

# The Church Act:

The expansion of Christianity or the imposition  
of moral enlightenment?

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## Abstract

The Church Act (1836) redefined and reinvigorated the religious environment in the emerging British colony of New South Wales, which profoundly impacted on its social and political development in a period of rapid population growth. It was a popular measure that has seen Governor Richard Bourke, its principal architect, be remembered as a provider of religious freedom. The simple motivation of the Act to expand Christianity and therefore morality has been complicated by the assertion that it assisted the expansion of a 'new faith' called moral enlightenment. This changes the implication of the Act and redefines the motives of the people responsible for its introduction, especially Bourke, by assuming that secular Enlightenment principles overrode Christian objectives. This has provided an ideological superstructure that has been used by some nationalist historians to present a picture of New South Wales colonial life that was fundamentally irreligious verging on atheistic. This has served to diminish the importance of religious thought and belief in the early development of Australia.

This thesis argues that the Church Act was conceived to counter various forms of alternative belief and synchronised Christianity, ranging from plebeian 'folk religion' to heterodoxical, intellectual Protestantism. It encouraged orthodox Christianity by financially supporting the denominations that had cultural as well as spiritual connections to the majority of the population. The thesis concludes that the Church Act should be categorised as being a product of the 'Age of Atonement' not the imposition of moral enlightenment.

## Disclaimer

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not being currently submitted for any other degrees. I certify that, to the best of knowledge, any help received in preparing this thesis, and all the sources used, have been acknowledged in the thesis.



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## Abbreviations

<i>BPP</i>	British Parliamentary Papers.
<i>HRA</i>	Historical Records of Australia.
CO	Colonial Office documents.
M.L.	Mitchell Library.
M.C.	Moore College Library.
<i>S.G.</i>	Sydney Gazette.
<i>S.H.</i>	Sydney Herald.
<i>V&amp;P</i>	Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of NSW.

In the course of the thesis the Anglican Church is often capitalised as the Church, while the Catholic Church and Church of Scotland are always specified. Dissenters and Nonconformists are interchangeable terms used to signify non-established Protestant churches. The word Evangelical is used to broadly represent both the Evangelical faction of the Anglican Church and that section of belief found in Dissent and the Church of Scotland. In some cases the word will be used in lower case to describe those who focused on evangelism in their Christianity.

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On the statue of Richard Bourke outside the Mitchell Library in Sydney are the words, 'he established religious equality on a just and firm basis'. The statue was paid for out of a public subscription of £2500 mostly donated in the first week after Bourke's departure in December 1837. The donations came from a wide section of society including hundreds of poorer people.<sup>1</sup> It is the only statue of a colonial governor built from donations. Bourke's supporters undoubtedly considered religious equality as a significant and valuable reform.

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<sup>1</sup> Max Waugh, *Forgotten Hero: Richard Bourke, Irish Governor of New South Wales, 1831-1837*, Melbourne, 2005, pp. xvi, 165.

## Introduction

In July 1836 Governor Richard Bourke laid before the New South Wales Legislative Council ‘An act to promote the Building of Churches and Chapels and to provide for the maintenance of Ministers of Religion in New South Wales’, commonly referred to as the Church Act.<sup>1</sup> Bourke informed the Colonial Office that ‘It met with no opposition in the Council’ and that ‘the measure meets with the sincere and grateful acquiescence of all classes of the Community’.<sup>2</sup> The Church Act committed the colony to fund from general revenue the expansion of religion. A £1000 grant for the erection of churches and dwellings for the clergy was provided if a subscription of £300 could be raised. The government also committed to pay the minister a yearly stipend of £100 for a congregation of 100 people, £150 for 200, and £200 for over 500 people. Applications for funding required a list of people declaring their intention to attend the church. It was an initiative that redefined the relationship of the churches to the state by initially expanding aid to the Church of England, Church of Scotland and Roman Catholics, and later to the Wesleyan Methodists.<sup>3</sup>

Australian settlement possessed an intrinsic religious aspect. Britain was not a secular state at the time. The monarch was head of both the established Church and state, and Parliament was responsible for the superintendence of both. The penal colony was established and governed in the context of this fusion of Church and state. Therefore, because the settlement of Australia did not recognise any other existing forms of government, kingdom or religion in the new land, it could be argued that the Church of England was by its position established in the British settlement. J. S. Gregory believed there was no official statement to this effect because it was too

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<sup>1</sup> 7 William IV, No. 3. There were two accompanying acts that dealt with the Anglicans and Presbyterians organisationally, which will be evaluated in later chapters.

<sup>2</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 14 September 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> To provide some context to these figures, the minimum stipend of £100 was more than the wages of the most elite workers, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and stonemasons, and three times the wages of some labourers. As well, ministers would expect additional income from clerical fees, pew rents, donations and education work. The grant of £1000 could easily provide a reasonable church building. This demonstrates the generosity of the provisions, and the unbiased fashion in which it was allocated began a new era in New South Wales Christianity.



obvious to require it.<sup>4</sup> The Colonial Acts, 24 Geo. III c.56 (1784) and 27 Geo. III c.2 (1785) provided the basis for a military penal settlement with the governor given the authority of a military command. In this period the Church was considered an official chaplaincy to the settlement, and Richard Johnson was given the commission as the ‘Chaplain of the Territory of New South Wales’. All state-funded chaplains worked under the same commission until 1823 when an Archdeacon was appointed.<sup>5</sup> There was also a lay ministry, as well as independent missionary activities arising from the colony’s interaction with the work of the London Missionary Society in the South Pacific.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1820s, a Legislative Council was instituted in New South Wales to assist the governor in administering the colony. Francis Forbes arrived as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Thomas Hobbes Scott was appointed to the ecclesiastical position of Archdeacon. The Colonial Office expanded the chaplaincy to provide stipends to the Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church, and other independent Dissenting groups arrived, including Methodist missionaries. By 1824 the colonial chaplaincy included a Presbyterian minister on a stipend of £300, two Catholic priests receiving £100 each, while the Anglicans received £2032 for churches and schools.<sup>7</sup>

The new Archdeacon was provided with a commission that began a new phase in Australian Christianity. He obtained a senior position in the Legislative and Executive Councils, as well as oversight of the Church and Schools Corporation. This organisation was given one seventh of new land allocations for the expansion of Anglican churches and schools as the de facto establishment. Although by the time it

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<sup>4</sup> J. S. Gregory, *Church and State: Changing Government Policies towards Religion in Australia; with particular reference to Victoria since separation*, Melbourne, 1973, p. 6. Hogan claims the ‘secular’ aims of settlement cannot deny the religious context. M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand, Religion in Australian History*, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson received a Royal Warrant appointing him ‘Chaplain to the Territory of NSW’, *HRANSW*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 27. Due observance of religion and the celebration of public worship were foundational principles in the settlement. However, the Governor’s arbitrary authority in religious observance, which at times combined government business with the Sunday services, often created conflicts. The role of chaplains was changed in the New South Wales Judicative Act (1823). Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia, 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia*, London, 1962, pp. 10-16, 29.

<sup>6</sup> H. M. Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions*, Sydney, 1996, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> *HRA*, 1, VI, p. 250.

was suspended in 1829 it had received over 400,000 acres, the revenue generated by the Corporation was insufficient to provide for Anglican clergy and their parochial and orphan schools. Support was derived primarily from general colonial revenue. By the time Richard Bourke arrived as governor in 1831, the Presbyterians were receiving £300, the Catholics £300, and the Anglicans £12,000. From 1822 to 1832 the funding for the Presbyterians remained static, the Catholics' rose slightly, while the Anglicans grew by 600%. Bourke saw this as unsatisfactory, and the official dissolution of the Church and Schools Corporation soon after his arrival afforded him the opportunity of redesigning the church and schools landscape. In September 1833, he despatched a comprehensive plan to the Colonial Office, which included the Church Act reforms and a plan to introduce general education based on the Irish National School System. Scott's replacement, the formidable Archdeacon William Broughton, whose High Church and conservative sensibilities were disturbed by the proposed loss of the de-facto Anglican establishment, and the generosity the Act afforded the Catholic Church, opposed these reforms.

Bourke did not receive approval for his plan until June 1836 and my thesis looks at the reasons for this delay and the motives behind the eventual consent. Central to the historical argument around these reforms is the balance between secular and spiritual motives. For that reason the thesis is called: 'The Church Act - the advancement of Christianity or the imposition of moral enlightenment'. The term 'moral enlightenment' has been used as a comparison because it implies secular motives for these reforms. Michael Roe applied the term in *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia* to represent a 'new faith' of social ethics, where Christian morality teamed up with secular moral movements and transcendentalism. In this framework, the Church Act has been portrayed as the state seeking to control religion to foster a type of moral police force.<sup>8</sup>

The implication of the moral enlightenment thesis is that Christian belief was used by elites as part of a repressive force of control, an interpretation that aligned with Marxist historical theory at the time Roe produced this work. The idea of moral enlightenment seems to have been particularly popular with left-leaning historians of

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<sup>8</sup> Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, Melbourne 1965, pp. 142-190.

the late 1950s and early 1960s, as a way of dealing with the massive historical issue of Christian belief in the colonial period. Manning Clark, Roe's PhD supervisor at the Australian National University, promoted the concept in *A History of Australia, Volume 2*. He argued that the 'teachers of the Enlightenment' had predicted this knowledge 'would follow man's liberation from the promises of religion, and its vile stress on the depravity of man'. He indirectly linked Bourke to this stream by claiming he was the patron of the few 'who took up the promise of the fruits of moral enlightenment'.<sup>9</sup>

Roe's ideas aligned with Russel Ward's 'Australian Legend', another product of the Australian National University, which promoted general anti-clericalism and indifference to religion as foundational traits of Australia's national identity.<sup>10</sup> One of Ward's PhD students at the University of New England, Allan Grocott, in *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches*, concluded that 'practical atheism' was widespread in the colony and the Church Act strengthened the state's ability to exert moral control 'as part of the mechanism of repression'.<sup>11</sup> Grocott, like Ward, stereotyped clergymen as corrupt and unpopular, ineffective against the anti-religious and anti-authoritarian mindsets of the lower classes. These have been popular and enduring ideas, and these historical stereotypes, while containing elements of truth, have filtered into secular colonial history, diminishing the importance, or simply misrepresenting, religious initiatives such as the Church Act in colonial society.

My thesis looks on the period more from the perspective of historians such as Boyd Hilton who described the era as the 'Age of Atonement'; a time where the growth of Evangelical thought became extremely influential in social policy.<sup>12</sup> Other

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<sup>9</sup> C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, Vol. II: New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1822-1838*, Melbourne, 1968, p. 202.

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that Ward was for a time a high profile communist. In his description of the national ethos, religion was largely irrelevant. Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, Melbourne, 1978.

<sup>11</sup> 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, p. 225.

<sup>12</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought*, Oxford, 1988. The theological concept of Atonement refers to the doctrine concerning the reconciliation of God and humankind accomplished through the life, suffering, and death of Christ.

British historians have re-evaluated plebeian belief in the early-nineteenth century and discovered much more complex *mentalités* than ‘practical atheism’. They have found atheism an extreme rarity with much more rustic Christian ideas converging with popular belief being the norm, especially belief in providence, judgment, the devil, ghosts and the afterlife.<sup>13</sup>

On an elite level, Richard Brent in *Liberal Anglicans* has demonstrated that the devout Christian belief of liberal and Evangelical Anglicans, who dominated the Whig reform movement in the 1830s, influenced policy more than secular thought.<sup>14</sup> Jennifer Ridden concurs with Brent on the Christian piety of this liberal Anglican faction, but feels Brent attributed too much to English liberal Anglicans in the principles that formulated the reform agenda. She sees the thoughts on education and religion developed by Irish Christian elites to solve sectarian problems in the 1820s as being fundamental to policy in the 1830s.<sup>15</sup>

Essentially, my thesis argues along these lines, proposing that Calvinistic Puritan values transmitted by Evangelicalism increased the focus on morality individually, socially and politically. These ideas inspired pietism, humanitarianism, and a zeal for the expansion of Christianity and British civilization. Also, Calvinistic ideas of morality were transmitted through Scottish Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, which were compatible with moderate Evangelical and liberal Anglican values. Other Deistic, rational Socinian, and ethical secular beliefs were widespread, but they were not dominant in their own right in this period of history. More direct

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<sup>13</sup> Some examples include: S. J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, Dublin, 2001; Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Working-Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London, 1984; Deborah M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England*, Princeton, 1985; James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsay, 1825-1875*, Oxford, 1976; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*, London, 1978; Owen Davies, 'Methodism, the Clergy and Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic', *Historical Association*, Vol. 82, No. 266, 1997, pp. 256-265; J. F. C. Harrison, *The Common People*, London 1984; Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters, Vol. II*, Oxford, 1995; David Clark, *Between Pulpit and Pew: Folk religion in a North Yorkshire fishing village*, London, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841*, Oxford, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> Jennifer Ridden, “‘Making Good Citizens’: National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850”, PhD thesis, University of London, 1998, pp. 7-8, 253.

linkages to the ideas embodied in moral enlightenment have been attributed to secular ethical movements that increased in popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

This thesis argues that the Church Act was inspired and approved fundamentally because it was seen as the most effective method to expand Christianity by devout men. It was certainly expected to instil morality, but fundamentally in Christian terms of orthodox belief. Therefore, the Church Act was more a product of the Age of Atonement than moral enlightenment.

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In 2007 Alan Atkinson, referring to Australian historians, argued that:

together with a number of other historians writing now I do not agree with the older understanding that genuine religious life in Australia during the first century of European settlement was more or less blank – that concerns about religious faith were limited to an atypical few and that they were imposed on the rest as a form of “social control”. Certainly social discipline and self-discipline, for the vast majority of the white population - not to mention the black - was understood in religious and / or spiritual terms. But rather than proving religion was marginal to common life, this proves that it was central.<sup>17</sup>

Atkinson also suggested that historians had yet to come to terms with the ‘creative power of religious thinking in the nineteenth century, very often understanding it as a history of oppression and sectarianism’.<sup>18</sup>

A Gallup poll conducted on history graduates from Melbourne University in 1974 found that 45% claimed to be atheist or agnostic, compared with 13% in the

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<sup>16</sup> For example: Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960*, London, 1977; G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, London, 2008, pp. 120-122.

<sup>17</sup> Alan Atkinson, 'Reinventing Religion in Nineteenth-Century Australia', unpublished ms, 2007, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

general population. This prompted questions about the likely consciousness or sensitivity of some historians to the importance of religious factors in the popular mind, and suggested that this is a reason for it being perceived as irrelevant, authoritarian or repressive.<sup>19</sup> Alan Gilbert believes it is difficult for the modern secular mind to feel empathy for the popular religious *Weltanschauung* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> He sees the notion of a culture without religion as a distinctly modern phenomenon, because ‘while apathy always existed, for a culture to entirely dispense with religion is a product of the modern west’. To Gilbert, this has contributed to the separation of religious and secular themes in historical studies.<sup>21</sup> G. Kitson Clarke believes this has caused historians to explain religious attraction using social and historical factors, often mediated through the oversimplified categorisation of class conflict or applied Benthamism, hindering the analysis of how men in the nineteenth century used religion to sanction ideas.<sup>22</sup> Robert Hole claims that if historians do not understand the values of a particular society, they can struggle to understand the political agents of that society. He criticises the tendency for intellectual and political history to downplay religious influence and overplay the triumph of rationalism and scientific thought over supernatural and metaphysical belief.<sup>23</sup>

In 1980 an article in the twentieth anniversary issue of the *Journal of Religious History* reiterated the aims of the journal’s founders, which was to differentiate religious history from church history, where religious history could ‘mingle with the history of politics, or society, or culture’. The desire of the editors’ was to make religious history an ‘integral part of historical study’.<sup>24</sup> This article identified the most dominant trend in published Australian history on religious topics since 1960 as being the move from the ‘clerical amateur’ to the lay professional, and more recently, to

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<sup>19</sup> A. E. Bollen, J. D. Cahill, Bruce Mansfield, Patrick O’Farrell, ‘Australian Religious History’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1980, pp. 16, 26.

<sup>20</sup> The hardship of life meant the world was often seen ‘as a vale of tears that must be passed through on the way to eternal bliss or damnation’. A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England, Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, London, 1976, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> A. D. Gilbert, *The making of post-Christian Britain: A history of the secularization of modern society*, London, 1980, pp. xii – xiii.

<sup>22</sup> G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, London, 1962, pp. 3, 19-20.

<sup>23</sup> R. Hole, *Pulpits, politics and public order in England, 1760-1832*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Bollen, ‘Australian Religious History’, pp. 16-20.

professional historians who are often lay church members. The authors lamented the fact that Australian general history has remained resilient to the journal's 1960 aspirations, and identified a tendency for religious history to retreat towards church history.<sup>25</sup>

In a 1989 analysis of Australian religious history, Bruce Mansfield attributed the denominational nature behind the formation of Christianity in this country as influencing the idea of a Christian commonwealth tied to social progress, which has produced similar themes throughout Australian religious history.<sup>26</sup> Mark Hutchinson sees this as developing alongside the ideology of nationalism in the nineteenth century, with both adopting the concept of providential destiny.<sup>27</sup> In the 1980s Patrick O'Farrell warned historians that the failure to integrate a religious understanding into history could render it deficient to future generations.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1990s anthropology elevated religion to a central position in British colonisation, focusing on it as a cultural difference, not a part of class conflict.<sup>29</sup> This was part of a resurgent scholarly interest in empire and colonisation from the mid-1980s, stimulated by postmodernist, multi-disciplinary trends.<sup>30</sup> Postmodernism represented disillusionment with the Enlightenment concept of faith in science, and the onward march of progress and secularism.<sup>31</sup> This re-invigorated the consideration of religious factors in colonisation, as opposed to the more traditional imperial focus on economic and political factors by Marxist and Whig historians. New research on colonial modernity has increased the importance of religion and diminished the reading of modernity as a triumph of secularism.<sup>32</sup> An example relevant to this thesis is Boyd

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 27.

<sup>26</sup> Bruce Mansfield, 'Thinking About Australian Religious History', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1989, pp. 333, 343.

<sup>27</sup> Mark Hutchinson, 'History as a Civil Religion: Writing Australian History in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1990, pp. 187, 190.

<sup>28</sup> O'Farrell, in Bollen, 'Australian Religious History', p. 28.

<sup>29</sup> Tony Ballantyne, 'Religion, Difference, and the Limits of British Imperial History', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2005, p. 430.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 429; Lindsay J. Proudfoot and Michael M. Roche, *(Dis)Placing Empire, Renegotiating British Colonial Geographies*, Hampshire, 2005, see Introduction.

<sup>31</sup> Iggers, *Global History of Modern Historiography*, pp. 22-23, 301-306.

<sup>32</sup> Ballantyne, 'Religion, Difference', pp. 430-431.

Hilton's examination of how Christian concepts of sin and redemption influenced the British *mentalité* by infiltrating all aspects of thought. Hilton described upper and middle class thought as an amalgamation of Enlightenment rationalism, eschatology and providential assumptions with Atonement at the core.<sup>33</sup> James Bradley claims that scholarship from the 1980s viewed English religion from the Restoration to the end of the eighteenth century as part of an unfolding liberal tradition with offshoots of radical Deism and Unitarianism. However, recent scholarship reinforces the idea that it was still a period dominated by orthodox belief in the divine nature of Christ and Atonement.<sup>34</sup> This forms an important part of this study's critique of the over-emphasis placed on the Enlightenment in religious and social thought, especially in regard to morality.

There has been an increasing acceptance in general history, as well as in religious history, that the nature of belief must be expanded. Hilary Carey points to a 'flexibility of faith' that is much wider than the religion demanded by Evangelicals, being rooted in family and cultural practices, and often conducted as undemonstrated piety, especially in Anglicanism and Catholicism.<sup>35</sup> Katharine Massam argues that any conclusion that claims faith has not been a determinant of Australian life is the result of the readiness to accept the absence of proclaimed belief instead of subtle reading of the various sources. There has been a much wider trend in British history of the nineteenth century not only to be more inclusive of religious factors, but to integrate alternative and synchronised belief. This area is growing in Australia but the evidence can be understated and often elusive.<sup>36</sup> The aim of this thesis is to present a broad view of colonial belief at the time of the Church Act to better understand its significance. The underlying premise is that whether a person rejects or accepts a particular belief, be it the belief in ghosts or the power of the Eucharist, there must be historical recognition

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<sup>33</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> James E. Bradley, 'The Changing Shape of Religious Ideas in Enlightened England', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey, Brad S. Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009, pp. 176-177.

<sup>35</sup> Carey, *Believing in Australia*, p. 6; H. M. Carey, 'Companions in the Wilderness? Missionary Wives in Colonial New South Wales', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1995.

<sup>36</sup> Massam believes Christian spirituality, both passive and active, was interwoven with culture. Katharine Massam, *Sacred Threads*, Sydney, 1996, pp. 1-2.



of how that belief affected peoples' lives and culture. This is required to come to terms with what Atkinson called the 'creative power of religious thinking' in this period.<sup>37</sup>

These principles were echoed in a recent multi-authored revision of intellectual history's handling of religious ideas that stresses the importance of 'seeing things their way'. This includes not dismissing beliefs as irrational, and attempting to understand the subject's point of view in the cultural and intellectual context of their times; for instance, exploring biblical and theological dimensions to political thought.<sup>38</sup> Alister Chapman says over-emphasising secular assumptions hinders the historian's ability to 'see things their way'.<sup>39</sup> David Bebbington adds the problem of scepticism into this equation, and how a fundamental difficulty of addressing spirituality in any religion is that the revelation aspect of belief does not always conform to a theoretical progress of ideas. He uses as an example scholars analysing Puritan ideas as an intellectual movement related to economics.<sup>40</sup> 'Seeing things their way' will be a goal of this thesis, and an important factor in the critique of Roe's theoretical concept of moral enlightenment.

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The most prolific force in Australian denominational history has been Catholic history, often integrated with Australian Irishness. In 1958, Ken Inglis wrote an extremely critical article about the Catholic historiographical focus on ecclesiastical institutions and controversy.<sup>41</sup> He particularly attacked the celebratory works of Dean Kenny, Cardinal Moran and Eris O'Brien for glorifying the providential nature of Catholic

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<sup>37</sup> Atkinson, 'Reinventing Religion in Nineteenth-Century Australia', p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> John Coffey and Alister Chapman, 'Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 2-5; Richard A. Mullers, 'Reflections on Persistent Whiggism and its Antidotes in the Study of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Intellectual History', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 140.

<sup>39</sup> Alister Chapman, 'Intellectual History and Religion in Modern Britain', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 232.

<sup>40</sup> David Bebbington, 'Response: The History of Ideas and Study of Religion', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 247-253.

<sup>41</sup> K. S. Inglis, 'Catholic Historiography in Australia', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 31, 1958, p. 233.

growth.<sup>42</sup> However, Inglis also addressed the issue of incorporating providence and supernatural intervention into historical writing by criticising O'Brien's inference that supernatural influences underlined certain decisions made by the Colonial Office.<sup>43</sup> In the minds of some clerical authors, and probably in many of their Catholic readers, the idea of supernatural intervention was entirely possible. An alternative question could also be posed: does our intellectual cultural rejection of supernatural belief hinder our historical interpretation?<sup>44</sup> Many of the influential Christian figures in the colony in the 1830s, such as Broughton, J. D. Lang, William Ullathorne and Bede Polding, believed they were aided by supernatural providential power. Inglis also highlights Henry Birt's interpretation of colonial Catholicism as being an attempt to salvage Benedictine heritage from Irish-Australian revisionism.<sup>45</sup> Birt attempted to create a balance between the Anglo Catholic and Irish Catholic heritage of Australian Catholicism. His provision of extensive primary source quotations with little analysis serves to illuminate the motives and mindsets of men like Ullathorne and Polding, especially through their correspondence with Downside Abby.<sup>46</sup>

In the 1960s and 1970s the growth in university participation increased the number of Catholics who pursued historical interests related to their heritage, producing a much wider critique of Irish Catholicism. This fostered the lay analysis of Catholic history, often related to Irish themes.<sup>47</sup> In 1974 James Waldersee's *Catholic Society in New South Wales* criticised Catholic historiography for being tied to the Irish people's celebration of victory over persecution and prejudice.<sup>48</sup> His work contains an excellent statistical analysis of colonial Catholic demography, which demonstrated that Irish settlement patterns were driven by the desire for land and Irish clannishness, which attracted immigrants from particular family and regional networks, in some

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<sup>42</sup> Patrick Francis Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, Sydney, 1897; J. Kenny, *The Rise and Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, Sydney, 1886; E. O'Brien, *The Dawn of Catholicism in Australia*, Sydney, 1928.

<sup>43</sup> Inglis, 'Catholic Historiography', pp. 239-40.

<sup>44</sup> Naomi Turner presents both sides of the Eucharist story and concludes whether myth or fact it is an example of Catholic faith. Naomi Turner, *Catholics: A Social History*, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 26-39.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>46</sup> Henry Norbert Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, London, 1911.

<sup>47</sup> Bollen, 'Australian Religious History', pp. 10, 12.

<sup>48</sup> J. Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales, 1788-1860*, Sydney, 1974, pp. vii-x.

cases following a convict relative.<sup>49</sup> Waldersee concludes that Catholicism was kept alive without a formal structure by custom not conviction. He acknowledges the importance placed on baptism and burial, but diminishes their spiritual function.<sup>50</sup>

Patrick O'Farrell has been the most prolific author of Australian Catholic and Irish history.<sup>51</sup> He incorporated a more secular, socio-political view to his analysis. For example, he links Father Therry's religious success in the 1820s to his opposition to authority, which attracted supporters from a political perspective. He views this as growing into the Whig, Catholic, Irish connection in the 1830s, which drew emancipist Catholics into democratic movements.<sup>52</sup> O'Farrell has been critical of the 'martyrs' view of Catholic/Irish history, preferring to highlight cultural differences resulting from Anglo-Saxon prejudice against Celtic/Gaelic, rather than religious bigotry.<sup>53</sup> His negative view of Irish convicts moderated during his career, obviously influenced by the historical revision of this subject. His early work also tended to diminish 'Catholic-ness' and increase 'Irish-ness', perpetuating the concept that the poor were generally indifferent to religion.<sup>54</sup> More recent histories had attempted to capture the balance between spiritual and cultural aspects of colonial Catholicism.<sup>55</sup>

A number of Anglican clergy, such as Sir Marcus Loane (the first Australian-born Archbishop of Sydney from 1966 to 1982) appreciated the theological diversity of their church and sought to explain how those differences were modified in the colonial

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162-179, 256.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>51</sup> His major works are: Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, Melbourne, 1977; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History, 1788-1967*, Melbourne, 2000; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the present*, Sydney, 2000; Patrick O'Farrell, *Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929*, Sydney, 1984; Patrick O'Farrell (ed.), *Documents in Australian Catholic History, Vol. 1, 1788-1884*, London, 1969.

<sup>52</sup> O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, pp. 40, 43.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, especially pp. 17-25, 52.

<sup>54</sup> See especially O'Farrell's *Catholic Church and Community*, especially p. 17. This appeared before the influential book, Connolly, *Priests and People*, originally published in 1980.

<sup>55</sup> Turner, *Catholics*; Massam, *Sacred Threads*. Jarlath Ronayne had highlighted Anglo-Irish influence on Australian Irish history as opposed to the historical focus on Gaelic Irish. He regards Trinity College educated Irish such as Roger Therry and J. H. Plunkett, as having attitudes of mind, and social and cultural values that differed from English and Scottish migrants. Jarlath Ronayne, *The Irish in Australia, Rogues and Reformers: First Fleet to Federation*, Melbourne, 2002, pp. 10-11.

environment.<sup>56</sup> Tom Frame's *Anglicans in Australia* (2007) provides a more sophisticated look at Anglican diversity from its historical roots in Britain. Frame outlines the liberal 'Broadchurch' tradition of promoting functioning reason in the consciousness of the individual as a God given attribute that allows humanity to comprehend His divine purpose.<sup>57</sup> This concept is essential to understanding the religious thinking behind the Church Act. Archdeacon Ross Border has provided a comprehensive analysis of the legislative history of religion in Australia, clearly delineating between the legal functions of the clergy and the creation of a formal church structure in 1823, which began a more purposeful attempt by the Colonial Office to expand religion.<sup>58</sup>

There has been significant historical analysis of colonial Anglicanism, much of it reflecting the interest in significant Churchmen, such as Johnson, Marsden, Scott and Broughton, the Church and Schools Corporation, and the education issue.<sup>59</sup> In 2000, Judd and Cable's history of the Sydney diocese was applauded by Archbishop Donald Robinson for correcting what he perceived as historical neglect.<sup>60</sup> Brian Fletcher's contribution to a recent multi-authored work on Australian Anglicanism considered the growth of colonial Anglicanism and the conflicting views over what constituted

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<sup>56</sup> M. L. Loane, *Hewn from the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney*, Sydney, 1976.

<sup>57</sup> Frame traces the liberal tradition from its origins in Richard Hooker in the seventeenth-century to its promotion by the Cambridge Platonists and the eighteenth-century Latitudinarians. Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, Sydney, 2007, pp. 5-35; For much greater detail on this subject see: William J. Wolf, John E. Booty, Owen C. Thomas, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: Hooker, Maurice, Temple*, London, 1986.

<sup>58</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*.

<sup>59</sup> For example, William Foster, 'Education in New South Wales Under Governor Sir Richard Bourke', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 47, No. 5, 1961, pp. 255-280; Bruce Kaye, 'Broughton and the Demise of Royal Supremacy', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 81, No. 1, 1995; Bruce Kaye, 'The Laity in Church Governance According to Bishop Broughton', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1996. Biographical works on the lives of Marsden and Broughton have provided a great deal of insight into colonial Anglican history, especially: A. T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden, The Great Survivor*, Melbourne, 1977; G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978.

<sup>60</sup> Robinson also saw a benefit in professional historians writing about an organisation they were a product of, because it provided an insightful perspective. S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese*, Sydney, 2000, p. vii.

establishment.<sup>61</sup> Elsewhere, Fletcher noted that there has been an undue focus on the clergy in evaluating colonial Christianity with little attention dedicated to the laity.<sup>62</sup> This is ironic; Australian religious history fails to consider the people in religion, and social history fails to consider religion in the people. Despite this, in the last ten years books by Kaye, Frame, Judd and Cable have resurrected and raised the profile of Anglican scholarship.

A great deal of credible historical work about other Protestant denominations in the 1820s and 1830s is incorporated into general histories and works related to missions.<sup>63</sup> Ian Breward has produced two significant general histories of Australian and Australasian religion.<sup>64</sup> These are scholarly attempts to provide an overarching account of religious development, and by their general nature they deal with broad based concepts. Breward sees Australian religion as growing in a relatively egalitarian way, which is partly due to Bourke's religious reforms.<sup>65</sup> Hilary Carey in *Believing in Australia* provides a cultural history of Australian religions, focusing on periods of cultural transformation rather than providing an exhaustive look at each denomination. She stresses the missionary and frontier character of colonial belief, and incorporates Aboriginal belief.<sup>66</sup>

The Presbyterian Church has received its share of historical focus, due to interest in the personality of J. D. Lang, and because the denomination is an essential part of the Scottish subculture. Malcolm Prentice has highlighted the socio-religious

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<sup>61</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, 'The Anglican Ascendancy, 1788-1835', in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia, A History*, Melbourne, 2002. For a much earlier discussion on the Anglican establishment see R. B. Walker, 'The Latter History of the Church and School Lands', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 1961, pp. 234-235.

<sup>62</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society in New South Wales 1788-1840', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 86, No. 2, 2000, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> Some examples are: J. D. Bollen, 'English Missionary Societies and the Australian Aborigine', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1977; S. M. Johnstone, *A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia and Tasmania*, Sydney, 1975; Carey, 'Missionary Wives'; K. Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia*, Melbourne, 1971; Jean Woolmington, 'Missionary Attitudes to the Baptism of Australian Aborigines Before 1850', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1984.

<sup>64</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of Australian Churches*, Sydney, 1993; Ian Breward, *A History of Churches in Australasia*, Oxford, 2001.

<sup>65</sup> Breward, *History of Australian Churches*, p. 8.

<sup>66</sup> Carey, *Believing in Australia*, pp. xiii-xv, 22, 59-60.

differences of the Scots coming to the colony, from the clannish northerners to the intellectual culture of the south, and the importance of the Kirk's role in Scottish society and education.<sup>67</sup> He claims there has been a lack of attention given to the Scottish influence in the Australian national character, especially the influence of a Caledonian social circle that began in colonial New South Wales, which has greatly impacted Australian middle-class culture.<sup>68</sup> Rowland Ward has presented a more theological look at the Church of Scotland, which helps to shed light on the faction fighting throughout the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the most detailed account of colonial Presbyterianism can be found in D. W. A. Baker's extensive biography of Lang. Its focus is primarily on his secular activities, but it clearly demonstrates that he believed passionately he was an 'Apostle' to the southland.<sup>70</sup>

Don Wright and Eric Clancy have compiled a detailed account of colonial Methodism, stressing its missionary nature well into the 1830s. It concludes that this was relatively unsuccessful until Joseph Orton was able to consolidate some earlier work in the 1830s. The scattered nature of adherents and the conservative and intrusive control of the English Wesleyan conference made the Church Act less effective, but still beneficial, to its growth.<sup>71</sup> Other Nonconformists, such as Baptists and Congregationalists, were underrepresented in colonial society and mainly confined to small congregations in Sydney, which is reflected in Australian colonial historical

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<sup>67</sup> Malcolm D. Prentis, 'The Presbyterian Ministry in Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1984; Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia, A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1983.

<sup>68</sup> Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, p. 196. See also Kelvin Grose, 'The Status of the Church of Scotland in the Colonies in the 1820s', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 74, No. 2, 1988, pp. 112-113.

<sup>69</sup> Rowland S. Ward, *The Bush Still Burns, The Presbyterian and Reformed Faith in Australia, 1788-1988*, Sydney, 1989.

<sup>70</sup> D. W. A. Baker, *Days of Wrath: a life of John Dunmore Lang*, Melbourne, 1985; D. W. A. Baker, 'John Dunmore Lang and the Sydney College: Religion and Education in New South Wales', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1962. Other works on Lang include: K. Elford, 'A Prophet Without Honour: The Political Ideals of John Dunmore Lang', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 1968; A. C. Childs, 'Studies in the life and work of John Dunmore Lang', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1936; Frank Hanlin, 'Sidelights on Dr John Dunmore Lang', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1944.

<sup>71</sup> Don Wright and Eric Clancy, *The Methodists: A History of Methodism in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1993, pp. 20, 68.

writing. The relatively minor influence of Dissenting churches in the 1830s is dwarfed by their influential role in British politics.<sup>72</sup>

Stuart Piggin claims the Evangelical History Association was formed in 1987 to address neglect from secular historians and the excessive focus on denominationalism in Australian religious history.<sup>73</sup> In *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, he highlights Evangelical influence on New South Wales culture, and points to the synergy between liberalism and Evangelicalism in the 1830s, especially in Anglicanism. He has also examined the indirect influence of lay Evangelicals James Stephen and William Wilberforce on colonial Australia.<sup>74</sup> Overall, there has been an increase in professional scholarship relating to religious topics over the last decade, which perhaps prompted Hilary Carey to suggest that the study of religious history is thriving.<sup>75</sup> This may be so, but to what extent religious ideas have been integrated into the wider historical debate is another matter.

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Australian historians K. S. Inglis and Alan Gilbert have integrated religion into social history in Britain, although both reinforced the idea of lower class indifference to religion in the first half on the nineteenth century, primarily from evidence obtained

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<sup>72</sup> Works on Nonconformists include: J. D. Bollen, *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority*, London, 1975; J. D. Bollen, 'A Time of Small Things- The Methodist Mission in New South Wales, 1815-1836', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1973, pp. 225-247; Ken R. Manley and Michael Petras, *The first Australian Baptists*, Sydney, 1993; R. B. Walker, 'The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1971, pp. 331-347; G. L. Lockley, 'The Foundation, Development and Influence of Congregationalism', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1968. Primitive Methodism started organisationally in the 1840s, previous to this adherents were part of Wesleyan congregations. E. G. Clancy, 'The commencement of the Primitive Methodist Mission in New South Wales', *Push*, Vol. 27, 1989, pp. 23-36.

<sup>73</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 1-12. Stuart Piggin, *Spirit of a Nation: The Story of Australia's Christian Heritage*, Sydney, 2004, pp. ix-x; Hilary Carey is another historian who takes a positive view of the influence of Evangelicalism in the colony. Carey, *Believing in Australia*, pp. 10-19.

<sup>74</sup> Stuart Piggin, 'James Stephen, John West and Thomas Holt: Three Evangelical Founders of Australian Nationhood', *Lucas*, New Series, No. 1, 2009, pp. 110-120; Stuart Piggin, 'William Wilberforce, the Clapham Cabinet, and "Liberating the Captives" in Australia', Public Lecture, Parliament House Sydney, 26 March 2007.

<sup>75</sup> Carey, *Believing in Australia*, p. xiii.

from church attendance records.<sup>76</sup> This historical proposition has been subject to significant revision. The authors of *Australians 1838* note that between pious belief and unbelief there was a ‘range of complex and inconsistent ideas’ concerning God’s wrath and divine judgement.<sup>77</sup> Edward Campion describes the Irish Catholicism brought to the colony as a ‘bewildering mixture of formal Catholicism, debased Catholic practice, family piety, superstition, magic and Celtic mythology’.<sup>78</sup> O’Farrell gave a similar description of ‘synthesised Gaelic folk belief and customs merged with Catholicism’, which he said has escaped Australian historians.<sup>79</sup> This issue is important to understanding the rationale behind the Church Act, and will be addressed in this thesis.

British historians have explored the interrelationship between the traditional Church, popular Evangelicalism and folk belief. The Annales School in France was particularly sensitive to the nature of popular religion, and this has influenced many British historians. Their work directly impacts on the heritage of Australian belief. Keith Thomas’s *Religion and the Decline of Magic* was a monumental study that linked religion to popular belief in all classes.<sup>80</sup> The book examines the nature of supernatural belief and how it affected both alternative practice and mystical Christianity. Despite the focus being on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Thomas demonstrates how belief in the supernatural world continued well into the nineteenth century, particularly in the lower orders of society.<sup>81</sup> James Obelkevich’s study of South Lindsay articulated a complex relationship between the Church, Methodism and alternative belief, including widespread customary supernatural practices in the nineteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Robert Scally has highlighted the superstitious nature of Irish peasant Christianity and how Ireland’s isolation impacted its culture and

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<sup>76</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England*, London, 1963; Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert, Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, Oxford, 1977.

<sup>77</sup> Marian Aveling and Alan Atkinson (eds.), *Australians 1838*, Sydney, 1988, p. 424.

<sup>78</sup> E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, Melbourne, 1987, p. 4.

<sup>79</sup> O’Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 27.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.

<sup>81</sup> Similar examples can be found in Harrison, *Common People*.

<sup>82</sup> Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*.



religion, and the formation of its own moral sociology.<sup>83</sup> S. J. Connolly has produced the most significant examination of Irish belief in the nineteenth century.<sup>84</sup> He likens pre-famine Ireland to pre-industrial England due to the widespread diffusion of supernatural belief and traditional custom, but without any significant tradition of irreligion. This featured a deep attachment to basic Catholic rites of passage, even though their attendance at church was no better than that of the English poor.<sup>85</sup>

David Martin, in *A Sociology of English Religion*, sees the failure of the Church to recognise working people in positions of responsibility, and the embarrassment felt by the poor in attending, as leading to a distaste for organised Anglicanism.<sup>86</sup> Deborah Valenze's investigation into the religion of labouring people identified attitudes of resentment towards clergy and accusations of hypocrisy against moralising churchgoers.<sup>87</sup> Michael Watts stresses that revivalism brought emotional preaching, often in local dialects, hymn singing in popular styles, and camp meetings that provided a pleasant diversion from the drudgery of life.<sup>88</sup> A common conclusion in studies of Methodism is that it reinforced popular belief in the supernatural and this was a factor in its widespread acceptance. Owen Davies claimed Methodism inhabited the same spiritual space as the common man.<sup>89</sup> The main point relative to this thesis is the widespread diffusion of the doctrine of Atonement through Evangelicalism in this period.

The Marxist idea that Methodism was a class-based instrument of repression was refined by E. P. Thompson, who portrayed it as a tool for instituting work

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<sup>83</sup> Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine and Emigration*, New York, 1995, pp. 6, 16, 33, 232.

<sup>84</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 245-247.

<sup>86</sup> David Martin, *A Sociology of English Religion*, London, 1967, pp. 17, 25, 69.

<sup>87</sup> Valenze found the largest increases in sectarian Methodism in the nineteenth-century was from the oppressed and marginalised sections of society, and practices such as female popular Evangelicalism, shunned by respectable society, influenced people who did not see the Church or the Chapel as being relevant to their lives. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*.

<sup>88</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 177.

<sup>89</sup> Davies, 'Methodism, the Clergy and Popular Belief', pp. 263-264.

discipline.<sup>90</sup> Some historians have accused Thompson and others of emphasising repression, rather than the positive attraction of self-improvement and the social and security benefits of Chapel membership.<sup>91</sup> Watts proposes a wide influence of Evangelicalism that was not stupefying, but edifying, to a generally superstitious working population more focused on survival than revolution.<sup>92</sup>

The population of colonial New South Wales was predominately derived from British working people. Therefore, the historical contention around working people's belief in Britain has an important bearing on religious history in early Australia. Historiographical differences revolve around the interpretation of statistics and implications of more recent research. This is best summarised by Richard Brown, who criticises historians who rely on the analysis of the 1851 religious census and middle class observations, which have over-emphasised behavioural expectations, especially church attendance, to conclude general working class indifference and apathy to Christian belief.<sup>93</sup> David Hempton believes it is impossible to judge belief merely from church attendance or socio-economic theory, because there were complex feelings relating to belief, and people practised religion, whether it be for comfort in times of trouble or the hope of betterment in the present or future life, without feeling the need to attend church.<sup>94</sup>

Another common historical perception that has undergone revision is that Evangelical Dissenters served to reinforce middle class hegemony. This orthodoxy was endorsed by the Currie/Gilbert/Horsley study, which surveyed the social aspects of church life and confirmed a commonly held view of class domination in

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<sup>90</sup> E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, New York, 1993; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York, 1966, Chapter 11. The debate as to whether Methodism helped avert revolution in the post-Napoleonic war period was lost, primarily because statistics found Methodism was greatest in the strongholds of radicalism, and its numbers were considered insufficient to influence a large enough number of the most disadvantaged. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men, Studies in the History of Labour*, London, 1964, pp. 23-28; E. Halévy, *The Birth of Methodism in England*, Chicago, 1971.

<sup>91</sup> See especially Currie, *Churches and Churchgoers*, pp. 87-90; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, London, 1968, p. 295; David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland, from the Glorious Revolution to the decline of empire* Cambridge, 1996, pp. 31-35.

<sup>92</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 372.

<sup>93</sup> Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, London, 1991, p. 468.

<sup>94</sup> Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 26-28, 131-136.

Nonconformity.<sup>95</sup> Watts rejects the class objectives of Dissent as a misconception of Marxist historians. His study of baptismal records from 1790 to 1837, cross-checked with the 1851 census, found that in the vast majority of counties the adherents of Nonconformity were predominately poor. In rural areas he found a large proportion of agricultural labourers even in non-Methodist groups. In most counties, the number of labourers in chapels exceeded the general percentage per head of population, and they were also heavily represented in urban areas.<sup>96</sup> Watts claims the idea that skilled artisans were over-represented has been grossly exaggerated and is only valid in certain areas and particular congregations.<sup>97</sup> He demonstrates that the expansion of Nonconformity from 1800 to 1840 was from unskilled and low skilled workers. These were the virtuous working people New South Wales attempted to attract through assisted migration in the 1830s as outlined in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

Owen Chadwick argued that most slum pastors found indifference and hostility related to anti-clericalism, not unbelief, and that labourers believed they were Christian as much as they considered themselves English.<sup>98</sup> This sentiment was even more entrenched in Irish Catholics.<sup>99</sup> Breward has made the point that the religion people brought from Britain was often not consciously chosen, but formed part of their cultural response to the ‘mystery and tragedy of life’ and was infused with folk belief. People considered themselves Christian but not to the moral standards of the Church or Chapel.<sup>100</sup> Hugh Jackson suggests that alienation from the landscape reduced religious feelings in Australia. He based this on literary evidence, in particular the writings of D.

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<sup>95</sup> Their study concluded church membership was over represented by merchants, manufacturers and tradesmen and underrepresented by labourers. Currie, *Churches and Churchgoers*.

<sup>96</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, pp. 306-330.

<sup>97</sup> Quakers had a larger middle-class component, but even Unitarian congregations in the 1830s consisted of 25% weavers and only 13% businessmen. Watts claims the reason for the historical misconception is because previous analysis classed poor handloom weavers as skilled artisans, along with highly paid ironworkers and printers. As well, many semi-mechanised urban trades were categorised as skilled but were undertaken by unskilled workers. This included wool combers, dyers and factory workers doing knitting and shoemaking. *Ibid.*, pp. 319-327.

<sup>98</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London, 1966, p. 334.

<sup>99</sup> Campion, *Australian Catholics*, pp. 4-5; Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, A Sociological Study*, Dublin, 1983, pp. 22-25.

<sup>100</sup> Breward, *History of Australian Churches*, p. 11.

H. Lawrence, which connected British religious feelings to the landscape.<sup>101</sup> Meredith Lake has also explored the interaction between religious inheritance and the colonial environment. She feels there has been neglect in seeing how British cultural inheritance, including Protestantism, has been influenced by the colonial experience. She is critical of Russel Ward's idea of a colony where old world religion was cast off.<sup>102</sup>

Allan Grocott's *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches* is an influential work about belief in the convict population. The book utilises the conclusions of Ward, and the premise that the English poor were indifferent to religion, but he concedes there is a lack of documentary evidence from convicts or emancipists to support belief or non-belief.<sup>103</sup> He rightly emphasises anti-clericalism and anti-authoritarianism, but oversteps the British evidence by concluding that convicts were 'in effect practical atheists'.<sup>104</sup> His work is full of evidence alluding to plebeian belief but he fails to explore it. Grocott consistently displays a cynical attitude to any examples of religious behaviour, deriding it as 'the shrewd ploy of convicts' seeking to obtain concessions, based on middle class perceptions, primarily from social observer Peter Cunningham.<sup>105</sup> These displays are downplayed because they do not support his ultimate conclusion of 'practical atheism'.<sup>106</sup> Brian Fletcher contextualises Grocott's ideas as being the product of a time when Australian historians viewed convicts as hardened criminals, and before British historical revision questioned the assumption that working people were irreligious.<sup>107</sup> James Jupp has pointed out how transportation and assisted migration, the major entry points to pre-1850 New South Wales, were driven by the penal system and the Poor Laws, institutions that encouraged anti-clericalism and resentment of authority.<sup>108</sup> Tom Frame challenges the complete

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<sup>101</sup> Hugh Jackson, "'White Man Got No Dreaming": Religious Feeling in Australian History', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1988, p. 9.

<sup>102</sup> M. Lake, 'Protestant Christianity and the Colonial Environment: Australia as a Wilderness in the 1830s and 1840s', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 11, 2009, pp. 21-45.

<sup>103</sup> Grocott, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches*, pp. 2-4.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-29, 261.

<sup>105</sup> Cunningham was a surgeon who travelled widely in the colony. Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1827.

<sup>106</sup> Grocott, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches*, p. 261.

<sup>107</sup> Fletcher, in 'The Anglican Ascendancy', p. 28.

<sup>108</sup> James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 152-158.

rejection of Protestant churches by the convict population, noting evidence of the gratitude of remote settlers to clerical visitation, and the contribution of the lower strata of society towards church building projects.<sup>109</sup>

Considering the amount of historical work devoted to traditional beliefs and customary behaviour in Britain, it is surprising it has not received more attention in the study of colonial Australia. Most Irish and English convicts and assisted migrants were from social groups that British historians have identified as being the most likely to retain traditional beliefs. Nevertheless, a number of prominent historians have produced works that demonstrate traditional customary behaviour. Alan Atkinson and Erin Ihde have examined supernatural belief, paternalism and customary protest.<sup>110</sup> Grace Karskens and Michael Sturma have considered the importance placed on death and burial, which demonstrates the significance of the afterlife to people.<sup>111</sup> David Kent and Hamish Maxwell-Smith have produced works on convict tattoos, highlighting their symbolic importance to people's beliefs.<sup>112</sup> Kent has brought his expertise in British customs to the study of marriage and protest in early Australia.<sup>113</sup> In *Convicts of the Eleanor*, Kent and Norma Townsend provide a synergy between British and Australian history by studying the transported Swing Rioters, providing examples of plebeian responses to breaches of their perceived traditional moral economy.<sup>114</sup> The Castle Forbes rebellion in the Hunter Valley also demonstrated a response to breaches of the 'convict moral economy', including the de-legitimising of

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<sup>109</sup> Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, p. 62.

<sup>110</sup> For example, Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, The Beginning, Vol. 1*, Melbourne, 1997; Alan Atkinson, 'Four Patters of Convict Protest', *Labour History*, Vol. 37, 1979, pp. 28-51; Alan Atkinson, *Camden*, Melbourne, 1988; Erin Ihde, "'So gross a violation of decency": A note on wife sales in colonial Australia', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 84, No. 1, 1984, pp. 26-37; Erin Ihde, "A Smart Volley of Dough-Boy Shot": A Military Food Riot in Colonial Sydney', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2001, pp. 23-37.

<sup>111</sup> M. Sturma, 'Death and Ritual on the Gallows', *Omega*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1986-7, pp. 86-87; Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney*, Sydney, 2009.

<sup>112</sup> David Kent, 'Decorative Bodies: The Significance of Convicts' Tattoos', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 53, 1997, pp. 78-88; Jane Caplan (ed.), *Written on the Body: The tattoo in European and American history*, London, 2000.

<sup>113</sup> David Kent and N. Townsend, 'Some Aspects of Colonial Marriage: a Case Study of the Swing Protesters', *Labour History*, Vol. 74, 1998, pp. 40-53.

<sup>114</sup> David Kent and N. Townsend, *Convicts of the Eleanor, Protest in Rural England, New Lives in Australia*, London, 2002.

the master servant relationship and the closing of other customary means of addressing grievances within the system.<sup>115</sup>

Folk societies have been repositories for British folk belief since the nineteenth century, providing British historians with a legacy of documentary evidence on the widespread existence of traditional belief in the nineteenth century.<sup>116</sup> There has been some attention towards alternative belief in colonial Australia, including Bill Wannan's volume on Australian folklore which cites examples of ghost stories and the use of traditional cures, and the journal *Australian Folklore* has encouraged research in this area.<sup>117</sup> As well, Maureen Perkins has demonstrated that the popularity of almanacs points to an underlying belief in astrology in colonial Australia.<sup>118</sup> This thesis will locate such practices in the wider concept of popular religion, which synchronised elements of Christianity and folk custom. It will conclude that the Church Act encouraged the expansion of more orthodox Christianity to counter these synchronised forms of belief.

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Michael Roe, in *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, promoted a 'new faith' that he called moral enlightenment. He claims this grew in the colony in the 1830s, and became dominant by the 1850s.<sup>119</sup> Roe saw moral enlightenment as a counter force to colonial conservatism that was developed by a secular culture, with some Protestant and Romantic influences, but primarily driven by Utilitarianism, which shaped this

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<sup>115</sup> David Stoneman, 'Convict Assignment in New South Wales in the 1830s - Labour relations between masters and men, with a focus on Castle Forbes', B.A. Honours thesis, University of New England, 2007.

<sup>116</sup> M. Gutch, *County Folk-lore, Vol. 2, Examples of printed folk-lore concerning the North Riding of Yorkshire, York and Ainsty*, London, 1901; T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *British Popular Folk Customs, Past and Present*, London, 1911; Susan Drury, 'Plant and Wart Cures in England from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth-centuries: Some examples', *Folklore*, Vol. 102, No. 1, 1991; Reginald Nettel, 'Folk Elements in Nineteenth-Century Puritanism', *Folklore*, Vol. 80, No. 4, 1969.

<sup>117</sup> Bill Wannan, *Australian Folklore, A Dictionary of Lore Legends and Popular Allusions*, Sydney, 1970, pp. 157, 237, 243.

<sup>118</sup> Maureen Perkins, "'An Era of Great Doubt to Some in Sydney": Almanacs and Astrological Belief in Colonial Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1993, pp. 465-475.

<sup>119</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*.

‘ideological superstructure’.<sup>120</sup> His work came out of a focus in cultural history from the social sciences at the Australian National University in the late 1950s, which sought to explore Australian national life and character.<sup>121</sup> Roe saw his new faith, embodying the English middle class ideal of self-help and morality, being applied to a colonial culture typified by Ward’s *Australian Legend*.<sup>122</sup> He cited the lack of a colonial middle class as hindering his new faith, and the reason it took until the 1850s to obtain supreme influence.<sup>123</sup> His interpretation advances the triumph of Enlightenment reason over conservatism, viewing Bourke’s education scheme as a means to counter Anglicanism, and the Church Act as part of the liberal moral reform agenda.<sup>124</sup> Roe identifies how Christian and secular leaders looked to education to reform morals, but he fails to deal with the importance of religious thought in social morality. This is caused by prematurely advancing the influence of secular thinking, particularly in the 1830s, and by seeking to explore Enlightenment thinking free from traditional beliefs.<sup>125</sup> Roe portrays the infant colonial Church being overcome by a secular Enlightenment force, free of any alternative changes that were taking place in Anglicanism, Catholicism and Presbyterianism in Britain. The research in this thesis demonstrates that Bourke did not seek to weaken Anglicanism but rather to give other faiths their legitimate rights. It will argue that his liberal Anglican principles sought to reform Anglicanism and advance Christianity.

In reviewing Roe’s work, Fletcher points out that the coverage religion received in the colonial press was enormous, and all newspapers, whatever their political persuasion, saw religion as an essential part of society, believing that education should retain a religious component.<sup>126</sup> The mere fact that a press so commercially competitive focused so much on religion is significant. R. B. Walker

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 149.

<sup>121</sup> Bollen, 'Australian Religious History', pp. 20-21.

<sup>122</sup> Ward, *Australian Legend*.

<sup>123</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 205.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 190.

<sup>125</sup> Some Australian historians who have pointed out a deficiency in this secular analysis are: Atkinson, 'Reinventing Religion in Nineteenth-Century Australia', p. 4; Mark Hutchinson, 'Introduction', in Mark Hutchinson and Edmund Campion (eds.), *Re-visioning Australian Colonial Christianity, New Essays in the Australian Christian Experience, 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1994, p. 29.

<sup>126</sup> Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society', p. 98.

also points out that there was no great opposition in the 1830s to public funds being allocated to religion.<sup>127</sup> R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving endorse Roe's idea of an alternative form of control to brute force, in the context of a class-derived battle against the paternalist gentry elite.<sup>128</sup> Atkinson has undermined this concept by claiming the native born were often proponents of paternalism, rather than being secular radicals.<sup>129</sup>

P. L. Gregory portrays natural religion as the real force behind Roe's moral enlightenment, which embodied the principle of people becoming acceptable to God through moral virtue. Gregory evaluated religious ideas in popular writing, letters, journals, poetry and novels, and found that natural religion filled the gap in religious thinking that was supposedly occupied by secularism.<sup>130</sup> He defines natural religion as faith in a providential God manifest in nature, but still capable of special intervention. This belief was fostered by a lack of churches and people's reliance on nature. He believes a deistic natural religion and the more judgemental aspects of Evangelicalism, became the central religious dispute in the colony.<sup>131</sup> However, his general classifications often portray anything less than an Evangelical view as Deism without differentiating between varieties of Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian thought or heterodoxical belief. Also, he identifies aspects of plebeian natural religion without introducing alternative belief. Nevertheless, Gregory's thesis is an extremely useful look at belief in the colony, especially the widespread *mentalité* of providence. His concept that natural religion represented ideas that have been called secular is a plausible proposition that will be investigated.

John Gascoigne endorses the idea of Roe's moral enlightenment, but is more inclusive regarding the role of Christian churches in the dissemination of Enlightenment values, highlighting the affinity of moral discipline in both Benthamism and Evangelicalism, and the moral improvement aspect of Anglican education. He sees

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<sup>127</sup> R. B. Walker, 'The Abolition of State Aid to Religion in New South Wales', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, 1962, p. 165.

<sup>128</sup> R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, Melbourne, 1980.

<sup>129</sup> Alan Atkinson, 'Time, place and paternalism: early conservative thinking in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 90, 1988, pp. 10-12.

<sup>130</sup> Phillip Leonard Gregory, 'Popular Religion in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1788 to the 1850s', PhD thesis, University of New England, 1994, pp. 292, 375.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.



the Enlightenment and Christianity as competing but co-existing worldviews, which negated the need for the state to provide an alternative moral purpose.<sup>132</sup> Michael Hogan questions Roe's argument that the emerging dominant ideology was out of sympathy with the main churches, or that 'secular or religious' leaders were in different ideological camps. He sees them primarily in a battle over control.<sup>133</sup> J. S. Gregory has also pointed out that the traditional role of the clerical schoolmaster was to educate in both religious and moral principles.<sup>134</sup> This thesis proposes that the battle was between denominational and non-denominational Christianity, not secular and religious education.

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To determine whether the Church Act was primarily a process of moral enlightenment, we must consider the underlying historical perspective relating to Enlightenment secularism. The idea that modernisation brought a decline in religion has produced a 'secularising teleology' that has tended to place a low priority on theology and religious ideas in intellectual history.<sup>135</sup> Chadwick considers secularisation a 'vague term'. He places the modern conception of the term in the post-Darwin ethical movements, characterised by Augustus Comte, in the middle class, and Marxism in the working class.<sup>136</sup> Michael Gauvreu proposes a similar post-Darwin fracture between Christianity and science.<sup>137</sup> Gilbert acknowledges that the Christian worldview was reformed in this period, but remained dominant due to the role of the clergy in the intelligentsia. The educated elite made theology fit the values of their class, with

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<sup>132</sup> John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 5, 13, 17, 106. Stuart Piggin has made an interesting comment regarding Gascoigne's belief in Australia's Enlightenment foundation, by pointing out that the Evangelical roots of John Howard's prison reform ideas were fundamental in the Botany Bay experiment, and that Evangelical humanitarianism was as equally influential in moves to end transportation. Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity*, pp. xiii, 25. James Bradley claims Gascoigne's ideas are derived from outdated interpretations of eighteenth-century Latitudinarianism. Bradley, 'The Changing Shape of Religious Ideas in Enlightened England', p. 178.

<sup>133</sup> Hogan, *Sectarian Strand*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>134</sup> Gregory, *Church and State*, p. 17.

<sup>135</sup> Coffey and Chapman, 'Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', p. 3.

<sup>136</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth-Century*, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 185-233; Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief*.

<sup>137</sup> Michael Gauvreau, 'Baconism, Darwinism, Fundamentalism: A Transatlantic Crisis of Faith', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1985, pp. 434-444.

Churchmen integrating natural theology to justify class hierarchy, and Dissent to reinforce Political Economy. The Protestant idea that God worked through the natural order and provided man with knowledge to manipulate it became a modernising concept in western culture, and this inspired men to search for greater truth in biblical analysis.<sup>138</sup> Rowan Strong criticises the promotion of a dominant Enlightenment world view, emphasising that British people considered their religion as fundamental truth.<sup>139</sup> John Wolffe believes it is wrong to overemphasise the effects of French philosophy on English Enlightenment thought, and that the influence of men like David Hume needs to be balanced by the importance placed on Christian interpretation.<sup>140</sup> David Bebbington attributes the impact of reason on Evangelicalism as a fundamental factor in the cultural shift of the English world to humanitarianism and toleration.<sup>141</sup> Peter Glasner claims secularisation has become an ‘ideological myth’ for sociologists who use it as a theoretical device.<sup>142</sup> Chapman calls this social scientific determinism.<sup>143</sup> The theory of moral enlightenment is heavily dependent on an historical acceptance of this ‘secularising teleology’.

Part of the ideological basis of moral enlightenment is founded on the rising influence of Benthamism, which held that religion would disappear in a properly organised society.<sup>144</sup> Oliver McDonagh was an early critic of the use of ideological factors to understand the administration remedies used to address social problems in the 1830s. He suggests more random political and economic considerations generated from public pressure, slowly expanded organisations such as the Colonial and Home Offices, rather than Benthamite ideology.<sup>145</sup> A. M. C. Waterman has demonstrated the

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<sup>138</sup> Gilbert, *Making of Post-Christian Britain*, p. 32; See also C. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England, 1770-1970*, Oxford, 1976, pp. 8-15.

<sup>139</sup> Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850*, 2007, pp. 283-286.

<sup>140</sup> John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, Oxford, 1991.

<sup>141</sup> D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from 1730 to 1980s*, London, 1989, pp. 70-74.

<sup>142</sup> Peter Glasner, ‘The study of Australian folk religion: some theoretical and practical problems’, in A. W. Black and Peter E. Glasner, *Practice and Belief, Studies in the Sociology of Australian Religion*, Sydney, 1983, p. 167.

<sup>143</sup> Alister Chapman, ‘Intellectual History and Religion in Modern Britain’, Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 229.

<sup>144</sup> Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class*, pp. 324-325.

<sup>145</sup> O. McDonagh, ‘The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1958, pp. 53-55.

dominance of religious thought in economic and social policy in the 1830s.<sup>146</sup> Watts also points out that in the 1830s and 1840s, the rational arguments presented by Benthamites for national education failed to convince a majority of parliamentarians that religion and education should be separated. Even when the Irish System was proposed in Liverpool, a centre of Irish, Dissent and radical politics, the municipality rejected it.<sup>147</sup> Hilton has proposed that the influence of Joseph Butler on all sections of Anglican thought, and contemporary Christian social theorists, such as Thomas Chalmers, was more influential than Bentham's. His assertion that the undercurrent of social thought was more reflective of Wilberforce's Christian humanitarianism than Benthamite radicalism concurs with the findings of this thesis.<sup>148</sup>

Alan Atkinson has acknowledged Manning Clark's legacy of putting spirituality 'in a large sense at the heart of Australian history', but Clark also placed Enlightenment attitudes in clear opposition to religion.<sup>149</sup> Hutchinson, like Roe, perpetuates this, seeing the 'dominant intellectual paradigm of the time derived from the Enlightenment and the crisis of faith in traditional religion that accompanied it'.<sup>150</sup>

This produces a conundrum - given that there was so much Enlightenment influence in the works of people like J. D. Lang, John West and G. W. Rusden, what are we to make of their professions of Christianity? Are they liars, and if so, what have they lied about - their political ideologies or their professions of faith?<sup>151</sup>

His view of history as being 'civil religious' explains this compromise, by concluding people with faith, such as Lang, were forced to find some middle ground.<sup>152</sup> The

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<sup>146</sup> A. M. C. Waterman, 'The Ideological Alliance of Political Economy and Christian Theology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1983, pp. 231-244. Jennifer Hart, 'Nineteenth-Century Social Reform: A Tory Interpretation of History', *Past and Present*, Vol. 31, 1965, pp. 48-46, emphasises the Benthamite influence in humanitarianism and Political Economy.

<sup>147</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 538.

<sup>148</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 183.

<sup>149</sup> Atkinson, 'Reinventing Religion in Nineteenth-Century Australia', p. 4.

<sup>150</sup> Hutchinson, 'History as a Civil Religion', p. 187.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

promotion of liberal ideas and progress in the radical politics of J. D. Lang was couched in concepts from the Enlightenment and Scottish Moral Philosophy, but this was consistent with his Calvinism and his education for the ministry of the Church of Scotland, which was a fundamental force in creating and then promoting these ideas in society.<sup>153</sup> As explained in Chapters 5 and 7 below, Lang considered himself primarily an ‘Apostle Paul’ and his other activities were complimentary to this mission. His principal aim was to achieve what he saw as the right kind of migration in the attempt to foster a society based on Scottish Christian principles of devotion to the Word of God, hard work and enterprise.<sup>154</sup> Without taking these factors into account it has been easy for secular historians to treat Christianity in Australia as an ideology.<sup>155</sup> It is then only a small step to disregard the spiritual nature of Christianity and its impact on the *mentalité*, to propose an ideological merger with moral enlightenment, civil religion or some other theoretical model. This has seen historians primarily write of religion in the context of secular national policies.<sup>156</sup>

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There has been a significant amount of Australian and British historical writing that has used class conflict to endorse ideology and downplay religion. Bob Bushaway claims most nineteenth and early twentieth-century British historiography was critical of any supernatural belief, as it was focused on the achievement and the progress of society.<sup>157</sup> Bernard Semmel argues that this was tied up with Britain’s pursuit of economic and ideological supremacy, which saw Political Economy obtaining ‘scriptural force’.<sup>158</sup> Waldersee described Australian Catholic historiography as carrying a Whig interpretation into church history in its quest to present its success.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> See Arnold C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History*, London, 1971.

<sup>154</sup> This is clearly demonstrated in all Lang’s undertakings, see Baker, *Days of Wrath*.

<sup>155</sup> Mansfield, 'Thinking about Australian Religious History', p. 334.

<sup>156</sup> Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class*, pp. 324-325; Bollen, 'Australian Religious History', p. 16.

<sup>157</sup> Bob Bushaway, ‘Tacit, Unsuspected, but still Implicit Faith: Alternative Belief in Nineteenth Century Rural England’, in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, 1500-1850*, London, 1995, p. 291.

<sup>158</sup> Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism*, London, 1970, pp. 7-10.

<sup>159</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. vii-x.

He sees this beginning with the writings of Roger Therry, which took a very anti-Tory position.<sup>160</sup> The ideological hostility of some Marxist historians to religion has contributed to them diminishing or ignoring its influence.<sup>161</sup> Ward in *The Australian Legend* saw the Australian identity formed in convict, working class, Irish and colonial born sources, particularly associated with country life. This culture was ‘hostile or at best indifferent to organised religion’ and adopted mateship as a replacement.<sup>162</sup> Both Whig and Marxist histories see social and economic changes as creating new ideologies, and legitimising change by undermining the credibility of traditional intellectual and religious foundations. J. C. D. Clark has criticised this idea and stressed the interplay of human action, against history simply advancing through ideology. Clark sees industrialisation, urbanisation and secularisation as exaggerated and misconstrued concepts in the first half of the nineteenth century, and suggests radicalism was primarily the heterodoxical face of Christianity, especially Dissent and liberal Anglicanism.<sup>163</sup> This is important for this thesis, as heterodoxical ideas, such as Deism and Socinism, were considered enemies of orthodox Anglicanism, Catholicism and Calvinism, because it undermined belief in the divinity of Christ.

An influential class-based interpretation of the period is Harold Perkin’s *The Origins of Modern English Society*, which claims the middle class ideal overwhelmed traditional patronage. He portrays the period 1815 to 1840 as a transitional time, where the economic order shifted from monopolies and landed wealth to new industrial wealth, generating vertical economic conflict out of the old bonds of patronage and dependency. This grew out of urban society, which fostered indifference to religion and a struggle to win the hearts and minds of people.<sup>164</sup> A great deal of this theory is inherent in Roe’s triumph of moral enlightenment, but there is a question as to how far it had progressed in England by 1840 let alone colonial New South Wales. David Eastwood has pointed out that Perkin’s struggle of social ideas in the new order fails to integrate the ideas and belief structures of Romanticism and radicalism that critiqued

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34.

<sup>161</sup> Bollen, 'Australian Religious History', pp. 25-26.

<sup>162</sup> Ward, *Australian Legend*, pp. 85, 136.

<sup>163</sup> J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime*, Cambridge, 1985, chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>164</sup> Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, London, 1969, pp. 100, 177-178, 202, 219.

and influenced this new order.<sup>165</sup> John Owen outlines the various streams of the moral economy, which linked together many of these diverse forces.<sup>166</sup> Kim Lawes found the resurgence of political paternalism as being critical to the formation of social policy in the 1830s, with a trend from community to government responsibility.<sup>167</sup> In New South Wales there was no such trend. Society remained linked to a paternal economy of land and cheap assigned convict labour that was dominated by government control.<sup>168</sup> If anything the Church Act was an attempt to foster greater community responsibility and pave the way for free immigration and the ending of convict transportation.

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The Church Act is commonly mentioned in most studies of political, social or religious history of the colonial period. Considering it is the most influential piece of ecclesiastical legislation in nineteenth-century Australia, it is surprising there has been no detailed analysis. There has been significant general analysis, often integrated with the education issue that was running concurrently. Atkinson described the Church Act as an attempt to create a confessional citizenship, enacted for a society where religion was a fundamental form of social relationship. This was consistent with the process of Christian government in Britain, which was moving towards equally legitimising a variety of Christian confessions.<sup>169</sup> It provided toleration with religious orthodoxy. This is an extremely important point that will be carefully examined in this thesis.

Atkinson points out how the Church Act has been often portrayed as something like a ‘diplomatic coup’ imposed by a skilful governor.<sup>170</sup> This thinking places the Act

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<sup>165</sup> David Eastwood, 'Robert Southey and the Intellectual Origins of Romantic Conservatism', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 411, 1989, p. 313.

<sup>166</sup> John R. Owen, *A History of the Moral Economy: Markets, Custom and the Philosophy of Popular Entitlement*, Melbourne, 2009.

<sup>167</sup> Kim Lawes, *Paternalism and Politics: The Revival of Paternalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London 2000.

<sup>168</sup> W. Nichol, 'Ideology in New South Wales', *Push*, Vol. 28, 1990, pp. 25-41.

<sup>169</sup> Atkinson, 'Reinventing Religion in Nineteenth-Century Australia'. p. 4; Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, Democracy, Vol. 2*, Melbourne, 2004, p. 193; Atkinson, 'Time, Place and Paternalism', pp. 16-17.

<sup>170</sup> Atkinson, 'Reinventing Religion in Nineteenth-Century Australia'. p. 7.

as part of moral enlightenment, portraying it primarily as a tool to enforce morality.<sup>171</sup> Roe integrated this interpretation into his thesis by emphasising the moral rather than the spiritual intentions of the Act, in order to reinforce his theory regarding the rising influence of secular culture and the victory of ‘true religion as against traditional religion’.<sup>172</sup> John Gascoigne leans to a secular interpretation, seeing the Act as part of Bourke’s instituting a Colonial Office policy of fostering institutions of civilization. He interprets Bourke’s aims as using the state to support religion, not to foster it. To him, the Irish School System was basically secular education that was supported by Bourke and Glenelg.<sup>173</sup> Hugh Jackson, working from the premise that a ‘secular attitude has always been predominant in white Australia’, presents the Church Act as Bourke ‘adopting the Whig philosophy that it would be best if the state did not have a religious conscience’.<sup>174</sup> Apart from misunderstanding Whig policy, this infers Bourke was some kind of Philosophical Radical. This thesis will challenge these interpretations by examining the Christian thought behind men such as Bourke and Glenelg and showing that the Church Act was designed to expand orthodox Christian belief in order to foster a Christian citizenship.

Naomi Turner, in *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare, State Aid in New South Wales, 1836-1862*, highlights the Act as an official recognition and symbol of toleration of other faiths, but interprets this as a means for Bourke to disestablish the Church of England so as to institute the Irish School System.<sup>175</sup> This is possible, but the scheme was instituted in Ireland without the disestablishment of a much more politically powerful body. More correctly, it did alter the nature of Church and State relations as it reorientated the policies instituted in the 1820s.<sup>176</sup> Border calls it revolutionising the Church and State relationship by including Catholics and other Protestants.<sup>177</sup> Pigginn also views it not as changing the relationship between Church and State, but as

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<sup>171</sup> Gregory, 'Popular religion', pp. 288-297.

<sup>172</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, pp. 6, 190-193, 202-3.

<sup>173</sup> Gascoigne, *Enlightenment and Australia*, pp. 30-32, 106.

<sup>174</sup> Jackson, 'White Man Got No Dreaming', p. 6.

<sup>175</sup> Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare: State Aid in New South Wales, 1836-1862*, Canberra, 1972, pp. 2-4.

<sup>176</sup> Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society', p. 96.

<sup>177</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp. 20-46.

modifying the alliance, thereby strengthening the Judeo-Christian culture of society.<sup>178</sup> Patricia Curthoys suggests Bourke saw it as a way to support organised religion that was unable to expand on a totally voluntary basis.<sup>179</sup> Cable also supports the idea of subsidising genuine religious effort in a denominational way, as does Barrett who points out that this served to make it more difficult for smaller sects to establish.<sup>180</sup> This thesis will demonstrate how the toleration embodied in the Church Act supported the liberal Anglican objective of expanding religion through existing organisational structures.

Richard Brent's *Liberal Anglican Politics* evaluates the effects of Anglicanism on Whiggery and liberalism in this period. It demonstrates a renewal in liberal Anglican religious devotion similar to Evangelicals and Tractarians. He sees the distinctive religious outlook of the Whig government in the 1830s as liberal Anglican, which, as part of their reform agenda, sought to make the Church more effective. Brent argues that the ideas produced by liberal Anglican elites were more influential on Whig policy than any other secular theories. Fundamental to this was the legitimacy of the Christian beliefs of Dissenters and Catholics, and their right to be included in the political nation. After 1834 much of the Whig reform agenda related to social issues, synthesised with the goals of Evangelicals, Dissenters and liberal Catholics. The 'young Whigs' Brent classes as liberal Anglican, such as Lords Russell, Morp, Howick, and Thomas Spring Rice. They combined with Evangelicals, George Grey, and Lords Glenelg and Althorp, to overtake the older Foxite generation and control the government in this period.<sup>181</sup> Liberal Whig policy viewed education as an agent to establish a liberal Anglican state, but this had to be acceptable to all Christian sects. Brown supports Brent, claiming the power of Philosophical Radicals was disjointed and disconnected. The dominant influence was liberal Anglicanism, which was driven by a strong Christian agenda by men sincere in their faith.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Piggan, *Evangelical Christianity*, pp. 29-32.

<sup>179</sup> Patricia Curthoys, 'State Support for Churches, 1836-1860', in Kaye, *Anglicanism in Australia*, p. 31.

<sup>180</sup> John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia, 1835-1850*, Melbourne, 1966, p. 34.

<sup>181</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 1-2, 26.

<sup>182</sup> Brown, *Church and State*, pp. 2-3, 6.



Jennifer Ridden's 'The Forgotten History of the Protestant Crusade: Religious Liberation in Ireland', traces the growth of liberal Anglicanism in Ireland in the 1820s and its opposition to the Second Reformation Movement's attempts to convert Catholics to Protestants. Liberal Anglicans' tolerated Catholicism and sought to create a harmonious society where Catholics and Protestants could co-exist. The liberal principles they promoted for political and social reform were framed by religious concepts and language, and were advanced by a network of gentry families characterised both by their piety and their liberal views.<sup>183</sup> Spring Rice and Richard Bourke were influential members of this group, and they opposed the High Church and Evangelical tendency to de-legitimise Catholic belief. In this period, an anonymous author under the pseudonym Athamik wrote a pamphlet outlining the liberal Anglican principle of achieving religious truth by common Christianity, and the belief that Catholics were not fit targets for Evangelical missions because they were already Christians.<sup>184</sup> Ridden cites strong evidence that Richard Bourke was the author of this work, which is confirmed by the research of this thesis.

Max Waugh's recent biography of Richard Bourke devotes little space to the Church Act, focusing more on Bourke's other reforms. Waugh glorifies Bourke as a civil rights and education reformer, recognising the role and impact of his devout Anglicanism.<sup>185</sup> This is at least a substantial addition to the earlier biography of Bourke by Hazel King,<sup>186</sup> which, as Jennifer Ridden has noted, concentrated on Bourke's military and colonial career rather than the cultural traditions that drove him. A lack of understanding of this dimension has attributed Bourke's actions to liberal ideas of a much later period.<sup>187</sup> By examining the private papers of Richard Bourke and his

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<sup>183</sup> Jennifer Ridden, 'The Forgotten History of the Protestant Crusade: Religious Liberation in Ireland', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2007, pp. 79, 82. See also Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 114, 297-303.

<sup>184</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820.

<sup>185</sup> Max Waugh, *Forgotten Hero: Richard Bourke, Irish Governor of New South Wales, 1831-1837*, Melbourne, 2005, pp. 20-34, 33-79.

<sup>186</sup> Hazel King, *Richard Bourke*, Melbourne, 1971.

<sup>187</sup> Jennifer Ridden, 'Richard Bourke's views on citizenship and education', *The Old Limerick Journal*, Winter, 1993, p. 7.

family, this thesis presents an even deeper insight into his beliefs to enable a reinterpretation of his church and school reforms in New South Wales.<sup>188</sup>

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The first chapter of this thesis will consider the Church Act in the context of wider British religious policy, examining its implementation from the perspectives of the major players, including Richard Bourke, the Colonial Office, and the various denominations that were influential in promoting or opposing the legislation. This has been done to simplify the complex interactions between the different interest groups in New South Wales and Britain. Chapter 2 looks specifically at Richard Bourke and pays particular attention to his religious beliefs. Similarly, in Chapters 3 and 5, the beliefs of William Broughton and J. D. Lang are considered when examining the impact of the Church Act on the Anglican and Presbyterian churches. Both these men are also important for their individual contribution in advancing or retarding the Church Act. In Chapter 4 the growth of the Catholic Church during Bourke's governorship is considered, along with how this influenced his church and schools policy. Chapter 6 evaluates the Colonial Office during this period to account for the delays in the approval of Bourke's reforms, and to better understand the motives of particular officials and politicians.

The later chapters of the thesis consider why the Act was introduced, and how this legislation sat in relation to the 'promotion' of morality. This allows the question of moral enlightenment to be contrasted against the motive to expand Christianity. Chapter 7 directly critiques Roe's theory of moral enlightenment and challenges its assumptions. The peculiar nature of New South Wales society will be considered in Chapter 8, along with how changing perceptions of morality influenced the way the colony was viewed and managed. Chapter 9 explains how the concept of a Christian

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<sup>188</sup> Bourke wrote to 'personal friends' in depth about matters that 'are hardly the description to be made the subject of a despatch'. Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L. Brad Gregory highlights the importance of reading various writings such as sermons and letters to understand theology rather than assume a theological theory and apply it to a subject. Brad S. Gregory, 'Can we "see things their way", Should we try?', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 32.

society and Christian citizenship was fundamental to the moral argument and the intention to expand religion through the major denominations using public revenue.

To remain faithful to the objective of ‘seeing things their way’, Part 1 contains significant quotes from primary sources. This assists in providing a substantial body of evidence to pursue the objectives of Part 2, which reappraises an entrenched historical orthodoxy. To do justice to the intentions of this thesis, a number of constraints have been put in place. First, the thesis focuses on New South Wales, though there is some use of Van Diemen’s Land Governor George Arthur’s personal correspondence with Bourke, Broughton and James Stephen. Second, I have held over discussion of missionary endeavours, such as those taking place at Wellington Valley and Moreton Bay. Also, a detailed analysis of the Methodist Church and other Dissenting congregations has been withheld, because in New South Wales these denominations were still a relatively minor influence in the period leading up to the Church Act. Most importantly, this thesis focuses on the social, intellectual and theological currents that were responsible for the creation and the approval of the Church Act. It will demonstrate that the Act was unique and its replication in other states of Australia and Canada is a testament to this fact. However, the question of the long-term impact of the Church Act on colonial Australia is another project.

The plaque on the statue of Richard Bourke outside the Mitchell Library in Sydney, carries the inscription: ‘He established religious equality on a just and firm basis and sought to provide for all, without distinction of sect’. Bourke failed to establish general education, but he was successful in providing religious equality, through the Church Act, and this remains his most enduring legacy. The principal aim of this thesis is to look at the motives and machinations behind its introduction.

## Chapter 1: The Church Act as part of the British religious reform process of the 1820s and 1830s

The New South Wales Church Act was part of a broader religious reform process that significantly shaped British political and social policy from the late 1820s. Repeal of the Test and Corporations Act and Catholic Emancipation caused a re-alignment of the political nation, and fostered expectations for further reform in the 1830s. This profoundly affected the colony of New South Wales, as attitudes to immigration, transportation, religion and morality shifted. The toleration embodied in the Church Act (NSW) was much more extensive than what was politically possible in Britain in the 1830s. This chapter places the Church Act within the British ecclesiastical reform process, to fully appreciate its significance, but also to provide a reference for future chapters when dealing with the constant interchange between Britain and the colony, especially in relation to the Colonial Office. This context is also important to better understand Richard Bourke, the architect of the Church Act, who was politically aligned to the reform process.

Parliamentary participation for Catholics and Dissenters was a triumph for religious liberty in Britain and heralded the beginning of the reform movement, which divided the Tories and revitalised the Whigs. The seventeenth-century ‘Glorious Revolution’ settlement had excluded Catholics and Dissenters from political and civil power. The Toleration Act (1688) recognised the right of Dissenters to conduct religious worship, but reduced their civil and political status, partly to keep the Presbyterian polity out of the post civil war Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The Corporation Act (1661) and Test Act (1673) meant that those who refused to receive Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England were debarred from Municipal Council appointments.<sup>2</sup> This was a constant grievance of Dissenting congregations, which included Independents, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Unitarians, commonly referred to as old Dissent. In the nineteenth century Evangelicalism impacted on these movements and aligned them with new Dissenting groups such as Methodists.

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<sup>1</sup> Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833*, London, 1961, pp. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

In 1811 Lord Sidmouth, prompted by a lobby of Anglican clergymen, introduced a Bill in the Commons, effectively requiring preachers to be licensed by a magistrate, principally to crack down on Methodist ‘cobbler, tailor and pig drover preachers’. It also contained wording that allowed people to be prosecuted for simply having an ‘unlicensed’ prayer meeting in a private home. This prompted an alliance between old and new Dissent to fight the legislation as an attack on religious and civil freedom. The massive backlash it created influenced many Evangelical and liberal Anglicans to support the cause.<sup>3</sup> In the wake of the Bill’s defeat a Relief Act was passed the following year, granting concessions to restrictions required for registering places of worship. Also, in 1813, William Smith, a parliamentary advocate of civil equality, obtained passage of a bill granting toleration to Unitarians. In the same year Dissenters and Evangelical Anglicans successfully lobbied to break the East India Company’s charter restricting the sending of missionaries to India.<sup>4</sup> These events highlight the growing political strength of Evangelicals combined with old Dissent.

Dissenters found a new voice in the 1820s. Publications such as the *Evangelical Magazine* and *Eclectic Review*, advanced the cause of religious freedom. This confidence was also expressed politically. William Smith led a substantial lobby as leader of the Dissenting Deputies, which contained some of the most able lawyers in London. Their arguments for toleration were founded on the fundamental Protestant principal of the right of every Christian to read the Bible and act upon its teachings. In 1827 a United Committee representing all Dissenters came to London to present Parliament with 2,500 petitions supporting repeal.<sup>5</sup> Lord John Russell introduced the legislation using the argument that civil prejudice squandered talent, and the Canningite faction in the Tory government supported the legislation.<sup>6</sup> This convinced the Duke of Wellington’s cabinet to submit to the passing of the Repeal of the Test and

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<sup>3</sup> Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters, Vol. II*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 369-371; W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850*, London, 1972, pp. 56-58.

<sup>4</sup> G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 14-15; Raymond G. Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent: The Religious Aspect of Liberal Humanitarian Reform Movements from 1815 to 1848*, London, 1959, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent*, pp. 20-21, 29, 30; G. I. T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820 to 1830*, Oxford, 1964, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> This was a liberal faction led by George Canning. It included Lord Goderich and Charles Grant.

Corporation Act, which satisfied Dissenters' claims for religious equality in Parliament.<sup>7</sup> The Bill passed with a large majority in the Commons after Sir Robert Peel forced a concession to protect the privilege of the Church. Russell saw the passage as part of the duty of a liberal aristocracy to combine liberty with order, while Lord Grey thought it a major breakthrough against bigotry and prejudice.<sup>8</sup>

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Catholic Emancipation was a controversial move that ignited passionate religious and nationalistic prejudices. Its implementation was not a result of political pressure, but a measure to avert revolution in Ireland. The Franchise Act (1793) had given Catholics the right to vote but not the right to sit in Parliament. In Ireland, Catholic democratic nationalism was focused primarily on economic grievances, especially paying tithes to the Anglican Church and excessive rents to the middlemen of absentee landlords.<sup>9</sup> Many had supported the Irish Act of Union (1800) believing the English Parliament would be more sympathetic to their grievances than the Irish Protestant Parliament. The Union pushed the Irish issue into the British political sphere, with the issue of Emancipation constantly being promoted.<sup>10</sup>

In 1822 a government pamphlet called *State of the Nation* dedicated two thirds of its section on Home Office affairs to Ireland. Irish problems stemmed from resentment at the lack of industry and education, at a time when overpopulation was causing underemployment and pressure on semi-subsistence rural practices. Ireland lacked resident, benevolent and paternal aristocrats, as well as a Poor Law, which in England had replaced the welfare void left by the dissolution of the monasteries. This left the Irish poor in a vulnerable position and fostered discontent. Secret nationalist brotherhoods, such as the Ribbonism and Rockism movements, thrived on economic

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<sup>7</sup> Machin, *Catholic Question*, p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> *Handsard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. xviii*, p. 708-710, in *Ibid.*, p. 113; Watts, *Dissenters*, pp. 423-424.

<sup>9</sup> Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine and Emigration*, New York, 1995, pp. 28-33; George Rude, *Protest and Punishment: The Story of the Social and Political Protesters Transported to Australia*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 106-108.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, London, 1991, p. 126; Machin, *Catholic Question*, p. 12.

and religious grievances in the 1820s and 1830s and terrorised the Protestant population.<sup>11</sup> But more threatening to the Protestant elite was the Catholic Association, founded in 1823 by Daniel O’Connell. By 1825 it had become a significant movement, funded by contributions collected by the priest in each parish. It unified a wide section of Irish society from peasants to elites around a common cause, which antagonised Protestant Orange Societies, bringing Ireland to the brink of civil war.<sup>12</sup> The Marquess of Anglesey, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a practical military man, advised the equally practical Wellington that Emancipation would diffuse the tension.<sup>13</sup>

Politically, Dissenters and Catholics had supported each other’s claims for toleration. The ‘Committee of Three Dominations’, representing English Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, passed a motion supporting Emancipation, while influential English Catholic priests advanced Catholic claims on the premise of religious liberty.<sup>14</sup> Many influential Evangelicals, including the Clapham Sect and Thomas Chalmers, supported Emancipation on the same principle of toleration, with Chalmers claiming it had the support of the intellectual elite in Edinburgh.<sup>15</sup>

The issue of Emancipation had been thwarted in the past by the strength of Lord Liverpool’s hold on the Tory government (1812-1827), and the resolve of King George III.<sup>16</sup> After the King’s death in 1820, and Liverpool’s becoming debilitated by a stroke in 1827, the pro-Anglican faction was taken over by Lord Eldon, who was unable to resist the rise of pro-Catholic George Canning in the party. Canning’s sudden death in August 1827 saw the leadership pass to Frederick Robinson (now Lord Goderich, after his appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies). But Goderich was unable to maintain government and in January 1828 George IV called on the Tory alliance of Wellington and Peel to govern. In 1829 the Catholic Association was organising infantry and cavalry units, combined with protests around Ireland, including

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<sup>11</sup> Norman Gash, *Pillars of Government and Other Essays on State and Society, 1768-1880*, London, 1986, pp. 38-39.

<sup>12</sup> J. H. Hexter, 'The Protestant Revival and the Catholic Question in England', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1936, p. 302; Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Sociological Study*, Dublin, 1983, pp. 179-186.

<sup>13</sup> Machin, *Catholic Question*, p. 127.

<sup>14</sup> John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, Oxford, 1991, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Machin, *Catholic Question*, p. 149.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 21.

one where a reported 50,000 peasants protested for three days. Wellington and Peel undertook a campaign to convince the king and the bishops in the Lords that the situation was grave.<sup>17</sup> The crunch came when the increasingly popular Daniel O'Connell was elected to Parliament in the seat of Clare, despite a vigorous campaign by the Protestant establishment. This demonstrated his power and resolve, and created a difficult political dilemma. The Duke of Cumberland rushed back from Germany to convince his brother the King to oppose Wellington and destroy the Emancipation Bill.<sup>18</sup> The issue unglued the Tory alliance and heralded a major victory of the Commons over the Lords. Catholic Emancipation demonstrated the pragmatism of Wellington in seeking to stabilise the Irish issue in the face of opposition from the Church, the King, Tory Ultras, and the majority of the people. It was a watershed moment that allowed Catholics to be appointed to political and civil positions, both in Britain and its colonies, including New South Wales.

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Emancipation saw the Lords 'spiritual' pursue a purely Anglican agenda and vote against the direction of the elected ministers, which fostered a rift between the Church and the Tory party.<sup>19</sup> The Reform Bill (1831) again saw the bishops combine to block a bill that had even more popular support. This event called into question the whole Church and State relationship, and created a public backlash against the privilege of the Church, as it was perceived as hindering the greater good, and the will of the people.<sup>20</sup>

The public campaign for reform was especially strong in industrial growth areas such as Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds, which were under-represented and contained a high proportion of non-Anglican voters.<sup>21</sup> In 1819 the Birmingham Political Union was formed, with broad based support from artisans, manufacturers,

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<sup>17</sup> Clyde J. Lewis, 'The Disintegration of the Tory-Anglican Alliance in the Struggle for Catholic Emancipation', *Church History*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1960, pp. 26, 32, 36-39.

<sup>18</sup> Machin, *Catholic Question*, pp. 137, 178.

<sup>19</sup> The Lords spiritual is a term for the bishops who sit in the House of Lords. Their support was essential, but they usually voted with the government, especially the Tories.

<sup>20</sup> Cowherd, *Politics of English Dissent*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.



bankers and merchants who desired to extend the voting franchise to the educated artisan class, de-franchise rotten (small) boroughs dominated by the Tories, and increase the representation of industrial and urban centres.<sup>22</sup> Voters in British elections only represented a small minority of the population, but the process of reform was still seen as legitimising the power of elites by providing public endorsement. Men were not directly pressured in their voting, but land owners made known their preference and often favours or even payments secured a vote, even in large boroughs containing more independent retailers and craftsmen. People generally voted communally, in line with some political, social or economic superior, rather than in class cohesion, but they were certainly influenced by association with a church, chapel or other network.<sup>23</sup> The confidence in this social cohesion made limited reform politically possible in the 1830s.

In the post Waterloo period, a number of young influential Whigs believed it was necessary to expand the franchise for the constitutional system to remain legitimate.<sup>24</sup> They shared the traditional Whig belief that they were the guardians of parliamentary authority and saw the 1817 Peterloo crackdown as part of European monarchical revival. This caused powerful senior Whigs, Lords Grey and Holland, to combine with the younger Lords Russell, Althorp, Tavistock and Milton to embrace reform as an alliance of the Whigs with the pro-Reform movement.<sup>25</sup> In ushering in the

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<sup>22</sup> G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, London, 1962, p. 125; Brown, *Church and State*, pp. 215-216.

<sup>23</sup> Frank O'Gorman, 'Electoral Deference in "Unreformed" England: 1760-1832', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 56, No. 3, 1984, pp. 393-394, 405.

<sup>24</sup> These included Lords Althorp, Russell and Milton, heir to the Marquis of Rockingham, the largest landowner in British politics. John Milton-Smith, 'Earl Grey's Cabinet and the Objects of Parliamentary Reform', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1972, p. 64.

<sup>25</sup> The removal of Lord Fitzwilliam, Milton's father, by the Tories over his handling of Peterloo caused a major offence to powerful Whigs. O'Gorman, 'Electoral Deference', pp. 443, 458. The Fitzwilliam family had interesting connections to New South Wales in the 1830s. W. C. Wentworth is related to them through his father and Richard Bourke had close personal, family and ideological connections as they were the patrons of his uncle, Edmund Bourke. Before he came to New South Wales Bourke was regularly in contact with Lord Fitzwilliam. Also Roger Therry had connections to the family. See E. O'Brien, *Life and Letters of Archpriest, John Joseph Therry: Founder of the Catholic Church in Australia*, Sydney, 1922, pp. 127-130. On the Peterloo riots see, E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York, 1966, pp. 277-280.

Reform Bill, Grey believed he was acting with the will of the people.<sup>26</sup> These men were not ‘radicals’ but part of the most prestigious aristocratic families in Britain, and members of the Church of England. They believed change was essential to maintain localised harmony, and this became more urgent after the Swing Riots and the French revolt in 1830, which forced aristocratic elites to address the danger of a radical alliance of working men and the middle class.<sup>27</sup> This was reinforced by massive protests over the initial blockage of reform, which saw 80,000 people protest in Manchester and 200,000 in Birmingham, both areas of overcrowding and poverty.<sup>28</sup>

The Reform Bill increased the franchise from 366,250 to 652,777 men, but 123 electorates still had fewer than 1,000 votes, and 70-80% of the MPs in the new Parliament were elected representing traditional landed interests.<sup>29</sup> John Fielden celebrated the passage of the Reform Bill by holding an open-air dinner at his Todmorden mill for his 3,000 employees. He became one of eight Unitarians elected to Parliament post-reform in a total of twelve Dissenters.<sup>30</sup> This election increased the Whig’s political power and provided an electoral mandate to undertake further reform, as the extended franchise included a greater number of Dissenters and Evangelicals from the middle classes. However, their expectation for change did not always measure up to what was politically possible or desirable.

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In the early years of Grey’s Whig government, ecclesiastical reform was central to their programme, in particular reforms to the Church of Ireland and concessions to Dissenters. This was significant for New South Wales, because the changes to religion and education policy sought by Richard Bourke were consistent with its objectives and the broader reform movement. In October 1832 Grey notified the bishops that they

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<sup>26</sup> A number of these Whigs represented industrial centres, especially Milton member for the massive industrial West Riding constituency. Milton-Smith, 'Earl Grey', p. 56.

<sup>27</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, London, 1964, p. 23; E. J. Hobsbawm and George Rude, *Captain Swing*, New York, 1975, pp. 297-299; Brown, *Church and State*, p. 214.

<sup>28</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 430.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, *Church and State*, p. 227.

<sup>30</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, pp. 431, 497.

were to develop a plan to reform the Church of England.<sup>31</sup> The Whigs did not seek to disestablish the Church as the official appendage of the State, but they did desire change. In the wider Anglican movement there was an impetus for restructuring to expand the Church's influence over the lower orders, especially in the new industrial areas, instead of supporting elite clerical lifestyles.<sup>32</sup> The excessive wealth of the senior clergy was placed under scrutiny. For example, the Bishops of Canterbury and Durham each received over £19,000, while most bishops received from £4,500 to £5,000 a year. Meanwhile, there were hardworking curates receiving as little as £80.<sup>33</sup> When English monasteries were dissolved over 40% of clerical benefices became endowed to laymen, who then received the right of tithes.<sup>34</sup> The owner of any benefice had the right to appoint a curate on an income, meaning the original intention of the tithe from Saxon times to support the minister and the poor was controlled by an incumbent or lay holder who may not even reside in the parish.<sup>35</sup>

The parish structure itself, which was also primarily formed in the Saxon period, had become in dire need of reform. The acute lack of clergy in New South Wales was no worse than many English growth areas, such as the parish of Leeds, whose population had increased to 123,000.<sup>36</sup> The Church had been attempting internal reform and the government had poured significant sums of public money into subsidising church building projects, which could be viewed as an early model of the plan introduced into New South Wales in 1836. From 1818 to 1825, over £1,500,000 was spent in assisting the building of 276 Anglican churches.<sup>37</sup> The worst excesses of pluralism had been addressed, but in 1832 only 3,853 clergy out of 12,000 held only one title, and due to the extent of lay tithe holding, lay-controlled patronage of

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<sup>31</sup> Grey to Howley, 17 October 1832, Grey Papers, in Machin, *Politics and Churches*, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London, 1966, p. 130.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101. This puts William Broughton's £2,000 income in New South Wales into some perspective.

<sup>34</sup> A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, London, 1976, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *British Parliamentary Papers, Population, Vol. 10: 1851 Census Great Britain: Report and Tables on Religious Worship, England and Wales*, Dublin, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> Gash, *Pillars*, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> Machin, *Politics and Churches*, p. 92.

ministers was widespread.<sup>38</sup> The need for reform gained widespread political and public momentum, with even conservatives pushing the Church to institute reform, but Dissenters, and liberal and Evangelical Anglicans believed the Parliament, technically the governing body of the Church, needed to instigate more rigorous reform.

In 1832 the Whig government set up the Ecclesiastical Revenue Commission to examine the financial status of the Church, but it still had not made any findings when the Whigs were dismissed in 1834.<sup>39</sup> Robert Peel, the incoming Tory leader, replaced it with the Ecclesiastical Commission, which gave the Church more power in determining the process of reform. However, by including reformers, such as Bishop Blomfield, a real impetus was created to promote a more spiritual clergy, with a greater focus on pastoral and education work over secular roles such as being magistrates.<sup>40</sup> Apart from the need to restore its legitimacy and popularity in wider society, the spiritual renewal engendered from the High Church Tractarians to the Evangelicals gave reform grass roots acceptance. This was the religious environment New South Wales Archdeacon, William Broughton, encountered when he arrived back in England late 1834. The pragmatism, purpose and practical assistance it provided will be examined in detail in Chapter 3.

After the 1835 election, the Whigs under Lord Melbourne regained power with the liberal Anglican faction gaining dominance in the party. In this period the Colonial Office approved Bourke's Church Act, and a number of significant religious reforms were implemented in Britain, all within the parameters of the Commissions' recommendations. These included the Established Church Act (1836), which attempted to regulate stipends and create new stipends in populated areas; the Plurality Act (1838), which limited the number of benefices one person could hold to two, increased the power of bishops to enforce residence and demand the clergy to perform a

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<sup>38</sup> C. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England, 1770-1970*, Oxford, 1976, p. 91; David Hempton, *Religion and political culture in Britain and Ireland, from the Glorious Revolution to the decline of empire* Cambridge, 1996, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Brown, *Church and State*, p. 430. It should be noted that the dismissal of Melbourne by William IV was the last occasion a monarch dared to dismiss a government that possessed the confidence of the House and the electorate.

<sup>40</sup> G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England, 1832-1885: A study in the development of social ideas and practice from the Old Regime to the modern state*, London, 1973, p. 51; W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 206.

minimum of two services on Sunday; the Tithe Act (1836), which commuted the tithe to a regulated money payment; the Marriage and Registration Acts (1836), which reduced the restrictions placed on Catholics and Dissenters in conducting marriages.<sup>41</sup> These reforms had been discussed and debated since the eighteenth century as ways of making the Church more effective in countering opposition from growing Dissenting and Evangelical movements.<sup>42</sup> What is significant is that the post-1835 Whig government had the political will, as well as the desire, to implement them.

It is realistic to consider the Church Act (NSW) as simply being part of this reform process, as it did fulfil the criteria for change identified by the Ecclesiastical Commission and lobbied for by Dissenters. However, only by examining the political fallout over Irish Church reform, and the resulting explosion of anti-Catholicism, can the real significance of the Church Act be appreciated.

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The abuses inherent in the English Church were magnified in the Church of Ireland, primarily because it serviced only 5-10% of the Irish population. Non-residence was rife, especially in the senior hierarchy, and over 10% of the benefices did not even have a church building.<sup>43</sup> The widespread refusal to pay tithes, by both Catholics and Presbyterians, was a major source of political and social grievance. The two issues targeted by the Whigs were reform of the ecclesiastical structure, and the appropriation of Church revenue to service a wider sector of the population. In many respects this was not dissimilar to what Bourke proposed in New South Wales. Lord Stanley, when Chief Secretary of Ireland, would not support Church revenue allocated for secular purposes, but did consider allocating some money to the Catholic clergy, while Lords Russell, Althorp and Durham wanted the money to benefit the whole of society through education, and though this idea gained some support, the party considered it untenable.<sup>44</sup> What was finally proposed in the Irish Church Act in 1833 was primarily

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<sup>41</sup> All these Acts are described in detail in Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 132-144.

<sup>42</sup> Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841*, Oxford, 1987, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Machin, *Politics and Churches*, p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> Stanley to Grey, 4 August 1832, in *ibid.*, pp. 30-34.

ecclesiastical reform, where ten Irish bishoprics and Irish 'cess', or Church Rates, were to be abolished, but tithes remained. This Bill caused John Keble to preach his famous 'National Apostasy' sermon, which is seen as the formal beginning of the Oxford Movement.<sup>45</sup> The establishment saw reform in Ireland as a prelude to similar measures in England, and condemned it as the laity of the Church meddling with God ordained Apostolic Succession.<sup>46</sup>

A critical aspect of the reform process was that many Whigs rejected the sacredness of the Church. It was felt that the Church was unable to fulfil its responsibility in providing religious and moral instruction to the whole of society, especially in Ireland where it dealt with an overwhelming Catholic majority.<sup>47</sup> The Catholic clergy supported finance being allocated to a general education system, as Protestant schools were seen as vehicles for proselytism.<sup>48</sup> This shaped the way Richard Bourke viewed education and his ideas will be fully explored in the next chapter. The Irish appropriation issue had a great deal of backbench support and key Evangelical leader, Lord Ebringham, aligned with the Whig radicals to overcome Grey's procrastination on the issue.<sup>49</sup> Lord Howick, Grey's heir and politically aligned to Bourke's close friend Thomas Spring Rice, went as far as to propose that the Catholic Church should be the established religion in Ireland.<sup>50</sup>

The Irish issue became politically lethal for the Whigs when a further plan to redistribute tithe money in Ireland was criticised as creating a dangerous precedent. Tithes were recognised as a major Irish grievance. Richard Whately, appointed by Grey as Archbishop of Dublin, favoured tithe money being redistributed to the Catholic clergy to assist the general advancement of religion.<sup>51</sup> This was a very early endorsement by a senior Anglican of what Bourke proposed in New South Wales. Whately's comments followed an incident in Graigue, on the boarder of Carlow and Kilkenny, when in 1831 a Catholic priest refused to pay his tithes to an Anglican

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<sup>45</sup> Kitson Clark, *Churchmen*, p. 82; Brown, *Church and State*, p. 433.

<sup>46</sup> Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 54.

<sup>47</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, p. 66.

<sup>48</sup> Keenan, *Catholic Church*, pp. 173-179, 202.

<sup>49</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, p. 73.

<sup>50</sup> Howick to Sir James Graham, in Machin, *Politics and Churches*, p. 29.

<sup>51</sup> Whatlely to Grey, Sept 1831, in Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 53.

curate who subsequently had his horse confiscated. This resulted in the local peasants also refusing to pay their tithes. The local magistrate collected a force of 350 police and twenty-one soldiers and surrounded Graigue in a siege that lasted three weeks. A few months later a similar incident occurred at Newtonbury, when the confiscation of cattle resulted in violence that killed ten peasants and wounded many more.<sup>52</sup> Tithes were levied on farmers, including peasants, based on the tillage of crops calculated as 'in kind value', usually collected by absentee clergy.<sup>53</sup> The issue drew peasants into an alliance with the priests and the middle-class in the 1820s and remained unresolved post-Emancipation. Irish historian Desmond Keenan claims a 'spontaneous resistance' to paying tithes was rekindled in the 1830s, with priests supportive of the action.<sup>54</sup>

Richard Bourke, an Irish landlord, had strong personal views on this subject. When he left for New South Wales he must have been well aware of the strong political will amongst Whigs, Radicals and Catholics in Parliament to spread the endowments of the Irish Church to benefit wider society and to help stabilise the Irish situation. In this respect, his proposal for religion and education in New South Wales was very much in keeping with the British government's policy framework at this time. However, in 1834 the issue split the Whig ministry when Stanley and James Graham resigned, which prompted Grey to step down.<sup>55</sup> Grey was against O'Connell's Catholic faction and Lord Brougham's radical Whigs. The division split the party into Grey's Foxites, Russell and the liberal Anglicans, and Stanley with about thirty supporters, who took a religiously conservative, anti-radical stance.<sup>56</sup> Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister and appointed Russell as leader of the Commons, a move that was very unpopular with King William IV, who took the dramatic step of dismissing the Whig government in 1834, principally due to his opposition to their Irish Church policy.<sup>57</sup> We will see in the following chapters how these events caused Bourke's

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>53</sup> Todd B. Quinlan, 'Big Whigs in the Mobilization of the Irish Peasants: An Historical Sociology of Hegemony in Prefamine Ireland (1750-1840)', *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1998, p. 256.

<sup>54</sup> Keenan, *Catholic Church*, p. 199. Tithe disputes in the 1830s saw increased numbers of Irish Catholics transported to New South Wales. Rude, *Protest and Punishment*, pp. 106-108.

<sup>55</sup> Cowherd, *Politics of English Dissent*, p. 89.

<sup>56</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> Gash, *Pillars*, p. 20.

reforms in New South Wales to languish in the Colonial Office until after the 1835 election.

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The Irish Church issue produced a widespread campaign of ‘No popery’ directed against the Whigs in the 1835 election, when opponents exploited the English patriotic belief that their national success was ordained by Godly providence resulting from their Protestantism, while Ireland’s backwardness was related to their Catholicism and superstitious priestly domination.<sup>58</sup> Awareness of this phenomenon is important for any consideration of New South Wales, not just because it highlights the liberality of the Church Act at this time, but because it helps explain the increased sectarianism in the colony in the 1830s, which to a certain extent was imported by immigration, and British sectarian ideas hardening the attitudes of local religious elites, especially Broughton and J. D. Lang who visited England in this period.

Apart from the theological arguments of the Oxford Movement, and the ideological arguments of paternalists, there was a grass roots political campaign around the Church and State issue that rekindled Irish prejudice, and produced a local alliance between extreme Evangelicalism and the High Church. The *Record* warned that the established churches of England and Scotland’s providential roles of advancing Protestantism in Britain and around the Empire were in danger. On the other hand, liberal Anglicans and moderate Evangelicals believed that Catholics would only become Protestants by conciliation, or that they were already redeemed Christians.<sup>59</sup> This was a very important and divisive argument, and one that was of personal significance to Richard Bourke and critical to the Church Act (as explained in the following Chapter). In England sectarianism was strongest in areas where Catholic Irish arrived looking for work, as they were further demonised for causing underemployment.<sup>60</sup> Also, from 1834 *The Times* took a very anti-Catholic and anti-liberal stand, portraying O’Connell as a danger to the establishment and English

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<sup>58</sup> Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 7; Scally, *End of Hidden Ireland*, pp. 208-210.

<sup>59</sup> Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 41, 78-82.

<sup>60</sup> D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from 1730 to 1980s*, London, 1989, p. 101.



values.<sup>61</sup> There were vested interests in Ireland naturally opposed to Irish concessions, but the British Protestant masses displayed a more irrational prejudice.<sup>62</sup> Many of the articles from *The Times* were reprinted in the *Sydney Herald* with Bourke's governorship being aligned with O'Connellite radicalism, something he opposed politically and socially.

The Protestant Association portrayed the extreme aspects of Catholic belief as typical of the religion as a whole, and likened the British state to Old Testament Israel; God's chosen people.<sup>63</sup> These concepts were used by both Broughton and Lang in representing their Protestant mission in New South Wales. The Reformation Society undertook localised campaigns to keep Catholics out of political power, and participated in a number of highly publicised debates against prominent Catholic clergy, who refuted Protestant claims that all Catholics worshipped images and saints. In 1831 the *Catholic Magazine* was launched to publicise these views, and to counter the Reformation Society's re-release of *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* and Isaac Milner's *History of the Church of Christ*, which highlighted the historical conflict of Protestants against Rome. The intense nature of this propaganda and public opinion was said to have affected King William's decision to dismiss the government.<sup>64</sup> In 1832 his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, and other Lords attempted to reinvigorate Orange Lodges in England to unite upper and lower classes around the issue. The evangelistic mission of the Hibernian Bible Society in Ireland was expanded, after gaining additional support from the High Church. Their preachers treated the Irish as black African heathens needing salvation, causing serious offence to nationalists like O'Connell, who was a liberal Benthamite but also a devout Catholic.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Lawrence J. McCaffery, 'Irish Nationalism and Irish Catholicism: A Study in Cultural Identity', *Church History*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 1973, p. 525

<sup>62</sup> In 1832 two meetings in Exeter Hall, London, protested against plans for Church reform in Ireland. In 1835 two further meetings revived the issue and the Protestant Association was formed to uphold the values of Protestant Britain. Hexter, 'The Protestant Revival', p. 317.

<sup>63</sup> Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 110, 128.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-57, 80-82. The Reformation Society was a British society for promoting the principles of the Reformation. It had local branches throughout Britain.

<sup>65</sup> The relationship between Jeremy Bentham, ideological father of Utilitarianism, and O'Connell was close and often turbulent, especially regarding O'Connell's staunch Catholicism. James E. Grimmins, 'Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O'Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1997, pp. 359-387.

The period preceding the implementation of the Church Act (NSW) saw the most intense anti-Catholic movement since the seventeenth century. Primarily, it was a response to Catholic political and civil emancipation, but this was intensified by the attempt to redistribute the tithe money of the Anglican Church in Ireland for the benefit of the wider community. The important point is that even though much of this money was from Catholic people, who were forced by law to pay tithes to the Anglican Church, the political ability to redistribute a portion to assist Catholics was unattainable in England and Ireland, but it became a reality in New South Wales. Unlike Britain, the money in New South Wales was derived from public tax revenue, yet there was relatively little opposition to Bourke distributing a significant portion to expand religion, including Catholicism.

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In English politics, political Dissent was a driving force in countering religious inequality. It became a liberalising energy that synergised with liberal Anglicans, Catholics and Radicals to reform the institutions of the *ancien regime*, such as universities, Municipal Corporations, civil appointments, colonial administration, the Poor Laws and criminal law. In 1833 the Protestant Society, the Dissenting Deputies, and other denominational bodies formed a ‘United Committee’ to lobby for the repeal of religious penalties.<sup>66</sup> Dissenters and Catholics overwhelmingly voted for Whig or Radical candidates, and this alliance maintained the Whig’s hold on power.<sup>67</sup> As a result, after the 1835 election this Protestant coalition threatened Melbourne and Russell with electoral backlash if their reforms were not advanced.<sup>68</sup> Their main grievances related to their exclusion from Municipal Corporations, the requirement to register births and marriages in parish churches, the payment of Church Rates, and their exclusion from the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge unless they pledged allegiance to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

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<sup>66</sup> Cowherd, *Politics of English Dissent*, p. 88.

<sup>67</sup> Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the Working-Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London, 1984, p. 39; Ian Sellers, *Nineteenth-Century Nonconformity*, London, 1977, p. 69.

<sup>68</sup> J. P. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868*, University Park, 1994, pp. 32-33, 50.

Exclusion from Oxford and Cambridge had channelled Dissenters into their own academies and Scottish Universities. The classical education of the Anglican gentleman was in contrast to the more pragmatic Dissenter, whose philosophy regarded religious and economic freedom as a natural right.<sup>69</sup> Their allegiance to a chapel gave them a social network that favoured an ideological framework of voluntarism. Moderates aligned with the Whigs for practical redress, but militants lobbied for a complete overthrow of the Church and State relationship. This was particularly strong in the industrial north, especially among the newly enfranchised middle-class who had become disenchanted with the liberal Anglican stranglehold over Whig power.<sup>70</sup>

Liberal Anglicans, such as Melbourne, were usually part of Holland House, a political club established by Lord Holland to advocate for civil and religious liberty in memory of the great Whig statesman Charles James Fox (1749-1806). These men were more known for their pragmatism and indifference than their religious devotion, and their principles have formed the basis of many historical interpretations of Whig thought in this period. The 'young Whigs', led by Russell, included liberal Anglicans and Evangelicals such as George Grey, and Lords Glenelg, Ebringham, Althorp and Radnor. These men had been long-term advocates of religious liberty and humanitarian causes, and held strong Christian beliefs.<sup>71</sup> Both groups believed in reform to maintain social stability, as long as it did not undermine the Church establishment.<sup>72</sup> Legislation such as the Municipal Corporation Act (1836), the Civil Registration and Marriage Act (1836), and the ability of the University of London to confer degrees appeased Dissenters, but the government could not pass legislation to break Oxford and Cambridge's Anglican domination, or more importantly to settle the contentious issue of Church Rates.

Just as in Ireland, Church Rates were levied on ratepayers for parish Church repairs, the salary of clerks, and for the provision of sacramental objects such as bread,

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<sup>69</sup> J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Harmondsworth, 1950, p. 34.

<sup>70</sup> Ellens, *Religious Routes*, pp. 20, 43.

<sup>71</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 104-125, 142.

<sup>72</sup> Cowherd, *Politics of English Dissent*, p. 74; Brown, *Church and State*, p. 242.

wine, bells, prayer books and organs.<sup>73</sup> This went to the heart of Dissenters' theological opposition to sacramental Christianity, and their ideological belief in voluntarism. Apart from this expense, they had to build and maintain their own places of worship, and with the growth of Anglican churches in the 1820s, funded by taxpayers, the burden had increased. During 1835 and 1836 an increased number of people refused to pay their rates, and in May 1835 a prosperous Congregational printer became a symbol of religious discrimination when he was imprisoned. The issue could not be resolved because the Whig's proposal consisted of the Church Rate being replaced by a land tax of £250,000 to support parish churches, which Dissenters found objectionable. By not supporting the legislation the issue stalled, as Russell was adamant that Parliament would maintain its obligation to the national Church.<sup>74</sup>

The main point to stress here is that voluntarism, while in tune with the *laissez-faire* ideas of Political Economy, that were becoming increasingly influential in social and economic policy, did not form part of the church reform agenda of the Whigs. The process of religious tolerance advanced by Dissenters did not extend to the government undermining the strength of the Church. Church Rate action was acceptable in the reform context, but when Dissent propaganda promoted it as a step to disestablishment it was discarded.<sup>75</sup> This presents some interesting considerations. Voluntarism, strongly promoted by many groups, was not necessarily a liberal 'trend', as the Whig government was committed to funding the Anglican Church in Britain, making the Church Act (NSW) entirely consistent with this. The policy in New South Wales combined this principle of public support for the Church with religious toleration, stemming from a theological acceptance of Catholics as fellow Christians by an influential group of decision makers in 1836. This was not a popular concept in British Protestant thought, but it was deemed necessary to expand Christianity and foster morality in New South Wales.

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<sup>73</sup> Machin, *Politics and Churches*, p. 18.

<sup>74</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. xxviii, 25 May 1835, in Ellens, *Religious Routes*, pp. 51-54, 62-63.

<sup>75</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 9, 14.

Richard Brent has highlighted the effect Anglicanism played on Whiggery and Liberalism in this period, and also that Whigs were not immune from the effects of nineteenth-century Christian renewal.<sup>76</sup> There has been significant focus on the influence of Anglican thought on the renewal of Tory paternalism against the forces of liberalism, Catholicism, the influence of Political Economy, and *laissez faire* individualism.<sup>77</sup> Brent disagrees with historians such as Sir Leslie Stephens and G. F. A. Best, who see political liberalism as dispensing with Christianity. They portray the Whigs as being generally indifferent to religion and influenced primarily by the Scottish Enlightenment, and undertaking reform for the purely pragmatic reason of maintaining the political support of Catholics, Dissenters and Radicals.<sup>78</sup> Brent sees the Whig governments of the 1830s as having a distinctive religious outlook, which inclined them to embark on reform of the Church to make it a more efficient propagator of Christian truth.<sup>79</sup> Russell wrote in *The Causes of the French Revolution* that ‘the morality of a nation is intimately connected with its religion’, and to Brent this was the preoccupation of liberal Anglican Whigs.<sup>80</sup> As well as religious policy, the desire of establishing a moral social foundation is evident in a range of their policies that encompassed poor relief, health, prisons and education.

This focus on morality in policy direction can be especially seen in the Whig government’s attitude to New South Wales, with opposition to transportation shifting from mainly humanitarian concerns or its failure to deter crime, to a concentration on its inability to reform a man’s morals, and its part in the moral corruption of the whole of colonial society. This was the contention of the Select Committee on Transportation (1837-38), and a conception fostered by colonial ‘Exclusives’ seeking to delay

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2, 67.

<sup>77</sup> Kim Lawes, *Paternalism and Politics: The Revival of Paternalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London, 2000, p. 32; David Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England*, London, 1979, pp. 3-5, 39-49; Ellens, *Religious Routes*, p. 67.

<sup>78</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 1-2. Jonathon Clark also claims historians like Stephen concentrated on the Foxites. J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. ix, 9-10.

<sup>79</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, p. 1-2.

<sup>80</sup> J. Russell, *The Causes of the French Revolution*, London, 1832, p. 129; Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 59, 63.

increased representative government in the colony.<sup>81</sup> The main accusation was that the apparent ‘worldly’ reformation of an ex-convict did not necessarily mean his internal morals were changed. This idea became a priority in various Select Commissions that examined crime and punishment.<sup>82</sup> Whether they were considering gaols, hulks or transportation, the aim was to find a system that provided real moral regeneration.<sup>83</sup> Michael Roe has attributed these movements to moral enlightenment, but this thesis argues that more orthodox religious ideas dominated.

Bourke, as a new Whig governor in New South Wales, targeted religion and education for reform in his first speech to the Legislative Council, and this was formalised in his well-known despatch to Stanley in 1833 (see Chapter 2). A Select Committee explored an almost identical plan for the education of the English masses in 1834, the same time Bourke’s despatch reached England.<sup>84</sup> Russell, who was in the chair for most sessions, drove this commission, with a committee containing prominent liberal Anglicans such as Poulett Thompson, Spring Rice and Lord Morpeth, and Radicals like William Molesworth and J. A. Roebuck. A range of experts compared education on the continent with the various forms offered in Britain, in particular the National Schools, the British and Foreign Schools and the Irish School System. By the direction of the questioning, it is obvious that Russell was seeking to justify almost compulsory, non-denominational general education, but the aim of instilling Christian principles and morality was fundamental to the enquiry. In the analysis of his motives, it must be remembered that Russell had made it clear in many of his writings that he opposed dogma, and he had criticised Anglicans, Catholics and Methodists for encouraging intolerance against the true spirit of Christianity.<sup>85</sup> However, he firmly believed that historically the decline of nations was linked to their neglect of

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<sup>81</sup> Report from the Select Committee on transportation with minutes of evidence, appendix and index, 1837, *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Transportation, Vol. 2*, Shannon, 1969.

<sup>82</sup> For example, various Select Committee Reports (1810-1832) in *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Transportation, Vol. 1*, Dublin, 1969; and in *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Vol. 1: Dublin*, 1969.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850*, New York, 1978.

<sup>84</sup> Select Committee on the State of Education, 1834, *BPP: Poorer Classes, Vol. 6*, Shannon, 1970, pp. 220-225.

<sup>85</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 25-28, 142.

Christianity.<sup>86</sup> Interestingly, the influence of this committees' promotion of non-denominational education was not undermined by conservative High Churchmen, but by the evidence of the radical Whig and political economist Lord Brougham, who as Lord Chancellor championed the current system, dominated by the Anglican Church, over the excessive costs of any scheme of general education.<sup>87</sup>

The young Whigs were more economically liberal, more aggressive in imperial and foreign policy, and more concerned about the working classes than the older Foxite generation.<sup>88</sup> From the 1820s, these men championed issues such as the abolition of slavery, penal reform and religious and civil equality. In government, their social consciences aligned with Radicals, and their religious beliefs recognised the claims of Catholics and Dissenters, but their policies were always constrained by political and financial reality, and by the desire to maintain and enhance the Church of England. Religious issues, not radical thought, fundamentally dominated their reforms. Their concepts of religious freedom were based on Calvinistic Protestant ideas, publicly articulated by Dissent, but also historically endorsed by Whiggery. These points and their bearing on the politics of reform in New South Wales will be the focus of Part 2 of this thesis.

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The period preceding the Church Act (NSW) was a time of religious and ideological friction. The Tories were regrouping as a conservative party aligned to High Church principles, while Dissenters, championing principles of religious and economic freedom, were becoming more militant in their political attacks. The numerical rise in Dissenters by the 1830s justified their calls for a more pluralistic society.<sup>89</sup> Humanitarian ideas of social justice and political and religious equality were supported

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<sup>86</sup> Russell, *Causes of the French Revolution*, p. 8. His other writings are examined in Chapter 9.

<sup>87</sup> Select Committee on the State of Education, 1834, *BPP: Poorer Classes, Vol. 6*, pp. 220-225.

<sup>88</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, p. 22.

<sup>89</sup> The 1851 census showed an almost 50/50 split between Church and Dissent despite the hindrances many landlords and clergy imposed on Dissenters. Census of Great Britain, 1851, Religious Worship in England and Wales, Report and Tables, *BPP: Population, Vol. 10*, Shannon, 1970.

by Evangelical and liberal Anglicans, as well as Dissenters and Radicals.<sup>90</sup> Politically and economically, conservative Toryism and extreme Evangelicals had synergy in their attempts to discredit Political Economy and promote anti-Catholicism, while moderate Evangelicals, liberal Anglicans, heterodoxical Dissenters and Deistic Utilitarians generally supported the opposite. Anti-Catholicism increased in the 1830s, advanced by the political agitation in support of the Church and 'traditional' Protestant values.

The young Whigs directed the party on a path of increased concern for the moral welfare of the people.<sup>91</sup> The humanitarian lobby increased its influence, and brutal punishments inflicted on slaves and prisoners became socially and politically unacceptable. The idea of God's judgement and correction being implemented through the lash was being overtaken by the idea that Christian values and morals could be better instilled through social policy. This was reliant on extending religion and education to all areas of society. In this age of Atonement, the knowledge of God was proposed as a better moral restraint than the fear of being brutalised. Even though their political motives may have been different, the increasing focus on morality in society does justify a Puritan comparison, which will form the basis of later arguments in this thesis that dispute the dominance of moral enlightenment.

The 1830s has been categorised as a time of reform, but reforms were enacted issue by issue, with compromises each step of the way. The social destabilisation and disenchantment caused by increasing population, industrialism, agrarian capitalism and urbanisation, assisted Dissenters and Catholics to advance their claims. Religion was a core element of policy, and fundamental in maintaining order in Ireland, appeasing Catholic and Dissenting voters, and instilling moral values into a disintegrating social fabric. The Church was seen as essential for providing religious and moral instruction to society. The liberal Anglican Whigs recognised the importance and right of both Dissenters and Catholics to partner in this venture. Fundamental to this was recognising Dissenters and Catholics as fellow Christians. This concept will be a recurrent theme in this thesis, as the inability to accept this caused sectarian conflict and competition in both Britain and New South Wales.

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<sup>90</sup> Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>91</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, p. 43.



The Church Act (NSW) was a significant attempt to reconcile the multi-denominational nature of British Christianity in a small colony, but it also represented both an attempt to advance Christianity and to instil morality. These aims cannot be separated in this period. The Church was reforming and renewing itself, and evangelical Dissenters and Catholics were expanding their congregations and building churches.<sup>92</sup> Christian belief was increasing, not decreasing, and it was seen as the primary means to achieve a moral society. Liberal and Evangelical Anglicans with Catholic sympathies obtained senior positions in the Whig government in 1835 and dominated the Colonial Office. They allowed Richard Bourke, a liberal Anglican Whig, to re-orientate New South Wales Christianity and instigate a government-sponsored attempt to foster its expansion.

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<sup>92</sup> The Anglican Church was being reformed and increasing in clerical numbers. The growth of evangelical Dissent is shown in Watts, *Dissenters*, and Horace Mann's summary of the 1851 religious census, *BPP: Population, Vol. 10*. The expansion of Irish Catholicism is described in Keenan, *Catholic Church*, and Connolly, *Priests and People*.

## Chapter 2: Richard Bourke – For the honour of God and the good of man

Richard Bourke's life has been studied by a number of prominent academics including Hazel King, Jennifer Ridden and Max Waugh.<sup>1</sup> Hazel King's biography has been the most intensive and popular, but as Jennifer Ridden has pointed out, her work concentrated on his military and colonial career and did not assess the cultural traditions that drove him. A lack of understanding of this dimension has attributed Bourke's actions to liberal ideas of a much later period. In her analysis, Ridden identified three primary things that need to be understood about Bourke. First, he was a Whig, second he was a devout liberal Anglican, and finally he was Anglo-Irish and supported the union against the nationalist radicalism of Michael O'Connell and his supporters.<sup>2</sup>

Bourke and Thomas Spring Rice were part of the Irish elite that produced liberal strategies based on liberal Anglican religious concepts, which were more tolerant and supportive towards the social and economic grievances of the Catholic population. They attempted to provide a legitimate, non-sectarian alternative to the Irish Tories' desire to promote Englishness, and O'Connell's exclusive Irish identity.<sup>3</sup> Their liberal ideas sought to disentangle religion from social and ethnic division, not from a secular attitude, but from a strong sense of Christian piety and humanitarianism, coupled with a shared family heritage of Anglo-Norman, Old Irish origin that had only converted to Protestantism in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> During the 1820s and 1830s, Bourke's close family friends, including the Spring Rices, the Barringtons, the de Veres and the O'Briens, committed to daily prayer meetings and shared Sunday prayer gatherings. Ridden's research found that Bourke's group were 'deeply religious' and that none appear to have taken a path of religious indifference or secular political philosophy. Her thesis points out that the historical focus on the Irish Tory and

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<sup>1</sup> Hazel King, *Richard Bourke*, Melbourne, 1971; Max Waugh, *Forgotten Hero: Richard Bourke, Irish Governor of New South Wales, 1831-1837*, Melbourne, 2005; Jennifer Ridden, "'Making Good Citizens": National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850', PhD thesis, University of London, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Jennifer Ridden, 'Richard Bourke's views on citizenship and education', *The Old Limerick Journal*, Winter 1993, pp. 7-8; Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 23, 144, 190.

<sup>3</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 7-10, 18, 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 51.

nationalists has neglected the influence of this group, which through Spring Rice impacted the Whig government of the 1830s, and through Richard Bourke the colonial societies of New South Wales and the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>5</sup>

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After the Napoleonic wars, having served in the Netherlands, South America, and in the Peninsula campaign, Bourke returned to Limerick on half-pay.<sup>6</sup> He became involved in the community as a magistrate, and as a board member of the gaol, the lunatic asylum and the agricultural society. His close friends included John Jebb, his parish minister and future Bishop of Limerick, Reverend Charles Foster, and Spring Rice.<sup>7</sup> In 1821 Bourke managed Spring Rice's campaign for election to the British Parliament as the member for Limerick.<sup>8</sup> At this time, Bourke set up a school for Catholic children near his home where he rejected funding from the Irish Lord Lieutenants Fund, due to the requirement that all teachers needed to be approved by the local Anglican clergy. Instead he obtained funds from the Kildare Place Society, an organisation with principles similar to those later embodied in the Irish School System. Bourke financially subsidised this school to encourage a number of poor Irish children to attend.<sup>9</sup>

In setting up the school Bourke became frustrated by the sectarian prejudice he encountered in obtaining funding and attracting students. He was particularly irritated by the trouble caused by the Second Reformation Movement and wrote an anonymous pamphlet to the Irish Secretary, Charles Grant, who he thought would be sympathetic to his claims. The Second Reformation Movement began in Ireland in 1815 and promoted Protestant conversion as the only way to ensure true moral reformation.<sup>10</sup> Their extreme Evangelical viewpoint totally de-legitimised Catholic salvation, and this intensified sectarian animosity. Many Anglican bishops supported the movement,

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 48, 51-58.

<sup>6</sup> Bourke's war service is covered in detail in the early chapters of King, *Richard Bourke*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56; Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 47-51.

<sup>8</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 59-61.

<sup>9</sup> Waugh, *Forgotten Hero*, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 26-28; John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, Oxford, 1991, p. 35.

including High Churchman Bishop Mant who preached a charge calling for the clergy to move out of the churches and evangelise the Catholic population.<sup>11</sup> This produced a massive Catholic backlash and inspired a pamphlet in response from a member of the Irish elite under the pseudonym of Athamik.<sup>12</sup>

The pamphlet articulated the ideas of Bourke's group and there is strong evidence to attribute the authorship to Bourke himself. Jennifer Ridden cites a letter from Foster to Jebb, describing how Bourke was unhappy with the speech.<sup>13</sup> Jebb was also incensed by the speech, but the views in the pamphlet on toleration were much more extreme than those of Jebb, and he was not a layman. In 1825 an article by Spring Rice endorsed the pamphlet in the *Edinburgh Review* as representing his views, but Bourke was the only one of the group with an estate in the diocese of Killaloe, the location where Mant gave the charge to the clergy.<sup>14</sup> The writer displayed a sound knowledge of the Killaloe area, and a familiarity with the previous preaching of Bishop Mant.<sup>15</sup> The writing style of the pamphlet closely resembles Bourke's letters to his son and Spring Rice, often using French words or phrases to highlight a point. The sentiments expressed closely align with those expressed by Bourke in his letters, in particular the recognition of Catholics as fellow Christians without subscribing to or endorsing their doctrines. The views articulated in Bourke's letters and the Athamik pamphlet can be interchanged without any contradiction. The writer also claimed to have spent a considerable portion of his life in England, which was the case with Bourke at this time.<sup>16</sup>

Athamik cited Edmund Burke on a number of occasions to support his views on Roman Catholics. He quoted Burke's assertion that popery 'today' was 'different to three centuries ago', and that Catholicism should not be 'tolerated as an evil' but

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<sup>11</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820.

<sup>13</sup> Foster to Jebb, 7 September 1820, in Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 54.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.

<sup>15</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 10, 50.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 11.

‘cherished as a good’.<sup>17</sup> Edmund Burke had been a significant influence on Richard Bourke, and he spent a considerable amount of his life in the recovery and cataloguing of Burke’s writings to prevent his tolerant Whig views of social justice being hijacked by conservatives.<sup>18</sup> Richard Bourke was a relative and friend to a social, political and philosophical giant, who was both sympathetic to Catholics and a devoted Protestant Christian. In writing to his son Richard Burke in Ireland, Edmund Burke expressed sympathy for Ireland’s economic and religious grievances. Edmund confided that though his political battles were great, God had strengthened him for the fight.<sup>19</sup> Finally, and most importantly, the Athamik pamphlet outlined an education plan identical to the one Bourke was embarking on at the time in Limerick, and one not dissimilar to one he proposed in New South Wales. This makes Richard Bourke an early pioneer of the Irish School System, which explains why Spring Rice asked for his input when formulating the plan in 1829.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, due to the overwhelming evidence, this thesis concurs with other historians that Richard Bourke was Athamik.

An interesting feature of this pamphlet was that it was addressed to Charles Grant, who fifteen years later approved the Church Act as Lord Glenelg. In 1820 Bourke was outlining a plan of Christian thought and education that was to form the basis of his 1833 plan for churches and schools in New South Wales. He writes to Glenelg as a man who is ‘serious in religious sentiments and opinions’, and in Parliament, ‘on the subject of Catholic pretensions’, demonstrated that ‘no canker-worm of bigotry gnaws at the heart of your religion’.<sup>21</sup> Grant became Irish Secretary in 1818, the first Tory supporter of emancipation to hold that post.<sup>22</sup> His father, Charles Grant Snr, was one of the most influential members of the Clapham Sect who, together with William Wilberforce, had pursued Christian humanitarian causes in Parliament

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 38.

<sup>18</sup> Bourke was working on documenting the Edmund Burke papers and in letters to Spring Rice he often commented on some of Burke’s ideas. For example: see Bourke to Spring Rice, 26 December 1829, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>19</sup> Edmund Bourke to Richard Burke (son), 20 September and 1 October 1792, in R. Therry, *A Letter to the Right Honourable George Canning on the Present State of the Catholic Question*, London, 1826. Edmund Burke became the patron of Therry’s father.

<sup>20</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 25 May 1829, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>21</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> Penelope Carson, in H. C. G. Mathew and Brian Harrison, (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, Vol. 23, p. 293.

for over twenty years, including having India opened up to missionaries in 1813.<sup>23</sup> Bourke may have considered Grant sympathetic to his ideas, as the pamphlet articulates a plan for expanding Christian belief and tolerance.

Athamik maintained that Catholics were fellow Christians and should not be subjected to the extreme proselytism practiced by some Evangelicals, because their methods undermined the religious beliefs of the Catholic lower orders and the authority of the priest. This upset social harmony and encouraged Catholics to ‘desert their faith’, which he feared could cause some to become ‘infidels’. Also, using the education system as a vehicle for Protestant proselytism was causing Catholics to drop out, defeating the whole purpose of providing education.<sup>24</sup> Bourke believed his ‘Roman Catholic countrymen’ should not be treated unfairly, because fair treatment could harmonise the two religions and ‘serve the cause of that Christianity which is common to both’.<sup>25</sup> He claimed the existing system used education as the ‘pretext’ for ‘proselytism’, jeopardising the co-operation of the priesthood, something he believed fundamental to the success of any education scheme.<sup>26</sup> Bourke only opposed an ‘intolerant proselytising spirit’. He considered a ‘zeal for converting unbelievers to the Christian faith’ to be a ‘godly and meritorious’ undertaking, but ‘that spirit which is forever meddling to correct what it conceives to be the errors of its Christian brethren’ was counterproductive.<sup>27</sup> He agreed with other Anglicans that ‘the principles of religion will be the most effectual mode of securing a due attention to the service of the Church’, but believed his proposed education plan would achieve the same result and provide a similar benefit to Catholics.<sup>28</sup> Educating people in Christian knowledge would lead them to belief, and ‘in the meantime’ encourage ‘moral conduct’. It would also ‘nip religious prejudice and animosity in the bud’.<sup>29</sup> Bourke’s education plan was proposed to Grant as a means to foster and expand Christian belief in a more effective and less divisive way than the militant proselytism encouraged by Bishop Mant. It was designed to encourage a common Christian bond between denominations, through a

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 291-293.

<sup>24</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 29, 39, 47.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-54.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 56.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-58.

common Christian education program that was supported by denominational teaching from various ministers.<sup>30</sup> The plan to integrate Protestants and Catholics to cultivate a more tolerant society was embodied in the Irish Schools System, and it was his desire to implant the same shared understanding of Christian co-operation in New South Wales.

Bourke was understandably sympathetic to the Catholic Irish and their grievances. In 1824 Joseph Hume put forward a motion in the Commons to investigate the revenue of the Church of Ireland. After its defeat, William Cobbett wrote a scathing article on the 'starving' Irish in his *Weekly Register*. 'They are naked', he wrote, 'and what makes them naked while they make the best linen in the world, and have such abundance of food to exchange for wool? They are under complete control'.<sup>31</sup> The political pressure produced a Select Committee in 1825, to which Bourke was called to give evidence, demonstrating his paternalism by offering a number of practical solutions to Ireland's problems. He favoured direct intervention in the market to encourage manufacturing in southern Ireland as a means to alleviate distress, and he criticised the practice of subletting land, because it increased the land rents to the poor. He appreciated the need for semi-subsistence farm practices, both as a means of survival and the security it engendered in the psyche of the Irish poor. He saw emigration as a more humane way to clear land than the eviction of small tenants, as agrarian reform encouraged larger farming units.<sup>32</sup> In New South Wales emigration, education and justice were cornerstones of his governorship.

Bourke's appointment as assistant governor of the Cape of Good Hope was unusual because of his strong Whig views, but King claims Robert Wilmont Horton as Under-Secretary made the choice. Bourke had met Horton in England and shared common views on Irish matters and emigration.<sup>33</sup> It will be argued later that Horton's plans were fundamental to Bourke's governorship in New South Wales. At the Cape,

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, 29 May 1824.

<sup>32</sup> 15 March 1825, Select Committee on the State of Ireland, in Appendix 11, *British Parliamentary Papers, Emigration Vol. 1: Report from the Select Committee on the expediency of encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom, with minutes of evidence, appendix and index*, 1826, pp. 339-332.

<sup>33</sup> Bourke to Bishop of Limerick, 22 March 1825, in King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 59.

Bourke attempted to promote civil and legal rights, including unrestricted travel for the black population. The resignation of Lord Bathurst as Colonial Secretary, after George Canning took office, saw Lord Goderich take over, providing Bourke more latitude in this area, but his conflicts with local Tory elites mirrored later developments in New South Wales and caused his recall. In both colonies he believed reforms were needed to make the colonies more attractive to emigrants.<sup>34</sup>

After returning from the Cape, Bourke actively sought a new position and friends such as Spring Rice, Spencer Perceval and Lord Lansdowne assisted him. Bourke believed that he had a 'claim upon the Colonial Office for employment adequate to that from which [he] was so unexpectedly and injuriously removed'.<sup>35</sup> When Goderich was reappointed Colonial Secretary, Bourke hoped he would remember his achievements at the Cape. When he heard about the availability of New South Wales, he approached Goderich and wrote to Spring Rice about lobbying him.<sup>36</sup> At this time Spring Rice was trying to secure him a well-paid civil position in Dublin. 'A thousand thanks my dear friend', wrote Bourke, 'for the trouble you are taking on my account'.<sup>37</sup> At this uncertain time he also asked Spring Rice to keep a look out for a military posting and considered Bermuda.<sup>38</sup>

During this period, Bourke's letters to Spring Rice covered issues regarding Ireland, especially education, employment and poverty, and he closely followed the English Parliament.<sup>39</sup> On his return to Ireland in 1829, Spring Rice sought Bourke's opinion in the drafting of legislation for the Irish National Schools. When expressing his ideas on the 'efficient promotion of Irish Education' to Spring Rice, he was fearful of any system that invested school management 'into the hands of the ministers of the Parish and the Ministers of the Established Church', because it would 'result in the Catholic Children being ultimately withdrawn'. He was very supportive of the Kildare

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86; Waugh, *Forgotten Hero*, p. 30; Hazel King, 'Richard Bourke and His Two Colonial Administrations', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 49, No. 5, 1964, p. 361.

<sup>35</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 22 November 1830, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>36</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 10 December 1830, 22 November 1830, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>37</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 3 December 1830, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>38</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 23 January 1831, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*



Place Society's ideas, but considered their 'religious instruction quite inefficient'. He supported Irish tithes money being used to expand education to the Catholic population.<sup>40</sup> His own school used the Kildare Place Society's support but was privately owned and administered by Bourke.<sup>41</sup>

At this time Bourke's fortunes changed when he was offered the Governorship of New South Wales a few days after Spring Rice had confirmed a possible permanent appointment to the Dublin Board of Public Works at £1200.<sup>42</sup> Bourke informed Spring Rice that he would prefer the Dublin position to £2000 in New South Wales, but sought his guidance and the certainty of the Dublin job.<sup>43</sup> When Bourke received news that in New South Wales he was to receive £4200 plus the allowances of a Major General, he believed 'in justice to his family' and the 'kind manner' it was offered by Lord Grey he could not refuse.<sup>44</sup> Goderich recommended to the Treasury £5000 plus £800 expenses. Bourke was happy with this and accepted the post.<sup>45</sup>

Bourke travelled to London where he spent time perusing New South Wales correspondence and being briefed by the Colonial Office.<sup>46</sup> At these meetings he was led to believe that transportation as it then existed would soon cease.<sup>47</sup> He also received clear instructions from Goderich and Howick regarding the implementation of trial by jury and circuit courts if he felt it warranted.<sup>48</sup> There is no evidence, but it is probable,

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<sup>40</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 25 May 1829, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>41</sup> Rev John Jebb to Bourke, 7 April 1832, Bourke Papers, M.L. mss 403/7.

<sup>42</sup> Jennifer Ridden believes Spring Rice was instrumental in getting Bourke the New South Wales appointment and quotes a letter to Huskisson in 1827. he was actively canvassing for his friend on an informal basis. Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 259. King claims George Murray, an old army colleague, unbeknown to Bourke, had promoted his cause. Murray to Bourke, 15 May 1832, Bourke Papers, Vol. 11, M.L. In any case nothing was certain as Spring Rice was still actively seeking the Dublin position for Bourke when he was offered New South Wales. See Bourke to Spring Rice, 21 March 1831, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>43</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 17 March 1831, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>44</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 27 March 1831, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>45</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 5 April 1831, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>46</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, no date 1831, Bourke Papers Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>47</sup> King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 133.

<sup>48</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 26 July 1833, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.; Bourke to Stanley, 30 September 1835, Bourke to Hay, 17 August 1833, *HRA*, 1, 17, pp. 224, 190. An analysis of this issue is found in Paul LeRoy, 'The Emancipists, Edward Eagar and the Struggle for Civil Liberties', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 48, No. 4, 1962, pp. 290-293.

that a replacement for the Church and Schools Corporation was also left in his hands. At this time there was a strong commitment towards Church reform in Ireland, before harsh political realities took over. As Bourke was sailing to New South Wales the Irish School Legislation was being passed by the Grey administration.<sup>49</sup> He left England at a time when exuberant expectation for reform was high.

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Bourke was in his early fifties when he arrived in New South Wales in December 1831. Within two months of his arrival, and despite his wife suffering from the long journey, he convened an early sitting of the Legislative Council.<sup>50</sup> In Bourke's first speech to the members on 19 January 1832, he signalled his intention to prepare a bill for 'regulating the constitution of juries' and informed them he was committed to civil juries and circuit courts. He also flagged a number of initiatives to 'improve the morals, augment the wealth and procure the comfort and convenience of all classes of the community'. This entailed the commitment of public revenue towards the support of public schools, places of religious worship, roads and public buildings, and to emigrate free labourers from Britain.<sup>51</sup>

William Broughton recounted that on 'the very day he landed' Bourke opened the Legislative Council with an address urging the adoption of the Irish School System based on the principle of teaching the Bible using extracts of scripture agreed to by all denominations.<sup>52</sup> When Bourke arrived the church and school policy was in limbo after the suspension of the Church and Schools Corporation. This Corporation was based on a similar system adopted in Canada through the Canada Act (1792) to endow the Church of England with land to support its clergy and schools.<sup>53</sup> It encountered opposition when it was introduced in New South Wales in 1825, being compared to the

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<sup>49</sup> Waugh, *Forgotten Hero*, p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> Bourke arrived in New South Wales concerned about the health of his wife who suffered greatly on the voyage. Bourke to Spring Rice, 7 January, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>51</sup> *V&P*, 19 January 1832; *S.H.* 23 January 1832. The speech was applauded by the *Herald* because the new governor had permitted the proceedings of the council to be presented to the public via the press for the first time.

<sup>52</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England; Its Constitution Mission and Trials*, London, 1857, p. xix.

<sup>53</sup> Gerard M. Craig, *Upper Canada, The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, Toronto, 1963, pp. 4-19.

forcible endowment of the Anglican Church in places like Canada and Ireland. It was blamed for hindering the agricultural advancement of Canada, and causing conflict by favouring one Christian group over the others.<sup>54</sup>

Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes Scott had been appointed to establish the Church and Schools Corporation with a salary of £2000 and a seat in the newly constituted Legislative Council.<sup>55</sup> His large stipend and executive position in the colonial government was criticised. The *Monitor* and *Australian* newspapers were constant critics of the extension of privilege and the generous allocation of land to the Anglican Church, portraying it as transplanting the old world in the new.<sup>56</sup> This opposition was intensified by Scott's conservative Toryism and his alignment with the Exclusive faction.<sup>57</sup> However, Goderich primarily suspended the practice of reserving land for the Church and Schools Corporation in 1829, because the land allocations were unproductive and they did not produce anywhere near the funds required for the support of the Anglican clergy and schools.<sup>58</sup>

This period of Anglican domination, through the position of the Archdeacon and the extensive land grants, coincided with Ralph Darling's tenure as governor, which solidified an exclusive Tory landowning oligarchy. Emancipist supporters such as E. S. Hall, W. C. Wentworth and Robert Wardell, had opposed this in the press.<sup>59</sup> In 1827 Wentworth instigated a petition to the Parliament asking for trial by jury and a partly elected assembly.<sup>60</sup> However, in drafting the New South Wales Act in 1828, the Colonial Office had deemed the colony unready for these measures, objecting to any

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<sup>54</sup> *Australian*, 8 August 1827.

<sup>55</sup> Bathurst to Brisbane, 21 December 1824, *HRA*, 1, II, p. 419.

<sup>56</sup> R. B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1976; Waugh, *Forgotten Hero*, p. 78; Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia, 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia*, London, 1962, pp. 65-69, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Scott had formed a close friendship with the Macarthurs when assisting the Bigge Commission. Kelvin Grose, 'Why was Hobbes Scott Chosen Archdeacon of New South Wales?', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 69, No. 4, 1984, pp. 251-261.

<sup>58</sup> King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 227.

<sup>59</sup> Walker, *Newspaper Press*, pp. 15-18; Andrew Tink, *William Charles Wentworth: Australia's greatest native son*, Sydney, 2009, pp. 78-112.

<sup>60</sup> D. E. Fifer, 'The Australian Patriotic Association, 1835-1841', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 73, No. 3, 1987, pp. 155-156.

comparison with English rights.<sup>61</sup> When the Bill was read in Parliament, Spring Rice was one member who spoke in support of the Emancipists' claim to be treated as a free society.<sup>62</sup> The new Act did increase the Legislative Council from ten to fifteen members, but Governor Darling solidified the Tory block through his appointments.<sup>63</sup> When Bourke arrived these issues were fundamental grievances of the Emancipist group. As a Whig he found the situation in the Legislative Council frustrating, the members being not in keeping 'with the feelings and principles of the process of Government in England', making the management of the colony difficult. He likened it to 'Lord Grey trying to govern if all of his cabinet were Tories'.<sup>64</sup> Bourke's initial assessment of New South Wales was of a 'forming society' with 'many intelligent persons in the middle classes' but very closed at the top end. The two parties divided the colony 'with their jealousies'. He was, however, confident he could do something about the social state and division in the colony that would 'help people draw together'.<sup>65</sup> Fundamental to this plan was a general education policy where Christians from all denominations could integrate socially.

Although the Church and Schools Corporation had been suspended in 1829, it was 1833 before the official dissolution was received, confirming that the lands would revert to the crown.<sup>66</sup> Bourke having received the order, 'unaccompanied by any intimation of the views of His Majesty's Government as to the future maintenance of the Church and Schools', put forward his plan, which he claimed met with the favour and support of the great majority of the colonists, and would successfully extend

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<sup>61</sup> Memorandum on the NSW Bill, 8 March 1828, C.O. 201/195, in C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, Vol. II, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1822-1838*, Melbourne, 1968, p. 84.

<sup>62</sup> Clark, *A History, Vol. II*, p. 85.

<sup>63</sup> In two letters Darling forwarded to George Murray as the 'absurdities of a revolutionary Scribbler', Hall accused Darling of preferment in the allocation of land and assigned servants, and listed a group of 33 people who dominated land ownership, including a smaller group of four families, all closely aligned to the Executive Council, whose combined holdings were larger than the group of 33 combined. Darling to Murray, 6 July 1829, Hall to Murray, 12 March 1829, 2 May 1829, *HRA*, I, XV, pp. 51-67.

<sup>64</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 11 August 1833, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>65</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 23 March 1832, and 1 May 1832, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>66</sup> The letter from the Colonial Office was dated March 1833, so he must have had the plan ready. See next chapter for more on the Church and Schools Corporation.

religious instruction and general education.<sup>67</sup> This despatch implies that the Church Act and the introduction of the Irish School System for general education were very much Bourke's initiative.

Bourke announced the formal dissolution of the Church and Schools Corporation in the first session of the Legislative Council in 1834, and then indicated that more comprehensive measures were pending utilising 'the revenues of the Colony'.<sup>68</sup> On Bourke's arrival the Anglicans dominated the funding for churches and schools. The estimates for 1832 allocated £19,325 of the £127,476 expenditure to Anglican establishments, including the orphan schools, and £286 for the Aboriginal mission at Wellington Valley. The Church of Scotland was allocated £350, basically for Lang's salary, and the Catholics £400. This inequality was noted in Bourke's first speech to the Legislative Council.<sup>69</sup> In the next meeting he presented to the Council a despatch from Goderich concerning additional measures to promote the immigration of free labourers and the appointment of a commission in Britain to secure sufficient and appropriate people. Six months previously, Governor Darling had been informed of a plan to 'relieve the distress prevailing amongst the agricultural labourers of the South of England' by emigrating them to New South Wales using colonial revenues, and now Bourke was instructed to maximise land revenue beyond the 5s per acre minimum.<sup>70</sup> Lord Goderich had been a strong advocate of Wilmont Horton's emigration schemes to Canada in the 1820s, and had supported him in the Select Commissions on Emigration in 1826-27 which had posited the emigration of the poor to British colonies as an appropriate and desirable policy.<sup>71</sup> Bourke was also an advocate of assisted emigration and his policy direction on assuming the governorship was aimed at preparing the colony to receive large numbers of free immigrants. The moral implications of reorientating New South Wales from a penal colony to a settler society are implicit in the Church Act and will be discussed in Chapter 8.

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<sup>67</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 30 September 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 224. Bourke made this statement later describing the lead up to the 1833 despatch.

<sup>68</sup> *V&P*, 30 May 1834.

<sup>69</sup> *V&P*, 19 January 1832. Orphan Schools received £3000 and Anglican Parochial Schools £3139 of the Anglican allocation.

<sup>70</sup> *V&P*, 10 February 1832; Goderich to Bourke, 10 July 1836, *HRA*, I, XVI, p. 296; Goderich to Darling, 23 January 1831, *HRA*, I, XVI, p. 34.

<sup>71</sup> Report from the Select Committees on Emigration from the United Kingdom, with minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, in *BPP: Emigration, Vol. 1*, pp. 3-10.

The attempt to address the inequality in funding for religion was carried out early in Bourke's governorship. In March 1832 he presented a petition from a group including 'Magistrates, Merchants, Land and Householders praying that assistance may be afforded towards the completion of a Roman Catholic chapel in Sydney'.<sup>72</sup> At the next meeting he proposed £500 be allocated for this need.<sup>73</sup> In the estimates for 1833, he doubled Catholic funding to provide for two additional priests and a school, increased Presbyterian funding to £600, and provided £500 for the mission at Wellington Valley. The Anglicans also received increased funding with £125 payments to Bathurst, Goulburn, Illawarra and Patrick Plains for the building of churches.<sup>74</sup> This was a forerunner of Bourke's church policy, because each grant had to be equalled by contributions from the inhabitants. In all future budgets until the Church Act was introduced the same principle was applied. After the Church Act a more generous formula of £300 collection to £1000 grant was provided.

In 1833 Bourke formulated his plan for churches and schools in his well-known despatch to Lord Stanley.<sup>75</sup> He prepared the council by stating that he thought that when news reached Europe about the excellent returns on capital in the colony, and with increased immigration, that colonial revenues would greatly expand. For that reason he recommended 'to provide liberally for the Religious Instruction and the Education of the people', especially the wants of 'His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects'. He told the council of the 'readiness' of the Secretary of State to 'co-operate with the council' in approving additional Roman Catholic chaplains and extend money for the education of Catholic children.<sup>76</sup> The estimates that were presented a few months before his despatch to Stanley reflected these sentiments, with provision for Catholic clergy increased to £1100 and schools £800, with no real increase to Anglicans or Presbyterians. Bourke believed this would benefit country towns where Catholics were numerous. In the first 18 months of Bourke's governorship, Catholic revenue provision had increased 450%, which puts into context some of the sectarian

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<sup>72</sup> *V&P*, 9 March 1832.

<sup>73</sup> *V&P*, 13 March 1832.

<sup>74</sup> *V&P*, 20 October 1832.

<sup>75</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 30 September 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 224.

<sup>76</sup> *V&P*, 27 May 1834.

contention that developed in 1833.<sup>77</sup> The following month Broughton obtained an extra £800 for the construction of the elite King's School at Parramatta, perhaps providing him with some consolation.<sup>78</sup>

In the September 1833 despatch to Stanley, Bourke presented an inventory of colonial churches with the assertion that the inequality of funding 'cannot be supposed to be generally acceptable to the Colonists who provide the funds'. He claimed in a 'New Country' where 'persons of all religious persuasions are invited to resort' it was impossible to maintain an established Church. As well, as the 'Spirit of the Age' was adverse to such an institution, he felt personally it prejudiced 'the interests of religion'. This statement articulates his two primary motives, which will be reinforced throughout this thesis. First, the Church Act provided equality, and second, it was for Bourke, the most effective way to expand Christianity.<sup>79</sup>

Bourke provided Stanley with a comprehensive plan for the expansion of religion and education. He recommended church building grants of £1000 where a £300 contribution could be raised. Trustees elected by the congregation, whether on owned or granted land, would control the buildings. Pew rents could only apply to 75% of the seats, with the funds being used for maintenance of churches, parsonages and burial grounds, and other expenses 'connected to divine worship', expenses that in England were funded through Church Rates. The government would also pay the minister a yearly stipend of £100 for a congregation of 100 people, £150 for 200, and £200 for over 500 people. The requirement for funding was having a list of people declaring their desire to attend the church. Fees for marriages, baptisms and burials, would compliment the minister's 'moderate' stipend. His proposal was extended initially to the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church, the three churches that represented the overwhelming majority of colonists, religiously and culturally. He included a provision to extend this to other denominations but he felt:

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<sup>77</sup> These contentions will be examined in the next three chapters.

<sup>78</sup> *V&P*, 9 July 1833. The sectarian conflict of 1833 will be looked at next chapter.

<sup>79</sup> Bourke To Stanley, 30 September 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 224.

At this early period of the Colony's existence, it is I think necessary that the government should grant pecuniary assistance for the establishment of religious institutions, and take upon itself the nomination of Ministers; or it might happen that the Ordinances of Christianity would become altogether neglected or its tenets perverted by incompetent Teachers.<sup>80</sup>

This could be seen as state control, but Bourke felt he had a duty to ensure that capable men were chosen if public money was provided. We can also see caution, perhaps reflecting the concerns he expressed in the Athamik pamphlet regarding zealous and well-meaning individuals and groups that spread intolerance. He said:

I cannot conclude this subject without expressing a hope, amounting to some degree of confidence, that, in laying the foundations of the Christian Religion in this young and rising Colony by equal encouragement held out to its Professors in their several Churches, the people of these different persuasions will be united together in one bond of peace, and taught to look up to the Government as their common protector and friend, and that thus there will be secured to the State good subjects and to Society good men.<sup>81</sup>

Again this could be interpreted as exerting state control or just endorsing a multi-denominational establishment. However, this statement endorses Jennifer Ridden's research regarding the views of Christian citizenship with Irish elites. Their principle motive was to extend Christianity, as Christian belief would also instil individual morality, enabling a person to exert sound judgement in matters of personal and civil responsibility, while socially integrating people from different denominations.<sup>82</sup> Bourke informed Spring Rice that he considered the 'establishment of Churches and Schools' as having a fundamental influence on the 'future prosperity and happiness of this Colony'.<sup>83</sup> Bourke hoped Stanley would honour him with an 'early communication' regarding the despatch, because he had received a number of

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 59.

<sup>83</sup> These ideas are discussed more completely in later chapters. Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.



applications for places of worship.<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, five different men would occupy the Colonial Secretary's position before he received approval in November 1835.<sup>85</sup>

Bourke also sent the Colonial Office a request regarding the implementation of elected representation. He proposed to increase the Legislative Council to twenty-four members with two thirds being elected for a four-year term. The qualification to stand was £30 income from land, or property to the value of £300. Voters would be limited to those not convicted of a felony or any transportable offences. This was similar to Canada, and he did not think it would be considered unfair by most Emancipists. He believed it would be appropriate to include this in the renewal of the New South Wales Act, required in 1836.<sup>86</sup> Bourke advanced this proposal because he did not believe the current legislature represented public opinion, and it had 'embarrassed' him by blocking his legislation to extend trial by jury, despite a petition with 4000 signatures.<sup>87</sup> Before Bourke left England in June 1831, he received instructions in a conference with Goderich and Howick, which authorised him to propose to the Legislative Council these reforms. Goderich indicated he was prepared to take this to Parliament, as legislation was required.<sup>88</sup> As well, in June 1832, Howick had stated in Parliament his intention to support these measures.<sup>89</sup> Peter Cochrane claims Howick as Under-Secretary endorsed trial by jury, but was later overruled by more senior colleges.<sup>90</sup> Bourke at this time was unaware of these changes; he believed he was preparing the colony to receive an increased intake of working-class emigrants. The Church Act would assist in instilling the Christian values necessary to underwrite Bourke's reforms to civil society.

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<sup>84</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 30 September 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 224.

<sup>85</sup> They were Stanley, Spring Rice, Wellington, Aberdeen and Glenelg.

<sup>86</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 25 December 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 302.

<sup>87</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 2 October 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 236; Bourke to Stanley, 12 September 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 213; Bourke to Hay, August 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, pp. 224, 190. The Emancipists party was strongly promoting these claims in the colony and in England. LeRoy, 'Edward Egar', pp. 290-295.

<sup>88</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 26 July 1833, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.; Bourke To Stanley, 30 September 1835, Bourke to Hay, 17 August 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, pp. 224, 190.

<sup>89</sup> Bourke to Hay, 17 August 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 190.

<sup>90</sup> Peter Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition: Foundations of Australian Democracy*, Melbourne, 2006, p. 15.

From 30 September 1833, when the despatch was sent to Stanley, till Bourke received Glenelg's reply in early June 1836, he became frustrated at the delays. His early enthusiasm for a quick response was confounded by the political turmoil in English politics and its disruption on the Colonial Office, which saw the Colonial Secretary's position changing multiple times. As well, Archdeacon William Broughton, who travelled to England, established an effective lobby against his plans. These aspects of the delays will be explored in later chapters. The main problem for Bourke in this period was the confusion caused by the changes in the Colonial Office. It was August 1833 before he received notice that Stanley had taken over from Goderich.<sup>91</sup> By the time he discovered his closest friend Spring Rice had replaced Stanley, the Whig government had been sacked, and Wellington, then Aberdeen was in the position.<sup>92</sup> When Lord Glenelg assumed office in April, Bourke was corresponding generically to the 'Secretary of State'.<sup>93</sup> It was August 1835 before Bourke learned from the newspapers about Glenelg's appointment.<sup>94</sup>

Bourke's son, Dick, travelled to England to study in 1834 and lived with his sister Fanny and Dudley Perceval. Bourke provided him with an allowance of £250 per year and expected him to 'attend' to his father's business. During the war in Spain, Bourke had established an espionage ring.<sup>95</sup> He was aware of the power of lobbying, and as a colonial governor whose opponents enjoyed substantial patronage networks, it was important to have a strong support network in England, especially after his experience in the Cape.<sup>96</sup> He sent a letter to Spring Rice on the ship Broughton sailed on, asking Spring Rice to counter his opposition to Bourke's reforms until Dick arrived.<sup>97</sup> Bourke had briefed his son on a number of issues and 'with respect to my

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<sup>91</sup> Bourke to Hay, 17 August 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 190.

<sup>92</sup> His first despatch to Spring Rice was Bourke to Spring Rice, 22 October 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 561.

<sup>93</sup> Bourke to Hay, 1 May 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, pp. 712, 719. Bourke asked Hay about ministerial arrangements in England because he heard a report that Lord Aberdeen was Colonial Secretary.

<sup>94</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 13 August 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>95</sup> King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 172.

<sup>96</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L. Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 7 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>97</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

position here to counter any mischief<sup>7</sup> that may have been designed by the colonial ‘malcontents’. In this manner Dick would be on the ground to help Bourke’s friends, such as Spring Rice, Lord Lansdowne and the Percevals, support his cause.<sup>98</sup> In England, Dick was able to provide him with good intelligence on Colonial Office matters and politics generally, through his relationship with Spring Rice, and the Perceval’s friendship with James Stephen. Spring Rice became very fond of Dick and wanted to be his ‘English father’, which pleased Bourke as he considered this an extension of his own deep friendship with the man.<sup>99</sup> The problem was that because of the changes in the Colonial Office, and the usual four to six month delay in letters, Bourke was receiving mixed news that was usually out of date. In early 1835 he was informed that with Spring Rice as Colonial Secretary his church and school reforms would be soon approved.<sup>100</sup> However, in the space of a few months he received letters explaining the circumstances around the dismissal of the Whig government and that with Lord Aberdeen in the Colonial Office there would be little chance of his reforms being approved.<sup>101</sup>

Dick also kept his father up to date with sectarian problems in Ireland, especially the ‘outrageous conduct of the Protestants’. He claimed militant Protestant Reverend Mortimer O’Sullivan ‘was more insulting than O’Connell on his worst day’.<sup>102</sup> The resurgence of militant Evangelicalism in Ireland was partly a response to the anti-Catholic backlash in Britain that Broughton would have experienced first

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<sup>98</sup> Dudley and Fanny Perceval were Bourke’s daughter and son-in-law. Spring Rice to Bourke, 22 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>99</sup> Bourke often used the military term ‘intelligence’ in relation to the information Dick provided. Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 14 December 1834, 4 February, 7 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>100</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 1, 2 and 30 September 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. Bourke seems to have found out about Spring Rice’s appointment as Colonial Secretary from a newspaper report. He then wrote to Dick stating how he looked forward to an ‘account of your success in the principal matters’. Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 24 November 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L. By this time Spring Rice had been replaced. The possible reasons why he did not approve Bourke’s measures will be discussed in Chapter 7.

<sup>101</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 16 November 1834, 10 January 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>102</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 10 January 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

hand.<sup>103</sup> Dick was told by Spring Rice that he was ‘fully determined’ not to take office in 1835 if too many Radicals were admitted.<sup>104</sup> Bourke was also kept informed of the religious and education debate in England and the other colonies.

Privately, Bourke was extremely frustrated at the delays in approving his reforms. In one despatch, after pointing out that large increases in revenue offered him the opportunity to implement his plans, he officially stated that he was waiting for ‘the honour of your Commands with some anxiety’.<sup>105</sup> This was forthright language for official correspondence, but it was written to Spring Rice asking specifically about education, knowing he was the man who was most responsible for implementing general education in Ireland. Part of Bourke’s problem with the church and school issue was that because he was replacing the Corporations’ activities, he linked both measures in his original despatch. This is not to diminish his desire to combine religion and education, and the fact that in the colony any new education plan would have had to take into account the existing parochial school system. However, the complexity of linking two contentious issues in one despatch was pointed out by Spring Rice, alluding that in hindsight separating them into different despatches would have meant less trouble in the Colonial Office, where each despatch was individually addressed, often requiring advice and comment from multiple people and departments.<sup>106</sup>

Bourke was also worried at the time about a petition from the Hunter Valley settlers and sent a copy to Dick to give to Spring Rice. He complained to Dick that he had ‘no help in the Colonial Office’ and said ‘God help you my boy’.<sup>107</sup> He also sent Dick copies of the ‘Unpaid Magistrate’ tract to distribute to influential friends.<sup>108</sup> Bourke was particularly concerned that the misrepresentation of convict matters could

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<sup>103</sup> Wolfe, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 2, 16. Jennifer Ridden has pointed out the differentiation between the Irish nationalists and the liberal Whigs such as Bourke and Spring Rice. Ridden, ‘Making Good Citizens’, pp. 303-305.

<sup>104</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 8 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>105</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 13 January 1835, *HRA*, p. 629.

<sup>106</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 15 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>107</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 April 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L. The Petition was the ‘Hole in the Corner Petition’.

<sup>108</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 14 December 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. ‘Observations on the "Hole and Corner Petition": in a letter to the Right Honourable Edward G. Stanley, ... for the Colonial Department / by an Unpaid Magistrate’. This was a response written by Roger Therry to the Hunter Valley settlers’ petition.

reflect on the approval of his reforms.<sup>109</sup> Dick was able to give his father encouragement by informing him that despite his major reforms not being approved, ‘his wisdom and prudence was highly valued at the Colonial Office’, and the colony was becoming more valuable ‘to the Empire’ and ‘must eventually rise to be one of the greatest Kingdoms of the world’.<sup>110</sup> In personal correspondence with Dick in this period, Bourke’s concern for the church and school issue was usually paramount and he often expressed his anxiety on the matter.<sup>111</sup>

In 1835 Bourke wrote a confidential letter to George Arthur, governor of Van Diemen’s Land. Arthur had questioned him in private correspondence regarding his church and school policy, probably after receiving a letter from Broughton when he was in England. Broughton corresponded frequently and frankly with Arthur throughout his term as governor. Bourke explained that the inability of the Church and Schools Corporation to provide for churches and education had prompted him to formulate his proposals and that Broughton was consulted. He had not expected the level of opposition he received from Broughton, and although he did not expect such a delay, he believed his measures were now ‘for the most part approved by the Secretary of State and the Cabinet’.<sup>112</sup> This was written after Bourke first discovered Spring Rice was in the Colonial Office, before the dismissal and Broughton’s lobbying began in earnest. By August he was reading about the battle over the Irish Church Bill, and that if it was passed by the Lords, then the relationship of Stanley’s faction with the Whigs would be in question.<sup>113</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, this fundamentally contributed to the Whig’s dismissal.

Despite no word on his church, school or judicial reforms, Bourke believed that all these measures were in tune with overall public opinion.<sup>114</sup> He was encouraged when he received the April 1835 newspapers from England and learned of the new Whig administration. He wrote to his son, ‘I have every reason to suppose that Mr C

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<sup>109</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 19 July 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>110</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 26 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>111</sup> For example, Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 18 October 1834, 11 April 1835, 19 July 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>112</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 12 March 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>113</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 17 August 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>114</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 27 June 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

Grant will coincide with me in opinion'. He thanked Dick for his petitions in Downing Street and hoped the church and school matter would not be opposed.<sup>115</sup> The joy he expressed at hearing Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, was Colonial Secretary gives further credibility to Bourke's authorship of Athamik. He was aware of Glenelg's Irish sympathies and family history, so it would have seemed logical to assume a speedy approval. Unfortunately, Bourke underestimated Broughton's effectiveness in the Colonial Office in 1835, which will be examined in the next chapter. He considered Broughton's opposition to his plans as having no practical basis, being primarily centred on the argument that it taught 'no particular doctrine in the hours of School', or specifically Anglican doctrine. He was always confident the Colonial Office would appreciate the practical superiority and fairness of his scheme.<sup>116</sup> Bourke had heard from Dick that the 1834 Whig cabinet had received his education reforms favourably, but when he did not receive any communication he became concerned.<sup>117</sup> In 1836 his frustration was growing and he wrote to Arthur: 'Between us the Minister has not decided and Education languishes in a Country where it is perhaps more required than any under the sun'.<sup>118</sup> Unbeknown to him, his plans had been approved and a despatch was in transit.

Despite private disappointment and frustration at the delays, Bourke publicly moved forward as positively as possible. At the start of the 1834 sitting, he informed the Legislative Council of the 'readiness' of the Secretary of State to 'co-operate with the Council' in approving additional Roman Catholic chaplains and extend money for the education of Catholic children.<sup>119</sup> In the estimates for 1835, he further increased funding for churches by increasing the Catholic provision to £2368 and providing the Presbyterians with an extra £500 for an additional chapel on the proviso the funding was matched by private subscription.<sup>120</sup> Catholic funding had increased nearly 600% since Bourke came to office when overall government revenue had only increased

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<sup>115</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 13 August 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>116</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 15 March 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>117</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 11 April 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>118</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 15 March 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>119</sup> *V&P*, 30 May 1834.

<sup>120</sup> *V&P*, 13 June 1834.

from £127,476 to £132,790.<sup>121</sup> In total, Bourke had increased funding to the churches for religion and schools to 17% of gross revenue.

In the 1836 estimates, he again increased Catholic funding to £2871, including £1928 for the provision of Catholic priests. In this budget the Presbyterians received £1513, their first funding increase for two years, after Bourke responded to a memorial from the Presbytery of New South Wales requesting three additional ministers for Parramatta, Argyle and the Upper Hunter. The stipend provided for each minister was only £100 as the inhabitants committed to provide equal funding. This compared to £150 received by the Roman Catholic clergy. There was also extra funding allocated in response to a plan received from the Presbyterians to establish schools based on ‘the Parish Schools of Scotland’ in each district where a Scots Church was established.<sup>122</sup> In their petition, J. D. Lang described the parish schools of Scotland as combining useful education with religious instruction, and ‘under Divine Blessing’ training up the ‘youth of the Country on piety towards God and the practice of virtue’.<sup>123</sup> This meant that a year before the Church Act was implemented the government was already subsidising Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian schools in a number of different areas.

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Bourke was aware how significant funding increases to Catholics could be viewed negatively, and justified his actions to the Colonial Office on the rationale that it was necessary because Catholics represented a large section of the poor and required additional assistance for their churches and schools.<sup>124</sup> An important facet of Bourke’s governorship was the toleration and support he extended to the Catholic population, which was overwhelmingly Irish.<sup>125</sup> This stemmed partly from his Irish paternal nature, but more importantly from the respect he held for Catholic beliefs. Where Bourke differed from many Protestants was that he was not just tolerant of Catholics, he

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<sup>121</sup> This excludes the land fund which was dedicated to emigration.

<sup>122</sup> *V&P*, 9 July 1835.

<sup>123</sup> Lang to Bourke, 4 July 1835, *V&P*, 4 August 1835.

<sup>124</sup> Bourke to Goderich, 29 June 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 155.

<sup>125</sup> Chapter 4 will look at the influence of Catholics on the Church Act.

believed as Christians they were equal to Protestants.<sup>126</sup> He was a life-long supporter of emancipation and was annoyed at the ‘religious bigotry’ and lack of understanding displayed by the British people towards the Irish when he lived in England.<sup>127</sup> His disdain of intolerance and religious bigotry in Ireland is demonstrated in the ‘Athamik’ letter, and in the colony he witnessed similar disrespect for Catholic rights and belief.

Bourke was prepared to rise above doctrinal differences and promote a common Christian purpose. Catholic practices may not have been part of his belief system, but he was prepared to accept various Christian perspectives as being legitimate to their particular adherents. This is best exemplified in a letter to Dick in 1836, when Bourke expressed delight at the success of Catholics ‘labouring in the vineyard’, and boasted how their influence on the morals of the poor was ‘admitted by many who are as opposed to their doctrines as I am’.<sup>128</sup> In this letter Bourke is happy with the fruits of his increased funding, but more importantly he uses a very supportive Christian expression to describe the ministry of the Catholic priests, despite admitting he was opposed to their doctrines.

Despite theological disagreement, Bourke considered Catholicism as a legitimate ‘branch of Christianity’ and respected their achievements.

We should remember that Christ is the way; and that the Roman Catholic is a Christian: and while our views have led us to a different road from his, we ought not to think and speak irreverently of that, which our fellow Christian may as piously have preferred. It, on the contrary, becomes us to rejoice humbly and sincerely, that both roads may lead the faithful to salvation.<sup>129</sup>

He claimed Catholics were ‘close kindred’ to the Anglican Church, because they ‘repeat our creeds’, address God in prayer in the ‘words the Son of God has taught us’, and ‘to the merits of that Son’, the Catholic ‘looks through faith, for his salvation’. For

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<sup>126</sup> For the dominance of Protestant belief in colonial elites see Christine Wright, *Wellington's Men in Australia: Peninsular War Veterans and the Making of Empire c.1820-40*, Basingstoke, 2011, pp. 76-77; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850*, 2007, p. 285.

<sup>127</sup> Bourke to La Marchant, 27 November 1809, in King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 47.

<sup>128</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 August 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>129</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 5, 14.



these reasons, he argued Protestants and Catholics were ‘different branches’ of a Christian ‘tree’ that ‘sprung from a common root’.<sup>130</sup>

Bourke considered the Catholic ‘laity of the lower orders’ to be ‘strongly and heartily attached to their religion’. He admired their ‘simple and innocent faith’ and sincere Christian reverence ‘for the sacred charter of his priest’. Therefore, the Catholic priests had as much right to instruct their people as the Anglican did, as they provided both spiritual and social benefits.<sup>131</sup> Bourke had a great love of the Irish Catholic people and he found among them, ‘Rank, Distinction ... Intellectual Eminence, Worth, Talent and Cultivation’, while the lower classes were a ‘brave’, ‘generous’ and ‘eminently amiable people’, ‘not only bearing their many sorrows and privations quite like men; but with a mild and patient fortitude, that is almost super-human’. To him, Ireland was distinguished from other countries ‘by her innocence; not her guilt’.<sup>132</sup>

Considering the affection and respect he had for the Irish it is no wonder he acted to redress inequality in New South Wales by gradually increasing funding to the Catholics. The perception that Bourke was advancing the Catholic faith was magnified by the arrival of Reverend William Ullathorne and Bishop John Bede Polding, as many Protestants were fearful of the effectiveness of these new priests. Leading Evangelical Samuel Marsden was one person who did not share Bourke’s joy about the success of these Catholic ministers, and informed the Church Missionary Society that the Catholics were ‘proselytising and increasing their numbers rapidly’. He complained that ‘the present government was very favourable to their cause’.<sup>133</sup> Other prominent Christian leaders, such as Lang and Broughton, harboured similar views, which sectarianised their critique of Bourke’s policies and governorship.<sup>134</sup> However, the assertion that ‘both roads’ led to salvation particularly set Bourke apart from most of

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>133</sup> Marsden to Coates, 22 January, 23 February 1836, M.L. B.T. Box 54, pp. 1876-1878.

<sup>134</sup> This will be considered in the new few chapters.

the colonial Protestant elite.<sup>135</sup> Catholic practices may not have been part of his own belief system, but he was prepared to accept various Christian perspectives as being legitimate to their various adherents, and more importantly to God. That is why Bourke expressed joy to Dick regarding the effectiveness of Catholic ministry, because he considered their success as being as worthwhile as any other denomination.

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Glenelg's response to the September 1833 despatch to Stanley, dated 30 November 1835, arrived in the colony in early June 1836. It endorsed the church reforms but was less supportive of the school policy, leaving it to the Governor and the Legislative Council to decide.<sup>136</sup> Bourke was happy when he received the despatch, writing to his son that 'the Church and School matters have been settled to my wishes'. He seems to have believed, at this stage, the direction of having the Governor and Council decide the schools issue as presenting no problem to his plans.<sup>137</sup> He presented Glenelg's reply to the Legislative Council along with a speech where he highlighted the growing prosperity of the colony as 'under the blessing of Providence' and the children of this most 'flourishing of the British possessions' ... 'justly claim to participate in British Institutions'.<sup>138</sup> On 30 June 1836, Bourke laid before Council the estimates for 1837 expenditure, where for the first time church and schools expenditure was separated and greatly increased. This included provision for six additional Anglican and six additional Catholic clergy and an allocation of £3000 for National Schools with slightly increased funding to all parochial schools. These estimates were passed without division.<sup>139</sup> When Bourke outlined his plan for education to the Legislative Council, he made it clear the system did not seek to exclude religious education, but merely limit the 'daily and ordinary instruction' to 'those leading doctrines of

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<sup>135</sup> The perception that Bourke may have secretly been a papist has been implied by recent historians. G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 112. This is clearly incorrect, as he was whole-heartedly Anglican.

<sup>136</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 201.

<sup>137</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 15 June 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>138</sup> *V&P*, 2 June 1836.

<sup>139</sup> *V&P*, 30 June 1836, 14 July 1836.

Christianity, and those practical duties in which it is hoped all Christians agree'. He also promised government aid for denominational schools.<sup>140</sup>

At this time, Bourke denied Broughton his position in the Legislative Council after his return in June 1836, based on the argument that since the office of Archdeacon had been revoked, his seat on the Legislative Council was relinquished. Bourke had this endorsed by legal opinion and sent a despatch to Glenelg, claiming Broughton's presence created 'ill-feeling' with other churches, and this complaint would intensify with the implementation of the new provisions. Bourke and Broughton had clashed in the Legislative Council over the King's School, the Wellington Valley mission and Catholic funding. Bourke wanted him sidelined when his new reforms were debated. However, Broughton had negotiated that as bishop, he would maintain his political position but official confirmation had not yet arrived. The fact that Bourke refused to take the word of the Bishop of Australia on this matter does reflect the level of animosity in their relationship.<sup>141</sup>

When the Legislative Council met on 22 July 1836, Bourke presented 'A Bill to promote the Building of Churches and Chapels and to Provide for the Maintenance of Ministers of Religion in New South Wales', which he prepared with the assistance of J. H. Plunkett.<sup>142</sup> The Church Act was read for the first time and sent out for printing. At this meeting in his absence, a letter was presented from Broughton objecting to the provision in the estimates for National Schools. Bourke countered the assertions of the petition by presenting a detailed outline of his plan.<sup>143</sup>

The next week was an explosive one in council. On the 27 July the Church Bill had its second reading and obtained a sight amendment relating to a clause on the provision of building maintenance and management, which was withdrawn on Broughton's request, because it mixed up the 'Church of England Temporalities with other communions'. Further legislation was deemed necessary for this.<sup>144</sup> On Friday 29

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<sup>140</sup> *S.H.*, 11 July 1836.

<sup>141</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 11 June 1836, p. 439.

<sup>142</sup> 7 Wm. IV. No. 3. Plunkett's role will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>143</sup> *V&P*, 22 July 1836.

<sup>144</sup> *V&P*, 27 July 1836; Bourke to Glenelg, 14 September 1836, *HRA* 1, XVIII, p. 535.

July 1836, the Church Bill had its third reading and was passed without division.<sup>145</sup> The rest of the week was taken up with the ramifications of a petition from a ‘Committee of Protestants’, instigated by Broughton, which proposed the subject of education be put out to a Select Committee that would seek and receive evidence from ‘members of every denomination of Christians’ to determine the ‘general feeling of the colonists’ regarding education.<sup>146</sup> This caused the vote on appropriations to be stalled. A resolution was tabled that in any National Schools a chapter of the New Testament should be read at the start of each week, which enabled Bourke to have the appropriations passed. In addition to the passing of the Church Act, a further £150 was appropriated to the ‘Wesleyan mission’ for the provision of a Sunday schools.<sup>147</sup>

Bourke was extremely unhappy about Broughton’s behaviour, and on the same day sent a despatch to Glenelg accusing Broughton of being ‘now engaged for the purpose of defeating the wishes of His Majesty’s Government and of this Government in the establishment of National Schools’.<sup>148</sup> Bourke knew that in letters to his friends Broughton claimed he would not accept the bishopric ‘unless the Education of the Colonists was placed in his hands and a greater limitation imposed on the Establishments of Dissenters’. Bourke was surprised when both measures were approved and Broughton appointed. In one despatch, Bourke complained to the Colonial Office that Broughton had cast aspersions on the British government over its decision on national education in Ireland, calling it ‘subversive to the fundamental principal of Protestantism’, while ‘other statements he has made are libellous and inflammatory’.<sup>149</sup> Bourke told Dick that the Bishop was concealing his High Church principles from other Protestants to form a coalition against his plan, supported by Alexander McLeay and ‘others’ in the Council.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> *V&P*, 29 July 1836.

<sup>146</sup> The Humble Petition of William Grant Broughton, Doctor in Divinity, Bishop and Ordinary Pastor of the Diocese of Australia to Governor Sir Richard Bourke and the Legislative Council, Printed by Order of the General Committee of Protestants, 25 July 1836, *V&P*, 25 July 1836.

<sup>147</sup> *V&P*, 25 July 1836.

<sup>148</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 25 July 1836, *HRA* 1, XVIII, p. 457.

<sup>149</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 8 August 1836, *HRA* 1, XVIII, p. 474.

<sup>150</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 June 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

The interesting point regarding this week was that the Church Act, and its increased appropriation of colonial funds purely for the expansion of Christianity, was passed without any opposition, while at the same time the National Schools were attacked and opposed in public meetings and in the conservative press, especially the *Herald* and the *Sydney Gazette*, now owned by councillor Richard Jones.<sup>151</sup> Bourke was only able to get the appropriation through when he guaranteed a New Testament reading, which was part of the system he was promoting anyway.<sup>152</sup> The final point is at the time of the Church Act, the Wesleyan Church was still described as a ‘mission’, which partly explains their omission from the 1836 Act.<sup>153</sup>

Previous to the Church Act there were 18 Anglican, 8 Presbyterian, and 7 Catholic funded ministers. This number had risen significantly during Bourke’s governorship. In the first year of the Church Act there was initial provision for more than a 50 % increase.<sup>154</sup> The Act, its intentions, and the increased appropriations were all publicly reported, and yet there was virtually no public opposition in the media. In a public meeting on 12 April 1836, Wentworth condemned the *Herald* and the *Exclusives’* attacks on Bourke. He called Bourke’s administration a ‘mild and paternal Government’.<sup>155</sup> Bourke had the confidence of the Emancipist party as his reforms provided them far greater inclusion in civil society. This may have been a factor in the bipartisan support demonstrated for the Church Act. James Macarthur wrote ‘it was met with the full concurrence and approbation of the colonists at large’.<sup>156</sup>

Bourke was surprised when the Church Act was passed so swiftly.<sup>157</sup> He received literally no opposition, even when the *Herald* reported Broughton’s claim that

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<sup>151</sup> Jones was an opponent of Bourke, see Walker, *Newspaper Press*, p. 22. The *Monitor* and the *Australian* fully supported Bourke’s education reforms. See especially *Australian*, 21 June, 24 June, and 15 July 1836.

<sup>152</sup> *V&P*, 25 July 1836.

<sup>153</sup> *V&P*, 28 July 1836.

<sup>154</sup> *V&P*, 14 July 1836, 5 August 1836.

<sup>155</sup> *Australian*, 15 April 1836.

<sup>156</sup> James Macarthur, *New South Wales its present state and future prospects: being a statement, with documentary evidence, submitted in support of petitions to His Majesty and Parliament*, London, 1837, p. 242.

<sup>157</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 27 September 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

the donations of British Societies would be matched by colonial revenue.<sup>158</sup> The main funding opposition was from the *Herald*. They objected to the religious provision for convicts not being allocated out of the Military Chest.<sup>159</sup> Glenelg had already addressed this matter but word had not reached the colony.<sup>160</sup> The *Herald* regarded the payment of clergymen by the state as better than the system of tithes in England. It also reported ‘there seems to be no dissenting voices on the subject’.<sup>161</sup> Bourke was therefore correct when he informed the Colonial Office that the act ‘met with no opposition in the Council and I have great confidence in assuring your Lordship that the measure meets with the sincere and grateful acquiescence of all classes of the Community’.<sup>162</sup> The bipartisan support for such a dramatic funding upgrade for the expansion of religion is strong evidence against the dominance of secular Enlightenment principles in New South Wales.

On Broughton’s arrival back in the colony, he was presented with a copy of the Church Act to peruse, and responded with his ‘objections’.<sup>163</sup> In his critique Broughton took an unusually conciliatory approach by seeking to provide Bourke with some wisdom and guidance on the decision he was about to make. He related that his apprehension was not so much on the account of the Church, but of the government, which he saw as about to:

involve itself in a labyrinth out of which it cannot be extracted except by renouncing, at a distant date, all concerns about and all connection with, the interests and affairs of religion, and obliging, I fear, all sincerely Christian men to look upon the Government as less and less the friend of the cause of truth.

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<sup>158</sup> *S.H.*, 23 June 1836. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>159</sup> A major bipartisan colonial revenue grievance from 1834 to 1836 was the decision by the Treasury that the colony should provide a significant amount of funding towards police and gaols relieving the Military Chest. The Military Chest paid for Britain’s costs in the colony relating primarily to the maintenance of the penal section of the economy. In 1834 it was estimated that the convict population was 20,000 with the majority serving their sentences in assignment, which cost Britain virtually nothing. *V&P*, 10 July 1834.

<sup>160</sup> *S.H.*, 4 July 1836. For the funding of itinerant ministers for convicts see next chapter.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 14 September 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 535. Note that Bourke had adopted the practice of publishing the estimates of appropriation in the press before they were debated in council. See King, ‘Two Colonial Administrations’, p. 366.

<sup>163</sup> Broughton to Bourke, undated, M.L. Ab 29/6a. Probably June 1836.

He warned Bourke that ‘these evils’ may not ‘manifest’ themselves in their time in office, but their successors would reap the ‘full harvest’. He requested that provision be made to stop trustees using churches or chapels for ‘profane, secular or political purpose’, which was understandable, but he also requested that they must only be used for the ‘due and orderly celebration of public worship’. This may have been to stop them being used by groups such as the Primitive Methodists who had recently begun operations in the colony.<sup>164</sup>

After Broughton realised that he could not defeat the Church Act, he sought changes to suit the particular ecclesiastical governance of the Anglicans. He asserted:

As a Church we have a distinct polity of our own requiring for its maintenance in integrity and due efficiency the observance of many rules and precautions which cannot properly be provided for in a general bill ... we should have a separate act for our own government in temporalities; leaving the same course open to any other communion.<sup>165</sup>

Broughton was seeking to protect the Church. In August 1837 legislation was enacted to deal with the ‘temporal affairs’ of the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, primarily related to their church property, which will be discussed in future chapters.<sup>166</sup> It appears Broughton had a great deal of input into this Bill, and at minimum drafted the outline.<sup>167</sup>

After ensuring Anglican interests were secured in the Church Act, Broughton did not attempt any other opposition to the legislation. Alternatively, he organised a

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<sup>164</sup> Broughton to Bourke, We. no date, M.L. Ab 29/6a; E. G. Clancy, 'The commencement of the Primitive Methodist Mission in New South Wales', *Push*, Vol. 27, 1989, p. 23.

<sup>165</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 2 June 1836, M.L. Ab 29/6a.

<sup>166</sup> *V&P*, 4 August 1837 and 30 August 1837. ‘A Bill to regulate the Temporal affairs of Churches and chapels of the United Church of England and Ireland in New South Wales’. ‘A Bill to regulate the Temporal Affairs of the Presbyterian Churches and Chapels connected with the Church of Scotland in the Colony of New South Wales’. Both these bills were passed with small amendments. Taken collectively they form part of the Church Acts or the Bourke Acts, which is a term used by Border, *Church and State in Australia*.

<sup>167</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 1 June, 5 June 1837, M.L. Ab 29/6a.

meeting of Protestants on 24 June 1836 to discuss the proposed Irish School System. Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Wesleyans attended the meeting. Broughton as chairman proposed a number of resolutions including opposing any system founded on ‘interdicting the use of the Holy Scriptures’, or the free acknowledgement of the ‘Blessed Trinity’.<sup>168</sup> By using the term ‘interdict’ Broughton was insinuating a Papal inspired restriction on the free use of the Bible, and the reference to the Trinity was aimed at Socinians and Deists. A General Committee was formed which included Reverends Lang, Marsden, Saunders, Mansfield, McGarvie and Yale to obtain the co-operation of all Protestants against anything ‘subversive to the fundamental principles of Protestantism’.<sup>169</sup> Broughton fired the first shots in the education debate and clearly portrayed it as a sectarian battle.

Broughton presented the petition to Bourke as chairman of a ‘General Committee of Protestants’ and claimed to be acting in ‘perfect conformity’ with the views of the Secretary of State, who ‘was not desirous of prescribing any particular system of Public Education’, preferring to leave it to the Governor and the Legislative Council to ‘introduce a system that may be most acceptable to the great body of inhabitants’. Broughton claimed Glenelg’s dispatch was a recommendation not a directive. The basic contention of the petition was that a board of commissioners would determine scriptures, and there was nothing in the system to defend Protestant Christianity against Catholic ideas. It claimed the Irish System took the Bible out of the ‘hands of the people and put it under lock and key’. Broughton ‘in the sight of God’ deeply implored Bourke and the Council not to destroy the ‘salutary influence of the Reformed Religion’.<sup>170</sup>

In August 1836 the Protestant petition was laid before the Legislative Council, when again conservatives claimed the Irish School System was at odds with Glenelg’s

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<sup>168</sup> General Education Resolutions, Meeting of Protestants, 24 June 1836, in Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> The Humble Petition of William Grant Broughton, Doctor in Divinity, Bishop and Ordinary Pastor of the Diocese of Australia to Governor Sir Richard Bourke and the Legislative Council, Printed by Order of the General Committee of Protestants, 25 July 1836. The use of the term ‘Reformed Religion’ in this petition subtly included Calvinists.



direction.<sup>171</sup> Glenelg's despatch included documents relating to Irish education, along with a report from the British and Foreign School Society, with the comments:

I feel assured that I may safely leave to you [Bourke] and the Legislative Council the task of framing, on these principles, such a system as may be most acceptable to the great body of Inhabitants, and at the same time most conducive to the important end in view.<sup>172</sup>

Glenelg also wished 'to place the whole of the new Testament in the hands of the Children'.<sup>173</sup> The Protestant's petition maintained the Irish System taught scripture, but did not fulfil Glenelg's directive. This was portrayed as a denial of truth in an 'enlightened age', which hindered the spread of 'true religion' and 'sound morality' in a morally deficient society. This moral aspect will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9, but the main point, for now, is that the primary criticism of Bourke's education plan was that it denied the Protestant his religious liberty and hindered moral improvement. Bourke responded by providing a large amount of documentary evidence regarding the Irish School System and its initial success, clearly believing his opponents had misrepresented it.<sup>174</sup> He particularly took offence at the charge of interfering with the free use of scripture, and in reply to the resolutions of the Protestants, Bourke sent a circular from the Colonial Secretary's Office to be distributed throughout the colony. In this he contended against charges of attempting to 'interdict' the Holy Scriptures. He clarified that his National System, as in Ireland, was designed to bring 'Christian Children of all denominations together' teaching them in a way that did not clash with any peculiar religious opinions. He maintained care would be taken to ensure separate religious instruction, in particular 'Christian creeds' including prayers and catechism 'not only weekly, but daily' if needed.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> *V&P*, 11 August 1836.

<sup>172</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, pp. 201-207.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *V&P*, 11 August 1836.

<sup>175</sup> Circular Letter to Police Magistrates, 23 July 1836, in Bourke to Glenelg, 8 August 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 466. Bourke saved a copy of this circular in his private papers. Bourke Papers, Vol. 14, M.L.

Bourke clearly resented being accused of being subversive to Protestantism. He claimed it was six weeks after his initial announcement that he became acquainted with the mass of opposition organised by Broughton, where in public meetings he ‘misrepresented the system of the Irish Board ... and associated himself with other Dissenters and the Clergy to denounce it from the pulpits’.<sup>176</sup> Bourke’s circular specifically set out how Christian teaching would be expanded by general education. He also pointed out that the Irish Board of Education included representatives from all major denominations, including the Archbishop of Dublin. This is compelling evidence that Bourke was not proposing ‘secular’ education, but common Christian education. To better understand his motives, and why Bourke took such offence at this allegation, it is useful to look more closely at his beliefs.

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Bourke was a committed Anglican and fond of the traditional Anglican devotion. He enjoyed ‘the impressive eloquence of our liturgy and the powerful feelings which it is fitted to excite’, for it ‘swells my soul to more audible utterance of its devotions’. He preferred ‘the lowly muttered adoration of the heart, to the loud and not always unostentatious worship of the voice’.<sup>177</sup> From 1810 he practised total abstinence from alcohol, but did provide wine at his table.<sup>178</sup> His family network included many devout people. Bourke’s sister married the son of Bishop Horsley, and his daughter Fanny married Dudley Perceval, son of Evangelical Prime Minister Spencer Perceval. Bourke was a close personal friend of Bishop Jebb and his daughter Mary Jane married his nephew Reverend John Jebb. Bourke’s wife Elizabeth was raised as a devout Evangelical and was active in Irish improvement societies that were dominated by English and Irish Evangelicals.<sup>179</sup>

While Governor of New South Wales, Bourke suffered a number of personal tragedies. On these occasions his personal letters reveal a great deal about his beliefs, especially the afterlife. In May 1832, soon after arriving in the colony, he was

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<sup>176</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 8 August 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 466.

<sup>177</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, p. 19.

<sup>178</sup> Bourke to La Marchant, 7 November 1810, in King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 49.

<sup>179</sup> Ridden, ‘Making Good Citizens’, p. 110.

devastated by the death of his wife Elizabeth. 'I have been dealt a heavy affliction', he told Spring Rice, 'but God is just and having inspired my dearest Betsy with a full measure of resignation and hope he mercifully took her to himself ... pray for my consolation my dearest friend'.<sup>180</sup> He also wrote to George Arthur, with whom he often corresponded as a fellow devout believer, explaining how it would have been worse for Elizabeth if 'God had called me from the world before her'.<sup>181</sup> Bourke was shaken by her death. They had married at a traumatic time in his life after he had received horrific facial injuries in battle. Her health had prompted him to seek a better climate, but the journey to New South Wales so severely affected her health that he later questioned his decision.<sup>182</sup> In September, he again asked Spring Rice to 'pray for the consolation of your poor friend', but in this sorrow he still wrote, 'God is great my dear friend'.<sup>183</sup> Asking for prayer was not simply wishful thinking for Bourke. He was known to have a daily prayer regime whilst Governor of New South Wales, including a break for prayer at 3pm.<sup>184</sup> The extreme sadness Bourke felt after Elizabeth's death was kept hidden from most people, but in a letter to his daughter Fanny, he admitted how he 'prayed for strength to resist affliction' for 'my heart is ready to burst'.<sup>185</sup>

In May 1837, Bourke received news of his mother's death. He wrote to Dick:

I have lately prayed fervently that the Almighty would smooth her passage to His Grace and give her eternal happiness through Christ hereafter ... His mercy was shown to her in the easy passage from this life ... and can I doubt that his grace will be extended to her in the next ... I do humbly hope that our affections may be carried into the next life with a forbearing and purity much exceeding what is known in this world and without dissimulation of our love of God who is to be 'all in all' we may know again and love those whom we love here.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 May 1832, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>181</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 4 July 1832, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>182</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 23 March 1832, and 1 May 1832, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>183</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 22 September 1832, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>184</sup> Clark, *A History*, Vol. II, p. 250.

<sup>185</sup> Bourke to Fanny, 14 August 1833, quoted in King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 167.

<sup>186</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 25 May 1837, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

Bourke clearly believed in life after death. He hoped to see his mother again and ‘trusted in God’s mercy through Christ for being in the number of those whom she loved in this life who may be permitted to meet her in the next’.<sup>187</sup> He also felt his condition would have been ‘unmitigated affliction’ if he did not have hope in being reunited with Elizabeth one day and he ‘relied confidently in this expectation at times’.<sup>188</sup> Bourke’s thoughts must have often turned to the afterlife after he lost Elizabeth, a wife he loved dearly and never replaced. In a New Year salutation to Dick he wrote, ‘my dear Boy many, many happy years. May God help and protect you in each of them and render them all a happy prelude to eternity’.<sup>189</sup> When writing a very personal letter to Spring Rice, thanking him for his close personal friendship over the previous fifteen years, he expressed hope for future meetings in this life or if not ‘expectation of a happy communication in the next’.<sup>190</sup>

To Bourke, personal actions in this life affected the next. Extending Christianity and morality in the population was more than just about creating a perfect society. It bore significance for the individual and he was sympathetic in a very paternal fashion for the spiritual and moral welfare of the lower orders of society. Bourke’s motives can be interpreted in a liberal secular fashion, because he did believe education was the responsibility of the state rather than the clergy. But this was primarily due to the ineffective duplicity and exclusiveness of denominational education.<sup>191</sup> In integrating his Christian belief system into his policy decisions, he was consistent with other liberal Anglican Whigs who sought to create a pan-Christian social morality (see Chapter 1).

Bourke, like many men of this age, had a providential worldview. He wrote to Dick that he ‘thanked God for the community he entrusted him to govern’, and felt his ‘exertions for the good of the Colony will not be wholly lost or soon forgotten’.<sup>192</sup> In his opening address to the Legislative Council in 1836, he attributed the rising

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<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 4 July 1832, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>189</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 1 January 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>190</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 7 June 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>191</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 7 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>192</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 25 May 1837, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

prosperity of the colony to be ‘under the blessing of Providence’.<sup>193</sup> In correspondence he often informed his son that he would leave a certain matter to providence if he felt it warranted.<sup>194</sup> After a dry period in 1835, he thanked the ‘merciful interposition of Providence’ in providing good rains to save the crops.<sup>195</sup> When his son-in-law John Jebb obtained a good living in Herefordshire, Bourke attributed it to ‘as the gracious interference of Providence in their favour’.<sup>196</sup>

Bourke’s providential ideas were not like those of orthodox Calvinists and pre-millennium Evangelicals, who believed God was constantly directing earthly affairs and attributed all things to God’s favour or judgement. It was more the view of moderate Evangelicals who saw providence as the outworking of a moral law instituted by God, which accommodated knowledge, reason and progress as part of God’s plan, but also accepted trial and judgements in this order.<sup>197</sup> This was more complex than the fixed providence of natural religion, where God was seen as the transcendental ‘divine watchmaker’. Rather, it was the providence of the personal God of the devout, who prayed to Him for their direction and guidance.<sup>198</sup> When back in Ireland, Bourke wrote and advised Spring Rice not to make a particular decision ‘until you see more clearly what the will of God may have decided respecting your domestic concerns ... and I know from experience that if Providence should have desired this trial, it will be better borne’ without the demands of public office.<sup>199</sup>

Bourke promoted a tolerant Anglicanism. ‘Bigotry’, he wrote, ‘forms no part of our liberal religion’.<sup>200</sup> His library contained much religious and theological material

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<sup>193</sup> *V&P*, 2 June 1836. During Bourke’s term the colony benefited from a boom in British industry and capital. Brian H. Fletcher, ‘Governor Bourke and Squatting in New South Wales’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 74, No. 4, 1989, pp. 267-277.

<sup>194</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 1 March 1836, 26 Sept 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>195</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 18 September 1835, 15 March 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>196</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 1 July 1843, Bourke Letters, M.L. MSS 2328/2.

<sup>197</sup> See Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, London, 1984, p. 26; Boyd Hilton, ‘The role of Providence in evangelical social thought’, in G. Best and D. Beales (eds.), *History, Society and the Churches: essays in honour of Owen Chadwick*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 223-233.

<sup>198</sup> Arnold C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History*, London 1971; Mark Clement, ‘True Religion: Christianity and the Rhetoric of Early Nineteenth-Century English Popular Radicalism’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1996, pp. 1-19.

<sup>199</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 1 August 1839, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>200</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, p. 11.

including works by Thomas Arnold, Richard Whately and William Paley, writers who were famed for integrating modern ideas into Anglican theology.<sup>201</sup> However, Bourke also warned against an 'overly tolerant spirit' that 'endures all manner of eccentric wandering from the Christian orbit'. He specifically mentioned the followers of the Christian mystic, Joanna Southcote. Although he believed that rational study of the scripture would lead a man to discover that Protestantism was the correct path, he criticised those who over-rationalised scripture, such as the 'Socinian, or whatever name he goes by', preaching against the 'main mysterious foundations of our belief'. He sincerely believed and 'adored' the 'Blessed Trinity as a mystery', and thought that Catholic belief in other mysteries should be respected.<sup>202</sup>

In 1820 Bourke criticised the Second Reformation Movement for aggressively proselytising Catholics, whom he believed were already Christians. On other occasions he encouraged Evangelicalism. When at the Cape he supported missionary efforts to the Indigenous population, encouraging operations by the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyans and the Moravians, believing they would prepare 'savages' for 'the reception of Divinity'.<sup>203</sup> This is consistent with his contentions in Athamik, where he endorsed proselytism to infidels, but not to Catholics. The support of missionaries was also related to his co-operation with the humanitarian, anti-slavery lobby of the moderate Evangelical, Fowell Buxton, of the Clapham Sect.<sup>204</sup> He was disappointed with the lack of missionary activity directed towards Aborigines in New South Wales. He supported the Church Missionary Society mission at Wellington Valley, and when planning the settlement of Melbourne, he appointed George Langthorne as a missionary to the Aborigines.<sup>205</sup> Bourke's conception of conversion concurred with his belief that knowledge and reason would lead to Christian belief.

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<sup>201</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 51.

<sup>202</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 11, 19.

<sup>203</sup> Bourke to Bathurst, 28 September 1826, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol. 28, p. 134, in King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 113; Waugh, *Forgotten Hero*, p. 29.

<sup>204</sup> King, *Richard Bourke*, p. 114; Hazel King, 'The Humanitarian Leanings of Governor Bourke', *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 10, No. 37, 1961, pp. 19-29.

<sup>205</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 19 March 1832, Arthur Papers, M.L. Vol 8; King, *Richard Bourke*, pp. 188, 192-194. Langthorne made the Aborigines 'fully aware' of Bourke's 'deep interest' in their welfare. Langthorne to Bourke, 15 February 1837, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

Soon after Bourke arrived in New South Wales he informed Commandant Major James Thomas Morisset at Norfolk Island that he was concerned the convict settlement was not being sufficiently reformed. While Bourke ‘looked upon the practice of severe labour as the means under Providence most likely to affect the reformation of the Criminal’, he believed that attention to spiritual matters was also crucial. He instructed Morisset to encourage a particular prisoner, who was undertaking ministry to ‘his own kind’, by awarding him a small stipend. He informed Morisset that he was in the process of obtaining a clergyman for the island, and in the meantime was arranging for the ‘judicious distribution of Bibles, Prayer books and such tracts’, which might have some ‘salutary influence’ on the settlement. In his request to Goderich for a Norfolk chaplain he appealed for a man with the ‘Zeal and Devotion of an Active Missionary’, because it was filled with the ‘worst criminals’.<sup>206</sup> Similarly, he concurred with the stipulation in the existing regulations concerning the ‘Custody and Management of Convicts sentenced to work in Irons on Roads or Public Works’, that the superintendent, or a person appointed by him, was to read prayers to convicts on Sundays at 10am and again at 3pm. Bourke directed that if non-Anglicans were present then the superintendent should attempt to find suitable services at churches for them ‘whenever it may be practical’.<sup>207</sup> Thus, Bourke considered the influence of Christianity essential for the reformation of even the worst prisoners. For this reason he was opposed to Church of England clergymen being magistrates, because it associated brutal punishment with Christianity.<sup>208</sup>

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The fact that Bourke was a devout Christian is something that none of his biographers have disputed, but this belief is rarely seen as fundamental to his motives. Bourke believed in rationality and that ‘cultivated enlightened reason’ would lead a man to Protestant belief. But he also exerted a strong belief in the mysteries of Christianity, such as the resurrection of Christ and the Trinity, and he criticised those that ‘over-rationalised’ spiritual matters to exclude the ‘mysterious foundations’ of

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<sup>206</sup> Bourke to Morisset, 12 March 1832, CO 201/238; Bourke to Goderich, 28 February 1832, *HRA*, I, XVI, p. 542.

<sup>207</sup> 3 Will. IV No. 3, Regulations, 15 February 1834, CO/201/238.

<sup>208</sup> Waugh, *Forgotten Hero*, p. 59.

Christianity.<sup>209</sup> This allowed him to accept many aspects of Catholic belief, without necessarily agreeing with them. Without appreciating Bourke's belief system his motives can be over secularised, especially regarding his education plans, which at no time excluded Christian teaching. Rather, they were modelled on his own ideas that education could expand and reinforce Christian belief.

After the Church Act was approved he gave a speech regarding the expected increases in expenditure as being 'proper and necessary' to keep religion alive in the early periods of establishing a colony'.<sup>210</sup> In a number of other speeches he reinforced two other benefits of the Church Act. First, it placed 'the people of this land in the full and assured possession of religious freedom', and second, it expanded religion for the 'honour of God and the good of man'.<sup>211</sup> He implemented the Church Act, not as a means to exert state control over religion, or to extend some deistic moral enlightenment, but to foster Christian belief. The moral implications of this will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. The church reforms formed a fundamental function in relation to the intention and purpose of his governorship, which was expressed by him soon after his arrival. This was to prepare the colony for the reception of increased settlement through the immigration of the labouring classes of Britain. He considered Christian belief an essential part of the moral and cultural bedrock of civil society, both individually and institutionally.

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<sup>209</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 11, 54.

<sup>210</sup> *V&P*, 11 August 1836.

<sup>211</sup> *S.G.*, 9 December 1837; *V&P*, 11 August 1836; 4 August 1835.



## Chapter 3: William Broughton and Anglican Ascendancy

William Broughton is a central figure in Michael Roe's thesis. He is portrayed as one of the leading opponents of moral enlightenment, because his Christian theology aligned with ideological ideas that battled to maintain the conservative old order. Roe politicised Broughton to the point that his Christian belief is barely noticeable. To Roe, his desire was to preserve conservative ideology rather than Christian belief, and so he sought to use the power of the Church for mostly political ends.<sup>1</sup> This chapter presents a more spiritual perspective to Broughton's opposition to Bourke's church and school reforms, and of his quest to maintain Anglican ascendancy in the colony, in order to 'see things his way' a little more clearly.

Broughton, although not born into a privileged background, received a classical education at the High Church stronghold of Pembroke College, Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> He developed a High Church 'consciousness' very early in his career.<sup>3</sup> Bishop Marcus Loane described Broughton as an old school, pre-Tractarian, High Churchman, who admired the Oxford Movement but was never a follower.<sup>4</sup> Shaw claims Broughton's role in frustrating the introduction of general education in 1836, 1839 and 1844 has seen him accused of 'sinning against the common people' in historical writing. He diminishes Broughton's role in these matters, claiming Bourke made him a scapegoat in 1836 and that other factors, such as opposition to the education of the poor with public funds, was the principle cause.<sup>5</sup> This thesis disagrees with this conclusion and places Broughton as the main and most effective opponent of state controlled education. This was partly ideological, but primarily reflected a belief that his

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, Melbourne, 1965, especially pp. 15-21, 35, 176, 206.

<sup>2</sup> The biography of Broughton by Shaw is the seminal reference for his full life. G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 1-6. Older biographies include: P. A. Micklem, 'William Grant Broughton, Bishop of Australia', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1936, pp. 190-202; F. T. Whittington, *William Grant Broughton, Bishop of Australia*, Sydney, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans, A History of the Diocese*, Sydney, 2000, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> M. L. Loane, *Hewn from the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney*, Sydney, 1976, pp. 56-57; Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, Sydney, 2007, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Shaw, 'The Political Career of William Grant Broughton', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1976, pp. 345-346.

education plans were fundamental to the propagation of 'true religion' in the post-Church Act religious environment. For this reason, I agree with Shaw that Broughton was following deep-seated convictions in seeking to maintain the domination of the Church of England at all costs, and historians have sometimes misconstrued these motives.<sup>6</sup>

Broughton recounted later in life how he had been introduced to the Duke of Wellington through Wellington's chaplain, the Rector of Strathfieldsaye, who lived near Broughton's curacy at Hartley Wells. This fortuitous event led to his appointment as chaplain of the Tower of London and, shortly after, the Archdeacon of New South Wales. Wellington impressed on Broughton the future importance of the Australian colonies and that 'they must have a Church' so they can 'flourish in the ground work laid in the knowledge and practices of revealed religion'. This deeply impacted on Broughton who felt that 'the Duke ... found me a curate and lived to see me a metropolitan'.<sup>7</sup> On being offered the Archdeaconry he wrote to his mother and described the offer as beyond his expectations, but he believed God had given him the ability to be effective in the position.<sup>8</sup>

On the journey to New South Wales, Broughton considered his mission and future duties. He criticised the Christian education that was being provided in India, because it compromised the 'essential portions' of the Anglican faith and merely read the 'moral instructions of the New Testament', providing a 'mutilated exhibition and communication of it'. He did not believe the moral lessons of the Gospel alone could effect real improvement, 'separated from doctrinal sanctions and without unreserved acceptance of the whole'.<sup>9</sup> Broughton clearly considered education as a means to propagate the Gospel as a form of doctrinal evangelism to propagate Anglicanism. He believed the English church was a branch of the 'true Catholic Church', established by

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<sup>6</sup> George P. Shaw, 'The Promotion of Civilization', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 74, No. 2, 1988, pp. 101-108.

<sup>7</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England; Its Constitution Mission and Trials*, London, 1857, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Broughton to Mother, 27 October and 4 November 1828, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>9</sup> 25 June, Diary of Archbishop Broughton on the Voyage to Australia, M.C. FM4 225. Broughton was criticising the Madras System, a version of the British and Foreign Schools System developed by Joseph Lancaster, which was popular with Dissenters.

God as an instrument to extend the Gospel against the ‘powers of evil and the rulers of darkness in this world’. Therefore, the British people should not be careless regarding the ‘blessing God had conferred upon it’ by allowing the ‘spirit of the age’, a plan of the devil, from hindering ‘the true divine mission’ of its Church. For this purpose, ‘divine and human learning should never be disunited’.<sup>10</sup> When first hearing of Bourke’s enthusiasm for a multi-denominational approach to teaching the Bible in schools, he opposed it.<sup>11</sup> To Broughton, this policy undermined the mission for which the Duke had commissioned him, as well as his own deeply held convictions of the ‘eternal obligations’ of his position as Archdeacon.<sup>12</sup>

Soon after arriving in New South Wales, Broughton gave a thanksgiving sermon at the end of a long drought in 1829, which was published by Governor Darling. He preached on the need to believe in ‘wise over-ruling Providence’ as distinct from mere fate, because a system which excluded the ‘finger of God from interposition in human affairs’ was no better than atheism. He pointed out that God allots ‘national good and evil’ to achieve his purposes, and punishments and rewards in proportion to neglect or the observance of his laws’. He likened the English nation to the Jews, whose history had an ‘inseparable connection between obedience and prosperity’. He linked this to the destiny of the colony and how the English have been ‘placed here by Providence’ with an ‘eternal purpose which was laid down in Christ Jesus before the world began’. He criticised as ‘narrow indeed’ colonial expansion motivated only by the pursuit of wealth and power, neglecting the true commission, which was to preach the Gospel ‘among all nations’. As a consequence ‘this country drank sufficiently of the cup of his displeasure’ ... that God ‘called a drought upon this land’. But in his mercy God had turned from the ‘wrath of his judgement’, therefore the people needed to ‘awaken amongst us’ our ‘Christian dispositions which are too manifestly wanting’.<sup>13</sup> During another drought in 1838, he requested the Governor

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<sup>10</sup> W. G. Broughton, *A Sermon Preached in the Canterbury Cathedral, 17 September 1835, being the 123rd anniversary of the Kings School Feast*, Canterbury, 1835, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England*, pp. xix-xx.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-42.

<sup>13</sup> W. G. Broughton, *A Sermon preached in the Church of St James, Sydney, on 12 November 1829, being the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, in Acknowledgement of His Mercy in putting an end to the Late Severe Drought and in Averting His Threatened Judgement from the Colony*, Sydney, 1829.

declare a day of fasting and prayer. After prayer during the fast night he noticed ‘a dramatic fall of the Barometer and the following day copious rain extending to almost every part of the country’. He saw this as God’s direct intervention, and believed it awakened ‘acknowledgement of the divine mercy in the minds of many who had previously no concern for religion’.<sup>14</sup>

To Broughton, the need to establish a Christian nation was not a simple product of his position as a minister. He was aware of fulfilling his own providential duty, which he saw as critical to the future of the colony and the British nation. God had provided the nation with favour to advance Christianity, but he was capable of judgement if they fell short.<sup>15</sup> These were passionate beliefs that drove his zeal and uncompromising attitude to matters of doctrine, and to the mission of the Church of England. His views on evangelism were similar to Bourke’s in that education was fundamental in propagating the faith.<sup>16</sup> However, for Broughton, true uncorrupted Christianity was limited to Anglicanism, and specifically his traditional High Church version. On his arrival in New South Wales he inherited a religious and education system suitable to facilitate his Christian mission.

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The Bigge Report was influential in Lord Bathurst’s decision to adopt the Canadian plan of reserving land to maintain the Church, and to appoint an ecclesiastical leader in New South Wales.<sup>17</sup> Bathurst was fully supportive of the institutions of the old order, and the Duke of Wellington and the Archbishop of Canterbury influenced his decision.<sup>18</sup> Thomas Hobbes Scott was given a commission by Bathurst to ‘diffuse throughout the colony adequate means of education and religious instruction’. His Letters Patent emphasised that religion and education ‘ought in all cases to be

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<sup>14</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 28 November 1838, M.L. FM4 560. I will refer back to this verse later in the thesis to compare a similar belief of Charles Harpur.

<sup>15</sup> For a good description of the Divine purpose of Britain in the Anglican mind see Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850*, 2007, pp. 285-286.

<sup>16</sup> Broughton from his first position as curate focused on education. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Judd, *Sydney Anglicans*, p.8.

<sup>18</sup> D. M. Young, *The Colonial Office in the Early Nineteenth Century*, London, 1961, p. 18.

inseparably connected'.<sup>19</sup> Scott was the first official minister to occupy a position different from the chaplain's commission initially given to Richard Johnson.<sup>20</sup> It established the Church as a separate unit within the body politic by giving the Archdeacon a permanent seat in the Executive and Legislative Councils, and an official ranking below the Governor in the hierarchy.<sup>21</sup> It created a new source of authority in the colony.<sup>22</sup> This was the first time in the history of New South Wales that the legal status of the Church was defined, and for Scott, and afterwards Broughton, this constituted establishment in their minds.<sup>23</sup> The policy was an attempt by the Colonial Office to expand religion and education within a Tory framework.<sup>24</sup>

Scott came to the colony with the belief that the Church and Schools Corporation, established in 1826, would allow him to expand Anglican churches and schools, but its failure to realise the necessary finance, and his own political and personal conflicts, rendered his tenure as Archdeacon divisive and ineffective. Men like W. C. Wentworth resented the extension of Toryism through the expansion of the established Church as a threat to their political aspirations regarding self-government.<sup>25</sup> Scott's pretensions and alignment with the colonial elite only served to reinforce this idea.

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<sup>19</sup> Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia, 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia*, London, 1962, pp. 41, 45. Kelvin Grose has pointed out how this was devised by Bathurst as an instrument of social reform and the schools would be set up on the principles of the National Society. He also notes that Scott had a significant input to this decision in England. Kelvin Grose, 'Scott, Arthur and The Clergy Reserves in Van Diemen's Land', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 75, No. 3, 1989, pp. 179-184; Kelvin Grose, 'Why was Hobbes Scott Chosen Archdeacon of New South Wales?', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 69, No. 4, 1984, pp. 254-255.

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed look at the ecclesiastical difference between the category of chaplain and missionary see Hilary Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801-1908*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 40-70.

<sup>21</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp. 21-25, 28. Scott's position mirrored the old order in Britain of King, Lord Chancellor, Archbishop, see Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> Brian Fletcher, 'The Anglican Ascendancy, 1788-1835', in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, Melbourne, 2002, pp. 15-18.

<sup>23</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp. 51-59; For a good analysis of the legal question of Anglican establishment see Fletcher, 'Anglican Ascendancy', in Kaye, *Anglicanism in Australia*, p. 16; Also Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, p. 51. Shaw highlights the despatch Goderich to Bourke, 4 July 1832, *HRA*, 1, XVI, p. 672, where Goderich makes reference to the 'Clergy of the Established Church', Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 60.

<sup>24</sup> A scheme to advance Christianity through the established Church in the West Indies was also undertaken. See Chapter 6.

<sup>25</sup> M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Melbourne, 1987, p. 45.

The Church and Schools Corporation only provided money for Anglican clergy and most ministers supplemented their income with a school. A typical package consisted of a small stipend, as low as £40 with a small residence, which meant school and clerical fees constituted a major proportion of their total income.<sup>26</sup> Catholic and Presbyterian ministers received government support as chaplains, while other churches, such as the Methodists and the Independents, relied on voluntary contributions or support as missionaries. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed in 1814 and within four years it had sent out 111 missionaries to twelve countries, including Samuel Leigh to New South Wales.<sup>27</sup> Despite a recommendation from William Wilberforce he came into conflict with Samuel Marsden.<sup>28</sup> Many other Methodist missionaries from the Pacific made visits.<sup>29</sup> The Reverend William Walker was one such man. He travelled to the newly settled areas over the mountains and relayed a message home of how the Aborigines 'easily accept the Gospel but lose it when they return to the bush'. He believed he was called to be a missionary to the colony.<sup>30</sup> The Methodists, despite opening chapels in Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor in the 1820s, were viewed in the context of a missionary organisation until the arrival of Joseph Orton in the 1830s.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Marsden to Bickensteth, 19 October 1829, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p. 1808; A good account of early schools is E. C. Rowland, 'Early Schools in New South Wales', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 23, No. 5, 1948, pp. 296-301.

<sup>27</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 8-10. A good account of Methodist lay ministry in this period is Ian H. Murray, *Australian Christian Life from 1788: An Introduction and an Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1988, pp. 49-59.

<sup>28</sup> Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity*, p. 8. Despite being a Methodist, Samuel Leigh was sponsored through university by the Church Missionary Society, see S. M. Johnstone, *A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia and Tasmania*, Sydney, 1975, pp. 68-70; Alexander Strachan, *Remarkable Incidents in the Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh Missionary to the Settlers and Savages of Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1855, pp. 15-25. Marsden was sponsored through university and appointed to New South Wales through the influence of William Wilberforce. J. A. Ferguson, 'Reverend Samuel Marsden: His Life and Work', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1923, p. 82; Don Wright and Eric Clancy, *The Methodists: A History of Methodism in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1993, p. xvii.

<sup>29</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of Australian Churches*, Sydney, 1993, p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> W. Walker to Father, 26 January 1824, M.L. B.T. Box 53, Reel 3, p. 1365.

<sup>31</sup> Wright and Clancy consider the Church Act and immigration the catalyst for the growth in the movement in the late 1830s. Wright, *The Methodists*, pp. 10, 16, 18, 20.

Broughton arrived in the colony in 1829 at the tail end of the Church and Schools Corporation, and arguably at the zenith of conservative domination in the colony. His plans for the expansion of churches and schools were immediately raised in the Legislative Council, including a proposal for a King's School for the future gentlemen of the colony. Darling and the Church and Schools trustees submitted Broughton's plan to the Colonial Office with the firm view that education was the responsibility of the 'Established Church'. This would be conducted at two distinct levels. The King's School, for the elite, was based on a rigorous programme similar to an English grammar school. Religious education was divided into parts that dealt with religious character, religious history, in particular the Reformation, and specific teaching on the doctrines, ordinances and discipline of the Anglican Church including the Sacraments.<sup>32</sup> A secondary plan was proposed for general education. This system was designed to be more inclusive and teach doctrines 'which are permitted by nearly all denominations and persuasions: confining the more specific inculcation of our own particular views to those who do not express their dissent from them'.<sup>33</sup> This section of Broughton's plan bears a striking resemblance to the principles embodied in Bourke's general education scheme. Broughton, however, proposed this in an environment still dominated by the fundamental principals of the Church and Schools Corporation, when the Archdeacon was expected to oversee education policy, and Church of England clergy and masters would naturally dominate the system (see Chapter 8). Because his plan for general education was in principle similar to Bourke's proposal, it could be assumed that his primary disagreement with Bourke centred more on control, or more explicitly, on the fact that he would have to share policy and curriculum decisions, especially on doctrinal issues, with members of other denominations, including Catholics.

Broughton believed the function of the Church of England was to 'preserve our distance from Geneva, without running as some seem half inclined, back to Rome'.<sup>34</sup> He was a dedicated High Churchman who was influenced by the renewal of that group in the 1830s, especially their contention with liberal Anglicans regarding the inclusion

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<sup>32</sup> Broughton's initial plans for schools in the attachments to Darling to Murray, 10 February 1830, *HRA*, I, XV, pp. 356-367.

<sup>33</sup> Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, *HRA*, I, XV, p. 363.

<sup>34</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 25 February 1839, M.C. FM4 225.

of Dissenters into the religious nation. Before being appointed to New South Wales, he had desperately opposed Emancipation and even directly lobbied the Duchess of Wellington to influence her husband.<sup>35</sup> In New South Wales he promoted a renewal in Anglican Christianity with the zeal of an evangelical itinerant. In his first 'Charge to the Clergy' in 1829, he preached that the first 'duty of every minister of the Church of Christ is to deliver the message of the Gospel without evasion or corruption'. 'The religion of Jesus Christ' is 'under the character of salvation' and 'the Redeemer the fundamental proposition'. The clergy's job was to 'renew the minds' of the people 'to the image of the creator', and he encouraged them to minister 'outside the Church' and to extend their ministry to the Aborigines.<sup>36</sup> In this sermon Broughton used a very evangelical style to promote Atonement, but like Bourke, he sought to 'renew the minds' of the people as a path to salvation, which is why education formed an integral part of his plan.

Broughton was frustrated with indifference towards belief by Anglicans in the colony, and he found some 'deplorably ignorant of the grounds upon which their Church is founded'.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, he sought to bring all Anglicans under his ecclesiastical guidance and direction. However, outside his governance was a branch of the Church Missionary Society, an Evangelical organisation, which had been established with Governor Brisbane's consent in 1825, for 'the improvement of the Religious and Civil condition of the Aboriginal'.<sup>38</sup> Their missionary enterprise at Wellington Valley came under Marsden's responsibility as the regional leader.<sup>39</sup> Broughton had a problem with this large facility, and their ministers, being outside his control, but Marsden was able to negotiate an arrangement where he portrayed the establishment as a missionary enterprise under the government and the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. He suggested Broughton, as a member of the government, could promote its welfare, and visit Wellington Valley in this capacity to

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<sup>35</sup> Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1829.

<sup>37</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 26 July 1836, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>38</sup> Brisbane, district Despatch, 19 July 1826, M.L. B.T. Box 53, Reel 3, p. 1456.

<sup>39</sup> Marsden formed a Committee in 1817 and in 1825 the first Auxiliary was formed with Marsden as President, Brisbane as Patron and Francis Forbes as Vice President. K. Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia*, Melbourne, 1971, pp. 1-11.



give advice and support.<sup>40</sup> Despite their theological differences, Marsden developed a good relationship with Broughton describing him as ‘a very high Churchman’ who would ‘not countenance the smallest deviations from the Rules of the established Church ... [He] acts with great propriety in all his conduct and studies to promote the Interest of Religion very much’.<sup>41</sup>

On another occasion Marsden wrote that Broughton may be too ‘higher Churchman for our population’.<sup>42</sup> Broughton’s style did bring him into conflict with other clergy as his theological preferences redirected colonial Anglicanism from its Evangelical roots.<sup>43</sup> This trend had begun with Scott whose commission gave him the authority to visit all churches and schools, and for ‘all subjects’ to ‘give due canonical obedience to the Archdeacon’.<sup>44</sup> To Broughton, this position in society constituted establishment, and created the expectation that the English model of Church privilege, preferment and status would be transferred to the colony.<sup>45</sup> When the head of the military was placed above him in Bourke’s commission, Broughton complained on behalf of ‘the Established Church of which His Majesty is the Earthly head’. He believed his commission, endorsed in his Patent, was given by the King ‘in his ecclesiastical capacity’, therefore he asked Bourke to advance this claim with the Secretary of State.<sup>46</sup> Broughton was clearly offended by this demotion, which he tried to have restored as a condition of his appointment as bishop.<sup>47</sup> This demonstrates the position Broughton considered the Church, and its leader, should occupy in colonial society.

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<sup>40</sup> Marsden to Broughton, 3 November 1832, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p.1850; Marsden to C.M.S., 10 March 1834, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p. 1866.

<sup>41</sup> Marsden to C.M.S., 10 March 1834, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p. 1866.

<sup>42</sup> Marsden to Coates, 10 December 1837, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p. 1886.

<sup>43</sup> Broughton believed Anglicans drew from the Reformation and the early church fathers, which differed to many Evangelicals. He saw Martin Luther’s ‘justification by faith’ as being outworked through the Anglican Church and its sacraments. Fletcher, ‘Anglican Ascendancy’, in Kaye, *Anglicanism in Australia*, p. 21. For a list of Anglican clergy and their theological leanings see Loane, *Hewn from the Rock*, pp. 36-40.

<sup>44</sup> Bathurst to Brisbane, 21 December 1824, *HRA*, 1, XI, pp. 419-422.

<sup>45</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp. 51-59.

<sup>46</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 22 December 1831, *HRA*, I, XVI, p. 500.

<sup>47</sup> See Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 57.

Broughton continually exerted the rights of the 'Established Church'. Early in Bourke's governorship, he pressured him on enforcing the 'English laws of marriage' in the colony, or specifically, if the clergy of the 'Established Church' did not marry a person then a certificate needed to be lodged with the minister of the parish.<sup>48</sup> This was prompted by John Dunmore Lang's request that the Presbyterians maintain their own register books. Broughton cited the Act of Council No. 21, 1825, which required all returns to be made to the Archdeacon.<sup>49</sup> He also advised Governor Arthur not to allow the Presbyterians a separate burial ground in Hobart as he was opposed to them 'setting themselves in direct opposition to the Established Church and endeavouring to supplant it'.<sup>50</sup>

Broughton, like Bourke, believed convicts could be reformed through spiritual renewal. Up until 1826, the British Government had covered the expense of providing the means of 'Religious Worship and Instruction' for convicts. With the implementation of the Church and Schools Corporation this expense was 'thrown upon the Colonies' in addition to supporting the clergy, the erection of churches, and the support of schools. There had been no great church building programme since Governor Macquarie, and the clergy often conducted services in public or private buildings. Broughton was not satisfied with this arrangement and he claimed it was one of the principle reasons for his trip to England in 1834. He considered the convicts as 'almost universally predisposed if left to themselves to shed off the slight degree of reverence for religion with which they have been originally imbued'. He saw men abandoned but not totally lost, and feared their lack of 'true discernment' would render them liable to be 'perverted' by Roman Catholic teaching. In his eyes, only the labours of the Anglican clergy, 'sufficient in number and suitably qualified for the office for which they are ordained', could resuscitate 'the remnant of religious and moral feelings in the community'.<sup>51</sup>

In many respects Bourke's church plan presented Broughton with a great deal of opportunity. In 1832, after a country tour, he was unhappy that 'from the

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<sup>48</sup> This was before the British reforms in 1836. See Chapter 1.

<sup>49</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 3 December 1832, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

<sup>50</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 25 February 1832, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>51</sup> Broughton to Rev. Coates, 9 December 1834, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p. 1927.

Cowpasture River to Bateman's Bay and from as far as Bathurst in the West' there were no ministers. His pleas to the Colonial Office for additional chaplains were met with the reply that the inhabitants of the respective districts requiring a minister would have to contribute half their salary and half the expense of building a church. He found the dispersed population with 'ignorance and disregard for religion' would not be anxious to contribute to 'hear the doctrines' of the Church.<sup>52</sup> Despite these criticisms regarding inadequate funding, he planned a £4000 structure for the King's School. Bourke criticised the extreme expense of this school for wealthy colonists, compared with what this money could have achieved for educating the poor, and obtained a design himself from the colonial architect for £2000.<sup>53</sup> What Bourke proposed in the Church Act was to increase clergy numbers without the need for people to contribute half the ministers' salary, and finance for Broughton's church building program. Nevertheless, despite these advantages, Broughton felt the need to visit England to stop the implementation of Bourke's policies.

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On accepting the position in New South Wales, Broughton informed his mother that his initial commitment was to go to the colony and return after five years to 'communicate with the government'.<sup>54</sup> This coincided with Bourke's recommendation that a Bishopric be established in the colony.<sup>55</sup> Broughton claimed his primary reason for returning to England was that he could not hold this office if the means of religious instruction were taken away from him.<sup>56</sup> This was not just out of ambition or to merely preserve Anglican dominance as Broughton's sense of Christian mission was an important factor:

I should think it my duty to return in the hope of rendering service in the cause of the Gospel not only to the present generation but to the millions yet unborn ... I can sincerely say that it is so little an object of my

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<sup>52</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 25 February 1832, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>53</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 10 March 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 391.

<sup>54</sup> Broughton to Mother, 4 November 1828, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>55</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 11 March 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 394.

<sup>56</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 24 January 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

ambition that I should not accept it [Bishopric] without proper arrangement for the good of the Colonies.<sup>57</sup>

Broughton could not understand how the Legislative Council and the Parliament could ‘sit down first and vote first for the support of Protestantism and the next minute for the support of Popery’. He believed that men who governed were ‘ordained by God’ and viewed the real enemy as those deceived by ‘being thought liberal’ in the hope of reconciling opposite parties. This only caused a ‘decay of the religious spirit’ where the ‘truth itself becomes emasculated’. Broughton saw the ramifications of this ‘apostasy’ represented in the scriptures as those who were referred to as being ‘neither hot nor cold’.<sup>58</sup> In Broughton’s writings and sermons, he passionately contended continuously against Catholicism, liberalism and infidelity, as inter-related enemies of the true Church.

On the eve of Broughton’s trip to England, Bourke wrote a detailed letter that travelled on the same ship, designed to counter any negative influence on his Governorship such an important man could inflict. Bourke found Broughton:

a very amicable person but a Tory in politics and a determined High Churchman. Though being correct in the discharge of his professional duties he still finds time for politics and is considered here as one of the Exclusive Party. He opposes the introduction of liberal measures the Emancipists are to have ... [he] would keep the Presbyterians and Catholics in fetters ... declaring Protestants cannot subscribe to a Catholic Chapel ‘without guilt’. Such being his manner of thinking on political manners you need not be told we do not agree in politics. We are however on which are called good terms and I have no reason to suppose

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, He quotes Rev 3:16 where Jesus spits out the Church of the Laodiceans because it was neither hot nor cold.

that Mr Broughton would make any unfavourable report in Dowling St on the state of this colony with a view of impairing my reputation.<sup>59</sup>

Bourke believed Broughton had been influenced by the ‘Tory faction’s’ view that the colony been harmed by Bourke’s reforms, so he asked Spring Rice to counter any charges that the colony was not in a peaceful state, or that convict insubordination was increasing. Bourke saw the convict insubordination issue as a ‘stronghold’ of the ‘enemies’ of his reforms.<sup>60</sup> He thought that ‘the Archdeacon indeed probably considers me as an enemy to the Church as I am willing to give assistance to the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians equally with the Church of England ... in proportion to their members’. Broughton had opposed him forthrightly in Council for removing the catechism from his proposed general curriculum, even though Bourke had included it in the programme, taught by the respective clergy. Bourke believed the main object of Broughton’s trip was to reconstitute the Church and Schools Corporation. He considered it the only issue that gave the Archdeacon a quarrel with his administration, and that Broughton’s failure to consider the matter from a wider perspective jeopardised the vitally important matter of the expansion of churches and schools.<sup>61</sup> Ironically, Spring Rice, the man who Bourke was seeking to advance his case with Stanley, was to become Stanley’s successor, and he received these personal letters when Colonial Secretary. His inaction on the matter is discussed in Chapter 7.

Broughton arrived in England to find Spring Rice in the Colonial Office. He promptly announced his arrival and requested an interview.<sup>62</sup> His stated that his mission was to expand the ‘Established Church in his Archdeaconry’, and to procure aid ‘from the friends of religion in this country’. As well, he highlighted his reduced status in the colony and the need to re-establish that position.<sup>63</sup> Broughton’s arrival back in England coincided with the rise of the Oxford Movement, which also sought to

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<sup>59</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L. For a detailed look at the deterioration of Bourke and Broughton’s relationship before he left for England see, Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, pp. 54-67.

<sup>60</sup> He speaks here specifically on the Hunter River settlers’ petition and the criticism of him in the *Herald*, Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>61</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>62</sup> Broughton to Spring Rice, 29 August 1834, CO/201/243.

<sup>63</sup> Broughton to Spring Rice, 1 September 1834, CO/201/243.

re-establish the rightful position of the Church of England in society, both spiritually and socially. Two days later, Broughton sent further correspondence, stating that he had prepared a statement of his views and requested 'the liberty of presenting it at the Colonial Office without delay'.<sup>64</sup> He knew Spring Rice was a friend of Bourke and a sense of urgency is felt in this correspondence. He submitted a number of documents supporting his significant requirements, which consisted of '10 chaplains, 23 Chapels, 19 Schoolhouses and 12 Parsonages'. He also provided 'publications' relating to the 'religious character' of Australia, which he hoped would 'afford some insight as to the moral condition of the Colony'.<sup>65</sup> Broughton was forthright in his dealings with the Colonial Office, and when proposed meetings were cancelled he expressed his disappointment and asked whether they were 'postponing considerations on this subject'.<sup>66</sup>

After the Whigs were dismissed from office, Broughton did not find any particular favour when Lord Aberdeen became Colonial Secretary, but he did find a sympathetic contact in Under-Secretary Robert Hay who he supplied with detailed plans of his religious requirements. Hay's father was a clergyman and his grandfather had been Archbishop of York. He had been a civil servant since 1812 and was considered an 'impeccable Tory'.<sup>67</sup> It is easy to understand why he would have been sympathetic to Broughton's cause, but his position in the Colonial Office was in decline, and his demise in favour of Stephen coincided with the approval of the Church Act.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, Broughton's relationship with Hay provided him with inside information.<sup>69</sup> On meeting Dick Bourke in England, Broughton expressed annoyance at the impossibility of doing any normal business at the Colonial Office at that time.<sup>70</sup> He also wrote to Marsden that it had been 'difficult, almost impossible to obtain any

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<sup>64</sup> Broughton to Spring Rice, 3 September 1834, CO/201/243.

<sup>65</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 10 September 1834, CO/201/243.

<sup>66</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 30 September 1834, CO/201/243; Broughton to Arthur, 13 October 1834, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>67</sup> D. M. Young, *The Colonial Office in the Early Nineteenth Century*, London, 1961, p. 84.

<sup>68</sup> Broughton to Hay, 28 November 1834, CO/201/243.

<sup>69</sup> In this correspondence he wrote that a recent conversation led him to believe the church and school matter in New South Wales was being considered. Broughton to Glenelg, 22 May 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>70</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 8 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

fixed and regular attention at the Colonial Office'.<sup>71</sup> He was frustrated by the 'inactivity and uncertainty' and felt he could resign tomorrow except for the sense of mission he felt. New South Wales was 'his proper post' and he considered himself better qualified than a 'stranger' to finish the job.<sup>72</sup>

In England, Broughton had written a long letter addressed to the Bishop of London and the Colonial Office describing Bourke's reforms and the danger they posed to the Church. Dick was shown this letter and told his father that though Broughton criticised Bourke's proposals as misguided, it expressed 'great esteem and respect' for Bourke, and called him 'a friend of the Church'.<sup>73</sup> Broughton knew the importance of protocol in the Colonial Office, and also that Bourke was well respected. His calculated advances had a great influence on Lord Glenelg who was quite indecisive on the matter. This will be further explored in Chapter 6. Broughton began his meetings with Glenelg as soon as he assumed office. As well as the church and schools issue, Glenelg needed to finalise Broughton's appointment as bishop, and he took a personal interest in other religious matters, especially the appointment of a chaplain at Norfolk Island.<sup>74</sup> Broughton presented a fairly strong case, based on his own 'anxiety' at the fate of the Church of England, and the improvements he had instigated to expand them. He also effectively made use of religious differences, claiming that Bourke's education plan, in trying not to offend Roman Catholics and their 'peculiar doctrines', put Protestants at a 'perpetual disadvantage' by suppressing the 'leading tenets of their faith'. This suited the 'Catholic's lack of Biblical knowledge' while doing nothing to 'encourage a Protestant turn of mind'. Broughton claimed that Bourke had personally told him that he expected parents to supplement religious instruction at home according to their own religious views, but he pointed out that the parents of the lower classes could not be expected to do this.<sup>75</sup> These concerns would have certainly impacted the thoughts of a man with strong Christian faith like Glenelg. Alternatively, Broughton maintained his schools instructed their students so

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<sup>71</sup> Broughton to Marsden, 14 March 1835, Marsden Papers, Vol. 1, M.L. Marsden was appointed leader in Broughton's absence.

<sup>72</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>73</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 15 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>74</sup> For example, see Broughton to Hay, 18 May 1835, CO/201/250; Glenelg to Broughton, 22 June 1835, CO/202/33.

<sup>75</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 22 May 1835, CO/201/250.

well that he believed it positively impacted the parents. On the other hand, the opposing system posed ‘serious obstacles to the growth of a sound religious character in the young’.<sup>76</sup> In this correspondence he attempted to claim the high moral ground, and due to his ecclesiastical position as head of the Australian Church, he requested to know ‘to what extent his opinions may influence His Majesty’s Government in deciding this important question’. He stressed that ‘Protestants outnumbered Catholics three to one’, and that ‘general’ education must ‘align with the principle of the majority of the people’. Broughton alleged that what was transpiring was ‘submission to the domination of the Church of Rome’, and he believed ‘it was his duty to forewarn His Majesty’s Government of the danger’.<sup>77</sup>

The important points to note in this discourse are that Broughton’s religious arguments are focused on the education side of the question. This could be because he saw this as a fight he could win, while the exclusive funding of the Church was less justifiable, especially considering that Glenelg was a Scot and a parliamentary representative of Scottish people. As well, religion, education and morality were bound up in one package, a very familiar concept to the Scots. The other brilliant aspect of Broughton’s attack was the way he integrated current British political contentions into his argument. First, the ‘Church in danger’ warning which had caused the Whigs to lose seats in the recently completed election. Second, the appropriation of Church revenues to non-denominational education was an issue that had split the Whigs before the 1835 election, and despite a unified Cabinet behind the issue presently, they expected serious opposition in the Parliament. Unbeknown to Broughton at the time, his request as the senior Churchman in the colony to have education align with the majority, may well have given Glenelg the idea he finally settled on, which would hopefully appease the new bishop and allow Bourke the latitude he desired.

In one letter to Governor Arthur, Broughton lamented the Common’s rejection of Robert Peel’s attempt to divide the Irish Church Bill, a legislation he believed to be opposed by the majority of Churchmen and the nation. He understood the political climate and quipped that it would be a good time to change sides if self-interest were to

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*



prevail.<sup>78</sup> Broughton claimed to have anticipated these developments and had applied pressure on Glenelg by maintaining he had accepted the Archdeaconry in New South Wales based upon the understanding that he would have control of public education, and any change would hinder his ability to perform his duties. He made an inference, and later increased it to a demand, that his acceptance of the Bishopric was dependent on this condition.<sup>79</sup> Broughton was playing hardball politics, not just because he wanted to win, but because he believed there was a much higher spiritual purpose at stake. As well, he felt that he had worked hard to build up the school system, as instructed by the Colonial Office, and it was in ‘a state of efficiency’.<sup>80</sup> In his mind, only a Christian education scheme maintained by a strong Church could ‘successfully resist the strength of Popery’.<sup>81</sup>

In September 1835 Broughton wrote another forthright letter directly to Glenelg, sympathising with the intense business of government, but complaining it had been over twelve months since he first presented his considerations to Spring Rice. He refused a suggestion from Sir George Grey that he should return to the colony because ‘no one contemplating this office could accept with such uncertainty’. Also, he could never return to the colony as Archdeacon with the ‘Romanists’ having a fully installed bishop, as this would make the Church of England inferior.<sup>82</sup> Privately, he believed the government was likely to approve Bourke’s measures. His anxiety was increased by figures he had obtained on the Irish School System. They demonstrated that Catholics and Presbyterians, in their respective areas, dominated the system, while the Anglican clergy only played a minor role. In Muster, for example, out of 184 grants, sixteen were for schools under clergymen, one Presbyterian and the rest Catholic.<sup>83</sup> At this time, Broughton developed a sense of realism, determination and long-term mission.

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<sup>78</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>79</sup> Broughton to Hay, 25 May 1835, 19 June 1835, 22 June 1835, CO/201/250; Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>80</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. This statement had some backing because when the Church and Schools Corporation was abolished Broughton had 35 schools and more than 1200 pupils. Breward, *History of Australian Churches*, p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>82</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 7 September 1835, 19 June 1835, 22 June 1835, CO/201/250; Broughton to Arthur, 20 November 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>83</sup> Marsden to Broughton, 25 September 1835, Marsden Papers, Vol. 1, M.L.; Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

He felt there was no point contending with the ‘madness of the people’, and became comforted by a belief that the ‘Great Head of the Church’ was in control, and perhaps the whole episode was a plan to ‘make us perfect by suffering’.<sup>84</sup>

In November 1835 Broughton and Grey received a circular letter that had been sent to various religious societies regarding the system of education in the West Indies.<sup>85</sup> After slavery was abolished, colonial governments had allocated money for aiding Negro education using English education models, and Broughton believed this had similar parallels in New South Wales. He stressed that the Church of England’s system was critical to the moral and religious state of the colony, and produced evidence that funding for Anglican education in New South Wales had not kept up in real terms with increases in transportation and emigration.<sup>86</sup> In a separate despatch directly to Glenelg, he applied pressure by stressing the enormity of choosing ‘public or parochial’ schools for the future of New South Wales. Broughton maintained that this was fundamentally a religious issue, with the choice between keeping a model that had served England well, or risk the colony being dominated by ‘superstition and infidelity’. For this reason, Broughton declared he was ‘bound by a solemn duty to contend with your Lordship to stop this from happening’.<sup>87</sup> Glenelg was a devout man and new to the position of Colonial Secretary. It is easy to see why Dick Bourke found him so eager to find a compromise to appease a senior Churchman.<sup>88</sup>

Broughton guaranteed the Colonial Office that his system had the backing of the Legislative Council, and he could rely on the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) ‘uniting with the Government’ to support his schools. His scheme was simple. The society would contribute £3400 towards the building of churches and parsonages ‘where they are most urgently required’. These buildings would be used as schools providing they could obtain sufficient support.<sup>89</sup> Broughton had courted increased assistance from both the S.P.C.K. and the Society for the

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<sup>84</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>85</sup> George Grey to Broughton, 12 November 1835, CO/202/33; Broughton to George Grey, 13 November 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>86</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 13 November 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>87</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 19 November 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>88</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 24 June 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. See Chapter 7.

<sup>89</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 19 November 1835, CO/201/250.

Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) soon after his arrival, and described to them in detail the deficient state of the Church in the colony. He outlined a plan where he would install churches and resident chaplains in all districts who would 'attend Divine service' and also educate children in 'knowledge, morals and good order'.<sup>90</sup> The SPG and S.P.C.K. were old High Church missionary organisations that were undergoing a renewal through the Oxford Movement.<sup>91</sup> Their generous response gave Broughton influential support both financially and politically, and provided his ideas with credibility. In one memorial to Glenelg, the S.P.C.K.. castigated the Colonial Office and the colonial government for their neglect of the Church and leaving the population to 'grow up in ignorance and vice'. It recommended the immediate increase of funds to 'bring to the Colonists and Convicts the blessings of Christian education and the comforts and consolidations of Religion'. Glenelg included this memorial in his despatch to Bourke on churches and schools.<sup>92</sup>

On 2 December 1835, Broughton wrote privately to Hay asking him to urgently intervene to influence Glenelg's decision.<sup>93</sup> The next day Broughton received a detailed letter from Glenelg informing him that the Government did not believe that his offer of taking up the Episcopal See should be contingent on the schools question, and he had therefore submitted Broughton's name to the King. He assured Broughton their interests were the same in the mission to foster and promote religion, but he believed Bourke's proposals offered a more efficient means of achieving this goal.<sup>94</sup> Broughton was upset by the decision and fired back an immediate response:

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<sup>90</sup> Broughton to Rev. Campbell, 9 December 1834, M.L. B.T. Box 54, p. 1927. Shaw provides a good analysis of Broughton's dealings with the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>91</sup> Judd, *Sydney Anglicans*, p. 26; Kaye, *Anglicanism in Australia*, p. 6; Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>92</sup> Memorial Addressed to His Majesty's Government by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, enclosed with Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 210. The S.P.C.K. was formed in 1698 to promote religion in overseas plantations. The S.P.G. was formed three years later with a Royal charter to convert native populations. Both organisations were traditionally supported by the bishops of the Church who had made contributions of money and material since the early days of the colony. Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, p. 49.

<sup>93</sup> Broughton to Hay, 2 December 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>94</sup> Glenelg to Broughton, 1 December 1835, CO/202/33.

I should be unable to make any engagement which would imply my acting in concert with Sir Richard Bourke in carrying into effect the proposed system of giving public support to three separate forms of religion and possibly to every congregation of Dissenters and Jews ... I could not engage to concur in a system which instead of enlightening the minds of men, and disposing of them to adopt the truth, will attach them more to the errors of their Church and check the progress of the Reformation.<sup>95</sup>

Here Broughton redirected his opposition back to the church plan. He stated that as a 'Protestant Bishop' he 'must employ all diligence and exertion to counteract such a purpose'. His opposition mostly targeted Catholic endowment, but his factual argument must be considered weak as the Government was already giving public support to three denominations in their capacity as chaplains and educators. Bourke's plan merely expanded funding on equal terms to all three. Interestingly, Broughton thanked Glenelg because he interpreted his despatch as an objection to the plan of education, and Broughton was confident he could obtain the support of the Legislative Council to reject it.<sup>96</sup> He did not indicate that he would similarly hinder the church reforms when he returned to the colony, perhaps privately seeing the funding as advantageous to serve his own plans for churches and education.

The Colonial Office believed Broughton's response inferred that he was 'willing to accept the proposed appointment'. They made it clear that by appointing him as Bishop of Australia they in no way sought to 'fetter the free exercise of his judgement ... either in an Episcopal or Legislative capacity', although they expected in the discharge of his 'sacred office' he would be activated 'by the motives of the highest nature and by the single desire to promote the best interests of the colony'.<sup>97</sup> This directive inferred hopeful cooperation, but gave Broughton the sanction to act in the interests of his own conscience and beliefs, which was to have enormous implications back in the colony, especially for Bourke. Broughton replied that he definitely

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<sup>95</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 3 December 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> George Grey to Broughton, 7 December 1835, CO/202/33.

accepted the position, but noted that in all his decisions he acted ‘in a spirit of dependence upon a higher power who alone can direct me’.<sup>98</sup>

Broughton was not finished with Glenelg. He sought to have the original position of second seat in the Executive Council of the colony reinstated, but was rejected.<sup>99</sup> He was, however, able to secure his position in the Legislative Council.<sup>100</sup> As well, a protracted negotiation over his expenses for his extended stay in England, and a quote from one of his speeches in the *Record* offending Glenelg, left the Colonial Office in no doubt about the tenacity of the new Bishop of Australia, and probably relieved at his departure.<sup>101</sup>

Broughton’s effective lobbying in the Colonial Office certainly delayed Glenelg’s approval of the Church Act. The stumbling block was more related to education as both were placed together in the original despatch, and both were interconnected to Broughton and his position. He was appointed bishop of the newly created See of Australia, which included New South Wales, Van Diemen’s, Western Australia and all territories and islands dependent on it. He was subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury and had the authority to ordain ministers.<sup>102</sup>

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An early biography of Broughton, published by the S.P.C.K., claimed that in letters to his friends from 1834 to 1852, he demonstrated a ‘chronic conflict with the Romanists’.<sup>103</sup> Broughton was a man of his time, and many High Churchmen, along with extreme Evangelicals, saw the resurgence of Catholicism in Britain as being part

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<sup>98</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 10 January 1836, CO/201/250.

<sup>99</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 10 December 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>100</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 20 February 1836, CO/201/257; George Grey to Broughton, 12 May 1836, CO/201/257.

<sup>101</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 10 December 1835; Broughton to George Grey, 17 and 21 December 1835; Broughton to George Grey, 21 January 1836, CO/201/250; George Grey to Broughton, 15 and 23 December 1835, 5, 14 and 23 January 1836, CO/202/33.

<sup>102</sup> Australia became the seventh overseas diocese, preceded by two each in Canada, West Indies and India. Judd, *Sydney Anglicans*, p. 25.

<sup>103</sup> Henry Bailey, *Mission Hero, Bishop Broughton of Australia*, London, 1891, pp. 22, 11.

of a cosmic battle between the forces of Christ and the Anti-Christ.<sup>104</sup> This was not some simple denial of social or political rights; it was based on deeply held spiritual concerns that had eternal consequences. To Broughton, these matters were real and magnified by his belief in the providential responsibility of his position.<sup>105</sup> It gave him a sense of urgency and purpose that was present in some shape or form in most of his sermons and letters.

Most of Broughton's recurrent criticisms of Catholics were doctrinal, particularly regarding transubstantiation, penance, and the worship of idols. These practices were fundamental to the social aspects of his criticisms, which focused on the alleged superstition of Catholics, and the control exerted by the clergy and the Pope. Broughton considered the Anglican Eucharist as correct, because it used Christ's figurative meaning, while the Catholic literal interpretation was 'idolatrous' in ceremony 'leading to the worship of the bread and wine' among 'the ignorant and the misinformed'. But more importantly, it provided the priest with the 'power they exercise over the minds of their flocks'. To Broughton, this fostered belief in the priest's ability to forgive sins and determine penance, a practice he believed encouraged 'a wicked course of life', where even 'supposed atonement' could be 'purchased'.<sup>106</sup> To him, this encouraged men to 'keep their imperfections', which undermined his belief that religion should produce morality in an individual and in the greater society.<sup>107</sup> The perceived immorality and superstition of the Irish Catholic,

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<sup>104</sup> This was related to particular millennial interpretations by Protestants related to Catholics and the rise of the Antichrist. See Howard Hotson, 'Anti-Semitism, Philo-Semitism, Apocalypticism, and Millenarianism in Early Modern Europe: A Case Study and some Methodological Reflections', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey, Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009, pp. 102-115. Some missionaries were driven by the anticipation of the Second Coming of Christ. For example, see H. M. Carey, 'Religion and the Evil Empire', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2008, p. 190; Andrew Holmes, 'The Shaping of Irish Presbyterianism, Attitudes to Missions, 1790-1840', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 2006, pp. 711-736.

<sup>105</sup> Broughton believed the 'course of Providence will determine the appointment of the head of the Australian Church'. Broughton to W. M. Cowper, 22 May 1835, M.L. Ab 29/4.

<sup>106</sup> Broughton to Major Brenton, 14 November 1833, M.L. Ab 29/1.

<sup>107</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 3 April 1840, M.C. FM4 225.

promoted by the Protestantism of people such as Broughton, was founded on these ideas.<sup>108</sup>

Broughton's opposition to the Roman Catholic Church was also on a spiritual level. He believed the English Church did not originate in the Reformation, but was formed historically with a providential duty to reverse the errors of the Church of Rome.<sup>109</sup> He acknowledged Rome as an earlier instrument in God's plan to establish Christianity, but the Reformation was instituted to recover Christian truths. God then providently empowered the British Empire as a 'bulwark' to preserve and spread this truth. The Reformation had spawned countless schisms and heretical ideas, but the 'pure waters' of its amendments were still 'unanimously maintained by the Church of England'.<sup>110</sup>

On his return to England in 1834, Broughton was surprised at how attitudes to Catholics had changed in the five years since he left. He wrote to Marsden: 'It is impossible to describe the activity which the Roman Catholics have exerted for the purpose of their cause in every part of the empire ... it is incomprehensible what means they are able to obtain such an influence with the Government'.<sup>111</sup> Broughton expressed these concerns to the Colonial Office.<sup>112</sup> He was astonished that as Protestants they had co-operated with Catholics and approved four additional priests, including a bishop, and four catechists for the colony. Broughton believed it should 'strike all reflecting and religious men with dread and apprehension' and he considered it a subject requiring 'painful consideration' of how 'we best strive against them'.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> One historic meeting that took place when Broughton was in England made startling revelations regarding papal domination targeting Britain and the superstition and lax morals of Irish Catholics. See *Authentic Report of the Great Protestant Meeting, Held at Exeter Hall, London, Saturday, June 20 1835, to Prove to Protestants of All Denominations by Authentic Documents the Real Tenets of the Church of Rome, as now held by The Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests of Ireland*, London, 1835.

<sup>109</sup> Broughton, *Sermon Preached in Canterbury*. The opposition of the British church to Rome goes back to Celtic times. J. T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches: A History A.D. 200-1200*, Chicago, 1974, pp. 101-109, 194-199.

<sup>110</sup> Broughton, 'The English Reformation and the Empire of England', Sydney, 1849 in Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England*, pp. 37-42.

<sup>111</sup> Broughton to Marsden, 14 March 1835, Marsden Papers, Vol. 1, M.L.

<sup>112</sup> Broughton to Hay, 28 November 1834, CO/201/243.

<sup>113</sup> Broughton to Marsden, 14 March 1835, Marsden Papers, Vol. 1, M.L.

During the 1835 British election, Broughton had been exposed to the sectarian confrontation engendered by the Irish Church Reform Bill, and his appointment as bishop heightened his sense of mission and responsibility. Soon after returning to the colony, he informed his friend Reverend Samuel Coleridge how he felt an intense sense of duty for his office. He relayed how he was ‘enthusiastically received by all Protestants’, and was now ‘set in the front of the battle against the forces of Roman Catholics’.<sup>114</sup> Broughton, as Bishop, asserted himself as the spiritual head of all Protestants in a colony where he believed the duty of religious provision had become a critical matter in ‘light of the threat of the Roman Catholic advance. He passionately encouraged Coleridge to exert his influence to support his cause, because ‘God is our judge’.<sup>115</sup> Broughton believed this battle was for a higher spiritual purpose, and he felt entrusted with a providential destiny to stand in the gap between Rome and ‘Geneva’, though in his mind Rome was an enemy, the Dissenters only Protestants deluded by false doctrine, but opponents nonetheless.<sup>116</sup> The worldly element in his battle was liberalism, which he saw as the fundamental ideological enemy of the true Church of England. To him, liberal ideas had deluded the Presbyterians, Independents, Methodists and Baptists, because while it had helped them advance their cause, it had strengthened their Catholic and ‘infidel’ enemies. Therefore, only the strength of a single national church could successfully preserve the Protestant Christian heritage of Britain.<sup>117</sup> He wrote to Marsden that he ‘understood the pretext of being impartial’, but in reality this required ‘the Protestant to surrender the very groundwork of their faith’, thereby preparing the way for the ‘ultimate re-establishment of Popery’.<sup>118</sup> It was, therefore, a critical time for the Church, as everyday he became ‘more impressed with the persuasion’ that the Church of England was the ‘only ark of refuge against the

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<sup>114</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 26 July 1836, M.C. FM4 225. Broughton informed Arthur that he had ‘indeed sacrificed all; the love of mother and brethren and king folk and friend and country, none of whom I ever hope to see again in this life and have set myself in front of the battle against the forces of Popery and infidelity’. Broughton to Arthur, 27 September 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>115</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 26 July 1836, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>116</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 25 February 1839, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>117</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1833, and 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>118</sup> Broughton to Marsden, 25 September 1835, Marsden Papers, Vol. 1, M.L.



deluge of superstition, fanaticism and infidelity which is now pouring in upon the world'.<sup>119</sup>

In 1833 an interesting contention developed that brought Broughton's anti-Catholic attitudes to the surface. On 10 September 1833 a letter from Father McEncroe was published in the *Sydney Gazette*, claiming 'numerous criminals' had converted to Catholicism when receiving the death sentence. 'The criminal', McEncroe observed, 'is usually acquainted with the Apostles' Creed, which among other articles contains a profession of belief in the Holy Catholic Church'. In response Broughton published a sermon rejecting the 'Romanist's' claim to the 'Catholic term' and their assertion that St Peter was a forerunner to the Pope. He then turned his attention to the practice of priests of extracting 'sincere repentance and a humble firm hope in the mercy of God through the merits of Jesus Christ', by pointing out that 'the mercy extended to the penitent there on the cross' was through Christ, not the priest. Broughton claimed he had no problem with an 'unhappy criminal turning to his Redeemer with all his heart in faith and sincere repentance', but his argument was that the priests purported to offer some additional assurance that the Protestant church could not. He was particularly offended by a remark that McEncroe had reportedly made, boasting 'you never hear of a Catholic becoming a Protestant at the hour of his death'. Broughton claimed he was not surprised to see Protestants rejecting their religion in life, but believed only an 'unlearned and unstable Protestant' would embrace a Catholic conversion in their last hours.<sup>120</sup>

This exchange highlights a few convictions. First, Broughton's deeply held belief that the Catholic Church was illegitimate, despite not being able to discredit their actual success in obtaining the redemption of convicts. Second, it seemed to disturb him that the Catholics were having success in achieving something, which he had himself purported as being the fundamental mission of his Church. It could appear perplexing why he would not applaud their success as fellow Christians, but this underestimates the widespread irrational fear and misunderstanding of Catholic belief and practice by Protestants. Bourke was part of an old Irish family and was accustomed

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<sup>119</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>120</sup> W. G. Broughton, *On the True Nature of the Holy Catholic Church*, Sydney, 1833, pp. 1-8.

to mixing with Catholics from all levels of society, including priests. New South Wales was one society where both Catholics and Protestants coexisted by necessity, especially in the convict population. This was very different from Britain where Irish Catholics were concentrated in areas such as Liverpool, Glasgow and their native Ireland. In these places the lives of Catholics and Protestants were often segregated, especially socially. Broughton inherited a population in New South Wales that was nearly one-third Catholic, an unsettling circumstance for an English Churchman brought up with little Irish contact and educated in the history of social, religious and political conflict between the two churches. However, more fundamentally, this was a matter of toleration, for without toleration it is difficult to understand another man's, or another faith's perspective. Bourke recognised Catholics as fellow Christians, whereas Broughton viewed them somewhere between competitors and enemies. He was dictatorial about his claim to righteousness in New South Wales, primarily because he was implanting Englishness in what he believed was an English colony.<sup>121</sup> This was far more complex than a mere political battle for control. It represented a spiritual or supernatural conflict that included a providential claim to righteousness, and a belief that Catholicism was not 'another equally acceptable mode of worshipping the same God'.<sup>122</sup>

Broughton's failure to recognise Catholics as fellow Christians allowed him to categorise their belief as being fundamentally based on superstition and infidelity, both enemies of true religion. Alternatively, Bourke and the Colonial Office saw the colony from a pan-British perspective, recognising not just the political rights of the Scottish and Irish colonists, but also their religious rights. The British political landscape had shifted dramatically in the five years Broughton had been away. The social, economic and political rights enjoyed by the Church of England were under threat from Dissenters, Catholics and Radicals. His attempt to maintain them in a colony that was being considered for emigrant expansion, especially from socially troubled Ireland, was unrealistic, but totally understandable considering his belief system. He pragmatically focused his political battle on an issue he could win; the school issue.

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<sup>121</sup> Shaw, 'The Promotion of Civilization', p. 101.

<sup>122</sup> W. G. Broughton, *A Letter in Vindication of the Principles of the Reformation addressed to Roger Therry Esq, Commissioner of the court of Requests of New South Wales, in consequence of a speech delivered by him in the Roman Catholic Chapel, at Sydney, on 29 July 1832*, Sydney, 1832, p. 25.

Education policy was still unsettled in Britain and the only place Bourke's system had been tested was in Ireland, and as he pointed out, this was still experimental with limited evidence of its effectiveness. Shaw claims in the new free market church environment, the domination of education was essential for Broughton to build his 'citadel'.<sup>123</sup>

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When Broughton's ship returned from England in June 1836, he remained on board and sent Bourke a letter, submitting his Letters Patent and requesting a Government boat to disembark at noon the next day.<sup>124</sup> He was determined to make an entrance fitting his position, and he immediately requested a meeting with Bourke the following day.<sup>125</sup> The newly consecrated bishop received an enthusiastic welcome by many groups, including the Methodists, who rejoiced that his ecclesiastical appointment would 'strengthen the Church', which they saw as 'an instrument in the hands of divine Providence of preserving the British realm and the blessings of Protestant Christianity'. Broughton replied with a pledge to 'promote the good understanding and brotherly feelings' between the two groups.<sup>126</sup>

Within two weeks, Broughton organised a meeting of 'wealthy Landholders, Merchants, and Government Officers', where he formed a Diocesan Committee for both the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. to promote the building of churches and schools and to provide additional maintenance for the Anglican clergy.<sup>127</sup> The meeting was attended by most of the Legislative Council, justices and officials, including Deas Thomson, Bourke's son-in-law. Marsden claimed it was the happiest day of his life.<sup>128</sup> One important concession Broughton was able to obtain from Glenelg was that

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<sup>123</sup> Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 107.

<sup>124</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 2 June 1836, M.L. Ab 29/6.

<sup>125</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 3 June 1836, M.L. Ab 29/6a.

<sup>126</sup> *S.H.*, 23 June 1836.

<sup>127</sup> W. G. Broughton, *An Account of the State of Religion and of the Episcopal Church in the Colony of New South Wales*, London, 1837, M.L. FM4 561.

<sup>128</sup> *S.H.*, 23 June 1836. The S.P.C.K. in Australia was originally founded by Thomas Hobbes Scott with Darling as patron in 1826. *The Rules and Regulations of the District Committee of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, established in New South Wales in 1826*, Sydney, 1826.

advances from religious societies in Britain or the colony were to be considered the same as individual contributions to access funds under the Church Act.<sup>129</sup> This was a significant decision by Glenelg and confirms his commitment to religion. It also gave Broughton a decided advantage over other churches, because by the time the Church Act was legislated he already had a commitment from the S.P.C.K. for £3000 with £1000 in the hand. This meant as soon as the Church Act was approved, he was immediately able to apply for funds to build a number of new churches, and for the services of additional clergymen. Broughton wrote to Glenelg regarding the urgency of obtaining ministers, citing the enthusiastic support of the people. He informed him that he had written to the S.P.G. to seek out ministers and sought assurance that their passage would be covered.<sup>130</sup>

Soon after his arrival in England, Broughton provided the S.P.C.K. with the details of his Church expansion plans for New South Wales, which included an additional church in Sydney and others in key regions. He produced detailed information regarding population numbers and the amount of funding he required. They responded with an initial £1000 contribution and a further commitment for £2000.<sup>131</sup> Broughton also gained the support of influential men such as Sir Robert Inglis, Samuel Coleridge and the Bishop of London.<sup>132</sup> Coleridge became a confidant and friend who generously arranged contributions for Broughton's cause.<sup>133</sup> In the first year of the Church Act this amounted to £2500.<sup>134</sup> Broughton used this money to invest in the purchase of property with the aim of providing a permanent endowment for the

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<sup>129</sup> George Grey to Broughton, 12 May 1836, CO/201/257; Glenelg to Bourke, 12 May 1836, *HRA*, 1, Vol. XVIII, p. 419.

<sup>130</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 18 June 1836, CO/201/257. This was a strategy designed to seek ministers with High Church leanings.

<sup>131</sup> Broughton to Archbishop Brampton, 2 June 1835, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>132</sup> Broughton to A. M. Campbell, 18 February 1836, M.L. FM4 560; Broughton to Coleridge, 26 July 1836, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>133</sup> Austin Cooper claims Broughton meeting Coleridge was one of the most significant personal contacts in the history of Australian Anglicanism, because it provided money, influence, and the transfer of ideas at a formative time. Austin Cooper, 'Bishop Broughton and the Diocese of Australia', in B. Porter, *Colonial Tractarians: The Oxford Movement in Australia*, Melbourne, 1989, p. 28.

<sup>134</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 8 September 1837, M.C. FM4 225.

Church'.<sup>135</sup> Contributions from British Anglicans gave Broughton a significant advantage over other denominations in planting churches.

As soon as the terms of the Church Act were finalised, Broughton informed the S.P.C.K. secretary, A. M. Campbell, that the stipends proposed were 'much below what a just regard for service, such as a faithful minister' would expect, although he pointed out that fees and donations could supplement their stipend, especially as the prosperity of the colony increased.<sup>136</sup> Broughton was hindered by a belief in the colony that 'humble endowments' were sufficient for the clergy. However, he desperately sought high quality applicants, not just to qualify for the social standing he considered fitting for a minister of the Anglican Church, but for other important reasons. First, he desired men who could 'attract and command the attention' of a population that in 'some districts have a feeble impression of religious truth', and also because the 'Romanish priests were busy in every quarter'. For this reason he wanted ministers who were 'sufficiently masters of the subjects of controversy to be able to resolve doubts and difficulties'. Second, he required 'gentlemen' who would be willing to undertake charge of a school on top of their parochial duties.<sup>137</sup> This was a familiar situation to Broughton as he had undertaken the same dual role in his first position at Hartley Wells to supplement his own meagre clerical income.<sup>138</sup> Like Bourke, he had been personally involved in running a school, but to his intensely Anglican *mentalite* this was a function that should be undertaken or at least controlled by the clergy. Therefore, quality ministers sub-managing his school system was essential for its success, while the income it generated would complement the minister's stipend to satisfy the financial requirements of a gentleman and his family.<sup>139</sup> This was a primary motive for Broughton in seeking to avert plans for general education. His unwavering mindset was that the Church of England was the beacon of 'pure Christianity' and that belief must be installed in the hearts and minds of the young.<sup>140</sup> He also had genuine

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<sup>135</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 6 February 1838, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>136</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 17 June 1836, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>137</sup> He calculated for a boarding school they could rely on 12 to 20 boys at about £30 each per annum, which he thought could produce a 'tolerable degree of profit'. *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 8.

<sup>139</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 17 June 1836, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>140</sup> He relayed to Coleridge that he was in a battle to decide 'whether pure Christianity will flourish or not'. Broughton to Coleridge, 26 June 1836, 6 February 1838, M.C. FM4 225.

concerns that the Irish School System was an experiment with no conclusive data available to confirm its success, while the Anglican system was proven not only in Britain but also in the colony, where he believed it represented the beliefs of the majority, not the minority.<sup>141</sup> However, there was a practical problem of how this system could be implemented.<sup>142</sup> The Church Act provided Broughton with the funding for buildings, which afforded him an immediate logistical advantage, but to attract the proper personnel to educate, not only the poor, but also the future gentlemen of the colony, he required a school network in his church districts. Government funded schools in each district would provide unfair competition to his mission. Initially, Broughton was especially interested in Cambridge and Oxford men, as he believed in the early stages of the colony ‘persons imperfectly educated’ had been engaged as ministers who could not obtain the ‘respect of their hearers’, or deal with the difficulties and their ‘enemies’. To Broughton, even though the income offered by the government was ‘pitiful’ for a man of ‘promise and expectations’, he had a ‘firm trust in Providence’ to engage the right people ‘if it were made known in a proper way at Cambridge and Oxford’.<sup>143</sup>

Over the next six months Broughton put enormous effort into fundraising, travelling throughout the various districts. By February 1837, he reported that he had ‘20 churches and 12 parsonages in a forward state of preparation’. This was helped by the contributions he received from England, but also the ‘liberal contributions of the colonial people’. He questioned Campbell regarding further promised funds, and asked the S.P.C.K. to lobby the Colonial Office, as he was seeking allotments for his

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<sup>141</sup> *The Humble Petition of William Grant Broughton, Doctor in Divinity, Bishop and Ordinary Pastor of the Diocese of Australia to Governor Sir Richard Bourke and the Legislative Council, Printed by Order of the General Committee of Protestants, 25 July 1836.*

<sup>142</sup> In England two systems were in operation. ‘The British and Foreign School System’, founded by Joseph Lancaster (a Quaker), was supported by many Whigs and Dissenters. The main education provider was ‘The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church’. While similar to the Lancaster system, it insisted on the Anglican catechism being taught in schools. John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia, 1835-1850*, Melbourne, 1966, p. 97. Both qualified for government funding in Britain but the Anglican’s preference for the National System meant it dominated the funding.

<sup>143</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 18 June 1836, M.L. FM4 560. A point to note in evaluating Broughton’s methods was the Ecclesiastical Board for the Colonies, set up after the Colonial Clergy Act (1819) to recruit colonial clergy, came to an end by the time Broughton visited England. Loane, *Hewn from the Rock*, p. 35.

churches and schools, and had written to Glenelg on the subject.<sup>144</sup> By July he needed fifteen ministers immediately in various districts, but he was finding extreme difficulty in attracting ‘suitably qualified men’ willing to travel to the colony.<sup>145</sup> This had become a source of great anxiety, because his success in raising money and congregations to qualify for Church Act funding was being undermined by a lack of ministers, and he feared that the Catholics and Presbyterians would establish themselves in the vacant areas.<sup>146</sup> Broughton regarded this as vitally important, as he wanted to establish a Church in all settled areas, where ‘his clergy’ would ‘take the lead in every parish’.<sup>147</sup> He was seeking to reconstitute an English rural parish model, where the clergy would undertake a pivotal social role. The Church and its pastors would become the spiritual and moral leaders in each parish of the expanding colony, contending against false doctrine and unbelief.

In letters and correspondence to England, Broughton’s desperation for ministers is apparent. He was forced to refocus his efforts on young clergy who had not yet received a suitable living in England. In one letter published by the S.P.G. he made the issue of obtaining clergy ‘a matter of life or death’. He promoted the provision provided by the Church Act, in guaranteeing money for church building and stipends, to men fresh from university. Broughton highlighted how the colony provided opportunity for those who may not know ‘how or where to obtain a title for orders’.<sup>148</sup> Despite his opposition to the Church Act, Broughton used it as a positive inducement to travel to New South Wales. In another ‘promotion’, he highlighted the ‘national responsibility’ of England to spread the Gospel among the nations. If they ignored this commission then their fellow countrymen sent as convicts would be subject to ‘moral corruption’, or liable to ‘fall prey’ to Roman Catholic priests and other ‘false teachers’ who could avail themselves of the government’s provision. Broughton called on men of God to take up the challenge. He promoted the fact that they would receive £150 immediately for outfit and passage, and a minimum stipend of £150 with a probable

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<sup>144</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 22 February, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>145</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 24 July and 1 August 1837, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>146</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 1 August 1837, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>147</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 25 February 1839, M.C. FM4 520.

<sup>148</sup> Broughton letter to S.P.G., 14 October 1836, ‘Additional Clergymen for New South Wales’, 8 May 1837, M.L. FM4 561.

range of £200-300.<sup>149</sup> He also wrote to other prominent men, including other bishops, imploring them to support his mission, and many, including the Bishops of London and Bath Wells, were successful in recommending men to the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.<sup>150</sup> The plea for ministers was still prominent in his letters to Campbell in 1838, despite stating he would not trouble them for more financial aid. The S.P.C.K. had made good on their initial promise, as Broughton had received £3100 by 1838, with £2500 being contributed in the first eighteen months of the Church Act. He informed Campbell that ‘the people at large are decidedly with us, and wherever the Church of England can take her proper position she keeps it’. His main concern at this time was the Wesleyans who were ‘creeping in and undermining us’.<sup>151</sup> He had derailed a plan by the Wesleyans to encourage ‘people to unite in building Churches to be jointly occupied by them and our clergy’. He found this practice ‘evil and absurd’, and used the excuse that the funds donated from the society could only be exclusively applied to the Church.<sup>152</sup> Ultimately, the men recruited for Broughton were primarily curates who lacked the patronage to become vicars or rectors. Despite their reduced English status, they became leading men in their respective areas due to their education and social standing, enabling Broughton to establish a parish network reasonably quickly.<sup>153</sup>

When in England, Broughton informed Glenelg that there was a need for itinerant ministers to provide ministry to convicts on assignment in isolated locations. After his departure, Glenelg had £800 approved by the Treasury from the Military Chest for this purpose. Broughton then proposed a plan to dominate the money for the Anglican Church. He informed Bourke that the Diocesan Committee had also approved £300 yearly for the same purpose, which he proposed to divide up as £50 payments allocated to six clergymen. He asked that they be supplemented with £100 under the Church Act, and an additional sum from the £800 allocated from convict services to provide these men with a semi permanent dwelling. He pointed out this plan

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<sup>149</sup> Broughton ‘An Account of the State of Religion and of the Episcopal Church in the Colony of New South Wales’, published in England, 6 April 1837, M.L. FM4 561. See also Broughton to Coleridge, 26 July 1836, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>150</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 14 August 1837, Broughton to James Cotton Powell, 1 December 1837, Rev. S. Beever to Bishop of London, 13 December 1837, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>151</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 29 November 1838, 13 September 1839, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>152</sup> Broughton to Campbell, 30 October 1839, M.L. FM4 560.

<sup>153</sup> Judd, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 35-38.



coincided with the sentiments of Glenelg who desired additional colonial support, and he hoped the men would also receive support from the properties they visited.<sup>154</sup> By proposing this he was attempting to stop money flowing to Catholic or Methodist itinerants. Bourke responded by allowing £300 of the £500 allocated to New South Wales to go to the Church of England.<sup>155</sup>

Broughton was unhappy with the Church Act's definition of church governance and was instrumental in drafting the Church Temporalities Act. This formally set out the nomination and succession of trustees and the power of churchwardens. It also defined the power of the bishop and aligned the laws of the Church in the colony to the United Churches of England and Ireland. The legislation gave the clergy protection from lay trustees and afforded the bishop enormous disciplinary powers, while protecting Broughton from state interference in his Church, even though the state was providing a significant proportion of the funding.<sup>156</sup> This must be considered as an extremely significant part of the implementation of the Church Act and an important amendment initiated by Broughton. The fact that Bourke and the Colonial Office agreed with the need for the temporalities to be defined, demonstrates that their agenda for state control of religion was negligible. Apart from an ability to veto inappropriate ministers from receiving a stipend, other disciplinary control was vested in the denominational organisations.<sup>157</sup>

After the dissolution of the Church and Schools Corporation in 1833, all the assets were transferred to the Crown.<sup>158</sup> The loss of these assets was a substantial blow to Broughton. In 1834 it was calculated that 435,765 acres had been granted and only 15,993 had been sold.<sup>159</sup> Despite his many successes, Broughton was unable to avert the sale of the Church and School lands being allocated to the service of 'general

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<sup>154</sup> Broughton to Bourke, 1 June 1837, M.L. Ab 29/6a.

<sup>155</sup> £300 was allocated to Van Diemen's Land. Bourke to Broughton, 30 June 1837, M.L. Ab 29/6a.

<sup>156</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp. 95-98, 108-111.

<sup>157</sup> In the 1840s this act was criticised for giving the bishop too much power over stipends and parsonages. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, pp. 194, 226.

<sup>158</sup> Act 5 William IV, No. II. Border, *Church and State in Australia*, p. 90; Shaw offers a good analysis of the demise of the Church and Schools Corporation after Broughton's arrival. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, pp. 47-49.

<sup>159</sup> *V&P*, 13 June 1833.

religion and education', despite intense lobbying. Broughton had senior conservative leader, Robert Inglis, and the Archbishop of Canterbury petition both Houses of Parliament in an attempt to retitle the land to the Church of England. He also had Coleridge obtain the help of his friend William Gladstone in the matter. Broughton believed that since the 400,000 acres were in principle granted to the Anglican Church it should be invested in them. Their loss was considered by him to be a great injustice.<sup>160</sup> The issue remained a continual grievance during the governorships of Bourke and Gipps.<sup>161</sup>

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Broughton, through his determination and success, was a champion of the Anglican Church in their battle against the rise of Dissenters and Catholics around the Empire.<sup>162</sup> He almost single-handedly turned a defeat, in the demise of the Church and Schools Corporation and the introduction of the Church Act, into a catalyst for the expansion and solidification of the Anglican Church in Australia. First, his trip to England brought valuable support from organisations such as S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. that provided funds and agents in England to source personnel. Gaining approval for these funds to be used to leverage government funding under the Church Act was especially significant. Second, by blocking Bourke's educational reforms he was able to utilise his churches and ministry personnel to establish his own educational network, further advancing Anglican belief to a new generation. This may have been regretted by other denominations, and his High Church tendencies brought him into conflict within his own ranks, but no one could deny that his purposes were not overwhelmingly spiritual in motivation, where the advancement of his conception of 'pure' Christianity was paramount, not just for individual salvation and personal morality, but essential to counter false doctrine and unbelief, and to advance the providential destiny of Britain. He held an unwavering conviction that the Church of England maintained the 'true Gospel' and that the scheme of placing all sects on equal footing would hinder its mission. Despite shamelessly using the benefits of the Church Act to lure potential

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<sup>160</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 25 February 1839, M.C. FM4 560.

<sup>161</sup> R. B. Walker, 'The Latter History of the Church and School Lands', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 1961, pp. 235-237.

<sup>162</sup> Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, pp. 286-289.

clergy to the colony, in a very competitive environment, Broughton never publicly supported it.<sup>163</sup> On the second reading of the Appropriation Act in 1837 he made a short speech against the arrangements, in particular the principle of giving public support to multiple denominations. Bourke thought the reason he ‘forwarded no proposition on his remarks’ was because he knew he was in a minority.<sup>164</sup> His tenacity did cause sectarian conflict, but this was intentional, because he was not prepared to give up the fight for a ‘false peace’ for:

The Apostles of the Lord did by their preaching occasion many turmoils and disturbances ... but what they did was for the everlasting benefit of mankind not for short term false peace ... if they had offended nobody and lived peaceably and quietly they would not have changed the world.<sup>165</sup>

He viewed his own apostolic position in a very High Church manner, where as Bishop of Australia he was entrusted with a providential duty to extend Christianity through the Church of England. Education was a fundamental tool to propagate the Gospel as a form of doctrinal evangelicalism, because the moral lessons of the Gospel alone could not effect real improvement, ‘separated from doctrinal sanctions and without unreserved acceptance of the whole’.<sup>166</sup> To reduce Broughton’s battles to mere political factions between conservatism and liberalism over-secularises an important historical junction in Australian history.

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<sup>163</sup> The competition was because of the need for ministers in the growing population centres of England, and also Canada, which was also desperately seeking clergy.

<sup>164</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 30 July 1837, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>165</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 21 September 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>166</sup> Diary of Archbishop Broughton on the Voyage to Australia, 25 June, M.C. FM4 225.

## Chapter 4: The rise of Catholicism in colonial New South Wales

The main obstacles to Broughton's plan for Anglican domination in the colony were the ramifications of Catholic Emancipation in Britain, and the strength of Catholic demography in New South Wales. Emancipation brought Catholic elites to the colony and legitimised their demands for equality. The extensive Catholic population, which was predominately Irish, forced the Colonial Office to address their needs spiritually and socially, both from the perspective of their rights as Britons, and the need to deal with perceived immorality in a colony destined for increased immigration. The arrival of Richard Bourke and the implementation of the Church Act heralded a new era for New South Wales Catholics.

Australian Catholic historiography had tended to view belief from two perspectives. The spiritual perspective of New South Wales Catholicism was stressed in earlier histories of Cardinal Patrick Moran and Archbishop Eris O'Brien.<sup>1</sup> The cultural focus of later historians, such as Patrick O'Farrell and James Waldersee, downplayed faith and criticised these histories for their focus on early persecution, and the celebration of Irish Catholic advancement.<sup>2</sup> They were not sympathetic to apologetics concerning the criminality of the Irish convicts, allowing them to speculate that culture, not faith, kept Catholicism alive in a colony devoid of priests. More recent cultural histories have been more accommodating of spiritual perspectives.<sup>3</sup> Contributing to these different perspectives are the secular and non-secular viewpoints of the various authors. British historians have placed much more importance on Catholic faith, ritual and liturgy in Irish life, especially around birth, marriage, sickness and death.<sup>4</sup> Desmond Keenan claims there is little evidence of unbelief or doubt in the

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<sup>1</sup> E. O'Brien, *The Dawn of Catholicism in Australia*, Sydney, 1928; E. O'Brien, *Life and Letters of Archbishop, John Joseph Therry, Founder of the Catholic Church in Australia*, Sydney, 1922; Patrick Francis Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, Sydney, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the present*, Sydney, 2000; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, Melbourne, 1977; J. Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales, 1788-1860*, Sydney, 1974.

<sup>3</sup> Naomi Turner, *Catholics: A Social History*, Melbourne, 1992; Katharine Massam, *Sacred Threads*, Sydney, 1996.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence J. McCaffery, 'Irish Nationalism and Irish Catholicism: A Study in Cultural Identity', *Church History*, Vol. 42, No. 4, 1973, p. 527; David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland, from the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire*,

peasantry, and if anything they demonstrate an intensity of belief.<sup>5</sup> This thesis proposes that in New South Wales culture and faith were integrated around the function and ministry of the priesthood, which is why the structure of the Catholic Church was reconstituted so effectively when funding and personnel arrived.

The first priest to be funded by the Governor of New South Wales was transported convict Father Dixon who received £60 in June 1803, which was withdrawn the following year after the Castle Hill rebellion.<sup>6</sup> Three other transported priests from the 1798 Irish rebellion were not allowed to minister in public and were forced to attend Protestant services.<sup>7</sup> Fear of the Irish stemmed from absorbing such a large number of alienated people with grievances into a frontier society, and priests, like gentleman convicts, were seen as potential rebel leaders.<sup>8</sup> The policy for all governors until Bourke was that Catholic convicts were expected to attend Protestant services.<sup>9</sup> This was generally resented, as the Anglican minister was not popular in Catholic Ireland. To most Catholics, he represented British domination, and was often only seen when he or his agent arrived to collect tithes.<sup>10</sup>

Father O'Flynn was the first 'free' priest to arrive in the colony. His popularity with the Irish was enhanced through his ability to speak Gaelic.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately for

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Cambridge, 1996, p. 88; S. J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, Dublin, 2001, pp. 16-23, 105, 113-114.

<sup>5</sup> Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Sociological Study*, Dublin, 1983, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> King to Hobart, 17 December 1803, *HRA*, 1, IV, p. 394; 14 August 1804, *HRA*, V, p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 6. For the Irish Rebellion see Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> Edith Mary Johnston, 'Violence Transported: Aspects of Irish Peasant Society', in W. F. Mandle and O. McDonagh (eds.), *Ireland and Irish-Australia: studies in cultural and political history*, London, 1986, pp. 137-139; David A. Roberts, "'The Valley of Swells': Educated convicts on the Wellington Valley settlement', *History Australia*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2006, pp. 1-21.

<sup>9</sup> For example, Macquarie to Bathurst, 12 December 1817, *HRA*, 1, IX, p. 710.

<sup>10</sup> Keenan, *Catholic Church*, pp. 172-173, 199; George Rude, *Protest and Punishment: The Story of the Social and Political Protesters Transported to Australia*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 106-108; Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine and Emigration*, New York, 1995, pp. 28-33.

<sup>11</sup> Francis O'Donoghue, *The Bishop of Botany Bay: The Life of John Bede Polding*, Sydney, 1982, p. 31; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History: 1788-1967*, Melbourne, 2000, pp. 12-13. In Ireland a priest's popularity was increased if he spoke Gaelic. Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 95. On the influence of the Gaelic language in the colony, see, Jakelin Troy, "'Der mary this is a fine cuntry is there is in the wourld": Irish-English and Irish

O'Flynn and his supporters, his commission was from Rome, not the Colonial Office. O'Flynn had been appointed 'Prefect Apostolic' to New Holland by an anti-British cardinal in Rome.<sup>12</sup> His deportation, however, was an important step in stimulating British public opinion regarding the situation of the Catholic population in New South Wales, and that influence reached Parliament through Lord Donoughmore who raised O'Flynn's concerns about their plight.<sup>13</sup> On his departure O'Flynn left a blessed Eucharist that was cared for by a group of laymen called 'The Council for the Protection of the Blessed Sacrament', or the 'five immortals', who became the 'guardians of the host'. They included successful publicans Michael Dwyer and Andrew Byrne.<sup>14</sup> This Eucharist became a sacred symbol of the priesthood until the arrival of Fathers J. J. Therry and Phillip Conolly.<sup>15</sup>

Eris O'Brien considered Joseph Therry the founder of the Catholic Church in Australia.<sup>16</sup> Therry had met O'Flynn in Dublin soon after his expulsion from New South Wales, and his story ignited a passion for the Irish Catholics of New South Wales. Dr Edward Slater, hearing of Therry's interest, arranged with the Colonial Office for his appointment as a chaplain on a £100 stipend.<sup>17</sup> Therry arrived to find restrictions placed on his ability to conduct marriages, the times he could hold mass,

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in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Australia', in John O'Brien and Pauric Travers (eds.), *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, Dublin, 1991, pp. 148-179.

<sup>12</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 12; E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, Melbourne, 1987, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, p. 31; O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. ix; Waldersee is more sympathetic to Macquarie regarding O'Flynn's deportation, pointing out his main purpose was to maintain order. Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 14-21.

<sup>14</sup> Rucin O'Donnell, 'Michael O'Dwyer: "The Wicklow Chief"', in Bob Reece (ed.), *Irish Convict Lives*, Sydney, 1993, pp. 40-42; Larry Turner, 'Andrew Byrne: intelligent, honest, sober and industrious', in Reece, *Irish Convict Lives*, pp. 101-104.

<sup>15</sup> The appointment of the priests was seen as vindicating the Catholic's faith in the miracle power of the Eucharist. Turner, in Reece, *Irish Convict Lives*, p. 101. Catholics believed the Eucharist contained the presence of God after transubstantiation. Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 110; Gerard Grace, *Catholic Schools: Mission, Markets and Morality*, London, 2002, p. 62.

<sup>16</sup> Birt claimed the technical foundation was when Ullathorne arrived. Henry Norbert Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, London, 1911, p. 147.

<sup>17</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 14; O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, pp. 31-32. Slater was a Benedictine and Vicar Apostolic of the Cape, Mauritius and Madagascar. His territory included dominion over the Australian colonies. He appointed Therry and Father Connolly, both Irishmen. Connolly went to Van Diemen's Land, O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 17.

and on his access to Catholic children in the orphan school.<sup>18</sup> Despite this he believed there was a ‘spirit of universal religious toleration’ in many of the higher circles of the colony.<sup>19</sup> Governor Macquarie granted him the site of St Mary’s church and laid the foundation stone in 1821.<sup>20</sup> Therry told Macquarie that ‘in the temple’ he now commenced, ‘prayers would be offered to the Throne of God’ to send down ‘the blessings of heaven’ on his family. On this occasion, both men expressed sentiments of mutual co-operation.<sup>21</sup> Therry’s first public collection for the church was supported by Protestant elites such as Macquarie, James Jamieson, Darcy Wentworth and John Oxley. Macquarie promised to ‘move Earl Bathurst’ when back in England to extend further assistance to the chapel project.<sup>22</sup> However, in 1824 Bathurst announced the introduction of the Church and Schools Corporation, which endowed the Anglican Church without any increased funding provision for the Catholic religion.<sup>23</sup> In this period, letters from convicts to Father Therry reported penalties for Catholics refusing to attend Anglican services, and being persecuted for their belief. One man, John McCernan, assigned to Samuel Terry’s farm at Mount Pleasant, was made a laughing stock over his ‘beads’ and sentenced to fourteen days on the treadmill for refusing to attend an Anglican service, which caused him to be hospitalised.<sup>24</sup>

Governor Brisbane’s arrival did not produce any increased sympathy for the Catholic religion, but he did consider priests as being useful for reducing the ‘diabolical crime’ allegedly committed by Catholics.<sup>25</sup> He was partly supportive of Therry’s attempts to open schools, but Archdeacon Scott and Governor Darling later tightened up restrictions on Catholic activity, including priests conducting marriages, in their desire to establish the Anglican Church.<sup>26</sup> In 1826 Darling wrote to Therry asking him if he had married a Protestant in the rites of the Catholic Church. He

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<sup>18</sup> For a complete list of Macquarie’s restrictions see, Turner, *Catholics*, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, pp. 28-39

<sup>20</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> *S.G.*, 3 November 1821.

<sup>22</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57; O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 25. Machin claims Bathurst and Liverpool (the Tory leader) were the most powerful anti-Catholic forces in Parliament. G. I. T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820 to 1830*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 50, 61, 95.

<sup>24</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 63.

<sup>25</sup> Brisbane to Bathurst, 28 October 1824, *HRA*, 1, XI, p. 204.

<sup>26</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, pp. 67-70.

considered Therry's reply as belligerent and suspended him.<sup>27</sup> Darling was suspicious of the possible seditious effects of the priest on the Irish convicts.<sup>28</sup> In June 1825 the *Sydney Gazette* published a plan by Therry to remedy Catholic disabilities, and despite an apology over what he described as mistaken wording, Scott was incensed.<sup>29</sup> To Darling, Therry had become a symbol of opposition to authority, and he formally requested that the Colonial Office recruit some English priests.<sup>30</sup> O'Farrell attributed a political motive to Therry's actions by linking Catholicism to the sense of exclusion and grievances of the Irish population. He also associated Therry's religious success and popularity to this 'political dimension', whilst still acknowledging Therry's religious purpose and dedication.<sup>31</sup>

Despite his loss of salary, Therry continued to minister, visiting gaols and the sick, and remaining popular with the Catholic population.<sup>32</sup> However, his official demotion hindered his ministry in Sydney hospital, which prompted him to complain without success to Alexander McLeay, the Colonial Secretary, that 'dying Christians' were being denied the 'opportunity of receiving the sacred rights and consolations of religion'.<sup>33</sup> During the 1820s, the Catholic population of New South Wales doubled, but clergy funding was not increased.<sup>34</sup> Therry's replacement was another Irishman, Father Daniel Power, who was a good preacher, but lacked Therry's popularity.<sup>35</sup> After Power's death in 1830, a young Irish Dominican, Christopher Dowling, succeeded him, but both men clashed with Therry because they refused to recognise Therry's self

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<sup>27</sup> At this time the practice was illegal in Britain. Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 191.

<sup>28</sup> Jean Woolmington, *Religion in Early Australia: The Problem of Church and State*, Sydney, 1976, p. 39.

<sup>29</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 74; Campion, *Australian Catholics*, p. 18; O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 26.

<sup>30</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>31</sup> O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 40; O'Farrell, *Catholic Church: Short History*, pp. 21-23. For a good analysis of the popularity of Therry see: Turner, *Catholics*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>32</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, pp. 103-120; O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Therry to McLeay, 7 July 1829, quoted in O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 120.

<sup>34</sup> The numbers were 6,000 in 1820, 11,236 in 1828, and 18,000 in 1833. O'Farrell, *Catholic Church: Short History*, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 134; Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, p. 29.



imposed clerical superiority.<sup>36</sup> The issue of ecclesiastical authority and Catholic unity was not resolved until the arrival of William Ullathorne as Australian Vicar General.<sup>37</sup>

During the five years of the Church and Schools Corporation, £91,500 was allocated to Anglicans and £1000 to Catholics.<sup>38</sup> The post-war economic difficulties of Britain increased the flow of convicts, especially the Irish, to New South Wales,<sup>39</sup> but until the end of the 1820s the Catholic religion was extremely disadvantaged to the point of systematic discouragement, especially in Darling's governorship. Considering the cultural affinity the Irish attached to their religion, and the ministry of the priest, this must be considered unjust when compared to the support given to the Anglican Church, and entirely unsuited to attract Irish immigrants.

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Until 1829 no Catholic could hold public office in the New South Wales. The Roman Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) was officially proclaimed in the colony on 18 January 1830.<sup>40</sup> Emancipation opened civil offices to Catholics in British colonies and this facilitated the appointments of John Hubert Plunkett as Solicitor General in 1832, and Roger Therry, who arrived in 1829, as Commissioner of the Court of Requests. These men were from old Irish families, were fellow students of Trinity College, Dublin, and were influenced by the ideas of liberal Catholic movements in England and Europe.<sup>41</sup> They became valuable supporters of Richard Bourke.

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<sup>36</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 29. Father John McEnroe also arrived with J. H. Plunkett and ministered with Therry but was limited by his alcoholism at this time. Turner, *Catholics*, pp. 59, 64.

<sup>37</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, pp. 35-38.

<sup>38</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 73.

<sup>39</sup> Trevor Parkhill, 'Convicts, Orphans, Settlers: Patters of Emigration from Ulster 1790-1860', in O'Brien, *Irish Emigrant Experience*, pp. 7-14; Rude, *Protest and Punishment*, pp. 106-110; Scally, *End of Hidden Ireland*, pp. 11-28.

<sup>40</sup> William Foster, 'Education in New South Wales Under Governor Sir Richard Bourke', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 47, No. 5, 1961, p. 259.

<sup>41</sup> R. Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, (1863), Sydney, 1974, p. 13; Jarlath Ronayne, *The Irish in Australia: rogues and reformers, First Fleet to Federation*, Melbourne, 2002, p. 26.

Roger Therry had been a long-term advocate of Catholic Emancipation. In 1826 he wrote a letter to George Canning thanking him for his support in fighting for the ‘justice and the rights of 6 million Irish’. He pointed out that the ‘alleged incompatibility’ of Catholics sharing ‘in the advantages of the constitution’ was based on a misconception regarding the power of the Pope, who Catholics considered as a ‘spiritual power’, while recognising that ‘temporal power’ belonged to the rulers of a particular country.<sup>42</sup> He believed Irish prejudice was ‘deeply-seated in the minds of a great portion of the people of England’, but Ireland’s days of ‘ignorance and superstition’ were gone, as the people now toiled for their prosperity and their common good.<sup>43</sup> Roger Therry’s ideas were similar to the Whig views of Bourke and Spring-Rice. They considered Irish rights within a British nation were necessary to uphold the fundamental Whig principle that civil obedience was linked to just governance. An interesting aspect of this letter is that Therry presented Canning with six letters written by Edmund Burke, which had never before been published.<sup>44</sup> Burke wrote the letters to his son Richard in 1792 when he was appointed ‘Agent to the Roman Catholics of Ireland’.<sup>45</sup> The letters demonstrated Edmund Burke’s sympathy for the plight of the Irish, and perhaps Therry thought they could be used by Canning to bolster the Emancipation cause. Therry’s ideas at this time present a close synergy, socially and politically, with men like Richard Bourke and Spring Rice, especially Rice who was close to the Canningites at this time, and it is easy to see why Roger Therry became a friend and supporter of Bourke in New South Wales.<sup>46</sup>

As pointed out in Chapter 1, despite Catholic emancipation being a politically driven solution to the Irish problem, rather than a mass movement of toleration, it

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<sup>42</sup> R. Therry, *A Letter to the Right Honourable George Canning on the Present State of the Catholic Question*, London, 1826, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup> Edmund Burke had been John Therry’s guardian (Roger’s father), a common practice in Ireland to allow Catholics to inherit property. Ronayne, *The Irish in Australia: rogues and reformers*, pp. 26, 66. Therry’s grandfather was a personal friend of Burke. Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> On departing Ireland, Richard Burke left the letters with Therry’s father, and they were forwarded to the Bishop of Rochester after Edmund’s death on the request of his wife. Therry, *Letter to Canning*, p. 37.

<sup>46</sup> Therry became a private secretary to George Canning where he made the acquaintance of Edward Huskisson who secured him the post of Commissioner of the Court of Requests with the right to practice law privately. Therry, *Reminiscences*, pp. 27-28.

significantly increased the expectation of Catholics, and in the colony, Roger Therry became an important and articulate advocate of Catholic rights. In 1832, soon after Bourke's arrival, Therry led a deputation with Plunkett to petition the Governor on Catholic disabilities. They sought assistance to complete their chapel in Sydney, the provision of education to Catholics, and for more priests.<sup>47</sup> Roger Therry's public plea for Protestant funding for St Mary's church caused an extremely robust attack on him and the Catholic Church, especially from Broughton. Therry's primary 'offence' was to solicit money for their cause from Protestants. Broughton accused Therry of encouraging in the 'Protestant mind' a 'latitude of thinking with respect to the standard of Faith'. He believed this was an attempt to 'shake the fidelity of Protestants', and proclaimed no Protestant could support Therry's appeal 'without guilt', because the 'Catholic system' had 'already been carried on too long'.<sup>48</sup> Along with other theological criticisms that were examined in the last chapter, Broughton specifically questioned the validity of the Catholic conception of Atonement by their denial of justification of faith alone.<sup>49</sup> His most inflammatory and sectarian comments came at the end of his *Letter in Vindication* when he warned Protestants against 'encouraging the Roman Catholic religion ... as being but another equally acceptable mode of worshipping the same God'.<sup>50</sup>

Roger Therry responded with a letter addressed to Edward Blount, an influential Catholic MP he knew from the Emancipation campaign.<sup>51</sup> Therry pointed out how Broughton's statement on Protestant 'guilt' was 'harsh in tone', and his opposition to supporting a church that 'did not have a roof or windows' demonstrated a

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<sup>47</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 146.

<sup>48</sup> W. G. Broughton, *A Letter in Vindication of the Principles of the Reformation addressed to Roger Therry esq, Commissioner of the Court of Requests of New South Wales, in consequence of a speech delivered by him in the Roman Catholic Chapel, at Sydney, on 29 July 1832*, Sydney, 1832, pp. 6, 24.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. Shaw claimed Therry's memorial crossed the line for Broughton, as Broughton did not object to Catholic expansion with their own funds, but objected to Therry's insinuation that the Gospel was equally represented by Catholics and Protestants. G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 63.

<sup>51</sup> Blount had been Secretary of the Roman Catholics of England during the Emancipation campaign. Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 148.

lack of ‘Christian charity’.<sup>52</sup> He portrayed Broughton as a ‘controversialist’ who evoked ‘theological disputes’ that served to damage the overall advancement of religion. Therry criticised Broughton for combining controversies from both the present and from the Middle Ages, fostering conceptions that ‘misrepresented’ and ‘misunderstood’ Catholicism, and brought the ‘troubles, the passions and the prejudices’ of the Reformation period to the people of New South Wales.<sup>53</sup> Therry blamed the disproportionate amount of funding as forcing the Catholics to seek Protestant support.<sup>54</sup> He also criticised Edward Parry for his public assault on Catholics and condemnation of ‘the doctrines of the Church of Rome’.<sup>55</sup> Therry considered these attacks as being ‘wrong’ in a colony ‘where the blessings’ of religion and education were deficient. He expressed support for Bourke’s education plans, because he believed the Irish School System afforded ‘the same facilities of education to all classes of professing Christians, without any attempt to interfere with the peculiar religious opinions of any; and above all things to promote Christian charity and benevolence’. Therry considered religious instruction and ‘kindly treatment’ were the only certain ‘means of reclaiming and reforming the prison population of New South Wales’.<sup>56</sup> Therry’s letter to Blount was an attempt to harness the political support of the Catholic faction in Parliament for Catholic religion and education in New South Wales. It is possible Bourke encouraged him to present his case. At minimum Therry shared Bourke’s desire to make New South Wales a more equal and united society.<sup>57</sup> It also demonstrated that despite his political convictions, Therry had strong religious beliefs that had been offended by the public attacks of Broughton and Parry. His apologetics brought misrepresentations of Catholic belief into the public arena.

It would have no doubt pleased Bourke to have Blount’s support. Stanley, after receiving Bourke’s request for four additional Catholic chaplains, contacted Blount and

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<sup>52</sup> R. Therry, *An Appeal on Behalf of the Roman Catholics of New South Wales in a Letter to Edward Blount, Esquire, M.P. for Stenning*, Sydney, 1833, pp. 3-6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8, 31.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> Parry to Therry, 5 May 1832, in *ibid.*, p. 12. Therry’s memorial prompted Parry’s attack. Parry was an Evangelical Anglican who as head of the Australian Agricultural Company had established a church with over 200 people for its workers and assigned servants. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 62.

<sup>56</sup> Therry, *Letter to Edward Blount*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35; Therry, *Reminiscences*, pp. 153-160.

then Dr Branston, the Vicar Apostolic of London, to select suitable people.<sup>58</sup> Stanley informed Bourke that Blount had ‘warmly interested himself in favour of the Catholic Community of the Colony’. Stanley was annoyed that Therry had published his letter to Blount in the colony and found it detrimental to the ‘Public Service’.<sup>59</sup> But overall this episode seems to have worked in favour of the Catholics. Blount informed Therry that it was ‘absurd and abhorrent to every feeling of Christian charity’ to transport thousands of Catholics and ‘debar them from the means of learning morality or practicing the precepts of religion’. He believed that though many had ‘deviated’ they still knew the truth of Catholic doctrines. Therefore, the provision of places of worship and spiritual instruction was essential, and the government had a responsibility to allocate funds for this purpose. He promised Therry his ‘constant and persevering attention to the subject’.<sup>60</sup> After Emancipation, Catholic elites, such as O’Connell and Blount, provided political pressure in England that would have carried some weight in Cabinet, especially after the closely fought 1835 election, when the Whigs became more reliant on the support of the Catholic faction.<sup>61</sup> At this time, Russell, as leader in the Commons, established the Lichfield House compact to forge co-operation with Radical and Irish MPs.<sup>62</sup> This was significant for the Australian colonies, because Russell also took over the Home Office, which had responsibility for the transportation of convicts and the government of Ireland.

Roger Therry also came to the aid of Bourke in his contentions with the Hunter Valley settlers. When the Hunter ‘Exclusives’ published a petition in the *Herald*, Bourke thought of adopting ‘an Irish course of proceeding’ and reply before it appeared, but ‘a friend’ (Therry) had undertaken to do this as the ‘Unpaid

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<sup>58</sup> Therry, *Reminiscences*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>59</sup> Stanley to Bourke, 6 March 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 389.

<sup>60</sup> Blount to Therry, December 1833, quoted in Therry, *Reminiscences*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>61</sup> Roger Therry put together a memorial expressing Protestant support for public funding of Catholic chaplains, churches and schools and obtained 2000 signatures. He sent a copy to Lord Howick and Daniel O’Connell. Despite his radicalism, O’Connell was a devout Catholic who championed Catholic belief, as well as their civil rights. Keenan, *Catholic Church*, p. 180; James E Grimmins, ‘Jeremy Bentham and Daniel O’Connell: Their Correspondence and Radical Alliance, 1828-1831’, *Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1997, pp. 374-387.

<sup>62</sup> John Priest, in H. G. C. Mathews and Brian Howard Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, Vol. 48, p. 298.

Magistrate'.<sup>63</sup> Bourke sent a number of copies to Spring Rice to distribute to appropriate people, because he believed it was important to have a reply with 'information derived from authentic sources'.<sup>64</sup> Bourke felt the 'Unpaid Magistrate' had well represented his case against the petition.<sup>65</sup> Therry defended Bourke's humanitarian penal reforms. He wrote that judges in England had discretion to transport convicted felons, but not to send them into 'perpetual slavery'. He believed the object of transportation was not just to prevent crime, but to reform and return a person to society, and Bourke possessed both the firmness and the wisdom to achieve this. He highlighted the brutality of flogging for the British audience and how it had been abused. This writing was a political document to counter the Exclusive faction's influence on the British government's perception of Bourke's governorship. However, it also questioned the legitimacy of certain masters, making it an important aspect of the broader moral debate. The moral aspect of illegitimate authority was later scrutinised by the Molesworth Committee.<sup>66</sup> At this time the issue focused attention on the need for a more balanced social hierarchy in New South Wales. In Britain ministers complimented the power of the landowners, and in Ireland the priest often became the people's advocate. Bourke certainly could have seen the expansion of ministers through the Church Act, as providing a humane check on the abuse of localised power in a colony where the large landowners administered the justice system. For this reason the Church Act could be viewed as realigning the existing power structure.

Both Therry and Plunkett became close friends of Bourke and his family.<sup>67</sup> Plunkett was a devout Catholic who came from an Irish aristocratic background, which

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<sup>63</sup> *Observations on the 'Hole in the Corner Petition' in a Letter to the Right Honourable Edward G Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, by an Unpaid Magistrate*, Sydney, 1834.

<sup>64</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 24 November 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>65</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.; Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 30 November 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L. It is unlikely Bourke directly encouraged him to write the piece (see Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 30 November 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.), but he certainly appreciated it.

<sup>66</sup> Select Committee on Transportation, *British Parliamentary Papers, Crime and Punishment, Transportation, Vol. 2: Report from the Select Committee on transportation with minutes of evidence, appendix and index, 1837*, Dublin, 1969.

<sup>67</sup> After the birth of the Thomson's second child both the Therry and the Plunkett families assisted in helping Bourke's daughter care for the baby by minding their older child a day each week. Thomson to Bourke, 25 July 1838, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7. Therry wrote he

differentiated him from Bourke and Therry.<sup>68</sup> His family had suffered for their faith by being dispossessed and persecuted, with one relative, Oliver Plunkett, the Archbishop of Armagh, being hung, drawn and quartered for treason in 1681.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, as an O'Connellite and a Whig, Plunkett believed it was 'by intellectual and legal pressure, and not by violence, that men would obtain their rights'.<sup>70</sup> Like Therry and Bourke, he had compassion for the downtrodden, opposed injustice, and aspired to build a better society. He believed in the authority of God, and that He had given men power to shape and preserve the justice of the law.<sup>71</sup> His liberal political ideas, however, must be balanced against his religious conviction. For example, in one speech he criticised the 'Deists of France' for raising up 'the Goddess of Reason in place of the Almighty God'.<sup>72</sup>

After the death of Bourke's wife, Plunkett spent many weekends at Parramatta and the two formed a close friendship. With the departure of Francis Forbes from the colony in April 1836, Plunkett became acting Attorney General.<sup>73</sup> At this time he travelled regularly to Parramatta on Friday nights to eat fish with Bourke.<sup>74</sup> In this period the two men drafted the Church Act legislation. After losing the political ballot for the seat of Sydney in 1856, Plunkett gave a passionate speech refuting a claim by

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was 'honoured with the friendship and confidence of such a man'. Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 144.

<sup>68</sup> O'Farrell claims Plunkett as the great legal protector of Catholics was more driven by his liberal views than his religion. O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 50. John Molony's biography is much more sympathetic to his dedication to Catholicism. John N. Molony, *An Architect of Freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales, 1832-1869*, Canberra, 1973. In speeches Plunkett described himself as a 'staunch Catholic'. For example, *S.M.H.*, 21 March 1856.

<sup>69</sup> He was made a saint. Molony, *Architect of Freedom*, pp. 4-8; Ronayne, *Irish in Australia*, pp. 61-63.

<sup>70</sup> Speech by Plunkett, *S.M.H.*, 21 March 1856. Plunkett graduated from Trinity College in 1824 and was appointed Solicitor-General of New South Wales through the influence of Daniel O'Connell. Ronayne, *Irish in Australia*, pp. 61-63. He was also aligned to Lord Fingall, a traditional aristocratic Whig. Keenan, *Catholic Church*, p. 178.

<sup>71</sup> Bourke, Forbes and Plunkett were committed to the idea that before God and the law all men were equal. Molony, *Architect of Freedom*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>72</sup> Report of Two Speeches of the Honourable J. H. Plunkett on the Bill 'To Abolish State Aid to Religion'. Delivered in the Legislative Council, 16 September, 8 October 1862, M.L. DSM/322/P, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 21.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. Bourke often arranged a carriage and provided overnight accommodation. Bourke to Plunkett, 11 March, 2 April, 7 May, 10 May, 23 October 1836, Plunkett Papers. The practice of eating fish on Fridays could be further evidence of Plunkett's devoutness.

Charles Cowper during the campaign that two men, Thomas Harrington and Richard Sadleir, ‘framed the Church Act’.<sup>75</sup> Plunkett asserted he was Bourke’s friend and confidant, ‘publicly and privately’, and that he and Bourke had drawn up the Church Act two months before Alexander McLeay and his son-in-law Harrington had even seen it. He claimed Harrington could have seen it before McLeay presented it to the Legislative Council, as he was a clerk, but he was concerned if Sadleir, master of the Orphan School, had been shown a confidential paper. Furthermore, Plunkett claimed McLeay was opposed to the Act’s liberality. Plunkett ‘prided himself as the drafter and originator of the Church Act’ and expressed anger that men who had always ‘decried that Act’ would seek to take credit.<sup>76</sup>

Plunkett’s speech intimates that Bourke must have had the legislation ready long before receiving Glenelg’s approval, confirming the confidence Bourke placed in Glenelg. From the strength of his assertions we must attribute Plunkett with significant input into the plan, and even possibly Bourke’s first proposal to Stanley, for this was well after the death of Elizabeth when the men became friends. He may have slightly overstated his claim to be the ‘originator’, because Bourke had signalled his intention to expand religion and education in his first speech, before Plunkett had arrived in the colony. Also, Plunkett was a young man when he arrived, over twenty years Bourke’s junior. He may have provided some of the logistical and legal advice to achieve the governor’s aims, but Bourke was promoting and practicing his ideas regarding common Christianity and non-denominational Christian education when Plunkett was still a student. Despite this, Plunkett must be considered a major influence in the framing of the Act. This means a man who described himself as a ‘staunch’ Catholic and a member of the St Mary’s Committee, along with Polding and Ullathorne, was one of the principal architects of the legislation that changed the nature and direction of Australian Christianity.

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<sup>75</sup> Cowper claimed that Sadleir told him he influenced Harrington in coming up with the ideas that were embodied in the Church Act. See *S.M.H.*, 21 March 1856. Harrington was a senior clerk in the colonial administration and part of the Tory opposition to Bourke. Sadleir was an Evangelical Anglican and education advocate opposed to clerical autocracy. K. J. Cable, ‘Sadleir, Richard (1794 - 1889)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, 1967, p. 414.

<sup>76</sup> *S.M.H.*, 21 March 1856.



Both Plunkett and Therry were devoted to the law and the Catholic Church.<sup>77</sup> Plunkett considered ‘all men of unbiased feeling acknowledged’ that the Church Act was the ‘Magna Carta of religious liberty in the land’.<sup>78</sup> His most spirited and candid public support came on the eve of its demise when he declared that the ‘amity and good will’ the people of New South Wales currently enjoyed was due to the Church Act. He claimed it had ‘realised the expectations of those that framed it’, and that its primary purpose had been to ‘battle infidelity’, which it had achieved much more effectively than any voluntary system. This was because a voluntary system was only good for those inclined to religion and was not effective as a means to expand it.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps this statement gives some hidden insights into the thinking of Bourke by a man who was his closest confidant in the colony at the time. Both Plunkett and Therry considered the Church Act to be the most important legislation Bourke conferred.<sup>80</sup> Being educated Catholic liberals, Plunkett and Therry conform to the ideals attributed to the promoters of moral enlightenment by Roe, but there is no evidence to suggest they saw morality as being anything other than a product of religious devotion.<sup>81</sup> They had a significant impact on the Church Act in its formulation in the colony, and in lobbying Catholic supporters in Britain, primarily as a way to extend Catholic belief.

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The arrival of the first Benedictine priest, William Ullathorne, in February 1833, began a new era of Catholicism in the colony. He was educated, articulate, pious and English.<sup>82</sup> The Benedictines in England promoted spiritual renewal and cultural advancement. John Bede Polding became a priest in 1819 and one of his novices was Ullathorne. Both men were part of the Downside monastery, a place that was liberal in

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<sup>77</sup> Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 15.

<sup>78</sup> *S.M.H.*, 21 March 1856. He asserted this again in 1862, 16 September 1862, Report of Two Speeches, pp. 5-6.

<sup>79</sup> Plunkett, 16 September, 8 October 1832, Report of Two Speeches, pp. 2, 5, 22.

<sup>80</sup> Plunkett, 16 September, *ibid.*, p. 5; Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 142.

<sup>81</sup> Therry claimed the moral excellence of Methodists was so high their members were rarely seen before the courts. Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 153.

<sup>82</sup> St Augustine was a Benedictine who was sent by Rome to evangelise Britain. After Henry VIII’s dissolution of the monasteries, the English Benedictines moved to France. The upheavals of the French Revolution prompted two continental monasteries to return to England in 1799, headed by Don Bede Brewer the uncle and guardian of John Bede Polding, whose parents had died when he was eight. Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. xi.

thought, teaching logic and Scottish philosophies, but morally conservative and extremely ascetic in practice, requiring long periods of prayer and fasting and deprivation of heat in winter.<sup>83</sup> Until the Pope restored the traditional hierarchy of the English Roman Catholic Church in 1850, Britain was considered a missionary territory answerable to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in Rome.<sup>84</sup>

Ullathorne's appointment as Archdeacon brought a new level of credibility, stability and unity to the Catholics of New South Wales, and he soon became popular for both his pious dedication to people and his articulate and influential writing. Not long after his arrival, this brought him into conflict with Reverend Henry Fulton. Ullathorne had written a reply to an attack Fulton had made on Catholics, claiming he insulted a respectable body of people, which questioned his character. Fulton responded with a caustic charge that the Roman Catholic Church had ceased being a Christian church because it was 'idolatrous' and 'a synagogue of Satan', and its doctrines and practices needed to be exposed. Apart from his doctrinal attack, Fulton raised an interesting political question, specifically, whether the taxes of Protestants should be allocated to Catholics. He proposed that Catholics should be supported as a percentage of the taxes they contributed.<sup>85</sup>

In 1834 a meeting took place in Sydney regarding the possible introduction of the British and Foreign School System. It was being proposed as an alternative general education plan that would teach scriptures, without note or comment. Catholics were invited to the meeting and Ullathorne afterwards published a tract that sought to 'counter the doubt, error and misunderstanding regarding the Catholic interpretation of scriptures' raised at the meeting. He contended it was never the intention of the Catholic Church to keep the laity in ignorance of the word of God or to withhold it from them. However, it was not their practice to 'degrade the divine writings into a mere school book for the acquirement of the art of reading', as they aimed to 'preserve

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<sup>83</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, pp. 1-8; Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, pp. 231-235; Peter Cunich, 'Archbishop Vaughan and the Empires of Religion in Colonial New South Wales', in Hilary Carey (ed.), *Empires of Religion*, Houndmills, 2008, pp. 137-160.

<sup>84</sup> Joan Connell, *The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1850: A Study in Internal Politics*, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 1; Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London, 1966, pp. 276-277.

<sup>85</sup> Henry Fulton, *A Letter to the Reverend W. B. Ullathorne in Answer to A Few Words to the Reverend Henry Fulton*, Sydney, 1833.

the word of God from the errors of man'.<sup>86</sup> He claimed Protestants used the Bible as the law for every individual to judge, while for Catholics the law was partly written in the Bible and partly judged by priests who were 'ordained and sent' for the task. He pointed out that this was not dissimilar to the function of the Protestant minister and cited 2 Corinthians as endorsing the gifts of teaching and interpretation.<sup>87</sup> In this tract Ullathorne brought a fundamental contention to light, namely that 'most of the books of the New Testament were written from accidental circumstances and not from expressed command'.<sup>88</sup> This was not a problem for many Latitudinarians, Deists or Socinians, who would have agreed with him, but for many Calvinists, Evangelicals and High Churchmen, such as Broughton and Lang, this was a heresy. Ullathorne also pointed out the success of the early church without Bibles and the difficulty and expense of obtaining them widely until the introduction of the printing press, which had fostered a range of different Protestant interpretations by men like Luther, Calvin and Beza, 'the doctors of the Reformation', causing much conflict. He claimed that if these learned men could not agree, 'how shall the unlearned and the lowly ... clear up the obscurities'.<sup>89</sup> In this writing he used similar arguments Broughton later used to defend Anglican education. Ullathorne criticised private judgement in English without the knowledge of authentic Hebrew and Greek meanings, and claimed this fostered groups that overlayed rationality to create 'a Christianity devoid of mystery'.<sup>90</sup> He upheld that Catholics were prepared for scripture by catechisms and then told to read the New Testament before the Old, ensuring sound understanding.<sup>91</sup> His aggressive assertion of Catholic belief and attack on the Protestant shibboleth of the authority of the Bible, began a new era of sectarian conflict, but the tract also demonstrated how much more tolerant the colonial environment had become when compared to Father Therry's removal by Darling for much less controversial statements.

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<sup>86</sup> W. Ullathorne, *Observations of the Use and Abuse of the Sacred Scriptures, as Exhibited in the Discipline and Practice of the Protestant and Catholic Communions*, Sydney, 1834, pp. 2-6. Considering the disproportionate amount of revenue allocated to Anglicans compared to Catholics, and that the major component of tax revenue came from excise of liquor, Catholics could have possibly claimed much more money if Fulton's formula had been adopted.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 18.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>90</sup> The concept of the sacred and its associated rituals was fundamental to Catholic religious culture. Catholics criticised Protestants for exposing Christianity to secularisation by diminishing the sacred. Grace, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 5-9.

<sup>91</sup> Ullathorne, *Observations of the Use of Sacred Scriptures*, pp. 36, 57-53.

Ullathorne felt a great spiritual destiny in his mission and believed a 'particular' providence brought him to New South Wales.<sup>92</sup> Bourke was impressed with Ullathorne and the two had many meetings where Catholic growth was discussed. Ullathorne once complained that 'underlings in the office' who were 'great evangelicals' resented this as a 'popery conspiracy'.<sup>93</sup> Birt asserts that Bourke's proposal to Stanley in 1833 contained ideas from Ullathorne.<sup>94</sup> When Bourke requested additional Catholic chaplains from Stanley he did ask, at Ullathorne's request, that Dr Branston approve them. He also attached a letter from Ullathorne to the Colonial Secretary that maintained the good order and morality of the Catholic population required priests living amongst them. As well, their presence 'would remove a prime obstacle to the emigration of Catholics of moral worth, character and respectability into the colony, such persons being unwilling to expose themselves to the certainty or even probability of being deprived of the assistance of their Clergy'.<sup>95</sup> The priests selected were Fathers Polding, Cotham, Corcoran and Sumner. They were allocated £150 for expenses and a £150 stipend.<sup>96</sup> It was recommended that Polding be given Episcopal authority by his church although his stipend was only £200 compared to Broughton's £2000. Branston had written to Rome expressing Polding's zeal for New Holland and how his Englishness would be acceptable to the Colonial Office. Polding brought three students, Gregory, Spencer and Kenny, who were in preparation for Holy Orders, which the Colonial Office provided with £100 passage, but with no promise of a stipend.<sup>97</sup> Though Lord Aberdeen made the appointment, Spring Rice selected Polding for New South Wales.<sup>98</sup> Bourke had received reports of Polding from England and

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<sup>92</sup> Ullathorne to Bishop Morris, 17 April 1833, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 158.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

<sup>95</sup> Ullathorne to Macleay, 29 April 1833, attached to Bourke to Stanley, 22 August 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 204. Irish priests were deeply embedded in their communities and the power of the priest, especially in rural areas, is well documented. The 1851 English census demonstrated a high attendance by working-class Catholics. Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 126-127, 179; Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, p. 88; D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from 1730 to 1980s*, London, 1989, p. 110.

<sup>96</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, p. 20

<sup>97</sup> Aberdeen to Bourke, 20 February 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 682. The passage money for all ministers was allocated from the New South Wales emigration fund.

<sup>98</sup> Bourke to Monteagle, 16 July 1841, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

believed he would be ‘a great acquisition to the Colony’.<sup>99</sup> Bourke later reflected he was the most valuable asset the Colonial Office ever sent him.<sup>100</sup> Polding considered his appointment as Bishop represented a mission similar to the Apostles.<sup>101</sup> He arrived in the colony with three priests, three subdeacons and two catechists in September 1835. This was a significant upgrade of Catholic personnel and demonstrated a new commitment to the Catholic population by the Colonial Office.

Through his pastoral letters to Catholic assemblies, Polding promoted the need for spiritual renewal.<sup>102</sup> He concentrated on the teachings of Christ and Paul in a desire to instil a New Testament Christian consciousness. Fundamental to this was the ‘renunciation of sin’ and ‘penitential exercises in atonement for past crimes’. This included drunkenness, theft, blasphemy and any worldly pursuit in the ‘places of the heart’ where ‘God alone should occupy’, because the ‘condition of the Lord’s pardon of sin is a change of heart’.<sup>103</sup> The Augustine outlook of sinfulness and corruption was very strong in English and Irish Catholicism at this time, consistent with this ‘age of Atonement’. This was coupled with a popular movement of Catholic asceticism called rigorism, which focused on fasting, prayer and penance.<sup>104</sup> Polding desired to establish a monastic oasis in the spiritual and cultural wilderness of New South Wales, where he would imitate Augustine in bringing Christianity to the heathen and fulfil his ascetic leanings.<sup>105</sup> This spiritual community would contrast the worldly evils around him, which included the pursuit of wealth by Anglican ministers, something he found counterproductive to effective ministry.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 18 September 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>100</sup> Bourke to Monteagle, 16 July 1841, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>101</sup> Polding to Birdsall, 15 June 1834, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 235.

<sup>102</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, p. 35; Gregory Haines, Sister Mary Gregory Foster, F. Brophy (eds), *The Eye of Faith, The Pastoral Letters of John Bede Polding*, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 54-66.

<sup>103</sup> Lenten Pastoral, 1837, in Haines, *Eye of Faith*, pp. 48-53. The fundamental principles of Catholic belief were sin, faith, and redemption. Grace, *Catholic Schools*, p. 70; Massam, *Sacred Threads*, p. 37.

<sup>104</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 181-182; Massam, *Sacred Threads*, p. 62.

<sup>105</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, p. 21.

<sup>106</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 47.

A constant theme running through Polding's teaching was Atonement, or specifically that 'Grace was purchased' with the 'blood of Jesus'. The morality he expected from Catholics stemmed from leading a holy life in consequence of receiving this grace, which would sustain a person through the 'great truths of Eternity', namely 'Death, Judgement, Hell and Heaven'.<sup>107</sup> In essence, negating the ascetic practices he recommended for the period of Lent, his salvation message was little different from that of Broughton. Both specified an acceptance of the redemption purchased by Christ, which was to be enacted through moral behaviour. Polding's outworking may have entailed a more formal and regular penance, but both men recognised humanity's place in the universe was to worship and serve God.

During the education debate, Polding solidly supported Bourke in a tract called 'Catholic Ipse' printed in the *Australian*.<sup>108</sup> In this he claimed the National System was a success in Ireland, because it 'smoothed down animosities' and 'introduced a nobler range of feelings'. Like Bourke, Polding did not consider the Kildare Place Society's programme sufficient in its Christian focus, but he believed there was evidence that demonstrated that the teaching of common religious subjects in the Irish System had been effective in clearing away prejudices 'which were heretofore deemed sacred', so 'each Catholic will not be deemed an inquisitorial torturer at heart'.<sup>109</sup> He therefore refuted the accusation that Bourke's proposal was a means of establishing Catholic belief, maintaining that 'true religion enshrouds not herself in prejudices, these she regards as habiliments degrading to her beauty'.<sup>110</sup>

Roe attributed a great deal to Catholic liberalism due to their support of the policies of Bourke, but this cannot be viewed in isolation. The Catholic Church in societies such as the United States, Canada and Australia supported liberal and democratic movements. This was because in these areas their church was at a

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<sup>107</sup> For example, Lenten Pastorals 1837 and 1840, in Haines, *Eye of Faith*, pp. 54-56.

<sup>108</sup> *Australian*, 23 August 1836. It is generally accepted that Polding was the author. See Foster, 'Education under Bourke', 23 August 1836, p. 272.

<sup>109</sup> Bourke was very supportive of the methods of the Kildare Place Society, but considered their 'religious instruction quiet inefficient'. He supported tithe money being used to expand education to the Catholic population. Bourke to Spring Rice, 25 May 1829, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>110</sup> *Australian*, 23 August 1836.

disadvantage to hegemonic Protestantism, and, particularly in Australia and Canada, the Church of England's alliance to the British power structure. This was also the case in Britain and particularly in Ireland, where the English and the Irish Catholics aligned with liberal movements.<sup>111</sup> But at the same time, Catholic religious culture opposed secularisation and criticised hegemonic Protestantism for fostering rationalism over the sacred.<sup>112</sup> Meanwhile, in European Catholic countries, the papacy was struggling against liberal democratic movements, such as the 'Young Italy' movement, and their revolts in the early 1830s.<sup>113</sup> The Catholic Church was extremely morally and theologically conservative, but in political matters it supported causes that advanced its interests. This was not a trend towards moral enlightenment; it was pure pragmatism designed to advance the Catholic faith. In 1836 the Catholics of New South Wales only had 512 pupils in their schools, out of a Catholic population of 20,000. In 1839, once his denomination schools had been established, Polding joined with Broughton to oppose a national school system.<sup>114</sup> A fundamental rationale of Catholic education was to keep alive and renew the sacred in a profane world, not promote secular moral enlightenment.<sup>115</sup>

Waldersee claimed Catholicism was kept alive in the colony by custom not conviction, but Ullathorne's experiences at Norfolk Island with the most desperate criminals in the British Empire may question that assumption somewhat, though cultural Catholicism is undeniable.<sup>116</sup> When Ullathorne first went to Norfolk Island in 1835, he said the 'deep depravity' of the inmates had become a 'proverb'. He went to minister to thirteen men condemned for a conspiracy to take over the island. Only three were Catholic, but another four desired his ministry. He claimed the men 'manifested an extraordinary fervour of repentance', and while on the island he also enacted another twenty conversions and 150 general confessions from other convicts. This was out of an estimated Catholic population of 450 men. He returned in 1836 after receiving letters requesting his ministry to find that many of his converts had 'endured

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<sup>111</sup> Keenan, *Catholic Church*, p. 180.

<sup>112</sup> Grace, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 5-8.

<sup>113</sup> O'Brien, *Life and Letters of J. J. Therry*, p. 299.

<sup>114</sup> Turner, *Catholics*, pp. 73-75.

<sup>115</sup> Grace, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>116</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, p. 216.

all sorts of ridicule and persecution’, but the commandant, Major Anderson, informed him the Catholics were remarkably attentive to their duties of religion. On this trip he received 300 confessions and twelve conversions. On his return to the mainland, he received a letter from a convict, Robert Hepburne, who wrote that even more had been added to the numbers despite persecution.<sup>117</sup> In the *Catholic Mission in Australia*, Ullathorne’s genuine interest in the welfare of convicts and their reformation is evident. He certainly criticised the moral state of the colony, but the sympathy he felt for convicts must have contributed to his ministry success.<sup>118</sup> He recounted that on itinerant ministry journeys a few days notice would bring people from thirty miles.<sup>119</sup> Ullathorne’s experiences demonstrate a resilient amount of latent belief in the Catholic population and a respect for the office of the priest.

Polding also felt compassion towards convicts, seeing them as men who providence had brought on suffering to bring repentance. He is alleged to have spent more time in his confessional than any of his priests.<sup>120</sup> The redemption of convicts was a focus of his activities. From 1836 to 1841, in his ministry to newly arrived convicts, 7,000 were instructed in receiving the sacraments, producing a reduction in crime, in particular capital punishments.<sup>121</sup> Birt claims Polding’s confessional was busiest on Sundays as it was the convicts’ only day off.<sup>122</sup> The focus of his ministry to the newly arrived convicts was to highlight that the suffering of Christ, who was innocent, provided salvation for the guilty. He made the link to their own suffering clearly evident, implying their plight was a form of penance for their sin.<sup>123</sup> Bourke was impressed by Polding, especially the ‘vast pains he takes with the laity of his church on their first arrival’ where the ‘effects have been very great’.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> W. Ullathorne, *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, Liverpool, 1837, pp. 40-44.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, see especially, pp. iii-iv.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12; Turner provides more examples from Ullathorne’s books than space permits here. Turner, *Catholics*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>120</sup> O’Farrell, *Catholic Church, Short History*, p. 37.

<sup>121</sup> Moran, *History*, pp. 231-240; Ullathorne, *Catholic Mission*, p. 33. Therry claimed there was an improvement in conduct and reduced crime. Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 150.

<sup>122</sup> Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 279. It must be noted that Irish Catholics believed that to die without confession or absolution would mean eternity in hell. Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 131.

<sup>123</sup> Ullathorne, *Catholic Mission*, p. 33-34.

<sup>124</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 August 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.



In England Polding had undertaken a personal mission to the poor. He was also instrumental in igniting in Ullathorne a passion for the spiritual destitution of the convict population in Australia. Conversely, Ullathorne's letters back to Downside increased the burden on Polding for the colony.<sup>125</sup> The success and dedication of Polding and Ullathorne when they arrived in the colony provided Bourke with satisfaction that his religious policy was effective. The sincerity of their belief and mission gave them an influence on Bourke, and justified his willingness to consistently push for increased funding for the Catholic Church, culminating in the generous provisions of the Church Act.

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Understandably, Roman Catholics considered the Church Act as the Magna Carta of colonial religious equality.<sup>126</sup> The impact on Catholic growth is undeniable. In 1835 they had three priests, three churches under construction, ten schools and 200 communions. By 1841 they had a bishop, 24 priests, nine completed churches with six under construction, 31 schools and 23,130 communions.<sup>127</sup> This growth was assisted by an influx of Irish priests and immigrants, which intensified and expanded sectarian contentions.

The period from 1837 to 1842 began a large wave of Irish Catholic migration to New South Wales, with 50% being part of a family group.<sup>128</sup> In Ireland, the church and people held common traditions. The role of the priest was not simply spiritual; he was an educator, mediator, and a financial and political advisor to the parish.<sup>129</sup> New arrivals in the colony looked in vain for the common touch of the Irish priest. In Ireland this relationship had not been corrupted by the structural effects of capitalised industry and agriculture, as it had in large parts of England.<sup>130</sup> As well, Gaelic culture

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<sup>125</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, pp. 11, 17.

<sup>126</sup> Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 214.

<sup>127</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church, Short History*, p. 51.

<sup>128</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 167-171.

<sup>129</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 126-127, 179.

<sup>130</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 186-192; O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 16.

and language was still widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>131</sup> Irish Catholicism had much overlap with popular belief, and the priest, while being sympathetic, primarily enforced orthodox Christian belief and morality. Bourke was well aware of this positive influence in Ireland and desired its expansion in the colony.<sup>132</sup> He had witnessed the ‘subtlety and authority’ of the priest in ‘recalling to due obedience their wandering and misguided flocks’.<sup>133</sup> There is no doubt he was convinced they were essential to minister to the increasing number of transported and immigrant Irish.

There is evidence of the widespread popularity of priests in the colony. When bushrangers robbed Father Corcoran, a priest at Windsor, Polding maintained he would not have been touched if he identified himself as a priest. When later that year Corcoran died in a carriage accident, thousands of people attended his funeral.<sup>134</sup> In Polding’s letters regarding his own travel, he described being extremely welcome wherever he visited, with people often travelling twenty miles to attend mass, confession, have their children baptised, or to legitimise a marriage.<sup>135</sup> Roger Therry believed that the ‘Roman Catholic clergy exercise a predominant influence in religious matters over the community whose spiritual concerns it is their duty to superintend’. They had gained this due to their ‘service to people, especially the poor’. Their parish and Sunday Schools also provided the poor with basic education.<sup>136</sup> For these reasons there was little anti-clericalism in Catholic Ireland.<sup>137</sup> Polding believed that the basis of effective ministry was a priest residing amongst his people.<sup>138</sup> He was confident that with sufficient priests he would have great success because:

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<sup>131</sup> O’Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 25; Troy, ‘Der mary this is a fine cuntry’, in O’Brien, *Irish Emigrant Experience*, p. 164.

<sup>132</sup> Jennifer Ridden, ‘“Making Good Citizens”: National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850’, PhD, University of London, 1998, p. 41.

<sup>133</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820, p. 11.

<sup>134</sup> Polding to Brown, 14 June 1837, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 304.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317. Irish people were accustomed to having mass and receiving sacraments in private houses. Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>136</sup> Therry, *Letter to Canning*, p. 25.

<sup>137</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 242; Grace, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>138</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, p. 192.

To suppose that cold forms of Protestantism can ever have effect on our abandoned population is absurd. Zeal amounting to enthusiasm is required. So long as Methodism does not come in we have no rival to fear.<sup>139</sup>

Polding was informed about the approval of Bourke's religious reforms about the same time as Broughton, before it was tabled in the Legislative Council. On 7 June 1836, he wrote to Downside informing them he wanted to despatch Ullathorne to Britain to attract priests. He particularly wanted men who were 'zealous and no lovers of self'.<sup>140</sup> Ullathorne was granted leave of absence on half pay to travel to Europe.<sup>141</sup> Unfortunately, Polding and Ullathorne's supporter, Dr Branston, died in 1836. Dr Barber, who took over the region, informed Ullathorne, while he was in England, that no more Benedictine priests could be spared for New South Wales.<sup>142</sup> Despite Ullathorne warning that the colony would be lost to the Benedictines, Downside felt they had lost too many good priests to the colony, which forced Ullathorne to visit Ireland, where he was able to secure a large number of priests. He also obtained a number of nuns from the Sisters of Charity in Dublin, who were eager to migrate. The sisters formed a convent in Parramatta and were effective in ministering to the women of the Female Factory.<sup>143</sup> Polding realised before Ullathorne had left New South Wales that the Benedictines would be unable to supply their needs, and it is likely he instructed Ullathorne to search in Europe and Ireland. Ullathorne first visited Rome and France, hoping to find European priests, but although unsuccessful at this task, he did obtain papal approval for a Benedictine monastery in Australia and raised valuable funds.<sup>144</sup> The failure to secure Benedictines, and the positive Irish response, upset Polding's aims of Benedictine domination, but Ullathorne viewed this development as a 'special Providence', where 'Ireland supplied the saints and England supplied the

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<sup>139</sup> Polding to Brown, 14 June 1837, quoted in O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, p. 48.

<sup>140</sup> Polding to Heptonstall, 1 May 1836, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 293.

<sup>141</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 21 July 1836, p. 451.

<sup>142</sup> O'Donoghue, *Bishop of Botany Bay*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44; Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 244. In 1835 the Sisters of Charity started the first Catholic hospital in Ireland since the Reformation. Keenan, *Catholic Church*, pp. 146, 157.

<sup>144</sup> Polding was prepared to look beyond Britain to Europe to find men with suitable zeal. Polding to Heptonstall, 7 June 1836, Ullathorne to Brown, 27 February 1837, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, pp. 293, 345-349.

money'.<sup>145</sup> In this respect, the funding incentive provided by the Church Act became the catalyst for a shift to Irish Catholicism in Australia.<sup>146</sup>

The prospect of increased numbers of Irish priests invoked cultural as well as religious prejudices.<sup>147</sup> The suspicion of Catholics and their priests in New South Wales was present even before the Castle Hill rebellion. Governor King believed 'that no description of the people are so bigoted to their religion and priests as the lower order of the Irish; such is their credulous ignorance that an artful priest may lead them to every action that is good or bad'.<sup>148</sup> English Protestants' contempt for Irish Catholics contrasted their level of civilization to the backwardness of the Irish peasantry.<sup>149</sup> When Broughton was in England, popular reaction to the Irish Tithe Bill focused on money being directed to the Irish priesthood. Though they had always been considered agents of Rome and purveyors of superstition, this issue created more hysterical responses. One large meeting in London, which Broughton could well have attended, held up *Dens Complete Body of Theology* as being the 'most secure guidance', and the most 'authentic book in the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland'.<sup>150</sup> *Dens* was alleged to contain instructions for exacting sexual confessions from Catholics, as well as other

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<sup>145</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 48. Ullathorne's lectures in Liverpool and Lancashire produced a great deal of interest and he collected £1500 towards the mission. Other funds came from Europe including Cannon Schmidt of Vienna who donated £1250 to the New South Wales Mission Fund. Birt claims Ireland was the last option for Ullathorne but it was where he found success, with the Royal College of St Patrick, Maynooth, promising young priests who would be happy to serve in the colony in the hope of one day obtaining a parish. Also the Franciscan Fathers of Dublin immediately offered Fathers Geoghegan and Coffey; Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, pp. 355-356, 363; John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, Oxford, 1991, p. 14.

<sup>146</sup> Ullathorne believed Rome had plans to extend Maynooth to supply the Australian colonies and bring them under an Irish hierarchy. Ullathorne to Brown, 21 August 1838, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 372. The English Church was suffering disunity at the time due to the inability of various senior clergy to work together without a formal hierarchy. See Connell, *Roman Catholic Church in England*, pp. 3, 122, 191. Maynooth had been increasing the number of trainees, with many coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>147</sup> Massam, *Sacred Threads*, p. 39.

<sup>148</sup> King to Hobart, 9 May 1803, *H.R.N.S.W.*, V, pp. 116.

<sup>149</sup> O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, p. 14; Scally, *End of Hidden Ireland*, pp. 200-213.

<sup>150</sup> *Authentic Report of the Great Protestant Meeting, Held at Exeter Hall, London, Saturday, June 20 1835, to Prove to Protestants of All Denominations by Authentic Documents the Real Tenets of the Church of Rome, as now held by The Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests of Ireland*, London, 1835, p. 5.

‘apostasys’ that ‘doomed’ the Catholics of Ireland to ‘continue in a humble and degraded condition’.<sup>151</sup> Zealous anti-Catholic, Mortimer O’Sullivan, claimed *Dens* revealed ‘secret articles of the Church of Rome’ that priests must enforce. In Ireland this was made worse because ‘national prejudices and religious antipathy combine ... and mutually impart a more fatal and virulent energy’. O’Sullivan introduced Irish nationalism into the mix, bringing a political dimension to the dangers of the Catholic priesthood. The war to overthrow the established Church of Ireland was portrayed as one step in a calculated process to ‘destroy England’s Christian principles and national virtue’, while her morals would be corrupted through the Irish and their priests. This was particularly dangerous for the English poor, whose own ‘household religion’ made them susceptible to the superstitious ‘foul spirit’ of Catholicism. The meeting acknowledged their convergent belief in the supernatural and unorthodox Christianity, as being easy targets for the rustic Irish priesthood and their Catholic mysticism.<sup>152</sup>

For many British Protestants, Ireland’s problems were not blamed on economic factors, but on Roman Catholic belief with its priestly domination. It was an easy step to transport this fear to a colony with a significant and growing Irish population. Broughton saw Catholic growth as being primarily in the lower orders of the colony, where he feared Anglican belief could be easily corrupted. He attempted to unify Protestants against Catholicism by extending the ‘Church in danger’ message to all Protestants. The large meetings he organised when he arrived back in the colony were similar to Exeter Hall. The fears engendered were part theological, part political, and part cultural. The religious conflicts were socialised by targeting anti-Irish sentiments, portraying Catholicism and its priestly agents as seeking to infect the population through education. The Irish School System became demonised as part of this alleged conspiracy.

Before Broughton even arrived back in the colony, the *Herald* was quoting stories of ‘fanatical priests’ interfering in the freedom of elections in Ireland. This was said to demonstrate the ‘spiritual tyranny of the Romish priesthood’.<sup>153</sup> In July 1836 the *Herald* reprinted an article from *The Times*, which had now taken an extremely

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<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-49.

<sup>153</sup> *S.H.*, 30 May 1836.

anti-Catholic stance. It described ‘popish priests’ as using superstition as a ‘tool to control the minds of the Irish peasants’.<sup>154</sup> This was part of the transference of increased British sectarianism, which was also carried by new migrants and Protestant ministers, and propelled by the success and expansion of the Catholic Church from the funds provided by the Church Act. The fact that there was such a public backlash in Britain against reform of the Irish Anglican Church, particular regarding distributing excess tithes to the Catholic clergy, makes the provision of income to priests in New South Wales an important event. The Catholic Church in Ireland was not supported by the state, nor did it have any land or endowments.<sup>155</sup> The fact Catholic priests and Protestant ministers were given equal stipends in New South Wales was significant, as it made the colony an attractive prospect for Irish priests.<sup>156</sup>

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The cry of danger to the Church, of Popery and Infidelity, was raised in this little Community for the first time, and the harmony, which has hitherto prevailed between Protestants and Catholics, appeared to be hazarded.<sup>157</sup>

In this despatch to Glenelg, Bourke was announcing the arrival of a more virulent, imported ‘Church in danger’ message, coinciding with the return of Broughton and Lang from England. The awakening of public anti-Catholicism in the colony began with the success of the Benedictines under a governor sympathetic to Catholics, but the Church Act coupled with the proposed Irish School System, began a new era of sectarian division, centred on religious differences.<sup>158</sup> Waldersee has summarised the ‘simple’ equation of sectarianism in New South Wales as being aggressive Anglicanism producing aggressive Catholicism, and then aggressive Irish Catholicism

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<sup>154</sup> *S.H.*, 11 July 1836.

<sup>155</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 59; Keenan, *Catholic Church*, p. 226.

<sup>156</sup> In Ireland an average priest received £100-£150, while a curate received £20-£50 plus board. Many struggled as their income was derived from donations and fees. Keenan, *Catholic Church*, pp. 227-232; Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 72.

<sup>157</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 8 August 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 466.

<sup>158</sup> Katharine Massam supports Michael Hogan in claiming the belief was fundamental in social division, not just sectarianism. M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand, Religion in Australian History*, Melbourne, 1987, p. 60; Massam, *Sacred Threads*, p. 39.

producing aggressive Orange Protestantism.<sup>159</sup> Despite the egalitarian and cross-cultural elements of convict and colonial life, the Irish retained a ‘cultural consciousness’.<sup>160</sup> The demographic concentration of Catholics in particular areas as settlement expanded demonstrates this.<sup>161</sup> This increased Irish presence could have produced sectarianism independently. However, considering the dispersed nature of the colony, without the funds and incentives provided by the Church Act, the establishment of Catholic churches and schools would have been much slower. These were the visible signs of Catholic pride and success, which intensified religious sectarianism.<sup>162</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 3, Broughton’s meeting of Protestants on 24 June 1836 rallied opposition to Bourke’s general education plan around a sectarian flag. A second meeting on 14 July 1836 extended the organisation to sub-committees in each district. The movement encouraged ‘all Protestants to exert themselves strenuously at this most eventful crisis, for protection and promotion of the Holy cause’.<sup>163</sup> This organisation exploited English and Scottish prejudice regarding the supposed ignorance and superstition of the Irish Catholic. From Lang’s perspective, it was not just the expansion of the Catholic religion to the existing Irish that was problematic, but also the continued importation of the Catholic religion through immigration. Lang was pathologically committed to Scottish emigration and Presbyterianism for the cultural, moral and spiritual advancement of the colony (see next Chapter). The Church Act coincided with increased assisted immigration. Whether by design or convenience, the Irish constituted a large proportion of the new arrivals.<sup>164</sup> Lang complained that an overwhelming number were from Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Tipperary, ‘the strongholds of popery, bigotry, superstition, and immorality in the British Empire’, at

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<sup>159</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, p. 219. O’Farrell uses very similar wording. O’Farrell, *Catholic Church, Short History*, p. 50.

<sup>160</sup> Patrick O’Farrell, *Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929*, Sydney, 1984, p. 2.

<sup>161</sup> Waldersee provided detailed evidence of Catholic settlement patterns, which attracted family and village networks from Ireland. Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 256- 258.

<sup>162</sup> Few Catholic churches and chapels existed in Ireland in 1800. The nineteenth century began a period of church building as an outlet for Catholic pride. Keenan, *Catholic Church*, pp. 113-121.

<sup>163</sup> *Resolutions of the Meeting of Protestants*, 14 July 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>164</sup> One estimation is that between 1829-1851, 48% of assisted migrants were Irish. Parkhill, ‘Patterns of Emigration’, in O’Brien, *Irish Emigrant Experience*, p. 20.

the expense of morally superior labourers from North England, Scotland and Northern Ireland.<sup>165</sup>

These statements suggest that in addition to the religious prejudices extended towards Catholics, there were elements of racial bigotry. Lang called one shipload of Irish migrants ‘persons in the most abject poverty and the lowest stage of moral debasement’.<sup>166</sup> To Lang, the colony was in danger of being swamped by the Irish, posing a pending moral and political problem, which he blamed on the political influence of Daniel O’Connell. However, Lang’s prejudice was predominantly linked to religion. Lang used a report by Lord Durham on the State of Canada to assert that the French, who were Catholic, were inferior to the Anglo-Saxons in that colony. But Lang challenged Durham’s racial conclusions, citing the ‘honour of the French Huguenots in America’ and placing the blame on French Catholicism. This reduced the argument of emigration to a religious and moral issue. Lang believed Catholicism made all countries intellectually and morally backward. He used this rationale to claim that the Irish were the ‘worst criminals’ in Britain, and that transplanting the problem to the colony would have social and economic consequences.<sup>167</sup> Lang perpetuated a common British Protestant conception that Ireland’s economic backwardness was caused, not by foreign involvement in their country, but from cultural and moral aspects of their Catholicism.<sup>168</sup>

The blaming of Catholicity for immorality meant the mission of the Catholic Church in New South Wales received little commendation, despite its rapid growth after the Church Act was implemented. Conversely, Protestants, such as Lang and Broughton, blamed it for fostering immorality. Lang went as far as to claim the Roman Catholic priesthood used emigration universally to spread their religion, which was slightly hypocritical from a man who professed in numerous tracts to be spreading

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<sup>165</sup> J. D. Lang, *The Question of Questions or Is this Colony to be Transformed into a Providence of Popedom?: A Letter to the Protestant Landholders of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1841, p. 9.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>167</sup> Lang, *Question of Questions*, pp. 16, 20-29.

<sup>168</sup> Lang’s views were similar to those of his Scottish friend, Thomas Chalmers, who combined evangelical Calvinism with Political Economy to claim that the free market, rather than intervention, would resolve Ireland’s problems. The devastating famine of the mid-1840s changed his view. Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 64-66.



Presbyterianism by the emigration of the virtuous Scots.<sup>169</sup> He classed his endeavours as a providential mission to spread a true and superior religion and culture, whereas Catholic migration was a popish plot.

In New South Wales, British prejudice was endorsed by the fact that a large section of the local Irish population was comprised of convicts, emancipists or their offspring.<sup>170</sup> The education question intensified the opposition of some Protestants to funding Catholic education and welfare. The *Herald* supported Bourke's religious policy, but protested against amalgamating children of 'different creeds' in the education proposal. 'Englishmen' objected to the name 'Irish' system of education because it smelt like 'Jesuitism' reconstituted. However, more fundamentally, they thought it 'impossible' that the children of emigrant Catholics and Protestants could meet on equal terms and mixing them would corrupt the morals of the Protestant children. They claimed general education would massively increase taxation for the benefit of 'one class, chiefly the Roman Catholic Convict class'.<sup>171</sup>

Catholic success in obtaining ministers and building churches undermined Broughton's plans for social dominance. At the 1838 meeting of the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K., Broughton accused the Church of Rome of idolatrous worship. This was followed by a similar speech by Justice Willis that was published as an appendix in William Burton's *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales* (1840).<sup>172</sup> The public condemnation of Catholics by members of the judiciary, as well as by Broughton as a member of the Legislative Council, prompted a public meeting and a Pastoral address by Polding, where he called Willis' slur a rebuke on four-fifths of the Christian world that looked to Jesus Christ for salvation, worshipped the 'Almighty God not idols', and 'respected and honoured the Virgin Mary and the saints'. The meeting condemned the assertions by Burton and Willis as misleading, ignorant and purposely divisive, and copies of the resolutions of the public meeting were sent to the Governor and the Colonial Office. Polding believed his struggle was

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<sup>169</sup> Lang, *Question of Questions*, p. 47

<sup>170</sup> O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>171</sup> *S.H.*, 4 July 1836.

<sup>172</sup> William Westbrooke Burton, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, London, 1840.

with the ‘High Church party’, and he feared their actions would inspire Orangeism in the colony. He therefore lobbied to have Willis removed from the bench.<sup>173</sup>

Polding also gave a sermon on religious liberty in 1839, where he expressed regret at the misrepresentation of Catholic doctrines.

We did hope that the peaceful course we have chosen would at length obtain tranquillity, so that the various denominations of our Christian brethren would with us co-operate in renovating the face of the land, in inculcating the duties of our common Christianity in encouraging the arts and sciences which improve and adorn social life.<sup>174</sup>

Polding’s Christian vision for society was not based on the principles of moral enlightenment, for Catholic culture opposed everything it embodied.<sup>175</sup> He saw religious liberty as a principle ‘not invented by man’, and by ‘misrepresenting each others’ doctrines’ it gave ‘food to the jeer and sarcasm of the scoffing infidel’, thereby ‘hindering the purpose of their calling to Christ’.<sup>176</sup> Polding believed Catholics loved literature and science as much as anyone, but that they ‘loved revealed truth more’.<sup>177</sup>

Public vilification unified Irish Australia in a way that was to involve the Catholic Church in political and social battles against the Protestant hegemony.<sup>178</sup> Large St Patrick’s Day marches, the building of the imposing St Mary’s cathedral, and the increasing number of Catholics arriving in the 1840s, assisted by the religious equality of the Church Act, alarmed Lang and Broughton, who feared the erosion of the Protestant’s demographic dominance. The relative unity of Catholics as compared

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<sup>173</sup> Polding to Heptonstall, 17 August 1838, and Polding to Brown, 27 September 1838, in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, pp. 329-335.

<sup>174</sup> Polding, ‘Religious Liberty’, 14 July 1839, in Haines, *Eye of Faith*, p. 212.

<sup>175</sup> Catholic culture was driven by sin, faith and redemption. This will be elaborated in later chapters. Grace, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 5-9, 70; Massam, *Sacred Threads*, p. 37.

<sup>176</sup> Polding, ‘Religious Liberty’, 14 July 1839, in Haines, *Eye of Faith*, p. 212.

<sup>177</sup> Polding, ‘St John’s College Sermon’, 21 June 1857, *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>178</sup> O’Farrell linked Catholicism and Irish nationalism as being used to foster opposition to conformity and Anglicanisation. O’Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 8.

to Protestants was also a factor, and sectarian attacks only further united the Irish.<sup>179</sup> At the heart of this sectarian conflict was the fact that the Irish, because of their Catholicism, were derided as socially and morally inferior. This was deeply offensive and socially divisive, and proved that their opponents feared both their deep attachment to their religion and its potential to rapidly expand after receiving funding. Waldersee has highlighted cultural Catholicism over the spiritual, believing nominal Catholicism was dominant.<sup>180</sup> O'Farrell similarly saw Catholicism in Australia as an outlet for Irish culture rather than a product of sincere belief.<sup>181</sup> However, the line between these two scenarios is fairly blurred as the spiritual side may only surface in times of crisis, especially when contemplating death or calamity, perhaps explaining Ullathorne's success at Norfolk Island.<sup>182</sup> The arrival of the Sisters of Charity to establish the first convent in Australia in 1839 provides further evidence of cultural bigotry, but it also demonstrates underlying Christian belief. In 1839 Burton claimed the women at the Female Factory were innocent victims of the nuns, because their initial success meant 40-50 women received communion each week, while 200 had been confirmed in the first few months after their arrival.<sup>183</sup> Perhaps the more important question is what was the nature of Catholic belief, and to what extent was this simply orthodox Catholic belief being imposed on the more rustic convergent belief of the lower orders. In any case, it seems to have been welcomed by them. This concept will be explored in later chapters when the question of belief and moral enlightenment are scrutinised.

In concluding this chapter it can be stated that the growth of Catholicism after the Church Act was undeniable, and this greatly increased the self-confidence of the Catholic community in New South Wales, which fostered sectarian contentions. To what extent this growth was based on simple cultural affiliation over more deeply held

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<sup>179</sup> G. P. Shaw, 'The Political career of William Grant Broughton', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1976, pp. 147, 154; Campion, *Australian Catholics*, p. 23; O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 41.

<sup>180</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 260-264.

<sup>181</sup> O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 43. Note that both O'Farrell and Waldersee sought to revise the Irish Catholic colonial history written by priests such as Moran and O'Brien who had focused on Catholic belief.

<sup>182</sup> Brown described the rise of Irish nationalism as a fusion of faith and identity. Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, London, 1991, p. 164.

<sup>183</sup> *S.H.*, 10 April 1839; *Catholic Magazine*, 10 June 1839, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 41.

spiritual convictions is unknown, but it could be said that if Catholicism was so integrated with Irish culture then there must have been widespread acceptance of its beliefs. John Wolf has identified both political and religious anti-Catholicism operating in Britain in the 1830s.<sup>184</sup> In New South Wales, at this time, the sectarian tensions related more to religious contentions and fears, although there was political manoeuvring and lobbying to advance the cause of each denomination. The ultimate conflict was very much a religious one, as each side battled for the hearts and minds of the people. Broughton could not stop the power of Catholic demography in the post-Emancipation environment once adequate funding was received to establish their church. There is no doubt that the cultural perspective gained more political impetus as partly elected government was introduced in the 1840s. However, in the 1830s the overwhelming intention of influential elites, such as Bourke, Therry and Plunkett, and especially Catholic priests, Ullathorne and Polding, was to extend genuine belief in Christ to foster moral behaviour. To them, religious equality was a fundamental right and freedom of every Irish Australian, and the speed at which the religion was reconstituted was a testimony to its popularity. When opening a church at Windsor in 1840, Ullathorne echoed the sentiments of Richard Bourke that ‘true religion is not calculated to only promote the glory of God, but also the real happiness of man’.<sup>185</sup> Bourke’s governorship, and the Church Act, had transformed the Catholic Church in New South Wales from a few priests sent to relieve the lay guardians of O’Flynn’s Eucharist, into a significant social force.

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<sup>184</sup> John Wolffe, ‘Anti-Catholicism and Evangelical Identity in Britain and the United States, 1830-60’, in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Comparative studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990*, New York, 1994, pp. 186-188.

<sup>185</sup> Ullathorne, 21 October 1840, quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 473.

## Chapter 5: J. D. Lang and rights of Scottish Presbyterians

Church of Scotland ministers dominated New South Wales colonial Presbyterianism. They represented the established church of the Scottish people, the third largest ethnic group in the colony. Their influence was legitimised and expanded through the Church Act, reinforcing and perpetuating Scottish values and culture. John Dunmore Lang constitutes a reasonable portion of this chapter, because by looking at his beliefs, conflicts and actions, a number of important aspects of Presbyterianism and Scottish rights can be explored. These were important to the introduction of the Church Act. These ideas also serve to introduce Calvinist attitudes towards morality and society, which will be discussed in more detail in the later chapters of this thesis.

Lang arrived in New South Wales as a newly ordained Scottish minister in 1823. He came on the recommendation of his brother who emigrated to the colony a few years previously, and had communicated the urgent need for a Presbyterian minister.<sup>1</sup> Soon after Lang's arrival, the Presbyterians unsuccessfully petitioned Governor Brisbane (an Episcopal Scot) for funds to form a church 'in communion with the Church of Scotland', knowing the British Government had 'countenanced and supported' this church in other parts of the Empire, including places where the Church of England was established, and encouraged by the recent funding of a Roman Catholic chapel.<sup>2</sup> Brisbane responded abruptly, stating that because the Church of England 'glories in toleration' it was happy for the Presbyterians to worship, but that no funds would be forthcoming until they had accrued more private donations, and 'when in the choice of their Teachers they shall have discovered a judgement equal to that which has presided in the selection of a Roman Catholic Clergyman'.<sup>3</sup> A reply,

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<sup>1</sup> J. D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Both as a Penal settlement and as a British Colony, Vol. II*, London, 1837, p. 198. Lang's family had been tenants of the Brisbane family in Scotland. J. D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Both as a Penal settlement and as a British Colony, Vol. I*, London, 1837, pp. 192-198; Frank Hanlin, 'Sidelights on Dr John Dunmore Lang', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1944, pp. 222-225.

<sup>2</sup> *S.G.*, 25 September 1823.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* The reply was offensive. Kelvin Grose quotes documents from Brisbane implying Frederick Goulburn, the Colonial Secretary, wrote the reply and Brisbane signed it regretting some of the wording. Kelvin Grose, 'The Status of the Church of Scotland in the Colonies in the 1820s', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 74, No. 2, 1988. Frank

written under the pseudonym 'Ignotus', was printed in the *Sydney Gazette* on 16 October 1823. It reminded the governor of the terms of the Act of the Union between England and Scotland, which gave the Church of Scotland the same establishment standing as the Church of England. It also pointed out that Presbyterianism had made the Scottish a 'moral and happy people'. The Presbyterians were reportedly 'astonished' at the Governor's reply and threatened to use his response in the 'mother country' in such a way as to make him 'wish he never wrote it'.<sup>4</sup> There is support for Lang being Ignotus, despite the author's resounding endorsement of Lang's character, education and superior ability appearing slightly narcissistic.<sup>5</sup> Brisbane was so offended he withdrew a £65 pledge for the Presbyterian chapel.<sup>6</sup> Lang went back to England to lobby his cause and Bathurst granted him £300, while Brisbane was rebuked over the incident.<sup>7</sup>

This affair was indicative of the behaviour of Lang and the colonial Presbyterians over the next few decades. First, Lang's decision to align with the Church of Scotland and claim equal establishment status with the Anglicans formed the basis of their grievances until the Church Act, but this upset many local Presbyterians who had been part of the Succession Church in Scotland.<sup>8</sup> Similar contentions engulfed the Church Act's temporality provisions for Presbyterians, which will be discussed later. Second, it articulated Lang's belief that religion extended the moral principles of 'virtue, sobriety and charity', and that these were best exemplified in Scottish Presbyterianism.<sup>9</sup> Finally, it demonstrated Lang's belligerence to authority, his

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Hanlin claimed Brisbane wanted to fund the Presbyterians, but was convinced otherwise by Goulburn. Hanlin, 'Sidelights on Dr John Dunmore Lang', p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *S.G.*, 16 October 1823.

<sup>5</sup> Lang intimated that he wrote it in *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 242. Baker and Breward support this. Ian Breward, *Australia 'The Most Godless Place Under Heaven'*, Melbourne, 1988, p. 10; D.W.A. Baker, *Days of Wrath, A Life of John Dunmore Lang*, Melbourne, 1985, pp. 30-34.

<sup>6</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Lang had the articles published in the *Morning Chronicle*, prompting Bathurst to act. Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 243. Grose, 'The Status of the Church of Scotland in the Colonies in the 1820s', p. 114, claims the *Morning Chronicle* article embarrassed Bathurst as Scottish rights was a sensitive political issue. Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 41, notes that Lang was able to convince Wilmont Horton of his right to receive a stipend.

<sup>8</sup> They were Scottish Dissenters. Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> *S.G.*, 16 October 1823.

combative approach that included public argument in the press, and a willingness to further his claims with more senior officials.

Lang's aggressive promotion of Scottish emigration and Presbyterianism as agents of morality, were principal motives behind his secular activities, and they were influential in achieving equality through the Church Act. However, before discussing this, it is important to 'see things his way', because Lang represented a number of very important aspects of Evangelical and Calvinist thought, namely premillennialism and Scottish moral and economic philosophy. Lang was a premillennialist with a traditional Calvinist view of the sovereignty of God.<sup>10</sup> Also, he passionately believed he was an 'Apostle' assisted by providence, all of which significantly influenced his world view, especially in relation to sectarianism.<sup>11</sup> Lang's biographer, D. W. A. Baker, described him as 'impeccably Calvinist' in thought, with practical influences from evangelical and moderate Scottish Presbyterianism and Dissent.<sup>12</sup> He was particularly influenced by the sermons of Thomas Chalmers, which stimulated an interest in Evangelicalism, and the desire to solve social problems. This explains his stern morality and strong opinions regarding human corruption and sin, as well as his zeal for immigration as a remedy for both the social ills of Scotland and Australia. For Lang, a Christian nation received the blessing of God for peace and prosperity.<sup>13</sup> The Church of Scotland, the Kirk, had received government support since 1567. It professed a mandate and desire to educate the population, with the intention of creating a thoroughly Christian nation.<sup>14</sup> Calvinism encouraged moral seriousness, frugality, worldly asceticism, and a

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<sup>10</sup> K. Elford, 'A Theology of Clerical Participation: John Dunmore Lang and Direct Clerical Representation in Politics', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1969, p. 220.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Holmes provides a good explanation of how their eschatological reading of the times led many Presbyterians to develop a premillennial belief that the return of Christ was imminent. This influenced their zeal towards Christian missions, and also their opposition to the Church of Rome. Andrew Holmes, 'The Shaping of Irish Presbyterianism, Attitudes to Missions, 1790-1840', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 2006, pp. 771-736.

<sup>12</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 3. Elford claims Lang derived his social and political ideas from the Christian ethics embodied in scripture. K. Elford, 'A Prophet Without Honour: The Political Ideals of John Dunmore Lang', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 1968, p. 162; Elford, 'Theology of Clerical Participation', p. 219

<sup>13</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp. 5, 15-16. See also D. Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Pre-Disruption Era: the Age of John McLeod Campbell and Edward Irving', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1974, pp. 160-163.

<sup>14</sup> Rowland S. Ward, *The Bush Still Burns, The Presbyterian and Reformed Faith in Australia, 1788-1988*, Sydney, 1989, p. 11.

high view of civic responsibility, and education. Their parish schools majored on teaching the Bible, self-improvement and practical learning, as part of a Presbyterian emphasis on preaching and studying the word. Calvinist ideas of providence were embedded in the Scottish consciousness, and individualism and hard work were famously part of their national ethos.<sup>15</sup> The morality embodied in Reformed theology will form an essential element in the second part of this thesis.

The Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Society restated their divine mission in the colony at each annual meeting. Lang was a member of the society and addressed the meeting in 1827. After first expounding ‘the debased intellect and corrupt heart’ of the ‘heathen world’, he then described how he gazed ‘with high expectations on those signs of the Saviour’s coming’, and that ‘the moral vassalage under which so many millions of our fellow creatures groan’ would be solved by the overthrow of ‘idolatry and superstition’.<sup>16</sup> When in Britain in 1831, he opened a sermon at Trinity College, Glasgow, with Matthew 14:14: ‘The Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world, as a witness to all nations and then the end shall come’. He saw this as the prediction of the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, but also a ‘type and shadow’ of the future return of Christ, when ‘Satan’s kingdom would be overthrown’. Lang claimed he concurred with a ‘general opinion’ that some great crisis in the history of the world was fast approaching, and this urgency remained with him until his death.<sup>17</sup> Later in life, when he was finally officially elected head of the Synod in 1872, he proclaimed that a new urgency of mission was required, perceiving the world to be in its last days due to ‘signs from Europe regarding the Papacy’.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia, A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1983. pp. 15-16, 20, 253, 261; Arnold C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment. A Social History*, London 1971, pp. 176-127, 251-252.

<sup>16</sup> *Fifth Report of Wesleyan Auxiliary Missionary Society in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1827. Lang also attended the 1825 and 1826 meetings.

<sup>17</sup> J. D. Lang, *The Present Aspect and Prospects of the Church with a Plain Statement of the Case of the Church of Scotland and the British Colonies*, Glasgow, 1831, pp. 3, 12; J. D. Lang, *The "Little While" of the Saviours Absence and the Prospect of his Speedy Return*, Melbourne, 1872, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> Ward, *Bush Still Burns*, p. 480. There was a belief by some Scots that God had formed a covenant with the Scottish people after the Reformation, because the renewal of pure Christianity had been compromised in England as they did not fully purge their Church of Catholic influence. Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, p. 15.



Lang had a strong belief in providence, often blaming other people's misfortunes on God's punishment, while his own calamities were interpreted as 'the inscrutable purposes of a loving God'.<sup>19</sup> Regarding his decision to come to the colony, he considered that 'Divine Providence had in perfect accordance with my own choice fixed my lot'.<sup>20</sup> His providential role as an 'Apostle' to Australia remained a continual feature in his writings throughout his long career.<sup>21</sup> It continually provided him with a sense of urgency and legitimacy for his actions, which many considered unethical, and brought him into numerous litigations and conflicts. The Scottish people featured heavily in his divine commission, because he felt that by emigrating large numbers of these 'enlightened and Christian men' to the 'dark places of the earth', it provided a 'general diffusion of superior intelligence, pure morality and scriptural religion'.<sup>22</sup> He found a:

remarkable resemblance in point of moral and religious standing between the Jewish nation in the ancient and the Scottish nation in the modern world ... the frugal industrious, enterprising and money making habits of both nations has been remarkable.<sup>23</sup>

Many Scottish migrants reciprocally saw a providential destiny in their emigration, considering it their deliverance from struggle to the promised lands of America, Canada or Australia.<sup>24</sup> Later in life, Lang reflected on the emigration of the Scottish mechanics in 1831, claiming they created a 'moral revolution' in Sydney, as they were an alternative to the 'drunken ticket of leave men and emancipists'.<sup>25</sup> The Scots,

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<sup>19</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp. 46-48.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Hanlin, 'Sidelights on Dr John Dunmore Lang', p. 226.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Lang, *Present Aspect and Prospects of the Church*, p. 26. In a later pamphlet on the return of Christ, he claimed his mission was as important as St Paul's. Lang, *The Little While*; see also Ward, *Bush Still Burns*, p. 491.

<sup>22</sup> Lang, *Present Aspect and Prospects of the Church*, p. 26.

<sup>23</sup> Lang viewed the spread of the Scottish nation through emigration as 'no accident in the grand scheme of Providence any more as the wide dispersion of the ancient Jews'. He compared their moral and religious superiority to the Jewish people over the heathen nations. Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 258; Lang, *Present Aspect and Prospects of the Church*, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, p. 30

<sup>25</sup> J. D. Lang, *Immigration and the Scottish Mechanics of 1831, being a chapter in a work of life and times*, no date, p. 4, Lang Pamphlets, Fryer Library, DU115.2.

throughout his career, remained a moral counterweight for colonial New South Wales.<sup>26</sup>

Lang believed the ‘progress of knowledge, through the general diffusion of education and the rapid advancement of the arts and sciences’, was a Godly ‘blessing’, and a means to destroy ‘systems of false doctrine’. Therefore, the teaching of knowledge needed to include scripture ‘for without the knowledge of God through faith in Jesus Christ, the world can never be truly enlightened and truly happy’. To Lang, false doctrine included, ‘Pagan idolatry, Mahometan delusion, Popish superstition, and Protestant infidelity’.<sup>27</sup> His belief that God would destroy these ‘systems’ in the future, made him an enemy of such ideas in the present. This principle underwrote two life-long battles, namely Catholicism and doctrinal conflict in the Presbyterian Church. Lang’s fundamental mission entailed overcoming these distortions of true Christianity in the colony through the emigration of virtuous Scottish people, culture and learning, and the expansion of uncorrupted Presbyterianism. In many respects, Lang’s concept of education to extend Christianity was similar to Bourke’s, except Lang ideally wanted all masters to be licentiates of the Church of Scotland, or at least pious Scots, and the curriculum to be based on Scottish principles.<sup>28</sup> Lang’s claimed his first school, the Australia School, was a mixture of Scottish Calvinism, Political Economy and general education, similar to the preparatory education a man would receive in Scotland when he contemplated a ministry position.<sup>29</sup> This is an excellent example of how the Scottish Enlightenment and Christianity coexisted in Scottish education. Modern thought was acceptable as

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<sup>26</sup> Many Scots believed the moral soundness of their Calvinism led people away from sin. Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 126-127; Apart from the moral benefits, the *Stirling Castle* brought fifty highly skilled and sought after tradesmen to Sydney, including nineteen stonemasons. A. C. Childs, ‘Studies in the Life and Work of John Dunmore Lang’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1936, p. 74.

<sup>27</sup> Lang, *Present Aspect and Prospects of the Church*, pp. 3, 27.

<sup>28</sup> Lang, like Broughton, desired doctrinal education. Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, Vol. II, p. 369; Lang, *Present Aspect and Prospects of the Church*, pp. 7, 20.

<sup>29</sup> J. D. Lang, *Account of the Steps Taken in England with a view to the Establishment of an Academical Institution or College in New South Wales, and to Demonstrate the Practicability of Effecting and Extensive Emigration of the Industrious Classes from the Mother Country to the Colony*, Sydney, 1831, pp. 6, 16; Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, Vol. II, p. 361.

long as it was expressed or integrated as part of a social Gospel, built upon the principles of Reformed Calvinism.<sup>30</sup>

Lang's emigration plans contained ideas from both Robert Wilmont Horton and E. G. Wakefield, set in a Christian and moral framework. Fundamentally, it fulfilled God's command to 'multiply and replenish the earth'; a command that he felt had been derided through Malthusian fears. Lang saw the colony as a solution to a 'divinely derived axiom of political economy', where, as in nature, 'a redundant colony of bees' swarms off and forms another colony.<sup>31</sup> Lang, like the Scottish philosophers, saw God's principles demonstrated in nature.<sup>32</sup> The by-product of massive immigration would be a more productive, moral and religious colony, not dominated by a prison population. He also believed a focus on family migration would decrease excessive alcohol consumption. In Lang's social engineering, virtuous agricultural labourers and mechanics would form a new British yeomanry. These people would foster new communities like the 'children of Israel', and set up churches and schools, providing a moral backbone to society.<sup>33</sup>

Lang returned to Britain in 1830 in the middle of a recession and was troubled by the condition of the Scottish poor, which increased his zeal for emigration.<sup>34</sup> He found a responsive Colonial Office, where Goderich and Howick were in the process of developing the Ripon Land Regulations that were designed to subsidise emigration through the sale of Crown Lands in the colony. Lang had written to Goderich with a

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<sup>30</sup> Chitnis maintains the Scottish Enlightenment grew out of Scottish Calvinist theology as it encouraged social action and individual improvement, and that the theology of Scotland was the 'original social science', connecting the Kirk and the Enlightenment. Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 52, 251-252.

<sup>31</sup> J. D. Lang, *Emigration; Considered Chiefly in Reference to the Practicality and Expediency of Importing and of Settling throughout the Territories of New South Wales a numerous, industrious and virtuous Agricultural Population*, Sydney, 1833, p. 3. However, Lang criticised interpretations of Political Economy that did not consider social and religious purposes. Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 465.

<sup>32</sup> Both Moderates and Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland advocated natural religion. See Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', p. 170; Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 170.

<sup>33</sup> Lang, *Emigration*, pp. 5-6, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Ian H. Murray, *Australian Christian Life from 1788, An Introduction and an Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1988, p. 112.

plan almost exactly the same as the one instituted.<sup>35</sup> The Ripon Regulations expanded Lang's 'Stirling Castle' project without the 'yeoman' idea, and it may be that Lang was an influence, or at least a confirmation to the Colonial Office regarding the appropriateness of their plan. Lang received a letter from Horton, then Governor of Ceylon, endorsing his scheme and stating that 'apathy, ignorance and indifference' were the reasons why the government had neglected to implement Horton's findings, set out in the reports of the Emigration Commission.<sup>36</sup> Goderich had been a friend of Horton and a supporter of his emigration projects to Canada. He was impressed by Lang and approved a loan of £3000 for the establishment of his educational facility, and endorsed his plan to emigrate Scottish mechanics on the *Stirling Castle*.<sup>37</sup> Lang also advanced the rights of the Scottish people for education and religious instruction, prompting Goderich to approve additional ministers.<sup>38</sup>

On this trip, Lang was successful in raising the importance of New South Wales Presbyterian and Scottish issues in the Colonial Office. His ideas synthesised with their emigration plans, but a misunderstanding over the funding of the *Stirling Castle* expedition, and publishing Goderich's letter in a tract on his return to the colony, caused him to be 'discredited' as a minister of religion in their eyes.<sup>39</sup> Lang never separated his social and religious ideas, and both formed part of his providential mission in a natural and eschatological sense. His Calvinist heritage saw no distinction between the sacred and the secular in the fulfilment of a person's calling.<sup>40</sup> Lang criticised the Anglican clergy, claiming their pursuit of riches was carnal and incompatible with Christian ministry, but he saw his political and religious battles as

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<sup>35</sup> Lang to Goderich, 30 December 1830, in Lang, *Account of Steps taken in England*, p. 25.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13. Lang reproduced this letter.

<sup>37</sup> Horton was referring to the 1827 and 1828 emigration commissions. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12. On his return to the colony the Legislative Council approved a £3000 loan for an 'Academical Institution' formed on the 'principles of the Schools and Colleges of Scotland', and a £1500 payment to Lang on landing the *Stirling Castle* immigrants. *V&P*, 8 November 1831.

<sup>38</sup> He claimed to have been granted a meeting with Goderich through the influence of a 'Scotch Earl'. Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 320.

<sup>39</sup> Lang, *Immigration*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>40</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, New York, 1930, p. 36. John Knox, the spiritual father of the Scottish Presbyterians, believed ministers of the word were obliged to give leadership in politics as much as in religion. G Maddox, *Religion and the Rise of Democracy*, London, 1996, p. 127.

being integrated parts of his mission to advance pure Christianity against his conception of infidelity and heterodoxical belief.<sup>41</sup>

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Lang was a staunch critic of the Church and Schools Corporation and of Anglican domination. After Archdeacon Scott had an Act passed in the Legislative Council regulating births, baptisms and burials and requiring them to be registered with the parish minister, Lang rejected the law as subjugating the Church of Scotland and refused to submit any forms. He was successful in having the Colonial Secretary, and not the Church of England, made the central repository.<sup>42</sup> His establishment of Sydney College was another important move against Anglican domination, but his personal attacks on the Anglican clergy brought a censure from Broughton in the Legislative Council, and this increased conservative Anglican opposition to Lang's denomination.<sup>43</sup>

At the end of 1832, Lang formed a Presbytery of the Church of Scotland. Soon after Bourke's arrival, on behalf of this organisation, he made an application for two additional ministers, citing a commitment he had received from Goderich that the government would match any amount contributed from the colonial sources.<sup>44</sup> Bourke was unsure of the legality of Lang's formation of a Presbytery and informed Goderich he had approved him leave to present his case in Britain.<sup>45</sup> Lang travelled to Britain in 1833 to approach the Colonial Office for a general endowment for Presbyterian

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<sup>41</sup> Elford, 'Theology of Clerical Participation', pp. 224-225.

<sup>42</sup> 6 Geo. IV No. 21; Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 50. As discussed in the previous chapter, Broughton sought to have this reversed.

<sup>43</sup> Lang, *Account of Steps taken in England*; G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 65-66; Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>44</sup> In a despatch on 12 January 1831, Goderich directed that if Presbyterian settlers contributed from £60 to £100 per year to a minister for the Scotch church then the Governor should ask the council to match it. See Bourke to Stanley, 1 October 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 548.

<sup>45</sup> 'The Memorial of the undersigned Ministers of the Church of Scotland in this Colony, constituting the Presbytery of New South Wales', in Lang to Bourke, 25 June 1832, attached to Bourke to Goderich, 8 July 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 165.

ministers and schoolmasters.<sup>46</sup> On arrival he sent them a detailed letter that included a memorial seeking a more equitable appropriation of colonial funds for the ‘Church of Scotland’.<sup>47</sup> He claimed a lack of funding had forced Scottish children to ‘renounce the faith of their forefathers’ and be ‘delivered into hands of proselytising Episcopalians through the school system’.<sup>48</sup> This was not merely a simple toleration claim, or a demand for the rights of the Presbyterian religion, it was a formal request put forward by a colonial representative of the Church of Scotland, which under law was the established church of the Scottish people. Lang cited the rights of the Scots in Parliament and provided some colonial statistical information supporting his grievance that assistance for the religious and education needs of the Scottish population of the colony was inadequate compared to their numbers. He argued that the Church of England received £12,042 and its schools £6,587, while the Presbyterian clergy only received £600, which was even less than the Catholics whose funding had been recently increased to £2,300 for their clergy, schools and chapels. He maintained it was a Presbyterian and a Scottish right to obtain funding for the ‘hallowed institutions of their forefathers’.<sup>49</sup> He followed this up with a direct request for a funding allocation for two ministers and six teachers over the next few months.<sup>50</sup>

Unbeknown to Lang, he did have an ally in the Colonial Office. James Stephen had previously ruled on the legal basis of Lang’s claims when considering Canada. In giving evidence to the Select Committee on Canada in 1828 in reference to the revenue obtained from the Clergy Reserve lands of Upper Canada, he defined the ‘Protestant clergy’ in British law as meaning ‘either the Church of England or the Church of Scotland’.<sup>51</sup> In another report he claimed the Catholics ‘are to be regarded merely as Dissenters from the two Established Protestant Churches of the United Kingdom’.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> This would allow the Presbytery to control the allocation of funds for best use. Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 380.

<sup>47</sup> Lang to Lefevie (Under Secretary), 12 March 1834, CO/201/244.

<sup>48</sup> Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 238.

<sup>49</sup> Lang to Lefevie, 12 March 1834, CO/201/244.

<sup>50</sup> Lang to Lefevie, 12 May 1834, CO/201/244; Lang to Stanley, 2 May 1834, CO/201/244.

<sup>51</sup> Evidence of James Stephen, 21 June 1828, Report of the Select Committee on Canada, in Paul Knaplund, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847*, Madison, 1953, p. 140.

<sup>52</sup> CO/42/ 495, in *Ibid.*, p. 140. ‘Protestant clergy’ was the wording originally used in the Canada Act.

Like Lang, Stephen believed emigration was God making good out of evil, by transferring the poor to greener pastures in Canada, the United States and Australia.<sup>53</sup> He believed the British colonies were ‘the inheritors of our Christianity and civilization ... for we are bidden to ascribe to the King of Kings himself ... and of using that almighty power for the welfare of all who are subject to His dominion’. Stephen considered ‘religious bonds as being essential for their future alliance’, and that this religious alliance should include ‘allowing everyone to worship according to the laws of his own conscience without incurring on that account any pain or penalty or civil disability or political disqualification’.<sup>54</sup>

Lang claimed to have the support of thirty Scottish members of Parliament when he advanced his claim for Scottish rights, but Stanley informed Bourke that Lang had become an irritation to him regarding his compensation and the relaxation of land allocation laws for his mechanics. He said he could not justify his absence from his ‘religious duties’ and restricted his half pay leave until September, allowing Lang just enough time to travel back to the colony.<sup>55</sup> It must be noted that if Lang did have the support of the Scottish MPs then this would have included Charles Grant, the future Lord Glenelg. Lang presented some substantial arguments to the Colonial Office at this time regarding the rights of the Church of Scotland, but his emigration issues clouded his argument and irritated both Goderich and Stanley. However, his extra-clerical activities, such as promoting his book and emigration, as well as lobbying various Scottish MPs, certainly enlightened people about religious issues in New South Wales, and he must be seen as contributing to claims for Scottish religious equality in the period before the Church Act.

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<sup>53</sup> Sir James Stephen, ‘Address given at the second annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences’ in Appendix of *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 284-286. Stephen will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

<sup>55</sup> Lang to Lefevie, 12 March 1834, CO/201/244; Stanley to Bourke, 26 March 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 405.

Lang described Bourke's despatch to Stanley in 1833 as 'a masterful performance', and his policy a way to 'revolutionise the colony'.<sup>56</sup> He fully endorsed the Church Act when it was approved, believing it would constitute 'in future times the Magna Charta of the Religious Liberty of this infant Empire'. He considered it a 'liberal enlightened legislation' because it 'afforded a stimulus to the exertions of all honest and Christian men for the future advancement of Christianity', and, most importantly for Lang, it rectified the neglect of Presbyterians by the governorships of Brisbane and Darling.<sup>57</sup> Bourke was so impressed by this endorsement that he sent a copy of the article to his son.<sup>58</sup> Lang believed the Church Act was 'unquestionably the most favourable' plan for planting churches and extending Christianity, and the 'first honest, straightforward, rational and judicious attempt' by the British government 'for the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual renovation of the Australian colonies'.<sup>59</sup> However, a few years later, Lang wrote that the Church Act expanded the troubles of the Presbyterians in New South Wales. He was convinced that widespread government support was attracting unsuitable ministers causing 'clerical delinquency', and his conflict with the Presbytery of New South Wales made him a long-term political enemy of the legislation.<sup>60</sup>

Lang approached Bourke as soon as the legislation was passed and again requested leave to visit Britain to obtain ministers. Bourke told him the selection of ministers was the responsibility of the Presbytery of NSW, despite Lang's contention that the Synod was in disarray.<sup>61</sup> Bourke had supported the establishment of the

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<sup>56</sup> Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. I*, p. 306.

<sup>57</sup> *Colonist*, 16 June 1836. Lang expressed a similar commendation in *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, pp. 273.

<sup>58</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 25 July 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>59</sup> Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 279.

<sup>60</sup> Lang to Normandy, 14 June 1839, Lang Pamphlets, Fryer Library, p. 5. Lang's views changed after he visited America the following year. He was then convinced that religion did not need state support, and became a critic of both the British and the Scottish ecclesiastical systems. J. D. Lang, *The Dead Fly in the Apothecary's Ointment; or the reason why the Presbyterian Church Union in Australia has hitherto proved a failure*, Glasgow, 1861, p. 8; J. D. Lang, *Three Lectures on the Impolity and Injustice of Religious Establishments or the Granting of Money for the support of Religion from the Public Treasury in the Australian Colonies*, Sydney, 1856, pp. 10, 44.

<sup>61</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 21 July 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 451.



Presbytery in 1833 as a means of settling dissensions between ministers.<sup>62</sup> Lang's problem was principally with Reverend John McGarvie who was a Moderate.<sup>63</sup> He felt if he could secure more Evangelical ministers then the local Synod would better represent his views. Lang believed the poor response to missions from the Kirk's General Assembly was symptomatic of the patronage system, supported by the Moderates, and imposed on the Scottish people by a 'Tory government'. This had produced a 'race of gentlemen clergy' from a 'heard of lean cattle that were driven in by the Scottish nobility to fatten on the green pastures of their national Church'.<sup>64</sup> Lang's criticisms were consistent with Scottish contentions between the Evangelical and Moderate factions of the Church of Scotland before the succession of the Free Church in 1843. The Evangelicals claimed a moral and spiritual superiority over the more conservative and rational Moderates.<sup>65</sup> Both were firmly grounded in the Westminster Confession, and opposed to enthusiasm, fanaticism and mysticism, but the Evangelicals claimed a purer Reformed faith, especially through their belief in local authority.<sup>66</sup> Lang's disputes in the colony, mostly regarding his interpretation of clerical morality, were founded on these contentions. An important point is that at this time the Moderates, who promoted a conservative traditional Scottish version of Calvinism that fostered a strong social cohesion through sound doctrine, conformity, and the authority of the General Assembly, dominated the Church of Scotland's General Assembly.<sup>67</sup> Despite the 'philosophy of common sense' underlying the

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<sup>62</sup> Bourke to Goderich, 8 July 1833, *HRA*, 1 XVII, p. 165.

<sup>63</sup> Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, p. 241.

<sup>64</sup> Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 263; In 1712 the British Parliament passed an act which transferred the right of nominating ministers from church elders to a patron, who could be a layperson. The eighteenth-century secession was due to patrons of parsonages presenting scholarly but non-zealous men. Dissenters claimed the changes violated the Treaty of the Union. This issue was a contention until the Free Church succession in 1843. Ward, *Bush Still Burns*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>65</sup> Lindsay Proudfoot found the diary of Reverend William Hamilton, recruited by Lang from Scotland, contained fairly rigid perceptions of morality and doctrine. Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Place and Presbyterian Discourse in Colonial Australia', in Lindsay J. Proudfoot and Michael M. Roche, *(Dis)Placing Empire, Renegotiating British Colonial Geographies*, Hampshire, 2005, pp. 63, 66, 67.

<sup>66</sup> Both sides believed it fostered superstition. Evangelicals claimed to represent a more faithful interpretation of John Knox's orthodox Calvinist ecclesiastical order and morality. Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', pp. 162, 177, 180; Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 53.

<sup>67</sup> Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 60-63; Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', pp. 178-180.

mindsets of clergy from both parties, the rationalist tendencies of the Moderates meant they generally placed more importance on education and civilization as a precursor to Christian belief, which influenced their attitudes to Christian evangelicalism and missions.<sup>68</sup> For Lang, the domination of the local Synod by Moderates upset his plans to attract Evangelicals. To him the mission was clear. 'Divine Providence' had given Britain the opportunity to evangelise the south but the 'Man of Sin' [the Pope] was looking for new subjects to dominate.<sup>69</sup> Lang legitimised his mission using the shibboleth of Scottish Calvinism, the Westminster Confession, because Section XXV identified the Pope as the Antichrist: 'the man of sin and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God'.<sup>70</sup> By founding his claim on the Confession, he elevated himself above the 'worldly' power invested in the Synod by the New South Wales Presbyterian Temporalities Act. Ironically, Lang, the proclaimer of Scottish superiority, became the greatest supplier of non-Scottish Presbyterian ministers in the Church Act period.<sup>71</sup>

The Church of Scotland was traditionally sceptical of missions, primarily because they believed only the civilized could understand religious truths, but also because they saw their main mission field in Scotland (although many Scots in fact participated in the overseas mission movement through English organisations such as the London Missionary Society, as well as the Glasgow and Edinburgh Missionary

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<sup>68</sup> The Kirk preferred practical missionaries with enlightened views to fanatical Evangelical millenarians. Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', pp. 178-180, 165; The Moderates believed in the propagation of the Gospel through education, and in India taught English using the Bible. D. Chambers, 'The Church of Scotland's Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme: Evangelical or Moderate Revival?', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1976, pp. 113-122, 137; Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, p. 14.

<sup>69</sup> Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 298. In the Church Act period Lang became the most prolific supplier of non – Scottish Presbyterian ministers, despite his claims of Scottish superiority.

<sup>70</sup> Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church*, London, 1963, p. 244. In doctrinal matters and charges of heresy the General Assembly upheld the Westminster Confession over the Bible. Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', pp. 162-163.

<sup>71</sup> Lang brought men from the Synod of Ulster, German Calvinists, English Congregationalists, Baptists and Presbyterians, as well as Scottish Evangelicals. Malcolm D. Prentis, 'The Presbyterian Ministry in Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1984, pp. 50-52.

Societies).<sup>72</sup> McGarvie had been corresponding with the head of the General Assembly Committee for the Colonial Churches, Principal Duncan Macfarlane, regarding the conflicts Lang had instigated between the clergy in New South Wales.<sup>73</sup> This contributed to a frosty reception for Lang in 1837 with the Kirk, but he claimed to have received a warmer welcome in the Colonial Office.<sup>74</sup> In later writing, Lang maintained that Glenelg had sanctioned him sourcing men from the Synod of Ulster and was in agreement with him that ‘no Socinians’ would be sent.<sup>75</sup> This is understandable because both Lang and Glenelg were Evangelicals, but there is no record of Glenelg ever stipulating this to the Church of Scotland, though he was in a position to veto appointments.<sup>76</sup>

Other evidence suggests Lang received a less than enthusiastic endorsement for his endeavours from Glenelg. After receiving his correspondence, the Colonial Office informed him that the ‘new system’ was designed to ‘meet the important object which His Majesty’s Government had in view of sanctioning’, and that ‘a considerable increase in the number of ministers’ would be the result. He was told that Glenelg was ‘ready to receive the recommendations’ from the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with ‘whom His Majesty’s Government has for some time been in communication’ on behalf of clergymen willing to proceed to New South Wales.<sup>77</sup> Lang’s criticisms of the local Presbytery as being ‘hopelessly corrupt and incapable of effecting its own purification’, and practicing the ‘grossest intemperance’, reflected judgements based on his own moral standards and agendas.<sup>78</sup> Glenelg

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<sup>72</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 132; George Robb, 'Popular Religion and the Christianisation of the Scottish Highlands in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1990, p. 18. Chambers, 'The Church of Scotland's Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme', pp. 113-122, disputes the allegation that the Church of Scotland focused on the Highlands and the Islands, pointing to their strong missionary effort in India, which was primarily driven by the Moderates.

<sup>73</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 132.

<sup>74</sup> Lang’s conflict with the Church of Scotland Moderates escalated after he ridiculed them in an updated 1837 version of *An Historical and Statistical Account*.

<sup>75</sup> Lang to Marquis of Normandy, 14 June 1839, Lang Pamphlets, Fryer Library, DU115.2.

<sup>76</sup> Glenelg did inform Lang he was seeking approval for ministers from the Synod of Ulster, and asked him to let him know if he became acquainted with Gaelic speaking ministers. He did grant Lang a personal interview, so the question of ‘Socinians’ could have been discussed. See George Grey to Lang, 11 May 1837, 12 May 1837, CO/202/36.

<sup>77</sup> George Grey to Lang, 30 January 1837, CO/202/35.

<sup>78</sup> Lang to the Marquis of Normandy, 14 June 1839, Lang Pamphlets, Fryer Library, DU115.2.

informed Lang he did not want to become involved in any issues pertaining to the Presbytery of the colony. He agreed to approve £60-80 passage from colonial funds for twelve schoolmasters Lang had acquired, but referred all other business to the Governor and the Legislative Council.<sup>79</sup> Glenelg made it clear that the Church of Scotland would be the principal body for the procurement of ministers. This coincided with the Presbyterian Temporalities Act in the colony, which gave the Synod of New South Wales sole authority for their appointment.<sup>80</sup> This Act tied the Presbytery of New South Wales directly to the Church of Scotland, and the legal basis given to the Presbytery meant it was the only colonial representative of the Church of Scotland. Approval from the Moderator of the Synod was required for the payment of a minister under the Church Act.<sup>81</sup> The Presbytery acknowledged the right of the Church of Scotland to direct and superintend their Synod.<sup>82</sup> They obtained the legal and ecclesiastical standing to approve the appointment of Presbyterian ministers who receive government stipends under the terms of the Church Act.

Lang was infuriated when he returned to the colony. His principle grievance against the Temporalities Act was that some of the ministers whom he brought to the colony were denied stipends due to the authority placed in the Presbytery of New South Wales.<sup>83</sup> Lang's estrangement from this group formed the basis of numerous allegations of impropriety, bringing his school and church into conflict with other Presbyterians. Due to his high personal regard for Glenelg, Lang blamed Acting-Governor Kenneth Snodgrass and Broughton for enacting the Presbyterian Temporalities Act.<sup>84</sup> Although Lang's difficulties were often the product of his own

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<sup>79</sup> George Grey to Lang, 30 January 1837, CO/202/35.

<sup>80</sup> 'Act to regulate the temporal affairs of the Presbyterian churches and Chapels', 8 William IV, No. 7.

<sup>81</sup> Ward, *Bush*, pp. 43-45.

<sup>82</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>83</sup> Others, such as Reverend William Hamilton, joined the Presbytery of New South Wales to obtain a stipend. Hamilton felt Lang misled him regarding opportunities available to him in the colony. Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Place and Presbyterian discourse in Colonial New South Wales', in Proudfoot, *(Dis)Placing Empire*, pp. 63-70.

<sup>84</sup> Snodgrass was the son of a Presbyterian minister, but Lang questioned his judgement for appointing a gentleman convict, apparently an attempted murderer and thief, to tutor his children in classics, morals and religion. *Ibid.* pp. 6-7. For Lang's views of Glenelg, see Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. II*, p. 273. Lang also claimed Broughton instigated the Act in the Legislative Council as a means to 'bind the church in fetters of iron', and because he was personally hostile to Lang. Lang, *Dead Fly in the Apothecary's Ointment*, p. 7.

uncompromising positions, he did make a valid point on this issue. Primarily, he believed the Temporalities Act had endowed one Presbyterian group against the toleration principles of the Church Act. This was significant because only half the Presbyterians in the colony had been part of the Church of Scotland, the rest being Scottish Dissenters or Northern Irish.<sup>85</sup> The Presbytery, by making itself reliant on a higher body in Scotland, undermined local initiatives to obtain ministers suitable to the makeup of the various congregations. Lang also pointed out that the Catholics had no such act, but it would seem the Catholics' own clearly defined ecclesiastical structure was considered adequate by both themselves and the authorities. Lang made unsuccessful appeals to the Colonial Office on behalf of his own Synod, seeking 'equal rights and privileges in matters of religion, which have been secured for all classes of the colonists' by the Church Act, until his trip to the United States made him a staunch advocate of voluntarism.<sup>86</sup> The decision by McGarvie, the Moderate leader of the Presbytery of New South Wales, to ecclesiastically align with the Church of Scotland, supported by the powers of the temporality provisions of the Church Act, was significant for the Presbyterian Church in Australia. It meant the Act encouraged the importation of the pragmatic Calvinism of the Scots, and began a seventy-year period in which Scottish ministers dominated the local Presbyterian Church.<sup>87</sup>

Glenelg, a Scot, took a special interest in the religion of the Scottish people in New South Wales. His correspondence with the Committee of the General Assembly produced nine potential ministers in a short period, which was a significant expansion of the colonial clergy reserves of that denomination.<sup>88</sup> As well, his interest in the Gaelic language meant he saw great potential for Scots from the north and the islands

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<sup>85</sup> Lang may have exaggerated this claim to suit his circumstance, but there were a considerable number of Irish Presbyterians in the colony. Trevor Parkhill, 'Convicts, Orphans, Settlers: Patterns of Emigration from Ulster, 1790-1860', in John O'Brien and Pauric Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, Dublin, 1991, pp. 11-13.

<sup>86</sup> Lang to Normandy, 14 June 1839, Lang Pamphlets, Fryer Library, DU115.2, pp. 14-16. He denounced government stipends as supporting men who would not survive by voluntarism and called the Synod of New South Wales the 'Synagogue of Satan'. Baker, *Days of Wrath*, pp. 159-164, 181.

<sup>87</sup> See statistical tables in, Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, p. 58.

<sup>88</sup> The largest number of clergy sent out from the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland was in 1837 when seven were sent. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

to emigrate to Australia.<sup>89</sup> For nearly twenty years, Glenelg had been a parliamentary representative of Inverness, one of the most important centres of the Highlands and the traditional land of the Picts, a once powerful Gaelic people. The Highlands were undergoing agrarian restructuring, and the people, renowned for their clannish social structure, were suffering dislocation and poverty.<sup>90</sup> In the years immediately after the Church Act, Scottish migration increased significantly, particularly unassisted migration, with 1500 people arriving in the period 1837-42. Aberdeen, an adjoining Highland shire, became a large centre of investment in Australian Pastoral activities.<sup>91</sup>

Glenelg, whilst supporting the idea that the Presbytery of New South Wales should remain connected to the Church of Scotland, thought it important that ‘there should be no recognised distinction between one class of Presbyterian minister and another in the Colony’. He asked Mcfarlane if men recommended by the Synod of Ulster could be considered on the same footing in the Australian colonies as men from the Church of Scotland. He also extended the fit out and passage of £150 to all ministers that Mcfarlane nominated.<sup>92</sup> Glenelg was happy to report to Lang that nine ministers had been nominated by the General Assembly and that one was acquainted with the Gaelic language, enabling him to minister to future immigrants. Lang was asked if he became aware of any other ministers interested in the colony and familiar with Gaelic to inform Glenelg.<sup>93</sup>

After the Church Act was enacted in New South Wales, a sectarian contention arose in Van Diemen’s Land between Anglican Reverend William Hutchins, who criticised the intentions of the Act, and Presbyterian Reverend John Lillie, who supported the Act. Lillie had only recently arrived in the colony and produced some interesting evidence regarding the intentions of Glenelg. Hutchins disputed that ‘equal support’ was sanctioned in the Church Act. He claimed the intention of Glenelg and

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<sup>89</sup> George Grey to Macfarlane, 27 April 1837, CO/202/36.

<sup>90</sup> A process of agricultural reform called the Highland clearances saw people move to the industrial south. This created a pool of willing emigrants. Robb, 'Popular Religion in Scotland', pp. 18-24; Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, p. 17.

<sup>91</sup> Prentis, *Scots in Australia*, pp. 61, 94, Aberdeen was dominated by Moderates who had been strong supporters of foreign missions. Chambers, 'The Church of Scotland's Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme', p. 123.

<sup>92</sup> George Grey to Mcfarlane, 29 March 1837, and 27 April 1837, CO/202/35.

<sup>93</sup> George Grey to Lang, 12 May 1837, CO/202/35.

the Government was that 'every encouragement should be given to the extension of the Church of England, which was consistent with the just claims of other denominations'. He also made the assertion that since the colony was an 'English' colony and not a 'Scottish' colony, their claim based on establishment in Scotland was not valid, especially considering the dominant English nature of the colony.<sup>94</sup> This was based on an old Church of England argument that maintained that the Church of Scotland's establishment, as per the Act of the Union, Article 7, was confined to Scotland, and a Scot could not carry it with him wherever he travelled.<sup>95</sup> Lillie replied with a quotation from a letter that was sent from the Colonial Office to Macfarlane as head of the colonial committee, where Glenelg informed him that 'His Majesty's Government entertains the most profound respect for the privileges of the Church of Scotland and are fully prepared to permit the claims of that Church throughout the British Colonies'.<sup>96</sup> In this statement Glenelg endorsed the legal opinions given by Stephen on a number of occasions relating to Canada.<sup>97</sup> When speaking specifically about the Australian colonies, Glenelg stated that in the future they were 'equally entitled' to the share of public funds, in proportion to the amount of private contributions.<sup>98</sup> Lillie also confirmed that the same sentiments were expressed to him in a personal interview with Glenelg before leaving Britain. He contended that the 'Church of Scotland find the rights of their church entrenched behind such a massive bulwark as an Act of Parliament ... as an essential condition of the union'.<sup>99</sup> McGarvie expressed similar ideas in a public farewell message to Bourke, given on behalf of the colony's Presbyterians. He thanked Bourke for the 'impartial justice' he had granted, and the 'privileges heretofore denied'. 'By these regulations we believe that the benefits of an

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<sup>94</sup> Hutchins to Lillie, no date, in John Lillie, *A Letter from the Reverend John Lillie, in reply to the observations made to his Introductory Sermon in a Letter Published by the Reverend William Hutchins*, Hobart, 1837, pp. xv-xvii.

<sup>95</sup> Grose, 'The Status of the Church of Scotland in the Colonies in the 1820s', p. 115.

<sup>96</sup> George Grey to Macfarlane, 11 August 1836, in Lillie, *Letter from Rev. John Lillie*, p. 9.

<sup>97</sup> Sir James Stephen, 'Address given at the second annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences', in Knaplund, *James Stephen*, p. 290. Grose, 'The Status of the Church of Scotland in the Colonies in the 1820s', pp. 115-116 quotes Colonial Office despatches from Bathurst to Stephen in relation to Canada.

<sup>98</sup> George Grey to Macfarlane, 11 August 1836, in Lillie, *Letter from Rev. John Lillie*, p. 9. This is significant because Canada had an act of Parliament that defined establishment in relation to the Clergy Reserves using the words 'Protestant Clergy', which opened itself to legal argument. In New South Wales there was no such ambiguity.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 23.

Established Church in whose necessity for the wellbeing of the State are secured'. McGarvie was viewing the measures in British terms, implying that the Presbyterians had been awarded recognised status as an established state church. Bourke's reply made it clear that the Church Act represented the 'full and assured possession of religious freedom' for all people. He was clarifying how the legislation meant more than the expansion of established churches.<sup>100</sup> Glenelg's wording, however, could be interpreted as being more directed at achieving Scottish equality, which McGarvie seems to have believed.

Glenelg displayed a personal interest in the procurement of ministers for the Presbyterians in New South Wales.<sup>101</sup> As a senior parliamentary representative of the Scottish people, he understandably desired to further their interests. It is equally understandable that he would have supported the authority of the Church of Scotland, especially since the colony had been beset by internal strife, primarily instigated by Lang. However, he believed it important 'that there should be no recognised distinction between one class of Presbyterian minister and another in the colony', and he secured this commitment from the Church of Scotland.<sup>102</sup> His desire for Gaelic speaking ministers obviously meant he saw the Highland people as future immigrants.<sup>103</sup> By doing this he sought to establish sound principles of doctrinal toleration to ensure the effective representation of all groups.

The Church Act and the Presbyterian Temporalities Act tied the local Presbytery to the Church of Scotland, whose General Assembly in this period was dominated by the Moderates.<sup>104</sup> This began a long period of Scottish domination of New South Wales Presbyterianism to the point that even in the late nineteenth century

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<sup>100</sup> *S.G.*, 9 December 1837.

<sup>101</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 9 March 1837, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 704.

<sup>102</sup> George Grey to Mcfarlane, 29 March 1837, CO 202/35; George Grey to Lang, 11 May 1837, CO 202/36. There was a growing Evangelical element in Irish Presbyterianism and a growth in the number of Protestant Irish immigrants to New South Wales. Holmes, 'Irish Presbyterianism', pp. 712-213; Parkhill, 'Convicts, Orphans, Settlers', in O'Brien, *Irish Emigrant Experience*, pp. 6-28; Proudfoot, *(Dis)Placing Empire*, p. 62.

<sup>103</sup> Grey to Lang, 12 May 1837, CO/202/36.

<sup>104</sup> Note that Chambers has established that Evangelical power in the General Assembly was growing from 1834, but in 1836 the Moderates were still dominant. Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', p. 123.



some congregations still preferred a Scottish minister.<sup>105</sup> There may have been some purpose in this decision in the 1830s. Evangelical Calvinists, such as Lang, were less tolerant than Moderates, especially concerning Catholics.<sup>106</sup> Northern Irish Presbyterians were more likely to be influenced by Orangeism with its sectarian prejudices. By placing authority in a local Presbytery under the Kirk, but giving equality to ministers of the Synod of Ulster and elsewhere, Bourke and the Colonial Office may have been acting in the interests of social harmony and religious equality, which was much broader than the mere extension of the right of British establishment. Glenelg's efforts to secure adequate ministers for the Scottish colonists, especially the Highlanders, replicated similar efforts in Scotland where the Kirk had sought to extend an orthodox Reformed Calvinist Christianity over the more synchronised Christian beliefs of the lower orders, especially the Celtic north.<sup>107</sup> Glenelg's enthusiastic support for Presbyterians through the Church Act assisted the significant growth in clerical numbers in the late 1830s. It would be fair to speculate that Scottish rights and religious equality influenced his decision. The Scots were seen as potential migrants for the expanding colony and clearly Glenelg's purpose was to preserve and expand their Christian belief. Similar to the intentions of Broughton, Ullathorne, Polding and Bourke in past chapters, Lang saw the expansion of religion as the means to extend his version of orthodox belief, in order to provide a moral basis to society.<sup>108</sup> Different interpretations of doctrinal purity and national superiority created most of the conflict around church and school policy, propelled by a number of strong personalities with a heightened sense of providential mission and righteousness. The Church Act assisted their efforts, but also intensified their differences.

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<sup>105</sup> Prentis, 'Presbyterian Ministry', pp. 46-52.

<sup>106</sup> Chambers, 'Doctrinal Attitudes in the Church of Scotland', pp. 160-166.

<sup>107</sup> Robb, 'Popular Religion in Scotland', pp. 18, 25-29.

<sup>108</sup> A fundamental principle of John Knox was that Biblical education would lead people away from sin, thereby creating a national morality. Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 126-127.

## Chapter 6: The Colonial Office and the approval of the Church Act

The Colonial Office, under the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was formed in 1801 to administer the British colonies on behalf of Parliament and the King, and to represent the interests of the territories in His Majesty's Government. The governors were appointed as local representatives of the Crown and the various local assemblies received their authority by delegation, with the power of veto ultimately resting with the British Parliament. The Secretary of State was answerable to Parliament through the Cabinet, and major decisions were discussed in this forum or debated and legislated in Parliament.<sup>1</sup> It was a complex department where British politics collided with colonial expectations, and where the interests of both sides needed to conform to the rigours of Treasury.

This thesis endorses J. S. Gregory's comment that Britain lacked any consistent policy in relation to religious matters in the colonies.<sup>2</sup> There were trends reflecting movements in social and political thought, but the result in each colony varied depending on the type of settlement and the religion of the existing population. For instance, religious toleration existed in Lower Canada, because upon conquest the Roman Catholic Church was left undisturbed. Similarly, at the Cape of Good Hope the Dutch Reformed Church retained its favourable position, while Buddhism remained the state religion of Ceylon until the 1840s.<sup>3</sup> This did not stop the systematic Anglicanisation of laws and culture, or the purposeful advancement of the Church of England in newly settled areas, such as through the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada and New South Wales. As far as laws went, James Stephen believed that 'the law of England is the birthright of English subjects, which they carry with them when they

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Office*, London, 1956, pp. 25-36. Previously the Privy Council, Plantations Branch was responsible for colonies. There were several levels of correspondence in the Colonial Office including 'Secret' which could only be viewed by the Secretary or Under-Secretary. These documents were rarely bound in the records and hinder any complete understanding of major decisions. D. M. Young, *The Colonial Office in the Early Nineteenth Century*, London, 1961, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Gregory, *Church and State: Changing Government Policies towards Religion in Australia, with particular reference to Victoria since separation*, Melbourne, 1973, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Knäplund, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847*, Madison, 1953, p. 134.

quit their native land to make settlements on wastes and unoccupied territories'.<sup>4</sup> Religious policy followed the same formula, and territories such as Upper Canada and New South Wales were considered unoccupied.

Three important influences on broad colonial policy from the late 1820s were systematic colonisation, humanitarian reform, and greater fiscal scrutiny by the Treasury, or specifically, reducing the cost to Britain of the civil and military machinery of the Empire. This affected different colonies in different ways, but all three impacted on attitudes to New South Wales in the 1830s. The colony's waste lands and labour shortages were seen as fertile ground for the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, while the moral nature of the colony, tainted by its convict heritage, came under increasing scrutiny by colonisers and humanitarians.<sup>5</sup> The expansion of religion was seen by many as fundamental to resolve the social impasses to full civil and political rights, and this forms an essential argument for the rest of this thesis. This chapter primarily considers the Colonial Office and the approval of the Church Act, but it also serves as an introduction to later assertions relating to morality, emigration and the expansion of Christian belief.

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In 1830 the Whig government's appointment of Lord Goderich as Colonial Secretary and Lord Howick as Under-Secretary began a new era in the Colonial Office. Goderich was a Canningite whose previous tenure in the Colonial Office had been under a Tory government, when he replaced the long-serving Lord Bathurst.<sup>6</sup> Bathurst had resisted fiscal reform by the Treasury and the call for ecclesiastical reform from various colonists. Even in the North American colonies, where the majority of Protestants were not part of the Church of England, he pursued a policy of Anglican preference in

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen, memorandum, 4 March 1828, in *Ibid.*, pp. 234-235. There were at times reasonable grounds for delaying this, for instance, implementation of a jury system in a convict society. Stephen's Report, 12 February 1834, on the N.S.W. Act No. 12, CO 323/50, in *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Alan Lester, 'Humanitarians and white settlers', in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 64-65.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick Robinson was first Viscount Goderich and first Earl of Ripon. P. J. Jupp, in H. G. C. Mathews and Brian Howard Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, Vol. 47, pp. 324-328; A. Aspinall, 'The Canningite Party', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1934, pp. 177-197.

religion and education.<sup>7</sup> Howick, son of Prime Minister Lord Grey, was on the liberal side of the Whig administration. There is overwhelming evidence for his strong influence in formulating the Ripon Regulations.<sup>8</sup> Howick had been a recent convert to Wakefield's initial ideas, and provided Goderich, a long time advocate of Robert Wilmont Horton's pauper emigration schemes, with a solution to the fundamental problem of emigrating the redundant British workforce by using the waste lands of the Australian colonies as funding (see Chapter 8). As discussed in Chapter 2, Bourke was given his instructions in the enthusiastic early days of the ministry when the young Howick envisioned rapid change in social and fiscal policy, before realising the political reality of resistance from colonial elites and British vested interests, especially the established Church.

It is uncertain whether Goderich would have approved Bourke's proposed church and school reforms. He described himself as a 'sincere Churchman', and when writing to Sir Peregrine Maitland, governor of Upper Canada around the time of Bourke's arrival in New South Wales, he stressed the urgent need to secure the 'well-being of our Common Church in Nova Scotia', because 'the Establishment in all our N.A. colonies is in crisis'.<sup>9</sup> The end of the Church and Schools Corporation in New South Wales called for a solution, and Bourke's plan fulfilled Goderich's concern for the Anglicans, whilst maintaining a fundamental Whig policy of more liberal support for other religious groups in the colonies.<sup>10</sup> However, Colonial Office support for reform encountered opposition from the established Church in New South Wales, North America and the West Indies, through their influence in colonial legislatures,

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<sup>7</sup> Helen Taft Manning, 'The Colonial Policy of the Whig Ministries, 1830-37', *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1952, p. 214; Gerard M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, Toronto, 1963, p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> For a good analysis of Goderich and Howick's tenure in the Colonial Office see Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', pp. 207-223; Richard Charles Mills, *The Colonization of Australia, 1829-42: The Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building*, London, 1915, pp. 163-176; Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism*, London, 1970, pp. 104-106.

<sup>9</sup> Goderich to Maitland, 24 November 1831, CO/218/30, in Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', p. 215.

<sup>10</sup> The Whigs under Charles Fox opposed the exclusive endowment of 'Protestants' in the Canada Act in the 1790s. Craig, *Upper Canada*, pp. 14-16. In the 1830s the Whigs favoured local solutions. Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', pp. 203-205; Peter Burroughs, 'Lord Howick and the Colonial Church Establishment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1974, pp. 381-405.

and also from British conservatives.<sup>11</sup> Goderich was concerned about public opinion in England and opposition from the bishops in the House of Lords. Procedure dictated that all major decisions affecting the Anglican Church in the colonies be submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for comment.<sup>12</sup> So despite Bourke's plan being in keeping with the overall objectives of the Colonial Office, it is unlikely Goderich would have been willing or politically able to have it approved.

A critical factor in the 1830s was the rising influence of James Stephen in Colonial Office policy. He became a part-time legal advisor in 1812, and full time legal officer in 1825. Stephen's stepmother was William Wilberforce's sister and his wife was the daughter of Reverend John Venn, one of the leaders of the Church Missionary Society.<sup>13</sup> Venn, Wilberforce and James Stephen Snr (father) were three of the most prominent men in the Clapham Sect, a society for humanitarianism and the expansion of Christianity. Stephen wrote in the 1840s that he was a 'child of the Clapham Sect', a group whose mission, he believed, had been ordained by God. Wilberforce, their leader, became a personal and spiritual mentor.<sup>14</sup> Paul Knaplund claims Stephen's advocacy of religious equality went way beyond that of his mentors, and he attempted to influence each Secretary of State he served with his own views.<sup>15</sup> Stephen believed that 'the religion of Jesus Christ affords the only plausible solution to the great mystery of human life'.<sup>16</sup> When George Arthur was posted to Van Diemen's Land, Stephen wrote of the important Christian mission Arthur was entrusted with, and 'prayed that the spirit would be with him' in spreading Christianity in this 'new country'.<sup>17</sup> Stephen had strong Evangelical views and high expectations for the

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<sup>11</sup> Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', p. 217 (Canada); Mary Reckford, 'The Colonial Office and the Abolition of Slavery', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1971, pp. 728-730 (West Indies).

<sup>12</sup> Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', p. 215; Knaplund, *James Stephen*, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> Russell Smandych, "'To soften the Extreme Rigour of their Bondage": James Stephen's attempt to Reform the Colonial Slave Laws of the West Indies, 1813-1833', *Law and History Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 2005, p. 537; Knaplund, *James Stephen*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Smandych, 'James Stephen and Slave Reform', pp. 542-544.

<sup>15</sup> Knaplund, *James Stephen*, pp. 10, 15-16.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen to Henry Taylor, 3 November 1833, in *ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen to Arthur, 16 January 1824, Arthur Papers, Vol. 4, M.L. Stephen had a close personal friendship with Arthur who had been involved in the anti-slavery campaign of Wilberforce and James Stephen Snr. Stephen's letters constantly encouraged Arthur by letting him know his father and Wilberforce 'always think and speak of you with great kindness'.

Australian colonies. After Thomas Hobbes Scott was appointed Archdeacon, Stephen was confident that although he was not an Evangelical, he was still a 'devout and zealous man' whose 'great object in life be to promote the glory of God and the salvation of man'. For this reason, Stephen was willing to forgive 'minor deviations from what I think the best model'. Scott's mission was an important matter for Stephen, because 'he has to lay the foundation of a Church in the Colony which in a few years hence will be among the most powerful states in the world'.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1830s, Stephen attained a greater influence in the Colonial Office, where there was an increased focus on efficiency and integrity. Few important issues could be handled directly as they needed to be submitted to other departments or commissions.<sup>19</sup> For the Colonial Office, New South Wales presented a range of inter-departmental co-operations. The Home Office was responsible for convicts while the Admiralty arranged their transportation, the War Office was in charge of troops, and the Treasury oversaw finance.<sup>20</sup> All colonial acts were reviewed by the Colonial Office legal council and placed before the Privy Council for approval. The Privy Council could request further reports from other departments, but in most cases if the Colonial Office approved the matter it was passed.<sup>21</sup> The Colonial Office in the 1830s faced pressure from the Treasury to reduce costs in New South Wales, while the Home Office was increasing the number of people transported, placing pressure on revenues and impacting their plans to overhaul the social balance between bond and free.<sup>22</sup> As

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Stephen to Arthur, 30 June 1829, 30 March 1831, Arthur Papers, Vol. 4, M.L. Wilberforce in his writings clearly distinguished between human reason, which was beneficial, and Godly wisdom which was a higher level of knowledge provided by the Holy Spirit. William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians*, New York, 1835, pp. 79, 84, 87.

<sup>18</sup> Stephen to Arthur, 20 January 1824, Arthur Papers, Vol. 4, M.L.

<sup>19</sup> Knaplund, *James Stephen*, pp. 37- 41. This had been happening since Bathurst's departure as his strength in the Tory party had allowed him to resist the Treasury's infringement on his authority. Young, *Colonial Office*, pp. 3-7, 187.

<sup>20</sup> From 1830, the Treasury gained strict control over colonial expenditure and accounts were examined by the Colonial Audit Office. The credit Bourke received for more efficient financial records during his governorship was related to the requirements produced by these reforms. Young, *Colonial Office*, p. 249.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 197-201.

<sup>22</sup> J. J. Eddy, *Britain and the Australian Colonies, 1818 to 1831*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 257-260; Lester, 'Humanitarians', in Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, pp. 65-66.

Parliament took a greater interest in colonial humanitarian and financial matters, New South Wales came under increased scrutiny.

In the 1830s humanitarian issues influenced colonial policy, as the rights of slaves, convicts and indigenous populations became more politically important. The British government began to reform the slave system in 1823, using a co-operative approach with local legislatures and placing particular emphasis on religious instruction, as it was considered 'the foundation of every beneficial change in character and future condition'.<sup>23</sup> This resulted in plans to expand the Church of England, producing new Archdeaconries in New South Wales, the West Indies and North America.<sup>24</sup> The failure of this policy in the West Indies began a period of extreme humanitarian scrutiny of colonial governors through a strategy promoted by Stephen and Henry Taylor. In 1830 the Wesleyan Missionary Society instigated two cases of slave brutality in Jamaica, both pertaining to slaves being physically persecuted by Anglican elites for attempting to attend Wesleyan services. The failure of the Governor to discipline the responsible parties caused him to be sacked amidst charges of supporting systematic brutality in Jamaica. This had a great impact on the Home Government, allowing Howick, backed by the Clapham Sect and other humanitarians, to convince the Whig government of the failure of amelioration. Stephen was called on to draft the Slavery Emancipation Act while Wilberforce lay on his deathbed, and in 1834 slavery was abolished in the British colonies.<sup>25</sup> The West Indian slave lobby had hindered Stephen's advancement in the Colonial Office, but their influence was weakened after the Reform Bill.<sup>26</sup> This allowed Stephen to be promoted to Assistant Under-Secretary in 1834 and Permanent Under-Secretary in 1836. His increasing

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<sup>23</sup> Circular Despatch, 28 May 1823, 9 July 1823, in CO/854/1, in Reckford, 'Colonial Office and Abolition', p. 723. The slavery issue increased the impetus for religious expansion in the colonies in the 1820s. In the same period Bathurst instigated 59 Geo. III Cap. 60, (Colonial Clergy Act) of 1819, which ordained ministers with lower qualifications for deployment overseas, overseen by an Ecclesiastical Board for the Colonies. Ian Breward, *A History of Australian Churches*, Sydney, 1993, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Young, *Colonial Office*, p. 81.

<sup>25</sup> Reckford, 'Colonial Office and Abolition', pp. 726-735; Knaplund, *James Stephen*, p. 99.

<sup>26</sup> Knaplund, *James Stephen*, p. 98. The humanitarian influence in Parliament had been growing since the Reform Bill, which increased Catholic and Nonconformist influence. This group mostly supported abolition. Knaplund, *James Stephen*. pp. 98. 106. Mills claimed Stephen's principal motive for a permanent position in the Colonial Office in 1825 was to advance the case for abolition, citing a number of sources including Henry Taylor's autobiography and an early biography of Stephen. See Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 10.

influence was a factor in the implementation of the Church Act, as its principles resonated with his belief in religious toleration and the need to expand Christianity.

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Lord Stanley became Colonial Secretary in 1833 and steered a more conservative path than Goderich. The strong influence Stephen had on Howick and Goderich was not replicated with Stanley, who drew much more on the advice of the like-minded Robert Hay. As fellow Under-Secretaries, Hay and Stephen were not close, and their role in the Colonial Office was quite different. Stephen was active in creating and implementing policy, while Hay was a traditionalist who only gave advice, referring all matters to the Secretary, which suited Stanley's autocratic style.<sup>27</sup> Hay had resisted some of Goderich's reforms, and Helen Taft Manning claims his correspondence reveals his defence of the ideals of the previous Tory administration and support for conservative colonial elites. In Canada Stanley reinstated two senior conservative legal officers that Goderich had only recently removed. He also reversed Goderich's endorsement of a possible elected upper house in Upper Canada, a principle grievance of all non-exclusive colonists.<sup>28</sup> In the West Indies, Stanley hindered Stephen in enforcing the requirements for compensation under the Slave Emancipation Act, which were amendments Stanley personally negotiated in the Act's passage through Parliament. Stephen convinced him of the illegality of slave laws relating to punishment and justice, and the failure of the West Indian legislatures to reform them despite directives from the Colonial Office, and Stanley used this argument when introducing his intention to the Parliament on abolition in 1833. However, he had to balance the very real economic problems facing the West Indies and its impact on

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<sup>27</sup> Helen Taft Manning, 'Who Ran the British Empire, 1830-1850?', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1965, pp. 94-97. Young, *Colonial Office*, p. 87.

<sup>28</sup> Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', pp. 207, 233. Stephen claimed Hay's Tory outlook was an obstacle to reform in the Colonial Office and the colonies. S. G. Foster, 'A piece of sharp practice? Governor Bourke and the office of Colonial Secretary in New South Wales', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, 1975, p. 416 quotes a number of sources from the Stephen Papers to support this statement. Goderich was receptive to the Canadian reformer's lobby in Britain, especially concerning the local legislature's refusal to reform the Clergy Reserve and education policy. Stanley was not so accommodating. Craig, *Upper Canada*, pp. 204-216.



Britain. This provides a good insight into Stanley: he was open to just reform in a conservative manner, but was realistic and concerned with the wider ramifications.<sup>29</sup>

In religious matters Stanley was conservative and devout, and he became a staunch supporter of the High Churchmen in the 1830s.<sup>30</sup> He had supported Spring Rice on education reform in Ireland, but opposed him when Spring Rice was the driving force behind the Irish Church Bill and later the Irish Church Appropriation Bill. On both occasions Spring Rice came into conflict with Stanley and his supporters in the party.<sup>31</sup> Stanley opposed any changes to the Irish tithe law that were not devoted exclusively to religion, while Spring Rice believed the money should be used to educate the poor Catholic population. Stanley upheld High Church principles, while Spring Rice believed that if the churches were not reaching the population then schools could not extend Christian teaching.<sup>32</sup> Bourke carried this same pragmatism to New South Wales.

Stanley would have been aware of Bourke's education work in Ireland. After Stanley and his family stayed with Bishop Jebb in 1825, Jebb informed Bourke that the Stanleys were disappointed at not being able to meet him and his family as Bourke was at the Cape Colony.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, in 1833 Stanley received Bourke's church and school plan when he was in the middle of an internal party struggle over Irish Church issues, and when his power in the party was at its greatest. On the surface it appeared that Bourke was proposing what Stanley had already endorsed in Ireland through the National Schools legislation, and this may have given Bourke the expectation of a

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<sup>29</sup> Knaplund, *James Stephen*, pp. 99-108. See also Reckford, 'Colonial Office and Abolition', pp. 723-734; Smandych, 'James Stephen and Slave Reform', pp. 583-587. A Select Committee on the Commercial State of the West Indian Colonies demonstrated long-term economic distress among sugar producers. In the end a deal was brokered where British taxpayers paid £20 million to emancipate 770,000 slaves. Richard B. Sheridan, 'The West Indian Sugar Crisis and British Slave Emancipation, 1830-1832', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 1961, p. 539.

<sup>30</sup> Stanley also demonstrated evangelical thought in his writings, including an analysis of the Parables and an anonymous work teaching children how God can overrule nature, evidenced by the miracles of Christ. See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 237-238.

<sup>31</sup> One of the main opponents to the Irish Church Bill was Stanley. For this O'Connell called him the 'Derby Dilly'. Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 29 March 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>32</sup> Spring Rice to Bourke, 13 January 1838, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>33</sup> Bishop Jebb to Bourke, 20 September 1825, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

positive response, which he expressed in his despatch in August 1833. However, in a letter Stanley wrote to the *English Chronicle* in 1836 his views were very clear. The system he recommended for the ‘peculiar’ state of Ireland was the ‘least applicable to the very different state of England’. He claimed the Irish plan had two objectives. The first was to diminish animosity between Catholic and Protestant by demonstrating how much commonality they had in their respective religious beliefs. The second was to ‘give the great bulk of the Roman Catholic population as extensive a knowledge of Scriptural truth as they could be induced to believe’. He went on to say it was ‘never considered the best possible education for Protestants’.<sup>34</sup> The main points in this letter are that the Irish School System was never considered ‘secular’ education; it was always state controlled, non-denominational Christian education. Stanley also expressed a common Protestant idea that if Catholics were taught the Bible they would become Protestant, implying evangelical objectives.<sup>35</sup> As for New South Wales, Stanley perhaps considered the society closer to England than Ireland, and his factional stoush with the Whigs and the O’Connellites may have hardened his attitude towards aggressive Irish demands.

Despite this, Stanley was not unfavourable to Catholic claims for just funding for the provision of priests. Stanley fully endorsed Bourke’s despatch of 22 August 1833, which advised him of appropriations of £900 to provide for four additional Roman Catholic chaplains to complement the existing two, and £600 towards the cost of Catholic schools. As discussed in Chapter 2, this represented a significant increase. Stanley made no mention of Bourke’s church and school plans in this despatch or another where he endorsed an appropriation of £375 for an Anglican Church at Bathurst a few months later. He commended the Bathurst settlers for helping ‘alleviate the deficiency of places of worship’, and hoped other districts would follow their example.<sup>36</sup> He was happy to let the Legislative Council make decisions regarding support on the basis of local contributions.<sup>37</sup> As discussed in Chapter 4, Stanley consulted Edward Blount and Bishop Bramston regarding the proposed Catholic

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<sup>34</sup> *English Chronicle*, 13 August 1836, quoted in William Foster, ‘Education in New South Wales Under Governor Sir Richard Bourke’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 47, No. 5, 1961, p. 267.

<sup>35</sup> The ideas sound very similar to the Athamik pamphlet.

<sup>36</sup> Stanley to Bourke, 15 Feb 1834, and 25 May 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, pp. 371, 445.

<sup>37</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3 Broughton found this deficient.

appointments. Bede Polding told Bourke that Bramston had shown him correspondence from Stanley to Blount, which stated his support for increased funding for extra priests, and that the revenue allocations were within the powers of the Legislative Council.<sup>38</sup> When Stanley was in the Treasury in 1835 he informed Glenelg that until the British Government had decided on the matter of Bourke's 'general Plan of Education', the 'most desirable mode of affording assistance from Public Funds for objects connected with general Education is by grants in aid of private exertion and subscriptions'.<sup>39</sup>

This may indicate Stanley's position on the matter. He specifically mentioned allocating public finance to Bourke's general education plan through aid, but not the systematic allocation of public money to churches. When he was in the Colonial Office, Stanley approved increased funding to Catholics, Presbyterians and Anglicans in accordance with the wishes of the Legislative Council, but at the same time his faction was bitterly opposed to the Irish Church Bill. Endorsement of Bourke's religious reforms could have been interpreted as supporting disestablishment, which would have appeared hypocritical considering his staunch defence of the Church in Britain. Stanley was the principle defender of the conservative bishops in the Cabinet, and was unlikely to have approved such liberal moves by Bourke without the agreement of the colony's Archdeacon, who was then in transit to advance his opposition. However, he was not against the Catholics of New South Wales obtaining extra funding for ministers, and therefore endorsed Bourke's liberal provisions. His Treasury despatch also demonstrated that any decision on general education in the colony required support from beyond the Colonial Office, probably the Cabinet. It was not a decision that would have required Parliamentary approval and there is no evidence the matter was ever directly raised in Parliament, something the Whigs would have appreciated in the current political climate.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Polding to Bourke, 6 May 1836, in Henry Norbert Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, London, 1911, pp. 296, 227.

<sup>39</sup> Stanley to Hay, 27 July 1835, in Glenelg to Bourke, 3 August 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> Further research may uncover references in *Hansard*. Naomi Turner, *Catholics, A Social History*, Melbourne, 1992, p. 77 claims the Church Act was brought before the 'British Parliament', but provides no reference.

Bourke and Spring Rice were close friends and their correspondence, over many decades, was long and frequent. Bourke always addressed him as ‘my dear friend’ or ‘my dear Rice’ and often ‘my dearest Friend’. Bourke also had immense respect for Spring Rice as a politician and commended him on the ‘principles of public virtue and honour which have distinguished your political life from its commencement in Limerick to now in Cabinet’.<sup>41</sup> Bourke was Spring Rice’s campaign manager when he was elected to Parliament in 1820, and he wrote speeches and organised political events. Spring Rice won the seat of Limerick with the help of the Catholic middle-class vote, against a candidate from the Tory ascendancy. Spring Rice was an influential member of the liberal Anglican faction and Jennifer Ridden sees him as important in the transmission of Irish liberal ideas on Christian citizenship into a British model that was used to deal with colonial demands.<sup>42</sup> Spring Rice also had strong Christian beliefs, which are clearly evident in his correspondence.<sup>43</sup>

Spring Rice received a number of personal letters from Bourke when he became Colonial Secretary.<sup>44</sup> These are passionate and detailed in relating Bourke’s plans and frustrations. Bourke felt there was no one else he could write to ‘with freedom’ in the Colonial Office to express his feelings.<sup>45</sup> However, once in office Spring Rice was unwilling or unable to approve Bourke’s reforms for churches and schools, even though he had been fighting passionately for similar causes in Ireland for over fifteen years. Spring Rice was a Whig in the mould of Charles Fox and Edmund Burke and was throughout his parliamentary career an advocate for greater autonomy for the Australian colonies.<sup>46</sup> The Church Act perfectly fitted his concept of Christian citizenship, because it extended belief, and therefore legitimacy, in a colony not considered ready for elected representation. Spring Rice was also a long time supporter

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<sup>41</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 10 October 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>42</sup> Jennifer Ridden, ‘“Making Good Citizens”: National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850’, PhD, University of London, 1998, pp. 162-165, 267-269.

<sup>43</sup> For example, Spring Rice to Bourke, 6 October 1831, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L. See also Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 237; Ellis Archer Wasson, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 46, p. 656.

<sup>44</sup> Especially letters dated 12 and 22 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L. Bourke was unaware when writing them he was addressing the new Colonial Secretary.

<sup>45</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 12 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Spring Rice, *Australia the Substance of the Three Speeches Made in the House of Lords on the Australian Government Bill*, London, 1850, pp. 3-9, 20.

of providing government funds to non-Anglican ministers for the promotion of Christianity, irrespective of denomination.<sup>47</sup> Bourke seems to have found out about Spring Rice's appointment as Colonial Secretary from a newspaper report, and immediately informed his son that he looked forward to an 'account of your success in the principal matters'.<sup>48</sup> Bourke placed great value on their friendship and he knew that Spring Rice had great affection for his son.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, Bourke's confidence regarding the approval of his plans by his close friend was disappointed in the short term.

There is no doubt Spring Rice was in the process of promoting Bourke's plans to the Cabinet, but the swift manner in which the Whigs were dismissed may have taken him by surprise. Dick Bourke was overjoyed when Spring Rice became Colonial Secretary, informing his father that this should relieve his mind of 'anxiety concerning public matters'.<sup>50</sup> Spring Rice had read his despatch on churches and schools and so agreed with Bourke's plan that he had circulated it to a number of prominent ministers. Dick was permitted to read some of their comments and reported to Bourke that there was agreement in principle, and 'the decision of Government on the point is no longer doubtful'. There were apparently some other letters that raised some different views 'in the debate', but Dick was not privy to them as their meeting took place at Spring Rice's home.<sup>51</sup> In early November, Dick attended church with Spring Rice and during the service a messenger arrived from Lord Melbourne with the news that His Majesty 'has dispensed with the services of the present ministry', and Spring Rice was instructed to 'deliver his seals to No. 20'. Spring Rice told Dick King William's Tory

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<sup>47</sup> Spring Rice to William IV, 13 January 1837, Monteagle Papers, National Library Ireland, f. 13, ms 545, cited in Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens'. p. 66.

<sup>48</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 24 November 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>49</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 4 February 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L. Spring Rice insisted he wanted to be Dick's 'English father'. Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 14 December 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6. Spring Rice had great affection for Dick Bourke and he too became a close friend like his father. See letters between Bourke Jnr and Monteagle in Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/13.

<sup>50</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 1 September 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. Bourke was particularly worried about the Hunter Petition's effect on his reputation and reforms, and sent a copy to Dick to give to Spring Rice before he was appointed Colonial Secretary. He was also frustrated by delays in the Colonial Office and complained that he had 'no help in the Colonial Office' and said to his son 'God help you my boy'. Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 April 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>51</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 30 September 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

advisors were looking for any opportunity to get rid of the Whigs, but he was confident they would be re-elected.<sup>52</sup>

In reviewing the official despatches to New South Wales during Spring Rice's tenure as Colonial Secretary, it appears his major focus was on financial expenditure, which is understandable considering he had previously been Secretary of the Treasury under Lord Althorp since the Whigs came to power in 1830.<sup>53</sup> He requested Bourke trim costs for military establishments, grudgingly agreed to increase the salary of the Clerks of the Supreme Courts, and asked Bourke to minimise the cost of the justice system as much as possible without upsetting the 'tranquillity' of the colony.<sup>54</sup> He also requested that whenever Bourke submitted measures for consideration, that he 'transmit Schedules of the existing and prospective state and expense of the Department about to be revised'.<sup>55</sup> This increased focus on finance followed a major Treasury audit of colonial expenses back to the 1820s.<sup>56</sup> The climate was simply not conducive to gaining Treasury approval for church and school expenditure when disputes over allocations from the Military Chest were a primary concern.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the audit delayed any chance Spring Rice had for allocating funds for education, as the Treasury was seeking to justify £25,000 of costs being transferred to the colony.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Spring Rice was concerned that ultra-Whigs and Radicals may increase their influence. Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 16 November 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. This was the reason Whigs such as Spring Rice, Bourke, Roger Therry, Glenelg and Goderich had such a close affinity with the Canningite Tories in the 1820s.

<sup>53</sup> Wasson, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 46, p. 655.

<sup>54</sup> Spring Rice to Bourke, 1 October 1835, Spring Rice to Bourke, 26 October 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, pp. 547, 562; Spring Rice to Bourke, 16 November 1834, Spring Rice to Bourke, 16 November 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, pp. 585, 587.

<sup>55</sup> Spring Rice to Bourke, 16 November 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 585.

<sup>56</sup> Baring to George Grey, in Spring Rice to Bourke, 15 November 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 577. Perhaps Spring Rice had been part of this audit before his promotion to Colonial Secretary.

<sup>57</sup> A major colonial revenue grievance from 1834 to 1836 was a Treasury decision that the colony should provide a significant amount of funding towards police and gaols, relieving the Military Chest. *V&P*, 10 July 1834. The colonists believed they were already doing their bit by supporting the criminals of Britain through the assignment system. The Treasury believed this was an aid to the economy and their expanding revenues should carry some of the burden for police and gaols. It was one issue that united both sides of colonial politics, because colonial revenue was required to fund the increasing demand for roads, water and public buildings as settlement expanded. *V&P*, 10 July 1834, 18 May 1835, 7 July 1835.

<sup>58</sup> When Spring Rice was in the Treasury, Bourke continually complained to him regarding shortfalls in the Military Chest. The matter was settled by Spring Rice as Colonial Secretary, with the Treasury deciding that the colony should contribute £25,000 to the costs, based on the

Undoubtedly, Spring Rice would have approved Bourke's plans if he could. He was the political architect of National Schools in Ireland, and was one of the strongest advocates for Church reform to redistribute Anglican tithe money towards education.<sup>59</sup> In early 1837, Spring Rice introduced the Church Rates legislation to the Parliament, and was attacked by the bishops and conservatives.<sup>60</sup> Before leaving England, Polding was granted a meeting with Spring Rice, where he pledged to promote Bourke's recommendations regarding religion.<sup>61</sup> Stephen attributed part of the delay in approval to Bourke linking the matters of both churches and schools in one despatch (as previously discussed),<sup>62</sup> but ultimately there were political realities that held up the decision during the political storm over Church reform, in the period before William IV dismissed the Whig government.

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The dismissal of the Whigs saw the Duke of Wellington temporarily take over the Colonial Office until the appointment of Lord Aberdeen. Considering the workload of the office, Aberdeen replied reasonably promptly to Bourke regarding his church and school plans. He indicated the subject had received his 'most serious attention', and he hoped to conclude the matter before Broughton returned to the colony.<sup>63</sup> This was a time of great religious agitation as the political problems created by the dismissal produced a widespread 'no Popery' campaign during the election. Despite the approval for the expansion of the Catholic mission being made by Stanley, and Polding's

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premise that the great rise in colonial revenues since the arrangement was last reviewed in 1827 was in a large part derived from the labour of convicts. Also, the large increase in policing was due to the dispersion of the settlement, a further factor contributing to the prosperity of the colony. F. Baring to George Grey, 23 September 1834, Spring Rice to Bourke, 15 November 1834, *HRA*, I, XVII, pp. 577-578; *V&P*, 30 October 1835.

<sup>59</sup> Spring Rice was an advocate for large-scale pauper migration from Ireland to the British colonies to relieve distress. See his testimony at S. C. Emigration, 1826, *BPP: Emigration, Vol. 1*, pp. 210-213. In the 1840s the famine intensified his conviction. Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine and Emigration*, New York, 1995, pp. 59, 90.

<sup>60</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, March 1837, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>61</sup> At this time Spring Rice also approved Polding's plan to establish a local seminary to train priests. Polding to Birdstall, 14 August 1834, in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 244.

<sup>62</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 15 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>63</sup> Aberdeen to Bourke, 13 February 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 656.

selection being decided on by Spring Rice, it was during Aberdeen's term that they were sent. A caustic letter in his local newspaper complained about sending four paid priests to New South Wales, as 'Irish Papists' were 'participators in the guilt of the scarlet whore'. He was accused of hypocrisy, which was understandable considering the Tory stance on the Irish Church situation.<sup>64</sup>

Dick did not think that Bourke had a chance of having his religion and education reforms approved while Aberdeen was in office. He was not prepared to even visit him unless Spring Rice advised him to do so.<sup>65</sup> However, Stephen was one constant factor at the Colonial Office in this period and Bourke had influence with him through Dick.<sup>66</sup> The short tenures of Colonial Secretaries from 1833 to 1835 strengthened Stephen's position, and Dick was able to cultivate a relationship with Stephen that provided him with information.<sup>67</sup> When Dick first communicated with Stephen, he represented himself as Bourke's private secretary who was 'acquainted with all correspondence'. He cited the arrangements for churches and schools as 'being perhaps of the greatest importance and the first subject on which he would beg Mr Stephen to inform him whether anything had been finally arranged'. He told Stephen that 'information collected' from Spring Rice' had led him to believe 'General Bourke's suggestions had for the most part been adopted'.<sup>68</sup>

In April 1835 Dick enthusiastically informed his father that Stephen 'is now a very leading man in the Colonial Office'. In one lengthy meeting with Stephen, which did not provide his father with any 'satisfactory news', Dick was told how business in the Colonial Office had been extremely difficult, but Stephen assured him there was no 'negligence or want of proper attention' towards Bourke. Aberdeen had only spent three months in the job and 'scarcely had time to become acquainted with the general

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<sup>64</sup> Quoted in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*, p. 247. When commenting on a despatch where Father Therry had petitioned the Legislative Council to be reinstated, Aberdeen cited 'the Hostility, which this Clergyman manifested towards the Protestant Faith' as the reason for his rejection. Aberdeen to Bourke, 22 December 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 610.

<sup>65</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 1 September 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>66</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 30 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L. Stephen had a close personal relationship with Dudley Perceval, Bourke's son in law. Dick mentioned this often in his letters. See especially, Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 7 July 1837, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>67</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 8 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>68</sup> Bourke Jnr to James Stephen, 12 March 1835, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/13.



politics of the Colonies ... let alone the merits of any peculiar case'.<sup>69</sup> Aberdeen had therefore declined interviews on particular subjects, and did only one thing to advance the 'Church and School Establishments', which was to seek the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Archdeacon Broughton. The Archbishop had since responded, primarily to the church matter, and Stephen believed his input might 'lead to a decision'.<sup>70</sup> Hay informed Dick that Aberdeen, despite being a Tory, was disposed to adopt Bourke's plan, but lacked the experience in colonial affairs to make a confident decision.<sup>71</sup> This is confirmed by Broughton's response to a meeting with Aberdeen, which prompted him to investigate the effects of the Irish School System, because he was 'anxious to learn more' about 'its probable effects'.<sup>72</sup> Stephen assured Dick that as soon as Aberdeen's successor was named he would 'attempt to wring from him some final decision'. From this conversation Dick felt that Stephen was a firm supporter of the legislation, and because he was now so influential, Dick felt positive about a favourable decision.<sup>73</sup>

Stephen considered the church and school issue as being 'close to his heart', and he wanted to canvass as many views as possible on the subject. He had only recently learnt how much of a High Churchman Broughton was, finding him to be 'strongly exclusionist and strictly opposed to the Evangelical Clergy'. Stephen claimed that if his assessment was correct then 'I trust no power of selection will be left with him'. Stephen at the time was dealing with an 'unpleasant affair' involving some chaplains and Broughton. Stephen considered this reflected badly on Broughton and it came at a critical time in Broughton's negotiations.<sup>74</sup> This is a valuable insight, because upon the appointment of Glenelg three devout Evangelicals controlled the Colonial Office, namely Glenelg, Stephen and George Grey.

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<sup>69</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 15 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 24 June 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>72</sup> Broughton to Hay, 26 January 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>73</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 15 April 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>74</sup> Stephen to Arthur, 23 April 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 4, M.L.

In April 1835 the Whigs regained power under Lord Melbourne. Charles Grant was raised to the peerage as Lord Glenelg and became Colonial Secretary, while Lord John Russell, who became the Whig leader in the Commons, took over the Home Office and the responsibility for transportation. This meant the liberal Anglican faction not only dominated the Cabinet, but also the major departments that impacted the Australian colonies. Apart from the demands of a newly acquired portfolio, an extended and continuous sitting of Parliament hindered Glenelg from dedicating time to important colonial decisions.<sup>75</sup> Stephen and Glenelg formed a very close working relationship as the men shared many Christian and humanitarian viewpoints, especially concerning the treatment of Aborigines and the reformation of convicts.<sup>76</sup> Stephen called Glenelg ‘the most laborious, the most conscientious and most enlightened minister of the public’.<sup>77</sup> Historian, Taft Manning, claimed Glenelg’s term at the Colonial Office was when Stephen was most influential.<sup>78</sup>

Bourke wrote to Spring Rice upon hearing of the new administration and mentioned that while Dick had a good relationship with Stephen he would appreciate if he could ‘mention him [Bourke] to Mr Charles Grant’.<sup>79</sup> Spring Rice was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, giving Bourke an influential friend in Cabinet. In one letter Bourke asked Spring Rice about the position of Treasury regarding increasing immigration to the colony, because Bourke believed this would require substantial public works.<sup>80</sup> Emigration, the new constitution, and religion and schools were pressing issues for New South Wales in Glenelg’s early days in the office.

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<sup>75</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 27 July 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>76</sup> T. William, 'James Stephen and the British Intervention in New Zealand, 1838-40', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1941, p. 24; E. Dobie, 'Molesworth's Indictment of the Colonial Office, March 6, 1838', *The Pacific History Review*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1944, pp. 376-389.

<sup>77</sup> Stephen to Austin, 12 February 1839, quoted in Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 13.

<sup>78</sup> Taft Manning, 'Who Ran the British Empire', p. 88. Glenelg, a fellow Christian humanitarian, welcomed his opinions and advice and the men shared an excellent relationship. Knaplund, *James Stephen*, pp. 31, 103. Also, their fathers had been close comrades in the slavery campaign.

<sup>79</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 15 August 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L. This is further subtle evidence that Bourke was the author of the Athamik pamphlet.

<sup>80</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 11 March 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

After Glenelg took office Dick obtained ‘several conversations’ with Stephen. It had been months since they had met, and Stephen informed him that Glenelg was seeking to address the church and schools matter as soon as possible.<sup>81</sup> In late-June 1835, Dick was given ‘a long interview’ in which Glenelg explained that he had taken time to settle in, but now desired to implement Bourke’s plan. He had devoted a great deal of thought to the church and schools subject, but admitted ‘that he found much trouble in arranging the matter conforming to [Bourke’s] suggestions, which he approved, but in such a manner not to displease the Archdeacon’. He was desperately trying to devise a plan that would ‘please both parties’, and was even considering ‘National Schools for each denomination’ somewhat similar to the plan adopted in the West Indies. He believed that although it had difficulties and additional expense, it was ‘certainly an improvement on the present system’.<sup>82</sup> Hay had informed Glenelg that Aberdeen liked Bourke’s plan, but he did not think he had enough input from people experienced with New South Wales to adopt it. Glenelg said the Colonial Office was impressed with the financial administration of New South Wales, but warned Dick that the Hunter Petition could come before Parliament, affording opportunity for public criticism of Bourke’s governorship.<sup>83</sup> It was clear from this conversation that the lobby of Broughton and the Exclusives had moved Glenelg to seek a solution that might enjoy broad and popular support in the colony.

Over the next few months the Irish Church Bill was presented to Parliament and was met with ‘great opposition’.<sup>84</sup> Dick informed his father that he felt the church and schools issue had been ‘hindered by the issues of the affairs of England’ and that Glenelg was often absent from the office. He was able to meet with Glenelg again in late August and found him ‘rather shy of making anything like a promise’. He wanted to decide on the church and schools question ‘as soon as he possibly can – but how he does not seem to understand’. Dick was able to discuss his disappointment over dinner with Spring Rice.<sup>85</sup> Glenelg was obviously troubled by the matter and wanted to make

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<sup>81</sup> Stephen to Bourke Jnr, 23 June 1835, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/13; Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 24 June 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, ML

<sup>82</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 24 June 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* He was referring to the ‘Hole in the Corner Petition’ (see Chapter 2).

<sup>84</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 11 July 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>85</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 22 August 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

the best decision for the expansion of Christianity in the colony, but the current political climate had made the Church extremely hostile to the Whigs. At this time Broughton's lobbying was at its peak. Despite being incredibly busy since obtaining a senior Cabinet position, and at night being 'sought in society', Spring Rice was still able to convey to Dick that Broughton had failed to convince the Cabinet that Bourke's views presented a danger towards the Church, even though he had solicited the support of the Bishops of London and Canterbury.<sup>86</sup>

Soon after, Dick received the news of Cabinet support, and Glenelg gave Bourke permission to implement his church and school reforms. We can only speculate on the influence of Spring Rice in this outcome, but Stephen told Dick 'that if any person could persuade Lord Glenelg' it was Spring Rice.<sup>87</sup> Dick also believed that Stephen had been extremely influential in the final approval.<sup>88</sup> Soon after, in January 1836, Stephen was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary, and Dick informed his father that Stephen 'has now the entire direction of the Colonial department – I speak without exaggeration', because since his appointment 'all correspondence from the Governors and Colonial Officers go through him'. Dick heard the Government had taken this step specifically to reduce delays in the internal machinery when dealing with official colonial business (as opposed to private business), especially when governments or Colonial Secretaries change. This effectively placed 'the whole direction of the office in the hands of one man. ... he will become so necessary a person that no change in the Government will affect the Colonial Office. Dick believed this was a positive step in colonial governance as there would be hopefully less 'political feeling' influencing decisions.<sup>89</sup> This coincided with Glenelg forcing Hay, Broughton's High Church supporter in the Colonial Office, to retire.<sup>90</sup> Stephen's promotion demonstrated his favour with Glenelg and supports Dick Bourke's belief he was influential in the approval of the Church Act.

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<sup>86</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 15 November 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>87</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 19 January 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol., 12, M.L.

<sup>88</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 29 March 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> S. Foster cites evidence from Howick's diary regarding Hay being forced to retire. Foster, 'Piece of sharp practice', p. 417.

By March 1836, Dick had developed a very good relationship with the Colonial Office. Stephen was on such good terms with his family that Bourke's daughter, Mary Jane Perceval, was invited to the Colonial Office to read Bourke's despatches. Stephen told her he found them pleasurable to read.<sup>91</sup> On one occasion Glenelg invited Dick to dinner and told him of the high regard he had for the services of his father, and in reference to Deas Thomson's appointment as New South Wales Colonial Secretary: 'what pleasure it gave him to have an opportunity of showing [Bourke] the consideration in which [he was] held'.<sup>92</sup> Glenelg could have had an ulterior motive for appeasing Bourke as he was deciding whether to reinstate Campbell Riddell as Treasurer. Nevertheless, it does provide strong evidence as to the personal esteem Bourke enjoyed in the Colonial Office. Glenelg also told Dick he was adopting Bourke's immigration scheme with 'few alterations', but the New South Wales Act would be extended for another year because the colony was becoming the subject of 'interest and conversation' and the 'importance of its new constitution is the subject of some debate'.<sup>93</sup> No doubt the moral worth of New South Wales society was part of that debate.

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Once the decision was made on religious policy, Glenelg became extremely helpful in its implementation. He wrote a long despatch relaying the reasons for his decision, stressing the importance he placed on the matter. Glenelg viewed education as a 'sacred' duty with 'higher interests', and that its moral benefits were extremely important for a 'society such as New South Wales'. Therefore, he wanted the support of the inhabitants who were providing the money, so he felt that the decision regarding the distribution and appropriation of funds for religion and education be given to the Governor and the Legislative Council. In principle though, he fully endorsed Bourke's

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<sup>91</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 29 March 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* There is a considerable discussion in the letters between Bourke and his son regarding the approval of Thomson and the resignation of McLeay, who had been supported by Hay. This matter has been well covered by Foster, 'Piece of sharp practice', pp. 402-423.

<sup>93</sup> Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 9 July 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L. It is interesting to note at this stage Dick felt the delay of the New South Wales Act was only temporary. Over the next year the lobby of the exclusives in Parliament, adverse publicity, such as James Mudie having inserts of his book reprinted in *The Times*, and the Select Committee on Transportation would see the reforms delayed till 1842. Bourke Jnr to Bourke, 9 November 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

plans, and although he and the British Government were ‘attached’ to the Church of England, believing it ‘a powerful Instrument in the diffusion of sound Religious Instruction’, they were ‘desirous that every encouragement should be given to its extension in New South Wales, consistent with the just claims of that large portion of the Community which is composed of Christians of other denominations’. The nature of the colony with large numbers of Presbyterians and Catholics precluded ‘any one Church as the exclusive object of Public Endowment’.<sup>94</sup>

Glenelg went even further than Bourke on plans to expand religion, and specified that some ‘deviations’ were ‘needed to provide Religious Instruction for Districts comprising large bodies of Convicts where there is no reason to anticipate any voluntary subscription for ministers and places of worship’. Glenelg fully agreed with the urgent necessity of obtaining a minister for Norfolk Island and had personally ‘used every endeavour to find a Clergyman of the Church of England qualified for the office by character and that Missionary spirit’.<sup>95</sup> Broughton had written to him lamenting how it ‘fills every Christian and human heart with terror and grief that 2000 fellow creatures have had no minister for years’. Broughton believed they should at least ‘be given the opportunity of hearing the Gospel’.<sup>96</sup> Glenelg on his own impulse entered into discussions with the London Missionary Society ‘who were willing to proceed at once to Norfolk Island’.<sup>97</sup>

Glenelg believed the provision of religion in the colony was currently deficient and there was an urgent need for ‘immediate efforts to remedy this Evil’.<sup>98</sup> In responding to Broughton’s passionate plea that he was ‘bound by a solemn duty’ to stop the colony descending into ‘superstition and infidelity’, Glenelg felt it was:

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<sup>94</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 201.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 13 November 1835, CO/201/250.

<sup>97</sup> This issue dragged on for some time as Glenelg’s choice was not approved by the Bishop of London. George Grey to Broughton, 14 January 1836, CO/202/33 At this time, fellow Evangelical MP, Thomas Foxwell Buxton, had recently introduced Glenelg to William Ellis, the head of the L.M.S. Alan Lester, ‘Humanitarians and white settlers’, in Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, p. 66.

<sup>98</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, p. 210.

my duty to state without reserve that the course taken by His Majesty's Government has been adopted under the full sense of their responsibility, and on the deliberate conviction that it is recommended by principle, the best calculated to advance those interests which, in common with yourself, they are by all due means to foster and promote.<sup>99</sup>

In this correspondence Glenelg made it quite clear that they should seek to advance Christian belief with a common purpose, and he asked for Broughton's cooperation. He believed the plan proposed by Bourke was the best approach to achieve the objective that Broughton had conveyed to him on many occasions, which was fundamentally to promote Christianity, but without Broughton's denominational exclusiveness. The next day Grey informed the Secretary of the S.P.C.K. that Glenelg was 'deeply sensible' regarding their concerns, and that the means of religious instruction in the colony had 'engaged' much of his attention. The Government was now taking immediate action, and Glenelg believed that the most efficient response was to delegate the responsibility to the Governor and the Legislative Council.<sup>100</sup> By doing this Glenelg was able to support Bourke's plans and minimise any criticism from High Churchmen in England. Unfortunately for Broughton, his High Church ideals of Anglican exclusiveness were not shared by a Colonial Office now dominated by evangelical Churchmen, and an administration imbued with liberal Anglican principles of toleration.

Interesting insights into the motives of Glenelg can be found by examining some of his dealings with Broughton. On 11 January 1835, the *Record* reported that in a speech at an S.P.C.K. meeting, Broughton had criticised the lack of attention the British Government was paying to the expansion of religion in New South Wales, claiming there was less effort exerted to the preaching of the Gospel than in a 'Heathen Country'. Glenelg was offended by this statement and had Grey draft a sharp reply, pointing out the inappropriate reference to Australia being a 'Heathen country', and that the colonists, who had derived much wealth 'in great measure from the services of the convict population', should not complain about their own revenues being allocated

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<sup>99</sup> Broughton to Glenelg, 19 November 1835, CO/201/250; Glenelg to Broughton, 1 December 1835, CO/202/33.

<sup>100</sup> George Grey to the Secretary of the S.P.C.K., 2 December 1835, CO/202/33.

for the purpose of religion, and this measure had now been approved. He redirected the criticism to Broughton for not appointing a chaplain to Norfolk Island, something Glenelg was quite concerned about.<sup>101</sup> In reply, Broughton claimed he had not seen the article but ‘had reason to believe it contained many inaccuracies’. He remained unapologetic, however, about the nature of the speech, because it was given for the single purpose of bringing to notice the religious wants of the colony. He argued that:

the public of this country (England), who are secured in their lives and properties by the transportation of so many offenders, are bound at least to contribute a portion of the expense attendant on furnishing these offenders with the ordinary means of grace in the land of their banishment.<sup>102</sup>

He maintained the comparison to the heathen was made because many convicts lived extremely remotely, ‘far from the ministrations of any clergymen and from all visible ordinances of religion ... out of the pale of the Christian Church’, no more able ‘to hear the sound of the Gospel than if they were in the midst of the country of heathens’.<sup>103</sup>

These were powerful statements as the English prided themselves on their Christianity and their superior civilization, and to infer fellow countrymen were being transported and left to turn ‘heathen’ was disturbing to many, especially among Broughton’s audience. Broughton’s comments did have some effect on Glenelg’s Christian conscience. Grey informed Broughton that ‘the lamentable want of Religious instruction in many districts of the Australian Colonies is a circumstance which no one can more deeply regret than his Lordship’. In response to this Glenelg recommended the employment of clergy whose ‘ministry is not a fixed station, but visiting periodically different parts of the colony’. He believed the colonists in the current sanctioned arrangements would ‘provide adequate funds for the purpose required’.<sup>104</sup> Broughton responded with the contention that ‘an itinerant class of ministers could not beneficially supersede or supply the places of a resident clergy’, but he did believe a

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<sup>101</sup> George Grey to Broughton, 14 January 1836, CO/202/33.

<sup>102</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 21 January 1836, CO/201/257.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> George Grey to Broughton, 23 January 1836, CO/202/33.



small number could be employed as auxiliaries, and might 'preserve the light of religion in many places where it is now threatened with total extinction'. He pointed out some practical considerations and that these positions would only be suitable to a 'certain type' of minister. Broughton had stirred up this concern and proclaimed the deficiency publicly, but when offered a solution he was careful not to have the clergy resources he needed to establish his parish church network diverted to an alternative, but still necessary plan. He therefore redirected the responsibility to Glenelg and the British government by shaming them, lamenting how 'hard it is for a Christian nation to justify consigning its criminals to a mode of punishment which must place their eternal salvation in jeopardy' and 'perpetuating an organised system of atheism'.<sup>105</sup> Broughton's arguments proved effective as Glenelg was persuaded that there was a deficiency of religious attention and recommended £800 be allocated annually from the Military Chest to promote religion to convicts. He accepted Broughton's forthright assertions of responsibility, acknowledging the reluctance of colonists to bear the whole burden for this mission, and then convinced Treasury to approve the expense.<sup>106</sup> However, Glenelg was not prepared to make the £800 grant for convict ministry exclusively reserved for the Anglican clergy. He also did not want the support limited to this amount, and encouraged the Legislative Council to contribute.<sup>107</sup>

After a request from Governor Arthur asking for clarification regarding aid to congregations outside the three approved in the Church Act, Glenelg brought before Treasury a request that 'specific congregations of other Communion, ought not be excluded from consideration where the Governors and Councils conceive that the members and the respectability of the members composing them give some claim to some pecuniary aid from the Colonial Treasury'.<sup>108</sup> This meant that in the short space of seven months, Glenelg's Colonial Office had approved a massive extension to the support of church building and the funding of ministers, including generous funding towards their voyage to the colony, the allocation of additional funds from the Military Chest for itinerant ministers, and the sanction for any legitimate Christian sect to claim

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<sup>105</sup> Broughton to George Grey, 28 January 1836, CO/201/257.

<sup>106</sup> Stephen to Spearman (Treasury), 18 March 1836, CO/202/33; Grey to Broughton, 12 May 1836, CO/201/257.

<sup>107</sup> George Grey to Broughton, 12 May 1836, CO/201/257; Glenelg to Bourke, 12 May 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 419.

<sup>108</sup> Stephen to Spearman, 4 July 1836, CO/202/35.

pecuniary aid. In all these measures the expansion of religion was the primary motive. This was exceedingly more generous than simple toleration or extending some form of morality, because toleration could have been extended through land and building grants, and morality more systematically provided through education. Although both of these factors were addressed, these policies went much further, representing a genuine concern for the extension of Christianity by men responding to a Christian conscience. In one speech, a senior bishop, the Bishop of Exeter, claimed that Bourke's proposal for churches did not convince Stanley or win subsequent Cabinet approval because of the government's commitment to the established Church. However, Glenelg informed him that while he was still inclined towards the established Church, he approved the measure because he believed religion was essential to reformation.<sup>109</sup> He clearly saw Christianity as the best method for instilling morality, and Bourke's proposal as the most effective method.

In regards to education, G. P. Shaw believes Glenelg thought it more economical to use existing schools rather than the government carrying the entire burden. His decision to leave the matter to the Legislative Council allowed him to support Bourke without deserting Broughton, hoping in the end a compromise could be reached.<sup>110</sup> While Bourke's proposal languished in the Colonial Office, a Select Committee investigating the best method of providing general education in England reached inconclusive findings, and financial prudence produced a conclusion that favoured using existing church networks and schools. This probably impacted on Glenelg's decision as he had no emotional tie to the Irish School System like Bourke and Spring Rice, and in other colonies Glenelg favoured the British and Foreign School System, which was endorsed by the Select Committee for Education.<sup>111</sup> He may have hoped this would be the compromise in New South Wales.

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<sup>109</sup> Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter*, London, 1839, pp. 3-4.

<sup>110</sup> G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot, William Grant Broughton, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 89. 94.

<sup>111</sup> Report from the Select Committee on the State of Education (1834-1835), in *BPP: Poorer Classes, Vol. 6*, Shannon, 1970, pp. 44-46, 220-222. See especially Chapter 1. The committee was chaired by Russell and included prominent liberal Anglicans, conservatives such as Peel, and Radicals, Roebuck and Molesworth. Russell was pushing for a non-dogmatic Christian education scheme similar to the Irish School System, but concerns over cost meant the existing school systems of the National Schools, controlled by the Anglicans, and the British and

Ian Breward has called the Church Act an adaptation of the church support scheme started in Canada.<sup>112</sup> This is too simplistic as Canada represented a diverse range of semi-independent colonies. Upper Canada most closely resembled Australia, due to it being colonised by British people and dominated by a Tory elite.<sup>113</sup> At this point the comparative similarities diminish. It was a settler colony that obtained an elected lower house from its inception. Its proximity to French Catholic Lower Canada and the United States gave it a peculiar religious situation. The most dominant group was Methodists with the Churches of England and Scotland being minorities.<sup>114</sup> Its Catholic population grew from Scottish loyalist refugees, who under Father Alexander Macdonell, were firmly Tory. His appointment to the Legislative Council (upper house) in 1830 came out of the need for a politically conservative, British loyalist, Catholic leader in the face of increasing Irish Catholic migration.<sup>115</sup>

Canada's Clergy Reserve problems mirrored New South Wales in the 1820s.<sup>116</sup> In 1830 the 'friends of religious liberty' in Upper Canada petitioned the Parliament to promote the advancement of religion and education by giving 'equal rights and privileges' to all denominations of Christians, with the hope that the proceeds of land sales would be distributed to all 'Protestants', or for general education.<sup>117</sup> In 1834 the

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Foreign Schools, run by Anglicans and Dissenters were favoured. Lord Chancellor, and radical Whig education reformer, Lord Brougham, favoured this solution.

<sup>112</sup> Breward, *History of Australian Churches*, p. 36. A similar comment was made by Tom Frame. Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, Sydney, 2007, p. 60.

<sup>113</sup> Craig, *Upper Canada*, pp. 108-112; Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', pp. 206, 214, 226. Taft Manning also discusses religious policy in the smaller colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The main fear of Britain and the loyalists were American political ideas coming in from American Protestant settlers.

<sup>114</sup> Dissenters, especially American Methodists, had been the majority denomination since the early colony. Craig, *Upper Canada*, pp. 43-46. Anglicans dominated the non-elected upper houses in all Canadian colonies except French Lower Canada. Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', p. 217.

<sup>115</sup> Catholic Scottish Highlanders were part of the early loyalist immigrants. Father Macdonnell was appointed bishop in 1826, but failed to win the support of the Irish Catholic arrivals. Craig, *Upper Canada*, pp. 5, 69.

<sup>116</sup> Funding was dominated by Anglicans who received over 90% of the money allocated to religion from the land fund generated from Crown land sales. They also received rental from the Clergy Reserve lands, which was negligible. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-138.

<sup>117</sup> *Petition to the Imperial Parliament respecting The Clergy Reserve Lands and The Kings College, Agreed to at a Public Meeting in York on 10 December 1830*, London, 1831. The petition claimed that one seventh of the crown lands had been allocated for Anglicans who

Canadian Alliance again pressed for a wider allocation of funds from the Crown and Clergy Reserves to be distributed to education. Surprisingly, Glenelg's Colonial Office failed to intervene, even when the governor funded fifty-seven new Anglican ministers from public revenue, despite opposition from the elected assembly.<sup>118</sup> The Clergy Reserve issue was not resolved until the 1840s, and then only through the skilled diplomatic work of Lord Sydenham prior to unification.<sup>119</sup> The final solution meant the dominant Methodists were included in the term 'Protestant', but still only received a small portion of funding.<sup>120</sup> Upper Canada's sectarian battles were theologically between Dissenters, Presbyterians and Anglicans, and politically between loyalist Tory and British Methodists and American Methodists who were democrats. Meanwhile, in Lower Canada Catholic sectarian problems were almost non-existent as it was overwhelmingly Catholic and had its own legislature. Their Catholic Church had retained its large landholding as part of the Quebec settlement in 1791, which generated significant income.<sup>121</sup> The Church Act in New South Wales, if anything, was influential in the Canadian unification religious settlement of 1842.

Stephen, Glenelg and Sir George Grey were all leading men in the C.M.S. during their time in the Colonial Office.<sup>122</sup> The influence of the Society in their opposition to the plans of systematic colonisers in New Zealand demonstrated their

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were a minority. The dominant group were Dissenters, especially Methodists, who combined with Presbyterians had more than double the number of churches than the Church of England. Catholics were not mentioned. It would be assumed that this petition did not include their claims.

<sup>118</sup> Craig, *Upper Canada*, pp. 220-235. This was part of a Whig policy to provide Canada with greater autonomy. Taft Manning, 'Colonial Policy of the Whigs', pp. 203-205.

<sup>119</sup> Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham) was a devout liberal Anglican who fought to include Catholics in the settlement and give Methodists their fair share. He found great difficulty in gaining approval from the elected assembly for any additional Catholic endowment. Thomson to Russell, 18 January, 13 February, 16 September 1840, in Paul Knaplund (ed.), *Letters from Lord Sydenham, Governor General of Canada 1839-1841, to Lord John Russell*, Clifton, New Jersey, 1931, pp. 42-49, 75; Hilary Carey, 'Gladstone, the Colonial Church and Imperial State', in Hilary Carey and John Gascoigne (eds.), *Church and State in the Old and New Worlds*, Leiden, 2011.

<sup>120</sup> The 1842 settlement meant the Church of England and Church of Scotland received 50% of the Clergy Reserves depending on numbers, and all other denominations received 50%. None of the money was appropriated for education. Craig, *Upper Canada*, p. 273; Knaplund, *Letter from Lord Sydenham*, pp. 90-95.

<sup>121</sup> Horton's evidence to S.C. on the State of Ireland, 23 February 1825, Appendix 11, *BPP: Emigration Vol. 1*, Shannon, 1969, pp. 329-330.

<sup>122</sup> Dobie, 'Molesworth's Indictment', p. 382; William, 'James Stephen and New Zealand', pp. 19-35.

strong desire to protect and foster the missionary activity of Evangelicals.<sup>123</sup> Glenelg and Stephen suffered an enormous amount of political damage over this issue, which was fundamentally about the protection of the Maoris and the expansion of Christianity.<sup>124</sup> Similarly, in 1835 Glenelg sided with missionary societies against the Governor in the Cape Colony over the annexation of Kaffir land.<sup>125</sup> Glenelg took a close interest in the Church Act, congratulating Bourke when the measure was approved, and as stated in the previous chapter, personally canvassed for Scottish ministers. He also secured itinerant ministers for convicts, the provision of a missionary on Norfolk Island, and personally intervened with Bourke to increase the free seat minimum allocation in Church Act supported churches from Bourke's proposed 25% to 30%.<sup>126</sup> Glenelg also requested a report on 'moral and religious instruction' at the Female Factory, which included specific details as to the names of attending clergy and the days of their presence.<sup>127</sup>

Glenelg and his Permanent and Parliamentary Undersecretaries, Stephen and George Grey, were moderate Evangelicals who did not subscribe to the militant anti-Catholicism of Recordite Evangelicals. Stephen was unhappy about the hysterical anti-Catholic rhetoric coming out of the Exeter Hall rallies by more extreme Protestants.<sup>128</sup> He was concerned about Catholic missionary designs related to the possible French occupation of New Zealand and he warned a new Under-Secretary about this.<sup>129</sup> However, this was not out of sectarian prejudice, but rather a healthy respect for their

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<sup>123</sup> Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, Chapter X; William, 'James Stephen and New Zealand', pp. 20-24. Coates, the Secretary of the C.M.S., wanted to leave the missionaries with a free hand to evangelise the natives.

<sup>124</sup> Samuel Clyde McCulloch, 'James Stephen and the Problems of New South Wales, 1838-1846', *The Pacific History Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 1957, p. 353; Dobie, 'Molesworth's Indictment', p. 376; William, 'James Stephen and New Zealand', p. 20.

<sup>125</sup> W. P. Morrell, *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*, Oxford, 1930, p. 24. The Select Committee on Aborigines (1835-37) was an Evangelical initiative pushed by the Exeter Hall Party of Foxwell Buxton and was biased towards missionaries. William, 'James Stephen and New Zealand', p. 20; Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) with minutes of evidence, appendix and index, 1837, in *BPP: Aborigines, Vol. 2*, Shannon, 1969.

<sup>126</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 30 April, 24 June 1837, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, pp. 743, 794.

<sup>127</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 10 December 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 612.

<sup>128</sup> Morrell, *British Colonial Policy*, pp. 25, 41. See the last chapter for an example of an Exeter Hall rally.

<sup>129</sup> Stephen to Labouchere, 4 March 1839, CO/209/4507NZ, in William, 'James Stephen and New Zealand', p. 24.

evangelical effectiveness. In 1842 he wrote a history of the early Jesuits for the *Edinburgh Review*, and while he criticised some of the creeds and practices of the Roman Catholic Church, he praised the evangelistic success of men like Francis Xavier, pointing out that was not the ‘glory of the Reformed’ to degenerate these great men. He applauded their morality, passion and dedication to God, and contrasted this against the lethargy and worldliness of his time.<sup>130</sup> Stephen believed in the abolition of legal disabilities based on creed. In his legal capacity at the Colonial Office he endorsed the Grenada Act in 1828, where money was appropriated to the Catholic Church for the expansion of religion to slaves in a population that was predominately Catholic.<sup>131</sup> Lang claimed the only reason the Colonial Office allowed the Catholics equal provision in the Church Act was because of the British political climate where O’Connell was ‘crying out for justice for Ireland’.<sup>132</sup> It was true that O’Connell’s Catholic faction had grown in importance for the Whigs after the 1835 election, but Glenelg had been sympathetic to Catholic disabilities since he was Irish Secretary in 1820, which is why Bourke addressed the Athamik pamphlet to him. The generosity of the endowment to the Catholic Church in New South Wales in a period of zealous ‘no Popery’, partly explains how difficult the decision was politically, but it also demonstrates the Colonial Office’s support for religious toleration.

It is extremely difficult to believe that this Evangelical alliance in the Colonial Office would have viewed the Church Act from any perspective other than the expansion of orthodox Christian belief, in the context of the equality given to the dominant groups named in the Act. This can also be said for the liberal Anglican faction that dominated the Cabinet, and this will be elaborated in subsequent chapters. Their moral imperative was framed within a worldview that believed Christianity brought civilization to a society, because it created a moral framework that spiritually guided an individual’s behaviour and thought. This underwrote their principals of Christian citizenship.

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<sup>130</sup> ‘Ignatius Loyola and his associates’, *Edinburgh Review*, 75, 1842, pp. 297-358, reprinted in James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, London, 1867, pp. 131, 187-188.

<sup>131</sup> Knaplund, *James Stephen*, p. 149.

<sup>132</sup> J. D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Both as a Penal settlement and as a British Colony, Vol. II*, London, 1837, p. 288.

Part 1 of this thesis has examined the approval process for the Church Act in both Britain and New South Wales. By looking at the major people and parties who influenced this process, a range of Christian perspectives have been examined including low, high and liberal Anglicanism, moderate and evangelical Presbyterianism, as well as Catholicism. In each case the overwhelming motive regarding their support or opposition to the Church Act was the extension of Christian belief, with disputes primarily centred on different conceptions of 'true' belief. In all cases the by-product of Christian belief was expected to produce increased personal morality. Part 2 of thesis will focus on morality in relation to the peculiar nature of New South Wales society. In doing so the secular motive of moral enlightenment will be compared with the concept of Christian citizenship.

## Chapter 7: The case against moral enlightenment

The two objectives stated in the Church Act were the ‘advancement of the Christian religion and the promotion of good morals’.<sup>1</sup> The wording of the legislation is quite specific regarding the expansion of public worship as being a key objective, with the implication that both Christianity and morality are connected. The simplicity of this assumption is complicated by Michael Roe’s assertion that the Church Act was part of the rise of a ‘new faith’ he calls ‘moral enlightenment’. According to Roe, this new faith grew rapidly in the late 1830s and 1840s, and dominated thought in New South Wales by 1850.<sup>2</sup> While conceding that Roe is not generally regarded as a leading authority on colonial religion, this thesis seeks to more clearly define moral enlightenment and argue against some of Roe’s basic assertions as to its spiritual and philosophical basis, thus providing a more systematic dissection of Roe’s views than has hitherto been offered. This will be done by looking at belief in the 1830s from both an Australian and a wider British sense in order to demonstrate that new developments were grounded in Christian thought. The intention in presenting this ‘Christianity versus moral enlightenment’ argument is to break down a dichotomy between religious and secular thought by returning the focus to neglected aspects of religious thinking. This will help clarify the specific moral and Christian implications inherent in the Church Act and demonstrate how it was designed to foster orthodox Christian belief, which was opposed to the secular and Deistic trends inherent in moral enlightenment.

In *Quest for Authority* Michael Roe presents a fairly black and white battle for control in New South Wales. On one side sit the forces of conservatism, represented primarily by the landed gentry and the Anglican Church. On the opposing side is ‘moral enlightenment’, which was helped to victory by the squatting movement, radical politics, Roman Catholics, and non-Anglican Protestantism. This makes the Church Act an implied catalyst in the path to moral enlightenment, because to Roe, the Act appealed more to ‘men of the new faith than the old’.<sup>3</sup> However, more directly, by Bourke’s invocation of morals as a principle motive behind the Act, Roe aligns the Act

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<sup>1</sup> 7 Will. 4, No. 3, Enclosure in No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, Melbourne 1965, pp. 1-6, 203.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175. Roe assumes Bourke’s Whiggery was much more radical than it actually was. See p. 168.



with his concept of moral enlightenment. Moral enlightenment combined Romantic, Protestant and liberal attitudes, developed by the promoters of secular culture and the Temperance Movement, to provide a means of control to replace conservative Anglicanism.<sup>4</sup> Roe claims moral enlightenment was formed from liberalism, which ‘extended from mere politics to teach a whole new doctrine concerning man’s relation to the state, with his fellow citizens and with the meaning of existence’.<sup>5</sup> To provide a spiritual backbone to this proposal, he uses the alternative name of the ‘Enlightenment transcendentalised’.<sup>6</sup> This allows Christian belief to be integrated into the new faith as all parties, consciously and often unconsciously, advanced the new moral order. He even maintains that ‘most upholders of the new faith would have angrily denied any charge of unbelief’.<sup>7</sup>

Roe’s *Quest for Authority* uses moral enlightenment as a theoretical vehicle to collect all forms of non-conservative Anglican thought into an ideological superstructure.<sup>8</sup> This adds to the complexity and elasticity of his theory and makes a critique equally complex. He is correct that a range of competing ideas was undermining conservative Anglicanism, and many of these were attributable to the Enlightenment. However, his failure to examine more complex aspects of convergent belief, both from elite and plebeian perspectives, make his theory overly simplistic. Roe of course did not have the benefit of a great body of British research into popular belief, written since 1963. Also, the contemporary popularity of Marxist historical theory favoured the idea of triumphant secularism marching through the ages, destroying all forms of superstition and revealed religion in its wake.<sup>9</sup> Roe’s own ideology is clearly revealed in the closing lines of *Quest for Authority* where, reflecting on Australian society in the early-1960s, he criticises the ‘heirs of Broughton’ who ‘detest and decry’ all they see about them, and prophesies that the future will ‘answer

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6. Roe claimed the phrase moral enlightenment was ‘coined’ by the Australian-born poet, Charles Harpur. The principle generally attributed to the phrase is that a set of ethics can be taught through education to raise moral standards. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150. Roe imposes this term. It was never used in the period.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Roe actually uses the terminology ‘ideology’s superstructure’. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Noll, ‘British Methodological Pointers for Writing a History of Theology in America’, in Alister Chapman, John Coffey, Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way, Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, Notre Dame (US), 2009, p. 217.

yes' to the ultimate beliefs of the 'new faith'.<sup>10</sup> Thus, a faith that, he says, had attained supremacy by the 1850s was in his eyes still needing diffusion in 1963. Recently, the demise of Marxism and the rise of social and cultural history have increased interest in religion and belief, and enhanced our ability to understand religion in past cultural contexts.<sup>11</sup> The popularity of folk belief and religion in British academic research, compared to Australia, where attachment to notions of secular development remained strong, may help account for the enduring nature of Roe's ideas regarding colonial Australia. This represents a challenge and an opportunity for current and future Australian historians.

Despite the overarching complexity of Roe's work, there is very little analysis of belief for a theory that claims to be a 'new faith'. Australian-born poet and 'supreme theorist of the new faith', Charles Harpur, had a Christian upbringing and a father who was very supportive of the Methodist mission.<sup>12</sup> His writings never denied a belief in a Christian God, and Roe does not specifically explain his claim to be Unitarian. Instead, Harpur is promoted as the ideal example of Enlightenment Transcendentalism for his patriotic romanticism of the Australian environment, free of attachment to formal religion.<sup>13</sup> Roe focused on the aspects of Harpur's writing that expressed Deism. Harpur respected the beliefs of Protestantism, but was opposed to its 'religious finality', instead professing a 'loyalty to God and Truth'. This was because he felt knowledge could bring a greater truth in God.<sup>14</sup> This does appear very Deist, but apart from believing God was the 'creator and providential disposer of all things', Harpur read the Bible, believed in the sovereign will of God, as well as heaven, hell, ghosts

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<sup>10</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> John Coffey, 'Quentin Skinner and the Religious Dimension of Early Modern Political Thought', in *Ibid.*, pp. 55-58; Tony Ballantyne, 'Religion, Difference, and the Limits of British Imperial History', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2005, pp. 427-447; Richard Waterhouse, 'Locating the new social history: transnational historiography and Australian local history', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 95, No. 1, 2009, pp. 1-17; Brad S. Gregory, 'Can we "see things their way", should be try?', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey, Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way, Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009, pp. 32-33.

<sup>12</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 148; Harpur's father was transported for highway robbery and became a dedicated Evangelical schoolmaster. J. Norminton-Rawling, *Charles Harpur: An Australian*, Sydney, 1962, pp. 1-6; Cecil W. Sailer, 'The Life and Writings of Charles Harpur', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1946, pp. 89-95.

<sup>13</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 178.

<sup>14</sup> See quotes in *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 200.

and evil spirits.<sup>15</sup> Harpur's adoption of Romantic ideas of God in nature prompted Roe to label him a Transcendentalist, yet Roe did not properly evaluate or explain Transcendentalism, which was a growing movement, particularly in the United States.<sup>16</sup> This is curious, especially since the principles of Ralph Waldo Emerson's 'idealist' are opposite to the very materialist culture of colonial New South Wales.<sup>17</sup> Harpur classically represented this opposition to materialism in his poetic evocations of the beauty of the Australian environment contrasted with the elements of the culture that disturbed him.<sup>18</sup> However, this seems out of step with contemporary popular culture in New South Wales, and this is perhaps why Harpur did not receive the popular accolades his work may have deserved in his lifetime. It does seem unusual that Roe upholds this eccentric, social nonconformist as the 'supreme theorist' of the 'new faith', especially since his failures in life were seemingly caused by an inability to accept authority.<sup>19</sup> Also, Harpur's embrace of total abstinence seems to have stemmed from a personal alcohol problem, resonating with his Puritan upbringing, rather than some transcendental experience or ideological commitment.<sup>20</sup> The 'pledge' to abstinence drew his brother to Catholicism so passionately that he and his whole family were rebaptised.<sup>21</sup> The whole experience seems to have sent Harpur more to the fringes of society and away from the Temperance and Total Abstinence Movements,

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<sup>15</sup> Norminton-Rawling, *Charles Harpur*, pp. 42, 54, 153, 247; Judith Wright, *Charles Harpur*, Melbourne, 1977, p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> The main criticisms of *Quest for Authority* concern Roe's synthesis of so many ideas and diverse groups and interests into one overarching concept of moral enlightenment. Charles S. Blacton, 'Review of Quest for Authority', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 71, No. 3, 1966, pp. 1045-1046; K. A. MacKirdy, 'Review of Quest for Authority', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1966, pp. 317-318; Mark Hutchinson claims Roe's thesis presents Australian colonial history as being shaped by eighteenth-century scepticism. He disagrees with Roe's assertion that moral enlightenment was dominant by 1850. Mark Hutchinson, 'Introduction', in Mark Hutchinson and Edmund Campion (eds.), *Re-visioning Australian Colonial Christianity: New Essays in the Australian Christian Experience, 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1994, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> The Transcendental Movement was a highly spiritual movement against the sceptical philosophy of Locke and rational secularism. It preferred 'higher' experiences that provided inspiration and 'ecstasy'. The quest to redirect society to spiritual values aligned with the English Tractarians and Romantics. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Transcendentalist*, 1842.

<sup>18</sup> Harpur took a very anti-materialist stance critiquing injustice and worldly gain. Norminton-Rawling, *Charles Harpur*, p. 72; Wright, *Charles Harpur*, pp. 6, 45.

<sup>19</sup> Wright, *Charles Harpur*, pp. 27, 45.

<sup>20</sup> Alcohol seems to have made Harpur display wild behaviour, which he later regretted. He became a zealous campaigner for the total abstinence of alcohol. Norminton-Rawling, *Charles Harpur*, pp. 65, 72, 92, 140.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65-72.

which, for Roe, were the key propagators of moral enlightenment. Harpur's critique of society went far beyond just the conservative elites. He adopted the position of a prophet against greed, inequality and excess, which was hardly popular or representative of the contemporary culture of New South Wales.<sup>22</sup>

Most of Roe's theory revolves around political power, with little attempt to evaluate theological motives. For instance, Roe fails to examine Broughton's claim to be the 'spiritual head of the colony' from the apostolic and eternal perspective from which he considered it derived. Meanwhile, he claimed 'the Catholic Church's advocacy of temperance brought it particularly close to moral enlightenment', without examining the Catholic ascetic heritage of the Benedictines, Polding and Ullathorne.<sup>23</sup> Traditional Catholic culture was dominated by the notion of purity and warned people about the danger of sin, especially sins of the flesh, which is why morality was a fundamental aim of the school system Ullathorne envisioned when he arrived in the colony.<sup>24</sup> Roe claims Polding's love of culture demonstrated 'another great ingredient of moral enlightenment', despite the British monastic movement being the preservers of knowledge and promoters of art since the sixth century, not to mention the Christian art movements of the Italian, French and Dutch.<sup>25</sup> Polding and Ullathorne were from a Catholic order that had been persecuted by the anti-religious political forces of the French Enlightenment. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, they willingly used liberal politics to further Catholic belief, which was theologically and morally more conservative than even Broughton's Anglicanism.<sup>26</sup> Roe also exaggerates Broughton's

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<sup>22</sup> Wright, *Charles Harpur*, p. 45.

<sup>23</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> Gerard Grace, *Catholic Schools: Mission, Markets and Morality*, London, 2002, p. 70; Katharine Massam, *Sacred Threads*, Sydney, 1996, p. 37; Naomi Turner, *Catholics: A Social History*, Melbourne, 1992, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup> For monastic preservation of culture and learning see J. T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches: A History A.D. 200-1200*, Chicago, 1974, pp. 120-137. The Catholic Schoolmen promoted the idea of *magnificentia* or the high value of artistic expression, which predated the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Werner Sombart, 'The Role of Religion in the Formation of the Capitalist Spirit', in Robert W. Green (ed.), *Protestantism and Capitalism: The Weber Thesis and its Critics*, Boston, 1959, p. 37.

<sup>26</sup> The Benedictines fled France during the Revolution and taught very conservative ascetic principles in Britain. Francis O'Donoghue, *The Bishop of Botany Bay, The Life of John Bede Polding*, Sydney, 1982, pp. 1-10; H. M. Robertson, 'A Criticism of Max Weber and His School', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 68-72. Roman Catholic religious culture

conservative thought by constantly referring to it as Tractarian, rather than typical High Church doctrine.<sup>27</sup> This conservatism had its own alternative radical thought that was built around principles of traditional organic social ideals and paternalism, two very strong attributes of the rural society of New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>28</sup>

To Roe, the most dominant aspect of moral enlightenment in New South Wales was the growing systematic attack on immorality, most publicly exemplified by the growth of Temperance Societies (as discussed in the following chapter). In this aspect of Roe's argument, religious morality is somehow intensified by secular morality. He believed the 'text books used in [Catholic] church schools taught simple morality in a way no secularist could have bettered'.<sup>29</sup> This is a curious statement considering the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> In describing Protestant belief, Roe uses sweeping generalisations to paint Protestant churches as a 'broken landscape' where dysfunction and conflict in all groups rendered them ineffective.<sup>31</sup> This aligns with the secular historical trend of the 1960s that minimised the relevance of colonial Christianity.<sup>32</sup> However, more importantly for Roe, it allowed him to claim the churches, now devoid of influence, focused on 'social ethics', suggesting that 'their faith, or at least important strains within it, turned into moral enlightenment'. He claims their attitudes to education and temperance confirmed this, and that their focus on sin 'sowed the seeds for moral enlightenment to

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is based on the sacred and opposed to rational Protestantism and secularism. Grace, *Catholic Schools*, pp. 5-9.

<sup>27</sup> F. C. Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship, 1714-1830', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1985, pp. 255-283.

<sup>28</sup> Alan Atkinson, 'Time, Place and Paternalism: Early Conservative Thinking in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 90, 1988, pp. 1-18; Alan Atkinson, *Camden*, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 1-2.

<sup>29</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 111.

<sup>30</sup> In Europe the value of work was strongly promoted by the Counter Reformation movement. Puritan values were inherent in Benedictines and Franciscans, and extreme moral virtue was promoted by Jesuits, particularly in France. Robertson, 'A Criticism of Weber', pp. 68-71, 74-76, 82-83; Sombart, 'Role of Religion', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, p. 32. In Ireland Catholicism was being renewed. S. J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, Dublin, 2001; Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Sociological Study*, Dublin, 1983.

<sup>31</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> Waterhouse, 'Locating the new social history', pp. 1-17; Hutchinson, 'Introduction', in Hutchinson, *Re-visioning Christianity*, p. 29. I would exclude Manning Clark who certainly gave it prominence, but often in a sardonic way.

germinate', with religion forming part of its moral police force.<sup>33</sup> Religious belief is then channelled into this secular historical paradigm.

Similarly, Roe portrays any form of 'moral and intellectual improvement' as 'diffusing the intellectual side of the faith'. The need to make the working man respectable was supposedly a priority for the colony's Enlightenment 'culturists', while ministers, such as Presbyterian Reverend John Lillie, who became secretary of the Royal Society and president of a Mechanics Institute, joined in.<sup>34</sup> This explanation fails to account for the influence of Scottish Moral Philosophy and the notion of the pursuit of knowledge as a Godly activity. In fact the foundations of moral enlightenment, identified as individualism, rationality and the belief in progress, are wholly attributed to the Philosophers, without recognising the contribution of Reformed Protestant theology, which dominated the Presbyterian, and influenced the Anglican colonial clergy. Alister Chapman has pointed out that secularisation theory argues that modernization brought a decline in the social significance of religion. He believes that while this may have been the case in modern Europe, in nineteenth-century Britain, although there was increasing secular thought, theoretical secularisation is a myth.<sup>35</sup> David Bebbington says the spiritual nature of Christian thought makes it difficult to chart as part of the progress of ideas, because the doctrine of most rank and file Christians was not conceptualised systematically or intellectually, and ideas such as the fear of God and providence did not follow rationalist trends.<sup>36</sup>

John Gascoigne's *Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* indirectly endorses Roe's theory. He classes religion as imported 'cultural cargo' that, without a pre-existing, long-established basis in Australia, retreated to the private

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<sup>33</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, pp. 140-144. The underlying assumption for this statement is that non-Anglican churches support of national education was secularisation. This has been challenged in Part 1 of this thesis and will be further challenged in the following chapters.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-157.

<sup>35</sup> Alister Chapman, 'Intellectual History and Religion in Modern Britain', in Chapman, *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 227; Peter Glasner calls secularisation an ideological myth for sociologists, often utilised as a theoretical device for ideological reasons. Peter E. Glasner, 'The Study of Australian Folk religion: some theoretical and practical problems', in A. W. Black and Peter E. Glasner, *Practice and Belief: Studies in the Sociology of Australian Religion*, Sydney, 1983, p. 167.

<sup>36</sup> David Bebbington, 'Response: The History of Ideas and Study of Religion', in Chapman, *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 247-253.

sphere 'where it was less likely to conflict with Enlightenment values that shaped much of the public domain'. He does however point out that Roe's claim for moral enlightenment underestimated the way Christian and Enlightenment values could and did co-exist.<sup>37</sup> Yet the Enlightenment dominates Gascoigne's analysis, with Christianity relegated to a minor role. He also overplays the power of social policy by Benthamite Utilitarianism and misses the more inter-related connection of Enlightenment and Christianity demonstrated by many British historians, by overemphasising the French influence in British society. Like Roe, displays of religious toleration are categorised as the 'secularising trends of the Enlightenment'. For example, Gascoigne sees Reverend John Lillie's endorsement of toleration (in his contention with Anglican William Hutchins, described in Chapter 5), as being evidence of the influence of the Enlightenment, without mentioning that Lillie was predominantly a Calvinist Presbyterian, which had episcopacy thrust on their very fundamental principle of religious independency.<sup>38</sup>

Roe continually uses the term 'true religion' to describe the new faith of moral enlightenment. The term is derived from aspects of eighteenth-century Latitudinarian thought, which argued that true religion was reasonable and the essence of religion was basically morality. This has been historically viewed as the gradual liberalising and secularising of Christianity. Recent studies have found this idea grossly exaggerated by modern secular historians, both in its theological context and in the extent of its popularity and influence. Reason was usually couched within mindsets of the divine nature of Christ and Atonement framed within an 'essentially Augustinian picture of human nature' with little conflict between natural and revealed religion.<sup>39</sup> For example, the Cambridge Platonists, far from endorsing any Deistic ideas, merely sought to

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<sup>37</sup> John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 170.

<sup>38</sup> Robert M. Kingdon and Robert D. Linder, *Calvin and Calvinism: Sources of Democracy?*, Lexington, 1970, pp. vii-xii. Robert Bruce's Charter of Liberty for the Kirk endorsed full Presbyterian freedom in 1592. The battle for episcopacy continued until the Act of the Union when it was enforced. J. T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, London, 1962, pp. 304-307.

<sup>39</sup> Bradley examines a large number of studies related to this conclusion. James E. Bradley, 'The Changing Shape of Religious Ideas in Enlightened England', in Chapman, *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 176-177. For a similar analysis of the issue see G. Ditchfield, "'Enlightenment" and Progress in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 1992, pp. 681-687; Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship', pp. 285-283; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850*, 2007, pp. 283-286.

lighten God's burden on man. It assumed man was made for salvation and this could be achieved by simple means, including the teaching of reason.<sup>40</sup> This was demonstrated in Bourke's educational concepts. Bradley classifies Gascoigne's ideas as being based on earlier interpretations of Latitudinarianism, which caused him to attribute a greater Enlightenment influence to this stream of thought.<sup>41</sup> The same criticism should be levelled at Roe.

A leading figure of the Cambridge School of intellectual historians, John Pocock, claimed the 'Enlightenment was a product of the religious debate and not merely a rebellion against it', and that 'its origins must be viewed in the context provided by religion'.<sup>42</sup> His historical analysis of the period accentuates the Reformed Protestant concept of religious freedom.<sup>43</sup> Bradley maintains the Enlightenment in England must be differentiated from its less religious European streams, especially since its centres of higher learning were controlled by Anglicans and Nonconformists and dominated by religious concerns.<sup>44</sup> For instance, the political ideas of Locke are well used as examples of Enlightenment thought by Gascoigne, but it should be remembered Locke's ideas were formed from a deeply rooted early modern assumption that God was the foundation of morality. Indeed, Locke wanted atheists excluded from toleration because they could not be trusted to keep promises.<sup>45</sup> Gay has outlined how aspects of Locke and Newton, who were both basically Christian, were synthesised by Deists, but Christian thought by the end of the eighteenth century had swamped Deist influence in Britain and re-Christianised these ideas.<sup>46</sup> The linking of

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<sup>40</sup> Peter Gay uses the writings of influential Archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson, to demonstrate the difference between Latitudinarianism and Deism. Peter Gay, *Deism: An Anthology*, Princeton, 1968, p. 20.

<sup>41</sup> Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> John G. A. Pocock, 'Clergy Commerce: The Conservative Enlightenment in England', in R. Ajello (ed.), *L'Eta Dei Lumi, Studi Storici sul Settecento Europeo in Onore Di Franco Venturi*, Vol. 1, Naples, 1985, cited in *Ibid.* p. 175.

<sup>43</sup> John Coffey, 'Quentin Skinner and the Religious Dimension of Early Modern Political Thought', in *Ibid.*, pp. 52–55; Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>44</sup> Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>45</sup> Coffey, 'Quentin Skinner', in *Ibid.*, p. 52. In *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), Locke criticised the exclusive reliance on natural religion because man needed the redemption of Christ. See quote in Graham E. Waring, *Deism and Natural Religion: A Source Book*, New York, 1967, p. x.

<sup>46</sup> Gay, pp. 140-142.



Christianity and morality was particularly dominant in the 1830s and any extension of rights envisioned by liberal thinkers such as Bourke, Spring Rice and Russell incorporated the notion of Christian citizenship, which is why the Church Act must be viewed as an initiative to extend Christianity.

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The key deficiency in Roe's moral enlightenment thesis is that it fails to acknowledge the Christian basis of moral thought in Britain. This was greatly influenced by Reformed theology and perpetuated by the influence of Evangelicalism in the first half of the nineteenth century. The cornerstone of Reformed theology in Britain was John Calvin. Calvin's ideas were not just Christian ideas filtered through Christian humanism. He was a prolific and systematic theological writer and his works have been in continuous print for 500 years.<sup>47</sup> Reformed theology individualised the Christian experience and redefined the believer's relationship to the world, empowering them as agents for change. Calvin's influence on social and political thought impacted Enlightenment ideas, but more importantly his significance is fundamental to understanding the 'English Enlightenment', and this must be taken into account when considering the diffusion of the Enlightenment in the Australian environment.<sup>48</sup>

Winthrop Hudson has argued that most examinations of Calvinism either end up in mind-boggling complexity or over-simplification. He classes Weber's thesis on Calvinism and Capitalism, and Tawney's more complex endorsement, as representing the latter.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, this thesis narrows down their observations to a less contested idea, namely the influence of Puritanism on social morality.<sup>50</sup> In this aspect, both

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<sup>47</sup> McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 119-149, 202-221, 446.

<sup>48</sup> G. Melliush, 'Justifying Commerce: The Scottish Enlightenment Tradition in Colonial New South Wales', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 75, No. 2, 1989, p. 123.

<sup>49</sup> Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 176-177; Hudson, 'Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 57-58. Tawney emphasised the social impact, while Weber concentrated more on the economic impact. Both acknowledged the influence of Puritanism well beyond Calvinist churches and even Christianity.

<sup>50</sup> The main criticism of Weber relates to his conception of the 'Spirit of Capitalism', by: (a) Marxists who reject his metaphysical psychological determination over their economic

Weber and Tawney have been criticised for focusing on English Puritanism, which conveniently fits the moral parameters of this thesis.<sup>51</sup>

In the nineteenth century the social ethics of the Christian faith were exerted on the secular sphere, not just from one denomination but rather through Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, and especially through Protestant concepts of individualism and personal morality. These religious groups influenced the secularisation of political theory and the Christianisation of business and bureaucratic ethics. Therefore, it is too simplistic to consider the period a contest between reason and revelation because both coexisted and interacted in Reformed Calvinism.<sup>52</sup> Reformed theology believed the church should be totally independent of the state, but that the state, through its laws, should implement the morality of the Bible. This has been called ‘Biblocracy’, best exemplified in Calvin’s Geneva where the basis of citizenship was membership of the local church, and therefore the ‘spiritual catholic church’, which legitimised participation in civil society and the democratic process of Geneva.<sup>53</sup> This formed a close correlation to the Christian citizenship envisioned by liberal Anglican Whigs in Britain.

High Anglicans, Lutherans, and the Roman Catholic Church sought to maintain the catholic or universal nature of the church in the physical realm through traditional paternal society. Alternatively, the Reformed faith saw it as a spiritual catholic church where the individual was responsible for their own salvation and therefore their personal morality and public and business conduct. The humanists and Philosophers

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determinism; (b) Catholic historians who claim the basic principles of Calvin’s morality and ethics existed in Jewish people, Catholic Scholasticism and then Counter Reformation thought; and (c) Historians who object to the theoretical approach as being simplistic with some maintaining that ascetic Protestantism even worked against capitalism. None of these areas of criticism dispute that Calvinism and Puritanism impacted on morality. See Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*.

<sup>51</sup> In doing this historians have highlighted the extreme moral impetus of English Puritanism and its impact on wider society due to religious toleration and the influence of the Evangelical movement. Hudson, ‘Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism’, in *Ibid.*, pp. 57-60; Sombart, ‘Role of Religion’, in *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>52</sup> R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, London, 1938, pp. 1-18.

<sup>53</sup> In Geneva all citizens were eligible to vote for the councils by secret ballot. Citizenship required church membership and excommunication deleted citizenship and could mean secular punishment as magistrates were considered agents of God. Reformed churches desired independence from any secular interference. McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 133, 151, 160-167, 189.

drew on these 'Protestant' principles, which were founded in biblical principles by Calvin, Zwingli and others. In Calvinist Scotland these ideas were part of a Reformed theology.<sup>54</sup>

Rebellion against spiritual, economic and political tyranny, and the social ethics Roe allocated to moral enlightenment, had more Christian roots than simply the Philosophers and Jeremy Bentham. Roe makes one small reference to Presbyterian practical piety regarding the Sabbath, but does not examine the basis of this piety. He claims the 'Protestants' resorted to secular morality, and this was a factor in the weakening of 'traditional bonds'. Roe attributes the belief that poverty was no path to morality as being a principle of moral enlightenment.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, one of his basic assumptions is that the march of progress implied de-Christianisation, without addressing the argument that Protestant Christianity was a driving force behind ideas of progress.<sup>56</sup> This is also true for his assertion that attaining goodness for self-help, especially by the 'working class', was principally moral enlightenment.<sup>57</sup> However, the influence of Puritanism on personal and social morality is a critical point in this argument.

Tawney identified three primary streams of British Puritanism. They were Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and a more diffused influence of their doctrines on other groups, especially Anglicans. He sees the growth of the Puritan spirit as a fundamental axiom of the seventeenth century and the true English Reformation. The Puritan desired a church free of state interference and this impacted on ideas of

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<sup>54</sup> Huldrych Zwingli led the Reformed churches in Zurich. Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 21-23. William Van Asselt believes recent scholarship disagrees with the historiographical assertion that humanism and scholasticism were opposite intellectual movements. He argues that both were born out of a common medieval Christian worldview. William J. Van Asselt, 'Scholasticism Revisited: Methodological Reflections on the Study of Seventeenth-Century Reformed Thought', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 162-169. John Knox spent three years in Geneva at the height of Calvin's influence and it formed the basis of his ideas on education and social policy, which he later promoted in Scotland. McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 295-302.

<sup>55</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, pp. 141, 149, 159.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188. Some good examples are: A. M. C. Waterman, 'The Ideological Alliance of Political Economy and Christian Theology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1983, pp. 231-244; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement, The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought*, Oxford, 1988; Ditchfield, 'Enlightenment and Progress', pp. 681-687.

<sup>57</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 205

governance.<sup>58</sup> This entailed the subjugation of the state to ‘King Jesus’, its fusion with the community of believers, leading to a religious fundamentalism and a new moral order.<sup>59</sup> The Puritans disciplined, rationalised and systemised their lives so much that the word ‘method’ became a catchword a century before the world had heard of Methodists. Puritans believed in self-mastery through their moral enthusiasm with a focus on Christian salvation, and the sovereignty of God and His judgement. Their influence was strongest in the manufacturing regions and London, particularly among the middle ranks and small master tradesmen. This embroiled the ‘industrial’ classes in religious radicalism and causes for social morality.<sup>60</sup> Men like Richard Baxter and John Bunyan brought theoretical Calvinism into practical daily situations by engendering an ethical moralism, which then sought to reform political and social policy. The energy of its discipline, individualism, moral self-sufficiency, and its principle of creating wealth for a common good, became the basis for an alternative to traditional Church culture, and also an inspiration for Utilitarianism.<sup>61</sup> For example, the idea that common rights encouraged idleness morally legitimised the enclosure movement and undermined traditional society.<sup>62</sup>

The responsibility Puritanism placed on the individual to succeed created a moral sanction for progress. Weber claims this created a force to rationalise Christianity and the world, as the Puritan shunned superstition, magic and mysticism.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 198-9. For the influence of Puritanism on Anglicanism see McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 309-326.

<sup>59</sup> John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion, Vol. 1*, London, 1845, pp. 34-38; John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion, Vol. 3*, London, 1816, Chapter 20, ‘On Civil Government’, especially pp. 517-518. Calvin believed civil government was designed ‘to cherish and support the external worship of God’, and to enforce the moral requirements of the scriptures.

<sup>60</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 199-200, 207, 218.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219-226, 241. Fullerton believes the basis of Baxter’s religious ‘utilitarianism’ was the moral importance attached to work where every hour wasted detracted from the glory of God. This was combined with an ascetic rejection of outward riches and excess. Kemper Fullerton, ‘Calvin and Capitalism’, in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 17-20. Alternatively, Robertson believed the common good was stressed so strongly by Baxter it was a hindrance to capitalism. Robertson, ‘Criticism of Weber’, in *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> Tawney, *Religion* p. 257.

<sup>63</sup> The Anglican and the Catholic saw divine beauty in the world, while the Puritan saw the world as a fallen, hostile wilderness for the renewed to conquer. This was embodied in John Bunyan’s *Pilgrims Progress* as it spiritualised worldly battles to a mass audience. Max Weber,

In Calvinism, reason and religion were conjunctive principles.<sup>64</sup> The practical spiritual value and asceticism placed on a person's work made poverty a moral failing. The rational order of the universe created by God required the individual to labour for his glory and to create a better world.<sup>65</sup> The negative perception of poverty in the nineteenth century reflected a very Calvinistic conception of judgement for sin. These ideas were generally diffused through the Puritan world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and became an influence on humanist and Enlightenment thought.<sup>66</sup> Tawney believed Puritan ideas worked like yeast in a British society that was being transformed from a medieval to a commercial power.<sup>67</sup> Popular titles such as *Navigation Spiritualised*, *Husbandry Spiritualised*, *The Religious Weaver*, *The Tradesmen's Calling*, and in particular Baxter's writings, promoted 'practical utility' and endorsed a work ethic and personal morality.<sup>68</sup> Baxter was significant in England as his Arminian Puritanism resonated with Anglicans and Methodists.<sup>69</sup> Tawney

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*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, New York, 1930, pp. 107-108, 125, 224; Tawney, *Religion* pp. 228, 247.

<sup>64</sup> Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, p. 257. Calvin's theology rationalised Christian belief. He believed reason began with God and man upon realising his depravity would seek God's grace to restore the natural order. His rationalism led him to be suspicious of mysticism and emotionalism. Fullerton, 'Calvinism and Capitalism', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, p. 13; McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 204-209.

<sup>65</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 230-240; Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 107-109, 113.

<sup>66</sup> McNeil claims the opposition of French Huguenots to royal absolutism influenced republicans. Also, Descartes wrote most of his works during twenty years spent in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century when the Dutch permitted freedom in theology and philosophy. McNeill, *Calvinism*, p. 266. Voltaire was influenced by the morality and industry of the Huguenots. Amintore Fanfani, 'Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, p. 88.

<sup>67</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, p. 230. Stephen Kalberg calls churches carriers of a Protestant ethic that became middle-class values. Stephen Kalberg, *Max Weber: Readings and Commentary on Modernity*, Malder, M.A., 2005, p. xxi. McNeil calls it a 'leaven'. McNeill, *Calvinism*, p. 311.

<sup>68</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, p. 241. The Latin word *Vocatio*, which in Catholicism meant a divine call to holiness, was extended to worldly activities by Protestantism. Luther utilised the word *Beruf*, which, in a traditional sense meant the providential social position of the Christian. Calvin's interpretation encompassed personal social and economic advancement. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 20, 209. Robertson believes Weber's Latin translation is insufficient and did not take into account Luther's experience in monastic life, which attached holiness to daily work. Robertson, 'Criticism', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 68-72. The main point is that there is general agreement Puritanism popularised the concept in British society.

<sup>69</sup> McNeill cites the popularity and influence of Baxter as evidence against worldly success being considered as proof of election. Baxter moved away from Calvinism to represent English Puritanism, which was a conduit for Calvinistic ideas of practical asceticism through churches and education. Kalberg, *Max Weber*, p. 87. There has been conjecture on Baxter's influence on the spirit of capitalist acquisition, but none on his influence on morality.

maintains that Utilitarian moral ideas were forged from Puritanism.<sup>70</sup> Calvin's Geneva was considered a utilitarian society. Public cleanliness, safety, order and morality were enforced, education was compulsory, work was provided for the poor, and doctors were regulated.<sup>71</sup> Kemper Fullerton argues that Baxter inspired a 'religious utilitarianism' in the service of God for the common good, and that John Wesley was the principal promoter of these ideas.<sup>72</sup> This accounts for the synergy of Evangelicals and Utilitarians in moral thought and social policy, as both owe their moral standards to Puritanism.<sup>73</sup> For instance, Baxter's *The Reformed Pastor* was first published in 1656 and stayed in print as a popular text for ministers for two hundred years, being admired by Anglicans and Calvinists of all persuasions. The book was a favourite of John Wesley's father, Samuel, and both John Wesley and George Whitfield drew heavily on his teaching on Christian ministry and morality.<sup>74</sup> Baxter believed Christianity without holiness was corrupted and that discipline was essential to preserve this.<sup>75</sup> Tawney cites Baxter's moral ideas as being a direct influence on Utilitarian James Mill, while Jeremy Bentham was raised by a Puritan mother. This could explain why the Utilitarian approach to pauperism as a moral failing has been described as classically Puritan. The New Poor Law's treatment of the 'idle poor' provides solid evidence for the influence of Puritan ideas on social policy and thought in the 1830s.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, p. 241. Weber also claims Calvinism was inherently utilitarian. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, p. 109.

<sup>71</sup> McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>72</sup> Baxter promoted intense activity for the common good. His utilitarianism was built around the idea that 'sloth destroys the state of grace', coupled with an ascetic rejection of outward riches and excesses. Kemper Fullerton, 'Calvinism and Capitalism: An Explanation of the Weber Thesis', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 17-20.

<sup>73</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, London, 1968, pp. 280-287; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 83-89.

<sup>74</sup> See James I. Packer, 'Introduction', in Richard Baxter, *The Reformed Pastor*, Edinburgh, 1974 (1656), pp. 1-17.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 194.

<sup>76</sup> Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 241, 252-253, 263. The New Poor Law is considered a victory for Utilitarianism and Political Economy but Evangelicals and economists found enormous synergy on the issue. The 'deserving poor' were rewarded with incentives such as subsidised emigration. Robin Haines, "'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There': Poverty, the New Poor Law and Nineteenth Century Government-assisted Emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 108, 1997, pp. 1-21.

On a theological level, Evangelicalism adopted very Puritan conceptions of morality that were mimicked by secular moralists, which historians, such as Roe, have categorised as some alternative moral force. Weber believed 'ascetic Protestantism' was perpetuated through Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism and Baptist sects. A feature of all these movements is the transfer of Christian asceticism to everyday life.<sup>77</sup> Pietism was a more synchronised form of Puritanism that featured an emphasis on emotionalism and evangelical zeal, which particularly influenced churches such as the Moravians and the Methodists.<sup>78</sup> Weber claimed Wesley had no agenda to form a social ethic, because his focus was overwhelmingly on personal salvation. However, the expected outworking of salvation was morality and piety through the methodical sanctification of life, because good works were considered the product of receiving God's grace. This preserved Calvin's rationality within the emotional Christian experience.<sup>79</sup> Weber saw Methodism not as a product of the Enlightenment, but a reaction against its infidelity.<sup>80</sup> Many historians have disagreed with this proposal and classified Wesley a product of the Enlightenment, but in recent times Weber's view has been upheld.<sup>81</sup> In a wider sense, ascetic Protestantism produced a 'moral awakening' in Britain, which Weber believed psychologically moved the ideas out of the religious orbit into the wider culture.<sup>82</sup> This makes Christian Puritanism much more influential on morality than the Enlightenment. Apart from the influence it had on the liberal Anglicans and renewal in the High Church, in an indirect way its moral ideas appealed to ethical, non-Christian movements.<sup>83</sup> Weber believed Calvinistic asceticism was imitated by Christian and non-Christian groups, using the example of how Benjamin Franklin, who was raised a Puritan, transferred Calvin's ethics into the

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<sup>77</sup> Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 95, 120, 234. This included Quaker, Baptist and Mennonite Churches. Kalberg, *Max Weber*, p. xxi., pp. 234, 120

<sup>78</sup> Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 128-135.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 125, 137-143.

<sup>80</sup> Baptist sects and Quakers exhibited the same worldly mission. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-152.

<sup>81</sup> For analysis of the scholarship see, Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 180-182. Despite his rationalism Calvin believed his teachings were 'evangelical'. McNeill, *Calvinism*, p. 122.

<sup>82</sup> Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 96-97, 217. Weber called this *Gesinnung*, meaning a frame of mind or collective values. Kalberg, *Max Weber*, p. xxv. The psychological impact of these ideas formed the basis of his idea of the spirit of capitalism. This is the fundamental conjecture between Marx's economic determination and Weber's psycho-religious determination.

<sup>83</sup> Puritan influence can be seen in the set out of Anglican churches in the eighteenth century. Also, as discussed, Latitudinarianism did not necessarily mean negating the mystical and pious elements of belief. See Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship', pp. 256-259.

American work ethic.<sup>84</sup> Weber and Tawney unravelled a ‘complex dialectic’ where the older language of Puritanism argued with newer ideas.<sup>85</sup> In this respect moral enlightenment can be seen as a similar secular or non-orthodox application of Christian Puritanism, not as some independent secular moral force.

The other great diffuser of Puritan morality was Scottish Common Sense Philosophy. It applied moral choices to social and economic interaction and aligned perfectly with Calvinist thinking, as it demonstrated God’s governance of the social universe. Its preoccupation with worldly progress has often been interpreted as diverting men from Godly pursuits, but its principles were seen as fostering divinely ordained social progress, with many of these ideas formulated by men of the Church of Scotland who held a Calvinistic worldview. In Scotland, theology was considered the original social science as it developed a focus on the inter-relationships of human beings within a society. William Robertson and Adam Ferguson, two of the most influential professors at Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, were also prominent ministers in the Church of Scotland. The moral philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment remained primarily within the context of the Kirk being the central influence in society. Adam Smith’s work represented a total philosophy of society, especially his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which advanced the Scottish idea that science could be applied to morality and economics, but not separated from the social and moral influence of Christianity.<sup>86</sup> The ideas that grew from the Scottish

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<sup>84</sup> Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 51-52, 128. Other historians have linked Puritanism to the socialism of Thomas Carlyle and popular radicalism. See Ernst Troeltsch, ‘The Economic Ethic of Calvinism’, in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, pp. 26-29. Also, and especially see Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960*, London, 1977, pp. 9-15; Mark Clement, ‘True Religion: Christianity and the Rhetoric of Early Nineteenth-Century English Popular Radicalism’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1996, pp. 1-19.

<sup>85</sup> Noll, ‘British Methodological Pointers’, in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 212.

<sup>86</sup> Arnold C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History*, London 1971, pp. 44, 60-70, 155, 160. John Owen claims that Smith’s ideas were mostly siphoned off Calvin. John R. Owen, *A History of the Moral Economy, Markets, Custom and the Philosophy of Popular Entitlement*, Melbourne, 2009, pp. 107-117. Paul Oslington says Smith’s economic thought is misunderstood without accounting for divine providence. Looking at a diverse range of Smith’s work, he found that particular rules of ethical conduct were essential to sustain the divine providential mechanisms that maintained and sustained the market. Paul Oslington, ‘God and the Market: The Religious Context of Adam's Smith's Invisible Hand’, Paper Presented at Macquarie University, 9 September, 2010, pp. 7-15. Fullerton considers Smith’s ‘common good’ as Baxterism. Fullerton, ‘Capitalism and Calvinism’, in Green, *Protestantism*



Enlightenment from Smith, Ferguson and Stewart, legitimised the new industrial order and the middle-class, and influenced many young Whigs in the early nineteenth century with the idea that education and knowledge was the real will of God to advance society and improve morality. Mark Noll believes this was very appealing to the Whig worldview, and particularly noticeable in evangelical Calvinist Whigs in America who saw winning souls for Christ and creating a modern capitalist social order as complimentary parts of ‘lived religion’.<sup>87</sup>

Richard Bourke demonstrated the way these ideas were synchronised in an orthodox Christian manner, as he saw rational belief as a more effective form of spreading Christianity than the Second Reformation Movement.<sup>88</sup> Roe’s vagueness in matters of convergent belief highlights a deficiency in his argument, and exposes the difficulty of pinning down any theoretical coherence in his ‘new faith’. One example is Roe’s claim that Robert Lowe, one of the supposed key proponents of moral enlightenment, publicly ‘spurned any touchstone but formal Christianity’. Roe claimed that Lowe was somehow confused.<sup>89</sup> More likely, like many men of his time, Lowe’s liberal values were contained within a Christian moral framework and worldview.

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A lack of attention to convergent belief in *Quest for Authority* helped to solidify Roe’s ideological ‘superstructure’, but it oversimplified the complexity and diversity inherent in British culture. This is also evident in Weber and Tawney’s use of Puritanism as a theoretical vehicle to explain social behaviour. By examining the specific type of beliefs that religious and non-religious people sought to reform and replace, a differentiation can be made between convergent and orthodox Christianity. This allows

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*and Capitalism*, p. 17. This is endorsed by Robertson, ‘Criticism of Max Weber’, in *ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>87</sup> Noll, ‘British Methodological Pointers’, in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 214-216. For analysis of the influence of Puritan thought on liberal Anglican Whigs in the post Restoration see, Alan C. Clifford, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology, 1640-1790, An Evaluation*, Oxford, 1990.

<sup>88</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820, pp. 4, 56.

<sup>89</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, pp. 20, 152, 174-175.

us to better understand the motives behind the Church Act and the flaws in the Roe's secular, moral enlightenment argument.

A common historical description of the religion of the lower orders in colonial Australia is 'practical atheism', where displays of piety by convicts is interpreted as a 'shrewd ploy' to obtain concessions.<sup>90</sup> This aligns with Marxist historical theory, which views churches as part of the mechanisms of state repression, acting as a moral police force. It also reinforces an interpretation by some nationalist historians that the heritage of the Australian identity is fundamentally irreligious.<sup>91</sup> Roe uses the term 'true religion' to describe his convergent faith but does not define this term. What Roe seems to describe is natural religion, which can encompass a wide range of ideas from both plebeian and elite perspectives.<sup>92</sup> This was probably quite prevalent in the colony and scholars have pointed out how the 'frontier' environment encouraged a more rustic and less theological view of God.<sup>93</sup> There is no doubt a lack of churches providing formal religion also contributed to this. However, alongside and integrated within this concept was fundamental Christian belief, influenced by alternative belief, heterodoxical teaching, and new discoveries and ideas. David Clark calls the mixing of 'official' and 'folk' belief 'common' or 'folk' religion. This incorporated a belief in prayer, the rites of passage, and a moral code of ethics. This was the traditional way people made sense of life and death, and it formed a natural part of the existence of the 'common people', and mostly existed outside the formal church environment.<sup>94</sup> Historians such as Ward and Grocott who simply stress anti-clericalism, indifference

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<sup>90</sup> 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, pp. 15, 36.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 237-9; Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 1978, p. 90.

<sup>92</sup> For example, Roe, *Quest for Authority*, pp. 189, 203. Gregory also uses the term 'natural religion' in his thesis, defining it as faith in a providential God manifest in nature and capable of special intervention in situations. Phillip Leonard Gregory, 'Popular Religion in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1788 to the 1850s', PhD thesis, University of New England, 1994, p. 375. Natural Religion in an elite sense often claimed a universalism over all traditional religion but often incorporated Christian belief. This could often include Deism. Waring, *Deism and Natural Religion*, pp. vii-viii; Gay, *Deism*, pp. 11-15, 22.

<sup>93</sup> M. Lake, 'Protestant Christianity and the Colonial Environment: Australia as a Wilderness in the 1830s and 1840s', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 11, 2009, pp. 21-45.

<sup>94</sup> David Clark, *Between pulpit and pew: Folk religion in a North Yorkshire fishing village*, London, 1982, pp. vii-viii, p. 2. This has been also categorised as 'subterranean theologies' or 'common religion'. Glasner, 'Australian Folk Religion', in Black, *Practice and Belief*, p. 169.

and atheism, without considering convergent plebeian belief, over-simplify the intention of initiatives, such as the Church Act, which sought to expand more orthodox Christian belief over 'folk' belief.

In colonial New South Wales, belief in basic Christian concepts is hard to dispute, because in all the censuses conducted in the period, people were prepared to state their religion. Notwithstanding the cultural perspectives attached to these statistics, it is still interesting to note that in 1836, 99% of the population declared themselves Protestant or Catholic.<sup>95</sup> No doubt indifference or nominal adherence was widespread, but these figures confirm the results of British historians in relation to the beliefs of the lower orders of society.<sup>96</sup>

John Barrett claims it a fallacy to see early Australian society as deeply religious, and an equal fallacy to dismiss Christianity as having no account. God may have been 'hazy' but people did not deny God existed.<sup>97</sup> Hilary Carey has pointed out the need to avoid assuming that standards of religiosity demanded by Evangelicals corresponded to the reality of religious observance. Anglicanism was the dominant faith of the majority and its flexibility meant it could provoke and encourage a range of responses, including hierarchy, patriotism, family and civil order, as well as private piety.<sup>98</sup> Richard Ely claims historians have believed the Evangelical and High Church contemporary rhetoric regarding the superiority of their Christianity. He argues that the beliefs of convicts were little different to the town and rural lower orders of Britain, thereby making Grocott's assumptions flawed because he assumes an underclass solidarity towards religion. He has found evidence of widespread anticlericalism but

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<sup>95</sup> In the 1833 census: 60,861 total, 43,218 Protestant, 17,200 Catholic, 345 Jews, 56 Pagans, 42 Uncertain. In 1836 census: 77,096 people, 54,621 Protestants, 21,898 Catholics, 477 Jews, 100 Pagans.

<sup>96</sup> Some examples are: Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*, London, 1978; J. F. C. Harrison, *The Common People*, London 1984; Deborah M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England*, Princeton, 1985; Clark, *Pulpit and Pew*; James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsay, 1825-1875*, Oxford, 1976; Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, 1500-1850*, London, 1995; Connolly, *Priests and People*; David Martin, *A Sociology of English Religion*, London, 1967.

<sup>97</sup> John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia, 1835-1850*, Melbourne, 1966, p. 184.

<sup>98</sup> H. M. Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions*, Sydney, 1996, p. 6.

little evidence of unbelief.<sup>99</sup> The fact that most people claimed to be Protestant or Catholic on the census at least demonstrates how the underlying social *mentalité* affiliated with Christianity despite other beliefs, ideas, or even total indifference. David Clark claims that historians who have focused on secularisation and progress have failed to recognise nominal Anglicanism as a ‘residual, but highly resistant form of folk religiosity’.<sup>100</sup> This especially applied to Anglicans and Catholics in New South Wales, because religion formed part of their cultural observance regarding the rites and passage to the afterlife, helping them understand the mysteries of life.<sup>101</sup> This is why biblical phrases were common in public discourse, and newspapers, reliant on public support, reported religious events in detail.<sup>102</sup> Clearly allegiance to a church is not an accurate gauge for determining the presence of Christian belief as the evidence is much more subtle.

Grace Karskens found that convicts and emancipists in New South Wales were very traditional in regards to marriage, gender roles, child rearing, work and leisure. Their conduct often appeared disorderly to the middle class, especially the lower class pursuits of gambling, drinking, dancing and rough recreation.<sup>103</sup> A particularly good example of this is Erin Ihde’s examination of wife sales in the colony. He notes that despite this being an old English custom, the tone of colonial newspaper reports replicated the outrage exhibited by British papers that were increasingly being influenced by Evangelical morality. This behaviour has often been misrepresented by Australian historians, unaware of its cultural context in a society where women had great bargaining power, as demeaning to women. More importantly, it demonstrates

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<sup>99</sup> Richard Ely, ‘Pains and Penalties: The Religio-Moral Economy of Penal Transportation to New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land’, in Hutchinson, *Re-visioning Christianity*, pp. 72-76.

<sup>100</sup> Clark was making this claim in reference to the twentieth century from his study based on oral history. Clark, *Pulpit and Pew*, p. 59.

<sup>101</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of Churches in Australasia*, Oxford, 2001, p. 11.

<sup>102</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of Australian Churches*, Sydney, 1993, p. 8; Brian H. Fletcher, ‘Christianity and free society in New South Wales 1788-1840’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 86, No. 2, 2000, pp. 93-113.

<sup>103</sup> Grace Karskens, ‘Death was in his Face: Dying, Burial and Rememberance in Early Sydney’, *Labour History*, Vol. 74, 1998, p. 32. David Clark found folk religion was resistant to new ideas and was behind some of the conservative ideas of the lower classes. Clark, *Pulpit and Pew*, p. 7.

the importation of popular culture from Britain to the colony.<sup>104</sup> Overall though, traditional legal marriage remained dominant. In the 1828 census 70% of couples were legally married, rising to 90% for those with children. Some historians who have assumed that common-law relationships were more prevalent have underestimated this attachment to Christian tradition.<sup>105</sup>

Baptism was considered a necessary requirement in both orthodox and popular religion. Reverend Thomas Hassall considered fisherman and charcoal burners between the Cooks and Georges River as wild and godless, but they still called on his services to baptise their children.<sup>106</sup> Part of Father Therry's popularity was because his baptisms were thought to bring a person good luck in life.<sup>107</sup> For Catholics, Baptism was considered necessary to enter heaven, while the confessional was used for advice and guidance.<sup>108</sup> Catholic priests found the demand for baptism and last rites in such a dispersed population as a demanding job. Ullathorne claimed men and women convicts, even at Norfolk Island, confided in him 'like a brother'.<sup>109</sup>

Symbolism also plays a part in detecting belief. In an examination of convict tattoos David Kent found that religious symbols, mostly the crucifix, made up a high proportion of the images, especially among the Irish. The only image more popular was the anchor, a traditional tattoo worn by sailors for good luck. Kent points out that the significance for convicts could also be related to the word 'hope' often next to the anchor. In British custom the linking of the anchor with hope is related to the scripture 'Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast, and which entereth

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<sup>104</sup> Erin Ihde, "'So gross a violation of decency": A note on wife sales in colonial Australia', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 84, No. 1, 1998, pp. 26-37.

<sup>105</sup> David Kent and N. Townsend, 'Some Aspects of Colonial Marriage: a Case Study of the Swing Protesters', *Labour History*, Vol. 74, 1998, pp. 43, 51. Bourke's 1834 Marriage Act, 5 Wm IV, No. 2, formally and retrospectively recognised Presbyterian and Catholic unions. The difficulty of being married in the 1820s makes this figure exceptionally high.

<sup>106</sup> R. Hassell, *In Old Australia*, Brisbane, 1902, p. 67, quoted in Gregory, 'Popular religion', p. 344.

<sup>107</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History: 1788-1967*, Melbourne, 2000, p. 31.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 40, 185-188.

<sup>109</sup> W. Ullathorne, *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, Liverpool, 1837, pp. v, 12-13.

into that within the veil'.<sup>110</sup> This is an excellent example of convergent belief.<sup>111</sup> Ronald Hutton has found rituals of the late medieval Church reproduced in English folk customs, which included the use of wooden crosses, often prayed over by a minister, to provide protection against demons.<sup>112</sup> Archaeological evidence from Bermuda, left by transported British convicts in the 1830s, indicates that some held Christian beliefs, while others resorted to tokens and charms to assist them in their daily lives. This included stone and brass crucifixes, bone clenched fists and cribbage boards to ward off evil eyes, and vials that were use to hold holy water.<sup>113</sup>

These findings coincide with those of British historians who have found supernatural belief diminishing in middle and upper class Protestantism, but a strong continued belief in supernatural forces by a large proportion of the working people.<sup>114</sup> Folk belief in nature and the spiritual world attributed importance to dreams, visions, and words, including words of scripture, and gave credibility to popular magic. Keith Thomas disagrees with the argument that witchcraft was a simple remnant of pagan belief, seeing it as encompassing a variety of non-orthodox belief, but with a diabolical element related to an inherently Christian concept of a demonic spiritual world.<sup>115</sup> Connolly also found this in Ireland where popular Catholicism co-existed with a wide range of beliefs and practices, including magic and supernatural belief, to provide a function of social utility and shared cosmic understanding. The Irish believed fairies

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<sup>110</sup> Hebrews 6:19. Kent points out that transported convicts were the best documented working class citizens of the nineteenth century and recording body markings played a central part in their identification. David Kent, 'Decorative Bodies: The Significance of Convicts' Tattoos', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 53, 1997, pp. 78, 81-82.

<sup>111</sup> The belief in good and bad luck was fundamental to the character of the working classes. It provided a means to account for both suffering and success. Clark, *Pulpit and Pew*, p. 8.

<sup>112</sup> Ronald Hutton, 'The English Reformation and the Evidence of Folklore', *Past and Present*, No. 148, 1995, pp. 89-116. For a detailed description of the use of charms to ward of spirits see, Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 33-35.

<sup>113</sup> Exhibition at Victoria Barracks Museum, Sydney, January 2009.

<sup>114</sup> Belief in the supernatural was often the point where Christianity resonated with people who believed in the power of the spiritual world. See especially, Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 284. David Clark found official and folk religion still operating concurrently in the 1970s. Clark, *Pulpit and Pew*; Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*. Plebeian popular belief was based on the idea that all forms of life were animated by a spirit, which linked all of God's creation, and the universe was populated by a hierarchy of spirit beings that could influence the world of matter and affect their daily life. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 223; Harrison, *Common People*, p. 171.

<sup>115</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 518, 534, 616.

were angels who had fallen in Satan's rebellion and they were often blamed for matters of misfortune. Belief in the power of the evil eye and the healing power of the seventh son of the seventh son were also widely accepted as facts of life, along with the supernatural power of the priest and the mass.<sup>116</sup> William Broughton's contentions against the influence of the Catholic priest were not delusional, as Thomas has identified a strong cultural belief in their mystical abilities.<sup>117</sup> Letters written by Irish convicts and emancipists to Ireland constantly reference God, either thanking him for a favourable journey, situation, or seeking his blessing for the future.<sup>118</sup> Bishop Polding wrote in 1840 that convicts 'show a great desire to receive the aid of religion' and that some obtained leave to attend mass.<sup>119</sup> Ullathorne claimed that wherever he encountered a group of convicts, with 'a few days perseverance many are brought to repentance'. The Principal Superintendent of Convicts publicly praised the success of the priest's mission to the newly arrived convicts and even Lang, who continually maintained that the Irish were the worst convicts, complimented their achievements.<sup>120</sup>

Satan and Hell exerted a powerful influence on plebeian culture.<sup>121</sup> Preachers concentrated on the dangers of Hell, as did Sunday Schools, which were extremely popular amongst British working families by the 1830s.<sup>122</sup> Teaching on evil spirits was in the Anglican catechism used in the majority of colonial schools and Sunday

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<sup>116</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 13-14, 122.

<sup>117</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 325.

<sup>118</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, *Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929*, Sydney, 1984, pp. 9-22.

<sup>119</sup> Polding to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 10 January 1840, in Henry Norbert Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, London, 1911, p. 459.

<sup>120</sup> Ullathorne, *Catholic Mission*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>121</sup> Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 267.

<sup>122</sup> Sunday Schools were popular, partly because they were seen as providing a means for children to obtain literacy and escape poverty, but also because teachers from the lower orders produced effective religious interpretations ingrained with cultural ideas, including belief in demons and the devil. Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters, Vol. II*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 49, 85. By the time of the 1851 census Sunday Schools had over 2,400,000 students and 318,000 teachers. Raymond G. Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent: The Religious Aspect of Liberal Humanitarian Reform Movements from 1815 to 1848*, London 1959, p. 37; Robert J. Hind, 'Working People and Sunday Schools: England, 1780-1850', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1988, pp. 199-218. The notion that these organisations were channels for the diffusion of middle-class ideas (eg. Thompson) has been disputed in a study by Thomas Laqueur, who found that most were operated by working people. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York, 1966, pp. 412-416; Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and respectability: Sunday Schools and English working class culture, 1780-1850*, New Haven, 1976, pp. 186-189.

schools.<sup>123</sup> George Loveless, one of the transported Tolpuddle martyrs, recounted the story of a convict who was seriously brutalised by his master and the courts, but refrained from killing his master, not for fear of being hung, but fear of going to Hell.<sup>124</sup> Charles Routley, one of the worst criminals in Australian colonial history, also exhibited similar fears. In 1830 after escaping from Macquarie Harbour he murdered six men, one of whom he roasted and ate. Although he cursed God and man at this trial, when faced with execution he asked for Reverend Bedford to pray with him to seek God's forgiveness because he feared the torment of hell.<sup>125</sup> Tamsin O'Connor claims that the seeking of forgiveness and prayers on the scaffold was the norm rather than the exception.<sup>126</sup> Tim Castle found that newspaper reports of capital punishments demonstrate the significance of religion in the colonial *mentalité*. The ritual associated with execution gave prominence to rites of passage and fair judgement sanctioned by God. Those who failed to fear God in their final moments were considered the most depraved.<sup>127</sup>

Karskens has found, in colonial Sydney, evidence supporting British studies regarding the Christian notion of a 'good death'. The idea that a good death signified God's favour has been termed 'death lore', and has linkages to folk and Christian belief. It created a high respect for the body of the dead and demanded people care for the dying and ensure proper burial. Sudden or unexplained deaths were called 'acts of God' and considered an ill omen, while people who took their own lives were often excluded from burial grounds. In attitudes to death, people demonstrated convergent Christian ideas, especially the notion that a proper burial ensured their place at the resurrection of the dead when Christ returned. Karskens' research confirms that fundamental Christian belief existed despite the lack of churches. People were

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<sup>123</sup> Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling (eds), *Australians 1838*, Sydney, 1988, p. 422.

<sup>124</sup> George Loveless, *The Victims of Whiggery: being a statement of the persecution experienced by the Dorchester labourers*, London, 1837, pp. 22-23.

<sup>125</sup> *Hobart Town Courier*, 18 September 1830, cited in C. M. H. Clark, *History of Australia, Vol. II, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1822-1838*, Melbourne, 1968, p. 133.

<sup>126</sup> Tamsin O'Connor, 'Raising Lazarus', in Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters: narrating convict lives*, Melbourne, 2001. See also M. Sturma, 'Death and Ritual on the Gallows', *Omega*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1986-7, pp. 89-97.

<sup>127</sup> Tim Castle, 'Constructing Death: Newspaper reports of executions in colonial New South Wales', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 9, 2007, pp. 51-68; Sturma, 'Death and Ritual', p. 92.



suspicious of dying in Sydney Hospital, for example, in case their bodies were used improperly after death. The widespread fear of an improper burial was related to the belief in ghosts.<sup>128</sup>

Popular culture saw ghosts as restless spirits returning to haunt the living. In Irish folklore they were the souls of the dead in purgatory.<sup>129</sup> Belief in ghosts crossed all religious divides, creating a broad cultural reverence for corpses, proper burials and deathbed wishes.<sup>130</sup> In New South Wales there were numerous well-publicised ghost stories, including that of Frederick Fisher whose ghost was seen on a bridge at Campbelltown in 1826, leading to the discovery of Fisher's body and the arrest and execution of his murderer.<sup>131</sup> In 1836, after a drummer from the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment drowned while trying to swim the Nepean River, the sound of drumming was heard from the graveyard at night. The terrified residents of Castlereagh attributed the disturbance to the soldier not having received a fitting military funeral.<sup>132</sup> At Gunning, near Berrima, in 1842, Lucretia Dunkley bludgeoned her husband to death in his sleep with an axe, assisted by her lover Martin Beech. Due to the brutality of the crime, the transgression of marital trust, and the fact that Beech was the husband's assigned servant, Justice Burton sentenced them to be hung and buried in an upright position. This disturbed the murderers, who had been prepared for the hanging, but not to be so improperly buried. Dunkley's head was also removed for scientific purposes and soon after the burial her headless ghost was reportedly seen on many occasions even as late as 1961.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Karskens, 'Death was in his face', pp.16-17, 33-36. Dissection after sentence, such as being drawn and quartered, had been traditionally used in Britain to represent a sentence that carried into the afterlife. In the nineteenth century dead bodies were used for scientific investigation. Richard Davis, 'Victims or Initiators? Three Irish Women Convicts of Van Diemen's Land', in Bob Reece (ed.), *Irish Convict Lives*, Sydney, 1993, p. 222.

<sup>129</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, p. 121.

<sup>130</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 719.

<sup>131</sup> Bill Wannan, *Australian Folklore: A Dictionary of Lore Legends and Popular Allusions*, Sydney, 1970, p. 239. Fisher's business partner had convinced people he had returned to England.

<sup>132</sup> Atkinson, *Australians 1838*, p. 432; 'Fishers Ghost', *Teggs Monthly*, 1836, quoted in Wannan, *Australian Folklore*, p. 239.

<sup>133</sup> *S.M.H.*, 13, 10, 15 March 1843. The sentence of dissection after execution was still being used in the 1860s because authorities felt it provided a deterrent even to the worse criminals due to superstitious fear of the degradation of their bodies after death. See Richard Davis,

Another aspect of plebeian culture was anti-clericalism. This took on a new dimension in New South Wales, as convicts were compelled to attend church as part of their punishment. Also, church seating was divided into sections of rank and property, reinforcing social distinctions and inequality.<sup>134</sup> In Britain this practice was criticised by revivalist ‘peasant prophets’ who derided clerical excesses and proclaimed the superiority of the righteous poor over their hypocritical betters. Pew rents often meant that free seating was limited, segregated and usually uncomfortable. In the 1851 British religious census many clergy from working-class parishes in Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham, the biggest growth areas in Britain, reported they had no free seats available for the poor.<sup>135</sup> However, Horace Mann, in his report on the census, claimed that the poor did not reject Christianity due to their lack of access, or on ‘philosophical’ grounds, but primarily objected to the Christianity dished out by the mainstream churches.<sup>136</sup> A common belief that underwrote plebeian anti-church sentiment was the hypocritical nature of church people, and the idea that non-churchgoers were as good or better Christians as those who attended.<sup>137</sup> Most slum pastors found indifference and hostility to churches and ministers, but not unbelief, as people generally considered themselves Christian just as naturally as they thought of themselves as English.<sup>138</sup> Irish anti-clericalism was perhaps less prevalent, as priests derived importance and respect from being more involved with the spiritual world of the people. They were often seen as having the power to provide miracle healings and exorcisms, and to influence fortune, which integrated with folk belief.<sup>139</sup> Also, the Catholic Church in New South Wales was not overtly aligned with the social and political establishment, which helps accounts for the popularity of priests such as Therry, Ullathorne and Polding.

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‘Victims or Initiators? Three Irish Women Convicts of Van Diemen’s Land’, in Reece, *Irish Convict Lives*, p. 222.

<sup>134</sup> Raymond Evans and Bill Thorpe, ‘Commanding Men: Masculinities and the Convict System’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 56, 1998, pp. 30, 49; Babette Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain: the startling legacy of the convict era*, Sydney, 2008, p. 124.

<sup>135</sup> W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850*, London, 1972, pp. 10, 49.

<sup>136</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England*, London, 1963, p. 20.

<sup>137</sup> Martin, *Sociology of English Religion*, pp. 64-69; Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*, p. 33.

<sup>138</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London, 1966, p. 334.

<sup>139</sup> Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 225-238.

Rare documentary evidence left by evangelical doorknockers in Birmingham during the 1830s, demonstrates a number of common beliefs held by the working poor. This included the value of the poor man's present suffering, belief in the afterlife and the effectiveness of prayer. People could hold a low opinion of formal religion, but express a common conviction that real Christians lived simply, honestly and generously, 'unlike the regular churchgoers'.<sup>140</sup> The fight for survival legitimised the idea that God's will could free the righteous even after committing a crime, sanctioning their moral right to survive or escape. However, acting justly towards others was an essential element in folk religion. This is why bushrangers who followed certain behavioural codes obtained legitimisation and sympathy from the public, particularly the lower orders. Similar to the moral economy, plebeian 'moral religion' was based on perceived justice and fairness. John Owen links these ethical components to Christianity, citing the influence of John Bunyan, whose writings linked the moral customs of economics and popular religion. Bunyan promoted the application of good conscience in the transactions of both buying and selling, and being charitable to those in need.<sup>141</sup> Just as the landowner could relinquish his paternal legitimacy for ignoring his customary obligations, so could a minister for failing to demonstrate customary Christian fairness, justice and piety.

These sentiments were replicated in the colonial environment. It is understandable that the masculine world of convicts might be unsympathetic to Christian belief. Ullathorne claimed that men who displayed belief were a 'fine game for ridicule', because the 'feelings' of convicts were 'petrified by the hardness of everything around him'. He encountered many who hid in the bush to pray.<sup>142</sup> Some Anglican ministers, such as Thomas Hassall at Port Macquarie, also displayed a sympathetic concern for convicts and received regular attendance and good behaviour

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<sup>140</sup> Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London, 1984, pp. 63-65.

<sup>141</sup> Owen highlights the influence of the moral economy of St Thomas Aquinas, which established notions of just pricing, mutual advantage, customary law and the common good, as being fundamental in a 'Christian' economy. Owen, *History of the Moral Economy*; John R. Owen, 'The Moral Economy of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Agent Sovereignty, Customary Law and Market Convention', *The European Legacy*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2007, pp. 60-83.

<sup>142</sup> Ullathorne, *Catholic Mission*, pp. 17-20.

at services.<sup>143</sup> As Tom Frame notes, colonists, including many from the lower classes, were willing to contribute to church building projects, and remote settlers generally welcomed visits by the clergy.<sup>144</sup> Ian Breward has pointed out that convicts were good examples of how the British churches had neglected the urban poor, and that is why the British clergy were inexperienced at ministering to these people. Certainly many convicts desired to escape the social and moral constraints of churches, but many clergy were unable to communicate effectively with the convict subculture, or were simply repulsed by it.<sup>145</sup> Alternatively, some ministers had a more positive and sympathetic view of convicts, and believed them responsive if treated correctly.<sup>146</sup> Broughton recognised the widespread nominal belief of convicts, as did the Catholic clergy. That is why they saw the parish church network as the best means to re-establish those who had slipped away from formal Christianity. Bourke and the Colonial Office were practicing Anglicans, so it is understandable they also saw denominational Christianity as the best means to restore people to the fellowship of orthodox Christianity.

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Despite moral enlightenment promoting Deistic values, Roe dedicates little more than a paragraph to colonial Freemasonry, claiming that it was not as popular as in Europe, but that lodges ‘sprung up everywhere’.<sup>147</sup> Freemasonry promoted belief ‘in the glorious architect of heaven and earth’, but left an individual free to pursue whatever religion or mode of worship he desired.<sup>148</sup> Since Freemasonry promoted identical values to moral enlightenment, Roe’s lack of attention to its activities is surprising, especially considering its commitment to civic religion and morality. There were a

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<sup>143</sup> Brian Fletcher, ‘The Anglican Ascendency, 1788-1835’, in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, Melbourne, 2002, p. 28.

<sup>144</sup> Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, Sydney, 2007, p. 62.

<sup>145</sup> Breward, *History of Australian Churches*, p. 12; Breward, *History of Churches in Australasia*, pp. 13, 33. See also D. A. Roberts, ‘“A City on a Hill”: Religion and Building on the Frontier Mission at Wellington Valley, New South Wales’, *Australian Religion Studies Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2010, pp. 91-114.

<sup>146</sup> See quotations from ministers in Ian H. Murray, *Australian Christian Life from 1788: An Introduction and an Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1988, p. 90.

<sup>147</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 190.

<sup>148</sup> Gregory, ‘Popular religion’, pp. 36-40.

number of active groups in the 1830s, but the very nature of British Freemasonry was interconnected with Protestantism, and within the Orange Order it was fundamental. Even late in the nineteenth century it was not uncommon for Evangelical Anglicans to be members of the Orange Order.<sup>149</sup> This makes them primarily orthodox Christian, but probably embracing varying elements of convergent belief from the Deistic principles inherent in Freemasonry. They were certainly not competitors with the major churches in the 1830s.

Much of what Roe finds embodied in Harpur's Deistic ideas could be categorised as a reaction against the orthodox Christian message relating to the judgement of God. The topic was a common preaching theme especially for Evangelical and Calvinist ministers.<sup>150</sup> The search for a more rational and tolerant God was popular amongst many Deists and Unitarians.<sup>151</sup> Gregory says natural religion attempted to provide some meaning of solace without the eternal damnation of Evangelicalism.<sup>152</sup> This is a good point, but his restriction of this concept to Evangelicals is problematic, because it was a common message preached by most streams of Christianity from Catholics to Calvinists. This was because it was effective in relating to folk religion.

One underlying idea that influenced all strata of society was the concept of providence. Roe missed this aspect of belief, even though it was fundamental to the worldview of most people. The plebeian idea of God's providence was very connected to fate, which could deal out natural justice in this life, or the next. This was important for many convicts who felt themselves the victims of injustice. One popular folk song that celebrated the death of Captain Patrick Logan likened the convicts to the Hebrews under the Egyptian yoke. Logan's yoke was broken by the assistance of providence.<sup>153</sup> The idea that fate would provide some moral balance where the deeds of the wicked

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<sup>149</sup> Jarlath Ronayne, *The Irish in Australia: Rogues and Reformers, First Fleet to Federation*, Viking, Melbourne, 2002, p. 72.

<sup>150</sup> Calvinist doctrine taught that since the fall of man in the Garden of Eden all men were under the blight of God and subject to his judgment, in life and death. McNeill, *Calvinism*, p. 210.

<sup>151</sup> Gay, *Deism*, pp. 22, 164.

<sup>152</sup> Gregory, 'Popular religion', p. 376.

<sup>153</sup> Patrick Logan was the commandant of Moreton Bay convict settlement. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-229.

would be repaid was part of folk religion.<sup>154</sup> The educated version of providence had a theological basis and was inherent in both Anglicanism and Calvinism, legitimising their existence as part of an historical struggle to overcome Roman Catholicism.<sup>155</sup> This was a basic principle justifying the established Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland. Providence provided some order to and explanation of the randomness of existence and answers to the fortunes and misfortunes of life. The providential worldview remained intact, though revised, in light of scientific progress. The idea that the laws of nature acted as God's mechanism for providence was widespread in Protestant natural theology, Catholicism, and Deist ideas of natural religion.<sup>156</sup> The main point of contention was to what degree God intervened directly. On one end of the scale was orthodox Calvinist and pre-millennium Evangelicals who believed God was constantly directing earthly affairs, and all things were attributed to God's favour or judgement.<sup>157</sup> Many other Christians, including moderate Evangelicals, saw providence as the outworking of a moral law instituted by God, which contained an inbuilt system of punishments and rewards.<sup>158</sup> This idea was not dissimilar to the more fixed providence of natural religion, where God was seen as the 'divine watchmaker', ordaining knowledge and reason for human discovery and progress.<sup>159</sup>

Distinctions between different conceptions of providence were not rigid. Both Ullathorne and Polding continually expressed the belief that providence was guiding their Catholic mission in Australia, including the operation of special providences, a belief usually associated with Calvinism. For some, providence and progress formed a natural alliance because it encouraged a teleological perspective of world history, accounting for Britain's growing global dominance.<sup>160</sup> The responsibility of extending

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<sup>154</sup> Clark, *Pulpit and Pew*, p. 7.

<sup>155</sup> David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland from the Glorious Revolution to the decline of empire* Cambridge, 1996, p. 12.

<sup>156</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 125; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 9, 233, p. 566.

<sup>157</sup> Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, London, 1984, p. 26; Boyd Hilton, 'The role of Providence in evangelical social thought', in G. Best and D. Beales (eds.), *History society and the Churches: essays in honour of Owen Chadwick*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 223-224.

<sup>158</sup> Hilton, 'role of Providence', in Best and Beales (eds.), *History Society and the Churches*, pp. 224-225

<sup>159</sup> Gay, *Deism*, p. 142; Clement, 'True Religion', pp. 1-19.

<sup>160</sup> See various letters in Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers*. Special providences were used to explain disasters, accidents or favours and could invoke certain practices to provide protection.

Christianity and civilization were by-products of this providential favour.<sup>161</sup> Bourke constantly referred to providence in his correspondence, while for Broughton and Lang it was a fundamental motivation for their work in the colony. Roger Therry related a story in the 1830s about a dinner at Government House where missionaries were discussing Fiji and speculated what would happen if cannibals attacked them. One answered that he would simply rely on God's providence for protection, while another made the observation that perhaps providence had enabled them to avail a shotgun for protection. Therry seemed to favour the more practical application of providence.<sup>162</sup> These contentions had a great impact on social and economic policy, with some believing intervention hindered providential machination, while others believed it was God-ordained for man to intervene. Providential explanations for worldly events and activities gave men a heightened sense of mission and helps explain the importance of the Church Act to devout men such as Glenelg.

Another issue that complicates the simple categorisation of moral enlightenment is the concept of the natural order of God, which makes it difficult to differentiate between natural religion and natural theology. At one extreme were some Deists who believed in an impersonal cosmic God who set in place an order that human beings must adhere to. On the other extreme were Evangelicals who believed in the direct influence of a personal God, but were influenced by William Paley's natural theology, which also contained a cosmic order. Between these views were a multitude of variations, which could utilise ideas from natural religion and more orthodox

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Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 105. In the late-1820s the Calvinist idea of God's absolute sovereignty enjoyed a renewal at Oxford. In *The Record of Providence* (1831), Reverend John Young examined the nature of providence and concluded that the cholera epidemic sweeping England was divine judgement. In the same year Joseph Allen, the Archdeacon of Westminster, implored the Commons on the need for a day of fasting and humiliation to repent. Evangelical, Spencer Perceval, whose family was closely associated with Richard Bourke, raised this in the Commons. J. C. D. Clark, 'Providence, Predestination and Progress, or Did The Enlightenment Fail?', *Albion*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 2003, pp. 561-565.

<sup>161</sup> An example of this thinking is displayed in Sir James Stephen, Address given at the second annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences', in Appendix of Paul Knaplund, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847*, Madison, 1953.

<sup>162</sup> R. Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, Sydney, (1863) 1974, p. 180.

Christian concepts.<sup>163</sup> It is problematic to place natural religion in one corner and revealed religion in the other, because apart from Paley, the more diverse idea of providence could also accommodate a Godly order, as could hyper-Calvinistic predestination, and the idea of God being inherent in nature promoted by the Romantic Movement, which impacted many conservative High Churchmen and Evangelicals.

Paley's adoption of the concept of the utility of reason as being the will of God could appear as a secularising force, but he wrote this firmly in the eighteenth-century theological tradition of English Latitudinarian and Scottish Moral Philosophy, which saw God working through the natural order and drew inspiration from Reformed theology.<sup>164</sup> Paley used scripture to theologically justify submission to both Church and State as part of a Godly civil government.<sup>165</sup> This civil government was entrusted with a Godly duty to obtain the greatest happiness for the greatest number, where both sides had a moral and political obligation to each other. God underwrote this system with a system of death, judgement, heaven and hell to restrain man's selfishness.<sup>166</sup> Paley is attributed with producing and disseminating an Anglican form of utilitarian thought.<sup>167</sup> Major evangelical publications, such as *The Christian Observer*,

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<sup>163</sup> Paley was a Cambridge Whig divine and his works, especially *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* and *Natural Theology*, were popular and standard texts at Oxford and Cambridge for generations, exerting a notable influence on moral, social and political thought. C. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England, 1770-1970*, Oxford, 1976, p. 29; R. Hole, *Pulpits, politics and public order in England, 1760-1832*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 73.

<sup>164</sup> In Calvin's theology reason came from God and the moral law of scripture is present in Natural Law. Calvin, *Institutes, Vol. 3*, pp. 516-538; McNeill, *Calvinism*, p. 224; Hole, *Pulpits*, pp. 81-85. These ideas were not limited to Anglican or Reformed theologians as they predated even the Renaissance. For instance, the fifteenth-century Catholic Schoolmen promoted reason and morality as part of God's order. Natural law morality can be traced from Pauline and Augustine theology through Catholic *praecepta evangelica* or the morals of the *Decalogue*, where God's reason and divine nature governs nature and the universe and sin is contrary to reason. Sombart, 'Role of Religion', in Green, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, p. 30; Fullerton, 'Calvinism and Capitalism', in *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>165</sup> Paley used Romans 13. Norman, *Church and Society*, p. 96.

<sup>166</sup> Hole, *Pulpits*, pp. 73-78.

<sup>167</sup> Though Paley was personally a social conservative, some clergy resisted his liberal Anglican thought. However, most Anglicans at least supported the idea that the natural order of God upheld the hierarchy of society, and the marriage of Church and State. D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from 1730s to 1980s*, London, 1989, p. 60; Norman, *Church and Society*, p. 8.



*Evangelical Magazine* and the *Methodist Magazine*, praised Paley's *Natural Theology* when it was released as being consistent with Biblical principles.<sup>168</sup>

Paley was championed and quoted by William Wilberforce at various times in the context of reason being part of God's plan.<sup>169</sup> Roe used this as evidence that Wilberforce promoted moral enlightenment, but Wilberforce's belief in natural theology and morality was part of his Evangelical worldview, which underwrote his humanitarianism. Roe's recruitment of Wilberforce into his moral enlightenment theory was possibly related to some British historiography. Robert Hind says Wilberforce's belief in Christian progress has influenced the assessments of Whig and Marxist historians.<sup>170</sup> Some have jumped on his criticisms regarding certain Calvinistic aspects of Evangelicalism, such as the depravity of man, as being influenced by the Enlightenment. This must be balanced by Wilberforce's life-long defence of revealed religion that was extremely providential to the point that he attributed the suffering of British people to the existence of sin and in particular God's judgement of the national sins of slavery and the failure to propagate the Gospel in India. His conservative worldview also believed providence had allotted some people lowly situations in life. Christianity was therefore needed to make them happy and virtuous, and not discontented and rebellious. From a national perspective he felt British people would prosper by renewing the established Church. The Clapham Evangelicals desired to renew the established Church from within and transform society through its agency and strength.<sup>171</sup> To Wilberforce, reason assisted man in this mission, but was not a replacement for the 'superior wisdom' of 'heavenly instruction'. The transfer of 'heavenly principles' and morality through the Holy Spirit was a fundamental principal of revealed religion.<sup>172</sup> Wilberforce was one of the highest profile opponents of the natural religion promoted by Roe's moral enlightenment, not some unknowing advocate.

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<sup>168</sup> Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, p. 44.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>170</sup> Robert J. Hind, 'William Wilberforce: Reformer and Social Educator', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1986, p. 401

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 391-395.

<sup>172</sup> William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians*, 1835, pp. 79, 84, 87.

The belief that every phenomenon in nature testified to divine planning meant that astronomy, geology and botany were considered in the 1830s to be proper religious studies.<sup>173</sup> It underwrote Dissenters' claims that God worked through the efforts of humans, making education and self-improvement important issues.<sup>174</sup> Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion* gained renewed popularity in the 1820s and 1830s and influenced a wide range of Churchmen, including moderate Evangelicals, such as Wilberforce and Thomas Chalmers. Butler believed a Godly government was supported by a divine system of rewards and punishments, designed to correct the conscience of the individual. These ideas were not dissimilar to the principles promoted by Scottish Common Sense and Utilitarianism, prompting Hilton to suggest that the early nineteenth-century doctrine of enlightened self-interest, such as those Roe attributed to moral enlightenment, was more 'Butlerism' than 'Benthamism'.<sup>175</sup>

Apart from Paley, Dugald Stewart taught that the related eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment topics of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy were the ordained path of God's plan for order in nature and the universe.<sup>176</sup> These ideas were influential to both Evangelical and liberal Churchmen, and were seen as essential to the progress of humanity. Richard Whately saw Political Economy as a religious truth that was being hijacked by radicals without the necessary Godly ethics.<sup>177</sup> Chalmers, when chair of theology at Edinburgh University in 1828, promoted self-help and Political Economy as a means to bring about a renewal of Christianity, but he criticised the

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<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217. J. B. Sumner and Chalmers were both leading Evangelicals in their respective Churches of England and Scotland, and both were also considered scriptural geologists. Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 149.

<sup>174</sup> Natural theology played an important part in the Bridgewater Treatise of 1829, which was a national competition for proving God in the Bible was the creator. Archbishop Howley of Canterbury and Bishop Blomfield of London oversaw the project, its prestige and prize money attracted widespread participation, producing a seminal work of science, nature and theology. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 561. Evangelical Bishop Sumner produced *A Treatise of the Record of Creation*, which used scripture to theologially legitimise Political Economy, while other bishops, such as Whately, Copleston and Blomfield, also produced writings that promoted similar ideas. These men provided fundamental theological legitimisation for liberal Anglicanism and the Whig reform movement. Norman, *Church and Society*, p. 29; Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 144-147.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 183. Gay believes Christian writers such as Butler were instrumental in destroying the philosophical basis of Deism in the eighteenth century. Gay, *Deism*, pp. 140-142.

<sup>176</sup> Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 160-162; Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 141-147.

<sup>177</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 54.

Deism of London radicalism for promoting these ideas along with negative perceptions of organised religion. Chalmers was a principal promoter of Political Economy and natural theology, however, it emanated from his Calvinistic Evangelical worldview. He believed God through nature gave all men moral sense, but not all men were moral. This justified the importance of turning from sin and receiving salvation, because this opened the inner man to the guidance and wisdom of the Holy Spirit, not just the natural conscience.<sup>178</sup> This was not to say that Evangelicals, such as Chalmers, discounted the benefits of education and knowledge, as it advanced men towards the knowledge of Christ, but he believed true internal change would create a more sustainable righteousness. The concept of inner regeneration was not simply an Evangelical concept, as other movements looked at inner spiritual transformation, including Catholicism. The colonial ministries of Broughton, Lang, Polding and Ullathorne all demonstrated aspects of this. Bourke, Spring Rice and other liberal Anglicans also expressed the idea. In this period natural religion sat alongside revealed religion, providence and even predestination, integrating the concept that God worked through nature, and while Bentham and the Philosophical Radicals saw it as justifying Utilitarianism, it was Paley, Butler, Chalmers, Whately and other ministers that legitimised Political Economy and Utilitarianism theologically, and promoted improvement and progress as a Godly idea to a wide body of influential Anglicans who steered social policy.

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In battling the forces of conservative hegemony, Roe claimed that the ‘new faith’ ‘arose on the foundations laid by the philosophes and reinforced by Jeremy Bentham – individualism, rationality, man’s power to control his environment, the need for reform, the concept of progress’. But ‘Romantic, not utilitarian, principles shaped the ideology’s superstructure’.<sup>179</sup> In Britain the Romantic Movement was generally a reaction against the belief in progress promoted by many Evangelicals, Anglicans and Dissenters. It inspired men such as Robert Southey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge to criticise Evangelical and liberal Anglican socio-political thought and the mechanistic

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<sup>178</sup> Norman, *Church and Society*, pp. 29, 186; Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, pp. 10-14.

<sup>179</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 149.

nature of Enlightenment thinking. These ideas supported the theological concepts of the Oxford Movement, and the social policies of conservative Tories and political paternalists in the 1830s.<sup>180</sup> Romanticism saw spiritual significance in nature and the everyday world, which is the concept Roe has embraced. However, at its core was a combination of ideas that promoted feelings and instinct over heartless *laissez-faire* rationalism, materialism and utilitarianism.<sup>181</sup> Its sentiments had an influence on a wide section of society, including Anglicans ranging from aristocrats to labourers. Its organic social policies were fundamental in early Christian socialist thinking. Romanticism reinforced Church authority in a medieval spiritual way that linked man, nature and God in organic social harmony, and was therefore inherently conservative.<sup>182</sup> Romantics stressed the importance of the heart as a source of knowledge and the location of innate ideas, highlighting the need for the inner man to utilise emotion and passion over pure reason.<sup>183</sup> Both conservatives and radicals used paternalistic ideas of deference and hierarchy organically interconnecting people within society, to develop social, theological and political theory.<sup>184</sup> This was not just an idea held onto by the landed elites and their intelligentsia. Much of the unrest encountered in rural areas in 1830 was caused by workers protesting against the perceived loss of the benefits of their rank due to technology, and also the competitive market place breaching their customary rights and expectations.<sup>185</sup> From romantic High Churchmen to plebeian popular Evangelicalism, Christian ideas were used at all levels of society to support traditional rights over modernism and the self-proclaimed

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<sup>180</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 80. 100.

<sup>181</sup> Hoxie N. Fairchild, 'Romanticism and the Religious Revival in England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1941, p. 335; John B. Halsted (ed.), *Romanticism*, New York, 1969, pp. 2-6.

<sup>182</sup> John Keble's writings connected the Oxford Movement to this Romantic concept, while Coleridge's 'transcendental conservatism' inspired spiritual renewal in High Churchmen. Fairchild, 'Romanticism and Revival', pp. 334-336.

<sup>183</sup> This created a renewed interest in medieval and ancient history, allowing the wisdom of the past to be contrasted against the new knowledge. Halsted, *Romanticism*, pp. 11, 13, 24.

<sup>184</sup> The social hierarchy was proclaimed as the foundation of this social morality, and its credibility was considered established by custom and God's providence. Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, London, 1969; G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England, 1832-1885: A study in the development of social ideas and practice from the Old Regime to the Modern State*, London, 1973, pp. 5-8.

<sup>185</sup> John Owen analyses the link between the ideas of Coleridge and Southey to the moral economy of the poor. Owen, *History of the Moral Economy*, pp. 140-160.

righteousness of the market economy.<sup>186</sup> The Oxford Movement was a product of this thinking. It desired to make the church more popular, attempting to reorientate the social role of the clergy from a secular to a spiritual focus, with the goal of reviving communal sentiment against individualist Christianity and infidelity.<sup>187</sup> These were the ideas and principles that influenced and justified William Broughton's actions in New South Wales. Romanticism must be considered an alternative social and intellectual force to the secular liberalism and progressive doctrines of moral enlightenment. Class based analysis of colonial New South Wales has often portrayed paternal relationships negatively for its control of workers.<sup>188</sup> Roe's portrayal of a unified battle against conservative hegemony propagates the same misunderstandings.

The 'disrupting effects' of Protestantism that, according to Roe, encouraged liberalism, came from low Church Anglicans, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists and Jews.<sup>189</sup> This interpretation fails to give proper consideration to specific contradictory aspects of 'Dissent' as a broader category, especially given the political and social conservatism of Wesleyans. However, the idea that heterodoxical Christianity, such as Unitarianism, was a principal vehicle for liberalism has strong historical support, but heterodoxy was not a halfway house to secularisation.<sup>190</sup> Christian principles were fundamental to their ideas, and Calvinism provided the legitimacy for a separate free church.<sup>191</sup> Political Dissent's eighteenth-century arguments for toleration and repeal combined the Protestant concept of the right of private judgement with the idea of natural rights. John Locke's writings, especially *Letters Concerning Toleration*, synergised with this principle and criticised state

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<sup>186</sup> A direct correlation has been established between the growth areas of Primitive Methodism and the Swing Riots in Wiltshire, Berkshire and Hampshire. See Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*, p. 109; George Rude and E. J. Hobsbawm, *Captain Swing*, New York, 1975, p. 37.

<sup>187</sup> Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, London, 1991, pp. 432-437.

<sup>188</sup> W. Nichol, 'Ideology in New South Wales', *Push*, Vol. 28, 1990, pp. 24-41 places paternalism as the dominant ideology in New South Wales until 1850.

<sup>189</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 125.

<sup>190</sup> These ideas were fundamental to the theories of: J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime*, Cambridge, 1985; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*.

<sup>191</sup> Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 19; Hole, *Pulpits*, pp. 146, 269.

interference in ecclesiastical affairs as it limited the advancement of knowledge.<sup>192</sup> Unitarians Joseph Priestly, Richard Price and Robert Robertson, promoted the progressive knowledge of truth, including religious truth, as the instrument of social progress. The knowledge embodied in Political Economy and Utilitarianism was considered part of God's wisdom, designed to expand His kingdom in the world.<sup>193</sup>

This was not mere secularisation because it was written from a contemporary Christian worldview. For example, Priestly wrote an eschatological thesis on the Jews accepting Jesus as the Christ as a prophetic sign of Christ's return.<sup>194</sup> Price saw Enlightenment ideas as being part of providence, while Robinson believed the God of nature made man in his own image and provided him with the gift of self-determination.<sup>195</sup> To these men, the Test and Corporation Act hindered progress because it excluded talent from positions of power and therefore God's will.<sup>196</sup> This was one of the basic arguments behind what Jonathan Clark sees as heterodoxical Dissent's battle with the tenets of the 'old' order.<sup>197</sup> These ideas became politically unpopular during the Napoleonic Wars but, as discussed earlier, the political battle for Repeal and Emancipation revitalised these arguments. In the 1830s Dissenters used the axioms of Political Economy to promote 'free trade in religion'.<sup>198</sup> This was used to mount their political attacks on Church Rates and tithes. Advocates of voluntarism wanted religion freed from the impediments of state control, thereby allowing Godly providence to work unhindered. Supporting this idea was the belief that authentic Christianity required the free submission of a person's will without any coercion.<sup>199</sup> The basic theology behind this was that the church, not the state, had been scripturally

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<sup>192</sup> In this context, scientific knowledge related to discovering how God's laws of creation worked through scientific and religious knowledge to reveal God's truth. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-30.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>194</sup> Howard Hotson, 'Anti-Semitism, Philo-Semitism, Apocalypticism and Millenarianism in Early Modern Europe: A Case Study and some Methodological Reflections', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>195</sup> G. Maddox, *Religion and the Rise of Democracy*, London, 1996, p. 181; Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833*, London, 1961, p. 48.

<sup>196</sup> Maddox, *Religion*, p. 181.

<sup>197</sup> Clark outlines how the growth of anti-Trinitarianism fostered opposition to the established Church. Clark, *English Society*, Chapter 4.

<sup>198</sup> Norman Gash, *Pillars of Government and Other Essays on State and Society, 1768-1880*, London, 1986, p. 20.

<sup>199</sup> J. P. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868*, University Park, 1994, p. 269.

empowered to preach the Gospel, free of worldly interference.<sup>200</sup> The idea of religious liberty unleashed by the Puritan concept of Protestantism justified the idea of Godly freedom being extended to other areas of society. Scottish Moral Philosophy evolved an economic, theological and social ideology that provided ample reasoning for the extension of liberty to all social interrelations.<sup>201</sup>

In this regard the Church Act presents a paradox. On the one hand, it went against the voluntary viewpoint of the liberal free market, but it did provide religious equality, freed from state control. On the other hand, it went against the Church's claim for exclusivity, but provided Anglicans in New South Wales with a funding paradigm that was not only generous, but removed the unsavoury and unpopular compulsion to tithing. In both respects it was designed to foster orthodox Christian belief, which despite Roe's assertions to the contrary, were opposed to secularism and Deistic forms of belief. Many liberal members of the established churches resisted voluntarism but believed in advancing the free trade in religion in the belief it would enable providence to expand the Protestant religion, even in Ireland.<sup>202</sup> This same expectation was the basis for the Church Act in New South Wales.

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The idea of Christianity being reduced to a system of morality by the power of secularisation is a historical proposition that has been the subject of serious revision in recent times. Moreover, any claims to make the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century the Age of Enlightenment on the path to modernity, must also accommodate the fact it was also an age of 'awakened religion', with widespread residual folk belief.<sup>203</sup> Mark Noll agrees with Hilton that it was the Age of Atonement, because the moderate Evangelical view of law, sin, grace, redemption and holiness was effectively presented on its own terms and seemed to offer a credible worldview.<sup>204</sup> In doing this it

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<sup>200</sup> G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, Oxford, 1977, p. 100.

<sup>201</sup> Chitnis, *Scottish Enlightenment*, pp. 93, 60.

<sup>202</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 69.

<sup>203</sup> Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 179-180.

<sup>204</sup> Boyd Hilton's *Age of Atonement* stresses the wide-ranging influence of the idea of the inward transformation of the human spirit through the salvation of Jesus Christ. This concept

redefined Puritanism to incorporate new intellectual thought, whilst still retaining fundamental principles such as the sovereignty of God and the importance of individual salvation.<sup>205</sup> More importantly for this thesis is that Evangelicalism also promoted the sovereignty of human beings over their moral choices, which profoundly influenced the way moral responsibility was perceived, both individually and corporately. Evangelicalism energised a range of humanitarian and Christian missions that impacted a range of social and economic policies. These developments were particularly important for Australia in the 1830s, as the penal nature and perceived moral deficiency of the colonies attracted both aspects of this mission.

Evangelicalism was a potent influence on belief in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. It was a complex phenomenon that influenced all classes and denominations, spawned new movements and reinvigorated old ones. The statistical evidence for this is strong, because apart from the growth of Evangelicals in the Anglican Church, which saw clerical numbers increase from 500 in 1803 to 6,500 in 1853, the main increase came from Dissenters. From 1800 to 1830, Methodism doubled from 189,000 to 364,000; evangelical Particular Baptists and General New Connection Baptists tripled; while evangelical Congregationalists grew from 35,000 to 127,000.<sup>206</sup> This growth was primarily from working people.<sup>207</sup> As well as actual growth in church attendance, the itinerant and missionary nature of popular Evangelicalism made it highly probable that most working people would have been exposed to some form of evangelical thought, especially the concept of Atonement.<sup>208</sup>

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was similar to the new birth of early Puritanism, but the term 'Evangelical' in England is generally applied to the movement started in the 1730s, which focused on a conversion experience, Bible reading, ongoing sanctification and the influence of the Holy Spirit on the believer. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 2-3, 35-38. Mark Noll supports Hilton regarding the Age of Atonement see Mark Noll, 'Methodism and its Origins', in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, George A. Rawlyk, *Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990*, New York, 1994. Also a much-neglected point is the strong focus on Atonement by Catholic priests.

<sup>205</sup> Noll, 'British Methodological Pointers', pp. 208-213.

<sup>206</sup> A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, London, 1976, p. 63.

<sup>207</sup> This thesis supports the argument of Watts that Currie and Gilbert's classification of skills was too general. See Introduction.

<sup>208</sup> Popular Evangelicalism fostered independent labouring communities and channelled people into chapel life, often spread through wandering itinerants. Its message resonated with marginalised labourers, domestic workers, small tenant farmers and skilled workers such as weavers, potters and nail-makers. Hymns portrayed them as pilgrims struggling through



Hilton believes as well as conversion numbers there was a wider underlying influence on thought, and that in the early nineteenth century an Evangelical *Weltanschauung* had been formed. This influenced clergymen and engendered a middle-class piety that fostered a missionary responsibility to spread both Christianity and civilization.<sup>209</sup>

Evangelical Arminianism was a powerful idea as it refuted the fatalistic aspects of predestination, giving people a choice over their spiritual destiny. Especially empowering was the idea that the Holy Spirit could directly enlighten and provide revelation to an individual, which synthesised with the Enlightenment concept of reason being cultivated from a heightened perception of the mind. John Wesley had no doubts, from a theological basis, that religion and reason went hand in hand, and neither did the majority of Evangelicals.<sup>210</sup> Hilton identifies two dominant Evangelical polarities. ‘Rational’ or moderate, post-millennial Evangelicalism adopted aspects of natural theology to explain suffering in a fallen world and God’s hand in nature and economics. This justified a belief that the ideas of Political Economy and progress were part of God’s solution.<sup>211</sup> Alternatively, ‘non-rational’ Evangelicalism was often pre-millennial, more enthusiastic and dogmatic, and was concerned more with spiritual than secular issues.<sup>212</sup> In the 1830s, *The Record* promoted their views on theological, social, economic and political thought.<sup>213</sup> This categorisation was not always definite as Lang had the social and political beliefs of a ‘rational’, but the pre-millennial belief of the ‘non-rational’. Overall, Evangelicalism moderated Calvinism in regard to personal agency in salvation, but maintained Calvinistic personal responsibility that reinforced high standards of conduct and personal morality.<sup>214</sup> Hilton stressed the differences in Evangelical thought because he believed historical misunderstandings

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difficult circumstances, with many of the preachers displaced shoemakers, weavers and labourers who often preached in local dialects. See Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*, pp. 104, 198; Owen Davies, ‘Methodism, the Clergy and Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic’, *The Historical Association*, 1997, pp. 257-265.

<sup>209</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 16-19.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19, 20-23.

<sup>212</sup> Millenarianism is an important concept because it affected how Protestants perceived Catholics. This was different in England compared to Europe. Premillenarians generally believed the Anti-Christ would one day become the Pope. Hotson, ‘Anti-Semitism and Millenarianism’, in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 99-100, 119-121.

<sup>213</sup> Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, p. 33.

<sup>214</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 63-64.

related to Evangelical ideas have produced inaccurate interpretations, especially regarding the influence of moderate Evangelicalism in the 1830s. The social philosophy of moderate Evangelicals and liberal Anglicans became intellectually interconnected at this time with both groups displaying a heightened sense of piety. This development is critical to this thesis, because it intensified the perception that New South Wales was morally deficient and in need of fruits provided by Christian belief. This motivated the Whig Cabinet to endorse the Church Act as the appropriate solution.

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Puritanism helped mould the social order and was in turn moulded by it. Conversely, secular movements, such as Utilitarianism, adopted Puritan moral principles.<sup>215</sup> However, it was the influence of Evangelicalism and piety in the middle orders of British society and the Anglican Church that made morality such a social force in the 1830s.<sup>216</sup> This was particularly the case in the Colonial Office where the Evangelical alliance of Glenelg, Grey and Stephen dominated policy, and applied a pragmatic, humane Christian perspective to decisions. The Church Act provided a very traditional Christian solution for extending morals in a colony destined for expansion but tainted by the stigma of convictism.

Hilton believed the Age of Atonement changed to an Age of Incarnation from 1850.<sup>217</sup> In this the Evangelical focus on sinfulness subsided to focus more on living the life of Jesus as an example.<sup>218</sup> This was related to a Christian worldview of 'lived religion' where winning souls for Christ and creating a modern progressive social

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<sup>215</sup> Tawney, 'Introduction', in Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, p. 11.

<sup>216</sup> The Evangelical movement increased the zeal of the Anglican clergy. Mather, 'Georgian Churchmanship', pp. 275-280. For analysis of the historical revision regarding the dominance of Latitudinarian thought from the Restoration to the nineteenth century, see Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Chapman (ed.), *Seeing Things Their Way*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>217</sup> Noll found this also in Canadian Methodism. Noll, 'British Methodological Pointers', p. 217.

<sup>218</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 299. This is debatable, as the Christian sanctification of Calvin and then Wesley and other Evangelicals, taught similar practices.

order were compatible.<sup>219</sup> Hilton described this as changing from a ‘flogging theology’, where the world is full of trials, to creating heaven on earth, with the rise of Gladstonian Liberalism being a product of and an influence on these trends. Gladstone saw God directing the progress of society through the moral improvement of its people, but in a very devout Christian way. To Hilton, the morality created by the growth of Evangelical thought in the Age of Atonement found an outlet in the outworking of Incarnation.<sup>220</sup> This aligns more with the sociological basis of moral enlightenment, even though in Hilton’s eyes this was still fundamentally dominated by Christian thought, not secularism or Deism.<sup>221</sup> In returning to the 1830s, there is no doubt that purely secular thought was occupying an intellectual space, but in Britain this was dominated by or synchronised with Christianity. Undoubtedly, personal and social morality was an increasing focus, but it was seen as being fundamentally linked to religion, both personally and corporately. There was a renewed focus on sin as the moral standards of revitalised Puritanism scrutinised outward behaviour in both work practice and recreation. The following chapters will look at specific issues relating to morality that were addressed by the Church Act. It will become apparent that the advancement of Christianity to produce a Christian nation was the moral objective of the Church Act, not to implement some benign form of social ethics through moral enlightenment as defined by Roe.

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<sup>219</sup> Noll, ‘British Methodological Pointers’, pp. 214-216.

<sup>220</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 300-301, 342-343, 371.

<sup>221</sup> Susan Budd places the growth of secular ethical movements post 1850. Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief*, pp. 9-15.

## Chapter 8: The moral question: convicts, emigrants and perceptions of respectability

This chapter highlights how Christianity influenced perceptions of respectability in the early-nineteenth century, to further counter Michael Roe's assertion that the key developments of this period were driven by the 'new faith' of moral enlightenment. The desire for respectability is a matter Roe only devotes a few lines to in his conclusion to *Quest for Authority*, but it was a crucial aspect of the moral argument in the 1830s. I begin by examining the Temperance Movement and the increasing importance placed on the Sabbath, before considering how the issues of education, emigration and civil liberty were fundamentally influenced by moral and religious arguments. Emigration to the colony became important to Britain as a way to relocate redundant workers, and to satisfy the economic and social aspirations of advocates of systematic colonisation. The reputation of the convict colony and the gender imbalance were serious stumbling blocks. Religious and education reforms were considered essential to address these issues. Competing ideas as to what constituted 'true' Christianity dominated the battle between the conservatives and Bourke on these matters. Both claimed to have the best policy for reforming social morality and creating a Christian nation worthy of Christian citizenship. The moral argument is critical to properly understanding the introduction of the Church Act.

Jonathon Clark views the Repeal, Emancipation and Reform legislations as the destruction of the old order. Unlike Roe, he attributes these events to political pragmatism, not the inevitable forces of progress. The expansion of enfranchisement brought new respect and inclusions to the rank of 'gentleman', a group Clark sees as dominating the intelligentsia in the period of aristocratic hegemony. To him, the *ancien regime* was not destroyed by radical democrats, but by the advance of non-Anglicans from the middle ranks, making class the consequence rather than the cause of parliamentary reform, as social climbers sought to adopt the gentlemanly cultural identity of the pre-existing elites.<sup>1</sup> This trend produced the respectable Victorian

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 90-94. This idea forms the backbone of

gentleman, infused with middle-class Evangelical and Puritan values which elevated morality as the fundamental gauge of respectability over the traditional path to gentlemanly status via birth or elite education.<sup>2</sup> The impact was evident in the attitude of ministers who travelled to the colony, hardening their attitude to convicts and Aborigines.<sup>3</sup> This heightened sense of morality influenced social and political thought in the 1830s, especially in relation to the way New South Wales was viewed and administered.

British notions of class were imported into New South Wales, with many people assuming a heightened social status in the presence of a large number of emancipists whose respectability, according to the Exclusives, was irrevocably tainted. Sandra Blair has explained that the emancipists themselves were not a cohesive group, but were divided along lines of status. She also notes that the most potent opposition to convict rights was from the Hunter Valley settlers, a group dominated by gentlemen Calvinists. Their religious background may well have hardened their attitudes towards both the behaviour and treatment of convicts and the social and political aspirations of ex-convicts.<sup>4</sup> The attainment and projection of respectability was fundamental in this

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Harold Perkin's middle or 'entrepreneurial' class who redefined the moral and respectability requirements of gentlemanly status. They sought to impose the 'traditional puritanism' of the middle orders on the whole of society. Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, London, 1969, pp. 275, 281. For less theoretical views on the effect of Evangelicalism on social policy see, David Martin, *A Sociology of English Religion*, London, 1967, p. 59; James Walvin, *Leisure and Society*, London, 1978, pp. 6, 160-167; G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England, 1832-1885: A study in the development of social ideas and practice from the Old Regime to the Modern State*, London, 1973, p. xvi; Robert D. Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture and Custom* London, 1982, pp. 125-135.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 25. Perkin's 'moral revolution' focuses on class 'moral imperialism' and places more importance on Dissenters and Benthamites in this process. Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society*, pp. 281-289.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Marsden was an example of the increased sense of respectability Evangelicalism developed in the consciousness of the artisan class of Britain. The middle-class status and background of the New South Wales clergy did not foster empathic sentiments towards convict and post-convict life. This also contributed to the failure of Christianising efforts directed towards Aborigines, because ministers insisted on behavioural changes that represented British cultural standards rather than the Christian religion. Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity*, p. 20; M. Lake, 'Samuel Marsden, Work and the Limits of Evangelical Humanitarianism', *History Australia*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2010, pp. 57.1-57.21; D. A. Roberts, "'A City on a Hill': Religion and Building on the Frontier Mission at Wellington Valley, New South Wales", *Australian Religion Studies Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2010, pp. 95-97.

<sup>4</sup> Sandra Blair, 'The Felony and the Free?', *Labour History*, Vol. 45, 1993, pp. 1-4, 11.

'illegitimate' society, and this intensified moral scrutiny.<sup>5</sup> For instance, the English social protocol of 'formal' acquaintanceship was so common in the colony that new arrivals found the practice more entrenched than in London.<sup>6</sup>

One product of this increased social awareness was the Temperance Movement. Roe made this a cornerstone of his thesis, claiming it as the 'essence of that spirit of moral enlightenment'.<sup>7</sup> Roe notes that a Quaker established the movement in New South Wales and a Congregationalist in Van Diemen's Land, and that even in the 1850s it was dominated by religious ministers, especially Calvinists. He also notes in passing that 'many teetotallers adhered to the Puritan rather than the Transcendentalist position'.<sup>8</sup> However, it is a curious and almost irreconcilable part of Roe's thesis that he construes such a Puritan and ascetic Christian practice as being almost secular. Michael Hogan has challenged Roe's explanation of the Temperance Movement as being a product of secular moral enlightenment rather than of the main churches.<sup>9</sup> What temperance demonstrated was the rising influence of Puritanism and religion in the late-Georgian period, especially through Evangelical thought. Temperance was essentially a contemporary method of dealing with the social problem of alcohol abuse. Some ministers may have opposed the pledge, but most saw sobriety as leading people toward Christian belief. The Bible condones the moderate use of alcohol, and most ministers supported the principle of temperance on this basis. The controversies highlighted by Roe, however, were centred on the principle of total abstinence, which did encounter widespread clerical opposition, having less biblical and cultural support than temperance.<sup>10</sup> This more demanding practice was not organised into a group until 1838 and was not popular.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Joy Damousi notes how the attainment of respectability was a contemporary gauge of success, and also a factor in modern historical judgements. Joy Damousi, "'Depravity and Disorder': The Sexuality of Convict Women", *Labour History*, Vol. 68, 1995, pp. 30-35

<sup>6</sup> Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling (eds.), *Australians 1838*, Sydney, 1988, p. 236.

<sup>7</sup> Roe quoted from a Harpur poem. Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, Melbourne 1965, pp. 168-169.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167, 173.

<sup>9</sup> M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Melbourne, 1987, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, pp. 180-182. There was widespread support for temperance in Britain, from workingmen to aristocrats, while total abstinence was not widely supported. It was 1880 before even Methodists unified in supporting total abstinence. Daryl Adair, 'Respectable, Sober and Industrious? Attitudes to Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide', *Labour*

Rather than moral enlightenment, temperance embodied classically Puritan behavioural ideals, given a social platform and exported around the Empire. Drunkenness as a social problem was addressed more systematically in the 1830s, when the British and Foreign Temperance Society proclaimed it an issue ‘intimately connected with the social happiness and the progress of true religion’. This organisation was connected through auxiliaries all over Britain and professed a high percentage of working-class adherents. Apart from promoting the abstinence of distilled spirits, they also criticised the profanation of the Sabbath and published a ‘Spiritual Thermometer’, which graded piety from a high mark of ‘prayer’, ‘concern for the soul’, and ‘increased evangelical light’. The thermometer was lowered for various forms of ‘corruption’, such as ‘love of novels, theatres and balls’, ‘Luxurious Entertainments’ and ‘expensive fashion’.<sup>12</sup>

The Temperance Movement, which had very strong links with the Evangelical renewal movement in Britain, was embraced in New South Wales by a wide section of society, including Catholics. In 1832, shortly after the first groups started in northern England and Scotland in 1829, a society was organised in Sydney, and public meetings began in May 1834 with chief justice Francis Forbes as chairman. The Temperance Society of New South Wales articulated the same principles as its British parent, condemning ardent spirits as unnatural beverages causing extreme drunkenness, while considering beer and wine somewhat safer and more culturally and socially acceptable. Habitual drunkenness was seen as ‘hindering the prosperity of the country’, and as the ‘parent and nursery of crime’ in New South Wales. By 1836 Temperance Society meetings were attracting ‘a great number of people’, with Protestant ministers dominating the proceedings.<sup>13</sup> From 1837, an *Australian Temperance Magazine*, with an initial subscription of 1,000 and the full support of Bourke, aimed to ‘arouse the

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*History*, Vol. 70, 1996, pp. 132-143. Ullathorne was against drunkenness but not the moderate use of alcohol. W. Ullathorne, *Autobiography*, London, 1891, p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Atkinson, *Australians 1838*, p. 250.

<sup>12</sup> In this passage the use of the term ‘true religion’ is associated, not with Roe’s implication of natural religion, but related to pure Evangelical morality. *Second Annual Report of the British and Foreign Temperance Society*, London, 1833.

<sup>13</sup> *Half an Hour’s Reading from the Temperance Society of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1834; Report of Temperance Society, *S.H.*, 8 May 1834; *S.H.*, 7 January 1836.

public mind' using 'light and love and with Divine blessing'.<sup>14</sup> Promoting very Puritan values, it explained intemperance as a hindrance to both natural and spiritual health, and as a leading cause of transgressions against God's ordained morality. Intemperance hindered the reception of Christ's Gospel and prevented people from fulfilling their purpose in life.<sup>15</sup> The level of the spirits, especially rum, consumed in the colony ensured that this was a significant contemporary issue, so much so that the magazine's circulation tripled to 3,000 copies within three months.<sup>16</sup> The Movement, however, declined towards the end of the 1840s. Roe does not explain how this decline coincided with the new faith becoming the 'supremely potent influence' on New South Wales society.<sup>17</sup> Most likely, the problem subsided with the greater availability of other beverages, especially beer in urban areas, which reduced the over-consumption of rum.<sup>18</sup> Also, the growth of churches in that decade, especially amongst the Catholics, as well as the end of convict transportation and large increases in free emigration, played a part.

Another highly visible imposition of Christian morality in the 1830s was the increasing importance placed on the Sabbath. This issue was intimately connected with temperance, both being the by-product of increasing puritan Christianity rather than some secular moral movement. In Britain, non-observance was investigated by an 1832 Select Committee which recommended that the Sabbath be upheld as a command of the 'Lord Almighty', necessary for the 'Glory of God and the Happiness of those committed to his charge'. The problem of excessive liquor consumption was identified as a hindrance to its observance, and restricted trading was recommended as a positive moral action to rectify the problem.<sup>19</sup> The observance of the Sabbath was also a focus of Molesworth's Select Committee on Transportation, which questioned witnesses as

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<sup>14</sup> *Australian Temperance Magazine*, No. 1, Vol. 1, 1 July 1837, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1, Vol. 2, 1 August 1837, pp. 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> *Australian Temperance Magazine*, No. 1, Vol. 3, 1 September 1837, pp. 1-2. Molesworth claimed that 291,000 gallons of spirits were imported and distilled in the colony each year. This equated to 5 gallons for each man, woman and child. S. C. Transportation, 1837, *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Transportation*, Vol. 2, Shannon, 1968, p. 75.

<sup>17</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority*, p. 189.

<sup>18</sup> In Britain, government legislation made beer cheaper and more accessible in the 1830s. Adair, 'Respectable, Sober and Industrious', p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, 6 August 1832, in *BPP: Social Problems, Sunday Observance*, Shannon, 1969.



to whether the lack of churches, combined with ‘defective ... religious instruction’ provided by masters in New South Wales, led to servants spending ‘the Lord’s Day in drunkenness’.<sup>20</sup> Bourke believed in the importance of the Sabbath and personally refrained from dancing, cards and other amusements, but he was sympathetic to the workingman who was ‘almost as much in need of recreation as of rest’. He thought it acceptable as long as the recreation was of ‘innocent and temperate cast’, and objected to the revival of ‘seventeenth-century Puritanism’ for its ‘dark and sullen’ observance of the Sabbath and its focus on ‘No Popery. No Pastime’. Bourke considered Sunday a ‘joyous remembrance of that glorious Resurrection’.<sup>21</sup> Reverend Lang was an even more passionate advocate of the Sabbath, which he saw as both a welcome day of rest provided by the ‘manifestation of Divine Benevolence’, and a day ‘consecrated to the services of God and the weightier concerns of the soul’.<sup>22</sup> Lang’s moral paradigm did not require energy from any ‘new faith’ of the type described by Roe, as his morality was classically Puritan Calvinist, especially evident in his passionate opposition to sexual immorality, particularly concubinage and prostitution. His criticisms of the rampant importation of distilled spirits into a penal settlement were easily justified, although his vilification of fellow ministers for their moderate consumption was pedantic.<sup>23</sup> Lang’s theology also rejected the worldly display of riches and he ridiculed the Anglican clergy for their pursuit of wealth.<sup>24</sup>

Two points need to be stressed here. First, temperance and the growing focus on the Sabbath cannot be construed as indicating the growth of a secular, moral enlightenment, because in a large measure they actually reflected the rising influence of Puritan morality. Second, the critique of the selfish pursuit of worldly riches, very much promoted by Harpur, cannot be attributed to new movements such as Transcendentalism, as it was embedded in Calvinist theology. Calvinist ideas can be

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<sup>20</sup> Select Committee on Transportation, *BPP: Transportation, Vol. 2*, pp. 71-75.

<sup>21</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820, pp. 61-65.

<sup>22</sup> J. D. Lang, *Lectures on the Sabbath: Occasioned by a Recent Discussion in the Legislative Council of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1841, pp. 8-18.

<sup>23</sup> J. D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony, Vol. II*, London, 1837, Chapters 1 and 7; Lang testimony at S.C. Transportation, *BPP: Transportation, Vol. 2*, pp. 251-255.

<sup>24</sup> Lang, *Historical Account, Vol. 2.*, pp. 271, 235.

also be found in colonial Anglican morality, which was initially integrated with social and penal discipline, and in interaction with Calvinist missionaries from the London Missionary Society. Marsden's chaplaincy was characterised by moral discipline, a product of his Calvinistic Evangelism. He considered his prosperity to be the fruit of God's blessing, and that God's displeasure was demonstrated through His justice and punishment to the unredeemed.<sup>25</sup> Geneva's principle of magistrates being the agents of God in the implementation of His discipline, found synergy with many British clerical magistrates in this era, especially Marsden.<sup>26</sup> The early Anglican clergy in Australia were overwhelmingly Evangelical and Calvinistic, and thus Broughton's High Church views often caused disputes.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, the imposition of Puritan values on Tahitians by L.M.S. missionaries was not limited to forbidding the cultural practices of folk dancing, spear-throwing, tattooing and drinking kava. They considered the Tahitian's work ethic and recreational activities as sinful, and attempted, with the capital of investors from London and the help of Marsden, to establish a sugar industry and cotton industry on the Islands, although this failed in the face of Tahitian resistance.<sup>28</sup> Although commercial gain was desired, to provide further funds for missionary endeavours, work for the idle and advancing civilization were the primary motives, and this underwrote Godly sanction for the missionary activities. Marsden also thought that the Aborigines' lack of work ethic rendered them uncivilized and almost irredeemable.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, the Evangelical Anglican Church Missionary Society mission at Wellington Valley attempted to inculcate industry and domesticity, with little success.<sup>30</sup>

High Churchmen and Evangelicals supported the Protestant crusade in Ireland (see Chapter 2), attacking Catholics over their perceived idleness, drunkenness and

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<sup>25</sup> S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans, A History of the Diocese*, Sydney, 2000, p. 4; Lake, 'Samuel Marsden', pp. 57.1-57.21.

<sup>26</sup> J. T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, London, 1962, p. 167.

<sup>27</sup> Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity*, p. 37. Piggin has pointed out how the influence of Wilberforce's humanitarianism moderated harsher Calvinistic attitudes in the Evangelical Anglican clergy in this period.

<sup>28</sup> Bill Wannan, *Early Colonial Scandals: The Turbulent Times of Samuel Marsden*, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 103-135.

<sup>29</sup> Lake, 'Samuel Marsden', pp. 57.1-57.21.

<sup>30</sup> Roberts, 'City on a Hill', pp. 91-114.

disregard for the law and blaming their poverty on a moral failing attributable to low intelligence and lack of personal discipline.<sup>31</sup> These judgements reflected a view of the Catholic as an un-renewed Christian, even though, as we have seen in Chapter 4, the Catholicism of Ullathorne and Polding concentrated on Atonement and inner renewal. The importance of inward renewal was not just known to Evangelicals. For instance, Broughton believed that the ‘great purpose of the Gospel’ was ‘to bring man back to God; to renew his mind to the image of his Creator in righteousness and true holiness; and thus to subvert and expel that spirit of sensuality whereby the devil leads and governs those who are taken captive by him at his will’.<sup>32</sup>

The theological focus on sanctification, so strongly advanced by Calvinists and Evangelicals, was equally asserted by the early Oxford Movement as an expression of High Church renewal. Sanctification was considered a product of the Evangelical’s salvation experience, but it was also part of the good works encouraged by sacramental Christianity. This increased emphasis on sanctification was a critical point of connection between Calvinism and Anglicanism, and its renewed importance heightened the moral expectations within society. Jennifer Ridden identified the same moral principles in the Irish liberals’ notion of Christian citizenship, where private morality and character were important, because the liberty provided by this Christian citizenship involved moral obligation and responsibility.<sup>33</sup> As this concept became more embedded in liberal Anglicanism in the 1830s, the moral deficiency of New South Wales, the expansion of Christianity, the Church Act, and public education, became interconnected issues.

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In *Quest for Authority*, Roe made education reform an issue of secularisation, and therefore a cornerstone of his theory of moral enlightenment. There has been an

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<sup>31</sup> Jennifer Ridden, “‘Making Good Citizens’: National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850”, PhD, University of London, 1998, p. 46; Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland Rebellion: Famine and Emigration*, New York, 1995, pp. 11, 200-210, 213.

<sup>32</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1829.

<sup>33</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 172.

historical perception that the education policy battle in 1836 was between the secular liberal policies of the government and Protestant Christianity.<sup>34</sup> However, this thesis asserts that the battle between Bourke and Broughton's education plans was between common Christian education and denominational Christian education. The Catholics supported Bourke in 1836 to escape Anglican domination, but their support assisted opponents in advancing religious and class propaganda, which has been the focus of historians such as Roe.<sup>35</sup>

The education debate in Britain and New South Wales was primarily about Church versus state control. In Britain, the 1834 Select Committee on Education was an attempt by liberal Anglicans to justify a general system of education along the lines of the Irish System, similar to Bourke's model for New South Wales. As stated in Chapter 1, the momentum of this commission was destroyed because the radical Whig, Lord Chancellor Brougham, supported the existing system, dominated by the Anglican Church, purely for pragmatic financial reasons.<sup>36</sup> In New South Wales the conservative press combined financial concerns with class and anti-Irish prejudice to attack Bourke's education plans. The *Herald* criticised Bourke's zeal in seeking to benefit his 'unfortunate Roman Catholic countrymen'.<sup>37</sup> There was no criticism of religious funding, as the *Herald* believed it a better system than tithes. However, by mixing Catholics and Protestants, general education was seen as socially unacceptable because the religious and moral standards of Protestants might be corrupted. General education was also criticised as a taxation burden for the benefit of 'one class, chiefly the Roman Catholic Convict class'.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, the liberal *Australian* championed Bourke's plan, arguing that it provided adequate religious education and citing evidence from Ireland that the new school system could 'inculcate the principles and substance of

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<sup>34</sup> John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia, 1835-1850*, Melbourne, 1966, p. 97.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Hole has criticised historians who have linked Catholicism and radicalism, especially in relation to English Catholicism. He sees Catholic thinkers as theologically orthodox but radical in asserting Catholic rights. R. Hole, *Pulpits, politics and public order in England, 1760-1832*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 147, 269; Bradley, 'Changing Shape of Religious Ideas', in Alistair Chapman, John Coffey, Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009, p. 181.

<sup>36</sup> Select Committee on the State of Education, 1834, *BPP: Reports from Select Committees on the Education of the Poorer Classes, Vol. 6*, Shannon, 1970.

<sup>37</sup> *S.H.*, 6 June 1836.

<sup>38</sup> *S.H.*, 4 July 1836.

Gospel truth'.<sup>39</sup> It criticised the 'Church in danger' and the voluntarist opposition to religion and education reform by claiming they were essential to society and needed public funding.<sup>40</sup>

The more emotive aspects of the debate were centred on religious and moral contention, principally that Bourke was promoting Catholic values and beliefs through the Irish System. Roe and others have confused this as secular education, but what was actually being proposed in Britain and New South Wales in the 1830s was state supported Christian education. The Irish System was run by a Board of Education consisting of the heads of the various denominations, while ministers and priests controlled the schools in different areas. The debate, in Britain and the colony, was centred on the best way to provide general education within a Christian framework that was acceptable to all parties. In Ireland the government was specifically seeking to address political and social grievances. Spring Rice and other Irish politicians promoted general education as a means to diminish religious division, increase moral responsibility, and encourage faith as a 'progressive victory over expiring Paganism'.<sup>41</sup> Edward Stanley, as Irish Secretary, put forward the Bill, but liberal Anglicans and groups such as the Kildare Place Society, which had been operating a similar education system, developed the ideas.<sup>42</sup> It was implemented because it received broad support from Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians in a society that believed religion was the fundamental basis of morality.<sup>43</sup>

Bourke felt it was the state's duty to make sure education was provided comprehensively, but at no time did he promote a system that neglected the teaching of

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<sup>39</sup> *Australian*, 17 June 1836. The editor endorsed the Irish System as an effective form of Christian education for children and lampooned those who claimed it too general as trying to make 'infant theologians'. *Australian*, 24 June 1836.

<sup>40</sup> For example, *Australian*, 21 June, 5 July, and 15 July 1836.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Spring Rice, 'Speech of H. G. Ward Esq MP moving certain resolutions respecting the Irish Church in the House of Commons', *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 60, No. 122, 1835, pp. 511-517.

<sup>42</sup> Ridden says Spring Rice claimed the bill was his in a number of letters she examined from the Monteagle papers. Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 81-85, 112; Thomas Spring Rice, 'Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Education, Sessional Papers, No. 744', *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 43, No. 85, 1825, pp. 483-517.

<sup>43</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 89.

Christianity.<sup>44</sup> On the contrary, he was publicly and privately horrified at these accusations. Bourke had been an educational reformer in Ireland and his friend Spring Rice had advanced their cause in the British Parliament.<sup>45</sup> Spring Rice told Bourke that he believed allocating Irish tithe revenue to education was justified because if ‘we cannot teach them in Churches’ we ‘can teach them in schools’.<sup>46</sup> This was a principle they both shared. Bourke was frustrated when he learnt that Glenelg was considering a multi-denominational system similar to that operating in the West Indies, because he considered the duplicity inherent in each denomination setting up a school network would render most of the schools ‘inadequate to the purpose of useful education, particularly in the dispersed settled areas of New South Wales’. He perceived state control as the only viable means of extending general education to the entire population, and believed the Irish System the most efficient means to promote Christian belief.<sup>47</sup>

In August 1836, a detailed petition against the Irish School System was handed to the New South Wales Legislative Council. It maintained that while the System taught scripture it did not ‘put the whole of the New Testament’ in the hands of students. The petitioners believed that this was the right of ‘every British subject’, as the ‘universal use of the sacred volume’ was the only ‘sure foundation either of true religion or of sound morality’. The petition maintained that this was imperative because the ‘bulk of the lower classes of the population have little regard to virtue or religious instruction’.<sup>48</sup> The *Herald* perpetuated these inaccuracies, claiming ‘virtue’ was as important as science, and that moral principles should be equal to the desire of knowledge. These were the fundamental aspects of education which opponents promoted as being deficient in the Irish system.<sup>49</sup>

When Bourke first outlined his plan for education to the Legislative Council, he made it clear that the system did not seek to exclude religious education, but merely

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<sup>44</sup> *V&P*, 25 July 1836.

<sup>45</sup> Spring Rice used the ideas from the Amathik pamphlet almost word for word in a Parliamentary Commission. See quotations in Spring Rice, ‘Education’, pp. 483-517.

<sup>46</sup> Spring Rice to Bourke, 13 January 1838, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>47</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 7 November 1835, and 26 July 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>48</sup> *V&P*, 11 August 1836.

<sup>49</sup> *S.H.*, 4 July 1836.

limit the ‘daily and ordinary instruction’ to ‘those leading doctrines of Christianity, and those practical duties in which it is hoped all Christians agree’. He emphasised that his education proposal would ‘promote generally the religious and moral education of all classes’.<sup>50</sup> The idea of common Christian principles being fundamental for general education - the basis of the Irish School System and supported by Bourke, Spring Rice and liberal Anglican Archbishop of Dublin Whately - was based on the liberal Protestant assumption that rationality and basic Christian teachings from the Bible would lead to Protestant belief.<sup>51</sup> This was different to the Deist concept of a universal religion common to all faiths, which excluded the deity of Christ.<sup>52</sup> The architects of the Irish System believed an education system based on common Christianity, acceptable to the major denominations, would combat atheism, increase morality, and foster social harmony.<sup>53</sup> This represented very Calvinist ideas on education, which promoted the power of the Bible over the Catechism, based on the belief that the Word of God was the teacher of the Christian. This included the ‘outer word’, which was written on the page, and the ‘inner word’ revealed by the Holy Spirit to the reader.<sup>54</sup>

In the 1820s, Bourke considered his educational plan superior to the Lancaster System embodied in the British and Foreign Schools, popular with Dissenters and some Anglicans. He criticised those who believed that by teaching ‘reading, writing and arithmetick all the ills of life were to be cured’, leaving ‘Christianity ... to spring up, under the mere genial influences of heaven’.<sup>55</sup> Roger Therry emphasised that while Bourke’s scheme was designed to combat the detrimental effects of religious intolerance in education, ‘it was not part of the plan that religious instruction should be neglected or excluded’. The books approved for the Irish System by the clerical panel contained ‘copious extracts from the Scriptures’. He cited the regulations from the Irish

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<sup>50</sup> Bourke’s speech in the Legislative Council, in *S.H.*, 11 July 1836.

<sup>51</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, p. 54; Spring Rice, ‘Irish church revenue’, pp. 494-517; Spring Rice, ‘Education’, pp. 483-490; Ridden, ‘Making Good Citizens’, p. 62.

<sup>52</sup> Peter Gay, *Deism: An Anthology*, Princeton, 1968, pp. 11, 22.

<sup>53</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 15-16; Ridden, ‘Making Good Citizens’, pp. 66-68.

<sup>54</sup> From the early days of Zurich and Geneva the education of all people was fundamental for this purpose. Calvin believed teaching of the languages and sciences prepared the young for future careers in ministry and government, and children were forced to attend school. McNeill, *Calvinism*, pp. 72, 162.

<sup>55</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, pp. 42-44. Bourke claimed that Lancaster ascended from the ‘Board of Fashionable projects’ that were ‘anxious for education’ but ‘far more easy on the subject of religion’.

board that ‘These selections are not afforded as a substitute for the Sacred Volume itself, but as an introduction to it, in the hope of it leading to a more general and more profitable perusal of the Word of God’. Therry also pointed out that because the plan for general education was for young children, appropriate choices for their understanding of scripture were needed. In Ireland these decisions were made in consensus with Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian representatives, and the result had been widely embraced by Catholics as the best method to ‘bless’ the poor with education.<sup>56</sup> These ideas cannot be simply attributed to liberal Anglicans, as many Evangelicals and most non-Anglicans who desired a functional non-denominational education system, supported the scheme.<sup>57</sup> This was not the advancement of natural religion; it was Bible-based Christianity without the dogma inherent in sacramental Christian belief.

Broughton also believed that a prosperous and secure society required the ‘foundation of the gospel ... be laid deep and wide’, bringing ‘heavenly principles into general adoption’. Fundamental to this plan was ensuring that children were brought up ‘in firm adherence to the faith of the Redeemer’. However, he disagreed with the idea of letting children find their own truth through the scriptures. Rather, education should ‘train up a child in the way he should go’, with Anglicanism providing the most reliable path.<sup>58</sup> Anglican education was superior, he believed, because the Articles taught to children in their earliest years, overcame ‘the teaching of the Deists who acknowledge God but deny the son and a God of Revelation’, and it guarded young minds against papal errors.<sup>59</sup> As described in Chapter 3, Broughton demonstrated a marked disrespect for non-Anglican belief, especially Catholicism, passionately believing he was the guardian of pure doctrine.

Broughton’s initial plans for education centred on establishing English-type grammar schools dominated by the Church of England. They were expected to provide

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<sup>56</sup> R. Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, Sydney, (1863) 1974, pp. 157-158.

<sup>57</sup> Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity*, p. 32.

<sup>58</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Religion Essential to the Security and Happiness of Nations*, Sydney, 1834.

<sup>59</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England; Its Constitution Mission and Trials*, London, 1857, pp. 48-50.



‘a useful and liberal education’ to the future elite, but in their ‘Deed of Endowment’ they also set forth a declaration that they were ‘established with a view to the sole honour of Almighty God ... by training up the rising generation and all succeeding generations in this Colony forever in the Faith of Jesus Christ ... and the firm assurance of the sufficiency of His Atonement for the Salvation of Mankind’. The trustees of the Corporation, Messrs McLeay, Cotton, Lithgow, Campbell, Jones, and Reverends Marsden, Cowper and Hill, agreed that ‘revealed religion should form the basis of education’.<sup>60</sup> Atonement remained a unifying tenet from conservative Anglicans to Catholics. Their disputes centred on the peculiar confessions of dogma which each group considered essential to their Christian mission. Bourke’s education proposal did not seek to challenge common Christian principles of redemption or revealed religion, but it did seek to minimise dogma.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Broughton’s initial plans for general education were not dissimilar from Bourke’s, where general Christian education would attempt to accommodate ‘all denominations and persuasions’. The real crux was the loss of Anglican control, for apart from education there was a desire to foster English institutions, which in Broughton’s conservative view, fostered a traditional and superior moral and social hierarchy. They considered the Church of England’s confessions as the spiritual scaffold of this social order.<sup>61</sup> Any plan that accommodated Catholics to an extent approaching equality was totally unacceptable. Ultimately, Broughton succeeded and by 1838 the Church of England had thirty parish schools, teaching the Anglican Catechism as well as the Nicene Creed, the Ten Commandments and the New Testament.<sup>62</sup> Apart from the Anglican Catechism and acting as a recruitment centre for the Church, the schools differed little to those proposed by Bourke.

Religion, education and morality were considered integrated in this period. Liberal Anglicans such as Bourke, Russell or Spring Rice, or High Churchmen such as Stanley or Broughton, all believed that a Christian society was a moral one. The

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<sup>60</sup> Broughton’s initial plans for schools, in Darling to Murray, 10 February 1830, *HRA*, I, XV, pp. 356-367.

<sup>61</sup> Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, *HRA*, I, XV, pp. 363-366.

<sup>62</sup> Atkinson, *Australians 1838*, pp. 408-413.

problem was how to achieve this in either a rapidly expanding Britain or a morally deficient penal colony. The High Churchmen were not prepared to relinquish their control, believing that only they could maintain, or revive, the organic social structure which underwrote the providential greatness of England. The liberal Anglicans, on the other hand, along with Dissenters and Catholics, saw this as an unjust allocation of resources, not producing the desired outcome of comprehensive general education or the expansion of Christian belief. In retrospect it is easy to see the logic of denominationally neutral education in any society that aspires to religious and social toleration, but in the early-nineteenth century there was a battle for the hearts and minds of the young that was primarily inter-denominationally Christian in nature. There was no plan on the table, either in Britain or New South Wales, that did not include religious instruction. Its enemies portrayed the Irish School System in this manner, but its deletion of dogma did not mean deletion of Christian principles. Bourke's original concept linked the Church Act and the Irish School System as conjunctive principles to expand Christianity and morality in a colony destined for greater emigration and self-government.

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The focus on respectability and morality in New South Wales was in part a replication of Britain's hierarchical society where rank dictated behaviour, but more importantly it represented the society's need to prove itself. The Church provided social and spiritual legitimacy in the wider pan-British cultural framework. When Broughton arrived in New South Wales the three Anglican churches in Sydney and Parramatta were symbols of the colonial establishment, with rented pews and boxes arranged in a rigid social order.<sup>63</sup> Like many people, Broughton considered character, and more importantly respectability, as being traits that were fundamental to social acceptability. The perpetuation of a class of elites, as was to be fostered by the King's School for example, was fundamental to Broughton's conception of social stability. They would be drawn from respectable families and schooled in the faith and traditions of the

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<sup>63</sup> Judd, *Sydney Anglicans*, p. 11.

Anglican Church, while general education could be more flexible in its implementation of a more generic Christian morality.<sup>64</sup>

On the ship to Australia in 1829, Broughton's early messages impressed on the convicts that they were sinners and should fear the 'terror of the Lord'.<sup>65</sup> To the convicts this was similar to the Tory justice system, where the transgressor was expected to fear the terror of punishment. To Broughton this was only the beginning of a process that brought corrective and lasting change in behaviour, as 'living under the effect of religious sanctions' would 'gradually substitute the love of God for the dread of punishment for perfect love casts out all fear'.<sup>66</sup> Broughton's sermons were heavily devoted to spiritual objectives and were more Christ-centred than morally focused. His recurrent themes were repentance, salvation, providence, the commission to preach the Gospel, and the battle against the spiritual and temporal enemies of these objectives. In Broughton's conservative Tory worldview, these objectives were primarily the commission of the Church of England, through which salvation was achieved by following its precepts. This would realise a spiritual and personal morality that on a social level would create a harmonious Christian society that was 'blessed by the providence of God'.<sup>67</sup> In Broughton's first public speech after being appointed Bishop, he told of the King's 'paternal solicitude' for the welfare of these colonies, and of the need to implant the institutions of Britain to foster the transference of moral character.<sup>68</sup>

Similar sentiments were expressed in 1836 by a cross-section of the 'respectable' people of the colony who petitioned the King over the 'lamentable depravity of manners ... the fearful prevalence of crime ... and the inadequacy of the means of religious and moral instruction'. They lamented that British laws, undergirded by the 'sure foundation of religion and morality', did not exist in

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<sup>64</sup> Broughton to Darling, 26 January 1830, *HRA*, I, XV, p. 363.

<sup>65</sup> Diary of Archbishop Broughton on the Voyage to Australia, M.C. FM4 225, 13 June 1829.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 June 1829.

<sup>67</sup> See especially, W. G. Broughton, *A Sermon preached in the Church of St James, Sydney, on 12 November 1829, being the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, in Acknowledgement of His Mercy in putting an end to the Late Severe Drought and in Adverting His Threatened Judgement from the Colony*, Sydney, 1829.

<sup>68</sup> *S.H.*, 13 June 1836.

Australia, and wished that ‘under the blessing of Divine Providence ... the laws, the liberties, the arts, the language, and, above all, the moral and religious character of the British community’ would be transplanted. They proposed to raise the moral character by emigration and by ‘the adoption of some well devised scheme of religious and moral instruction’. This was to counter the ‘disorganizing doctrines’ which, ‘under the name of liberty’, were attempting to ‘subvert the landmarks of social order’.<sup>69</sup> These ‘respectable’ petitioners represented the views of the colonial, Tory elite, who strove to display and maintain their social and economic ascendancy. To them, religion was central to the reproduction of British values in a colony that wanted to achieve respectability by attracting ‘moral’ immigrants and erasing the social stigma associated with convictism.

The colonial Tories were seeking to emulate an English hierarchical system in the colony and many men, such as James Macarthur, were mindful of their paternal responsibility in this regard. Much of this stemmed from the assignment system, which fostered a paternal relationship built around an institutional form of master-servant relationship flavoured by the legalities and ideologies of convictism and unfree labour.<sup>70</sup> Many emancipists, however, desired more equality, economically, socially and politically. But as the *Herald* newspaper reminded its conservative readers, ‘Whig principles and Convict principles in Botany Bay are synonymous’.<sup>71</sup> If Bourke’s Whiggery assisted the aims of the Emancipist faction, then Broughton’s High Church Anglicanism complemented the political aims of the colonial Exclusives by providing a powerful lobby and an ideological basis for their conservatism. Education was a platform for their social *mentalité*, as Roe correctly notes in *Quest for Authority*. However, the education question was not simply a matter of conservative versus liberal politics.

James Macarthur’s opposition to Bourke’s education plans were more pragmatic than Broughton’s. Macarthur acknowledged the insufficiency of education

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<sup>69</sup> The Petition of the undersigned Members of Council, Magistrates, Clergy, Landholders, Merchants and other Free Inhabitants of New South Wales, 28 March 1836.

<sup>70</sup> David Stoneman, ‘Convict Assignment in New South Wales in the 1830s: Labour relations between masters and men, with a focus on Castle Forbes’, B.A. Honours thesis, University of New England, 2007; Alan Atkinson, *Camden*, Melbourne, 1988.

<sup>71</sup> *S.H.*, 19 January 1837.

in the colony, and he endorsed Bourke's urgency on the matter.<sup>72</sup> However, he did not consider the Irish System a suitable or acceptable method for the colony. In recounting the events of July 1836, he pointed out that the Legislative Council had received a number of petitions against the Irish System, one having 1300 signatures, which demonstrated significant opposition. He also cited examples from New York and Lower Canada where the removal of parental contribution for education had destroyed any sense of mutual obligation. He claimed that the majority of the colonists were opposed to the Irish System because of deficiencies in its religious program, and on the grounds that New South Wales was significantly different from Ireland. In Ireland he believed it right that Catholics exert a high degree of influence on the school system, but not when they were in a minority, such as in Australia. He proposed the British and Foreign Schools Society as an acceptable solution. This system excluded sectarianism - it was based on Protestantism, 'the true source of morality' - and used appropriate scriptures from the Authorised version 'suitable for young minds'.<sup>73</sup> By endorsing this, Macarthur proposed a much more liberal solution than Broughton, and one that was popular in England. Thus a leading colonial conservative proposed an education system which Bourke had criticised for being too secular.<sup>74</sup>

Bourke had a close relationship with his son-in-law, Reverend John Jebb, but Jebb's criticisms of the Irish School System were similar to Broughton's. 'As a Churchman', Jebb felt apprehensive about the scheme because it 'excluded scripture', forced ministers to submit to a board, and conceded too much to Catholics.<sup>75</sup> Jebb informed Bourke that hardly 'any respectable Clergymen of the Church' had taken advantage of the funding, while 'Priests have been making numerous applications'. He

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<sup>72</sup> James Macarthur, *New South Wales, its present state and future prospects: being a statement, with documentary evidence, submitted in support of petitions to His Majesty and Parliament*, London, 1837, pp. 218-219.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 226-237.

<sup>74</sup> An influence on Macarthur's plan was that many large landowners wanted money allocated to immigration. Bourke's plan meant allocating large sums to education. However, Macarthur was experienced in providing education through the Macarthur Free Grammar School and was therefore qualified to comment. Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: Democracy, Vol. 2*, Melbourne, 2004, p. 64.

<sup>75</sup> Reverend Jebb to Bourke, 20 December 1831, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

believed this made it ‘fatal to the interests of true religion’.<sup>76</sup> In this instance Jebb used ‘true religion’ to signify his conception of pure Protestant doctrine.

Broughton’s decision to use the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) to recruit ministers signifies the direction he was seeking for the Anglican Church in New South Wales. The S.P.G. was an old High Church missionary body that initially showed no interest in the penal colony. The renewal in the organisation through the Oxford Movement worked in Broughton’s favour, providing willing men more suited to his theological and social position.<sup>77</sup> Opposing theological rationalism was a fundamental principle of the Oxford Movement, and something with which Broughton as a High Churchman could easily identify. Liberalism was accused of eroding the ancient traditions of the Church.<sup>78</sup> These were areas where Broughton’s Anglicanism differed from Bourke’s. As we saw in Chapter 2, Bourke’s ideas on worship were High Church, but he believed that the promotion of fundamental beliefs was the best way to expand Christianity. Broughton considered this to be theological liberalism, which in his view undermined the paternal fabric of English life. By controlling education through his schools, Broughton could counter political and religious liberalism, and this became even more critical in the post-Church Act environment.<sup>79</sup> This was not simple conservative ideology or politics to Broughton, as he considered liberalism a direct threat to his perception of true Christianity, which he saw as the historical basis of the social and moral harmony of the English people. The Church Act both assisted and hindered that vision.

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Peter Dunkley has noted that the growth of British emigration was bound up with poverty, economic vitality and social discipline. Removing people from Britain was seen as improving all three.<sup>80</sup> In the 1830s, new immigrants from the lower orders

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<sup>76</sup> Jebb to Bourke, 7 April 1832, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

<sup>77</sup> Judd, *Sydney Anglicans*, p. 35-36; Brian Fletcher, ‘The Anglican Ascendancy, 1788-1835’, in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, Melbourne, 2002, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> B. Porter, *Colonial Tractarians: The Oxford Movement in Australia*, Melbourne, 1989, p. 6.

<sup>79</sup> Austin Cooper, ‘Bishop Broughton and the Diocese of Australia’, in *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>80</sup> Peter Dunkley, ‘Emigration and the State, 1803-1842: The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government Reconsidered’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1980, pp. 356-361.

changed the simple dichotomy between Emancipists and Exclusives in New South Wales, for their social and economic expectations distinguished them from the convict group and the native born. The planned emigration of large numbers of British people to a convict colony intensified the moral debate in Britain and New South Wales.

Broughton considered a parish system centred round the Church and parson as being essential for family migrants, providing them with a familiar environment that might minimise their social dislocation.<sup>81</sup> Despite irregular attendance at churches many English working people claimed to be ‘part’ of a parish church for a range of reasons, including welfare and social benefits.<sup>82</sup> The cultural aspect of churches was seen as a necessary factor in attracting suitable immigrants.<sup>83</sup> The adequate provision of religion was essential to Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s original plan for systematic colonisation. He stressed the need for a range of people, including professionals and clergymen, and in New South Wales he particularly identified the importation of women and the provision of religion as urgent matters.<sup>84</sup> These steps would provide a moral basis to society and attract better quality emigrants. He believed that without the proper provision of religion:

You would have to take what you get in the way of emigrants. Your labouring classes of emigrants would be composed of paupers, vagabonds and sluts: your middle-class of broken down tradesmen, over-reachers, semi-swindlers and the needy adventurer, together with a few miserable wives and a good many mistresses: your higher order of emigrants would be men of desperate fortunes, flying from debt and bedevilment, and young reprobates spurned or coaxed into

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<sup>81</sup> G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 123.

<sup>82</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England*, London, 1963, p. 20.

<sup>83</sup> For example, Tolpuddle martyr, George Loveless, claimed the lack of churches impacted on his decision to leave the colony after being offered free passage to emigrate his family. George Loveless, *The Victims of Whiggery: being a statement of the persecution experienced by the Dorchester labourers*, London, 1837, pp. 28-39.

<sup>84</sup> Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A Letter from Sydney the Principal Town of Australasia*, London, 1829, pp. 186-187.

banishment by relatives wishing them dead. You would sow bad seed, plant sorry offsets, build with rotten materials: your colony would be disgusting.<sup>85</sup>

To Wakefield the provision of religion was fundamental to attract virtuous people, and for transplanting the ‘whole’ aspect of British society. One of his social goals in systematic colonisation was to see ‘happy human beings’ in Britain and her colonies.<sup>86</sup> Religion and morality were also important factors in the political nature of his scheme, because they provided the social legitimacy for claims of self-government, a fundamental part of creating economically independent colonies that remained socially connected to Britain for mutual benefit and dependence.<sup>87</sup>

The moral aspect of emigration consisted of two parts. From Britain’s point of view, emigration was essential in reforming a morally corrupt penal colony, and in reducing social tension in Britain. In the colony, immigration was essential for economic growth and to balance the ‘evil’ nature of convict society.<sup>88</sup> In the 1820s, Robert Wilmot Horton’s tenure in the Colonial Office saw a marked focus on emigration, underlined by the view that social distress was an economic liability that could be solved by removing Britain’s redundant workforce to the colonies.<sup>89</sup> His experiments in state funded emigration to Canada culminated with the emigration commissions of 1826-27, which served to legitimise his ideas. In 1828 and 1830 he introduced to the Commons plans for the emigration of able-bodied paupers using the

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<sup>85</sup> Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A view of the Art of Colonization, with present reference to the British Empire: in letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*, London, 1849, pp. 157-158.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>87</sup> Richard Charles Mills, *The Colonization of Australia, 1829-42: The Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building*, London, 1915, pp. 120-127.

<sup>88</sup> *V&P*, 4 September 1835.

<sup>89</sup> Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, pp. 23-28. A Select Committee reported in 1826 that the ‘redundant population of this country’ could be profitably absorbed in ‘the British Colonies ... [were] there are vast tracts of unappropriated land’. Report from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826, in *BPP: Emigration Vol. 1*, Shannon, 1969, pp. 3-4. The emigration of Irish peasants was a focus of the commission. Kim Lawes, *Paternalism and Politics: The Revival of Paternalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London, 2000, pp. 45, 118-123. At a Select Committee on the State of Ireland in 1825, the evidence presented by Irish landowners, including Bourke, described the county as having some of the worst examples of starvation and destitution in Ireland, and suggested that emigration would be a ‘beneficial blessing’. Bourke endorsed the plans of Horton and Goderich, believing that the able bodied should be encouraged to emigrate instead of relying on poor relief, and that landlords should fund them. Select Committee on the State of Ireland, in *BPP: Emigration, Vol.1*, Appendix 11, pp. 125-147, 205, 339-342.



Poor Rates. Both Bills failed because the government was not prepared to underwrite loans to the parishes to begin the scheme.<sup>90</sup> Later, Lords Goderich and Howick, convinced that the 1830 ‘Swing’ disturbances had been caused by overpopulation, sought to greatly expand pauper emigration, resulting in the Ripon Regulations in New South Wales.<sup>91</sup> There is no doubt Howick used Wakefield’s idea of funding emigration through land sales.<sup>92</sup> This had important implications for both the provision of morality to the lower orders and attracting ‘virtuous’ skilled people, as the provision of religion was considered essential to both.

The colonists reciprocated with a strong desire to receive British emigrants, insisting the initial funds from lands sales be used for ‘respectable females’, mechanics and agricultural labourers.<sup>93</sup> The 1835 Legislative Council commission into migration was even more focused on the skills required for the colony, specifying a need for semi-skilled rural labourers, especially shearers and ploughers, and skilled trades such as carpenters, blacksmiths and stonemasons. This was the economic requirement, but the moral imperative was equally emphasised by most witnesses who desired large numbers of ‘free men of sober habits and good character’.<sup>94</sup> The colonists, however, were overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the quality of assisted immigrants, and grossly

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<sup>90</sup> The findings of Horton’s emigration commission failed to win political support due to the funding issue. It concluded that New South Wales was too distant to viably take part in the scheme due to the excessive cost of passage, despite a strong, well-costed proposal from Edward Edgar. Some critics like William Cobbett and Michael Sadler said it was shipping people from their native lands to the wastelands of Canada, while others feared their departure would simply be negated by repopulation. Report from the Select Committee on Emigration, 1826, pp. 42-47; Lawes, *Paternalism and Politics*, pp. 118-123.

<sup>91</sup> Goderich stated that the objective was to rid the ‘mother country of unemployed labourers’. Goderich to Darling, 9 January, 23 January and 14 February 1831, Goderich to Bourke, 9 July 1831, *HRA*, 1, XVI, pp. 19, 34, 296; Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 42, 155.

<sup>92</sup> Howick explained the 1831 reforms as an attempt to apply Wakefield’s ideas. *Morning Chronicle*, 3 May 1841, in Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 166. Stephen commended Horton’s vision in championing emigration by using the land fund, and rejected Wakefield’s claims to be the inventor of such ideas. He attributed Russell in the Colonial Office in 1840 as the most forceful instigator of Wakefield’s ideas. Sir James Stephen, Address given at the second annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences’ in Paul Knaplund, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847*, Madison, 1953, p. 294.

<sup>93</sup> Report of the Legislative Council appointed to consider the best mode of appropriating the sum of £3600 towards the introduction of useful Mechanics and Labourers into the Colony, attached to Bourke to Goderich, 11 April 1832, *HRA*, 1, XVI, p. 608.

<sup>94</sup> Lord Goderich, Frederick Robinson, had been a Horton supporter throughout the 1820s. Minutes of evidence take before the Committee on Emigration, *V&P*, 18 May 1835.

exaggerated their defects.<sup>95</sup> The understated object of the Ripon Regulations was to relieve distress for Britain, and this coupled with the reputation and distance of the colony, makes it hardly surprising that agents struggled to fill quotas with the high moral and skill requirements of the colonists. Subsequently, the rapid increase in population from 1828 to 1836 was primarily fuelled by convicts and assisted migrants from a similar working class background.<sup>96</sup> This further heightened the perceived need to provide churches for the colony's social and spiritual wellbeing.

Stanley, when Colonial Secretary, pursued his predecessor's emigration policy. After receiving a communication informing him of potential land sales revenue, he confidently estimated that 'not less than £20,000 [was] at the disposal of His Majesty's Government for the promotion of Emigration to New South Wales during the current year'. He decided that three more ships of females would be despatched, and then the rest allocated to general emigration, with an emphasis on young agricultural labourers rather than mechanics.<sup>97</sup> At the same time, the House of Commons requested 'with the least possible delay', a return of all land sales from 1823 to 1834, including the quality of land, to better assess the revenue potential.<sup>98</sup> In the period the Church Act was approved, Glenelg informed Bourke that he was 'not prepared to depart from the principles of Colonization inculcated by Lord Ripon'. Glenelg was also concerned that the rapid dispersion of population would hinder the provision of 'Religious and Scholastic Establishments'.<sup>99</sup> Britain clearly saw New South Wales land revenue as its own asset, but was sensitive to the colony's requirements, in particular the shortage of

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<sup>95</sup> Robin Haines has disputed contemporary stereotypes concerning the uselessness and depravity of the assisted immigrants. Robin Haines, "'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There": Poverty, the New Poor Law and Nineteenth Century Government-assisted Emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 108, 1997, pp. 1-20. See also R. B. Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851*, Sydney, 1969, p. xiii.

<sup>96</sup> Most assisted emigrants were redundant workers from villages and small towns, predominantly agricultural workers and female domestic servants. Haines, 'Idle and the Drunken', p. 20. On the origin of convicts in this period see Stephen Nicholas (ed.), *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, Cambridge, 1988. Jupp says two public institutions, the penal system and the Poor Law, drove emigration to Australia before 1851 and that Australia's reputation as a convict colony drove the majority of unassisted emigrants to America. James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 52. See also Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia, 1788 to the present*, Sydney, 2000, pp. 54-58.

<sup>97</sup> Stanley to Bourke, 8 April 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 405.

<sup>98</sup> Lefevre to Bourke, 28 April 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 411.

<sup>99</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 13 April 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 379. This despatch endorsed Bourke's actions regarding Port Phillip.

women and agricultural workers.<sup>100</sup> The need to provide churches and schools for the expanding population was clearly identified in their plans.

The Colonial Office considered the sexual imbalance in New South Wales a moral 'evil' and early immigration efforts attempted to correct this.<sup>101</sup> Convict transportation had created an extremely masculine society, and the discipline, deference and brutality of the 'system' had a profound impact on masculinity. This was not limited to the convict subculture, as the British military classes who were drawn to the colony created a masculine gentry that was experienced in enforcing harsh discipline to curtail unruly behaviour and insubordination.<sup>102</sup> The importation of women was seen as a civilizing force, as marriage was expected to hinder the spread of homosexuality and drunkenness.<sup>103</sup> The *Monitor* believed the essence of the Christian religion was embodied in family life, although the editor pragmatically favoured the importation of prostitutes as preferable to encouraging homosexuality by denying men their natural right. The gender imbalance was considered as opposing the laws of nature and God.<sup>104</sup>

However, the majority of respectable society did not share the *Monitor's* pragmatism. Bourke complained to Stanley that he could not give 'a good account' of the 232 females who arrived on the emigrant ship the *Layton*, as 'almost unlimited intercourse existed between the seamen and a great number of female passengers during the voyage'. He believed that this 'evil' should be blamed on the broker who

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<sup>100</sup> After a Select Committee on Waste Lands in 1836, T. F. Elliot was appointed Agent General for Emigration. Despite this committee being run by systematic colonizers, the full application of Wakefieldian principles was not undertaken as official policy in New South Wales until 1842 through the Australian Waste Lands Act. This does not include South Australia, which was totally Wakefieldian. The Waste Lands Committee was further action by systematic colonisers to resolve the abnormalities between the South Australian and New South Wales land prices. Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, pp. 215, 312-320.

<sup>101</sup> Goderich to Bourke, 28 September 1831. The Treasury endorsed this policy. Stewart to Howick, 23 July 1831, *BPP: Colonies, Vol. 4*, Shannon, 1970, pp. 180-186, 130.

<sup>102</sup> Raymond Evans and Bill Thorpe, 'Commanding Men: Masculinities and the Convict System', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 56, 1998, pp. 17-23; Clive Moore, 'Colonial Manhood and Masculinities', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 56, 1998, pp. 35-50.

<sup>103</sup> Thorpe, 'Commanding Men', p. 30. Women from all classes were involved in promoting temperance in Britain. Adair, 'Respectable Sober and Industrious', p. 143.

<sup>104</sup> Erin Ihde, 'Send More Prostitutes: An Alternative View of Female Sexuality in Colonial New South Wales', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2002, pp. 35-51.

acted for the Emigration Committee.<sup>105</sup> One of the women, Elizabeth Bryan, was apparently a ‘mental imbecile’ and was placed in an asylum on her arrival until she could be returned. Bourke was concerned that the colony was becoming a repository for parish relief.<sup>106</sup> Female emigrant ships such as the *Layton* and the *Red Rover* caused enormous public controversy. Virtuous Christian women were seen as guardians of morality, and the family was viewed as the centre of social stability. The perceived corrupt nature of the female convict transgressed this moral paradigm not just for the present, but also for future generations.<sup>107</sup> For the women brought out by the land fund to be as morally deficient as the convicts was a public outrage.<sup>108</sup> The following year Bourke claimed the *David Scott* and its 247 females represented better selection, but he still estimated that one sixth were ‘low and profligate women’. He accused the agents of lowering their standards in the desire to fill vessels. Bourke intimated in correspondence to the Colonial Office that the colonists believed their land fund was being used by Britain to suit British interests.<sup>109</sup>

This raises a particular misunderstanding. The colonists saw it as their land fund to develop their colony. The English saw the colonial waste lands as an imperial asset; ‘providential’ funds under the control of the British Government with the colonists’ rights being within the limits of their settled land.<sup>110</sup> In 1837 official despatches from Britain demonstrate a greater focus on emigration to New South Wales funded through land revenues. Glenelg was looking at a more ‘systematic and efficient promotion of Emigration to the Australian Colonies’. He requested six monthly reports on prices in the colony and the demand for labour, believing this

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<sup>105</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 21 Jan 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 343.

<sup>106</sup> Bourke to Stanley, 20 March 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 395. The Colonial Office forwarded a reply from the emigration agent who blamed Bryan’s ‘imbecility’ on ‘the journey and the circumstances of leaving England’. E. Foster to Hay, 12 Sept 1834, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 510.

<sup>107</sup> Ihde, ‘Send More Prostitutes’, pp. 35-51; Damousi, ‘Depravity and Disorder’, pp. 33-37.

<sup>108</sup> Deborah Oxley notes the impact of class differences on this perception, but race, religion and language, especially with Irish domestic servants. Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: the forced migration of women to Australia*, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 200-204.

<sup>109</sup> Bourke to Spring Rice, 13 February 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 658.

<sup>110</sup> Russell claimed in 1840 that the ‘waste lands’ were not just for the colonists but held in trust for the ‘British Empire collectively’. See Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 315. H. G. Ward was proposing to legislate for a greater expansion of wasteland sales to emigrate larger numbers from Britain to benefit the colony and increase the market for British products, which had declined in some European markets. *The Debate upon Mr Ward’s Resolutions on colonization in the House of Commons, 27 June 1839*, London, 1839. pp. 18-36.

information would assist in the encouragement of emigration.<sup>111</sup> Glenelg agreed with Russell that transportation should be replaced with ‘an extensive system of free emigration’ to satisfy the demand for labour.<sup>112</sup> There had previously been no systematic approach to New South Wales emigration.<sup>113</sup> Its focus was on exporting redundant workers, and women to rectify a moral dilemma created by Britain.<sup>114</sup> This intensified the scrutiny of social morality in New South Wales, as the future welfare of British emigrants was both a political and moral concern.

In New South Wales in the 1830s, British emigrants formed an economic and moral function. The Church Act provided money to establish church networks that would attract virtuous immigrants and provide a moral compass for the mix of working-class convicts and emigrants who were streaming into the colony. The fact that the Colonial Office approved such a large revenue allocation for the expansion of religion, while leaving general education in the hands of the colonists with no specific direction, diminishes Roe’s case for moral enlightenment and solidifies the argument that the expansion of Christian belief was considered the principle means of extending morality. The expansion of religion through the Church Act satisfied the requirements of Christian humanitarians and systematic colonisers by replicating the spiritual and social basis of British society.

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<sup>111</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 23 March and 29 April 1837, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, pp. 705, 739.

<sup>112</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 26 May 1837, and Grey to Phillips, 29 April 1837, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, pp. 763-764.

<sup>113</sup> The more systematic application of Wakefield’s ideas could be linked to Robert Torrens’ appointment as chair of a commission to implement colonisation policies. In 1835 Torrens’ writings attracted the interest of men such as James Stephen but this committee was called a waste of time by Torrens. When it was streamlined in 1839 and Torrens became one of three commissioners, Wakefieldian ideas became more systematically applied, but by this time Wakefield himself was out of favour with many political elites and was working on a project in Canada. Jarlath Ronayne, *The Irish in Australia: Rogues and Reformers, First Fleet to Federation*, Melbourne, 2002, pp. 172-173.

<sup>114</sup> Stephen had been particularly opposed to Wakefield and distrusted his motives. Stephen had more humane views regarding emigrants, colonists and natives beyond simple economic arguments. W. P. Morrell, *British colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 41-43; Trevor William, 'James Stephen and the British Intervention in New Zealand, 1838-40', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1941, p. 28; Edith Dobie, 'Molesworth's Indictment of the Colonial Office, March 6, 1838', *The Pacific History Review*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1944, p. 382.

In the 1830s the gender imbalance in New South Wales significantly influenced public opinion regarding the moral nature of the colony. The initial focus of immigration policy was to correct the imbalance in order to ‘raise the moral tone of society.’<sup>115</sup> Of particular concern was the idea that the imbalance bred rampant homosexuality. Molesworth’s Select Committee on Transportation, for example, consistently questioned witnesses on this subject, seemingly wishing to posit ‘unnatural crime’ as evidencing both the general perversity of convict transportation and the disordered morality of the penal colony.<sup>116</sup> On this and other matters, Molesworth capitalised on both the reputation of ‘Botany Bay’ and the heightened moral sensibilities of the English middle classes, in order to portray Australia as the ‘moral quagmire of the Empire’.<sup>117</sup>

At the same time, there were many others, such as the British MP, Thomas Potter McQueen, who extended the moral imperative to both sides of the world without any Wakefieldian ideology. McQueen believed the British government was legally responsible for supporting the lower classes and that the ‘Charitable Institutions of the Mother Country’ should conduct large-scale emigration, especially in areas of greatest suffering, as this would ‘be a source of blessing and happiness instead of discontent

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<sup>115</sup> Forbes to Bourke, October 1835, Bourke Papers, Vol. 11, M.L.

<sup>116</sup> Molesworth addressed questions concerning homosexuality to most witnesses who obliged him with affirmative answers but little specific detail. For example, E. A. Slade claimed it happened to a ‘great extent’. S. C. Transportation, in *BPP: Transportation, Vol. 2*, Dublin, 1968, p. 68. Ullathorne’s evidence, which included claims of bestiality, was most shocking and highly scandalous. S. C. Transportation, in *BPP: Transportation, Vol. 3*, Dublin, 1968, pp. 15-25. Mudie claimed he had heard ‘a number of horrid reports about boys’ with some being called female names such as ‘Kitty’. *Transportation, Vol. 2.*, p. 44. For his comments on bestiality see, S.C. Transportation, *Transportation, Vol.3*, p. 26. On homosexuality in the colony, see Catie Gilchrist, ‘“This Relic of the Cities of the Plain”: Penal Flogging, Convict Morality and the Colonial Imagination’, *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 9, 2007, pp. 15-25; Moore, ‘Colonial Manhood’, pp. 35-50; Babette Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain: the startling legacy of the convict era*, Sydney, 2008, pp. 174-195.

<sup>117</sup> Smith, *Australia’s Birthstain*, p. 202. Smith stresses the long history of negative British perceptions of ‘Botany Bay’. J. Richie, ‘Towards ending an “Unclean Thing”: The Molesworth Committee and the abolition of Transportation to NSW 1837-1840’, *Historical Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 67, 1976, pp. 144-164. Isobelle Meyering notes how Australian nationalist historians condemn Molesworth for destroying the reputation of NSW to advance the aims of systematic colonisers, while British imperial historians portray him as a campaigner for social justice. Isobelle Barrett Meyering, ‘Abolitionism, settler violence and the case against flogging: a reassessment of Sir William Molesworth’s contribution to the transportation debate’, *History Australia*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2010, pp. 6.1-6.18.

and wretchedness'. McQueen was adamant this type of internationality was needed to secure the necessary immigration for the colony because of the 'opprobrious name of Botany Bay'.<sup>118</sup>

The use of flogging as a means of social control was one aspect of New South Wales that was increasingly opposed by humanitarians.<sup>119</sup> The Castle Forbes incident in the Hunter Valley created a controversy over convict insubordination, but it also generated questions regarding the conduct of masters and appropriate discipline. The *Sydney Gazette* argued that strict obedience must be accompanied with consideration and humanity, and that 'in nine cases out of ten good masters make good servants'. Acts of 'violence or plunder committed by assigned servants on their employers' perhaps suggested 'something of the character and humanity of the later'.<sup>120</sup> Molesworth utilised the perception of corrupting power to suggest that the morally deficient social fabric of New South Wales hindered the reformation of convicts. This extended to questioning how people from lower down the social order who had obtained riches conducted themselves and spent their money.<sup>121</sup> In other words, the Molesworth committee questioned their right to be considered gentlemen. The point is that the moral reputation of New South Wales was well established in the British mind, despite attempts to counter it by various emigration advocates over the years such as Wentworth, Eggar and Lang, and this underwrote schemes for the emigration of women and the expansion of religion. Even though much of this reputation was based on popular misconceptions, it serviced the idea that the colony was not morally prepared for self-government. Molesworth merely confirmed this and thus solidified the arguments of colonial Tories.

Bourke believed the plan to 'vilify' the colony by exaggerating the extent of crime and immorality was promoted by colonial Tories to foil any move to elected

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<sup>118</sup> Minutes of evidence take before the Committee on Emigration, *V&P*, 18 May 1835.

<sup>119</sup> Gilchrist, 'Relic of the Cities', pp. 3-12. Meyering has pointed out how this punishment was linked to slave societies. Meyering, 'Abolitionism', pp. 6.1-6.18; Dinesh Wadiwel, 'The Sovereign Whip: Flogging, Biopolitics and the Frictional Community', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 76, 2003, pp. 117-125.

<sup>120</sup> *S.G.*, 26 November 1833.

<sup>121</sup> See especially, S.C. Transportation, *Transportation*, Vol. 3, pp. 101-108.

legislature that might erode their social and political dominance.<sup>122</sup> Historian Peter Cochrane concludes that colonial demands for constitutional reform were rejected on ‘sociological grounds’, because the Colonial Office was cautious towards societies divided by race and civil status, especially after the battle with West Indian planter assemblies over slavery.<sup>123</sup> The Exclusive faction in New South Wales targeted morality to demonstrate that the colony was not ready for elected representation. Part of this entailed degrading Bourke’s humane governorship and claiming that crime was extensive and increasing.<sup>124</sup> Convict discipline, jury reform and adjustments to the magistrates were all portrayed as radical, when actually they embodied moderate Whig and humanitarian views.<sup>125</sup> The conservatives petitioned Parliament for a commission of enquiry into the state of colonial society and the transportation system before any new act of governance was introduced.<sup>126</sup> The Molesworth Commission, in Bourke’s view, was a ‘decided misrepresentation of the moral and social conditions’ of the colony. He thought it ‘painful to see how grossly the Committee has been deceived’, and feared it would cause Parliament to delay self-governance and resign ‘70,000 free people’ with ‘£300,000 revenue’ to be governed by ‘14 people appointed by the crown’, all because of a perceived moral deficiency.<sup>127</sup>

In the 1830s the nature of New South Wales society and its proximity to the fertile colonisation grounds of South Australia and New Zealand brought its morals under the microscope.<sup>128</sup> The Australian colonies were also becoming increasingly important from a trading perspective, and labour shortages were identified as the

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<sup>122</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 2 April 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>123</sup> Peter Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition: Foundations of Australian Democracy*, Melbourne, 2006, pp. 14-15.

<sup>124</sup> Paul LeRoy, ‘The Emancipists, Edward Egar and the Struggle for Civil Liberties’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 48, No. 4, 1962, pp. 294-295.

<sup>125</sup> For example, *S.H.*, 11 and 25 January 1836.

<sup>126</sup> The Petition of the undersigned Members of Council, Magistrates, Clergy, Landholders, Merchants and other Free Inhabitants of New South Wales, 28 March 1836.

<sup>127</sup> Bourke to Bulwer, 8 February 1839, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

<sup>128</sup> This also included Port Phillip, as the Colonial Office was being lobbied by Scottish investors regarding settlement there. See G. Mercer to Glenelg, 26 January 1836, Edinburgh agent for the Geelong and Dutigalla Association, attached to Glenelg to Bourke, 13 April 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 379.



primary hindrance to economic growth.<sup>129</sup> The passing of the South Australia Act in August 1834 began the process of founding of the first fully-fledged Wakefieldian experiment of 'self supporting colonization', relying on private capital for its existence.<sup>130</sup> The first edition of the *South Australian Gazette* stated 'we do not want idlers here – no drunkards'. Their requirements were tantamount to a Puritan checklist, demanding only law-abiding, God fearing, thrifty, hardworking and temperate workers.<sup>131</sup>

The 1830s saw a heightened sense of Puritan morality and respectability in both Britain and New South Wales. The colony was seeking social and political legitimacy and British emigrants were fundamental to this plan. Meanwhile, in Britain the New South Wales land fund was seen as a lucrative source of revenue to relocate its redundant workers and alleviate social problems, particularly in Ireland. The Select Committee on Transportation easily manipulated the moral reputation of the penal society, and it blamed the alleged sexual sin, drunkenness, and crime on convictism and a deficiency in the provision of religion. In many respects, sin and religion were more the focus of the young Philosophical Radical, Molesworth, than education or any secular moral solution. The Church Act was seen by this commission as an attempt to address this deficiency. From his first speech to the Legislative Council, Bourke identified religion, education and emigration as a means to reshape the penal colony into a settler colony, where the political and civil institutions of Britain would be instituted. The liberal Anglican Whigs had definite ideas on the Christian basis of these rights, while the Evangelical block in the Colonial Office had even greater moral sensibilities in this area. This will be explored in the final chapter.

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<sup>129</sup> The Debate upon Mr Ward's Resolutions on colonization in the House of Commons, 27 June 1839, London, 1839, pp. 42-55.

<sup>130</sup> Wakefield criticised its governance and land price as being inappropriate. Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, pp. 230-242.

<sup>131</sup> Adair, 'Respectable Sober and Industrious', pp. 131-132.

## Chapter 9: Morality as a product of Christian society

This chapter contrasts secular interpretations of belief against a more expansive interpretation of both orthodox and non-orthodox Christianity. It considers the liberal Whig idea of Christian citizenship as a means to counter Enlightenment infidelity and unify and expand Trinitarian Christianity through religious and education policy. This makes the quest for authority in New South Wales in the mid-1830s a battle between competing forms of orthodox Christianity, with both sides believing that their model was the most effective way of extending Christian belief to create a more moral society.

Manning Clark supervised Michael Roe's PhD thesis at the Australian National University, from which *The Quest for Authority* was derived. Clark, in *A History of Australia*, used the concept of moral enlightenment as a contrast, or even a competitor to Christian knowledge in Bourke's period of governorship:

While the leaders of the various Christian denominations were exposing each other to public derision another group of men, spurred on by the hope that the spread of the Enlightenment would promote that peace of earth and good will to all men which the leaders of the Christian churches professed but singularly failed to observe.<sup>1</sup>

This 'group of men' were the mechanics of the *Stirling Castle* who under the leadership of 'Mr Henry Carmichael' started a Mechanics Institute in Sydney in 1833. Clark portrayed the institute as a force in the diffusion of useful education and 'subjects of moral enlightenment such as lectures on intemperance' that made men 'both better and happier'. According to Clark, the 'teachers of the Enlightenment' had predicted that this knowledge 'would follow man's liberation from the promises of religion, and its vile stress on the depravity of man'. He indirectly linked Bourke to this type of belief by claiming him as the patron of the few 'who took up the promise of the fruits of moral enlightenment'. He selectively quotes Carmichael's initial lectures, which were printed in the *New South Wales Magazine*. Clark made similar assumptions

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<sup>1</sup> C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia: Vol. II, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1822-1838*, Melbourne, 1968, p. 201.

regarding Carmichael's Normal School, in which 'no one would be taught religious opinions', for the 'Enlightenment' would provide the moral salvation of men.<sup>2</sup>

However, by looking at Reverend Carmichael's introductory discourse at the Sydney Mechanics Institute, we find the advancement of knowledge as having both temporal and spiritual benefits. First, the individual benefited by learning more productive methods, thereby promoting material advancement, and also countering ignorance, which fostered moral improvement and participation in society. Second, the 'universal spread of knowledge' benefited the 'mental and moral relationships of social life', because this had historically increased 'political freedom', 'civil privileges' and 'religious liberty' to advance civilization.<sup>3</sup> These lectures could be interpreted as a solid endorsement of secular knowledge as fundamental to moral advancement and even moral enlightenment. Then again, they could also be interpreted as a lecture in Scottish Moral Philosophy. Carmichael used knowledge as a means of bringing civilization to barbarism, and also as a way to increase prosperity through greater productivity and a better understanding of economics.<sup>4</sup> He did not refute Christian belief. On the contrary, he endorsed scientific discovery and study as a way for humans to 'unlock the mysteries and laws of nature' as a 'blessing of God' to mankind.<sup>5</sup> One conception of common sense moral reasoning in the nineteenth century was that the act of sin could be modified. This redefined Puritanism to place more emphasis on personal moral choices.<sup>6</sup> Knowledge, progress, civilization and Christianity were interconnected principles. Carmichael's religious critiques were directed towards 'superstition', not 'real religion', and he especially criticised the Pope for referring to learning as a 'dangerous thing'. This was extended to those who for religious or political reasons desired to maintain the existing static social order, because improvement was part of human nature and endorsed by God.<sup>7</sup> This discourse

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202, 218.

<sup>3</sup> *New South Wales Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 2, September 1833, pp. 68-78.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-79.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-78; Vol. 1, No. 3, October 1833, p. 157; Vol. 1, No. 4, November 1833, pp. 213-216.

<sup>6</sup> Mark Noll, 'British Methodological Pointers for Writing a History of Theology in America', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey, Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009, p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> *New South Wales Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 2, September 1833, pp. 68-78; Vol. 1, No. 3, October 1833, p. 157; Vol. 1, No. 4, November 1833, pp. 213-216.

contained a mix of Calvinist and Enlightenment thought that is consistent with the history of the relationship between the Church of Scotland and the Scottish Enlightenment, something that Carmichael intimately connected.<sup>8</sup>

Clark's assertion that Bourke's support for this organisation reflected a desire to promote moral enlightenment is hard to sustain in light of Carmichael's correspondence on the matter with Dick Bourke. Unable to meet with Governor Bourke, Carmichael sought Dick's assistance in asking the Governor to become president of the proposed Mechanics Institute. In these letters, Carmichael expressed his devotion to the teachings of Evangelical leader, Thomas Chalmers, especially his volume on Political Economy. He outlined a vision for the institute as a facility to foster increased knowledge and skill to 'superior workmen' to enhance their talent and raise their moral and material well being for the 'permanent comfort of the labouring classes'. He pointed out to Bourke the importance of this in a society where the lower classes were acquiring property. For this reason he believed an 'independent minded peasantry' needed guidance and 'general knowledge – scientific, moral, political and religious'. Bourke declined the offer to be president but agreed to become patron.<sup>9</sup> This is hardly a resounding endorsement of its principles as it was common for colonial governors to become patrons of non-profit organisations. Carmichael was the driving force behind the initiative and it took a number of letters for him to obtain Bourke's support.

The lack of popularity of the Sydney Mechanics Institute in the 1830s is an example of the over-emphasis Clark and Roe have placed on moral enlightenment in this period. By 1836 the Institute had only 233 members. The third annual report lamented the fact that only a small proportion of Sydney's mechanics had become members despite the modest annual subscription.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the *New South Wales*

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<sup>8</sup> Malcolm Prentis claims one of Carmichael's particular interests was reconciling science and religion, and applying it to useful knowledge. Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1983, p. 180. Carmichael was more intent on promoting useful knowledge over the more conventional means of training men's minds through the traditional. B.A. Jarlath Ronayne, *The Irish in Australia: Rogues and Reformers, First Fleet to Federation*, Melbourne, 2002, pp. 82-83.

<sup>9</sup> Carmichael to Bourke Jnr, 23 February 1833, 19 March 1833, 19 May 1833, 7 October 1833, Bk., Ps., M.S.S. 403/13.

<sup>10</sup> Annual Report of Sydney Mechanics Institute 1836, *Australian*, 12 July 1836.

*Magazine*, which dedicated four issues to championing Carmichael's Mechanics Institute, lasted less than a year. The magazine claimed to consist of a 'social fraternity ... fanning and feeding the energies of intellect' who were not 'welded' to any 'political or religious party'.<sup>11</sup> The proprietors certainly promoted the intellectual and social advancement of the colony through letters, articles and speeches, although the editorial stance promoted the moral superiority of Protestant thought and belief rather than advancing any secular or Deist idea. The lack of interest in a magazine purporting to promote liberal, enlightened thought, says much about the intellectual climate in the 1830s. The *Sydney Herald* still dominated media sales. Carmichael's Mechanics Institute was relatively insignificant, and Bourke was hardly an enthusiastic patron of the few 'who took up the promise of the fruits of moral enlightenment'.

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Roe's moral enlightenment theory utilised the assumption that elites employed religion merely for its social utility, ignoring the goal of spreading Christianity.<sup>12</sup> This has endorsed a historical trend that has denied Christianity a positive, formative role in the creation of Australian society.<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly, many secular ideas evolved in the 1840s and 1850s. An increased focus on Deism can certainly be noticed from reading Broughton's sermons from 1829, yet his main contention was that the Anglican Articles countered false Christian doctrine, not widespread unbelief.<sup>14</sup> One of the main theological changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the idea that Christian thinkers needed to defend the rationality of their belief.<sup>15</sup> The adjustment of religious ideas to new knowledge, especially rationality, meant rejecting the idea of supernatural miracles. This did not mean people stopped believing, but it changed how

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<sup>11</sup> *New South Wales Magazine*, Vol. 1, August 1833, pp. 298-307.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Clark, *A History*, Vol. II, p. 330.

<sup>13</sup> Mark Hutchinson, 'Introduction', in Mark Hutchinson and Edmund Campion (eds.), *Re-visioning Australian Colonial Christianity: New Essays in the Australian Christian Experience, 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1994, p. 29

<sup>14</sup> For example, Broughton, 'The Principles of Church of England Education', Sydney, 1849, in W. G. Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England; Its Constitution Mission and Trials*, London, 1857, pp. 37-42.

<sup>15</sup> R. Hole, *Pulpits, politics and public order in England, 1760-1832*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 60.

they related to God.<sup>16</sup> The educated, humanist, atheist ideology, which viewed all religion as mere superstition, belonged to a small minority in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, and was primarily centred in London. British historians have attributed the growth of secular ethical movements, such as Roe's moral enlightenment, to the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

In the 1830's, the Rotunda, a centre for radical free thought in London, fell apart when its leaders, Robert Taylor and Richard Carlisle, were imprisoned for blasphemy, being casualties of the great social prejudice against 'infidelity'.<sup>18</sup> Carlisle, when found guilty, portrayed himself as a modern Jesus, championing true religion.<sup>19</sup> Even George Combe's cutting edge *Phrenology Journal*, which from 1831 scientifically challenged the idea of sin and the need for repentance, still presented God's laws as retributive and corrective in a way that resembled the Calvinism of Combe's youth rather than natural religion or Deism.<sup>20</sup> Historian Mark Clement found English popular radicalism was permeated with the language of the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*. He does not see this as simply promoting the Deism and natural religion of Thomas Paine, due to the constant reference to Biblical writings and the teachings of Jesus in radical workingmen's publications. Christ was often portrayed as a radical from a working background who was persecuted by the religious elites of His time.<sup>21</sup> The need for radicals to legitimise their social and political objectives within a basic Christian framework reveals something about the nature of the underlying belief structure of working people.

This thesis maintains that the Irish School System was not secular. The secular approaches to morality that were gaining ground in England in the 1830s and the 1840s were considered unacceptable in Ireland in all areas of society. Morality was

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<sup>16</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth-Century*, Cambridge, 1975, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960*, London, 1977, pp. 9-15; Chadwick, *Secularization*, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief*, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Mark Clement, 'True Religion: Christianity and the Rhetoric of Early Nineteenth-Century English Popular Radicalism', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1996, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 194, 198, 208.

<sup>21</sup> Clement, 'True Religion', pp. 1-4, 6.

considered as a function of the churches, and the two dominant groups, the Catholics and the Presbyterians, used religion as a form of social cohesion and discipline. When the school system was implemented it was sectarian differences that caused the less dominant group to pull out in particular areas.<sup>22</sup> Roe claimed that Carmichael's opposition to clerical teaching in schools was part of his commitment to moral enlightenment, but like many educators of his time the elimination of Christian dogmatic contentions from schools was the principle motive for countering sectarian conflicts.<sup>23</sup>

Phillip Gregory has proposed that 'natural religion' occupied the place in religious thinking that has often been attributed to secularism. His definition of natural religion is faith in a providential God manifest in nature and capable of special intervention. He claims this was fostered by the Australian environment, and from the lack of organised religion. He portrays the essential religious battle in the colony as being between this idea and Evangelical Christianity, but his tendency to classify all people who found God in nature, or who had Christian belief but shunned orthodox religion, as falling into the category of natural religion, does not adequately differentiate between plebeian popular religion and the more intellectual forms of Socinian and Deistic thought.<sup>24</sup> It does, however, provide a much more realistic alternative to more simplistic and general assumptions of secular thought or practical atheism.

The warning of God's judgement in the present age, not just the future, was a constant theme in contemporary preaching. Punishment could be directed towards the individual, or, as in the preaching of Broughton and Lang, related to national judgements. Both were providential in enforcing God's will on a recalcitrant people. To some extent this was a reflection of the moral temperament of the times, demonstrated by the recourse to hell's torments by the emotional appeals of the preacher. The ideas emanating from Christian renewal movements were less

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<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Ridden, "Making Good Citizens": National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850', PhD, University of London, 1998, p. 89.

<sup>23</sup> Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, Melbourne 1965, p. 178.

<sup>24</sup> Phillip Leonard Gregory, 'Popular Religion in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1788 to the 1850s', PhD, University of New England, 1994, pp. 375-377.

accommodating to folk belief or Deistic views. To some extent, the rational belief of the Deist or the Transcendentalist promoted a less judgemental creator, which could be seen as a backlash against the concept of an angry God.

These contentions bring to light a fundamental battle between orthodox forms of Christian belief and plebeian popular religion. The same strict Christian principles of salvation which Gregory classes as the Evangelical opposition to natural religion were also promoted by High Churchman Broughton, Catholics Polding and Ullathorne, and Presbyterians such as Lang. All of these men were pious and zealous, but also educated into fairly narrow theological and dogmatic viewpoints. Simple deviations from their orthodox principles were often perceived as indifference or even infidelity, without any sympathy for the cultural perspective or undemonstrated sincerity behind the belief. This explains how the worst prisoners in the British Empire confessed their sins to Ullathorne, and how mass murderers sought repentance on the scaffold. Some ministers did at times express a more realistic perception of convicts as people who had turned from the moral responsibility of their Christian culture, but most enforced rigorous orthodox standards of Christian morality. In this context the Church Act, rather than promoting moral enlightenment, attempted to extend orthodox Christian belief and morality to a population that was imbued with concepts of Christianity and morality more associated with the plebeian culture of the lower orders.

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Lord John Russell was a long-term parliamentary supporter of religious toleration, prison and education reform, and political rights. His ascension maps the increasing power of his liberal Anglican faction in the Whig party, particularly after the 1835 election. At this time, his appointment to the Home Office gave him a direct influence on New South Wales, as he was responsible for both convict transportation and Irish policy. He believed harsh penalties did not deter crime, nor did inconsistencies of sentence, and he began to reform transportation with the view of having the colony's reliance on its labour replaced by immigration.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> J. Russell, *An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution from the Reign of Henry VIII to the present time*, London, 1821, pp. 192-196. On Russell's humanitarian reforms of the system see Stephen to Phillipps, 13 June 1836, CO 202/35. For



In the 1820s Russell was a driving force behind the Repeal, Emancipation and Reform movements. He lost his seat in 1830 to a Methodist agitator after he publicly criticised their movement for intolerance.<sup>26</sup> In 1833, after a tour of Ireland, he became convinced that Irish tithes should be replaced by a land tax to be used for the concurrent endowment of the Catholic, Presbyterian and Anglican clergy by the state. He informed Lord Grey of his views but they were not made public at the time.<sup>27</sup> Interestingly, he formulated these ideas almost at the same time as Bourke's plan was released in New South Wales. Russell's plan was politically unachievable, not just because of the opposition of the Stanley faction in his own party, but because the Dissenting bodies that supported him on Emancipation opposed any public funds being used to subsidise priests.<sup>28</sup> In the Commons in 1834, Russell proposed extending the funding to general education, inflaming the internal party conflict between the Grey, Stanley and liberal Anglican factions. In 1835 he introduced the Irish Tithe Bill, which proposed to allocate surplus revenues to the general education of all classes of Christians. The Bill was abandoned after the Lords rejected it.<sup>29</sup>

Russell was one of the most aggressive advocates for reform in the Whig party. After the Reform Act his attention was directed to issues of religious toleration, inconsistencies in religious funding, and humanitarian and criminal justice reforms. For this reason Roe firmly places him in the moral enlightenment camp. However, when looking at his values we find a man who was committed to the advancement of Christianity as a precursor to political and civic responsibility. He was also a critic of the Enlightenment and the Philosophers - the fundamental intellectual pillars of Roe's moral enlightenment 'superstructure'.

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Russell's plan to reform and then phase out the system see Phillipps to Stephen, 15 April 1837, attached to Glenelg to Bourke, 26 May 1837, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 763.

<sup>26</sup> Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: Vol. II*, Oxford, 1995, p. 423.

<sup>27</sup> Russell to Grey, 2 October 1833, Grey Papers in G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 36-37.

<sup>28</sup> Raymond G. Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent: The Religious Aspect of Liberal Humanitarian Reform Movements from 1815 to 1848*, London, 1959, p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> Machin, *Politics and Churches*, pp. 38-39.

Apart from political works, Russell wrote a number of popular histories and fictional books.<sup>30</sup> A number of these books are currently held in the Mitchell Library, with some originating from the library of Richard Bourke.<sup>31</sup> Russell rejected the popular assertion that the Reform Bill was a ‘triumph of the Liberal Party’, claiming ‘I never entertained such partial expectations nor such unjust desires’. His objectives centred on the Whig ideal of providing liberty with order, thereby ‘deserving the confidence of the people’.<sup>32</sup> He found ‘unlimited despotism and uncontrollable democracy’ equally ‘unfavourable’, but he believed in total freedom of conscience in matters of religion.<sup>33</sup> Despite believing his reforms would ultimately strengthen the Church and ‘alter and improve the Tory party’, he was bitterly opposed by conservative Anglicans, and he believed the efforts of their clergy against his reforms had ‘a considerable effect on the public mind’.<sup>34</sup>

One of his most popular works of history was *The Causes of the French Revolution*, which criticised the immorality of the French kings, especially Louis XIV, whom he claimed was unduly influenced by men such as Voltaire.<sup>35</sup> Voltaire was one of the most ardent advocates of natural religion, which perpetuated Deistic ideas in Enlightenment thought.<sup>36</sup> Russell believed this contributed to the social corruption of France. He extended this corruption to the elite clergy who dominated the poor and ‘virtuous’ country clergy. By denying Protestants toleration, the Catholic Church had become unduly powerful in a state where justice was perverted. Russell claimed that the failure of the French rulers to adapt their civil institutions to increases in wealth and knowledge contributed to their downfall, because it allowed the ideas of the Philosophers to take root in the oppressed classes. He criticised their ideas as ‘mistaken

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<sup>30</sup> In the 1820s and 1830s Russell produced five works of history and three works of fiction and also contributed to *The Times* and the *Edinburgh Review*. Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841*, Oxford, 1987, p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> The books contain Bourke’s name in his own handwriting. When Bourke left the colony he left a lot of personal possessions in the hands of his son-in-law Deas Thomson, which explains why the books remained in the colony. Thomson to Bourke, 25 July 1838, Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

<sup>32</sup> J. Russell, *Letter to the electors of Stroud: on the principles of the Reform Act*, London, 1839, pp. 9-13, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Russell, *History of the English Government*, pp. 87-90, 99.

<sup>34</sup> Russell, *Letters to Stroud*, p. 30.

<sup>35</sup> J. Russell, *The Causes of the French Revolution*, London, 1832, pp. 100-116.

<sup>36</sup> Peter Gay, *Deism: an Anthology*, Princeton, 1968, pp. 143-145.

and unfounded theories', and was particularly harsh on Voltaire for his 'Deist' attacks 'made against the Christian religion'. Russell considered this as hypocritical as he claimed Voltaire was regularly known to take communion and rebuilt a church in his old age.<sup>37</sup> He argued that Voltaire's writings mirrored the corruption of the elites and were full of anger, envy and hatred.<sup>38</sup> To Russell, the Philosophers produced 'vague theories of a social contract of a new order of liberty and equality'.

Beyond Voltaire, and Rousseau, or rather beneath them, were ranged another school of philosophers who signalled themselves by a false taste in writing, a false system in morals, and an absurd theory in religion ... [they] had no religion to establish, no new road to wisdom of which they were the guides.<sup>39</sup>

Russell ridiculed Diderot for claiming that when 'men become enlightened they will discover that the true road to happiness is by the way of innocence and virtue', when his own life fell well short. Russell believed knowledge alone would always be corrupted by passion without a Christian basis. He argued that:

The morality of nations is intimately connected with its religion ... It is not enough to say that you leave the obligations of natural morality and penalties of the law: these have never been found sufficient for the guidance and the check of human passions ... in the days of Roman wisdom and sensual licence Christianity arose to impose a new moral check upon mankind ... [Christianity was] the faith of all things that was really worthy, high-minded and respectable in France ... to men whose notions of honesty, piety, self sacrifice ... when therefore its foundations were sapped in their minds ... it remained only a vague generality, [making them] totally powerless in checking any bad passion or restraining any unlawful desire.<sup>40</sup>

These ideas formed the basis of Russell's Christian citizenship, where Christian belief was fundamental to personal and social morality. This also underwrote his

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<sup>37</sup> Russell, *Causes of the French Revolution*, pp. 100-116.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230-236.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

humanitarian views, because he believed the people must be taught that God ‘despises corruption and vice and upholds the poor’.<sup>41</sup> In France, despots and dogma perverted this principle, and this is why he felt passionately about common Christian education, because education was not only for the mind, it was essential to ‘form the character’.<sup>42</sup>

Russell’s ideas regarding the importance of a Christian nation are not dissimilar to those of Broughton, who also preached that nations in history have fallen when the ‘fullness of God’ has failed ‘to take general possession of the inhabitants of the land’, and that without a religious conscience there can be ‘no security, to liberty, property, peace or life’.<sup>43</sup> Fundamentally, Russell disagreed with the Tory’s belief that power was held in the Church and King and any attempt to undermine it was damaging to the nation. He believed real power was held in the people’s belief in the justice and utility of power, and their demands for increased civil and political liberty needed the moral compass of Christianity.<sup>44</sup>

To Russell, Christianity contributed to the superiority of nations and its neglect was a cause of decay and decline.<sup>45</sup> Richard Brent, after examining a wide range of Russell’s papers and writings, concluded that his toleration was coupled with Christian piety. Russell believed in the principle of state support for religion because voluntarism could lead to theologically questionable fanaticism that was divisive and created sectarian problems. He desired a socially unifying Christianity that was biblical, undogmatic and comprehensive. Other liberal Anglicans, especially Spring Rice and Bourke, shared this vision. To them, religion was a constitutional necessity for securing the morality and prosperity of a nation, and if the established Church could not fulfil this mandate then the commission must be expanded to include

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>42</sup> He also criticised the Turks for corruptly using Islam in the same manner; oppressing the people and retarding the advance of knowledge and commerce. J Russell, *The Establishment of the Turks in Europe: An Historical Discourse*, 1828, pp. 45-52, 109-116; Russell, *History of the English Government*, p. 198.

<sup>43</sup> W. G. Broughton, *Religion Essential to the Security and Happiness of Nations*, Sydney, 1834.

<sup>44</sup> Russell, *History of the English Government*, pp. 87, 111, 115, 198; Russell, *Causes of the French Revolution*, pp. 129, 193, 213.

<sup>45</sup> Russell, *Establishment of the Turks*, pp. 109-116; Russell, *Causes of the French Revolution*, pp. 129-137.

Dissenters and Catholics.<sup>46</sup> Subsequently, this group saw the promotion of religion through the Church Act as essential in an expanding colony with the moral reputation of New South Wales.

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In the Athamik pamphlet, Bourke articulated the same critique of the Philosophers as Russell. This was not dissimilar to Edmund Burke's observations on the French Revolution, and it can be assumed that both men drew influence from such an influential Whig.<sup>47</sup> Richard Bourke upheld the perseverance of Catholics in France under the 'Voltaireic battery', which 'undermined' the 'national faith', and when 'Popery' had been overtaken by the 'doctrines of Robespierre', men endured martyrdom 'for the essentials of our common creed'.<sup>48</sup> He criticised those who demeaned Catholics and 'take up religion as a lounge ... and go through a course of theology, as they might of chemistry, for amusement'. Bourke classified Lancaster's educational ideas as 'anxious on education' but 'easy on the subject of religion':

It seemed as if you fed a child's mind it is all the nourishment he required, [and] by reading, writing and arithmetick, all the ills will be cured ... In the meantime, Christianity was left to spring up under the mere genial influence of heaven.<sup>49</sup>

Bourke argued that schools which inspired Catholics to 'scorn' their ministers, encouraged people to desert their faith and possibly become 'infidels'. From a paternal perspective it also fostered separation from the moral guidance provided by the social and spiritual community of their church.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 55, 61-63.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and proceedings in certain London Societies relative to that event*, London, 1790.

<sup>48</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820, p. 40.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42, 44-45.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Bourke subscribed to the idea that ‘Religious improvement should be the main end proposed for our attainment, in the education of the poor, [and] the great and ultimate object in the furtherance of their education should be to establish them in the knowledge, education and practice of the Christian religion’.<sup>51</sup> Where he differed from Bishop Mant, and later Bishop Broughton, was that this did not mean making good Anglicans, but ‘good Christians’, and he equally rejected both Catholic and Anglican claims to embody ‘pure and undefiled religion’.<sup>52</sup> He believed that educating people in Christian knowledge would cultivate ‘enlightened reason’, which would ultimately draw them to spiritual truth and along the way encourage moral conduct. One of Bourke’s primary moral goals was to teach boys to ‘postpone their wish for gain’ and increase their ‘desire for honour and reputation’. He felt that by improving scholars ‘in genuine Christianity we make them better members of Society and of the State’.<sup>53</sup>

In Bourke’s first speech to the New South Wales Legislative Council, he identified the improvement of morals as a primary goal. His strategy was to use the support of public revenue for the expansion of religion and education, and the emigration of free workers.<sup>54</sup> In one address to the Legislative Council in August 1835, he stated that the rapid growth of the colony in ‘numbers and wealth’ required ‘the creation of new establishments and the augmentation of old’. He informed the council that people from various denominations had indicated a desire to build churches in numerous districts. He believed ‘it was befitting the Government of a new Country to encourage by liberal donations, a disposition on part of the inhabitants, tending directly to the honour of God and the good of man’.<sup>55</sup> After the Church Act was approved he gave a similar speech regarding the expected increases in expenditure maintaining they were ‘proper and necessary’ to keep religion alive in the ‘early periods of establishing a colony’.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 56.

<sup>54</sup> *S.H.*, 23 January 1832.

<sup>55</sup> *V&P*, 4 August 1835.

<sup>56</sup> *V&P*, 11 August 1836.

In these statements Bourke captured the essence of his belief. The extension of Christianity was seen by him as a way to honour God by a devout man who was aware of his providential destiny. But also, religion was for the good of man as it established people in a right relationship with God and taught them sound principles. Bourke believed it was justifiable to use the power of government and the revenue entrusted to it to encourage the expansion of religion. This was not some attempt to control churches by the state to utilise them as moral police, or a mechanism to extend moral enlightenment. Roger Therry described the intention of the Church Act as ‘impartial assistance’ based on voluntary contributions where the state could ‘abstain from deciding questions of truth and error’. In this way the state could render aid without interference in religious matters. Therry believed aid to the clergy in no way impaired their independence or usefulness.<sup>57</sup> Education reformers in Britain, such as Spring Rice, also denied that providing Irish priests with a stipend was a political measure. He claimed priests would not be compromised due to their dedication to Godly service.<sup>58</sup> Part of the reason why Bourke recommended the establishment of an Anglican bishopric was to have an ecclesiastical head in the colony for the effective discipline of clergy, because he knew ‘none so difficult to manage as an insubordinate Churchman’.<sup>59</sup> This could also be interpreted as instituting a measure to control the clergy, but if taken in the context of Bourke’s military background, his disapproval of ‘eccentric wandering from the Christian orbit’ in ministry, and the necessity to ensure the effective use of public money, the measure was understandable.<sup>60</sup> He wanted the money spent effectively on diligent ministers who were accountable to an ecclesiastical head, because even before the Church Act it was difficult to exert any control over the clergy in matters relating to the performance of their duty. Bourke maintained that the Church Act established ‘religious liberty in the fullest extent’, because it enabled the government ‘to assist the exertions of any denomination of Christians for providing a Minister of their creed and a place of worship’.<sup>61</sup> There is no doubt Bourke viewed

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<sup>57</sup> R. Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria*, Sydney, (1863) 1974, pp. 142-143, 154.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Spring Rice, 'Speech of H. G. Ward Esq MP moving certain resolutions respecting the Irish Church in the House of Commons', *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 60, No. 122, 1835, p. 500.

<sup>59</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 12 March 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>60</sup> Athamik, *Letter to Charles Grant*, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> *V&P*, 11 August 1836.

Christianity through denominational lenses, as the three dominant groups obtained the initial benefits, but in his mind the Act could be extended if other denominations obtained sufficient support. There is no evidence of state control being exerted, only state assistance.

When advising Glenelg about his plans for the settlement of Port Phillip, Bourke recommended that, initially, churches would use the voluntary principle, as he was expecting a greater diversity of 'creeds' among potential immigrants. He considered a settlement founded on free emigrants purchasing land, well able to support their own churches.<sup>62</sup> At this time he requested Governor Arthur's opinions regarding church policy at the new settlement, expressing his caution at not wanting to burden finances when approval for his church and schools policy in New South Wales was imminent.<sup>63</sup> In the past, Bourke had demonstrated similar pragmatic responses to funding. In 1835 new Church of Scotland ministers were only allocated £100 compared to the £150 he provided the new Catholic priests. This was because the Scots had offered to subsidise their ministers and Lang had boasted that a high proportion of the Scots were free immigrants, not emancipists. Similarly, Bourke increased Polding's stipend to £500, while Lang as unofficial leader of the Presbyterians received only £350. Obviously, a Protestant minister with a family required a larger income than a Catholic priest, but this was not just simply a matter of Bourke favouring Catholics. Rather the virtuous Scottish immigrants whom Lang claimed supported his church were considered more able to contribute. On the other hand, Bourke saw the Catholics as representing a large proportion of the poorer members of society, less able to support their religious and educational needs. In explaining increased Catholic funding to the Colonial Office he wrote: 'It could not be less without neglecting the religious instruction and education of the numerous and poor Persons of this persuasion in this colony'.<sup>64</sup> Bourke had dealt with social problems in Limerick, and in the 1830s

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<sup>62</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 10 October 1835, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 18 September 1835, 17 August 1835, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

<sup>64</sup> Bourke to Goderich, 29 June 1833, *HRA*, 1, XVII, p. 155. The Catholics constituted a large proportion of the poor in the colony. J. Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales, 1788-1860*, Sydney, 1974, pp. 71-103.



Limerick and Tipperary were the top counties from which Irish convicts were derived.<sup>65</sup>

Bourke considered that the ‘desire of knowledge which had lately pervaded the nations of Europe’ was beginning to be felt in the colony. This included ‘professional learning’, ‘practical learning’, and ‘arts and music’. However, considering the rising prosperity of the colony, general education had been neglected for the ‘poorer classes’.<sup>66</sup> His willingness to perpetuate this ‘desire of knowledge’ could be construed merely as an endorsement of Enlightenment secular principles, but if viewed in the context of Bourke’s belief system, and what he was actually proposing in his national school system, much less secular objectives can be discerned. Bourke had a very liberal Anglican concept of knowledge, which considered the secular and spiritual as conjunctive principles. This was rationality derived from a spiritual perspective, and distinct from the rationality and morality based on more secular Enlightenment values promoted by Lord Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, emphasised by historians such as Roe and Clark.<sup>67</sup> These differences extended to politics, as Spring Rice and Bourke were close to Lord Grey’s moderates who opposed Brougham’s radical Whiggism.

Primarily, Bourke saw Christianity as fundamental to morality. In one complaint to the Colonial Office regarding ‘30-40 abandoned characters from the streets and the penitentiary’ placed by agents on an Irish female emigrant ship, he particularly criticised the ‘lack of Bibles and Prayer books’ provided on board.<sup>68</sup> On a trip to the Hunter region, when he stayed at T. Potter Macqueen’s ‘Segenhoe’, he told the people of Maitland in an address that ‘what is of paramount importance is providing for the religious and moral culture of the present and future generations’.<sup>69</sup> He believed his general education system would help counter the ‘vices of the parents’.<sup>70</sup> In Council, he made it clear that his education proposal would ‘promote

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<sup>65</sup> Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, p. 63.

<sup>66</sup> Bourke’s opening address to the Legislative Council, *V&P*, 2 June 1836.

<sup>67</sup> Ridden, ‘Making Good Citizens’, pp. 98, 99.

<sup>68</sup> Bourke to Glenelg, 11 November 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 587.

<sup>69</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 24 November 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>70</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 18 October 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

generally the religious and moral education of all classes'.<sup>71</sup> As discussed in previous chapters, Bourke went to great lengths to assure people publicly that what he proposed was denominationally neutral Christian education, not a secular system.<sup>72</sup>

Bourke's liberal ideas must be placed in their Whig context. He never made a claim for natural rights; liberty was based on moral individuals and liberal governance producing a free and prosperous society. He, like Spring Rice and Russell, looked to Christian citizenship as the fundamental basis of society, which Ridden argues was born in the 1820s in Ireland and became a British Christian citizenship in the 1830s, as the reform process instituted policies of inclusion to foster greater social and political justice. This linked morality to a spiritual dimension, namely Christian salvation, which was essential for individuals and for nations (as set out by Russell). This became a useful model for dealing with colonial demands.<sup>73</sup>

When responding to the Presbyterians on his departure, Bourke informed them:

I consider myself more than ordinarily fortunate in having been enabled to place the people of this land in the full and assured possession of religious freedom; and I am thoroughly convinced that the ministers of the Presbyterian Church will use the privilege they have obtained for the honour of God and the good of man.<sup>74</sup>

Bourke again linked the spiritual and temporal nature of his plan in this recurrent phrase.

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Harold Perkin has argued that the cultural shifts caused by the dominance of the 'entrepreneurial ideal' in the 1830s were less obvious in Parliamentary reform, but

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<sup>71</sup> Bourke speech in Legislative Council, *S.H.* 11 July 1836.

<sup>72</sup> *S.H.*, 11 July 1836.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', pp. 59, 255-268.

<sup>74</sup> *S.G.*, 9 December 1837.

more influential in the attitudes of men in the ‘corridors of power’.<sup>75</sup> Perkin attributes a great deal of influence to Utilitarians and Dissenters, but in looking at the Colonial Office in the 1830s, a considerable amount of influence must be attributed to Anglican thought, especially Evangelical Anglican. For example, Goderich, like Glenelg, was a centrist who had very liberal leanings and served in both Tory and Whig cabinets, but he was also a dedicated High Churchman. As a Canningite he supported Emancipation and Reform, but resigned with Stanley over the threats to the Church of Ireland.<sup>76</sup> Spring Rice was a member of Bowood House and mixed with Utilitarians, but he was also a devout Anglican and a close friend of Evangelical leader Thomas Fowell Buxton. He supported Church reform because he believed a ‘clergy without flocks’ was a scandal that endangered the Christian basis of the nation.<sup>77</sup> In relation to the redirection of Irish tithe money to education and the supporting of Catholic priests, he believed Parliament had a ‘moral and equitable right to do what is best for Christianity and the public good’.<sup>78</sup>

The Christian influence of James Stephen has been established in Chapter 6. He clearly possessed a strong vision for the expansion of religion in Australia. When George Arthur was first appointed governor of Van Diemen’s Land, Stephen impressed on him the importance of establishing a Christian state in the south within reach of the ‘Chinese, Hindu and Mohammedan’ nations.<sup>79</sup> His power increased in the Colonial Office after the appointments of Glenelg and George Grey, as these men had generational connections to Evangelicalism, missions, and Clapham Sect humanitarianism. Glenelg’s father, Charles Grant Snr, after a life-transforming religious experience, became one of the pillars of the Clapham Sect. He founded the Church Missionary Society in 1799, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, was

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<sup>75</sup> Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, London, 1969, p. 309.

<sup>76</sup> P. J. Jupp, in H. G. C. Mathews and Brian Howard Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, Vol. 47, pp. 324-328.

<sup>77</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 237-238; Ellis Archer Wasson, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 46, p. 655. Bowood House was the country home of Henry, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne (1780–1863) who had been a school friend of Richard Bourke, and both he and Spring Rice had sought his patronage. Bourke expressed satisfaction when he named the Lansdowne Bridge, an impressive colonial structure, after this man. [www.bowood-house.co.uk](http://www.bowood-house.co.uk), accessed 3 July 2009. See also, Bourke to Spring Rice, 26 December 1829, 22 March 1834, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>78</sup> Spring Rice, 'Irish church revenue', pp. 494, 511, 517.

<sup>79</sup> Stephen to Arthur, 4 January 1824, Arthur Papers, Vol. 4, M.L.

prominent in the Christian mission to the Scottish Highlanders, and believed it was Britain's providential duty to evangelise India. To advance this cause, he wrote a tract on methods to spread education and Christianity to India. He was a close friend of Evangelical spiritual leader, Reverend Charles Simeon, and in Parliament in 1813, he and Wilberforce succeeded in passing a Bill that opened India to Christian missionaries.<sup>80</sup> The Clapham Sect believed it was Christianity and not merely knowledge that made people happy and virtuous. Wilberforce made a number of speeches in Parliament proclaiming that Christian education was necessary to transform societies.<sup>81</sup>

Charles Grant Jnr followed his father into the Tory party and became one of the Canningite Tories Lord Grey recruited into the new Whig government in 1830. He has been described as an 'enthusiastic evangelical' who was passionate about Indigenous rights.<sup>82</sup> As Colonial Secretary, Glenelg placed pressure on all colonial governments to prevent the illegal flogging of black workers.<sup>83</sup> He endured a great deal of political damage by opposing systematic colonisers in New Zealand, due to his conflict of interest as a committee member of the C.M.S. who were seeking to maintain free access to the colony for their missionary efforts to the Maoris. Stephen, Glenelg and George Grey were all key members of the C.M.S. whilst in the Colonial Office.<sup>84</sup>

Sir George Grey, nephew of Earl Grey, was born into an extremely pious Evangelical family. As a young man, he was intent on joining the Church and studied

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<sup>80</sup> Penelope Carson, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 23, pp. 291-293. Charles Simeon was the supreme influence on preaching for the Anglican Evangelical movement in the first half of the nineteenth century. See John R. W. Stott, 'Introduction', in Charles Simeon, *Evangelical Preaching: An Anthology of Sermons by Charles Simeon*, Portland, 1986, pp. xxvii-xli.

<sup>81</sup> Robert J. Hind, 'William Wilberforce: Reformer and Social Educator', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1986, p. 395.

<sup>82</sup> G. Marlin, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 23, pp. 293-295.

<sup>83</sup> *General Results of Negro Apprenticeships as shown by Extracts from the Public Speeches and Despatches of the Governors of Various Colonies, and of Lord Glenelg as Secretary of State for the Colonial Department*, London, 1838.

<sup>84</sup> Edith Dobie, 'Molesworth's Indictment of the Colonial Office, March 6, 1838', *The Pacific History Review*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1944, p. 382; Trevor William, 'James Stephen and the British Intervention in New Zealand, 1838-40', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1941, pp. 19-35; Richard Charles Mills, *The Colonization of Australia, 1829-42: The Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building*, London, 1915, Chapter 10.

theology for two years, but left because he felt unworthy. He was considered a ‘deeply religious’ man with ‘an ever present sense of sin’ and a ‘strong sense of providence’. His wife was the daughter of Bishop Ryder of Litchfield, the first Evangelical to be raised to the Anglican episcopate.<sup>85</sup> Grey’s questioning of witnesses at the Molesworth Commission in 1837 reveals a definite bias towards matters of religion, humanitarianism and morality. He expressed interest in the treatment of women with illegitimate children, including Aborigines, and wanted to know if convicts baptised their children.<sup>86</sup> He questioned Macarthur as to whether the recent Church Act had ‘addressed adequately the deficiency of religious instruction’. Macarthur believed it would ‘create religious feeling in the colony’. In regards to education, Grey informed Macarthur that his personal opposition to the Irish School System was because it did not use the Authorised Version of scripture, but since Glenelg had instructed that this be used in New South Wales, he could not understand Macarthur’s claim that there were ‘very strong feelings’ against it in the colony.<sup>87</sup> Despite his strong Anglicanism, Grey supported toleration and non-sectarian education.<sup>88</sup> He questioned Lang regarding the provision of religious instruction to the convicts. Lang also replied that he felt the new initiatives would address the problem.<sup>89</sup> When Ullathorne recounted his missionary success on Norfolk Island to the committee, Grey questioned him very intently, obviously expressing great interest.<sup>90</sup> Grey strongly supported Christian missions and when in London he often spent Sunday afternoons visiting the poor in St Giles.<sup>91</sup> Other influential men in the Whig party at this time, including Lords Travistock, Althorp, Milton, Radnor and Ebringham, and Henry Parnell, Francis Baring and Poulett Thomson, were all devout men. Most of this group were active in missionary, humanitarian and Bible societies. Milton and Glenelg were often lampooned by opponents as ‘Puritans’.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> M. Creighton, *Memoirs of Sir George Grey*, 1884, quoted in David Frederick Smith, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 23, pp. 839-841.

<sup>86</sup> S.C. Transportation, in *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Transportation, Vol. 2*, Shannon, 1969, p. 44-47.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 23, p. 839.

<sup>89</sup> S.C. Transportation, *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Transportation, Vol. 2*, p. 234.

<sup>90</sup> S.C. Transportation, *BPP: Crime and Punishment, Transportation, Vol. 3*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>91</sup> Smith, in Mathews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 23, pp. 839-841.

<sup>92</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 237-242; Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics*, pp. 58-59, 125-137.

Very early in Glenelg's term as Colonial Secretary, his Evangelical principles influenced his ideas on New South Wales. He met with Elizabeth Fry, whom he praised for her work with female prisoners in Britain, informing Bourke that he was 'anxious to give every countenance to [her] suggestions', and 'confident that you [Bourke] will concur with me in the desire to carry into effect these suggestions'.<sup>93</sup> A fundamental principle of Evangelical prison reform promoted by advocates such as Thomas Fowell Buxton and Fry was that Christianity could remove evil passions and inspire a person to live a better life.<sup>94</sup> Glenelg became concerned that there had not been a report on the Female Factory since Darling's governorship. He asserted his commitment to the 'reformation of offenders', and desired all efforts of 'moral discipline' to be as effectual as possible. After receiving bad reports in regards to moral superintendence at the Factory, he requested a report including 'means of moral and religious instruction' and the names of the clergymen who attend to it.<sup>95</sup> Clearly he related moral discipline to religion, not education.

Glenelg's Christian imperative is clearly articulated in his formal approval of the Church Act. One enclosure provided a copy of a memorial from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) to the Colonial Office with an added note that 'His Majesty's Government are deeply sensible of the importance of promoting the great object to which the Memorial refers', and Glenelg fully expected that Bourke would give it the attention it deserved. The Society felt itself 'called upon by the urgency of the case to bring the moral and spiritual condition of this Colony under their notice', castigating the government for its lack of financial allocations, considering the rapid increase in population. It claimed that 'Spiritual destitution' was common in many parts of the colony, even by the free settlers. Sacraments were rarely provided, and marriages were unable to be solemnised without difficulty. It lamented that many children died unbaptised, and that the:

apprehension of being deprived of a Christian burial is found to prevail to a painful extent among the Colonists, who are at a distance from the Stations. But

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<sup>93</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 5 February 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 289.

<sup>94</sup> Richard Ely, 'Pains and Penalties: The Religio-Moral Economy Penal Transportation to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land', in Hutchinson, *Re-visioning Christianity*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>95</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 10 December 1836, *HRA*, 1, XVIII, p. 611.

the worst effect arising from this state of things is the visible decline of Religious Principle, and the Progress of vice and irreligion in the Colony at large ... The Society, willing to do everything in its power to alleviate these evils, has recently placed a considerable sum at the disposal of the Archdeacon. ... [but the Society believed] ... The Religious Instruction of the people ought not to be left to the bounty of Religious Societies or private individuals.<sup>96</sup>

This moral imperative was not from the purveyors of secular moral enlightenment or the entrepreneurial class. It was from their supposed opponents, the conservative High Churchmen, and Glenelg concurred with their opinion that public revenue should be allocated to promote religion.

By leaving the education question in the hands of the colonists, Glenelg made it clear that whatever system was chosen, the Authorised Version of the Scriptures was to be used in the Schools, for he was ‘Persuaded’ that ‘Education founded on the Scriptures is the best calculated to produce those permanent effects, which must be the object of every system of Education’. He wished ‘that it may be thought practicable to place the whole of the New Testament in the hands of the Children; but, at all events, I hold it to be most important that the extracts in question should be of a copious description’.<sup>97</sup> Finally, Glenelg wanted to encourage Sunday Schools as he felt they provided ‘fuller Religious Instruction than can usually be given in any daily Schools of general Education’.<sup>98</sup> His formal decision on the church and school policy for the colony was very specific in endorsing the immediate expansion of religion. It was less specific regarding education, but adamant that sufficient attention should be given to religion in its implementation. This demonstrates that his primary intention was the expansion of Christianity. If secular moral enlightenment was a priority, there would have been much more comprehensive instructions and encouragement to implement general education. When Stephen was writing to the Treasury to obtain additional funding approval from the British funded Military Chest, as opposed to Colonial revenue, for itinerant ministers for the convicts, he explained that the purpose was to

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<sup>96</sup> Memorial Addressed to His Majesty’s Government by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, *ibid.*, Despatch 3, p. 210.

<sup>97</sup> Glenelg to Bourke, 30 November 1835, *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

‘promote a religious and moral influence on convicts’.<sup>99</sup> If the Colonial Office harboured any other form of moral ideal, then some form of education scheme would have been mooted. This was never considered in any stage in the era of convict transportation to New South Wales, as religion was always considered the moral means to reform convicts.

Toleration was another important aspect of the Church Act, or at least the extension of equality to other major churches, especially the Church of Scotland. As discussed in Chapter 6, Principal Mcfarlane’s claim for additional Church of Scotland funding in the colonies brought a positive response from Glenelg’s Colonial Office. He was informed that ‘His Majesty’s Government’ was ‘fully prepared to admit the claims throughout the British colonies’. This correspondence specifically mentioned the Church Act in New South Wales and how that colony had ‘recently adopted the principle that contributions shall be supplied from Public Revenue in the aid of Religious Worship’, in proportion to private contributions. The despatch claimed that the measure invited the Church of Scotland to ‘equally’ share the public funds ‘applicable to the general object of religious instruction’.<sup>100</sup> A number of important points emerge from this source. First, it implied ‘equal’ funding for the Church of Scotland throughout all the colonies, representing a wider policy of toleration and expansion of religious instruction throughout the Empire. The letter also upholds the policy of New South Wales as a progressive advance in the support of religion, before the Colonial Office received confirmation that the Legislative Council had passed the Act. It states the principles embodied in the Church Act had been recommended to the legislative bodies, which by its wording takes ownership of the initiative. This assertion concurs with the conclusions of Rowan Strong who views New South Wales after the Church Act as pioneering a new imperial paradigm for Anglicanism.<sup>101</sup>

When the emancipation of slaves was being considered in the 1820s, Bathurst and Stephen in the Colonial Office insisted on two principles: ‘the right of the Planters to compensation and the duty of the Public to prepare by Religious Instruction the

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<sup>99</sup> Stephen to Spearman, 18 March 1836, CO/202/33.

<sup>100</sup> George Grey to Mcfarlane, 11 August 1836, in John Lillie, *A Letter from the Reverend John Lillie, in reply to the observations made to his Introductory Sermon in a Letter Published by the Reverend William Hutchins*, Hobart, 1837, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, 1700-1850*, 2007, pp. 285-286.



Minds of the Slaves for such a change'.<sup>102</sup> In many respects the Church Act embodied a similar program for the convict colony of New South Wales. Stephen and Glenelg were both advocates of allowing colonies to initiate reform, rather than having to impose policies that may be resented by local populations. As Evangelicals and supporters of missionary activity, the Church Act assisted their objective of expanding Christianity, and this explains Glenelg's enthusiastic support in encouraging its implementation and acquiring ministers for his fellow Scots, after he was able to secure approval against the opposition of Broughton and his High Church colleagues. By attaching the memorial from the S.P.C.K. to the approval despatch, Glenelg confirmed that he was using the initiative to allay their fears, and demonstrate his own convictions of neglect in this area.<sup>103</sup> The basis of the approval for church and school policy was directed exclusively towards extending traditional Christian belief.

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New South Wales was part of a wider British destiny. In the 1830s, whilst still primarily seen as a place to absorb and morally reform the convicts of Britain, its role was being expanded. Despite its penal role, the hierarchical order of society was still seen in relation to a British model, which was a nation established by God, upheld by the King and the Parliament. This authority was delegated in the colony to the Governor and the Legislative Council. The system mimicked the British theatrical elements of justice and mercy, but the executions and floggings that were part of this process became amplified in this penal society with the regulated master-servant relationship embodied in the assignment system again providing an extreme version of a British social function. The social legitimacy of this British model was upheld by the perceived righteousness of the system, endorsed by natural law and religion, to the general population.<sup>104</sup> The challenge of re-creating a version of British civil society in

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<sup>102</sup> Lord Bathurst, Minute, 1825, in D. M. Young, *The Colonial Office in the Early Nineteenth Century*, London, 1961, p. 74.

<sup>103</sup> This conviction was evident in his response to Broughton's criticism of convict neglect and his willingness to obtain approval for itinerant ministers quoted in Chapter 3.

<sup>104</sup> Tim Castle, 'Constructing Death: Newspaper reports of executions in colonial New South Wales', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 9, 2007, pp. 51-68; Catie Gilchrist, "'This Relic of the Cities of the Plain": Penal Flogging, Convict Morality and the Colonial Imagination', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, Vol. 9, 2007, pp. 3-14; Dinesh Wadiwel, 'The Sovereign Whip: Flogging, Biopolitics and the Frictional Community', *Journal of*

the peculiar social environment of New South Wales was difficult, but essential as the population of freemen grew, and this task consumed both Broughton and Bourke.

Broughton had a very fundamental view of social and political relations, primarily revolving around Richard Hooker's idea of the state and the church as 'personally one society'.<sup>105</sup> Theoretically in this model, the individual functioned as part of an organic whole, subjugated to the constraints of rank, paternal deference and duty. Repeal and Catholic Emancipation had been 'evil' reforms that undermined the Church, but by maintaining its 'inner strength' Broughton believed it could still fulfil its spiritual and social function.<sup>106</sup> He witnessed this happening in England through the Oxford Movement's call for renewal, and he considered it part of God's 'providential purpose for the preservation of His Truth'.<sup>107</sup> In Australia, through the Church of England, he sought to foster a conservative sociology where the moral fabric of the nation was underwritten by Christian truth, which needed the organisational strength and unity of the Anglican Church to dominate its enemies.

Bourke desired the same moral society underwritten by a Christian nation, but from a much more inclusive perspective where Christian truth was not monopolised by one sect. In responding to the Catholic clergy's farewell address on his departure, he expressed great pleasure in their 'reforming and improving the character and conduct' of their people. He encouraged them to 'instil in their minds the love of God and of their neighbour and be assured that in thus consulting their temporal and eternal interests', they would be 'conferring an important service to the state'.<sup>108</sup> These sentiments link Christianity's temporal and eternal benefits for individuals, as being important for the nation. Bourke's Christian motives are clear in the language he used when writing to his son about the Church Act (quoted in Chapter 3) regarding the 'clergy labouring in the Vineyard'. This letter expressed distinctly Christian

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*Australian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 76, 2003, pp. 3-14; Isobelle Barrett Meyering, 'Abolitionism, settler violence and the case against flogging: a reassessment of Sir William Molesworth's contribution to the transportation debate', *History Australia*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2010, pp. 1-28.

<sup>105</sup> Richard Hooker (1554-1600) was an influential Anglican theologian. William J. Wolf, John E. Booty, Owen C. Thomas, *The Spirit of Anglicanism: Hooker, Maurice, Temple*, London, 1986; Broughton to Coleridge, 14 October 1839, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>106</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 14 October 1839, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>107</sup> Broughton to Coleridge, 3 April 1840, M.C. FM4 225.

<sup>108</sup> *S.G.*, 9 December 1837.

expressions of pleasure, so much so, that he felt that he could ‘wind up his affairs in the Colony with satisfaction’.<sup>109</sup> In this instance, religious advancement had demonstrated moral improvement. In Bourke’s case, as with most contemporary Christians, morality was the fruit of belief and immorality the proof of infidelity. The outworking of a truly Christian society was expected to produce social morality. This was the basis of liberal Anglican Christian citizenship, and the Church Act demonstrated Bourke’s confidence that a common multi-denomination Christian purpose was an effective solution in New South Wales, as well as in his native Ireland.

James Macarthur in *New South Wales its present state and future prospects* supported Bourke in progressing religious expansion, and even applauded the ‘zealous’ labours of the Catholic clergy. He saw ‘cheerful prospects’ resulting from the Church Act and voluntary contributions, both in the colony and in Britain, and looked forward to the ‘higher prosperity, which consists in the possession of an enlightened, moral and Christian population’.<sup>110</sup> This could be viewed as an endorsement for using religion to spread moral enlightenment, but in the context of Macarthur’s book it is cast purely within the framework of advancing his conservative Christian worldview, which exhibited both a piety and sense of manifest destiny in its outlook. His book highlights the moral and social disadvantages of the colony and his solution is based on the expansion of Christianity and education, but with a denominational Christian outlook. Macarthur was much more tolerant of Catholics and Presbyterians than Broughton, acknowledging their right to adequate funding for ministry to their respective adherents.

Christianity was a contemporary gauge of national and individual morality. Men like Broughton directed this exclusively to Anglicanism, but more pragmatic and liberal men were more inclusive. Overall, moral improvement and the spread of civilization was predominantly linked to the expansion of Christian morality.<sup>111</sup> The prevailing worldview in the 1830s was still overwhelmingly Christian, and that is why

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<sup>109</sup> Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 August 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>110</sup> J. Macarthur, *New South Wales its present state and future prospects: being a statement, with documentary evidence, submitted in support of petitions to His Majesty and Parliament*, London, 1837; Bourke to Bourke Jnr, 21 August 1836, Bourke Papers, Vol. 6, M.L.

<sup>111</sup> Ridden, 'Making Good Citizens', p. 69.

the Church Act received such wide consensus as a means to foster morality, because it was unquestionably assumed that morality was a by-product of a Christian society. In Britain and throughout the Empire, the 1830s saw an increased focus on expanding the effectiveness of Christian morality. The liberal Anglican solution was to recognise the rights of Dissenters and Catholics, and to foster their expansion. In New South Wales, a society reputed to be depraved and immoral, a more radical solution was enacted through Bourke's plan, where public finances were used to stimulate the expansion of religion. As the colony contained people who were considered morally deficient, the only remedy was to import 'virtuous' labourers and mechanics, or transform the existing society. The expansion of religion solved both problems, because the provision of churches would attract the type of emigrants desired, and also reform the existing population.

Canada, like the United States, was dominated by a non-Episcopal Protestant ethos, while the more conforming British Anglican and Catholic religions dominated New South Wales.<sup>112</sup> This engendered more traditional cultural linkages, making the denominational direction of the Church Act quite appropriate for promoting Christianity in New South Wales. This, however, intensified the cultural aspect of New South Wales sectarianism, as each denomination was closely affiliated to their respective English, Irish and Scottish heritage, contributing to their sense of personal and corporate identity. In the longer term, the Church Act may have made it difficult for smaller home-grown sectarian groups to form, as they did in the United States and Canada, and this formed the basis of Lang's criticism of government support.<sup>113</sup> But undoubtedly, Christianity was given a more public role in New South Wales through the Church Act and became a partner in creating a righteous and educated nation.<sup>114</sup> This was something that was traditional in British society, being ingrained in the principles of Church and State, which were being expanded by the religious reforms of the 1820s and 1830s to include Catholics and Dissenters. Naturally, this same practice was used in the colonies, modified to suit the peculiarities of specific populations. In New South Wales the high proportion of Catholics, and the moral concerns relating to

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<sup>112</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 291.

<sup>113</sup> D. W. A. Baker, *Days of Wrath: A Life of John Dunmore Lang*, Melbourne, 1985, p. 161.

<sup>114</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of Churches in Australasia*, Oxford, 2001, p. 74.

the penal colony, allowed Bourke to extend extremely liberal concessions to Catholics that were not even politically possible in Ireland, specifically equal state support for the income of priests and the building of Catholic churches.

Broughton claimed in 1846 that most of the money he had raised for churches was not from the landed elite, but from the middle classes. The middle class in this period was noted for its piety, but it should have also been the most educated in Enlightenment thinking.<sup>115</sup> Instead, they were the principal supporters of Broughton's attempt to establish the conservative cultural bulwark that Roe identified as being the natural enemy of moral enlightenment. After reading Bourke's resignation in the *Australian* newspaper, a 'Committee of Australian Youths' convened against the governor's 'foes'. 'May it be a pleasure to your Excellency to know that on land or sea at home or abroad the prayers and good wishes of the Colonial Youth shall ever and always be for you and your family's welfare'.<sup>116</sup> This anti-conservative group, far removed from any British cultural baggage, strongly supported Bourke's reforms and expressed decidedly Christian sentiments in their farewell message.

In portraying the battle for influence in New South Wales, Roe puts Broughton's conservative Christianity on one side, and Harpur's moral enlightenment on the other. Gregory puts Evangelical Christianity on one side and natural religion on the other. By broadening Gregory's proposal, a more comprehensive picture can be exhibited. First, Evangelicalism could be expanded to encompass belief in Atonement or the recognition of the redemptive power of Christ, because as I have demonstrated in Part 1, this was a fundamental belief of the beneficiaries of the Church Act, namely the churches represented by Broughton, Lang, Polding and Ullathorne, not to mention the Methodists, who were added later. Second, natural religion could be broadened to encompass all forms of convergent Christianity, including Deism and other plebeian non-orthodox Christian views. Here we see the fundamental differences that were addressed by the Church Act. The common Christianity envisioned by Bourke, Spring Rice, Russell and other Whig liberals was designed to promote an orthodox form of

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<sup>115</sup> Baker, *Days of Wrath*, p. 66.

<sup>116</sup> Private Letter to Bourke, 25 January 183? (date unclear), Bourke Papers, M.L. M.S.S. 403/7.

Christianity, not some Deistic natural religion embodied in moral enlightenment. The advancement of Christian belief was intended to create a moral population, and a multi-denominational Christian citizenship, worthy of political and civic responsibility.

## Conclusion

In the 1830s, the rise of the Whigs and the disarray of the Tories in the reform period signalled the demise of the *ancien regime*, which saw the Tories regroup as a conservative force and the Whigs embrace more liberal partnerships. Both groups were heavily influenced by religious ideas and inherently troubled by a perceived diminishing of morality in society, and saw the expansion of Christianity as a fundamental remedy. When Bourke arrived in New South Wales he was of the understanding that transportation would soon cease and that immigration would greatly increase, especially from his native Ireland. In his first speech to the Legislative Council, he identified the expansion of churches and schools, and economic, judicial and political reforms, as being necessary to reorientate the colony from its penal origins into a settler society. In drafting his church and school reforms, Bourke's own ideas, his Irish perspective and his desire to expand Christian belief were fundamental. The political environment in Britain when Bourke departed gave him the expectation that his reforms would be swiftly approved. However, it was not until 1835, when a group of devout liberal Anglicans who became dominant in the Whig government, gave the Evangelicals in the Colonial Office Cabinet support to approve Bourke's plan.

New South Wales was a peculiar society, because of its gender imbalance, a large number of Catholic Irish, and a population overwhelmingly comprised of the lower orders of British society, many being transported felons. The Church Act was considered an acceptable means to expand religion in order to foster a level of morality worthy of the civil and political responsibility desired by the majority of colonists. The Act embodied a religious toleration, attached to the idea of a pan-Christian citizenship that was popular with liberal Anglican Whigs at the time. This is not to suggest that the Church Act was merely a response to Catholic demography and a claim for Scottish rights, because it contained provisions for adding other denominations in the future. However, the equality and generosity of the Church Act, especially to the Catholic Church, meant it provided a level of toleration that exceeded what was politically possible in Britain or similar colonies such as Upper Canada. It provided equality without abandoning the Anglican Church. It rewarded local initiatives to establish churches without relying on voluntary contributions.

The Church and Schools Corporation had attempted to create a Christian culture in the 1820s, centred on the established Church, but as emigration increased in the 1830s, and as claims for self-determination were mounting, a more effective solution was required. Michael Roe's contention that the social order of the penal colony was replaced by moral enlightenment fails to correctly interpret the Christian intentions of men such as Bourke, Glenelg, Stephen and Grey. In New South Wales they were reviving dormant Christianity in the recalcitrant transgressors of the British penal system and their offspring. In other ventures they actively sought to impose the same Christian social order through missionary activities to indigenous populations. William Wilberforce, the spiritual mentor to many of these men, especially Stephen, believed the slaves and Indians were trapped in sub-human conditions because they were denied Christianity, while Britain's problems could be solved by turning 'nominal' Christians into 'genuine' believers.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the Church Act to New South Wales in many ways sought to apply Wilberforce's dictum to the renewal of a convict society.

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The church and schools issue in the 1830s was dominated by two determined personalities with opposing views, namely Richard Bourke and William Broughton. Both were devout Anglicans, one representing the State and the other the Church in New South Wales. Their clash brought out underlying political, theological and ideological differences, which they imported into the colonial environment.

Bourke was a multi-dimensional person. His religious beliefs were very High Church Anglican, especially in regard to worship and faith in the mysteries of Christianity, but this was complimented by his paternal attitude to economic and social responsibility. He displayed very liberal Anglican attitudes to religious toleration, civil and political rights, and to extending Christianity through teaching common Biblical truths. Bourke's ideas were developed in a society divided by sectarian hatred where Anglicanism was a minority religion. This made him see Christianity from a very

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<sup>1</sup> Robert J. Hind, 'William Wilberforce: Reformer and Social Educator', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1986, pp. 394-395; William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians*, New York, 1835, pp. 79-87.



broad perspective, which recognised the legitimacy of Catholics and Presbyterians. General education was a means to teach common Christian principles and instil a sense of toleration and unity between the different religious and nationalist sections of society. He brought this very Irish perspective to a colony that contained the largest per capita Irish population outside Ireland.

Alternatively, Broughton had no regard for pan-Christian unity because it threatened, in Britain and in the colony, the political and social strength of the Church, thereby hindering its providential function. Broughton arrived in New South Wales after a long period of Tory dominance in Britain, appointed by the imposing Duke of Wellington to lay the groundwork of revealed religion in the colony. He discovered Britons who had wandered from the 'pale' of the true Church and he wanted them returned, not deceived by papists, mystics or liberal infidels. To Broughton, there was no equality in the natural or spiritual world; there was only order, which was God-ordained, while claims for rights and freedom were worldly opinions. In his view, Britain's rigid social and religious order was the basis of its greatness and this needed to be transplanted into New South Wales. The quest for authority that this engendered has been rightly identified by historian Michael Roe, but without recognising the spiritual aspects of the battle the political dimension can be overly emphasised. To place Broughton's conservative Christianity on one side and the forces of moral enlightenment on the other diminishes the Christian purpose of the Church Act, and the beliefs of many liberal minded people who supported it.

The Church Act was essentially a policy that directed a large proportion of the colonists' revenue towards the advancement of religion. It is critical, therefore, that it enjoyed such widespread acceptance, in an era when revenue control and allocation was a central issue to both the Exclusive and the Emancipist factions of New South Wales. At a time when the local press was extremely confrontational, being the key medium for political debate in the absence of an elected legislature, it is telling that, despite the extensive coverage of the Church Act and its generous appropriations of revenue, there was no direct criticism of its implementation. Bourke believed his reforms were widely popular in the colony and opposed by only a small minority.<sup>2</sup> This

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<sup>2</sup> Bourke's notes for a speech at a Public Meeting in 1837, Bourke Papers, Vol. 7, M.L.

cannot simply be attributed to a growing desire for moral enlightenment because the debates in the press were specifically religious. In fact, if anything, there is a lack of any Enlightenment philosophy or secular thought in the media coverage. The moral debate was couched almost exclusively in religious terms and contentions.

The Church Act could be criticised for being unfairly advantageous to denominations that could prove affiliated members regardless of their involvement in church life. This facilitated the physical spread and growth of the Anglican and Catholic Churches, in line with their demographic dominance.<sup>3</sup> Arguably, this was the fairest way to administer and promote the advancement of Christianity, because it accounted for cultural as well as religious connections, incorporating the ‘nominal’ adherents of all denominations. In many respects this must be considered one of the keys to its success. The demand for support following the approval of the Church Act is proof that there was a desire for churches. In 1842 the new constitution capped support at £30,000 per year, partly due to its increasing success and the deteriorating economy. This amount could be increased by the Legislative Council but could not be reduced without the approval of the imperial parliament.<sup>4</sup> In the first election, candidates were pushed to declare their position on the Church Act, and so strong was the community approval of the Act that leading candidates such as W. C. Wentworth and J. D. Lang pledged their support for five years.<sup>5</sup> The contention in the 1856 election campaign between Charles Cowper and J. H. Plunkett over the authorship of the Church Act, described in Chapter 4, further demonstrates its popularity. Both men had the credentials to make them apostles of moral enlightenment, but Plunkett aggressively staked his claim to have been a principle architect of a plan that had greatly expanded two of the most theologically orthodox Christian faiths that were assertively opposed to Deism and secularism. The funding of ministers through the Church Act continued until 1862 when no new state stipends were granted, but political expedience still dictated the continuing endowment of existing recipients.

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<sup>3</sup> Patricia Curthoys, ‘State Support for Churches, 1836-1860’, in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia, A History*, Melbourne, 2002, pp. 36, 50.

<sup>4</sup> John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia, 1835-1850*, Melbourne, 1966, pp. 47, 185; G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic*, Melbourne, 1978, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, p. 158.

In 1855 Henry Parkes' liberal newspaper, the *Empire*, published an article called the 'Sinews of Sectarian Warfare' that called for an end to government funding for churches. This article was not written to discredit Christianity, but it sought to prove that government funds were perpetuating various religious dogmas, thereby disseminating hostile sentiments. The author considered religious dogma, whether true or false, as being 'cherished' beliefs that fostered a natural tendency 'to run into extreme points of dissociation'. Also, from a spiritual perspective, state support carried some implied 'political subservience' for the clergy who received money, 'not from a common principle of reverence and zeal for religion' but from being associated with one of the four supported denominations. This allegedly fostered 'variance and jealousy' and multiplied 'not common Christianity but differences and contrarieties'.<sup>6</sup> This article questioned the perceived legacy of the Church Act, representing it as a counter force to vital Christian renewal.

Naomi Turner employed the title of the *Empire* article in her evaluation of the impact of the Church Act from 1836 to 1862, describing it as a symbol of religious equality rather than a means to achieve it. She does acknowledge to some extent that the Act was intended to foster toleration, but her study supports the idea that it essentially linked religion to politics. In doing so, Turner echoed the criticisms of those who supported the voluntary principle of church funding. For Turner, the 1862 legislation freed religion from man-made laws, but the later decision to limit funding to the original four denominations endowed in the 1830s perverted Bourke's original intention, especially as those denominations had grown in power and wealth.<sup>7</sup> This thesis supports this statement to some degree, especially in light of Bourke's provision for the funding of additional denominations in the original Act, his proposal for a more voluntary system in Port Phillip, and Glenelg's endorsement of aid to other sects. However, Turner's assertion that Bourke used the Act mostly as an appendage to his education plans and for setting up a new department of moral police is not justified.<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence in Bourke's writings to support this assertion, and to cite

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<sup>6</sup> *Empire*, 1 August 1855. The criticisms in the article are principally directed at the Anglicans and the Catholics who dominated the funding.

<sup>7</sup> Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare: State Aid in New South Wales, 1836-1862*, Canberra, 1972, pp. 2, 140-167, 249.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

education as his primary objective is to misunderstand both the importance of Christian belief in his life, and how he and others such as Spring Rice considered Christianity, education and morality as being intrinsically linked. Bourke was prepared to consider a voluntary system, but in New South Wales he believed government intervention was needed to expand Christianity. This is consistent with his paternal attitude to social, economic and religious intervention in Ireland. The Church Act bridged the paternal intervention of the old order with the toleration of the new. For this reason the Act must be considered fundamentally as a centrist Whig solution, reflecting the political position of Bourke, Spring Rice and Glenelg.

Bourke took a continued interest in Australian religious affairs after leaving the colony, and he consistently defended the Church Act. He worried that the conservatives would modify the Act through the New South Wales Act and told Spring Rice (now Lord Monteaagle) that:

the Church arrangements of that Colony ... are fortunately no longer matters of theory but are in their results as satisfactory as the well wishers of Religion and Virtue could possibly have expected, I may almost say have desired - and you may observe that in the Bishop's speech there is not a word said against the system under which provision is made for the maintenance of the Church in Australia.<sup>9</sup>

Bourke was clearly pleased with the success of his legislation and delighted at Broughton's veiled endorsement. He also sent Monteaagle a history of the state of religious establishments in New South Wales, which he thought Lord Russell or Monteaagle could use in the House to refute any inaccuracies in the event of a debate on the Church Act. Bourke recommended that Russell read it before he drafted the new legislation.<sup>10</sup> In 1842 Monteaagle sent Bourke a copy of the New South Wales Bill to review.<sup>11</sup> Bourke was also involved in his own church building project, assisting with

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<sup>9</sup> Bourke to Monteaagle, 24 February 1840, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>10</sup> He originally asked Monteaagle if he thought it would be effective politically to have it published in the *Edinburgh Review*. Bourke to Monteaagle, 12 December 1839, 6 and 21 February, 27 April 1840, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

<sup>11</sup> Bourke to Monteaagle, 7 July 1842, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

the upgrade of the local Anglican cathedral in Limerick.<sup>12</sup> But his real legacy in church building was in New South Wales, for his Church Act provided the funding for dozens of significant church buildings in the early and mid-Victorian period. Bourke remained proud of this achievement.

Clearly the Church Act was a catalyst for the expansion of the Catholic Church and this did produce religious conflicts, which have cast a sectarian shadow on Bourke's policy. Sectarian differences, however, were also the product of other social and economic divisions inherent in all British societies, as well as other those divisions peculiar to New South Wales. The conflicts between the respectable and non-respectable, the emancipist and immigrant, the Tory and Whig, landed wealth and non-landed wealth, as well as the cultural differences between the English, Scottish and the Irish colonists, were intensified in New South Wales by religious division. The desire for respectability increased in the 1830s and the issue of morality became an increasingly important political issue. This was not divorced from similar contentions in Britain where Puritan moral principles became more pronounced as new groups from the middle class claimed superior respectability as a means to legitimise their increased social status. Many of the colonial elites were drawn from middle ranking military men, yeomen or lower gentry farming families seeking the same social advancement. But this was not limited to the middle orders, as many in the colonial environment sought social as well as material advancement. Moral perceptions influenced community status and networking, which could be advanced through membership of a church.

Arguably, by introducing the Church Act, Bourke was encouraging social divisions. His overarching intention was to promote Christianity and expand church networks in order to foster a moral and just society, and if the Act had been implemented in conjunction with his original plan for education then his common Christian program might have engendered a more unified spirit in the next generation. Bourke was attempting to eliminate sectarian prejudices through a tolerant education plan and equality of funding for all Christian groups. This was the same plan he outlined for Ireland in 1820, where he hoped to forge a cultural and social unity by

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<sup>12</sup> Bourke to Monteagle, 22 July 1840, Bourke Papers, Vol. 9, M.L.

eliminating sectarian differences. In New South Wales he hoped that toleration might narrow the Exclusive and Emancipist divide and create a national identity free from old-world prejudices. The Church Act without non-denominational schools did increase both the religious and social divide between Catholics and Protestants, but even when a fully secular national education scheme was introduced in the late-nineteenth century, the Protestant/Catholic divide still existed until post-WWII immigration expanded the ethnic make-up of Australian society. However, in colonial times, due to their demographic strength and support from overseas benefactors, the Anglicans and the Catholics were able to access significant funds through the Church Act in the period before representative government, which created bodies of influence that were unified behind ecclesiastical leaders who were well capable of political expression. This was certainly not Bourke's intention, but it contributed to the Irish receiving more political influence when unified behind their church, and this became an important factor in the quest for authority. The Church Act also fostered a decentralisation of the power structure, with the clergy providing an additional cog in the social hierarchy not connected to the penal system and those vested interests seeking to preserve it. This could be viewed as increasing the Christian humanitarian voice in the colony, which was very important to Bourke.

Another aspect of the Church Act was that it formalised the government's involvement in religion, providing evidence for accusations relating to the state controlling religion to manage social morality. For this reason the temporality legislations must be considered as extremely significant parts of the Church Act and important amendments that were first initiated by Broughton. The fact that Bourke and the Colonial Office agreed that temporalities needed to be defined, demonstrated that their agenda for state control of religion was negligible. Apart from an ability to veto inappropriate ministers from receiving a stipend, other disciplinary control was vested in the denominational organisations.<sup>13</sup> It must be remembered that the colony was still governed by a Parliament consisting of bishops in the Lords and a King who was the earthly head of the Church. The social and political importance of priests and ministers was familiar to British people.

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<sup>13</sup> In the 1840s this act was criticised for giving the bishop too much power over stipends and parsonages. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot*, pp. 194, 226.

Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling have pointed out that in Australia in 1838 there was ‘a range of complex and inconsistent ideas between pious belief and unbelief’.<sup>14</sup> This included both Catholic and Protestant plebeian synchronised belief and more intellectual Socinian and Deistic thought, as well as the doctrines presented by the different denominational groups. The Church Act was instrumental in expanding orthodox Christian belief in both its Catholic and Protestant forms. This carried with it aspects of class-inspired morality where plebeian concepts of righteousness carried little value. This was a pan-British trend as the need to expand orthodox forms of Christian belief were being promoted in both Catholic Ireland, Protestant Britain and in various other colonies.

Due to the nature of the penal settlement and the institutional role of the Anglican Church in its operation, it could be asked whether the decision to fund the three ‘established’ religions might have been unproductive in a society carrying a measure of anti-clericalism. For instance, the institutional role of the Church was embedded in the routine of the Female Factory, which may have left women bitter, especially when dealing with the moral standards of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. However, the main protagonist of Babette Smith’s *A Cargo of Women*, Susannah Watson, who certainly experienced difficulty adjusting to the convict system and even had children forcibly removed to the orphanage whilst at the Factory, eventually became an active member of the Anglican parish at Braidwood. Smith points out that Watson was never Godless, displaying a working class acceptance of de-facto relationships and illegitimate children, while still respecting the sacraments of baptism and marriage.<sup>15</sup> Convicts undoubtedly exhibited habits of drunkenness and sexual ‘impropriety’, not that dissimilar from the normal behaviour of many British working people. But when granted freedom they mostly accepted the social function of churches, even though they might not have embraced it as spiritually as Susannah Watson did. Some may have looked to providence to explain their fate, or to the afterlife for justice, while others may have rejected the ‘parson and the priest’ as

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<sup>14</sup> Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling (eds), *Australians 1838*, Sydney, 1988, p. 424.

<sup>15</sup> Babette Smith, *A Cargo of Women: Susannah Watson and the Convicts of the Princess Royal*, Sydney, 2005, pp. 150-156, 52-57.

‘bedfellows of the oppressors’.<sup>16</sup> However, when faced with being launched into eternity, most chose to seek repentance. This was especially the case with Catholics. This proves that even for the worst offenders belief could be found if you scratched the surface. Further research is needed in this area, but there is enough evidence to support the recognition of widespread latent and convergent Christianity in the colonial population. Men such as Broughton, Lang, Ullathorne, Polding and others wanted to bring these people under the more orthodox belief structure provided by their churches.

Russel Ward’s proposal that many facets of the Australian identity were found in the colonial working people is not incompatible with the argument of this thesis. What is contended is that nationalist historians such as Ward and Grocott have failed to accommodate religious belief as part of that identity. If we return to the evangelical doorknockers in Birmingham, described in Chapter 7, we find that poor urban slum dwellers believed in basic Christianity within a framework that fitted their life of hardship. They considered themselves good people, unlike the corrupted rich, and if they acted justly and fairly they would be acceptable to God. They based their righteousness on their behaviour towards their fellow man, but in a manner that aligned with the justice of their own moral economy. E. P. Thompson has identified the justice aspects of the moral economy in the English, Robert Scally in the Irish, and elsewhere I have identified this in aspects of convict assignment. The beliefs embodied in this plebeian moral sociology have been neglected in the Australian identity presented by some historians. The evidence can be subtle, but belief in spirits or ghosts, the afterlife, and the need for a proper burial, demonstrate a metaphysical dimension to their convergent Christian worldview in addition to a general affiliation with the Anglican, Catholic or Presbyterian faith expressed in census data.

Marxist historical theory has usually portrayed the imposition of orthodox belief as having the ulterior motive of promoting a work ethic or some other form of social subservience. These ideas are fundamental to the concept of moral enlightenment where non-religious or institutionally based Christian-derived social ethics are used to instil civic and moral virtue. The implication of this categorisation is that the Church Act advanced Christian belief as merely a mechanism of social control.

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<sup>16</sup> C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, Vol. II, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1822-1838*, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 4-6.



This thesis has shown that this secular historical perception cannot be applied to the implementation of the Church Act in 1836, primarily because the men who proposed and approved it were working from dominantly Christian motives to achieve civic and moral virtue. If the secular aspects are evaluated devoid of spiritual motives then an incorrect historical perception can be generated. What this thesis has demonstrated is that the alleged ascendant forces of moral enlightenment were not as secular as Michael Roe assumed. Rather, orthodox religion remained central to the thinking of reformers. The anti-materialism embodied in Romanticism and Transcendentalism, and especially in the writings of Roe's principal propagator of moral enlightenment, Charles Harpur, seems far removed from the materialist nature of colonial New South Wales, which is perhaps why Harpur gained little recognition for his work in his own lifetime. Traditional thinking remained dominant and this is evidenced by the general acceptance of the replanting of a British society rather than a more individualist American model.

The fact the Church Act endowed three national churches of Britain makes the quest for authority more complex, because it energised a battle between the English, Scottish and Irish identity, which had less to do with politics and ideology and more to do with nationalism, to which religion was fundamental.<sup>17</sup> Bourke was able to have the Church Act passed with little trouble, despite opposition from Bishop Broughton. The school issue was a different matter, because it involved integration. People were happy to support their own denominations as they represented socio-ethnic and cultural links to their heritage, but fears aroused by the anti-Irish School System propaganda produced enough opposition to destroy the plan. This demonstrates that generally people had no problem in supporting religion, particularly the denominational religion of their ethnic origin, but had difficulties accepting integrated education.

The education debate represented two separate issues. The first was the religious argument of mixing Catholics and Protestants in a common Christian program of general education. The second was the cultural aspect of morality where Protestants' claimed superiority over the Roman Catholic Irish. In general, people were tolerant and even supportive of Catholic priests ministering to their own people, but the

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<sup>17</sup> In this statement I am classifying the 'Irish' Catholic Church as the unofficial national church of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.

idea of priests influencing young Protestants, either directly or indirectly, fostered sectarian fears in a colony experiencing increased Irish migration. Therefore, Broughton and others, to preserve what they perceived as true Christianity, politically exploited the colony's religious and cultural differences. The colony's moral deficiency was recognised by both Bourke and the Exclusives, but the conservatives were unwilling to relinquish the Church's control of the education system, and so they resurrected the old fears about popery and infidels trying to undermine English values. These tactics were especially effective in a colony where many desired to preserve an identity that was fundamentally English-Protestant. Jennifer Ridden has recognised how Christian principles were integrated into the social, economic and political *mentalité* of Irish Whig elites. She has also pointed out the 'idealistic' nature of Bourke's reforms in New South Wales. These reforms were not democratic or radical, but they did seek to equalise the civil and political rights of the colony with Britain by encouraging a more moral citizenship. Perhaps Bourke did attempt to 'build a more perfect Ireland' in the colony, but he was constrained by the Colonial Office and some determined local opposition that desired an 'English' society, not Bourke's pan-British model.<sup>18</sup>

In 1820, Bourke outlined a plan for education in Ireland that he believed would be more effective in expanding Christianity than the wave of evangelistic activity that had undermined social cohesion. Clearly he brought these ideas to New South Wales. Bourke promoted his education system as an effective moral agent, not just because knowledge encouraged men to develop habits of reason and morality, but more importantly because it would lead them to Christian truth. Extending education would therefore counter infidelity and provide the basis of a Christian society, or form 'one harmonious Christian people'.<sup>19</sup> That is why it was so important for Catholics to be included. These principles were the basis of Christian citizenship; something Bourke wanted to encourage to firstly legitimise the colonists' claim for representative government, and to attract suitable immigrants to help discard the social shackles of convictism. But an even more fundamental aim was to foster social cohesion, as the

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<sup>18</sup> Jennifer Ridden, "'Making Good Citizens": National Identity, Religion and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c1800-1850', PhD, University of London, 1998, pp. 276-279, 282.

<sup>19</sup> Athamik, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, from an Irish Layman of the Established Church, on the subject of a Charge lately published, and purporting to have been delivered to his Clergy, by the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora*, Dublin, 1820, pp. 17, 23, 54, 66.

Colonial Office viewed divided societies as unsuited for political responsibility. This was something Bourke identified early in his governorship, and being Irish he knew how sectarian prejudices could infect a society with social disfunctionality and conflict. His own personal Christian piety was imbued with toleration and humanitarianism. This for him was true Christianity, which could be taught through common Christian values shared by all denominations in an education system. His own Christianity was Anglican, but he appreciated how other believers, especially the Scottish and the Irish, desired their particular churches. His Church Act was heavily weighted towards these three dominant denominations, reflecting his own affiliations to established religion. He was critical of 'wandering lights' and militant Puritanism for promoting intolerance and anti-Catholicism, against his principles of Christian charity.<sup>20</sup> He rejected the enforcement of dogma through education, because it highlighted denominational differences rather than Christian unity. Common Christian principles would help realise the Biblical prophecy that 'one day the Great shepherd shall have his flock within one fold'.<sup>21</sup>

On Bourke's departure, the *Sydney Gazette* claimed the biggest failure of his administration was that the 'respectable' people united against his governorship despite the fact they approved of a number of his reforms including the Church Act. They lampooned the 'shirtless and the shoeless' following him by land and sea when he departed, and considered it a 'misfortune' to only 'gain the esteem of the lower classes'.<sup>22</sup> There is no doubt Bourke was a popular governor to the majority, and whether this popularity made the Church Act so accepted is unknown. The social popularity of the expansion of churches in new communities was both part of communal pride, and also because individuals desired social contact or respectability.<sup>23</sup> As well as a spiritual function, there was a cultural aspect to Christianity that linked the Irish to the priest, the Scot to the Kirk, the Methodist to the chapel, and the Englishmen to the parish. People did not have to demonstrate outward forms of religious piety, or

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 65.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>22</sup> *S.G.*, 7 December 1837.

<sup>23</sup> There is evidence of community co-operation in church building even between Catholics and Protestants. Michael Cannon, *Australia in the Victorian Age, Vol. 2*, Melbourne, 1973, pp. 248-249.

even regular attendance to value churches. In times of birth, marriage, death, or distress, many people gratefully used their services.

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The term ‘moral enlightenment’ is a modern secular imposition on the functional belief system of both educated and plebeian people in the nineteenth century, implying a form of secularised morality that used Christian derived ethics to promote a new faith. However, in the early nineteenth century personal morality was in fact energised by Christianity. Puritan beliefs impacted on the attitudes of the upper working and the middle orders, especially through Evangelicalism. It raised the expectations of the lower orders regarding the morality of their rulers, while the higher orders expected a greater level of sanctification from the working people. This produced changes to the way government functioned ideologically and executively. Political Economy, Utilitarianism and the ‘rights of man’ all influenced this, but in Britain, Protestant Christianity changed how these ideas were applied, and it was used to endorse or refute various philosophical claims. Moral enlightenment was fundamentally a non-orthodox, deistic application of Christian Puritanism. It represented a range of inconsistent ideas, but it was not an independent force or a ‘new faith’, at least not in the 1830s.

The Church Act, by expanding religion, was expected to produce a more moral population. This could be interpreted as the state using religion to enforce morality, but as this thesis has demonstrated, the elites in the Colonial Office and the colony saw it principally as a means to expand Christianity, within the context of their denominational conceptions. This was not based on secular Enlightenment ideas. Rather it was Christian ideas that had been influenced by Enlightenment thought, but were still dominated by concepts of sin, redemption and eternal life. In the 1830s, renewal movements in the Churches of England, Scotland and Rome were inspiring more orthodox and pious Christian belief. For many there was no true morality without Christian belief, and the outward demonstration of this became obsessive in Victorian society. From the middle of the nineteenth century more secularised methods of morality gained a greater influence, but Britain in the 1830s was governed by men who looked to religion as the primary moral engine in society, making the Church Act more a product of the Age of Atonement than the Age of Enlightenment, although both

impacted on each other. The Church Act extended orthodox Christian belief and morality to a population imbued with Christian and moral concepts more associated with the plebeian culture of the lower orders in British society.

Bourke's general education scheme was also designed to promote Christianity. From his first efforts in establishing schools in Ireland in the 1820s, Bourke promoted his method of non-denominational Christian education as a superior method of advancing Christianity in Ireland than the militant evangelical methods used by the Second Reformation Movement. Bourke's ideas on education were transmitted through Spring Rice into the Irish School System. As soon as his New South Wales education scheme was criticised for not adequately promoting Christianity he presented documents to the Legislative Council proving the Christian nature of the Irish scheme, and then sent a detailed circular around the colony outlining his proposal, including his willingness to increase the Christian content if need be. In retrospect it is easy to see Bourke's logic, as general education is a much more effective way of reaching the masses with a basic Christian message than evangelism by a single denomination, especially when each denomination carried cultural prejudices. Spring Rice expressed these same sentiments when he claimed the Irish scheme reached people in schools who could not be reached by the churches. By focusing on the liberal nature of these reforms the Christian objectives can be lost. This thesis has also pointed out the ideas of Lord John Russell on the necessity of a Christian nation for social advancement, which explains why the questioning at the Select Committee on Education in 1834 was orientated in that direction. He was not trying to appease the conservative High Churchmen, who were opposed to general education anyway; the commissioners were seeking to determine effectiveness, with the aim of introducing a scheme very similar to what Bourke was proposing.

Bourke, in his speeches and correspondence, maintained that the Church Act established 'perfect religious freedom'.<sup>24</sup> The denominational structure it took reflected his conception of effective Christianity. The Act endowed movements that had the numbers and ecclesiastical structure to build and manage churches, with a provision to include other denominations in the future. As mentioned in the thesis, in a number of

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<sup>24</sup> Bourke to Arthur, 27 September 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 8, M.L.

speeches Bourke described the expansion of Christianity as being for the honour of God and the good of man. Broughton rehashed this statement in a letter to George Arthur, claiming Jesus had disputes with Scribes and Pharisees which he could have avoided if his ‘concern for God’s honour and for the good of men had not obliged him to engage’. If there were no such thing as truth then he would have nothing to contend with.<sup>25</sup> This represented the fundamental conflict between the two men; the argument as to what constituted Christian truth. Broughton maintained that Jesus contended against the dogma of the Pharisees in presenting simple messages to direct men to God, which was exactly what Bourke was proposing in his schools system.

The quest for authority in the 1830s was between two versions of Christian citizenship; one based on traditional Anglicanism, the other on a multi-denomination model that equally included other Protestants and Catholics. Both sides considered Christian piety and morality as being linked, and also as an essential qualification for civil and social legitimacy. Bourke had no affinity with Socinians or Deists and criticised them in a number of his writings and letters. His conception of spreading ‘moral enlightenment’ was through orthodox Christian belief and that is exactly what the Church Act embodied, as did his proposed general education plan. In this ‘Age of Atonement’, Bourke laid the groundwork for religious toleration with the intention of expanding Christianity, not secularising it. His inability to extend this to education disappointed him, but he was proud that what he achieved in the Church Act was for the honour of God and the good of man.

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<sup>25</sup> Broughton to Arthur, 21 September 1836, Arthur Papers, Vol. 12, M.L.

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