial chaplains and find out more about the workings of colonial Church establishments. Colonial governors were now asked to send back statistical breakdowns of the denominational composition of colonial populations. An Anglican archdeacon—on a salary of £2,000 a year—was appointed in 1824, a Church and Schools Corporation oversaw a system of Anglican schooling, and in 1826 the clergy reserves (which were modelled on an earlier Canadian experiment) were established. Under the reserves system, one-seventh of all colonial land was set aside for the benefit of Anglican churches, schools, and clergy. These developments fed into a wider imperial religious policy that sought to build a Church that was independent of the military regime and rooted in a parochial landscape, just like the Church at home.[42] This revived 'Anglican design' of the post-1815 period was not necessarily part of a wider

[39] *The Monitor*, 5 July 1828.

[40] Governor Darling to Sir George Murray, 25 Aug. 1829, *Historical Records of Australia I*, XV, pp. 131–40.

[41] Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester, 2005).

[42] Hardwick, *An Anglican British World*, ch. 1; Meredith Lake, 'Provincialising God: Anglicanism, Place, and the Colonisation of the Australian Land', *Journal of Religious History*, 35 (2011): 72–90 (p. 77).

Tory revival. Thomas Hobbes Scott, the architect of New South Wales's revived establishment, was branded a High Tory by the Sydney press, but in fact Scott was more closely connected to the Whig opposition; indeed the letters that Scott sent to his patron—the Northumberland Whig MP W. H. Ord—tell us that his plans for a strong Church formed part of a broader programme of colonial commercial development that was some way distant from the unreformed empire of trade monopolies that Scott found himself working in.[43]

This attempt to strengthen the Church establishment has usually been written off as a failure. The clergy reserves, which were often land of poor quality, could never sustain the clergy and the system was wound up in 1829. But this new centralizing agenda did change Anglicanism in the Australian colonies in important ways. Evangelicals could no longer labour in isolation and an independent civilian Church began to emerge. The 'Anglican design' of the 1820s also led to the recruitment of a specialist colonial clergy. The later clergy were selected for their educational qualifications, professional competency, and possession of certain skills—such as familiarity with teaching—that were considered necessary in the colonies.[44] Brian Fletcher has pointed out that the arrival of these clergy led to a more diverse Anglican presence in Australia.[45] The 1820s cohort included men who had been born in England, Australia, and Ireland; men who were not Evangelicals; and men who came from relatively elevated social backgrounds.

The other important point about these later clergy—and one that is often overlooked—is that their arrival prompted new questions about what an Anglican was and what the essentials of Anglican belief were. This had rarely been an issue in the era of Evangelical dominance before 1815. Thomas Hobbes Scott raised doubts about the Anglican credentials of the Evangelical clergy when he told the Ecclesiastical Board in 1827 that the 'rising Church of this Colony should consist of members firmly attached to the Establishment'. For Scott, the Evangelical clergy looked more like Methodist preachers than ministers of the Established Church: he claimed the early chaplains ignored elements of the Prayer Book liturgy in their services; drew up catechisms 'of their own composition'; fraternized with non-Anglican ministers; and delivered sermons full of 'unconnected sentences' in a 'violent ranting manner'.[46]

[43] Thomas Hobbes Scott to W. H. Ord, 29 Apr. 1822, Ashington, Northumberland Archives, Blackett-Ord MSS, NRO 324/A/32.

[44] Joseph Hardwick, 'Anglican Church Expansion and the Recruitment of Colonial Clergy for New South Wales and the Cape Colony, 1790–1850', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37 (2009): 361–81; Gladwin, *Anglican Clergymen*; Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford, 2004), p. 16.

[45] Fletcher, 'Anglican Ascendancy', p. 21.

[46] Scott to Archdeacon Anthony Hamilton (secretary of the Ecclesiastical Board), 21 May 1827, Oxford, Rhodes House Library, C/AUS/SYD/4/2, f. 31; Scott to the secretary of the SPG, 3 Mar. 1827, Sydney, Mitchell Library, 'Extracts from the Records of SPG 1808–1833', As143/44.

This tension between an Anglicanism that emphasized liturgical and sacramental worship and one that focused on personal conversion, preaching, and salvation by faith would become more marked after Scott—a perennially unpopular figure—resigned in 1829. His replacement, the orthodox High Churchman William Grant Broughton, would help to connect Australia with the English High Church revival of the mid-1830s. This High Church influence would offer colonial church-goers another alternative definition of Anglicanism and Anglican identity. In this sense 1829 marked a definite break in the history of Anglicanism in the Australian colonies.

CONCLUSION

In early Australian colonies different kinds of colonist and different kinds of Anglican entered into a conversation about the role that the Church of England should play in a colonial society that was both convict and free, indigenous and European. The differing visions that military governors, Evangelical chaplains, free settlers, and emancipated convicts had for the Church sat uneasily with one another, but each group would find space in future decades to realize their aims. Missions remained problematic. Mounting tensions between communities of settlers and Māori in New Zealand placed Anglican missionaries in a difficult position, and later disputes over the sale of land raised questions about how a single Church could protect the interests of both Pākehā and Māori.[47] One project that was not carried into the future was the Anglican establishment. There was an establishment in the early Australian colonies, but the 'confessional state' had always rested on insecure foundations. Not only was establishment understaffed, it was also unpopular. Non-Anglicans opposed an ecclesiastical settlement that benefited only a minority of the population, and Anglican authority sat uneasily with the political culture of the colonies. New South Wales's Church and School Corporation was abolished in 1833, and the introduction of the 1836 Church Act—a piece of legislation that invited non-Anglicans to apply for state aid—ushered in a new era of religious pluralism and multiple establishments.

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[47] Davidson and Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity*, p. 118.

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