

THE SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS OF ANGLICAN CLERGY

IN ENGLAND AND AUSTRALIA, 1850-1910.



Paul Nicholls

Oriel

Thesis submitted for D. Phil.

Trinity Term, 1987.

SHORT ABSTRACT

In the early nineteenth century, the ideal type of Anglican parish clergyman was a member of a gentlemanly profession. Although he had few formal duties, he exercised a benevolent influence in a small, deferential community. His liberal education, independent income and ample leisure enabled him to pursue scholarly hobbies. In every English village, he was a light of civilization. The parson was spiritual half-brother of the squire, and the Church as a whole was closely identified with the landed classes in the social rank, governing role (the magistracy) and political sympathies of the parochial clergy.

Urbanisation was the main force that largely destroyed the authenticity of this ideal. As society became horizontally divided, the power of locality dwindled. The Church's opponents - sceptics, Dissenters and organised labour - gained confidence. Rival authorities (to the pulpit) overwhelmingly established themselves in popular favour - especially the mass circulating press. The franchise was extended to the working classes, or at least to the aristocracy of labour with whom the Church of England had rarely felt easy. Finally, two of the props of the old ideal were knocked away - the prosperity of the agricultural sector, and the acceptance of the clergyman's calling as a learned profession.

In Australia, there were similar problems for the Anglican minister, although most were in a more intense form. A lack of endowment, the prevailing democratic and anti-clerical sentiment in much of the political debate, and the high degree of geographical and social mobility characteristic of much of the colonial population, made the problems of the Church and of her parochial ministers appear overwhelming. The result was the development of a form of careerism in the clerical order that seemed to some censorious contemporaries to have been not merely improper but quite destructive of the ideal of the parish priest, an ideal which was still upheld despite its manifest inappropriateness.

A B S T R A C T

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and early in the nineteenth, the Anglican clergyman held an enviable position in society, that is, if he were in possession of a remunerative benefice. He was relatively free from episcopal or other sanctions, and his duties were light - in the opinion of a more fervent generation of Churchmen after about 1830, scandalously so. Despite the fact that she had a dynamic, prosperous and expanding economy, England in the eighteenth century was predominantly rural. In the small villages that made up so much of the countryside, the Church of England incumbent was at, or near, the apex of the social structure. He was respected far less for what he did than for what he was - a confidant of the squire, and, moreover, one of the few educated men in the neighbourhood.

Sometimes, although not always, the rector was a friend to the poor. If he were a charitable man, what he distributed was from his personal income, and not a form of public relief. His effectiveness as a fount of charity depended upon three factors; these were also the necessary conditions of his being an efficient pastor - the longevity of his residence in the village, his comfortable circumstances, and the small scale of the community to which he ministered.

Charitable or not, parish priests were expected to be gentlemen. This implied that they were to be given a liberal or general education, as opposed to a technical or 'useful' one. As a result, they were assumed to have hobbies of an intellectual sort, such as were appropriate to gentlemen of leisure. Moreover, because he was a gentleman, a clergyman's education equipped him to perform his pastoral duties, because he had insight into human nature. Perhaps the most valuable result of ordinands' attending Oxford or Cambridge was (it was believed) the association between them and

those young gentlemen destined to become statesmen, barristers or landed proprietors - in other words, men of mark. This was regarded by contemporaries as a national institution of great value - the mixing together of future members of the governing classes, with clergymen of the rising generation. It was contrasted with the Continental system of seminarial instruction - this produced not gentlemen but narrowly trained, holy specialists. Thus, in turn, anti-clericalism was (it was claimed) fostered on the Continent, but its outbreak in England was unlikely, because of the tradition of common training of clergymen and the influential classes.

In the absence of any strong sense of duty in the late eighteenth century parson, it was generally expected that he would exercise a powerful, yet subtle, influence for good in his parish. This view of the clergy of the Established Church, was so widely held that when conditions changed markedly in the course of the nineteenth century, making it impossible for the parish priest to enjoy the influence that he once had, Churchmen continued to speak of the Rector's benevolent presence in the district of which he was incumbent. Most of these changes may be attributed to urbanisation: this brought an end to many of the integrated, deferential communities in which squire and parson were dominant figures. The effects of urbanisation were re-inforced, moreover, by parallel social movements, or developments, that steadily wrought destruction of the spirit and forms of the kind of society in which Anglicanism's classical pastoral virtues found their fullest expression. One of these developments was the rise of the popular press. This provided an alternative, and a far more pervasive, source of influence for millions. Probably no other element of modern society caused the Anglican Church so much soul-searching over the quality of its preaching, than the manifest power of the popular newspaper. Mass entertainments, too, drew people away from worship.

Although it was admitted that working class alienation from religion, and

especially from the Church of England, was hardly new, several factors made Victorian Anglicanism particularly sensitive on the subject, which, in turn, caused the parish clergy to re-assess its position on the conducting of services, on sermons, pastoral visitation, missions, Sunday and day school teaching and (ultimately) political questions such as the increasingly common view that Anglicanism had a class ministry and a predominantly middle class clientele. These new factors were the growing political power and influence of the working classes, the increasing activity and self-confidence of trade unions, and the rise of scepticism and republicanism in articulate working class and radical circles. Thus, there were good reasons for Anglican spokesmen to wonder whether, in fact, the parochial system could cope with the strains of modernisation in the world to which the Church had to minister. New forms of organisation suggested themselves: these were extra-parochial and specialist. Institutions such as homes for penitents were established, showing again that the parish ministry was inadequate, or seeming to be so.

The ministry of the Church of England faced a third type of crisis at the end of the century. The clerical order had, traditionally, been self-recruiting. Although, in the ministry, rectory sons still out-numbered others (although not in absolute terms), clerical poverty was causing many of this class to choose other careers. The worst sign, however, was that the best minds were not entering the ministry: the attraction of the Civil Service, of other professions, and of semi-professions and trade, even, was too strong. Promotion in the Church was too arbitrary; rewards were too slight; and (to judge from the public musings of well-known spokesmen) there was a demoralising sense among parish clergymen that their ministrations were not wanted. What expertise they had (and to speak of themselves in terms other than as 'generalists' was, in itself, a minor revolution) was being offered to what may crudely be called a declining market.

In Australia, a similar pattern can be seen, although there were different shades of emphasis. Some of the trends noted above, appeared earlier in the Antipodes; moreover, the church in the colonies was in a far weaker position because of its lack both of an established status and of endowment, and because Australian society was more brash, egalitarian and (perhaps) materialistic. Working class emigrants from England, who went to Australia in the 1880s, had already been schooled, it seems, in urban British radical republicanism; at least, this much may be said of large numbers of them. In the Australian colonies they found fertile ground for their views. For an hierarchical conservative body such as the colonial Anglican Church, the circumstances were not auspicious. Adding to the difficulties of the parochial clergyman, was the reluctance of sections of the laity to accept the fact that the new country was voluntaryist in temper. Accustomed to a Church establishment, many lay people would not match the generosity of those whom they still called 'Dissenters'.

The problems of clerical supply naturally occurred in Australia before they did in England - or, at least, before they became acute in the mother Church. In both countries, governments aided religion (although, in pluralist Australia, grants had to be shared amongst a number of denominations). There were, nevertheless, greater problems in the colonies with buildings, in the 1850s and 1880s, partly because more ground had to be made up, and partly because, in a country with higher wages, the building of churches put an inordinate strain on the laity which, in Australian Anglicanism, was not disposed to be particularly generous in its giving, certainly in comparison with the laity of what were once called 'the sects'.

Even so, compared with ministerial stipends, building funds were in a relatively healthy state. Recruitment to the ministry proved to have been an endless problem for Australian bishops. Should clergymen be recruited in the colonies, or enticed from England? Those who sailed to Australia faced

problems of an unfamiliar climate, a desolate countryside (compared with England's), and a ministry to a population which seemed, to Englishmen, to have been remarkably non-deferential, and unattached to ecclesiastical traditions.

Recruitment in the colonies suggested itself as an option. The problems of training, however, were acute. Anglicans, in spite of everything, still pursued the will-o'-the-wisp of a university-trained clergy. It was a fantasy because colonial universities were few in the nineteenth century, and the number of ordinands who took degrees was heart-breakingly small. The Church provided schools, but these produced lawyers, medical practitioners, and colonial statesmen. So the Church turned, instead, to the expedient of stipendiary readers, rather than establishing diocesan colleges, a decision that was later acknowledged to have been ill-advised, but one that may well have been the result of the first bishops (who, of course, were Englishmen) being unable to concede that theological colleges might precede university establishment.

The result was a clerical caste system in the Australian Church, by which is meant the clergymen were in one of two categories: those who were English-trained and possessed degrees from either English or colonial universities, and those who lacked these advantages. In the latter group, signs were appearing by the end of the nineteenth century that there was extensive resentment building up among faithful priests who seemed to have been confined for life to unattractive and remote rural parishes - confined there, it was said, by selection or patronage committees of the affluent city parishes; in both senses of the word, these preferred Englishmen, and left locally recruited men to their fate.

In both countries, the social expectations of the Anglican clergy resolve themselves, over the period, into these: the upholding of the old ideals, in theory, although the conditions that were necessary for their survival had, long since, all but vanished. In practice, they were replaced by ideas

about the order that put more emphasis on its 'spiritual' aspects, and on such motives and attitudes - held by its members - as 'earnestness'. By the end of the century, however, it was evident that what once had been a 'gentlemanly' profession could no longer be considered as a successor 'learned' profession. It was, perhaps, in these terms, a 'service' profession, in each country, with distinct strands of bureaucratisation as well.

Contents

THE CLERGY IN ENGLAND

1	The Idea of the Clergyman	1
2	The Clergy and Social Change	35
3	The Church's Opponents	55
4	Church Reform and the Parish Clergy	89
5	Professionalisation	120

THE CLERGY IN AUSTRALIA

6	Expatriates	156
7	Anglicanism Unendowed	179
8	An Erosion of Esteem	204
9	Churchmanship	236
10	Clerical Incomes	260
11	Episcopal Congregationalism	279
12	Patronage and Professionalism	303
13	Conclusion	333
	Appendix 1	343
	Appendix 2	353
	Appendix 3	355
	Bibliography	356

THE IDEA OF THE CLERGYMAN, C.1850.

In the mid-nineteenth century, it was believed, almost universally, that a clergyman of the Established Church should have the birth, upbringing, education, income, attitudes and way of life of a gentleman.

On what does the esteem in which clergymen are generally held rest? Is it not two things, first, their being strictly honourable gentlemen of more or less independent means and sound learning, secondly their sacred office?¹

This, however, was an idea of fairly recent origin.² As a class, clergymen were not particularly prosperous. Assistant curates, overworked and underpaid, and holders of poor livings, were numerous enough to provide ample ammunition for those who sought to reform the Church of England. An incumbent who conformed to the mid-nineteenth century ideal nevertheless had a considerable personal income, partly inherited, and the rest provided not by trade or fees but capital investment. The relatively new-found prestige of the beneficed Anglican clergyman was supported by the traditional link between landed wealth and social status, the long-established rural bias in the distribution of parishes³ and the recent increase in the value of tithes (the result of the prosperity of the late-eighteenth century agrarian economy).⁴

¹ Revd H.N. Stewart, The Diaconate Restored as a Permanent Order in the Ministry, Dublin, 1864, pp. 18-9. My emphasis.

² Brian Heeney, A Different Kind of Gentleman, Springfield, Ohio, 1976, p. 23; A. Russell, The Clerical Profession, London, S.P.C.K., 1980, pp. 31-3; Robert Towler and A.P.M. Coxon, The Fate of the Anglican Clergy: A Sociological Study, London, Macmillan, 1971, p. 7; F.M.L. Thompson, English Society in the Nineteenth Century, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 5; G. Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England, 1832-1885, London, Methuen, 1973, pp. 30-3.

³ John Gay, The Geography of Religion in England, Duckworth, London, 1971, p. 78.

At Oxford or Cambridge an ordinand was given a liberal education,⁵ which imparted 'culture for its own sake' and formed 'taste, the intellect and character'.⁶ Although the Universities were reputed to be 'the nurseries of the Church', there was no systematic professional training for the ministry.⁷ According to the Bishop of Rochester, a priest's education should produce 'earnestness of purpose, knowledge of their own kind, cultivated courtesy and fellow feeling'.⁸ The greater the emphasis placed upon the right attitudes and character that should distinguish a clergyman, the more important was the place of liberal education in the preparation of an ordinand. Clergymen should commend themselves to the public by

sound judgement, ... tolerance, integrity, by freedom from pretence and all manner of hypocrisy, by never-failing kindness, by uncompromising self-negation whenever their duties are concerned, by patient persevering continuance in well doing, through evil report and good report.

Personal wealth

University education, and maintaining himself in a manner to which his

⁴ Heeney, op. cit., p. 23; Eric J. Evans, The Contentious Tithe. The Tithe Problem and English Agriculture, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, chapter 1, passim.

⁵ The Oxbridge constituency of the clergy reached a peak (not a plateau) in the 1820s and '30s. A. Haig, The Victorian Clergy, Croom Helm, London, 1984, p. 29.

⁶ W.M. Simcox, The Use of the Classics as an Instrument of Christian Education, Oxford, 1867, p. 6.

⁷ Anon., Some Considerations of Church Principles and Obedience to Them: the Safe Rule of Conduct during a University Career by a Fellow of the College, Cambridge, 1842, p. 3.

⁸ Thomas Leigh Claughton, Fishers of Men. A Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford, Oxford, 1869, p. 8.

⁹ Anon., Clerical Papers by One of Our Club, Oxford, 1862, p. 12.

parishioners were accustomed, were expensive items. Moreover, there were widely-held expectations that an incumbent should be a fount of charity.¹⁰ The model parson of the early nineteenth century, helping the poor by personal giving, differed markedly from his counterpart of the 1880s, who merely organised the distribution of parochial funds. The difference was not only that the older model required considerable private means. The ideal was of a benefactor using part of his personal wealth to help the poor. He would not operate according to a scientific system, but use his intimate knowledge of the small community in which he was a leading figure of long standing.

The duties associated with clerical paternalism were traditional. By 1850, many parish clergymen assumed a new burden, on behalf of their schools. The period of greatest effort by the Church to provide education to the poor was probably between the years 1837 and 1847, although Treasury grants through the National and British and Foreign Schools Societies had begun in 1833.¹¹ To set up schools and maintain them, clergymen frequently had to dig deeply into their own pockets.¹² The personal financing of the parochial school by the incumbent would have resulted in fairly complete clerical control, in a manner and to an extent envisaged by the uncompromising Archdeacon Denison; his remarks on the subject show, nevertheless, that in 1851 the situation was changing markedly.¹³ The small

¹⁰ Anon., Twenty-five Useful Remarks for the Benefit of Young Clergymen by a Member of the Church of England, London, n.d.

¹¹ Statistics of Church of England Schools for the Poor in England and Wales for the Years 1866 and 1867, London, n.d., table xx, p. 37.

¹² Ibid., pp. 25, 27; W. Rivington, Church Extension in St. Pancras. A Comparative Statement of the Increase of Houses, Population and Church Accommodation ... 1807-1851, London, 1862, p. 27; Revd J.G. Coplestone, Acts of the Synod of Exeter, 25, 27 June, 1851, p. 78; Bloxam to Macray, 21 April, 1871, Letters from Dr J.R. Bloxam, 1862-1890, Magdalen College (Oxford) MS. 445.

¹³ G.A. Denison, The Church and the School, London, 1851, p. 25.

parochial school had been financed from local resources (the clergyman, the landowner, business and trades people, school pence and small donations from parishioners). It had also been controlled by the incumbent, staffed by untrained schoolmasters, and dependent upon fitful and irregular attendance as permitted by grudging parents. To an increasing degree, it was judged to have been inadequate, in the face of Dissenting criticism outside the Church, and pressure within the Establishment for trained teachers, inspection, centralisation and efficiency.¹⁴ As late as the 1860s, even so, parish clergymen were still contributing heavily to parochial schools, out of their personal incomes.

The idea of a living

The nature of the benefice affected the status of the Anglican clergyman. The volume of denunciation of the traffic in livings - criticism which persisted into the 1880s - is, in itself, evidence that the purchase of a desirable, prosperous benefice, even as an investment, was widely considered to have been a legitimate ambition for a young clergyman. Many of the Church's endowed properties were treated as saleable items: responsibility for this was, in large part, the clergy's, for (as it was pointed out) if there had been no market, there would have been no sellers.¹⁵ Some, however, defended both the system of lay patronage and those (clergymen and laymen) who regarded livings as investments. Their grounds were that, by these means, Church extension was expedited. Even criticisms of these practices implied that many beneficed clergymen enjoyed

¹⁴ S. Wilberforce, A Charge to the Diocese of Oxford, 1854, London, 1854, pp. 45-7; Acts of the Synod of Exeter, pp. 60-83; the Revd W.B. Ady, The Condition of the Labourer in Agricultural Parishes, London, 1850, pp. 4-11.

¹⁵ Revd John Oakley, The Church and the Working Classes, London, n.d. (1881), p. 8; W.D. Willis, Simony in Two Parts. Part the First. Its History and Effects on the Clergy and the Church, with Observations on the Bill for the Sale of the Lord Chancellor's Livings; and the Proposal of the Commissioners to Substitute a Declaration Instead of an Oath Against Simony, London, 1865, p. 32.

a peculiar social status, one that was superior to the rank of a member of the secular professions. It was said that livings were purchased by plutocrats in order to endow their sons with respectability, securing for them 'income, comfort, ease and society', 'an independent station, with house and lands and easy duty'. In the eyes of this critic, such a recipient was lowered to the level of the secular professions around him; yet, in a sense, one could say that his position would have been superior in status as well as comfort for, as was indignantly noted, 'even the stimulus applied to those who would earn the things of this world is removed from such a man'.¹⁶ Thus, it is not surprising that clergymen, as a class, sometimes tended to be dismissive, if not contemptuous, of the secular professions. In 1862, it was reported that a vicar who found that he could not compete with the Methodists 'threw up his living of six or seven hundred a year, took to pupilising as a means of subsistence and has never taken duty since'.¹⁷ His fall in status and income was a dramatic measure of his failure. At a meeting in Oxford to discuss University extension, the Provost of Oriel, presumably in support of an argument to retain the existing occupational bias in the intake of undergraduates, remarked that 'more attornies and apothecaries' were not wanted.¹⁸

Leisure and scholarship

The ideal of the Anglican clergyman as a gentleman was reinforced by the accepted notions of the way of life of the typical parson. First, to a

¹⁶ W.D. Willis, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁷ Clerical Papers ..., p. 3 (my emphasis).

¹⁸ Charles Daubeney, A Letter to the Provost of Oriel on University Extension, London, 1865, p. 4. Clerical hostility to lawyers (arising out of dealings with them over the tithe) is noted by Evans, op. cit. pp. 36-7, and can be observed in, for example, John Skinner, Journal of a Somerset Rector, 1803-1834, Oxford University Press, 1984, as can his criticism of rustic medical practitioners; see also Jack Ayres (ed.) Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland, A Somerset Parson, 1799-1818, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1986.

large extent, he was assumed to have been a member of the leisured class, having enough time for the pursuit of scholarship.¹⁹ In his pastoral charge in 1858, the Bishop of London observed:

In London, of all places in the kingdom, we require a learned as well as a laborious clergy. A learned clergy can never be maintained in any church in which every clergyman is overburdened with laborious parochial work ... I am aware that you cannot make men learned by giving them leisure for study, but it is certain that it will be very difficult for them to be learned without it.²⁰

The vicar of Stanford in the Vale, C. Wordsworth, acknowledged that there was a negative side to this picture of the clergyman finding, in scholarship, an 'agreeable occupation for his leisure hours': 'it is sometimes alleged that we, who have the pastoral care of parishes, especially country parishes, are prone to settle down in a state of languid quiescence.'²¹ Even so, the older view proved persistent. The proper place for a parson was his study, not a committee, according to one versifier:

E'en the good vicar quits his easy chair
To join some meeting in a chaise and pair,
Thinks himself grand, if grander folks caress,
Moves a dull clause, or seconds an address.²²

More than a generation later, the chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln

¹⁹ Concerning a certain living, W.E. Heygate wrote to Keble: '...although the size of the population affords opportunity for literary work, the extreme distance from libraries ... would be a great objection ...' Heygate to Keble, 20 October, 1858, Keble Correspondence, file no. 97.

²⁰ Quoted in Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fellows of Sion College with Respect to the Proposed Union of the City Benefices: Report of the Committee presented to the College, May 12, 1859, London, n.d., p. 14.

²¹ On a Proposed Subdivision of Dioceses. A Letter to Viscount Dungannon, London, 1860, p. 11.

²² Ecclesiae Curae, London, 1844, p. 10.

defended the erstwhile clerical restrictions at Oxford and Cambridge, by reference to the connection between the clergy and the universities, a link which he believed to have been 'one of our "national" peculiarities of the greatest value', for it gave to the ministers of the Church human insight and intellectual power. Unlike the seminaries of Catholic Europe, the English Universities sent out constantly 'a stream of men at once cultivated and devout'.²³

II

Probably the most controversial side of the relationship between parson and squire was the role played by clergy as justices of the peace, although by the mid-nineteenth century the number of clerical magistrates was significantly declining. From the 1840s on, criticism intensified of parsons who sat on the bench.²⁴ Despite this, in 1850 the status of the beneficed clergyman, as an associate of the gentry, was taken for granted. Thus, the Revd H. W. Stewart believed that an order of deacons would have to be established, comprising those who were of an inferior class and education, who were not in the diaconate as a preliminary stage to ordination as priests. Such men could not really take their place among the gentry, 'yet this is what, by their position as clergymen, it is supposed that they ought to do'. They were therefore in a false position.²⁵

²³ John Wordsworth, The Church and the Universities. A Letter to C.S. Roundell, Esq., M.P. for Grantham, Oxford, 1880, p. 15.

²⁴ A.J. Russell, A Sociological Analysis of the Clergyman's Role with special reference to its Development in the early nineteenth century, D.Phil., Oxford, 1970, p. 258, and The Clerical Profession, pp. 164-8.

²⁵ The Diaconate Restored ... p. 9. Although these remarks were made with reference to Ireland, there is no reason to suppose that they did not reflect an attitude widely held in England. See Revd John Oakley, The Church in Relation to Trades Unions and the Agricultural Labourers' Unions, London, 1877, p. 10; Report of a Private Conversazione, 22 January, 1880, (Footnote continued)

The gentry as benefactors

Members of the gentry were seen as natural allies in the work of the Church. They were looked to for assistance in the erection of buildings, particularly in the middle years of the century when the Established Church made great efforts to increase the number of sittings.²⁶ By 1850, the greatest discrepancy between population and church accommodation was in urban areas, where the gentry, as a class, had no equivalent. Their role as benefactors was, nevertheless, seen as creating a precedent for capitalist townsmen to be similarly generous. H. Mann hoped that what he optimistically called the community of occupation would cause urban elites to fulfil the religious and charitable duties 'which the principal proprietors in rural parishes perform towards those connected with them by vicinity of residence'.²⁷

In the provision of schooling for the lower orders, too, members of the gentry were expected to play an important part, by setting an example in making large donations, and demonstrating a keen interest in the parochial school. Where it existed, educational destitution was attributed, in 1867, first to the unwillingness of the landowner to contribute, and secondly, to the inadequate income of the local clergyman.²⁸ Although it was claimed that the liberality of landowners was increasing, clergymen still had to bear too much of the burden of establishing and maintaining schools.²⁹ Two

²⁵ (continued)

in A Letter to the Clergy on the Subject of Labour Organisations, London, 1880, p. 9; Revd Edward Berens, Archdeacon of Berkshire, 'Draft Visitation Charge of 1837,' MS. Eng. Lett., Bodleian Library, c 140, fol. 50, pp. 60-2.

²⁶ H. Mann, Sketches of the Religious Denominations of the Present Day and the Census, London, n.d. (1851), p. 63; Bloxam, loc. cit.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Statistics for Church of England Schools for the Poor in England and Wales for the Years 1866 and 1867, pp. 8-9.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

points, in this connection, should be made. The duty of the landowner was taken for granted.³⁰ In spite of this, members of the gentry were doing less than the landowners in mining regions.³¹

Housing the poor

Landowners were expected to play an important part in the provision of better housing for the labouring classes. Squalid living conditions were condemned for humanitarian reasons; moreover, how could members of an ill-fed family, living in dirt and disease, turn their thoughts to higher things? To the clerical mind, there appeared to be a connection between cleanliness and Godliness.³² Further, the more revolting the hovel, the more attractive was the public house to the parents; thus, wages would be squandered, wives beaten, children neglected, and religion completely forgotten.³³ Drink was widely blamed for the apostasy of the nineteenth century working classes, and bad housing was alleged to have been a large part of the problem. Again, unedifying family life was blamed for the 'early and improvident marriages' which resulted from 'the illicit connections that young people of the same parish form, having none of the comforts of home'.³⁴ Nevertheless, probably the main scandal of lower class housing was the immorality likely to result from the lack of segregation of sleeping quarters.³⁵ In the task of improving the humble cottage, the link

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 25-6.

³² Revd D.S. Garrett, Cottage Homes: Their Defectiveness in a Sanitary, Social, Moral and Religious Aspect with Suggestions for their Improvement, London, 1860, pp. 14-9.

³³ Province of Canterbury, Report by the Committee on Intemperance, for the Lower House of Convocation, London, 1869, pp. 10-11; Samuel Wilberforce, A Charge to the Diocese of Oxford at his Third Visitation, November, 1854, London, 1854, p. 47.

³⁴ Revd J.H. Hext, Acts of the Synod of Exeter, June, 1851, London, 1851, p. 98.

between the manor and the rectory was widely seen to have been essential. The Revd W.B. Cosens was not alone in his opinion that 'it is in the power of many [clergymen] to lead the squirarchy of their neighbourhoods' to adopt a plan of improvement in their tenants' dwellings.³⁶

Decorum

The third area of cooperation between squire and rector was the enforcement or encouraging of decorum. In 1850, an essayist painted an idyllic picture of the paternal landowner whose wise and benevolent governance would have made the parson all but redundant. The squire could take pleasure in seeing his cottages clean and comfortable; he could prevent overcrowding, encourage the occupants to be tidy and frugal, provide allotments for the industrious, superintend and promote 'the healthy spirits and amusements of the poor'; at the same time he could 'control them and keep them within the limits of order and sobriety' and, as a magistrate, 'maintain a certain degree of discipline'.³⁷ By 1850, however, it was evident that whatever accuracy this description contained, applied to an order of things that was changing. Consolidation of property had led to a fall in the number of residential squires.³⁸ As for farmers, no longer were they accommodating labourers under their own roofs: the building of cottages for farm workers ruptured the bonds between master and servant, and resulted in the breaking down of discipline in the families of the working classes.³⁹ Spreading the faith of Christ was not the work solely of the clergy, Bishop Wilberforce told the laymen who heard his

³⁵(continued)

³⁵ Revd W.B. Cosens, Acts of the Synod of Exeter, p. 103; Revd W.B. Ady, The Condition of the Labourer in Agricultural Parishes, p. 3.

³⁶ Cosens, *ibid.*, p. 102; and see Hext, *ibid.*, p. 93; Ady, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁷ Ady, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

pastoral charge of 1854. The employer should exercise moral oversight over his workmen, interesting himself in the way they lived, and how they spent their leisure.⁴⁰

In 1859, it was noted that non-residence of principal householders at weekends caused similar problems in London. Also, the practice of taking indoor apprentices had been virtually discarded. Thus, many masters and their families no longer attended church with their households and their apprentices, and servants and warehousemen had Sundays to themselves, in consequence.⁴¹ The institution most destructive of morality, however, was rural - the hiring fair. This was so particularly because, during the fair, employees were beyond the control or influence of 'their masters, their elders, their betters in life'.⁴² At the mops, as the hiring fairs were known, youths and girls of the lower orders spent their year's wages in thoughtless dissipation, destructive of their own morals and of the social order. The fairs had evolved in a period when roads were poor and education defective; when there were few market towns and no newspapers, nor the penny post.⁴³ Suppression of the evil was, therefore, theoretically possible, but this required the combined efforts of clergymen and employers of labour - landowners, farmers, farmers' wives and tradesmen -

⁴⁰ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1854, p. 51.

⁴¹ Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fellows of Sion College ..., p. 12; R.J. Hayne, et al., Deaconesses for the Church of England, London, 1860, p. 7; Mann, Sketches ..., p.95; Bryan King, Sacrilege and its Encouragement; being an Account of the St. George's Riots and their Successes in a Letter of Remonstrance to the Bishop of London, London, 1860, p. 6; anon., Riots at St. George's East. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London by a Layman, London, 1860, pp. 6-7; C. Girdlestone, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Revd the Lord Bishop of London in reference to the Meeting of Landowners and Employers of Labour in the Metropolis, London, n.d. (1863), p. 4.

⁴² Revd E. Jackson, Inspector of Schools, Bedfordshire, quoted in Revd J. Skinner, Facts and Opinions Concerning Statute Hirings Respectfully Addressed to the Landowners, Clergy, Farmers and Tradesmen of the East Riding of Yorkshire, London, 1861, p. 6.

⁴³ Ibid.

in order to establish labour and employment agencies.⁴⁴

Clerical support of the gentry

In a variety of ways, therefore, Anglican priests in the mid-nineteenth century identified with the gentry and urban landowners, regarding them as allies, and regretting the passing of an old order which had kept labourers, servants and apprentices under the rigid supervision of their masters and employers. At first sight, there is ample evidence to suggest that, in their social comment, clergymen were simply reflecting the class interests of town and country capital. They scoffed at rioters, radicals, Chartists and Socialists,⁴⁵ and frequently proclaimed the need to inculcate the working classes with the habits of obedience, order, decent manners and honesty, and stressed the importance of keeping humble folk in their own station.⁴⁶ Another popular theme was the relationship of mutual obligation which, ideally, existed between master and servant.⁴⁷ Most telling was the stream of clerical comment on education. It was said that the right sort of schooling for the lower classes was plain, unpretentious, useful instruction, such as would prepare the children of the poor for their ordained station in life as hardworking, efficient and unambitious servants - unambitious particularly: so far were these observers from endorsing the view that the school was an appropriate avenue by which the humble might advance in society, that some attributed the evils in contemporary England to the pertness, insubordination, and insolence of an over-educated generation.⁴⁸ In all this, the aim of the clergy might be said to have been

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

⁴⁵ Revd J.M. Neale, 'The Cotton Spinners,' Songs and Ballads for Manufacturers, London, 1850.

⁴⁶ Anon., Clerical Papers ..., p. 8, and passim.

⁴⁷ Ibid., passim; Ady, op. cit., pp. 24-6; Henry Newland, 'One and All,' or the Disintegration of Society and Some of its Remedies, 1851, pp. 8-11.

social control - an objective consistent with the interests of the gentry. Nevertheless, to explain the motivation of the clerical publicists merely in terms of their social class is mistaken. The clergyman's professed prior concern was the salvation of individual souls; drunkenness, sexual licence and uncouth behaviour, amongst the lower orders, made his task difficult or impossible. Clergymen who indulged in social criticism were, almost invariably, reactionary: they looked back to a golden age when squire, farmer, master and tradesman, each by strict discipline, had kept employees and servants chaste, sober and devout. Although old constraints were disappearing, clergymen were slow to adopt, as a major weapon, a new social ethic, for example, thrift, self-control, and parental responsibility. They continued, instead, to ask employers to help them in their efforts to preserve the masses from the evils of drink and sexual immorality. Questions of tactics arise in these appeals. The clergyman deplored the mops or hiring fairs because he believed that they caused drunkenness, spendthrift behaviour, and uncouthness.⁴⁹ It may be doubted, however, whether these evils would have been regarded by employers, as such, as sufficient reason to abolish the fairs. Sensing this, the parson may well have appealed to property owners on the grounds that the illegitimate children begotten at hiring fairs led to an increase in the poor rates, and that the mops encouraged pilfering, false pretences and insubordination amongst the labouring classes.

⁴⁸ (continued)

⁴⁸ Anon., A Parson and his Fellow Workers. An Additional Chapter to 'A Priest in the Temple,' by George Herbert, London, 1864, p. 6; anon., Clerical Papers ..., pp. 33-4; Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, p. 20; anon., 'The Girl of the Period,' Union Review, 1869, article xii, pp. 195-6; Ecclesiae Curae, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Skinner, op. cit., pp. 3-8, 10-18.

In the early Victorian years, the nature of the beneficed clergyman's social status affected both his view of his ministerial functions and his concept of authority. In the parish, he could consider himself inferior to none but the squire. Some clergymen, no doubt, who were influenced by the Evangelical, or, alternatively, Tractarian doctrines of the ministry, did not base their claims for respect on their genteel birth, their education, their learning and the type of income they enjoyed. Yet even they considered that these advantages were almost necessary qualifications for the performance of their duties. Thus, it was natural that there should have been frequent warnings about the dangers of giving offence by appearing to be aloof: superior attitudes were inconsistent with the Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man.⁵⁰ Clergymen considered themselves to have been uniquely placed to conciliate different classes by healing divisions and teaching cooperation.⁵¹ Their social class gave them influence with the rich; their parochial duties gave them contacts with the poor. Their education earned them respect, not for their learning alone, but also, perhaps mainly, for the knowledge it gave them of the human condition at all levels.⁵²

Discipline

In the mid-nineteenth century, the clerical order was not a profession, in the modern sense, but two kinds of contemporary criticism of it suggest that it was moving in that direction.⁵³ They related to the beneficed clergyman's security of tenure, and to his relative isolation (although

⁵⁰ Anon., A Parson and his Fellow Workers, p. 8; Thomas Ramsay, Is Christian Socialism a Church Matter? London, 1851, p. 41.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 41-2; H. Newland, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵² Edward L. Cutts, The Good Time Coming. An Address to the Working Men of England, n.d. (1862), p. 5; John Wordsworth, The Church and the Universities, p. 13.

⁵³ See chapter 5.

this was beginning to break down in the early Victorian period as visitations and conferences became more usual). First, there were complaints from several quarters that discipline within the Church was almost non-existent. In 1864, writing about a deacon who was refused ordination because his vicar (incumbent of the parish in which he had served as assistant curate) had complained of his pro-Roman views, one critic claimed:

The beneficed clergy lie very much beyond the reach of episcopal advice and rebuke. Even in actionable cases, simony and such like, the heads of the Church (except the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury)⁵⁴ and their delegates are content to ignore their duties ...

In 1851, the Bishop of Exeter blamed the neglect of discipline for the situation in which (he claimed) the holy sacraments had been exposed to 'rash judgement of the weak in faith'.⁵⁵ Bishop Wilberforce observed, three years later, that 'our present means of enforcing discipline, even amongst ourselves of the clergy, are such as must be reconstructed'. He warned that, as a result of the system's inadequacies, efficiency was impaired, salvation of souls prevented, spiritual action restrained, and the Church's position in the nation threatened.⁵⁶

Untested performance

The second point is that beneficed clergymen were not required to have their performance measured against that of their peers. This gave rise to criticism in the Church. Manuals were written, demonstrating how to improve efficiency, and it was even suggested that priests who displayed exceptional talents in certain fields should specialise. One instance was

⁵⁴ Thomas Ayre (?), The Perils of the Diaconate, London, n.d. (1864), p. 3.

⁵⁵ A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter on the Present State of the Church, 1851, London, 1851, p. 72.

⁵⁶ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1854, p. 69.

preaching.⁵⁷ Such an attitude to the clergyman's duties - measuring, however crudely, individual performance, and systematically laying down techniques for practitioners to master - was quite alien to the older stereotype of a beneficed clergyman staying undisturbed in a living for decades,⁵⁸ possibly working quite conscientiously but at all events unsupervised and unchecked either by his nominal superior or by his brethren.

IV

Why did men seek ordination? The question is important; the answer, elusive. Even evidence relating to the easier matter of what was perceived to be the motive of the typical parson, is encrusted with prejudice, particularly against the allegedly indolent and worldly clergyman of the unenlightened days before the Evangelical and Tractarian movements each began to make its separate impact.⁵⁹ Champions of religious revivals may have exaggerated the abuses of the eighteenth century Church. Even allowing for this, it remains true that, in a period when family background and social rank were important factors in determining the choice of a clerical career,⁶⁰ a sense of vocation, as the more fervent Churchmen later understood the term, would have been less apparent. Not once did the Revd John Skinner discuss a 'call' when he mused, in his diary, on his son's

⁵⁷ Sydney Owen, 'Preaching' A Paper Read at the Church Congress Held at York, 10 October, 1866, York, 1867, p. 7.

⁵⁸ As late as the 1880s, there were reports of several clergymen who had spent 40 or 50 years in the one parish; one, 63 years, one, 59 years, two, 54 years, two, 50 years. Minutes of the Oxford Diocesan Conference, 1889, Oxford, n.d., p. 6.

⁵⁹ For example, W.B. Badnell, The Law of Pews and Sittings in Churches, London, 1865, p. 21. See also Heeney, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

⁶⁰ Coxon, op. cit.

prospects of becoming a clergyman.⁶¹ According to H.P. Liddon in 1858, men came to Cuddesdon 'carried about with every wind of doctrine , and the lowest possible ideas about what God's service demands'.⁶² This does not, however, warrant the assumption that, in this period of fairly low expectations of what constituted a parson's duties, the average incumbent did not do what was required of him. Neither does it follow that a clergyman who seemed to lack much evangelical zeal to save souls, or who held a 'low' view of the priesthood, was necessarily an avaricious and cynical careerist. Between the extremes of fervent spirituality and idle though remunerative time-serving, was territory that - given the persistence of eighteenth century conceptions of the ministry - was inhabited by a large number of parsons whose motives were probably no higher or lower than a conscientious but vague desire to be of use, to do good, in an honourable and reasonably profitable career.

Perceived need for 'holier' motives

Such motives for taking orders were quite adequate when a passive view of the ministry predominated - namely, that the vicar provided the means of salvation by conducting public worship, and exercised a wholesome (though fairly indirect and subtle) influence on the community, because of his culture, learning and respectability.⁶³ In this tradition one finds the numerously populated category of the 'dignified clergy', the 'moderate men, the safe men', who preferred 'the quiet enjoyment of wealth',⁶⁴ to

⁶¹ Op. cit., pp. 372, 385. It was mainly his 'disposition' that disqualified Owen Skinner, in his father's opinion.

⁶² Liddon to Wilberforce, 19 November, 1858, Wilberforce MS. d. 40 f. 180.

⁶³ R. Girdlestone, op. cit., p. 5; Roundell, Earl of Selborne, The Endowments and Establishments of the Church of England, London, n.d. (1886), pp. 36-7.

⁶⁴ Revd J.M. Neale, A Few Words of Hope in the Present Crisis of the English Church, London, 1850, p. 19.

controversy. These motives were, however, dangerously open to corruption. Victorian Churchmen were acutely aware that some clergymen were attracted to the ministry because of 'ease, ambition and expectation of a living',⁶⁵ 'income, comfort and security',⁶⁶ 'pursuit of wealth' and 'the love of luxury and ostentation'.⁶⁷ In such a parson, charitable activity could degenerate into sterile busywork; the ideal of learning, into jaded pseudo-scholarship; a position of upright community leadership, into a tyrannical and overbearing magistracy; and loyalty to The Book of Common Prayer into empty formalism.⁶⁸ Some believed that a low view of the priesthood was the reason for many a vicar to have acted in a despotic fashion towards his overworked assistant curate.⁶⁹ Even without these excesses, the Church (so it was felt in the 1850s) was entering a period in which higher motivation was needed by the clergy - higher, that is, than a desire diligently to perform the fairly minimal formal duties of an Anglican parson. Workmen had to be attracted to worship, Latitudinarianism resisted, the urban masses evangelised, and the Church's patrimony defended. No doubt for these reasons, the Bishop of Oxford asked his clergy in 1851 to be more careful when writing testimonials for men who wished to become ordination candidates.⁷⁰

The university's role

This belief - that mid-century Anglicanism was faced with a crisis - provided the main grounds for the view that, although priests ought to be

⁶⁵ Anon, Questions for Self-Examination for the use of the Clergy, London, 1872, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Willis, Simony, p. 32.

⁶⁷ Anon., Questions, p. 18.

⁶⁸ Ayr (?) op. cit., p. 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, p. 17.

graduates, the universities did not, in themselves, provide clergymen with sufficient preparation for their career. In 1842, the complaint was made that the principle of obedience to the church had taken little root in Cambridge: 'this seat of learning and nursery of our Church'. The university was a beacon, a light set upon a hill. Its members had an insufficient sense of their own importance. They were not isolated beings, but

those who will form, when moved to different spheres of activity, centres of other circles, - who in [their] various walks of life will greatly influence if not entirely⁷¹ give the tone to the society in which [their] lot is cast.

This was a view of the ministry - stressing its role as a subtle but pervasive influence for the good - that was eminently traditional. Yet the doubts about the adequacy of a University course, as a preparation for it, had radical implications. At the University 'we have scarcely anything ... to remind us that we are training up men to be ministers - I might almost say common Christians ...',⁷²

The same point was made twenty years later. The mind and character of passmen (that is, of most ordinands) were almost wholly undeveloped in the 'small residue of hours devoted to a variety of theological reading'. In the class that supplied most recruits to the ministry, there was a disposition alien to moral earnestness, to profound conviction. Instead, up to the verge of taking Orders (if no further), 'the mass of our undergraduates exhibit a frivolity, a self-indulgence, a frantic and reeling devotion to amusement'.⁷³ In an ironical vein, the Professor of Botany at Oxford made a similar point in discussing the question of

⁷¹ Anon., Some Consideration of Church Principles, p. 3.

⁷² Ibid., p. 15.

⁷³ S. Owen, op. cit., pp. 4, 5.

facilitating the university study of law and medicine:

Not only do the general habits of our undergraduates, their luxurious entertainments, their expensive amusements, and the disproportionate importance now attached to athletic exercises, ill accord with the course of life prescribed to those who enter on this laborious profession [medicine], but the tone of thought, and the line of study, which are in harmony with the career of one intended for holy Orders, are hardly such as he [a medical student] would find suitable in his future vocation.⁷⁴

The quality of clergy

Postgraduate theological study was supported on the grounds that it would improve practical training, but its more vocal and active champions went further.⁷⁵ In 1851, Bishop Wilberforce reminded clergymen that they should be 'men of prayer' in order that they could be 'living centres of devout influence'. More reverence was needed in their manner of conducting public worship. He candidly admitted that the problem for ministers was to break through their own 'early formed habits of listlessness and inattention'. On the other hand, 'the formation ... of habits of devotion is one of the benefits which I should look from the formation of a diocesan training college'.⁷⁶ Three years later, Cuddesdon was opened. Commenting on the event, Wilberforce emphasised three themes. First, the college would prepare ordinands to be pastors, to exercise 'the perilous ministry of souls'. Secondly, it would foster sound theological study, to avoid the 'specious infidelity of Latitudinarianism' on the one side and, on the other, 'the poisonous blight of the Roman error'. Thirdly, the College would provide opportunities for retirement, reflection and prayer, all of which would discourage the adoption of such attitudes which, the Bishop evidently thought, marked ecclesiastical partisans: 'shallow opinions,

⁷⁴ C. Daubeney, A Letter ... p. 11.

⁷⁵ The Bishop of Exeter, Acts of the Synod of Exeter, 1851, p. 111.

⁷⁶ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, p. 14.

self-willed rashness, ignorant obstinacy, party spirit, with its shibboleths and its unchristian judgements and its uncharitable speeches and its injuries to souls'. Opposing this cluster of evils was the spirit of the via media: 'Our aim ... will be to form in its strength and simplicity ... the marked features of a devout, sober, earnest, practical, well-instructed Church of England piety ...'

V

Clearly, therefore, by the early Victorian period, more was being expected of the parish clergy. The changes Bishop Wilberforce wrought powerfully illustrate this trend. Yet the ecclesiastical partisanship he deprecated was a by-product of the religious revival - the Evangelical and Oxford movements - which was one of the main causes of the tendency to demand of clergy deeper devotion, greater attention to pastoral duties and a higher degree of theological learning. To awaken the masses to a sense of sin, pastoral visitation was conducted with increasing thoroughness.⁷⁷ Sermons were longer, and more frequent.⁷⁸ Churches were restored in such a way as to encourage congregational participation in public worship, by the replacing of boxed pews with open benches.⁷⁹ The parish clerk, that irritating symbol of eighteenth century liturgical torpor, was less in evidence.⁸⁰ Greater compliance with the letter and spirit of The Book of

⁷⁷ Neale, A Few Words of Hope..., p. 18.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ C.F. Lowder, Ten Years with St. George's Mission, being an Account of its Origins, Progress, and Works of Mercy, London, 1867, p. 12; B. King, Sacrilege ..., p. 8; T. Ramsay, Christian Socialism, p. 32; Correspondence Between the Revd Charles Badaham and the Revd W.N. Andrews relating to Certain Letters which have recently appeared in the 'Essex Standard', Sudbury, 1849, p. 18.

⁸⁰ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, pp. 7-8.

Common Prayer was being achieved, with more frequent celebrations of the communion,⁸¹ and an increasing number of parishes in which daily services were held.⁸² More emphasis was being placed upon the duties of incumbents to prepare confirmation candidates.⁸³

Clerical meetings

As rural deanery meetings, diocesan synods, visitations and conferences became increasingly commonplace, the isolation of the rural clergy gradually was ended. Thus incumbents could no longer be virtually a law unto themselves. The building of railways was, no doubt, a necessary condition of the activating of this cobwebbed machinery of admonition and consultation, but the immediate causes lie in the internal politics of the Church of England in the twenty-five years that followed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and the passing of the Great Reform Bill. The danger of a parliament that was no longer exclusively Anglican, legislating for the Church (as it did, for example, in the Irish Temporalities Act), seemed to call for the establishment of a countervailing deliberative assembly of the clergy. There were primitive precedents for this, which made the idea of synods and councils all the more congenial to this generation of Churchmen, who seemed never to tire of claiming that Reformed Anglicanism was true to the pattern of Church order in the first three centuries. To Bishop Phillpotts and his supporters, never could such a synod have appeared more necessary than it did at the time of the Gorham Judgement in 1850, when it appeared that the Privy Council was taking on the task of defining the doctrine of the Church of England.⁸⁴ Not that all

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 7

⁸² Bishop of Bath and Wells, Charge ... 1847, p. 15; Guide to the Church Services in London and its Suburbs, London, 1858; Ramsay, op. cit., p. 33.

⁸³ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Bishop of Exeter, A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of
(Footnote continued)

Churchmen were united on the question: the development of party spirit, since 1833, threatened to split the Church into private societies and warring factions. Wilberforce suggested that meetings of the clergy would discourage this sort of growth: isolation (he believed) was unhealthy, and caused divisions in the ranks. There was a general feeling, too, that the laity ought to be consulted, if not actually involved, in legislating. Thus, there was a need to assemble conferences from time to time. Nevertheless, the most effective weapon, to awaken clergymen to their professional responsibilities, was the archidiaconal and episcopal visitation. Wilberforce's comment to his clergy was suggestive, for he spoke of those pastors who

have been taken from us since our former meeting, to render their account before the judge of the quick and the dead, of parishes cared for or neglected, of souls watched over or slighted, of self-denying vigilance or slothful ease,⁸⁵ of a life hidden with Christ in God or wasted on the world ...

Because this sort of episcopal supervision was becoming more usual, his hearers might have been pardoned had they thought it likely that the rendering of provisional accounts was required by their bishop, for he used the occasion to publicise the parochial returns showing the frequency of services, the number of celebrations, and the rate of school attendance. Even the demeanour of the confirmation candidates was the subject of comment.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ (continued)

Exeter on the Present State of the Church, London, 1851, pp. 2-51, passim, pp. 97, 101, 113; Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, pp. 44-54.

⁸⁵ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 6-7; see also Wilberforce, Charge ... 1854, pp. 33-5, and his reproof of the Revd W. Master, whose state of health necessitated (in Master's opinion) his seeking 'the benefit of sea air and bathing'; thus as incumbent Master was unable personally to instruct the parish's confirmation candidates, or to be present when Wilberforce performed the rite. Master to Wilberforce, 21 September, 1846, Wilberforce to Master, October, 1846, MS. Wilberforce, ff. 13, 15 (Bodleian).

Distribution of wealth

Other pressures on parish clergy to demonstrate greater zeal and efficiency came from outside the Church of England. The distribution of her wealth, a question of perennial concern, had a bearing on the matter of clerical duty. The inequality of parsons' incomes (it was alleged in 1851) meant that vast sums were used for 'the pomps and vanities and provision for families', whilst several thousands of perhaps harder working incumbents could scarcely exist. The annual incomes of Durham and Chester (respectively, £27,419 and £1,919) were contrasted to make the point.⁸⁷ Yet the Revd R. St. John Tyrwhitt was unable to see any coherence in anti-clerical discontent. Whatever clergymen did, he implied, they would be criticised from one quarter or another. In his diagnosis of the inequality of incomes, however, he appeared to have missed the point. He referred to

the vague and loud complaints we hear about the clergy not using their power for good; about their influence and their weakness, about the largeness of their incomes, about the smallness of their incomes, about their inactivity and their interference, about their conventionality and their foolish zeal.⁸⁸

Public worship

The main duties of the clergyman were the conducting of services and preaching, education, and attending to pastoral matters (mainly visiting). The services of the Church had several purposes, contemporaries believed, apart from the main one of worship. There was the awakening in individuals of a sense of sin, or, as one clergyman put it, a personal care for their souls. Wilberforce said that 'all worship should be based on a burning desire to save souls in the simple Gospel way of justification by faith in Christ crucified'.⁸⁹ One writer commented that a religious service had one

⁸⁷ Ramsay, Christian Socialism, pp. 27-9.

⁸⁸ R. Tyrwhitt, Concerning Clerical Powers and Duties, 'Religious Inquiry' and Daily Prayers. Nine Sermons Preached at St. Mary Magdalen Church, Oxford, Oxford, 1861, p. 31.

meaning for the priest, and another for the people. The laity, he suggested, saw worship as an edifying activity, providing members of the congregation with spiritual benefit, whereas the celebrant tended to look upon it as, among other things, a means of strengthening the congregation as a group. Order, and unity, counted for nothing for those laymen who betook themselves elsewhere if their parish clergyman failed to please.⁹⁰ Thus, the breaking of parochial ties was disruptive of discipline and accompanied by an implied assessment (by the layman) of the performance of the incumbent. In the middle years of the century, worship was receiving more attention. For the clergy, at least, it was the main purpose of divine service. Largely because of the Oxford Movement, it was widely accepted that the congregation should be involved in a more dignified offering of morning and evening prayer and the communion office. This was one of the reasons for replacing pews with open benches. Wilberforce deprecated the common lay attitude that the people had only a passive role in church, that is, having prayers addressed to them by the vicar and the parish clerk. As the changes urged by the Bishop of Oxford spread, the function of the incumbent, likewise, was altered - from a public performer of the liturgy, and a dispenser of generalised spiritual counsel, to, ideally, a leader of a group of worshippers. This had implications for his own spiritual life: he would have to set an example as a man of devotion and prayer, if his parishioners were to be transformed from an audience into a congregation. Wilberforce still regarded as important 'the influence of superior minds' enjoyed by parsons in the parishes, and in fact extended the principle to apply to the social work done by upper class women amongst prostitutes, but he obviously expected much more of his clergy than the setting of a good example of chastity, culture, education and benevolence.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1854, p. 26.

⁹⁰ Anon., Clerical Papers, p. 24.

The laity's devotions

The layman's devotional life was the responsibility of the parish clergyman; two ways of deepening it were more frequent, and more attractive, services. The Bishop of Bath and Wells opined that the sine qua non of improved lay piety was the opening of churches during the week. Daily services, and the observing of festivals and fasts, were beneficial precisely because they inculcated, in the laity, discipline and prayerful habits.⁹² J.M. Neale regarded the greater frequency of services as an essential element in the religious revival, which he appeared to see largely in terms of a higher level of duty on the part of the priest.⁹³ Another writer believed that daily services were the hallmark of a church that operated on 'the social principle'; here, the priest was seen as one who served his people.⁹⁴ The Bishop of Exeter called for frequent (weekly) communion, in order to set forth the sacramental system which rested on the Incarnation.⁹⁵ By the 1850s, the stigma attached to a 'Sunday only' religion rankled sufficiently for there to be published a guide to the services in London and its suburbs, 'to give to the Clergy, and to Churchmen generally, a notion of the large and increasing number of churches which have been rescued from the reproach of being closed six days out of every seven'.⁹⁶ Attractiveness of services was another topic in the contemporary discussion of a clergyman's duties. It was thought to have been important for pragmatic as well as for doctrinal reasons: the need to attract the poor to church, and to hold them, was evidently at the back of

⁹¹ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, p. 32.

⁹² Charge ... 1847, p. 19.

⁹³ Neale, A Few Words of Hope, p. 15.

⁹⁴ Ramsay, op. cit., p. 33.

⁹⁵ A Pastoral Letter ... 1851, p. 70.

⁹⁶ Guide to the Church Services in London and its Suburbs, London, 1858.

the minds of most commentators. Services could be shortened by dividing them (Matins, Ante-communion, the Litany).⁹⁷ Aids to devotion were suggested;⁹⁸ prayers should be given utterance 'with that due deliberation which would allow of each idea, as it is presented by our beautiful and comprehensive liturgy, being fully received and conscientiously assented to in the poor man's mind'.⁹⁹ One tract-writer claimed that the selfish parson who did a bare minimum for his parishioners, and who was as lazy as he was avaricious, would have services that were 'meagre, dull and frigid'; whereas in a church that operated on 'the social principle', the services would be performed 'with all the solemn ceremonial which of right belongs to [the Church's] ordinances'.¹⁰⁰ The Bishop of Exeter was of like opinion:

When the congregation consists mainly of the poorest orders, there we commonly observe the great love of the majestic and even elaborate service ... When we consider the little which the poor man has to delight his heart ... in his own squalid home, we ought to rejoice that he can find enjoyment in the House of Prayer.¹⁰¹

Education of the poor

In discussing the priest's duty to educate the parishioners in the faith, commentators placed the greatest emphasis on the children of the poor.

Archdeacon Denison was quite uncompromising:

The Church knows of no education that is not based upon the doctrines of the Catholic Faith ... All other 'education' is to the Church simply irreligious and in the same proportion as the irreligious element pervades and leavens, from the training of the young will disappear 'that fear of God from their youth'.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Anon., Clerical Papers, p. 15.

⁹⁸ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, p. 8.

⁹⁹ Anon., Clerical Papers, p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 31-3.

¹⁰¹ A Pastoral Letter ... 1851, p. 88.

Further, an education system under the control of the clergy would be expected to civilize the masses who, in their natural state, were rude, coarse, cunning, selfish and ignorant. With a 'substitution of order for disorder', and 'habits of obedience for reckless waywardness of will', and with the adoption by them of the principles of honesty, decency and good manners, would come respect and reverence for the Church, her principles, her ministers and services.¹⁰³ With reference to the clergyman's duty to educate the village labourer, one essayist claimed that

God never intended man, even in the humblest grades of society, to pass his life in that dull, listless, unobservant unintellectual state of mind, in which, as a class, the labourer does.¹⁰⁴

In education, the Church also expected to perform a social function, preparing poor children for their station in life as useful, sober, obedient, honest and diligent servants. The Church had two reasons for resisting upward social mobility on the part of the humble classes. The first was theoretical, the second severely practical. First, God ordained that class into which one was placed. Secondly, clergymen had ample evidence on which to base their belief that the task of evangelising and of attending to the spiritual needs of the lowest rank was facilitated if members of this class were compliant and well-disciplined. These circumstances were assumed by the rubrics of the catechism itself: 'all fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall cause their children, servants and apprentices to come to church at the time appointed and obediently hear ...'¹⁰⁵ Although he might be assisted by a schoolmistress

¹⁰² G. Denison, The Church and the School, London, 1851, p. 17.

¹⁰³ Anon., Clerical Papers, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁴ Ady, The Condition of the Labourer, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted by Denison, in 'The Conscience Clause' Speech of the Archdeacon of Taunton in the Lower house of Convocation of Canterbury, February 6, 1866, p. 14.

or master, in the school the parish clergyman (it was said) should be in complete control. The teacher of the poor need not, indeed, should not be a scholar, for

would it not be desirable ... that we had plainer men as teachers of the poor; men well trained, indeed, and of an average amount of intelligence both natural and acquired, but essentially plain men, men of sound judgement, and of humble, patient minds?¹⁰⁶

This is not a picture of a fellow professional but of a trained assistant. It was not, however, destined to last. The rise of a centralised inspectorate, the development of professional specialisation, and Nonconformist agitation, were all to affect the power which the priest could exercise over the school and its staff, intake and curriculum.

The clergyman was also a catechist. Tributes to public catechising, as the most effective method of teaching doctrine, were commonplace. It was economical of time, it demanded that the clergyman have total control of instruction, it was prescribed by the rubrics and rooted in the doctrines of the Church. Sunday Schools, also, were possibly still tainted with Evangelical and Wesleyan associations. 'Qualities of the good catechist are of no common kind,' the Bishop of Exeter informed his synod. Knowledge of doctrine, careful preparation and intelligent questioning were essential. Properly conducted, public catechising instructed the children and their parents. It was said to have been of particular value to poor people and the lower classes. But Sunday Schools, staffed (naturally) by lay teachers, were superseding it.¹⁰⁷

Preaching

The other principal means of educating the faithful was the Sunday sermon. One clergyman tried to guess what the laity expected of a

¹⁰⁶ Clerical Papers, p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ Acts of the Synod of Exeter, pp. 80-7.

thirty-five minute discourse:

From hearing God's word they like, without any great effort of attention on their parts, to feel that they have brought something or other away with them, some little Scriptural information, some more realizing sense of some Scriptural scene or Scripture history; and above all they like to feel (as constituting what they call good) that their religious feeling has been aroused.¹⁰⁸

Thus, for effective instruction, clergymen would have to take more care than was conventional in preparation. Further, Anglican 'pulpit ministrations' were frequently constrained and unnatural, since sermons were not delivered extemporaneously.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the majority view appears to have been that sermons were intended for the committed (and probably for the more intelligent). For the uneducated and the unchurched, the catechism and cottage readings were thought to have been more suitable. The Bishop of Bath and Wells let it be known that, because of the 'habits of our people' and because a part of almost every household could attend church only once a Sunday, he felt most strongly that each person should have at least the opportunity of receiving spiritual instruction. He laid down a minimum number of sermons according to the size of the population of each parish.¹¹⁰ In this period, however, Church of England clergymen saw themselves as literally preaching to the converted. It was more than a decade before they recognised the diversity of their congregations, and thus adapted the style, content and delivery of sermons to the needs of those less educated and less committed.

Pastoral visiting

Clergymen were frequently advised to be patient in their pastoral

¹⁰⁸ Clerical Papers, p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Wilberforce, in 1847, was implicitly critical of extemporaneous preaching: the sermons of a certain clergyman who adopted this mode were 'in very bad taste and wanting in reverence'. Wilberforce MS. c.22 (30 December, 1847) f. 102.

¹¹⁰ Charge ... 1847, p. 22.

duties.¹¹¹ Half a century of diligent visiting had produced no obvious good. Yet the Bishop of Bath and Wells had no doubts about its importance:

When a clergyman has no systematic plan of parochial visiting ... there we may be sure that a confirmation of catechumens will be unsatisfactory ... Preaching may rouse men, but it is by their own firesides that a pastor's work is done.¹¹²

By 1850, more was being expected of priests as pastors. In 1826, by contrast, a clerical pamphleteer had made no apology for the fact that a clergyman might have no personal knowledge of a parishioner when he was sent for at a time of illness.

Someone tells the Clergyman, who finds the poor man in great danger ... At the period of the Clergyman's visit he comes with all the disadvantages of knowing nothing of the state of the man's mind during the course of his illness ... This he has to discover in his conversation, and the difficulty of overcoming the timidity of the poor, generally, in opening their minds to persons much above them in station, experience will prove to be very great.¹¹³

A quarter of a century later, such a state of affairs would have scandalised members of that numerous company offering clergy advice on pastoral matters. In addition to his knowing the parishioners, the incumbent who was a diligent visitor would be the most effective preacher. It would be an evil if there were to be

one man taking the department of preaching, and thinking himself above the lower work of visiting the sick, and instructing the young ... [It is impossible] that a priest can preach well to his

¹¹¹ Twenty-five Remarks for the Benefit of Young Clergymen; Clerical Papers, p. 7.

¹¹² Charge ... 1847, p. 31. The powerful influence of John Keble's legendary qualities was based largely, it seems, on his reputation as a pastor. G. Battiscombe, John Keble. A Study in Limitations, Constable, London, 1963, pp. xviii, 173-9. See also J.W. Richards to Revd J.F. Moor, 8 January, 1868 (Notes about John Keble's Pastoral Ministrations), Keble Correspondence, 110.

¹¹³ A.C.R. Dallas (?) A Letter Addressed to the Lord Bishop of London for Developing a Plan for Improving Arrangements at Present Existing for Administering Medical Advice and Visiting the Sick Poor, London, 1826, p. 13.

people, if he has no knowledge of their individual cares and wants
 114
 ...

Pastoral visiting had been inadequate. The reason seemed obvious. Clergymen were overworked; frequently, of necessity taking in students who supplemented their stipends but made heavy demands on their time. In 1826, the problem, thus clearly identified, suggested its own solution: the establishment of a staff of gentlewomen - clergymen's daughters who needed an income, for example - who could undertake district visiting for medical and religious purposes. The answer of the Bishop of Exeter, in 1850, to the problem of the over-worked cleric's inability to undertake a thorough programme of pastoral visiting, was that he should delegate secular tasks - such as overseeing charities and attending vestry meetings - to the laity. To the earlier writer, it appeared that the main part of parochial visitation could be performed by others, for the vicar needed remunerative employment to enable him to live at an acceptable standard, as a gentleman, although a decline in non-residence and consolidation of livings, since the 1820s, may have lessened the need and opportunity of clergymen to take students. The position of the Bishop of Exeter, and others, in the 1850s, was therefore one that laid comparatively heavy emphasis on the purely priestly functions of the parish clergyman.

Conclusion

Of all the ordinances of the Church, in the late nineteenth century, private confession was the most controversial. The way in which Anglicanism defined its position on this matter, throws an interesting light on the views, prevailing in the early Victorian Church, of the clergyman's role and function. An exhortation in The Book of Common Prayer gave warrant for auricular confession, and pastoral care arising out of missions created an apparent need for it. Yet the authorities, even those of Tractarian

114 Acts of the Synod of Exeter, p. 110.

sympathies, were cautious, for the most part: the question provoked little of the kind of animosity that flared in the 1870s.

There was little doubt that priests were empowered to pronounce absolution of sin. In certain circumstances, this could be done in the context of private confession - for example, in cases of serious illness or spiritual malaise. Nevertheless, a system of regular confession was opposed because it was alleged to be mechanical. Also, it was associated with what English Churchmen believed to have been abuses in the Church of Rome. It would threaten the nation with the establishment of priestcraft, for the clergy would become spiritual directors of the laity. The laws of individual conscience and of private judgement would be superseded. Wilberforce postulated two extremes. One was the spiritual tyranny of Roman sacerdotalism. The other, still too common in the Church of England, was a cold, languid ministry, which dealt only in generalities. It never entered into the details of man's spiritual state; it reached no hidden sins, nor doubts. This unfruitful and easy ministry, he claimed, was alien to the Church's mind. The Anglican ordination service assumed a 'close and searching intercourse' between the pastor and 'the souls committed to his oversight'. The clergyman should not supersede but 'awaken, quicken, restore and strengthen the parishioner's individual conscience.'¹¹⁵

The power of the keys was, therefore, specifically claimed for the Anglican priesthood, but it was hardly one that would have been widely understood, or accepted, in the middle years of the nineteenth century. The parish clergyman was expected to minister to individual souls. This was an integral part of the pastoral office. But penance was not elevated to the status of a sacrament, and private confession, as a system of lay discipline, was eschewed by nearly all Anglican spokesmen; moreover, it would have been unenforceable. The Church's concern for the spiritual

¹¹⁵ Wilberforce, Charge ... 1851, pp. 66-9.

welfare of the individual parishioner was based, first, on a doctrine of the priesthood, and secondly, on the view that the acquiring of religious belief was a process of maturation, not of sudden conversion. In the absence of a widespread acceptance of an Anglo-Catholic conception of the ministry, the clergyman's role as spiritual adviser to each member of the congregation was validated by the esteem in which he was held in the parish. The bases of this esteem - education, training, social background, and professional status - were to be modified in the second half of the century, but Anglican publicists continued, on the whole, to acknowledge its existence, to value it, and even to put it to new uses, as they analysed the ways in which the Church of England might cope with a vastly changing society, and with a markedly different intellectual climate, in late Victorian England.

THE CLERGY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Between 1830 and 1870, England, a predominantly rural society, became a predominantly urban society. This chapter examines the effects of the change on the Church of England clergy.

I

Those who held an idealised conception of the Anglican clergyman, assumed the existence of a small, stable and deferential community, in which even the most nominal of Anglicans were connected to the parish church, if only by family ties comprising generations of baptisms, weddings and burials. Furthermore, they took for granted a long incumbency by the parish priest and, perhaps most importantly, the support by parents, masters and employers of the clergyman's civilizing role. In his parochial visiting, his preaching, and his position as a bridge-builder between the wealthy and the humble, the parson was unaided by technical, specialised expertise. In the performance of these duties, his knowledge of human kind - knowledge acquired in the course of his obtaining a liberal education - was thought to be essential.¹

The development that most powerfully challenged this ideal of the Anglican cleric was the massing of the population in large cities. In a multitude of ways, this process modified the workings of the parochial system, and it raised a number of social issues which profoundly affected the clergy. Even at the beginning of the century, it was evident, to the discerning, that only in rural areas could the Anglican parson be effective in performing the full range of his traditional duties. Thus, Jane Austen's

¹ See Chapter 1.

Edmund Bertram pointed out to a sceptical Miss Crawford that

We do not look in great cities for our best morality. It is not there that respectable people of any denomination can do most good, and it is certainly not there, that the influence of the clergy can be most felt ... It is not in fine preaching only that a good clergyman will be useful in his parish and neighbourhood, where the parish and neighbourhood are of a size capable of knowing his private character, and observing his general conduct, which in London can rarely be the case.

Mr Bertram made it clear what he meant by influence:

With regard to influencing their public manners, Miss Crawford must not misunderstand me, or suppose I mean to call them the arbiters of good breeding, the regulators of refinement and courtesy ... The manners I speak of, might rather be called conduct, perhaps, the result of good principles; the effect, in short, of those doctrines which it is their duty to teach and recommend ...²

Urbanisation and the Anglican parish

By the middle and later years of the nineteenth century, it was obvious that Mr Bertram's parson, that is, one who set the tone of society by personal example and quiet influence, was in danger of becoming an anachronism, because of the growth of towns. So rapid was this expansion that even the parochial system itself was threatened with collapse. Contemporaries worried about countless instances in which the increase in the population was outstripping the resources of the Church of England. For example, the area from the eastern end of Oxford-street to the boundary of the parish of Finchley, in Highgate, comprised two or three rural hamlets in the mid-eighteenth century. By 1860, the district contained 200,000 persons.³ Between 1871 and 1881, the overall population grew by three million and a quarter, a figure greater than the total population of

² Jane Austen, Mansfield Park, chapter XI.

³ W. Rivington, Church Extension in St. Pancras. A Comparative Statement of the Increase in Houses, Population and Church Accommodation ... from 1801 to 1851, London, 1862, p. 4.

medieval England. A greatly expanded labouring class was creating new suburbs superimposed on old, rural localities on the edges of towns. A contemporary noted ominously that none of the newcomers was of the elite: this had stayed in the villages.⁴ The new generation of town dwellers was not able to pick up the threads of religious observance or patterns of attendance, even if such existed, or there was a desire to do so. In the 280 years between the Reformation and 1825, only one church was built in Wolverhampton. In 1768, the town's first blast furnace came into operation. By 1825, the population had reached 100,000, yet the ecclesiastical organisation was still the same as it had been when the surrounding countryside was heath and pasture.⁵ In the period 1831-61, the population of Staffordshire rose from 214,000 to 514,000. In the ten years after 1851, Liverpool's population increased by 83,000 and Manchester's by 78,000. The annual increase for London, in this decade, was 60,000. The sheer weight of numbers, in itself, would have been sufficient to modify severely Edmund Bertram's ideal parson. More serious still, however, in its implications for the clergy, was the quality of the new generation of town dweller.

Overcrowded living conditions

To Churchmen, the greatest evil produced by mass migration from country to city, appeared to have been the teeming lodging houses and the slums which, packed with anonymous hordes, were crammed around airless courts and foetid alleys. A house to house visitation, conducted in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, revealed the following information:

<u>Dwellings</u>	<u>No. of families</u>	<u>Beds</u>	<u>No. of families</u>
Single room for each family	929	One to each family	630
Two rooms " " "	408	Two " " "	638
Three " " "	94	Three " " "	154

⁴ Revd R. Gregory, The Need for More Clergymen to make Church Work More Efficient. A Sermon, London, 1884, pp. 13-4.

⁵ Revd R.H. Baynes, The Church's Work Among the People. A Sermon, London, n.d. (1871), p. 7.

Four	"	"	"	"	17	Four	"	"	"	21
Five	"	"	"	"	8	Five	"	"	"	8
Six	"	"	"	"	4	Six	"	"	"	3
Seven	"	"	"	"	1	Seven	"	"	"	1
Eight	"	"	"	"	1	Not ascertained				10
Not ascertained					3					

Twenty years later, in the mid-1880s, it was claimed that, on the basis of the Metropolitan Police Reports and School Board returns, there were 60,000 cases in London in which the living space of each family was limited to a single room.⁶

The danger that such conditions posed to health was obvious,⁷ and the work done by Lowder, his clerical associates, the Sisters, and lay helpers, during the cholera epidemic of 1861, above any other factor established the Church in the affections of a large number of the inhabitants of the East End of London.⁸ Work such as this was not an isolated occurrence.⁹ More than any other professional group, except medical practitioners, Anglican parish clergymen were made to face the question of the connection between living conditions and public health - poor drainage, polluted water supplies, lack of open space, grossly overcrowded accommodation and the proximity of heavy industry.

⁶ C. Powell and C.H. Thomas (compilers), Church Work in the Slums and Lodging Houses. To the Clerical and Lay Members of the London Diocesan Conference, n.d. (1886) p. 2.

⁷ Henry Acland, The Influence of Social and Sanitary Conditions on Religion. A Paper Read ... to the Church Congress at Brighton ... 1874, n.d., p.7; Ven. John Sandford, Social Reforms, or the Habits, Dwellings and Education of our People. A Charge Delivered at Birmingham, Coventry and Southam, London, 1867, pp. 22-3; R.B. Girdlestone, et al., Words to Workers. Sketches of Ten Addresses Given at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, London, 1885, p. 41.

⁸ C.F. Lowder, Ten Years in St. George's Mission, being an Account of its Origins, Progress and Works of Mercy, London, 1867, chapter X.

⁹ D. Bowden, The Idea of the Victorian Church. A Study of the Church of England, 1833-1889, Montreal, 1968, pp. 297-311; G. Rowell, The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism, Oxford University Press, 1983, chapter vi.

Overcrowding and morality

Not surprisingly, however, the clerical observer saw the main peril of inadequate housing to be moral and religious, rather than physical. Squalid and cramped lodgings were alleged to have been a basic cause of the popularity of the public house, and, therefore, of drunkenness,¹⁰ and a major factor leading to prostitution.¹¹ Furthermore, the effect of bad housing on the care of children was widely acknowledged:

Has not God put us into different ranks that we may supply what is lacking in the other; that we might learn our most precious lessons in faith, in endurance, in contentment, and self-denial from the poor, and that they, in their turn, should learn from us the lessons of modesty and decency, of carefulness in little things in the training of the young, and the fulfilment of our great common task of bringing up children for God? Has not the Master given us our larger houses and separate bedrooms, our good localities, our greater education and knowledge, all the purifying and refining influences of our lives, as a trust?¹²

The main theme of mothers' meetings, a common feature of urban parish life, seems to have been the difficulty of bringing up children strictly and morally in crowded tenements. The advice of 'us ladies' to their 'dear sisters', 'you working women', principally concerned the importance of instilling instant obedience in children, devising simple amusements for indoor activity, providing separate sleeping accommodation and bathing for the sexes, and keeping young girls away from public houses: 'If you cannot get your husband to be a teetotaler ... then fetch the beer yourself.' The main obstacle, however, in the way of providing a decent family life, was the squalor of the crowded slum. Women were urged to make a sacrifice to pay higher rent for better lodgings: 'It will be amply repaid to you by your children turning out well and being able to support you in your old

¹⁰ See below.

¹¹ See below.

¹² Anon., Grave Moral Questions, London, n.d., pp. 33-4.

age.,¹³ The results of incorrect upbringing were obvious everywhere. Boys, aged fifteen and over, in Cubbitt Town, had nowhere to go at night. The streets were 'infested with lads' who were 'a nuisance to the inhabitants, trouble to the police and always in mischief'.¹⁴ In the cities there was a sharp contrast between 'cheap, flashy entertainment', believed to be a particular temptation on the path to ruin of factory girls,¹⁵ and the unattractive conditions of home life. The combination was fatal, observers believed, to the morals of the rising generation of the urban working class.

Housing conditions, and religious impulses

The living (and, to an extent, the working) conditions of the lower orders were seen to be highly relevant to the important issue of the lack of religious belief and practice amongst the mass of town dwellers. The first difficulty in the way of working class piety was physical, acknowledged the head of the Oxford House at Bethnall Green. The inhabitants of urban slums were overworked, and lived in confined and overcrowded dwellings. They had to rise early, eat a hurried breakfast, and had no time to pray. They worked from 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning in a hot factory, often in foul air, and sometimes in the midst of not the choicest language. When they went home, they were too tired to read or think. Even if they tried, a crying baby, or a dirty house, made it difficult for them to 'fix their thoughts'.¹⁶ In 1871, it was conceded that

¹³ Ellice Hopkins, On the Early Training of Girls and Boys: An Appeal to Working Women. Especially Intended for Mothers' Meetings, London, 1886, p. 15.

¹⁴ Christ Church, Isle of Dogs, Report and Statement of Accounts from December, 1888, to December, 1889, London, 1889, p. 8.

¹⁵ Convocation of Canterbury, Lower House, Report of Committee on the 'Alleged Increase in Prostitution and the Best Means for the Recovery of the Fallen', n.d., p. 15.

the normal methods of evangelism - preaching, missions, tract distribution
- made little or no impression on the worst slums.

How [can] people living under conditions in which health, virtue and decency ... are impossible ... read tracts ... [and] listen to exhortations, admonitions and prayer? ... Provide the working man with a decent home ... and his wife, with her healthy and joyous children, will hail, with a loving welcome, the bread-winner's return¹⁷ home, all breathing an atmosphere of comfort, health and peace.

Churchmen assumed that there was a direct, causal relationship between an ordered and respectable home life and Anglican piety. In 1888, at the Manchester Church Congress, the Revd Wm Stubbs defined the qualities of the religious spirit in the form of a rhetorical question. How far could the Church of England be said to be training

the real, living, breathing, men and women of all sorts and conditions, in the grimy street and monotonous village, in those sentiments of reverence, admiration and humility¹⁸ which are the acknowledged root graces of spiritual life?

This meant more than freedom from fear of unemployment, hunger, or loss of shelter. It meant more than sobriety, or obedience to the code of sexual morality, or the occupancy of a house large enough for the working man to escape the harassment of noisy children. It implied that it was easy for the comfortable classes to be practising Christians: a middle class woman could be motherly and wifely; her husband had every inducement to submit to the agreeable regimen of hospitable domesticity; children could be brought up to respect restraint, order and discipline. Withdrawal, solitude and meditation were impossible in the urban slum, and these were thought to

¹⁶(continued)

¹⁶ A.F.W. Ingram, The Difficulties of a Working Man, Papers for Working Men, No. 1, London, S.P.C.K., n.d., p. 3.

¹⁷ W. Martin, The Social Crisis in England. A Letter Addressed by Permission to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, Manchester, 1872, p. 5.

¹⁸ Revd William Stubbs, The Church and Democracy, London, n.d. (1888), p. 1.

have been necessary for a religiously inclined person.¹⁹ Contemplating the filth and the overcrowding that characterised the living conditions of the near-heathen urban masses, Churchmen concluded that decent frugality and respectability were impossible. Such attributes as these were almost necessary conditions of religious belief.

II

Hence urban life was destroying the parson's traditional role, and was hardly conducive to the cultivation of religious feelings amongst the laity. Moreover, its impact was intensified by two of the greatest evils that (according to contemporaries) disfigured nineteenth century England.

Drunkenness

Most observers believed that intemperance amongst the working classes was the main problem for the Christian evangelist. It was part of a vicious circle: poverty produced drunkenness, which in turn impoverished the intoxicated.²⁰ It was the major cause of crime, and of pauperism,²¹ and its victims constituted 75% of the inmates of the workhouses and of those in receipt of outdoor relief. The effects of drunkenness were a burden and a discouragement to the sober and industrious members of society. The liquor trade was directly linked with prostitution, for in some areas women of ill-repute were employed by publicans. It was also associated less directly with vice, in that many women (it was assumed) turned to prostitution in

¹⁹ H. Mann, Sketches of the Religious Denominations of the Present Day and the Census Abridged for the Official Report, London, n.d., p. 65; R. B. Girdlestone, op. cit., p. 31; Viscount Halifax, The Events of the Last Ten Months. An Address ... on the 44th Anniversary of the English Church Union, London, n.d., (1903), p. 19.

²⁰ Ven. John Sandford, op. cit., p. 15; One Year's Bridge Building in East London, London, 1888, p.9.

²¹ Province of Canterbury, Report of the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation, London, 1869, pp. 9-10.

order to obtain money to buy liquor.²² Apart from these notorious evils, heavy drinking was destructive of those virtues that Churchmen believed to be necessary for the cultivation of religious sentiment - the qualities of frugality, decency, restraint and order.²³ Deplorable as it was for the breadwinner to be a drunkard, the position of a family in which the mother drank was far worse. Not only was liquor especially bad for the female constitution; for children, a mother's bad example was more destructive than the effects of a father's alcoholism.²⁴ In the 1860s, the incidence of female alcoholism was seen to be increasing.²⁵

The curse of drunkenness ... prevents the labourer from bringing home to his starving family a moiety of his earnings, and makes mothers themselves, instead of thrifty and careful housewives, noisy, gossiping, and useless slatterns.²⁶

In large measure, the causes of working class intemperance were traced to poor housing in urban areas. The warmth and brightness of the public house were contrasted with the squalor and over-crowding of lodgings in the slums.²⁷ In public houses, too, were often found opportunities to make contacts in order to find work.²⁸ The number of inns, beershops and gin palaces was excessive; one reason for this was alleged to have been the licensing laws.²⁹ Ironically, heavy drinking was also associated with

²² Lowder, op. cit., p. 14.

²³ Sandford, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

²⁴ Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire in the Condition of the Bristol Poor, London, 1885, p. 73.

²⁵ Canterbury, Committee on Intemperance ..., p. 3.

²⁶ Lowder, op. cit., pp. 15-6.

²⁷ Canterbury, Committee on Intemperance, p. 10; W. Martin, op. cit., p. 7; Girdlestone, op. cit., p. 40; Work for the University Men Among the London Poor: Speeches Delivered at a Meeting Held on Sunday, 27 January, 1884, in the Hall of Keble College, Oxford, 1884, p. 40.

²⁸ Powell and Thomas, op. cit., p. 8.

festivals that were religious in origin.³⁰

The picture was not totally dark. In the 1880s, a perhaps more judicious observer noted that two or three decades of temperance propaganda had not been without beneficial effect, and warned against the tendency to condemn, indiscriminately, all involved in the liquor trade.³¹ This is precisely the point about the way in which social problems in urban areas changed the role of the parish clergyman: quiet influence, of an informal sort, was of much less effect than a centrally directed and financed temperance movement. Drunkenness amongst the urban poor added to the enormous difficulties confronted by parsons who tried to carry out the clergyman's traditional duty of distributing charity,³² although this form of personal, ad hoc and indiscriminate social welfare was increasingly thought to have been undesirable, for reasons unconnected with working class alcoholism.³³ Clearly, the clergyman, on his own, could do little. Non-resident employers, or directors of large firms, had to be persuaded to co-operate, and pressure was needed at the national level to change the law.

Prostitution

Of all the evils caused by overcrowded living accommodation, the failure to segregate male and female children was widely reckoned to have been the most serious.³⁴ It was conceded that, in a pure and innocent environment,

²⁹ Sandford, op. cit., p. 16; One Year's Bridge Building, p. 6; Canterbury, Committee on Intemperance, p. 7.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ The Bristol Poor, pp. 82-3.

³² Sandford, op. cit., p. 15.

³³ R.J. Hayne, Deaconesses for the Church of England, London, 1860, pp. 9-10.

³⁴ Church Penitentiary Association, Penitentiary Work in the Church of England, London, 1873, p. 27; Revd John Armstrong, An Appeal for the
(Footnote continued)

overcrowding need not produce degradation,³⁵ but lewd conversation, bad examples of parents, the general level of intoxication among members of that class, and the utter absence of refinement and restraint, in the city slum, meant that a major cause of the lax moral standards of the poor, was (so it was thought) such casual mixing of the sexes of all ages.

Unsegregated sleeping areas were a common feature of working class housing in villages, as well; however, in the city the problem was aggravated by other factors. The sins of adultery and fornication, and the stigma of illegitimate birth, were regarded more tolerantly in urban districts,³⁶ although there were complaints from the country, too, that immorality no longer incurred the community censure that once it had. Also, in some rural areas, it was alleged that the administration of the poor law had slackened.³⁷

Wages were more generous in the city, but there was more need, and perhaps greater temptation, to earn extra money because of higher rents, and the powerful attraction of a wider range of entertainments.³⁸ Some observers believed that factory employment encouraged casual prostitution, because of bad company, free evenings and, in industrial employment, the general lack of interest in, and supervision of, the members of the workforce, by management.³⁹ On the other hand, domestic servants were by no means excluded from this class; some believed that those prostitutes who

³⁴ (continued)

Formation of a Church Penitentiary, London, 1849; Convocation of Canterbury, Report of Committee on the 'Alleged Increase in Prostitution...', pp. 19, 25; The Bristol Poor, p. 38; E. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 16, pp. 18-21.

³⁵ The Bristol Poor, p. 38.

³⁶ Convocation of Canterbury, Report of Committee ... on Prostitution ..., p. 22.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 14-5.

had no other income came from this group, rather than from factories, because women who engaged in casual prostitution could supplement their earnings with industrial work. 'Fallen' servant girls were usually thrown upon the streets and left to fend for themselves, with neither a home nor respectable occupation. Another authority, in Bristol, believed that inmates of brothels were more likely than not to have been formerly in domestic service; otherwise, they were categorised as follows: children of lower and abandoned classes; girls from the country who had come to the city in search of employment; shop girls tempted by the leisure of their evenings in establishments where there were no restraints on them; factory girls, making use of their free way of life and unoccupied evenings; barmaids; and 'sometimes people of a better class fallen through wantonness, deception or misery'.⁴⁰ In parts of London, women of ill-repute flaunted themselves brazenly. Lowder wrote that his parish of London docks

abounds in lodging houses for sailors, public houses, dancing and concert rooms, and various low places of amusement; brothels swarm in it, and their wretched inmates are permitted to flaunt their sin and finery, and ply their hateful trade by day and night ...⁴¹ in the most public thoroughfares.

The cause of even greater scandal was the number of children involved in the traffic: England was alleged to have been in danger of becoming a nation of child harlots.⁴² It was acknowledged that the fault for this state of affairs was shared by society at all levels. In a general way, laissez faire religion was said to have been to blame: the conventionally pious, middle class church-goer had a selfish obsession with the saving of his own soul, and had therefore pushed aside the consideration of problems affecting the migratory poor. This tendency was encouraged by the undue

⁴⁰ The Bristol Poor, p. 90.

⁴¹ Lowder, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴² Grave Moral Questions, p. 3.

emphasis on the idea of family life; as a result, the range of one's concern did not extend beyond one's kinsfolk.⁴³ Parliament demonstrated its traditional obsession with the rights of property, by making it a felony to abduct an heiress (up to the age of twenty-one), and punishing the perpetrator with twelve months' imprisonment, yet it was only a misdemeanour 'to deprive a working class girl of the character by which alone she can earn her daily bread, and by sixteen it ceases to be an offence at all'.⁴⁴ With some justification, it was alleged that the male seducers, particularly those of a class that was higher than that of the average prostitute, escaped community disapproval, although organisations such as the Social Purity Alliance, in the 1880s, attempted to persuade men and youths to be chaste in their relations with women, especially with females of the lower orders. Until the 1850s, the Church had ignored fallen women, as a class, partly because of false prudery, or so it was said,⁴⁵ but even its critics conceded that there were only limited opportunities for the average parish priest to deal with the problem. It was difficult to refer to the subject in sermons. Religious and moral training of the young, in villages especially, might have helped girls avoid harm, when (as so many did) they moved to the cities to find employment.⁴⁶ The clergy also had a role to play in providing comfort and counsel to girls who had fallen from grace, and to their families:

The feeling that the parish priest is a father to his flock, and particularly to the young ones, would be a great help to many a poor girl 'in trouble' after a first fall into sin, not knowing where to turn for help and advice, the workhouse lying-in ward before her, and 'the streets' beyond when it comes the time for her to be turned out ... with no hope of her injured parents'

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, op. cit.

⁴⁶ Grave Moral Questions, p. 63; The Church and Prostitution, n.p., n.d., pp. 3-4.

forgiveness ... If the pastor were then able to step in, mediate between parents and child, and while not glozing over her sin, show her where to go for pardon, and cleansing ... would not many thousands ... be brought back?⁴⁷

Thus a parish clergyman's role was beginning to be one of referral. In the latter part of the century, Church agencies took over the task of reclaiming 'penitents': priests and Sisters who were trained especially for the work were thought to have been essential. As a preventative measure, education and moral training were, so observers conceded, of little practical use. In common with other evils associated with overcrowded city slums, a major factor was the domestic background.⁴⁸ One authority listed eleven common causes of prostitution, and five of these (orphanhood, irreligious and imprudent parents, lack of a home life, untamed tempers, overcrowded dwellings) came into this category.⁴⁹ The hardness, and the violent temper, as well as the depravity, of the city prostitute,⁵⁰ were not the results only of her present trade and sordid surroundings. They were the products of a home life in which religion, thrift and discipline were altogether absent.

III

Clergymen, alone, were no longer able to maintain social control. They needed the help of prominent laymen, and the support of traditional ties of

⁴⁷ W.H. Heaton, The Prevention of Immorality, n.p., n.d. (circa 1878)

⁴⁸ Grave Moral Questions, pp. 33-40; Armstrong, op. cit.; Convocation of Canterbury, Committee ... on Prostitution, p. 33; The Bristol Poor, p. 38; Lowder, op. cit., pp. 60-3.

⁴⁹ Armstrong, op. cit.. The other causes were: exposure in factories, or other work, to moral pollution; want; bad company; lack of pastoral care and of religious training; unscrupulous men; and 'the feeble principles of our scarce-taught poor'.

⁵⁰ Lowder, op. cit., p. 88.

family and locality. In the cities these props were either frail or non-existent.

The flight of the bourgeoisie

Mass emigration of the lower classes to sea-ports and to mining and manufacturing towns gave the Church a pastoral problem that went further and deeper than the sheer size of the recently formed urban parishes, the practical unbelief of wave upon wave of town dwellers, and the fact that they lacked any sense of identity with the local church and community. The manufacturers, the large shopkeepers, the members of the professional classes, in short, the well-to-do and respectable, left the crowded inner city areas and settled in the more salubrious suburbs.⁵¹ These were churchgoers; newcomers were not. In the middle years of the century, the conscience of the Establishment was stirred because masses of people were evidently strangers to the Church's ministrations. Many observers agonised over the discrepancy between the population of the mushroom towns and the church sittings available.⁵² Certainly, action was taken: the Victorian period was one of energetic revival in the building of churches.⁵³

⁵¹ Bryan King, Sacrilege and its Encouragement, Being an Account of the St George's Riots and their Successes, in a Letter of Remonstrance to the Bishop of London, London, 1860, p. 6; anon., The Riots in St. George's East. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London by a Layman, London, 1860, pp. 6-7; R.J. Hayne, et al., Deaconesses for the Church of England, London, 1860, pp. 7-8; H. Mann, Sketches of the Religious Denominations, p. 63; Revd John C. Miller, A Letter to the Hon. and Revd Grantham M. Yorke, Birmingham, 1864, pp. 7-8.

⁵² H. Mann, Sketches, p. 46; R. Foster, Some Wants of the Church at Home and Abroad, with Suggestions How to Supply Them, London, 1881, pp. 5-7; Church Pastoral Aid Society, Report of the Committee Read at the First Annual Meeting, 9 May, 1836, London, 1830, p. xx.

⁵³ W.B. Badnell, The Law of Pews and Sittings in Churches, London, 1865, pp. 13, 25; H. Mann, Sketches, p. 14; R. Girdlestone, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Revd the Lord Bishop of London, p. 3; Revd John Wild, Remarks on the Clerical Supply and Demand in the Church of England, Stamford, 1865, p. 3; Anon., The Church Census and the People by a Priest of the Church of England, p. 5; Revd Paul B. Ball, Free Access to Holy Orders, Leeds, n.d. (1902), p. 9; Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, Churches and Church Growth: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700, Oxford, 1977, Appendix E, p. 213.

Nevertheless, after a decade or two of almost feverish construction, the truth began to dawn upon ecclesiastics that the working classes were not flocking to the churches that were being provided for them.⁵⁴ It was suggested that one reason was the inappropriateness of the setting which the new buildings provided: they were draughty and cold in winter, ill-ventilated and stuffy in summer, and the view from the side aisles was blocked by pillars demanded by the pretentious, neo-Gothic architectural style of the sort of church erected under the 1850 Act of Sir Robert Peel. One of the major causes of the apostasy of the lower orders, however, was (it was alleged) the failure of the Church of England to provide endowments to match the building programme.⁵⁵ Thus, the flight of the rich from the inner city areas was a crippling blow to the parochial machinery, in so far as Churchmen attempted to make it cope with the ministry to inhabitants of overcrowded lodging houses and tenements. In the mid-1860s, the rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, addressed the following request 'to the Merchants, Manufacturers, and tradesmen ... more especially to those who are non-resident':

It is ... notorious ... that very, very few of our prosperous parishioners reside in our parishes [where] ... their money is made [and] their workpeople, for the most part, remain. You ... wisely fix your homes amid the quieter scenes and purer air [of the suburbs] ... St. Martin's ... is still left with its thousands of residents. Many are artisans, many are poor ... It has its teeming streets, its swarming courts ...

The total raised by the circular was a mere L52 /16 /-, of which L25 was

⁵⁴ Revd Cecil Wray, The Church's Work in Large Towns. A Paper Submitted to the Liverpool Church Congress, 1869, Liverpool, 1869, pp. 5-6; anon., The Church, the Census and the People, pp. 8-13, and Appendix; E.M. Ingram, How to Recover the Lapsed Masses to the Church of England, London, 1885, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁵ Girdlestone, Letter to the Bishop of London, pp. 3-11; Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fellows of Sion College, p. 11; J.M. Dale, Church Extension and the Ecclesiastical Commission: The Law Relating Thereto, with Suggestions for its Amendment, London, 1864, pp. 26-7; Revd William Pool, The Augmentation of Small Benefices, London, 1880, pp. 5, 16.

sent by Lord Calthorpe, whose chaplain was the rector who made the appeal.⁵⁶ Not merely were the inner city parishes deprived of the traditional class of benefactors, but poorer inhabitants no longer had the wealthy, the cultivated and the educated, living amongst them. The clergyman, alone, exercised this civilizing mission, for he was usually the sole representative of the professional classes living in the slums, and what was one among so many?

Finally, the departure of the rich for the suburbs resulted in heightened class differences. Urban landlords, it was suggested, were far less concerned about their tenants than landowners in the country. In the city, property owners dealt through their agents, and had no personal interest in, or concern for, their occupiers.⁵⁷ Quite possibly, non-residence amongst landlords partly explained why properties owned by the wealthy and respectable were let out their for immoral purposes.⁵⁸ Because of geographical segregation, the wealthy classes tended to be ignorant about the poor, believing them to have brought their misery upon themselves, by laziness or excessive drink, and that there was, consequently, nothing that the more comfortably off could do to ameliorate their condition.⁵⁹ It was feared, too, that the lower orders, deprived of contact with the comfortable classes, yet aware of the gulf between themselves and their social betters, were likely to become envious and seditious.⁶⁰ In 1866, in an address to a diocesan congress, the Archbishop of York made it clear why a substantial body of Churchmen believed that the rootless, migratory

⁵⁶ Miller, op. cit., pp. 15, 17.

⁵⁷ Octavia Hill, Work for University Men Among the London Poor, p. 20.

⁵⁸ The Bristol Poor, p. 90.

⁵⁹ Martin, op. cit., p. 6

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 4, 15-6; Foster, op. cit., pp. 6-7; John Menet, Some Dangers of the Age. Lectures Preached at All Souls Church, Hockerill, Bishops Stortford, 1888, p. 22.

nature of the population of the new industrial cities was productive of evil:

What is it that we dread? - separation of class from class by the strength of their individual interests. The ties of family, of⁶¹ neighbourhood, of country, of kingdom, are bonds of union ...

Apprehension about the educational, social and religious aspects of class separation seems to have motivated the promoters of Toynbee Hall. They, and the young graduates who were members of the Hall at the end of the last century, believed they had the responsibility to take the light of culture, learning and refinement to the East End.⁶² By the 'nineties, this appeared to be phasing into social work, for its own sake. Within the Church, however, the continuing concern at the gulf between the rich and poor seems to have originated in the belief, beginning to be widely held in the 1860s, that a large measure of social deprivation could be explained by the absence of the civilizing and elevating influence of a leisured class, resident in inner city districts. For the better-disposed of the urban working class, education, reading, reflection, and exposure to art, music and literature, were all advantages that would flow from the example set by public-spirited graduates, ordinands and professional men, living and working in their midst. As long as class segregation persisted, the unfortunate lower orders, degraded by immorality and intemperance, would languish in a state of barbarism and, therefore, of irreligion.

The loosening of restraints

Thus Churchmen considered that an ordered, respectable, frugal and austere home life helped to produce such religious sympathy as existed among members of the lower orders, and they believed that cities destroyed

⁶¹ Report of the Meeting of Working Men at the Church Congress, York, n.d. (1866) pp. 11-12.

⁶² Work for the University Men Among the London Poor, passim, Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, The Work and Hopes of the Universities' Settlement in East London, passim.

restraint and respect for authority, qualities upon which the institution of the family depended for its existence. It was not merely that the submerged tenth, the class of migratory poor, was kept in its degradation and heathenism by the depressing environment of the slums. The city drew into its corrupting orbit those who, in other circumstances, might have developed along more wholesome lines. Critics assailed factory employment because (they said) it freed young persons, at an unnaturally early age, from dependence upon their parents. Moreover, the multitude of entertainments, available in the cities, introduced them to bad company, inculcated in them a love of finery, and discouraged thrift. Large towns attracted 'the unsteady of both sexes' from the parental roof. At both work and leisure, there was a tendency for them to abandon frugality, decency, and respect for authority.⁶³ Young men, brought up in the innocent environment of a village, were drawn to manufacturing centres, where they were confronted with a multitude of temptations, at a time when the restraints of home were suddenly withdrawn, and when their judgement was immature.⁶⁴ London encouraged its working class inhabitants to live for the moment, and to adopt a way of life that was likely to lead to bouts of high spending alternating with penury. Periodic unemployment supposedly encouraged this demoralising pattern, and young persons, not surprisingly, grew wilful, independent and unruly.⁶⁵

Parents had less authority than formerly, or so it was thought by one clergyman, wringing his hands over the state of the nation in the 1880s. There was not much respect for position and worth. In education, the

⁶³ Grave Moral Questions, pp. 41-2; Convocation of Canterbury, Committee ... on Prostitution, pp. 19-5.

⁶⁴ Revd Greville Chester, The Temptations of Young Men in Towns. A Sermon, London, 1862, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁵ Convocation of Canterbury, Committee ... on Prostitution, pp. 18-20. E. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

emphasis was on knowledge, rather than upon formation of character.⁶⁶ Consequently, Divine authority was not so widely acknowledged, which meant, in turn, that the young forgot the essential virtue of self-control. In the egalitarian spirit of the age, it was not commonly perceived that God ruled through parent, teacher, and master.⁶⁷

Conclusion

In the mid-1880s, the Vice President of the Church of England Working Men's Society, analysed the impact of organised religion on three sub-groups within the urban working class. The poor comprised tramps, beggars, vendors of street wares, matchbox, paper flower and sack makers, casual dock labourers, scavengers, dustyard sorters, and 'workers in all kinds of miserably underpaid and mongrel employments', besides many thousands 'who have no homes at all, who live part of their lives in workhouses and common lodging houses'. The Church could reach the souls of these people only through their bodies. What was the use, he asked, of speaking of heaven to people who were living in hell? Above this group was the mechanic class, which included policemen, postmen, carmen, warehousemen, shopmen, porters and railway employees. Most had been to weekday or Sunday schools. The Church, subsequently, had lost them. They could be won back by simple congregational services, free and open churches, and by what a cynic might have called the late-Victorian plethora of guilds and societies. The third group was 'the better kind of working people', such as superior mechanics, art workmen, foremen, the poorer class of clerks, and small tradesmen. With these, the Church had been the most successful. They had to be used to evangelise the others. From these, the Dissenters recruited their best workers.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ See pp. 28-30

⁶⁷ Menet, op. cit., p. 23.

⁶⁸ E.M. Ingram, op. cit. pp. 37-8.

THE CHURCH'S OPPONENTS

Against the background of rapid social change, the ministry of the Established Church had to cope with additional burdens placed upon it by opposition from two very different standpoints - Nonconformity and scepticism.

I

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Dissenters pursued their political, religious and social claims with growing confidence. In so doing, they challenged the Church's right to enjoy endowed wealth, her pre-eminence in the universities, her dominance in the provision of education for the poor, and the control which, for centuries, she had exercised in the villages. In their attempts, over a broad range of issues, to check the erosion of the Church's position, Anglican apologists engaged in an extensive review, analysis and re-interpretation of the role of the parochial clergyman, for at this level the concept of a church establishment was vigorously articulated and defended.

The 1851 census and its aftermath

On census Sunday, 1851, it was revealed that a maximum of 54% of the population was at Church or Chapel. 'That proportion is, by modern standards, impressive. By the standards which Victorians set themselves, it was deeply humiliating.'¹ Moreover, those attending Church of England services were outnumbered by Nonconformist and Roman Catholic worshippers. These figures haunted Anglicans for decades.

¹ Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971, p. 197.

Militant Dissenters lost no time in arguing that Horace Mann's census dealt a mortal blow to Anglicanism's pretensions to be the national religion of England. Nevertheless, certain defences were possible. Mann's figures represented (it was urged) the maximum number which the Dissenting sects could claim, for the act of going to chapel was asserted to be the only step by which Englishmen could separate themselves from the Establishment. Further, the Nonconformist pastors were alleged to have pressed their congregations for an exceptionally high attendance on the Sunday on which the count was made.² The first of these arguments was fundamental to the Church's efforts to explain away the embarrassment of its position as a national religion that was unable to claim a majority of the population as active members. Because it was an established church (its defenders urged), its ministry was broader than that of the sects. Dissenting pastors were able to confine their attention to their committed congregations.

The most accurate yardstick, to measure the following of the Church of England, was claimed to have been the degree to which the people professed to belong to the Established Church. 'If the masses ... choose to describe their religious profession as that of the Church of England, it would be the height of tyranny to preclude their doing so,' asserted one apologist in 1882.³ Precisely because he was a clergyman of the Established Church, the Anglican priest claimed that he was responsible for all the souls in his parish.⁴ Endowments were, therefore, necessary: otherwise, how were the

² Ven. John Sandford, The Church Rate and the Census. A Charge Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Coventry, Birmingham, 1860, p.23; Ven. John Bartholemew, The Census and the Church Rate. A Charge Delivered by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Barnstaple, London, 1860, p. 9; Rt. Hon. J.G. Hubbard, A Census of Religions, Denominational Worship, and the National Church. Three Essays, London, 1882, p. 12; Wilberforce, Charge ... 1854, p. 4.

³ Hubbard, op. cit., p. 9.

poor to be provided with the services of religion? ⁵ Dependent upon voluntary offerings, Dissenting chapels were to be found mainly in middle class areas. ⁶ The Church of England clergyman, then, was not ministering to a self-selecting group. This fact lent plausibility to his traditional role: that of being a civilizing influence in local society. ⁷ Another aspect of his duties - his combining the functions of legal adviser, almoner, and even ombudsman - implied that his ministry extended beyond the circle of active worshippers. ⁸

The census may have been unfair to a body claiming the right to gauge its strength by the numbers who professed allegiance, rather than by the relative few who participated in its worship. Apologists could, and did, argue that the Church of England's minority position - as measured by the statistics of church-going - was consistent with the claim that Anglicanism was the natural religion of England, intrinsically important to the country's soul, and part of the national character. Nevertheless, at best it was a stop-gap defence: the Established Church could not rest content

⁴(continued)

⁴ Revd William Towry Law, A Letter to the Parishioners of Harborne from the Vicar of the Parish, Birmingham, 1850, p. 3; Pastoral Aid Society, Report of the Committee Read at the First Annual Meeting, 9 May, 1836; Revd Hugh Stowell, A Sermon for the Pastoral Aid Society, p. xxvi; Harvey Goodwin, The Church of England Past and Present, A Popular Lecture, London, S.P.C.K., n.d. (1881), p. 39; The National Church Reform Union, The People's Interest in their National Church, London, n.d., (1880-1?), p. 2; Revd William Stubbs, Clericalism. A Sermon, London, 1881, pp. 8-10, and, The Church in the Villages. A Paper Read Before the Christian Social Union, London, 1893, p. 6; The Bishop of Bath and Wells, A Charge, (1847) pp. 31-2; Wilberforce, Charge ... 1854, pp. 38-9; Cecil Wray, The Church's Work in the Large Towns. A Paper Submitted to the Liverpool Church Congress, 1869, Liverpool, 1869, pp. 2-3; anon., The Church and the People. An Address to Churchmen on the Pew System and the Weekly Offertory, London, 1865, p. 8.

⁵ This point is developed below.

⁶ Revd J. Hamilton, The Church of England. Not Established by Law and Not Endowed by the State, London, S.P.C.K., n.d., p. 22.

⁷ See above, chapter 1.

⁸ See above, chapter 1.

when its active ministry touched such an embarrassingly small section of the population. According to one clerical publicist, in the early 1880s, there could have been little doubt that the Church of England had undergone a great revival. Vast sums had been spent on church building and restoration. Services had been improved, and there had been a 'prodigiously raised standard of life amongst the clergy'. There were priests of 'profoundest learning and noblest devotion'. Yet 'it is terrible to think how slight a hold the Church has upon working class people'.⁹

Part of the problem, according to this observer, was the unsuitability of church buildings in working class areas, but the main cause of the Church's failure, he thought, was its unwise deployment of clerical manpower. The parish clergyman, in many districts, should have been replaced by a mission priest. A mission room was, often, more suitable than a parish church.¹⁰ Clerical poverty, caused by inequalities in the distribution of patronage, and by the pattern of endowments, was another aspect of the problem, for incumbents were forced either to disperse their energies in tutoring, or, in order to draw an income, to stay too long in their livings.¹¹

Whatever the cause of the failure of the Church to reach the masses, and despite the fact that Old Dissent was no more successful than Anglicans in these mission areas, the point was that, although by 1890 the Church could no longer be reproached for neglect, her Radical and Dissenting critics could still maintain that the statistical basis of her claims was as hollow as it had been when Horace Mann had surveyed church attendance in 1851.

Adapting to University reform

By the early 1870s, the ending of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge

⁹ Anon., The Church, the Census and the People. By a Priest of the Church of England, London, 1882, pp. 8, 9, 12.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 14-5.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 16-23.

resulted in the formal termination of the ancient link between Church and University. The phasing out of clerical fellowships appeared to worsen career prospects within the Anglican ministry.¹² Further, the Oxbridge atmosphere was distinctly less favourable to piety and sacred learning.¹³ No longer was there any obligation on the part of undergraduates to attend divinity lectures. The secular curriculum was enlarged; there was a reaction against the 'inordinate appetite' of the 1840s for theology.¹⁴ The situation at the University mirrored the family background of much of the nation. Worse, some observers feared that there was actual anti-clericalism in the Universities.¹⁵ Even where there was not overt hostility, tutors commonly set poor examples in matters of faith.¹⁶

In view of these trends, some pessimists argued that the Church would have to look elsewhere for suitable training institutions. In the late 1860s, H.P. Liddon acknowledged that the Universities were unsurpassed for the intellectual training of ordinands. Nevertheless, he did not think that Oxford or Cambridge developed moral character and devotional tenderness. Furthermore, only theological colleges had the opportunity and the resources to teach divinity in a systematic fashion.¹⁷ Liddon saw an

¹² Revd Canon Stowell, Supply and Training of Ministers, Manchester, n.d. (1883), p. 3; Revd T.E. Espin, Our Want of Clergy: Its Causes and Some Suggestions for its Cure. A Sermon, Oxford, 1863, p. 7.

¹³ Wordsworth, Church and the Universities, pp. 5-6; William Ince, The Education of the Clergy at the Universities. A Sermon, London, n.d. (1882) p. 6; H.P. Liddon, The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges. A Sermon, London, 1868, pp. 26-8; R.B. Girdlestone, The Training of the Clergy, Oxford, 1880, p. 3.

¹⁴ Espin, op. cit., pp. 13-4. See also Liddon, op. cit., p. 22, and T.B. Buchanan, The Aims of a Theological College. A Sermon, Devizes, 1882, p. 6.

¹⁵ Stowell, op. cit., p. 3; Espin, op. cit., p. 6; A.J. Worlledge, Preparation for Deacons' and Priests' Orders. A Sermon, n.p., n.d., p. 3.

¹⁶ Wordsworth, op. cit., p. 6; William Ince, The Internal Duties of the Universities in Prospect of External Changes. A Sermon, Oxford, 1878, p. 17.

expanding role for them, in future. Believing that the State, over the previous two years, had been bent upon destroying the position of the Church in the Universities, he considered that theological colleges would, in time, produce

a clergy which will not be inferior in point of culture and refinement to their predecessors or to their contemporaries at the University; while they will probably be greatly superior in sacred learning.¹⁸

This was a period when, in the training of ordinands, high priority was placed upon the formation of spiritual character, the cultivation of habits of devotion, and the thorough study of theology. Because of the laicization of the universities, and the expansion of the secular curriculum, some thought that Oxford and Cambridge were inappropriate institutions for even part of the preparation of candidates for the ministry. Ten years after Liddon made his comments, the Revd R.B. Girdlestone doubted whether the Universities could provide as good a liberal education as a theological college. Oxford and Cambridge, it seemed, were useful only for character-building. The University developed 'manliness, independence, courtesy, forbearance, and other qualifications for the ministry', but a degree meant nothing from a religious point of view; moreover, it was questionable whether it was evidence even of thorough intellectual training. Girdlestone alluded to recent changes which, in his opinion, adversely affected the quality of University undergraduate teaching, but he was more impressed with the need to prepare the young clergyman for his

¹⁷
¹⁷(continued)

H.P. Liddon, Work and Prospects, pp. 24-5. Ten years before, Liddon had written: 'We admit that the universities may and must out do us [the theological colleges] in the whole machinery of an intellectual preparation for Orders. We utterly defy them to sustain and create that corporate tone and spirit in their theological students which shall make the study of theology a process distinct in kind from philology or mathematics.' Liddon to Wilberforce, 19 November, 1858, Wilberforce MS. d. 40, f. 184.

¹⁸ Liddon, Work and Prospects, p. 28.

encounter with ignorance, hostility, and the 'glib' knowledge of 'self-taught mechanics' on 'philosophical and social questions to which he was an utter stranger'.¹⁹

These, however, were minority views. For the Church to sever her link with the University was a prospect too momentous for most of her leading clergymen, scholars and publicists to consider seriously, especially when the recent setbacks were put into perspective. It was pointed out, for example, that in the period before the Puseyite revival, the colleges, 'though intensely ecclesiastical in their constitutions, were very far from being schools of holiness'.²⁰ Even at the height of the Tractarian movement and before the State had begun to dismantle the Anglican monopoly at the Universities, Denison frankly confessed failure in attempts to improve the theological knowledge of candidates for holy orders.²¹ Secondly, the cutting of the bond between Church and University might have been (Denison believed) part of the process that had been going on since 1832, the aim of which (in conformity to the wishes of the Democratic element in the great Liberal Party) was to reduce the position of Anglicanism to that of a sect.²² Nevertheless, some saw this as a challenge 'to maintain the connection practically',²³ through theological faculties, or by the establishment of theological colleges within the Universities. Thus, a powerful body of divinity professors could be concentrated to teach, and to exercise a personal influence upon, a college of candidates intending to

¹⁹ Girdlestone, op. cit., pp. 3-4; see also Buchanan, op. cit.

²⁰ Ince, The Education of the Clergy, p. 7.

²¹ G. Denison to Hawkins, 13 October, 1847, Oriel College, Oxford, Letters and Other Papers Acquired before 1932, Vol. xii, no. 1124.

²² G. Denison, The Thing Vulgarly Called Disestablishment of the Church of England, Properly Called Disinheritance of the Crown and People of England, London, 1886, p.21.

²³ Anon., Proposals for the Establishment of a New Theological Examination, Cambridge, 1872, passim.

take holy orders, gathered together under simple rules of a more self-denying life, study and retirement.²⁴ Thirdly, the secularisation of the universities was a reflection of society at large. Arguing against the proposition that the Church should abandon Oxford and Cambridge to infidelity, Ince claimed:

The University now is only a representation in miniature of the religious disruptions and intellectual disintegrations of the world without ... The perils to faith involved in University life are ... only the perils of modern society in general. In public schools, in drawing rooms, in scientific institutes, in periodical literature, we are compelled to meet with open attacks and secret insinuations against Christian doctrine.²⁵

Finally, the optimists believed that, although the clergyman's career prospects had worsened, because of the secularisation of the universities, this was not without its benefits:

We may fairly hope that characters, clerical in little more than name, which are already rare, will, under the new regulations, become altogether extinct ... When all temptation to be put into the Ministry for the sake of the emolument it offers is withdrawn, those who seek the office will approach it under a more profound sense of responsibility.²⁶

In fact, the need for more specialised training for clergymen had been acknowledged in the period before University reforms were implemented. By the late 1860s, the secularisation of the Universities made the situation appear still more urgent. Clergymen had to be patterns of holy living and of moderation. Therefore, their lives needed to be regulated, their habits formed, the tone of their minds deepened.²⁷ Late in the

²⁴ Revd C.M. Church, Supply and Preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders, Leeds, 1873, p. 28.

²⁵ Ince, The Education of the Clergy, pp. 7-8.

²⁶ Herbert Mortimer Lucock, An Appeal to the Church. I. Not to Withdraw her Clergy From University Training. II. To Adopt More Aggressive Measures in her Warfare Against Sin, London, 1882, p. 14.

²⁷ Ibid.

nineteenth century, the clergyman was widely thought of as being more than a centre of godly and civilizing influence: his role as a teacher was being stressed, and his having correct motives was assuming greater importance.²⁸ Even Ince's use of the word 'efficiency', in relation to the ministry, is a sign that mid-Victorian ideas about the Anglican clergy were akin, more than was so fifty years previously, to the way in which other professions were conceived in the public mind.²⁹ In the 1870s, greater demands were made upon the clergyman's time. He had, therefore, less opportunity for study than formerly. Yet his people were better educated, on theological and social subjects, than their parents had been. The conclusion naturally followed that what was needed was a full-time course of divinity before ordination. Contemporaries believed that, ideally, this should have been preceded by reading for an Arts degree. The breadth of a general education recommended it; moreover, Oxford and Cambridge were free of the partisanship which, many considered, disfigured theological colleges.³⁰ Most commentators, therefore, continued to assume that the university experience was essential for an Anglican priest. Even more important than the formal instruction was the cultivation of an association with young men who were entering other professions, and with members of the governing classes. Ince thought that separate training of priests would foster, in the clergy, an attitude of hostility to the world. This, in turn, would lead to the development of continental-style anti-clericalism in the political classes of England. If only for this reason, the nation's clergy should be steeped in liberal culture, both by formal reading and informal contact, in institutions devoted to a general education.³¹

²⁸ See Chapters 1 and 5.

²⁹ Ince, The Education of the Clergy, p. 10.

³⁰ A.P.M. Coxon, A Sociological Study, p. 120; Ince, The Education of the Clergy, pp. 8-9.

Although the rise of theological colleges coincided with the secularisation of Oxford and Cambridge, their development was largely the result of other factors, principally, the heightened expectations of a clergyman's theological learning, his spiritual life, and his performance of specifically clerical duties. To an increasing extent, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the colleges carried out that function which a pessimistic minority, inclining to the view that the Church should abandon the University, had assigned to them - the entire training of candidates, from school to ordination.³² Nevertheless, the growing number of non-graduates amongst the ordinands had nothing to do with the Universities' liberalisation. It was the outcome, first, of a decline in the real income of clergymen, resulting in their being less able to send their sons to the University; secondly, the counter-attraction, for graduates, of the Civil Service and of other professions;³³ thirdly, a fairly widespread but by no means universal belief that more clergymen needed to be recruited from lower down the social scale; and, finally, a high demand for ordinands in a period of expansion.

Parochial schools and Dissent

The local Church school was one of the most sensitive areas in which the claims of Dissent encroached upon Anglican privilege. As the established, national religion, the Church of England regarded the education of the poor as its duty.³⁴ Furthermore, by influencing members of this class in their formative years, Churchmen hoped they might save the nation from

³¹ Ince, The Education of the Clergy, p. 8-9.

³² Revd A.M.W. Christopher, The Supply of Clergy, n.p., n.d., (1875), p. 8; A.J. Worlledge, Preparation, p. 1.

³³ See below, chapter 5.

³⁴ G. Denison, The Church and the School. Two Sermons, London, 1851, pp. 18-9, 24; E. Bickersteth, The Conscience Clause. A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, London, 1867, pp. 4-5.

infidelity.³⁵ Much effort and money (including large donations from parish clergy) had been absorbed by the village schools, in the period of great expansion in the 1840s.³⁶ Children of Nonconformist parents were a problem. In those places where Dissenters were sufficiently numerous, a grant-in-aid for their own school was one obvious solution, but in most localities this was not possible.³⁷ The Liberal answer in the 1860s was the Conscience Clause. Anglican clergymen were forbidden to teach the Catechism to those children whose parents did not want them instructed in Church doctrine.

In this conflict between the religious scruples of the parents and the clergymen's rights as school managers and religious teachers, the question of conscience was not, Anglican apologists asserted, confined to the Dissenters' side. They had their principles, so did the Anglican clergyman. He was bound to instruct all the people in the faith. As a teacher, he could no more pick and choose in the corpus of Christian doctrine, than select whom he could teach and whom he might ignore. Some Anglicans believed that the question resolved itself into a conflict between one person's opinion and the historic teaching of the Church herself.³⁸ In fact, however, there were gradations between these extremes. The clergyman's obligation to teach Church doctrine was seen to be quite consistent with his exercising discretion, in the sense that he was the best judge of whether a pupil was ready for instruction, or of whether particular parts of the curriculum were expedient, given the circumstances of a child's family background.³⁹ The point was that the Conscience Clause

³⁵ Bickersteth, op. cit., p. 5.

³⁶ See above, pp. 3-4.

³⁷ Revd Gregory Smith, The Conscience Clause. Can it be Justified? A Letter to the Revd J. Oakley in Reply to his Pamphlet 'The Conscience Clause', London, 1866, p. 17.

³⁸ Smith, op. cit., pp. 7-8; J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979, p. 173.

removed this discretionary power from the clergyman, and gave it to the parent.⁴⁰ One cleric claimed that, if a priest were to accede to the demands of a parent in this matter, his position would have been analagous to that of a doctor who, in treating a child, was obliged to heed the demands of the patient's parent, because the latter was an homoeopathist.⁴¹ Possibly Churchmen feared that, by institutionalising the right of Dissenters to withdraw their children from catechetical instruction, the Conscience Clause would make such an eventuality the more likely.⁴² This does not appear to have been the case,⁴³ but such might not have been foreseen by opponents of the Clause in the mid-1860s.

Some fifteen years before, the high ground of principle, claimed by the redoubtable Archdeacon Denison, and others, was that the Anglican clergyman had the right to manage the school, direct policy, and control appointments and dismissals of staff; he had, equally, an obligation to teach the faith uncompromisingly.⁴⁴ By 1866, because of the reality of religious pluralism, this position seemed to be yielding to an argument that the integrity of the clergyman's professional judgment had to be respected. Not all made a stand even at this point. The Revd J. Oakley, for example, supported the Conscience Clause. Claiming that it was possible to teach religion without the catechism, he observed that the Nonconformists were disarmed when the Church showed a clear awareness of their rights. As a result, these rights

³⁹ J.G.Hubbard, Revd George Taylor, The Conscience Clause in 1866. Two Speeches Delivered at the Chapter House of York Minster on 13 October, 1866, London, 1866, p. 18.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 18, 32.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴² Bickersteth, op. cit., p. 39.

⁴³ E. Barber, Oxford Diocesan Inspection. General Report for the Year 1879, Oxford, 1880, p. 7; General Report ... 1880, Oxford, 1881, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Denison, The Church and the School, pp. 18-26; Wilberforce, Charge ... Second Visitation, pp. 23-7.

were exercised but rarely. Thus, the Church gained the confidence of that very difficult and once hostile group - the lower middle class.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the ground beneath the exclusivist position crumbled further. One wonders what would have been the reaction of Oakley's opponents (who had accused him of favouring a colourless, syncretistic religion)⁴⁶ to the proposal of J. Horsfall who, at the end of the century, with the apparent concurrence of the Bishop of Manchester, suggested not only that Nonconformists be assured that no doctrine that was repugnant to them would ever be taught to their children in Anglican schools, but that Dissenting ministers be allowed to enter the Church of England school to teach divinity to their co-religionists who happened to be pupils there.⁴⁷

The Liberationists

The British anti-State-Church Association, founded in 1844, was re-named 'The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control' in 1853.⁴⁸ Removal of the religious tests in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1850s and 1860s, and Irish disestablishment in 1869, might be counted as victories for the cause, if not for the society as such. Moreover, in the election of 1885, the question of disestablishment of the Church of England came close to being a national issue, although, in Gladstone's opinion, one which was a factor in the setback that the Liberal party suffered in the boroughs, for these swung en bloc to the Conservatives: 'disestablishment, canvassed by many Liberals, [inspired] a

⁴⁵ J. Oakley, 'The Conscience Clause': Its History, Terms, Effect and Principle. A Reply to Archdeacon Denison, London, 1886, pp. 34-5.

⁴⁶ Smith, op. cit., pp. 16-7.

⁴⁷ T.C. Horsfall, The Duty of the Church in relation to Education. A Paper read in Part at the Manchester Diocesan Conference, 24 October, 1901, n.p., n.d., p. 29.

⁴⁸ David M. Thompson, 'The Liberation Society, 1844-1868,' Patricia Hollis (ed.), Pressure From Without in Early Victorian England, London, Edward Arnold, 1974, p. 210.

"Defend the Church" campaign from the Tory leaders'.⁴⁹ In this controversy, spokesmen for both sides referred extensively to the social role and duties of clergymen. Incumbents of rural parishes were, especially, the subject of comment. There were two reasons for this. First, the latest measure of parliamentary reform, that of 1884, had extended the franchise to the village labourer.⁵⁰ Secondly, the radical Liberals linked disestablishment with land reform and the distribution of allotments to members of the rural working class.⁵¹ Thirdly, the social control of the employer and parson was being challenged by a resurgence of unionism amongst agricultural labourers.⁵²

Why, asked the Liberationists, should the Church be allowed to absorb millions of pounds of public money annually, when half the population rejected her services?⁵³ Further, the use to which the Establishment put its extensive glebe holdings, was contrasted with the need to alleviate poverty by allocating land to the rural labourer.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the principal argument against the State Church concerned the parson. His privileged position, anomalous in itself, meant that frequently he was either lazy and aloof, or overbearing and tyrannical.⁵⁵ Lack of discipline

⁴⁹ Richard Jay, Joseph Chamberlain. A Political Study, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981, p. 119.

⁵⁰ 'Politicians have given him [the rural labourer] light and knowledge which the clergy have failed to impart. And now he has the parliamentary franchise, he has the means of making known his wants.' Society for the Liberation of Religion From State Patronage and Control (The Liberation Society), Leaflets For Electors: The Country Clergy and the Country Poor, London, n.d., (1885).

⁵¹ Jay, op. cit., pp. 109-14.

⁵² E.H. Hunt, British Labour History, 1815-1914, London, 1981, p. 257.

⁵³ Liberation Society, Questions for Electors, and What Good Will It Do You?

⁵⁴ Liberation Society, Glebe Lands and Allotments, London, n.d. (1885).

⁵⁵ Liberation Society, The Parson and the Parish, London, n.d. (1885).

aggravated the former tendency, and this slackness meant, also, that disguised Romanizers could flourish in what was said to have been a Protestant Church:⁵⁶ mid-Victorian Ritualism had lessened the force of one of the arguments formerly advanced in favour of the Church's establishment, that it was a barrier to Roman Catholicism.⁵⁷ If the parson were tyrannical, it was because of his status as the holder of a benefice, and his position as an ally of the squire.⁵⁸ For hundreds of years, the clergy had kept the rural labouring class in subjection. Even when individual clergymen meant well, and had devoted themselves to charitable work, they had not succeeded in solving the problem of rural poverty, because they had treated the symptoms, and not the cause.⁵⁹ Thus, the village labourer had been pauperized and forced to rely upon hand-outs; the clergy had done nothing to make upright men of them; nothing 'to substitute the independence of free-born Englishmen for that so-called good feeling between masters and servants which is often no better than patronage on the one hand, and servility on the other'.⁶⁰ The most generous and humane clergymen were 'infected with the idea that improvement was wrought through benevolence, whereas it was, in reality, a product of legislative,

⁵⁶ Liberation Society, Questions for Electors.

⁵⁷ James Bentley, Ritualism and Victorian Politics. The Attempt to Legislate for Belief, Oxford University Press, 1978. It must be conceded, however, that in their attempts to put down ritualism, some parliamentary opponents of the movement used the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy over the Established Church as their principal weapon. Geoffrey Best, 'Popular Protestantism in mid-Victorian Britain,' Robert Robson (ed.) Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, London, 1967, p. 122.

⁵⁸ Liberatoron Society, The Parson and the Parish, and, Will the Parson Run Away?, London, n.d. (1885)

⁵⁹ The Country Clergy and the Country Poor; see also, John Burnett, Plenty and Want. A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day, London, 1966, chapter 7, passim.

⁶⁰ Canon Girdlestone, quoted, The Country Clergy and the Country Poor; see also: Liberation Society, What Has It Done For You? A Word to Agricultural Labourers, London, n.d. (1885).

scientific and economic improvements'.⁶¹ Rather than a solicitous vicar and his sympathetic (and patronising) wife and daughters, the labourer needed drains, better housing and Board schools, such as only parliament could provide. Far better than gifts from the rectory were rises in wages to make such charity unnecessary: this could be obtained only through the efforts of trade union leaders such as Joseph Arch.⁶²

Those wanting to free the Church of England from the state connection were not confined to Nonconformists, parliamentary radicals and the Liberation Society. Probably there were Anglicans who believed, with the Society, that disestablishment and disendowment would throw the Church on to the resources of its own flock, and revitalise it in consequence.⁶³ Certainly, there were members of the Church of England, then and later, who were on record as agreeing with the Liberationists⁶⁴ that it was anomalous that Parliament, composed partly of non-Anglicans, should legislate for the Church. The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, and the prosecution for heresy of Bishop King, in 1889, were further reasons for some Churchmen to have wished for the severing of Anglicanism's formal ties with the State.⁶⁵ Some Anglo-Catholics, especially, were scandalised that clergymen should have been made to obey a bishop who had been appointed by the State, rather than adhere to what they believed to have been the doctrine of the Church universal. They lamented, too, that state control could silence synods, and that some of the most conscientious upholders of the pastoral office should be legally harassed by those who were inheritors (they indignantly asserted) of three hundred years of lawlessness instigated by

⁶¹ Revd W. Bury, quoted, The Country Clergy and the Country Poor.

⁶² Ibid.; see also: What Has It Done For You?

⁶³ Will the Parson Run Away? and What Good Will It Do You?

⁶⁴ Questions For Electors

⁶⁵ Bentley, op. cit.

the Puritans.⁶⁶ At the turn of the century, one publicist saw, in this Erastianism, the reason for the decreasing number of ordination candidates.

Antidisestablishmentarianism

To an extent, the issues of Establishment and Endowment were kept separate; some critics of the state connection held that its termination would not necessarily mean that the Church's patrimony was threatened.⁶⁷ Most Anglican apologists, however, saw the two matters as intertwined. Defenders of the Church's endowments pointed to the historical basis of its wealth, which they saw as being the inherited accumulation of what had been freely donated, by the laity, over the centuries. It had, therefore, in no sense been taken from the State, the existence of which the Church, in any case, pre-dated.⁶⁸ For parliament to seize the Church's patrimony would, consequently, be an act of expropriation. Anglicanism's defenders appealed tirelessly to tradition;⁶⁹ as well, they saw disendowment as a question of property rights.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ George Moberley, The Future of St. Peter and St. John, pp. 14-7; Viscount Halifax, The English Church Union. Its Future Viewed in the Light of its Past, London, n.d. (1901), pp. 6, 14-5; Revd H.N. Thompson, What is Church of Englandism? St. Bartholemew's Church Tracts, London, n.d.; J.P. Carter, A Paper Read Before the Ruridecanal Conference at Slough, 25 May, 1899, London, n.d., p. 18.

⁶⁷ Revd Leighton Pullan, Authority in the Church of England. A Paper Read at the Church Congress, Wednesday, 2 October, 1901, London, n.d., pp. 7-8.

⁶⁸ Revd J.H. Blunt, The Condition and Prospects of the Church of England, Salisbury, 1871, p. 19; Denison, The Thing Vulgarly Called Disestablishment, p. 13; Revd M. Fuller, Letters on the 'Disestablishment' Question, reprinted from the 'Norfolk Chronicle' and the 'Fakenham and Dereham Times', Norwich, 1865, p. 13; Ven. B. Harrison, An Address Delivered to the Churchwardens and Sidesmen of the Archdeaconry of Maidstone ... April, 1885, London, 1885, pp. 10-6; E.A. Freeman, Disestablishment and Disendowment. What Are They? London, 1885, pp. 10, 11, 15, 47-51; Ven. Archdeacon Dodgson, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Richmond ... May, 1863, London, 1863, p. 10; J. Sandford, The Church Rate and the Census, p. 13.

⁶⁹ 'To tear up by the roots any part of those institutions of an old country which have grown up with it from the beginning ... is in itself an evil.' Freeman, op. cit., p. 51.

More was made, however, of what were claimed would be the practical consequences of divesting the Establishment of its wealth. The Church's extensive property made it possible to provide a ministry to the poor, especially the rural poor. If clerical incomes were paid purely from voluntary subscriptions, this class would be neglected and the Church's effectiveness would decline. This would be the outcome in densely populated areas as well.⁷¹ Moreover, Establishment affected the quality of the clergy. The Anglican priest's background admitted him to the upper ranks of society; his office frequently placed him amongst the humble. Thus, in the range of the influence exerted by her parochial clergy, the State Church had become part of England's life and character.⁷² It was also claimed that, thanks to her endowments, her ministers were learned and cultivated men, who lived amongst the poor in remote hamlets, a moral and civilizing force, tolerant, urbane and paternal.⁷³ More than twenty years before disestablishment became an election issue, Churchmen had been warned of how the clerical office would be affected by voluntaryism. The pastor would be regarded as a collector. The success of the parochial system depended upon 'the acceptableness and usefulness of the minister', requiring that 'every man should be above the average'. The existing burden of 'begging' had

⁷⁰
⁷⁰ (continued)

Bishop Lightfoot, Manifesto on Disestablishment. Inaugural Address, Diocesan Church Conference, Bishop Auckland, 1885, p. 3.

⁷¹ Blunt, op. cit., p. 30; Sandford, op. cit., p. 8; Moberley, op. cit., p. 15; G.F. Chambers, The Church and State Handy Book of Arguments, Facts, and Statistics Suited to the Times, London, 1886, pp. 69-89; Earl Nelson, Report of the Meeting of Working Men at the Church Congress, York, 10 October, 1866, York, n.d., p. 19.

⁷² Roundell (Earl of Selborne), The Endowments and Establishment of the Church of England. An Address, London, n.d. (1886), p. 37; The National Church Reform Union, The People's Interest in their National Church, London, n.d., p. 4; Fuller, op. cit., p. 37.

⁷³ Selborne, op. cit., pp. 36-7; Report on the Meeting of Working Men (the Dean of Cork) p. 12; H.S. Tremeneere, Disestablishment and Disendowment, London, S.P.C.K., n.d., p. 34; A. Hiley, Some Plain Words to the Electors of England on the Church of England Question, London, n.d. (1885), pp. 5-6.

secularised the clergy: the voluntary collection of funds would aggravate this tendency.⁷⁴

In the debate with the Liberationists, the wealth, as well as the social position, of the beneficed parson was controversial. One of the apologists of the State connection criticised what he saw as the anachronism of a common Dissenting view of the ministry: that clergymen ought not to aspire to hold a position above the humble status of presbyters in Apostolic times. His reply was that, in the primitive Church, the clergy and laity were poor and persecuted. Long since then, however, the situation had changed. 'As manners are softened and refined, it would be unnatural and cruel to insist that those who embrace the sacred calling should be ... kept down in a position of penury and humiliation.'⁷⁵

Liberationists and Churchmen agreed that the Established nature of the Church of England made it more effective than otherwise it would have been, for (as one Anglican publicist wrote) it connected the work of the clergy with the majesty of the law, thus giving the parish priest 'peculiar power, official weight, and authoritative sanction', in the performance of his duties.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, despite the arguments of the Liberationists, the special claims of Anglican clergymen might, after all, have been derived from long historical association and sentiment. They would retain this advantage even if the more cultivated and genteel Nonconformist ministers were admitted into the upper ranks of society.⁷⁷ The status of the beneficed clergyman, and the independence he enjoyed as the result of his security of tenure and income, were important factors in what Dissenters saw as a social and political order that, for generations, had kept the

⁷⁴ Sandford, op. cit., pp. 15-7.

⁷⁵ Tremenheere, op. cit., p. 22.

⁷⁶ Fuller, op. cit., p.18.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

humble in subjection. The Church's partisans, however, regarded this lack of accountability of the parson to his parishioners as beneficial, even essential. Because of it, he was not obliged to defer to local pressure groups in pastoral work or in teaching.⁷⁸

In 1886, Denison referred, not without bitterness, to attempts in parliament to re-cast the administration of the Church of England. Successful implementation of this scheme would transform the priest

into a kind of registrar of complaints against himself and his teaching, to be inquired into and reported from Sunday to Sunday by a general Parochial Council of ratepayers, and, if ⁷⁹it so appears to them [to be necessary], amended by them ...

The principle behind the church boards legislation was clear. No longer was the clergyman to be trusted with discretionary power.⁸⁰ Take away endowments, impose church boards, and the kindly, sympathetic, paternal, resident clergyman, a condescending friend to the poor in temporal as well as in spiritual matters, would be replaced by an unfeeling and worldly bureaucrat.⁸¹ The defenders of the older model of the parish clergyman not only were grieving for a passing order. The forces which were perceived as destroying this sort of ministry were, in a specific sense, working through the radical element in the Liberal party and, generally, were manifested in the spirit of the age. They were producing social revolution, promoting Home Rule in Ireland,⁸² undermining theological orthodoxy,⁸³ putting religion under the influence of the State,⁸⁴ and even exposing the lower

⁷⁸ Goodwin, op. cit., pp. 39-40; Stubbs, op. cit., p. 7.

⁷⁹ Denison, op. cit., p. 17.

⁸⁰ S.J. Hulme, Church Boards. A Letter to Albert Grey, Esq., M.P., London, 1881, p. 8.

⁸¹ The People's Interest..., p. 2.

⁸² Denison, The Thing Vulgarly Called Disestablishment, passim.

⁸³ The Politics of Churchmen, p. 23.

orders to exploitation by constructing a formidable coalition comprising Dissenting manufacturers and the landed class (those who were heirs of the despoilers of the sixteenth century Church).⁸⁵ There was little that the embattled Anglicans of the 'eighties could do to improve upon the statement of a Nonconformist lawyer:

To place the National Church on the voluntary system would be to unsettle the whole kingdom and unsettle men's minds on every question, and to destroy and unsettle the tenure of property to a perilous extent, and to unsettle the religious institutions as a matter of course.⁸⁶

II

In their attempts to grapple with what must have been two of the greatest problems confronting British Christianity in the late nineteenth century - apostasy and scepticism - Anglican spokesmen re-defined the idea of the parish clergyman. The Christian concept of God was rejected by a majority of members of the working class, or so a clerical inquiry in London, in the 1880s, believed.⁸⁷ Even so, the main enemy of religion was still thought to have been indifference by the masses, rather than outright hostility.⁸⁸ The Church was less important as a constituent of respectability;⁸⁹ attendance at worship had declined, even for rites of passage;⁹⁰ old orthodoxies were widely held to be untenable;⁹¹ doctrine (it was alleged) was seen to be

⁸⁴ Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 4-7.

⁸⁵ Fuller, op. cit., pp. 14-5.

⁸⁶ Quoted by Sandford, op. cit., p. 9.

⁸⁷ London Diocesan Conference, Report of the Committee on Unbelief, 1883-4, London, n.d., p. 12.

⁸⁸ Ibid.; H.F. Hamilton, The Present Condition of Religion in England, n.p., n.d., p. 12.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹⁰ Jackson, op. cit., p. 9.

excessively flexible, and therefore shaped in any way that was thought to be appropriate.⁹² Revelation was unfashionable; religion was a matter of observation of the natural world.⁹³

Perceived causes of the rise of apostasy and scepticism

The people with whom the Church of England felt the most uneasy, either because of their traditional Liberal or Nonconformist allegiance, or because of the Establishment's neglect of them, and yet whose alienation was keenly felt by the Church, because of their social, economic and political importance, were those who were thought to have been the most vulnerable to popular Darwinism - artisans, shopkeepers, the lower middle classes, and labourers.⁹⁴ Concern for this section led, in turn, to soul-searching over the question of the Church's relationship with conservative political and social forces.⁹⁵ This was an issue raised by the Bradlaugh case; the Guild of St. Matthew, in particular, was greatly disturbed because it believed that many Churchmen instinctively desired to suppress free thought.⁹⁶ It was also suspected, within the Guild and beyond

⁹¹ (continued)

⁹¹ Viscount Halifax, Catholic Unity and the relation of National Churches to the Church Universal: An Address ... on the 43rd Anniversary of the English Church Union, London, n.d., p. 7; W.H. Frere, The Relation of the Church and Parliament in regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline, London, 1903, p. 6.

⁹² Revd H.N. Thompson, 'Let Every Man Enjoy His Own Opinion': St. Bartholomew's Church Tracts, London, n.d., p. 6.

⁹³ Hamilton, op. cit., p. 6.

⁹⁴ Toynbee Hall, Notes From Residents, op. cit., pp. 29-30; Committee on Unbelief, p. 12; A.F.W. Ingram, New Testament Difficulties (second series) Historical and Scientific, London, S.P.C.K., 1894, pp. 4-5; Revd T. Espin, Our Want of Clergy, p. 2; Guild of St. Matthew, Report of Council For the Year Ending 31 August, 1883, p. 14.

⁹⁵ Stewart D. Headlam, The Sure Foundation. An Address Given Before the Guild of St. Matthew at the Annual Meeting, 1883, London, n.d., passim; and, The Secular Work of Jesus Christ, his Apostles and the Church of England. A Lecture Given Before the East London Branch of the National Secular Society, n.d., passim; C.W. Stubbs, The Church and Democracy. A Paper read to the Manchester Church Congress, October, 1888, London, n.d., p. 2.

it, that the progress of Christianity was inhibited both by Anglicanism's reputation for political conservatism,⁹⁷ and by the distorted view that the lower classes were said to have of Christian doctrine.⁹⁸ Not only was there widespread acceptance of the scientific critique of religion. The Church had ceased to be an authoritative voice in the nation: the popular novelist, the mass-circulation newspapers, had not merely challenged the spokesmen of religion, but had eclipsed them.⁹⁹ In the field of apologetics, the efforts of the Church of England were hampered by its unhappy divisions, for some thought that elements on each side tended to make tactical agreements with Sceptics, in order to score points against opponents in the Church.¹⁰⁰ Particularly in the period 1860-90, some Churchmen alleged that religious education was defective.¹⁰¹ Although these strictures were applied to instruction given to all classes of children, religious teaching in well-to-do households, as well as in public schools, was especially singled out for censure - either because more was expected of the schools and homes of this class, or because the Established Church vested particular importance in their products, for they were seen as

⁹⁶ Guild of St. Matthew, Report, 1883, 'The Northampton Question and the Blasphemy Sentences,' passim.

⁹⁷ Guild of St. Matthew, Report, 1883, pp. 8, 13, 17; Stubbs, op. cit., passim, Headlam, The Sure Foundation, pp. 4, 8.

⁹⁸ Committee on Unbelief, pp. 12-4.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 11; J. Sweet, The Increase in Immorality and Abeyance of Church Discipline, London, n.d. (1883); Tait to Gladstone, 13 October, 1888, Gladstone Papers, MS 44331, f. 147, British Library.

¹⁰⁰ Viscount Halifax, Catholic Unity ..., p. 7; H.J. Bidler, 'No Continuing City': A Sermon For the Disillusioned, Oxford, 1892, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Committee on Unbelief, pp. 6-7, 12; J. Edgar Walker, Notes on the Church Catechism, London, 1885, pp. 6-7; Viscount Halifax, The Events of the Last Twelve Months. An Address ... The 44th Anniversary of the English Church Union, 25 June, 1903, London, n.d., p. 11; John Shelly, Unsectarianism and School Boards. A Speech ... at the Annual Meeting of the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Branch of the English Church Union, 20 January, 1892, London, n.d., p. 3.

future leaders of Church and State, and would eventually set the tone and establish the pattern of parish life. In the early 1880s, it was reported that 'it is quite astonishing to find the extent of utter ignorance of the simplest Christian facts and truths in children of good social status'.¹⁰²

Late nineteenth century materialism was not entirely derived from popular Darwinism, in the opinion of many contemporary Churchmen. The working classes were intoxicated with the idea of 'better prospects' and, therefore, were estranged from a religion the ministers of which preached about the next world,¹⁰³ although the historian might well infer, on the contrary, that the long campaign to reduce working class alcoholism and in other respects to civilize the poor¹⁰⁴ may ultimately have had the quite unintended effect of encouraging the belief that social improvement was an end in itself.¹⁰⁵ In 1883, an elderly Devon vicar referred to the 'phenomenon of social debasement', by which he meant that, although drunkenness, cruelty and violence had declined in the course of the nineteenth century, impurity, immorality, irresponsibility and sensuality had increased. The Church's teaching was not merely ignored: some of the clergymen who tried to arrest the tide were actually subjected to legal prohibitions. Most, however, acquiesced.¹⁰⁶ Even in its traditional

¹⁰² Committee on Unbelief, p. 6. 'It seems ... very important to give any guidance that may be possible as to the relation of Christianity to modern thought with which young men coming from religious houses and schools are often perplexed. I have heard men sometimes complain that no-one has spoken to them of this.' W.H. Fremantle (Chaplain, Balliol) to H. Rusdall, 6 June, 1894, MSS Eng. Lett., c 344, pt. 38 (Bodleian).

¹⁰³ Ingram, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ See above, pp. 44 - 46.

¹⁰⁵ The Dean of Chichester, Report of the Meeting of Working Men at the Church Congress, Diocese of York, 1866, York, n.d., pp. 15-6. See also A.E. Dingle, The Campaign For Prohibition in Victorian England: The United Kingdom Alliance, 1872-1895, London, Croom Helm, 1980, chapter 1, and 'Drink and Working Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914,' Economic History Review, Second Series, Vol. 25, 1972; J.F.C. Harrison, 'The Victorian Gospel of Success,' Victorian Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2, December, 1957.

stronghold of rural England, the Established Church exercised little influence on the corporate life of the village, at least in so far as this affected the rights and privileges of the agricultural labourer. The result was that the Church was isolated from the powerful tradition of local self-government.¹⁰⁷ Here, too, the Anglican clergyman, because of long association, suffered from the 'mistrust and suspicion with which the decaying ranks of country labourers regard their present magnates'.¹⁰⁸ In the middle and upper levels of rural society, church-going, less fashionable than once it had been, had declined. Anti-clericalism had increased. The love of luxury and leisure, a characteristic of members of this class, had caused them to neglect their duty to raise and purify the 'social tone'.¹⁰⁹

Implications for the clergy

At the same time that attention was increasingly being drawn to the stark fact of mass indifference to religion, the number of clergymen was falling. Furthermore, the number of those who had attended Oxford or Cambridge was, likewise, declining.¹¹⁰ The result was that densely populated parishes, where people were naturally 'shrewd and well-educated', were often in the charge of priests whose training had been imperfect, and who therefore were 'inferior in education and information' to those whose 'restless and inquisitive spirits' these hapless, ill-equipped clergymen had to guide.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Sweet, op. cit., pp. 28-31.

¹⁰⁷ Stubbs, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Frere, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Welby-Gregory, op. cit., p. 7.

¹¹⁰ See below, p. 154.

¹¹¹ Espin, op. cit., p. 2. Archbishop Tait made a similar point, but against Anglo-Catholic extremists: 'What I fear is that a way of dealing with doubts which does not settle them, but silences by authority. The laity look for an intelligent Christianity in their Clergy. I fear that

Worse, some incumbencies in these parishes were not filled at all, and the people were left to Godlessness.¹¹² A more fundamental cause of indifference, shading into hostility, towards religion, was identified as being a decline in the authority of the clergy. In World War I, a clerical publicist linked this with what he saw as a popular revolt against institutions, notably the House of Lords; people were no longer recognising authority in political or religious matters.¹¹³ Thirty years earlier, one school of thought attributed this to the Church's lack of discipline of the laity, and to the unchecked, aggressive propaganda undertaken by the forces of blasphemy, infidelity and sedition;¹¹⁴ whereas, on the contrary, the Guild of St. Matthew attempted to identify the clergy with what its spokesmen described as the cause of social and political progress, and in deprecating the tendency of many parsons to indulge in what the Guild called 'Bible worship' and 'mawkish teaching of life after death', the publicists of this organisation suggested that the Church's besieged position was its own doing: 'We [the Guild] are endeavouring ... to meet the wants of a sceptical age, to "justify God to the People"; to prove that God is good and beautiful to Secularists, Atheists and Agnostics, who have revolted against him as malign, cruel, ugly.'¹¹⁵

It was easier to specify the causes of the growth of scepticism than it

¹¹¹ (continued)

this ultra High Church party foster a womanly defence instead of a manly faith.' Tait to Gladstone, 25 February, 1873, Gladstone Papers, MS 44331, f. 94.

¹¹² Espin, op. cit., p. 3.

¹¹³ Hamilton, op. cit., p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Sweet, op. cit., p. 27. 'For men who are called upon by their position to lead and direct the thoughts of others, it is no doubt necessary to read, in order to refute it, much of the infidel philosophy of the day. But for the million, I am sure that it is better to avoid such unwholesome food for the mind.' Geo. Butler (Canon of Westminster) to Gladstone, 9 January, 1873, Gladstone Papers, MS 44437, f. 11.

¹¹⁵ Headlam, The Sure Foundation, p. 3.

was to suggest a practical strategy to combat it. In several ways, the Church's response involved a departure from the parochial system. Exploiting the forum of periodical literature, as was proposed by the London Committee on Unbelief in 1885,¹¹⁶ would have involved not merely a decidedly non-traditional means of communication: it implied that, if anti-religious or sceptical arguments were to be answered in a systematic fashion by experts in Christian apologetics, a central organisation would be required. In the 1880s, the Guild of St. Matthew reacted to what it saw as the deficiencies in the Church, in the same way in which the Church Union and Church Association had organised on opposite sides of the ritualist battleground: the Guild established local committees, co-ordinated at the centre, to perform the functions that local clergymen had long since abandoned, or which the church was performing so badly that the masses and the intelligentsia were being driven into infidelity. The Guild presented (it believed) a reasonable and temperate case to the critics of religion. It did this by answering doubters, by interpreting the social gospel, and by attempting to convert the masses to it.¹¹⁷ The allegedly low quality of the clergy (a matter that not only the Guild deplored) and the fact (that no one could ignore) of mass defections from church services, made the Sunday sermon largely irrelevant as an instrument of conversion. Lectures, tracts and mission services were suggested as an answer.¹¹⁸ Religious instruction in schools was in need of improvement, to an extent beyond the resources of the parish and its vicar.¹¹⁹ The rise of

¹¹⁶ Report, p. 11.

¹¹⁷ Guild of St. Matthew, Report of Council ... 1883, description of organisational network, p. 13.

¹¹⁸ Report of Committee on Unbelief, p. 12. Guild of St. Matthew, Report ... 1883, pp. 10, 14, Appendices C and D list the titles of lectures at Shoreditch and Battersea Liberal Association; Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, The Work and Hopes, p. 30; Ingram, op. cit., p. 6.

¹¹⁹ J. Edgar Walker, op. cit.; Report of Committee on Unbelief, p. 12.

the Board School had loosened the control of the clergy: Sunday Schools (involving more lay participation) were turned to, in an attempt to fill the gap;¹²⁰ the result was a further diminishing of the role of the parish clergyman as educator.

The advance of scepticism, therefore, was a factor that helped draw the attention of late nineteenth century churchmen to the apparent obsolescence of the parochial organisation; moreover, this tendency in public opinion caused some to be critical of the educational background and social class of what was believed to have been the average parson. In 1857, William Butler wrote to Wilberforce that a certain Revd Mr Harvey, an assiduous worker, was 'very sensible, has good manners and tact, is well-connected and is not penniless'.¹²¹ Were these qualities, later in the century, sufficient or relevant? In so far as they included social background, did they even have a negative impact? In dealing with honest doubt, clergymen were alleged often to have betrayed attitudes that ranged from insensitivity and tactlessness to scoffing ignorance. What appears to have been the main source of complaint was a patrician manner and narrow training.¹²² It was said that the patrician manner tended to make the clergy react with haughty disdain to manifestations of scepticism in the lower classes, and because their training did not provide experience in the fields of modern philosophy and science, clergymen were ill-equipped to deal with difficulties of belief. The Anglican priest's background moulded the average clergyman's conservative views on social and economic questions.¹²³ The authoritarian response of a large section of the Church

¹²⁰ C. Bickersteth, The Duty of the Church in Regard to the Education of the Young, Bradford, 1893.

¹²¹ Butler to Wilberforce, 18 May, 1857, Wilberforce MS. c.22 f. 229.

¹²² Guild of St. Matthew, Report ... 1883, p. 8; Fletcher, op. cit., p. 12, H.F. Hamilton, The Present Condition of Religion in England, p. 2; Headlam, The Sure Foundation, pp. 8, 9, 12, 15; Ingram, op. cit., pp. 8-9; London Diocesan Conference, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

to the Bradlaugh case was, for the Guild of St. Matthew, further proof that the Establishment was engaged in an ill-advised and unthinking alliance with reaction.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the working man, no longer content to remain in a state of obsequious, unquestioning obedience, at the bottom of the economic pyramid, was said to have been driven to scepticism and unbelief by the conservatism of the clergy. Excessively concerned with respectability, sermons were criticised for being remote from social and economic realities. What appeared to have been a worsening economic position for many of the labouring classes, in the late 1880s, led some of those who criticised the Church from within, to be sceptical of the morality underlying late Victorian respectability. They argued that this code was dependent upon income, rather than upon innate virtue. The growth of the modern state, moreover, was seen to have made the ideal of personal charity - an important part of pastoral work - obsolete and unworkable.¹²⁵

The existence of the Guild of St. Matthew, and of published criticism alleging that the clergy's social background was narrow and limiting, does not constitute evidence that, within the Church of England as a whole, there was a marked change in perceptions of the role and function of the local ministry. No matter how reformers might expostulate, the realities of Church politics seemed to suggest that more traditional criteria were applied when individual clergymen were assessed for appointment to parishes. Learning, refinement, and a good reputation as a preacher, were still the virtues that were most often sought in men who were considered for districts in which the Church's work was well established;¹²⁶ in some

¹²³ D.G. Ritchie, The Moral Foundation of the State: A Paper Read Before the Oxford Branch of the Guild of St. Matthew, 17 May, 1887, pp. 2-3; Headlam, The Sure Foundation, pp. 9, 12; Stubbs, op. cit., pp. 1-2, 4.

¹²⁴ 'The Northampton Question and the Blasphemy Sentences,' Guild of St. Matthew, Report ... 1883, p. 13.

¹²⁵ Ritchie, op. cit., p. 3; Headlam, The Sure Foundation, p. 6.

cases, the degree of refinement of a prospective incumbent's wife was implied to have been more important than her piety or her zeal.¹²⁷ Ability to 'work the parish' was apparently regarded as having been of the same order as preaching. Nevertheless, where a church had to be built, or in parishes that were run down, or that required a programme of fervent evangelism, or that were situated in areas populated by sectors of the working class alienated from the Establishment, the pastoral skills of the appointee were given priority above eloquence, education, intellect or refinement. Yet these were the very districts in which the Anglican clergyman would probably have been in need of an independent income, an advantage that might not, in reality, normally be associated with 'the common touch', an attribute expected of clergymen working in such places.¹²⁸

For R.W. Church, the ideal incumbent was a priest who had firm, uncompromising beliefs, and who exhibited a 'strong attachment to Church

¹²⁶ Butler to Gladstone, 28 December, 1883, MS 44484, f. 318; Denison to Gladstone, 25 September, 1882, MS 44141, f.97; Tait to Gladstone, 25 February, 1873, MS 44331, f.94, 25 April, 1881, f.195; Bradley to Gladstone, 22 April, 1883, MS 44480, f. 88; Liddon to H. Gladstone, 28 March, 1882, MS 44437, f.134; Goodwin to Carlisle, 11 December, 1883, MS 44484, f.216; Talbot to Gladstone, 24 December, 1883, f.311; Church to Gladstone, 25 April, 1881, f.205; Undated memo by Church, MS 44127, f. 231; Church to Gladstone, 6 July, 1882, f.235, March, 1883, f.291, 10 March, 1883, f.295, 30 March, 1883, f.303, 12 February, 1884, f.342, 10 December, 1884, f. 354, and 17 December, f.357; J.F. Andrewes to Gladstone, 3 January, 1883, MS 44479, f.46; Wilkinson to Gladstone, 21 February, 1883, MS 44479, f.251; Bickersteth to Gladstone, 30 January, 1885, MS 44487, f.147; Cox to Gladstone, 14 January, 1884, MS 44485, f.73, Gladstone Papers, British Library.

¹²⁷ Admittedly with regard to a more elevated level than a parish, Church wrote of Mrs. Stubbs: '... She is not a brilliant person in Society. She is a homely person, very good and retiring, without anything very marked about her except her care for her family. She could not [be] an ornamental or very attractive wife of a Bishop. But she is so simple and without pretension, that she could not discredit him.' Church to Gladstone, 13 January, 1884, MS 44127, f. 328. 'I think I ought to have added that the lady is not, I believe, of gentle birth. I think she was a schoolmistress, but always of high character. Her husband has raised himself from the farmer and tradesman class, like a few on the bench ... [Note on the back] I saw the Dean who told me that there was nothing whatever against the

(Footnote continued)

principles', but who combined these values with a tactful, flexible and moderate manner. At least in his views on the attitude and conduct desired of a parochial clergyman, Dean Church was very far from being alone.¹²⁹ The work of the average incumbent was not so much to convert the wayward, or resolve religious doubt by his public speaking or tract writing, but rather to exert an wholesome influence. The strength of this thoroughly traditional view of the clergyman's task - the age of scepticism, and the constant drumbeat of criticism from radical Churchmen notwithstanding - may be attributed to three factors. First, the qualities mentioned so frequently were exactly those of the ideal gentleman - reasonableness, a conciliatory manner, tact, flexibility, 'good sense', generosity of mind and spirit, prudence, wisdom, manliness, adaptability, moderation, judgment, and a friendliness to those of differing viewpoints. On the other hand, characteristics that were supposed to disqualify clergymen, at least from appointment to sensitive positions, were an excess of austerity, combativeness, extremism, and a tendency to promote factionalism. Further evidence that clergymen were still expected to be 'gentlemen', is provided by comments on 'roughness', and those that showed that an interesting distinction was drawn between 'refinement' and 'cultivation'.¹³⁰ Secondly,

¹²⁷ (continued)

lady. f.329. With reference to Revd Geo. Body for a parochial appointment, Gladstone was told: 'His wife, though earnest and devoted, would exercise no social influence, which is much needed.' Wilkinson to Gladstone, 21 February, 1883, MS 44479, f.251. The Hon. Maurice Ponsonby, then incumbent of Swindon, was more fortunate, for his wife was 'well-connected'. Ibid.

¹²⁸ Liddon to Gladstone, 28 March, 1882, MS 44237, f.134; Church to Gladstone, 1 June, 1880, MS 44127, f.190; Lightfoot to Gladstone, August, 1883, MS 44482, f.286; T.L. Claughton to Gladstone, 21 August, 1883, MS 44483, f.77; Lightfoot to Gladstone, 24 January, 1884, MS 44485, f.119; Gore to Gladstone, 30 August, 1886, MS 44499, f.40; Goodwin to Carlisle, 11 December, 1893, MS 44489, f.26; *ibid.*

¹²⁹ Wilberforce to Stothest, 27 April, 1872, Wilberforce MS. c. 23 f. 125, and see further, below.

¹³⁰ Revd Geo. Body suffered from 'roughness of accent', memo by Church, MS 44127, f.231; Oakley was 'rather rough and long-winded' and Hannah,
(Footnote continued)

although the traditional parochial structure was clearly under pressure in the late nineteenth century, it was being strengthened by the more elevated expectations of the priestly office. 'Zeal,' 'vigour' and earnestness were invariably placed high on the list of virtues reportedly possessed by the men who were being recommended for appointment to parishes. Responding to a query about a position as assistant at St. James', Piccadilly, L. Kempe wrote as follows:

Our friend M.L. Davies suggests to me that I should communicate with you ... His letter raises a question which had better be settled as a preliminary step. He says that you 'would not take an appointment that left no time for literary work'. Now, as regards time, I am sure that, in this case, a good deal might be found for such work - but I should not be contented to engage anyone who could not undertake the work of the Church and parish ¹³¹haying (I might say almost immeasurably) the first call upon him.

Thirdly, there was the internecine war over Ritualism. Of a Mr Ball, who had written to Wilberforce about an instance of Popery, the Bishop commented sadly: 'Poor man: what a curse it must be to have such a temper, and to be without the restraints which grow up round a gentleman.'¹³² The bitterness between the high and low parties put a premium upon the personal qualities of moderation and tact.¹³³ The extent to which these

¹³⁰ (continued)

though cultivated, was not 'quite refined enough to be a gentleman', Church to Gladstone, 28 April, 1881, MS 44127, f. 213; Boyd Carpenter was cultivated ('though an Evangelical'), Church, memo, MS 44127, f. 231; Spence, although not a man of great presence, was 'quite a gentleman', Church to Gladstone, 17 December, 1884, MS 44127, f. 357; see also Talbot to Gladstone, 15 May, 1883, MS 44481, f. 12; Cox to Gladstone, 14 January, 1884, MS 44485, f. 73; Wordsworth to Talbot, 3 January, 1884, MS 44485, f. 13, *ibid*.

¹³¹ L. Kempe to Rushdall, 11 August, 1888, MSS Eng. Lett., c. 344, pt. 165 (Bodleian).

¹³² Wilberforce to J.E.A. Leigh, 12 April, 1851, Wilberforce MS. d. 40 f. 32.

¹³³ For the difficulties that ritual questions caused for parochial clergymen, see Wilberforce MS. c. 23 ff. 172, 175, 203, 236, 244, 247, 250, 263 (all in 1872). One high church curate stirred up trouble by making 'a party amongst the higher section' of the parish and had not 'rested until

characteristics came to be almost excessively esteemed in the Church of England, may be judged by the comments of Canon Scott Holland, on the question of the succession to the See of Canterbury:

We [the younger generation] do not want to know that the Church of England ... will always seem afraid of that which is not sensible, prudent, tame ... It is not mildness that is winning God's battle against principalities and powers, it is not mere prudent wisdom that is beating back the inrush of gross and awful sin in vast cities ... We know what it is which is saving the Church of England at this moment from hopeless failure ... It is not genial, practical wisdom, however kindly ... It will be something of infinite disappointment if the Church is asked to believe that a courteous and elderly moderation is the temper which will best hold sway ...¹³⁴

Conclusion

The Guild of St. Matthew would not have disapproved of this irenic temper of the parish clergy; rather, the reverse. Nevertheless, in its message and its tactics, the Guild differed from the assumptions of Dean Church and others, which were that clergymen should exemplify moderation through their traditional channels of influence in the normal round of parish work. Under the circumstances, the Bishop of Ely was being anything but grudging or patronising when - referring to a vacancy at Ewelme, Oxfordshire (a delicate appointment) - he wrote that the Revd G. Phillimore had, in his present incumbency, 'by quiet persevering work as parish priest upon solid and dependable principles raised the religious and church tone of the whole

¹³³ (continued)

he had got the whole thing in the local Papers, and there published without even asking [his vicar's] leave [his] private letters to him'. Mansell to Wilberforce, 1871 (?) *ibid.*, f. 144.

¹³⁴ Scott Holland to Church, n.d., enclosed in Church to Gladstone, Gladstone Papers, MS 44127, f. 267. Keble counselled patience, in waiting for 'the old stagers' who opposed Baptismal Regeneration to fade away, and in the meantime trusting the inherent orthodoxy of parishioners. He believed that 'thus we shall not be really time-serving and unfaithful'. Keble to Lady Bath, 28 August, 1850, Keble Correspondence: 144 (Keble College). W.E. Heygate, deprecating the use by clergymen of terms such as 'the Mass', and the title 'Father', wrote: 'I do not suppose that there was ever a time since the Reformation in which it was possible for a wise and self-restraining priest to advance the Church. But the extremes ... promote reaction.' Heygate to Keble, 19 November, 1864, *ibid.*, 97.

place'. ¹³⁵ This, rather than the persuasiveness of the accomplished debater, or the intelligent, conciliatory address at a public lecture, was the accepted way that the laity could be, if not converted, at least held, in the years of doubt.

¹³⁵ Woodforde to Gladstone, 17 May, 1883, MS 444811, f. 25, *ibid.*

CHURCH REFORM AND THE PARISH CLERGY

Parson's freehold has been described as 'a form of tenure unique in ecclesiastical history'.¹ So secure was the position of an incumbent that he was, in a practical sense, often irremovable. In the late nineteenth century, when more was being expected of the Anglican priest in parochial work, this fact, by itself, was enough to have given rise to criticism of the extraordinary freedom enjoyed by beneficed clergymen; their independence meant that even the most zealous of reforming bishops was often left with exhortation as his only weapon against recalcitrants.

Consequently, the security enjoyed by the holder of a living focused attention on the method of his appointment. In the 1850s and 60s, criticism appears to have been concentrated upon abuses of public patronage - that which was exercised by the Crown, the episcopal bench, the universities and the cathedral chapters. This was partly because wide publicity was given to individual cases of seemingly corrupt practices.² Furthermore, in these years, memories of the campaign by members of the Oxford Movement against political appointments of, and by, Whig bishops, were kept alive by the dominance of Lord Palmerston, whose distribution of patronage was allegedly in the tradition of eighteenth century Erastianism.³

¹ Albert Marrin, The Last Crusade. The Church of England in the First World War, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1974, p. 6.

² Compare the picture of 'The Jupiter' in Anthony Trollope, The Warden (1852-3), with, for example, the editorial in The Times, 12 August, 1863, which was concerned with the promotion of a Mr Lear to a canonry at Salisbury: 'The appointments of the Crown are most jealously watched. But what mockery it is when the Church reformer leaves his synodical chair and procures the promotion of a relative for no object whatever, except that he may hold his head a little higher among the clergy, and out-top the plebian level of clerical incomes and establishments!'

(Footnote continued)

In the 1870s, the centre of critical attention seems to have shifted to the private patrons. W.E. Gladstone could hardly have been fitted into the Whiggish mould of his predecessors, and his high-minded devotion to the Established Church made it unlikely that any second generation Tractarian would have made the attempt.⁴ The patronage debate was affected by Dissent's political offensive, the development of new urban parishes, and issues such as clerical recruitment and poverty among parish clergymen. The controversy was conducted in the context of reform of the old, learned professions.⁵ As with barristers and medical practitioners, Anglican clergymen were forced to endure a public debate on matters such as their function and status, discussions that were part of the wider process of late Victorian reform. Nevertheless, the controversy achieved more by way of changing perceptions of the Church of England ministry, than it did by effecting actual changes of substance in the system of patronage itself.⁶

³
³ (continued)

³ Guardian, editorial, 28 January, 1863; Keble to Skinner, 26 March, 1856, f.132 (b), Wilberforce to Hulme, 29 March, 1856, f.130, Wilberforce MS. (Bodleian).

⁴ S.T. Coleridge considered that leaving patronage to the bishop was the least objectionable method: the mere fact that a bishop was appointed by the prime minister did not mean that he would influence the bishop's decisions in matters of preferment. S.T. Coleridge to Skinner, 10 May, 1869, Wilberforce MS f. 126(a).

⁵ M.J.D. Roberts, 'Private Patronage and the Church of England, 1800-1900,' Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 32, no. 2 (April, 1981), p. 200.

⁶ In the judgement of M.J.D. Roberts, 'by the end of the century, the experiences and arguments of the preceding years were having their effect - that shifts in attitudes towards patronage were taking place and being translated into practice, either directly by legislation or more subtly by social convention' (ibid., pp. 199-200). His table I, showing the distribution of patronage rights (p.202), demonstrates that private patronage by individuals declined between 1878 and 1901 by only 2.5%. By 1901 it still accounted for 44.1% of all benefices - therefore supporting his conclusion that 'the decline in private patronage which has taken place in the twentieth century is not foreshadowed by nineteenth century developments' (pp. 202-3). The unhappy history of attempts to legislate to regulate patronage - these measures, which lapsed with monotonous

(Footnote continued)

A living was a cure of souls; it was also a piece of freehold property, a form of investment. Accordingly, its value could depend upon such factors as the degree of work it entailed, the amount of capital equipment it contained, the prospects it had of vacant possession, and the salubriousness of its locality.⁷ Fundamental to the discussions of clerical patronage, therefore, was the tension that existed between the rights of property and the demands of the pastoral office.

As property, a living had to be bought and sold. The justification for this state of affairs was made by Lord Houghton, during a parliamentary debate on the 1875 patronage Bill:

The Established Church ... was not a Church of ascetic devotion requiring an abnegation of secular motives ... It was a great secular profession as well as a spiritual body.⁸

The dangers of this attitude were pointed out by a witness to the 1879 Royal Commission appointed to investigate the traffic in benefices:

The whole scandal arises, not from illicit simony, but from legalised simony ... The root of the grievance [is] the sale of spiritual things. The scandal is not what you call the occasional laxity of life ... the scandal is the sale of souls.⁹

⁶ (continued)

regularity, were attacked most commonly on the grounds that they constituted an attack on property rights - (see below) - seems to indicate that the shifts in attitudes to patronage were accomplished more by Roberts' 'subtle' factor of social convention, than by law.

⁷ Supplementary evidence of Edward Herford, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Sale, Exchange and Resignation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, 1879 (Hereafter, 1879 Royal Commission) House of Lords Papers, 1880, Vol. XXXII, Appendix L, p. 111.

⁸ Hansard, series iii, Vol. 224 (1875), p. 1204.

⁹ Herford, Minutes of Evidence, 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 1257, 9.

Criticisms of the patronage system

It is a measure of the unease in the nineteenth century Church, that the familiar characteristic of patronage - the nomination of office-holders whose only apparent qualification was a relationship with their respective patrons - was not seen to have been the most serious issue, although critics thought it the most corrosive in the long-term. What was, perhaps, considered to have been worse, was the putting in of what were vulgarly called warming-pans,¹⁰ an epithet applied to clergymen who took up temporary positions under resignation bonds, which were enforced when the favoured relation - by law, he had to be a close relative of the patron - took orders. More notorious still, was the practice of appointing old and worn-out clergymen, with the motive of circumventing the law that forbade the sale of vacant benefices. An incumbent's advanced age and doddering frailty, under these circumstances, promised the prospect of early vacant possession, with a corresponding rise in the value of the living, the intended role of the nominated octogenarian being encapsulated in the hymn: 'Brief life is here our portion'. Speaking in the House of Lords, in support of a motion to establish a Select Committee on Patronage, the Bishop of Peterborough, William Magee, claimed:

We know only too well the announcements of 'eligible livings' with 'charming neighbourhoods', 'good security and bracing air' to strengthen the purchaser for the 'light duty' attaching to the cure, with its 'good trout stream' and 'adjacent coverts' and the 'incumbent in advanced years' and - worst of all - the ominous announcement of 'immediate possession', which means, in nine cases out of ten, immediate breach or evasion of the laws against simony ... I have never yet met a clergyman who was not heartily ashamed of it.¹¹

¹⁰ Edmund Hobhouse, Bishop of Lichfield, *ibid.*, q. 1371; Bishop of Peterborough, Hansard, series iii, Vol. 224, p. 1223.

¹¹ Hansard, iii, vol. 218, 1874, p. 903. See also examples of auctioneers' advertisements, Appendix L, and 'Particulars of Church Preferment for Sale or Exchange,' Circular of Mr Corbett [clerical agent] 70, Camden Rd., London, item: 'House: no. and size of reception rooms, kitchens, domestic offices and other accommodation. Describe stabling, outbuildings, gardens, lawns ... Population, no. and how employed. If any good society in neighbourhood ... Climate, mild or bracing? Locality healthy? Soil? Water good? Appendix F, 1879 Royal Commission, pp. 109, 111.

Understandably, contemporary Churchmen criticised the sale of the 'things of the spirit' on the grounds of principle. Even more censurable was the involvement of the Church in the paraphernalia and procedures of the market-place - circulars, commissions, advertising, bargaining and chicanery.¹² Perhaps the worst feature of the practice of trading benefices was the type of clerical agent allegedly spawned by the traffic:¹³

It was this aspect - the agent's self-interest - that was the target for the most criticism; any concern that he may have had about the character of the client whose living he was arranging was presumed to be minimal, for the purpose of the transaction was not the welfare of the parishioners, but the making of money.¹⁴ In an age when the value of episcopal supervision and the importance of parochial work were, increasingly, being stressed, the activities of even the most high-minded clerical agent seemed unedifying; the low calibre of some, perhaps many, aggravated the problem.¹⁵ One such, Workman, had been in Holy Orders; having embarked upon

¹² Revd J. Wild, Remarks on the Clerical Supply and Demand in the Church of England, Stamford, 1865, p. 12; Willis, Simony in Two Parts, p. 84; Minutes of Evidence, qq. 521, 617, 814-5, 997, 1247, Select Committee of the House of Lord on Church Patronage, 1874 (hereafter, 1874 S.C.) House of Lords Papers, 1874, Vol. VII; Bishop of Peterborough, Hansard, iii, Vol. 222 (1875) p. 817; Dr Temple, Bishop of London, Hansard, iii, vol. 311, p. 1027; Tabular statement as to the number of livings offered for sale or exchange through the columns of the Ecclesiastical Gazette during the months of January, 1872, 1873, 1874, Prepared by Messrs Day and Hassard of 28, George-street, Westminster, at the request of the Bishop of Peterborough, 1874 S.C., Appendix, House of Lords Papers, 1874, Vol VII, pp. 469-74; evidence of E. Herford and P.J.Budworth, Minutes of Evidence, qq. 1211, 1212, 12189, 1879 Royal Commission; Return to an address of the ... House of Commons, 16 March, 1875, for 'Return in a tabular Form of the Names, Situations, Population and Gross Annual Value of all Benefices, the Advowsons of which have been sold under the Lord Chancellor's Augmentation Act ...', Appendix M, Additional Evidence Supplied in Writing by Mr Cox, Appendix H, 1879 Royal Commission.

¹³ Charles Cox, The Sale of Benefices in the Church of England, London, n.d. (1880), p. 6.

¹⁴ Minutes of Evidence, 1879 Royal Commission, q. 729.

¹⁵ 1874 S.C., qq. 265-6.

a career as an agent (after serving a term of imprisonment for fraud) he had 'so many aliases that Crockford and the Clergy List [were] no real guide to the livings of which he [was] patron.'¹⁶ His business interests were as varied as his changes of name.¹⁷ The principal in another energetic firm, the Revd Samuel Shipley, had been forced to leave his parish, on having been charged with bigamy. 'He also did business as a common userer on the most disgraceful terms.'¹⁸ Many clergymen were said to have been in thrall to these disreputable entrepreneurs. Workman advertised in the Ecclesiastical Gazette that 'sequestrations, either threatened or enforced, may in many instances be relieved', and also lent money to clergymen to cover expenses, such as those incurred in moving. 'Thus he became acquainted with embarrassed clergy, and used them as his tools.'¹⁹

The agent's work was alleged to have combined secretiveness and flagrant advertising. The secrecy surrounding such transactions was understandable, given that, even when breaches of the law were not involved, 'there was a strong feeling in the minds of a great many people ... that such sales were not very creditable' and, therefore, 'a clergyman going into a parish of which he had bought the living was not anxious that the fact should be widely known'.²⁰ The hole and corner aspect was alliteratively stigmatized by the Bishop of Peterborough as a process engaging 'back-street brokers selling benefices across the counter'.²¹

If proceedings and agreements were often secret, there was little that

¹⁶ Evidence of Charles Cox, 1874 SC, qq. 57, 2180.

¹⁷ Ibid., qq. 54, 57, 59, 78, 79. See also evidence of Revd H.A. Carwardine, qq. 1977, 1808, 1876, 1878-80, and Appendix E, letters 1-4, pp. 105-6.

¹⁸ Ibid., q. 83; see also Appendix B, p. 105.

¹⁹ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 51.

²⁰ Ibid., qq. 50, 51, 90, 107.

²¹ Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), p. 906.

was discreet in the methods by which the agents made their potential clients aware of the services they provided. Charles Cox suggested to the 1879 Royal Commission that the Ecclesiastical Gazette either cease to be an official organ, or that 'advertisements connected with the traffic in livings be vigorously suppressed', because exchange advertisements 'cloaked actual sales of the worst sort' in a journal that came 'gratuitously and unsought to every beneficed clergyman in the kingdom'.²²

Donatives and Resignation Bonds

A loophole frequently used by clergymen to evade the laws prohibiting simony was the donative, for its owner was not obliged to present his clerk to the bishop for institution, and once installed, such an incumbent could resign without the bishop's permission. Thus episcopal authority could be circumvented, because if a clergyman were to accept a donative, the benefice he had hitherto occupied was automatically vacated.

A person wishing to effect a corrupt transaction or exchange, whose resignation the bishop may have refused to accept for good reasons, buys or accepts a donative from a patron with whom he has a corrupt transaction, and accepting the donative voids the benefice and in that way the simoniacal transaction proceeds to completion.²³

Critics claimed that large numbers of donatives were owned by clerical agents for this express purpose, and that - because of its 'peculiar privileges' - this type of living was the means by which the most prominent agents were able to do business.²⁴ Not surprisingly, the Bishop of Peterborough considered that the abolition of donatives was one of the most

²² 1879 Royal Commission, Appendix H, p. 10; see also Charles Cox, The Sale of Benefices, p. 253.

²³ Evidence of Sir Robert Phillimore, q. 183; of N. Bridges, q. 381, 1874 S.C.; of the Bishop of Peterborough, q. 1785, 1879 Royal Commission.

²⁴ Evidence of N. Bridges, q. 381, 1874 S.C.; of J.C. Cox, qq. 110, 113, 115, 116, 1879 Royal Commission; the Bishop of Peterborough, Hansard, iii, 218 (1874) p. 912.

urgently needed reforms.²⁵

Although it was less open to manifest abuse than the donative, the resignation bond was the object of considerable criticism in the 1870s and 80s. First, it was another way by which the bishop's control over appointments and resignations was circumvented.²⁶ Secondly, enforcement of the bond effected a change in the incumbency for reasons quite unconnected with the efficiency, piety or zeal of either the new appointee or his predecessor.²⁷ Thirdly, a priest whose occupancy of a benefice was subject to a resignation bond had only temporary tenure: it was, therefore, assumed that his influence on the parish would be minimal,²⁸ and, further, that there was a standing temptation for him to be apathetic and perfunctory.²⁹ Fourthly, the resignation bond was alleged to have had the effect of the induction of 'boy rectors' - young clergymen who, with no pastoral experience, were given the charge of parishes immediately after ordination.³⁰ Fifthly, it was frequently the case, in the view of some observers, that a prospective beneficiary of a resignation bond took orders because there was a living waiting for him, rather than because he had a vocation.³¹ Finally, payments for the non-enforcement of a bond, for example in the form of an annuity to the future nominee if he did not take orders, 'were possible'.³²

²⁵ Ibid., p. 912. For a defence of donatives and of the uses made of them, see Hansard, iii, 222 (1875) pp. 1208-9.

²⁶ The Bishop of Peterborough, Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), p. 911.

²⁷ 1874 S.C., q. 318.

²⁸ Ibid., q. 317; evidence of J.C.Cox, q. 157, 1879 Royal Commission.

²⁹ Ibid.; the Bishop of Peterborough, Hansard, iii, 224 (1875) p. 1223.

³⁰ Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), p. 919; Stawell, Supply and Training, p. 3.

³¹ J.B. Lee, 1879 Royal Commission, q. 910; the Bishop of Exeter did not, however, see this as a likely consequence of the system: q. 840, 1874 S.C.

³² Ibid., q. 321.

Aged incumbents

Although it was alleged that the patronage system resulted in some parishes being placed in the charge of youthful and inexperienced clergymen, a yet more serious fault was the use of aged incumbents, the appointment of whom increased the value of benefices because of the improved prospect of vacant possession. In the late nineteenth century, this stratagem attracted more criticism, perhaps, than any other feature of the system.³³ Yet it provides an example of the way in which a reform (in this case, the ban on the sale of vacant livings) could lead to practices that were worse than the original abuse (the traffic in livings) which the original prohibition was designed to correct.³⁴ An agent candidly told the 1879 Royal Commission that

As a businessman I am accustomed to look upon church property as property to be realised, and therefore it is often my duty to point out to clients that unless they evade the law they probably sacrifice half their property. In the case of widows it is a serious matter ... According to strict law,³⁵ a widow must put in an old life in order to realise most money.

The diocese of Exeter provided an example of what could happen when the law was evaded in this way. An appointment was made of a clergyman who was so enfeebled that, in the parish he had previously held, he had to be supported into church by his wife and a servant. When taken to the new parish for induction

he had to be supported up the aisle by two persons; jelly and wine, or wine and water, had to be given to him at the reading desk. In the morning he was not able to get through the reading of the xxxix articles; he was removed to the inn in a near fainting state ... This poor paralytic man ... was unable to leave his chair without help,³⁶ and died before the legal transaction of the sale was completed.

³³ qq. 117-2, 1874 S.C.; qq. 138-41, 1879 Royal Commission.

³⁴ Ibid., q. 2184.

³⁵ W.E. Starke, q. 2097, *ibid.*; see also q. 2130.

The demand for geriatric incumbents may therefore be explained by the desire to maximise profits from the sale of the benefice: the supply of aged clergymen was guaranteed by the failure of the Church to provide a pension fund.³⁷ Nor, given the number of small, struggling parishes that were unable to pay their current parson an adequate stipend,³⁸ was there any likelihood that this state of affairs would change. As for the patrons, there were many who made indignant protests against proposals to give bishops more power in vetting the character of nominees to livings; they believed that a reform such as this would decrease property values.³⁹ Although he was in favour of increasing episcopal authority at this point, the agent, Starke, opined that, with respect to aged lives, 'the restrictions should not be too great, otherwise you will raise up the whole body of the clergy against you'.⁴⁰

Indebtedness

Acquiring a living was an enticing enough prospect to attract relatively poor clergymen into the market. There were instances of men investing beyond their means, with the result that their benefices were heavily charged to enable them to pay the purchase price.⁴¹ Consequently, to reduce expenses, hard pressed incumbents would not appoint assistant curates,⁴² and the laity, knowing that donations would be appropriated to the rector's

³⁶ q. 1880, 1874 S.C.

³⁷ Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), p. 915; q. 2135, 1879 Royal Commission.

³⁸ Ibid., q. 1465.

³⁹ Ibid., q. 2202.

⁴⁰ Ibid., q. 2213.

⁴¹ qq. 311-2, 1874 S.C.; Rt. Rev. J.S.Uttertton, qq. 1496-1529, Edward Herford, qq. 1212, 1214, 1879 Royal Commission.

⁴² Uttertton, loc. cit., Herford, op. cit., q. 1241.

sinking fund, rather than be used for spiritual objects, was not disposed to be generous.⁴³ Moreover, the Sequestration Act could be evaded:

[Under the Act] the Bishop takes a considerable sum for the spiritual needs of the parish ... The incumbent then goes to his creditors and says, 'The Bishop is going to take a very large portion ... There will be nothing left for you for a very long time ... You had better make a private agreement with me for something less ...' His sequestration is relieved and then the Bishop is powerless... I was obliged to cut down the income of the curate ... to such a point as the creditors would tolerate.⁴⁴ In that way the Act was ... very largely deprived of its force.

Churchmen seemed to have been more responsive to this sort of plea than were the Houses of Parliament: one year after the Royal Commission met, in the Oxford Diocesan Conference, Sir Robert Phillimore successfully moved that no sequestration profits of a benefice be allowed, for any debts incurred.⁴⁵

II

Although he was one of the severest and most persistent critics of the existing system of patronage, the Bishop of Peterborough acknowledged that, in theory, it had much to recommend it. The patron, usually a local resident, had a profound moral and material interest in the parish. Because he had endowed the benefice, thus securing for the people a provision for their pastor, he had the right to select one of a number of clergymen previously licensed by the bishop, and, subject to a further episcopal veto, to nominate him to the charge.

Property

Between this ideal and the realities of the trade in livings, there was a

⁴³ q. 245, 1874 S.C.; qq. 1212-3, 1363, 1879 Royal Commission.

⁴⁴ Bishop of Peterborough, q. 1784, 1879 Royal Commission.

⁴⁵ Minutes of Oxford Diocesan Conference, 1880.

long road, but it was one that was 'very quickly travelled', mainly because English law 'has ever been remarkable for its almost idolatrous veneration of property'.⁴⁶ The Archbishop of Canterbury believed that the clerical profession was unique in being able, for money, to dispose of the right of presenting to it. 'Owing to a certain scrupulousness as to the rights of property, the sale of next presentations still lingered in the Church of England.'⁴⁷ If this privilege were withdrawn, great loss would have been entailed upon clerical patrons in Essex, a witness to the 1879 Royal Commission acknowledged.⁴⁸ In the Church as a whole, lay as well as clerical owners of benefices would have been affected by such a reform.⁴⁹ The agent, Starke, candidly told their lordships that 'Church property is so mixed up with the rights of property that it is difficult to distinguish between the rights of property and questions of conscience'.⁵⁰ There was, however, a limit to scruples with regard to the sanctity of possessions. Even Mr Budworth, who yielded to none in his enthusiasm for the status quo, conceded that, if effective (as opposed to purely nominal) powers were given to the bishops to remove worn-out clergymen who were so frail as to be almost bed-ridden, 'it would not be an undue infringement upon property rights'.⁵¹

The bishops

To increase the power of the bishops was, in fact, the reformers'

⁴⁶ Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), p. 906.

⁴⁷ Hansard, iii, 224 (1875), pp. 1224-5.

⁴⁸ Evidence of Philip John Budworth, M.A., J.P., qq. 1301-2, 1879 Royal Commission.

⁴⁹ qq. 782, 854, 1336, 1879 Royal Commission.

⁵⁰ Ibid., q. 2401.

⁵¹ Ibid., q.1300.

panacea; episcopal control - over appointments, resignations and the removal of parish clergy - was, in a practical sense, quite limited. Although there was considerable evidence that many testimonials were 'very laxly signed',⁵² yet it was doubtful whether greater conscientiousness on the part of the referees would have made very much difference where there were manifestly unsuitable nominations: even when the clerk presented to him was physically unable to perform duty, the bishop's power was severely circumscribed. Attempts to remove an incumbent could involve diocesan authorities in long and costly litigation, with no guarantee of success though the incumbent concerned might be incompetent, immoral, paralytic, blind or insane.⁵³ One suit, undertaken by the Bishop of Exeter, took more than nine years to be resolved.⁵⁴ Although it was understandable that Churchmen were scandalised at the audacity of a prominent clerical agent who adorned his letterhead with the insignia of a mitre, under the circumstances this logotype could be seen as an accurate, if mockingly ironic, comment on the institutional structures and the procedures of the Established Church.

⁵² 1879 Royal Commission, q. 2023; see also qq. 1025, 1030, 1808, 12006, and 1879 S.C., q. 306. Revd S. Slocock, from Essex, was, however, surprised to hear from the Bishop of Peterborough that testimonials were notoriously unreliable: he had not found them to have been so: qq. 895,6, 1879 Royal Commission.

⁵³ A.F. Winnington-Ingram, Church Difficulties, London, S.P.C.K., 1898, p. 22; on the problems encountered by episcopal or archidiaconal authorities in the disciplining of even an errant schoolmaster, see Wilberforce to Gladstone, 28 January, 1853, Gladstone Papers, MS 44343, f. 189; on the inability of bishops to deal with 'warming pans', see evidence of A.J. Day, qq. 1079-80, 1874 S.C., and of the Bishop of Peterborough, q. 1784, 1879 Royal Commission, and Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), p. 917; on the insufficient legal powers of bishops to deal with improper or incompetent clergymen, 1874 S.C., qq. 299-307, 617-8; 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 194, 1116-7, 1784.

⁵⁴ Hansard, ii, 222 (1875), p. 814.

These follies and abuses worried Churchmen partly because of the ammunition they provided for Anglicanism's increasingly vocal and politically powerful enemies. It was believed that the scandals adversely affected recruitment of men to the ministry, and the career prospects of those serving in it.

Anglicanism's reputation

The census of 1851 was probably the main reason why mid-Victorian Churchmen assiduously explored the question of the relationship between Anglicanism and the lower middle classes, artisans and the labouring poor. Advocates of the reform of patronage frequently referred to what they saw as considerable antagonism to the Church among the lower orders.⁵⁵ In the eyes of the masses, the Church of England was associated with inequalities and injustices⁵⁶ and was identified with the upper levels of society.⁵⁷ The growing importance of the Liberationist movement in the 1860s seemed to make the issue even more urgent.⁵⁸ It was therefore to be expected that critics of the traffic in benefices would pay considerable attention to the presumed social and political impact of the corruptions which, they alleged, were inherent in the system.

Parishioners were often reported to have had strong feelings about the matter when they thought that they had been bought and sold;⁵⁹ in one neighbourhood, it was claimed, the grievance went back two or three generations.⁶⁰ There was a widespread feeling that, because of these

⁵⁵ The Bristol Poor, pp. 191-2.

⁵⁶ C. Kingsley, The Message of the Church to the Labouring Man, pp. 7, 19.

⁵⁷ 'A Radical Parson', Christian Socialism, n.d., p. 7.

⁵⁸ See above, pp. 67-71.

⁵⁹ 1874 S.C., q. 1260; 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 1165, 1175, 1363; Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), pp. 910-11, 921.

⁶⁰ C.J. Cox, 1879 Royal Commission, q. 142.

irregularities, anti-Church feeling had increased;⁶¹ Dissenters reviled Anglicans on the subject,⁶² which was largely featured in Liberationist propaganda.⁶³ Patronage abuses, said the Reformers, particularly shocked the religious feelings of artisans and the lower middle classes: it was hard for educated people to understand how much importance such persons placed upon the character and reputation of the clergy.⁶⁴ Thirty years after the reform agitation of the 1870s, it was lamented that the worldliness of the Church, as revealed by the trade in livings, had severely sapped the strength of Anglicanism: the shame was that Churchmen had waited to discover the new form of simony (that is, possession of wealth being the sine qua non of nomination to an incumbency) until the monied classes did not want what the Church had to sell.⁶⁵

Clergy supply

The system of patronage was seen to have important ramifications for the extremely topical issue of the supply of parish clergy. Earlier reforms - the gradual abolition of non-residence and the suppression of pluralism - together with the growth in the number of parishes (a result of the remarkable expansion of the Church's building programme in the early Victorian period) opened up prospects for employment at the bottom of the clerical scale.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, where the system of patronage was seen to restrict the opportunities for able men to advance (because wealth and contacts, rather than piety, zeal and learning, were the determinants of

⁶¹ Herford, 1879 Royal Commission, q. 12112.

⁶² Ibid., qq. 1109, 10.

⁶³ Ibid., q. 1223.

⁶⁴ 1874 S.C., q. 617; Hansard, iii, 222 (1875), p. 827.

⁶⁵ P.B. Bull, Free Access to Holy Orders, Leeds, n.d. (1902), pp. 4, 6.

⁶⁶ Anon., The Deficient Supply of Well-Qualified Clergy, p.11; Halcombe, The Clergy, pp. 2-4; Poole, Augmentation, p. 3.

promotion)⁶⁷ it was said that the result was that candidates of good family and education were being turned away from the ministry.⁶⁸ Young men such as these were entering professions in which the possibilities for advancement were (in contrast to the Church) steadily improving. Moreover, the old, learned professions were not the only callings fit for gentlemen.⁶⁹ The result of this combination of factors was that Church was being forced to lower her entrance standards with respect to gentility, education, ability and refinement.

There were those, however, who, believing that there was a reservoir of untapped piety, ability and devotion at the level of those too poor to buy a living,⁷⁰ denounced the system, not because it discouraged gentlemen from entering the ministry, but because (since wealth was the main yardstick used to judge whether clergy were fit for promotion) worthy men were condemned to years of service as assistant curates or as incumbents of small livings. The Revd Samuel Hornibrook told the 1879 Royal Commission:

We have a very large and increasing number of curates who have no particular patrons. These men have been curates for twenty and twenty-five years, and have very little prospect of promotion.⁷¹

To observers such as these, the Church's alleged exclusion from her ministry of the less wealthy class was seen to have been a fault.⁷² This

⁶⁷ Revd Dr Emerton, Prize Essay on the Evils of the Present System of Patronage with their Remedies, London, 1863, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Willis, Simony, p. 32; Halcombe, The Clergy, p. 4.

⁶⁹ 'Curates,' leading article, Guardian, 9 September, 1863, p. 841.

⁷⁰ To take a case even lower down the scale, there was 'a persistent plodder of moderate abilities', whose father was dead, who had to support a 'delicate' mother and sister, who had been accepted for ordination by the Bishop of Exeter, but who could not get a paid post as a lay assistant (to complete his study) because of the competition for such places. T.P.W. Thorman to Gladstone, 26 April, 1883, Gladstone Papers, MS. 44480, f. 247.

⁷¹ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 1710.

view was not, however, unchallenged. Despite the pervasiveness of the image of the ill-used curate who, as with George Eliot's Amos Barton, was removed because his rector wished to give the position to a kinsman⁷³ there were some who questioned the assumption that, for instance, long experience as an assistant was necessarily a qualification for an incumbency.⁷⁴ There was widespread recognition of the fact that the abolition of pluralism was at least partly responsible for clerical poverty, but William Stubbs was one who went further, because instead of simply blaming patronage, he questioned the traditional basis of Anglicanism - the country parish. He saw the quiet rural living as the graveyard of many an academic reputation because, without external pressure to keep the would-be scholar up to the mark, the village parson's ample leisure for reading and writing was an advantage of his position that was purely nominal. Even parochial visiting was judged by Stubbs to have been an overrated activity. He concluded that a country clergyman's idea of work needed to be expanded. The solution, he believed, was the amalgamation of benefices and an expansion of lay endowment, but both were easier to conceive than to arrange.⁷⁵ The more popular view, however, was that the poverty of the clergy was aggravated, if not caused, by abuses of patronage. The Bishop of Lichfield stated that

⁷²(continued)

⁷² Ibid., qq. 829-30; Earl Nelson and Revd Paul Bush, Home Re-union: Two Papers Read at the Diocesan Conference Held at Truro, 27 October, 1881, London, n.d., p. 9.

⁷³ George Eliot, 'The Sad Fortunes of Amos Barton,' Scenes of Clerical Life, chapter 8.

⁷⁴ For example, R. Flew, 1874 S.C., q. 949. Note that purchase was, however, defended by some as a means of offering promotion to otherwise 'perpetual curates'. Revd Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, q. 1139, *ibid.* See also Lord Sydney Godolphin to Langley, 12 July, 1866, Langley Correspondence, 5.

⁷⁵ C.W. Stubbs, The Church and the Villages. A Paper Read Before the Christian Social Union, London, 1893, pp. 6, 8. The Marquis of Salisbury, ten years before, had been of the opinion that the tendency of a small proportion of clergymen to get into debt, to be lazy, or to be habitually intoxicated, could be attributed to the clergyman's 'independence' and 'monotony of life' Hansard, iii, 311 (1887) p. 1047.

'the existing system gives an advantage to a well-connected man ... over a man who has nothing but his merit to advance him'.⁷⁶

IV

Every attempt at patronage reform foundered in the House of Lords which was sensitive to all infringements on the rights of property, especially of the form of property which many peers possessed.

During the debate on one such ill-fated bill, the House of Commons was told:

Unhappily, the Church of England has not the control of its own affairs. The control ... is in the hands of Parliament, and there are too many members in both Houses ... who are themselves interested in this evil system.⁷⁸

If one considered only the motives of the opponents of reform, one might be tempted to dismiss their case as one based only upon rationalised selfishness. Nevertheless, the arguments are interesting because they provide an insight into the way in which patrons, the wider Church, and society at large, perceived the clergy.

Property and patrons

It was not that supporters of the existing system were coy about the financial nexus. The Earl of Harrowby asked rhetorically if the abolition of the sale of advowsons amounted to anything but the abolition of the rights of private patronage. 'Would they,' he challenged, 'tell a landowner that his patronage must never be sold by himself or any of his heirs? It

⁷⁶ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 1484.

⁷⁷ P.T. Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline: Archbishop Tait and the Church of England 1868-1882, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969, p. 208.

⁷⁸ Hansard, iii, 237 (1878), p. 1564.

would only be another way of destroying its value as private property.'⁷⁹ Lord Houghton said of the 1875 patronage bill that it 'would have the tendency to depreciate the value of property'.⁸⁰ When P.J. Budworth was pressed by members of the 1879 Royal Commission to say if he recognised that, in the matter of appointments, the first object was the spiritual concern of the parishioners, he prevaricated with the reply that the first object would be to do right by everyone. When his questioners persisted, he responded: 'I contend that an injustice would be in the long run done to the Church, because I contend that to do an injustice to the patrons would very materially weaken the foundations of the Church.'⁸¹ Earlier, on behalf of 'certain clerical and lay patrons of Essex', he told the Commission:

We think that to restrict the rights of patrons ... would be a most dangerous precedent ... [and furnish] an argument for the Liberationists hereafter to use for the taking away of the rights from the Church.⁸²

Despite the fact that, for the reformers, the main abuses of patronage appear to have been associated with the sale of advowsons, and further, that the critics of the traffic were mainly concerned with the moral standing of the Anglican priest, an ironical feature of the controversy was the claim that an improvement in the 'moral status' of the clergy had induced (according to one observer) the wealthier classes to put their sons in the ministry, and this tendency, in turn, had increased the saleability of benefices.⁸³ Furthermore, the most usual defence of the practice of buying and selling livings was, first, that it introduced into the ranks of

⁷⁹ Ibid., 222 (1875), p. 829.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 224 (1875), p.1398; see also 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 854-62, 1335.

⁸¹ Ibid., qq. 1307, 1308.

⁸² Ibid., q. 1284.

⁸³ Ibid., q. 1482.

the clergy, valuable recruits from other than the traditional sources of supply, and, secondly, that it enabled new sources of wealth to be tapped.⁸⁴ Some apologists actually made use of an argument that was advanced by opponents of the principle of private patronage - that many lay owners were morally or temperamentally unsuited to exercise the right of choice of incumbent - but whereas these critics of private patronage urged that the powers of appointment be transferred to the episcopate, those who defended the trade in benefices claimed that the market was the best expedient to find satisfactory patrons.⁸⁵ The small size and meagre income of many livings⁸⁶ demonstrated the need for a continued, even expanded, influx into the priesthood of men possessed of considerable private means.⁸⁷ The growing prosperity of entrepreneurs in the non-agricultural sector of the economy resulted in there being an increasing number of wealthy men, unconnected with the land, who had sons amply qualified for the ministry and willing to enter it: the market in livings enabled parents thus placed to buy livings for their devout progeny:

Private patronage was now mainly concerned with the landed estate ... but was it fit to tie it up with that one class, and not admit the monied and commercial interests of the country to participate in it? What avenue to the Church, except by purchase, was offered to the sons of wealthy men not connected with the land?⁸⁸

The trade in benefices enabled hard-pressed landowners, on the other hand, to convert the privilege of owning advowsons into cash.⁸⁹ This

⁸⁴ Hansard, iii, 224 (1875), pp. 1205-6; 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 737, 1734.

⁸⁵ 1874 S.C., qq. 598-607.

⁸⁶ see p. 24.

⁸⁷ Hansard, iii, 224 (1875) pp. 1205-6.

⁸⁸ Earl of Harrowby, Hansard, iii, 222 (1875), p. 830.

⁸⁹ 1874 S.C. q. 598.

argument appeared to have even greater pertinence by the late 1870s and 1880s, because the agricultural depression of 1875 lowered the value of livings and income derived from rent; general depression reduced the numbers from the manufacturing and commercial classes able and willing to buy.⁹⁰ In these circumstances, any artificial or non-market factor (such as the reforming programme of Bishop Magee) which caused the value of livings to slump still further, was fated to provoke strong resistance, particularly in the House of Lords.

Need for wealth

There was another aspect of the rural depression, as it affected the allegedly disreputable trade. The contraction of clerical incomes seemed to give added legitimacy to the viewpoint, which had considerable buttressing from tradition as well, that 'wealth works parishes better'.⁹¹ The sale of livings, wrote a clergyman from Essex,

has been the means of supplying a large number of efficient clergy who have brought their time and money to the Church and used both freely, and who would most probably have not come into orders if the power of claiming a living was more limited than it is now ... I certainly should not have taken orders if my father had not bought this living. I have given my whole life to this obscure and retired parish.⁹²

Opposing the patronage bill in the late 1880s, Lord Grimthorpe took issue with the Archbishop of Canterbury on this matter. 'In these days' the value of livings was rapidly declining: it was 'notoriously' below L250 a year, on average. With almost brutal frankness, he pointed out that the Church enjoyed a better return from rich clergymen than she did from the poor. Because, 'nowadays ... the profession of the clergyman was by no means a desirable one', only a small minority 'went into the Church without having

⁹⁰ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 2104; Hansard iii, 311 (1887), p. 686.

⁹¹ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 833.

⁹² Ibid., q. 1314.

a real calling for the position'. Therefore, were a man rich, 'he was almost certain to spend more on his living than he got out of it'.⁹³

V

In the 1870s, there was a general impression that the trade in benefices was increasing,⁹⁴ and that clergymen were becoming owners of advowsons⁹⁵ - especially those of smaller livings -⁹⁶ in greater numbers, or, if not, that they were coming forward more prominently to participate directly in the sort of arrangement which had formerly been made by friends.⁹⁷ There were several reasons for this development. First, on the part of the clergy, there was at least as great a desire as there had been previously to acquire a 'settled position' and 'independent sphere', such status being provided by the ownership of a living, however small.⁹⁸ It was not simply a matter of status - provision for a family and for old age (before pension schemes were instituted) was an important consideration.⁹⁹ Secondly, there were more unconnected clergymen at a time when there was less public patronage to dispense,¹⁰⁰ and when memories were still fresh of the long campaign against the bestowing of offices by favour.¹⁰¹ Thirdly, the price

⁹³ Hansard, iii, 311 (1887), pp. 687-8.

⁹⁴ 1874 S.C., qq. 292-3, 2146-54.

⁹⁵ Hansard, iii, 311, p. 680; 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 1274, 2027.

⁹⁶ Ibid., q. 2100

⁹⁷ Ibid., q. 922.

⁹⁸ Ibid., qq. 2084, 2148.

⁹⁹ Ibid., qq. 1269, 2097; Halcombe, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ 1874 S.C., q. 1156; Halcombe, loc. cit.; Robert Gregory, letter to the Guardian, 17 September, 1863; leading article, Guardian, 5 August, 1863.

¹⁰¹ Hansard, iii, 224 (1875), p.1209.

of livings on the mid-Victorian benefice market were thought to have been in a trough: many clergymen bought livings at a time when they believed that the value of the investment would rise.

Clerical chicanery

Of all the features of the system, clerical ownership of advowsons was the one most criticised by reformers. It was the target even of those who were prepared to defend private patronage if it were exercised by a layman,¹⁰² for only clergymen were affected directly by the laws against simony. These, while not stringent enough to end the traffic, were taken sufficiently seriously to cause all sorts of chicanery to be practised.¹⁰³ Magee referred to the 'subtle evasions' for which the trade was notorious, and the 'nice distinctions' in which 'the English law delights in'. He claimed that the form of declaration signed by the presentee induced clergymen 'to cultivate ignorance as to the law of simony'.¹⁰⁴ Asked if it were hard to make clergymen understand 'the stringent nature of the late oath against simony', Mr Flew replied:

...even in the case of men of undoubted piety, and more particularly in the case of the oath, it is quite remarkable how dense they were as to what its tenor was.

The oath (he testified) was objectionable, because for the over-scrupulous man it was a snare; 'the unscrupulous man swallows it wholesale'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² 1874 S.C., q. 1260; Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), pp. 908-9.

¹⁰³ See above, pp. 92, 95-9, 102-3, 107-9.

¹⁰⁴ Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), pp. 908-9.

¹⁰⁵ S.C. 1874, q. 950. Mr N. Bridges, solicitor for the S.P.C.K., in response to the question: 'And the persons who have done these things [committed simony] have been ... clergymen, respectable in the ordinary sense of the term, who would be thought incapable of doing anything dishonourable?' testified as follows: 'Quite so ... the anomalous condition of the law ... confuses their minds about it.' Ibid., q. 367.

Clerical spirituality

This process of deception was mainly responsible for the alleged secularisation of the clergymen who participated in the trade: a deadening effect on the sense of duty, as well as [promoting] such secular tendencies as hunting, card-playing, dog fancying¹⁰⁶ Whilst there were those who claimed that the declaration required of presentees (that they had not committed simony) in effect excluded from the profession those of the highest class,¹⁰⁷ for those of a lesser calibre (who had no scruples about accepting parochial nominations under these terms) the system put a premium upon gentility, rather than spirituality. By using a clerical agent's donative, one such - according to Mr N. Bridges, a Church solicitor - effected his resignation and new appointment against the wishes of his Ordinary. Yet

he was a thorough gentleman by position; he was a man of good family, and there was nothing whatever against his character;¹⁰⁸ he did not belong to any very earnest school in the Church.

Lord Houghton's attitude was similar. During a debate in the Upper House on patronage reform, he emphasised that clergymen should have 'proper means of support' and pointed to the fact that they were not dependent upon voluntary subscriptions, as the reason that 'we had the great security for the due exercise of their profession'. Claiming that, in morality and piety, the ministry was above reproach, he nevertheless feared that the real threat was to the social status and intellectual eminence of the

¹⁰⁶ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 1245. See also Willis, op. cit., p. 49; Cox, The Sale of Benefices, p. 8; Bull, op. cit., pp. 4-5; 1874 S.C., q. 617.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., q. 901. Yet another witness (although admittedly an agent, Starke) claimed that the laws against simony were systematically evaded by men of the highest character (1879 Royal Commission, q. 2041). 'Three fourths of the patrons with whom I come into contact, and among them clergymen of the highest standing, ... do not recognise any moral crime in an infraction of the present law against simony.' (Ibid., q. 2107.)

¹⁰⁸ 1874 S.C., q. 384.

Anglican priesthood. The reform of patronage would accelerate a decline already evident; it was not for parliament to pass a measure 'the tendency of which would be to diminish the comfort and well-being of the educated class of the Church'.¹⁰⁹ Whilst they doubtless agreed that clergymen should continue to aspire to social and intellectual distinction, the lords spiritual, especially Magee, did not share Houghton's somewhat complacent assessment of the ethical and devotional standards of the local clergyman.

The clergy and the landed class

By the 1870s, the celebrated link between the squire and parson was becoming something of an anachronism. In itself, the contract was not so much destroyed as made politically irrelevant: the forces of modernisation seemed to be by-passing the Church of England. Admittedly, urbanisation did produce a vigorous, if belated, programme of church building in towns and suburbs, yet Anglicanism retained its rural base, for, a century later, three out of every four parishes were in the country.¹¹⁰ The Church was unable or unwilling to adapt to other forces which threatened the authority structure underpinning the link between manor house and rectory - forces such as the extension of the franchise, the development of rural trades unions, mass literacy, and a reduction, induced partly by the long depression, in the value of endowments, a decline for which there was no compensating rise in pew rents or in voluntary subscriptions (despite optimism on this point in the 1860s). The symbolical importance of the alliance between landowner and parson remained,¹¹¹ but its real political

109 Hansard, iii, 222, pp. 1204-5.

110 Gay, op. cit., p.78.

111 For opponents as well as its defenders, given the Liberal campaign against the bondage of squire and parson between 1898 and 1907 over issues such as the tithe rent charge and education. See Avner Offer, Property and Politics, 1870-1914. Landownersip, Law, Ideology and Urban Development in England, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 207-41; G.I.T. Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1869 to 1921, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987, chapter vi.

significance, locally, had been undermined.

None the less, on both sides of the controversy over patronage, protagonists continued to pay lip service to an ideal which was historically associated with the squire-parson nexus: that in each parish there should be a powerful patriarchal figure, disinterested and benevolent.¹¹² Opponents of the benefice trade claimed that the traffic made nonsense of the theory that the patron necessarily would display an enlightened concern for the welfare of the parishioners. Furthermore, reformers argued that the view that the right of presentation was a marketable commodity, and the concept of the benefice as an investment, did untold harm to the notion that ownership of Church livings was a sacred trust.¹¹³ A solicitor favourable to reform, Mr N. Bridges, acknowledged that:

In putting restrictions upon the sale of livings there are certain interests which ought to be totally exceptional; one great class of which is the territorial class.¹¹⁴

Although they agreed, with the reform party, that local landowners usually possessed qualifications appropriate to the exercising of the power of nomination to a church living, apologists for the patronage status quo, and for the trade in benefices, implied that this was an incidental advantage of the system. As such, it was an argument used as expediency demanded. The indefatigable Lord Houghton, for example, defended the much-criticised resignation bond on the grounds that the beneficiary of such an arrangement was the most qualified 'by age and education' to be given the incumbency: 'such a person was best fitted to meet the social and religious requirements

¹¹² Hansard, iii, 218 (1874), pp. 906, 15, 20; 1874 S.C., qq. 1260-1; W.T. Winnington-Ingram, Church Difficulties, p. 46.

¹¹³ Ibid., q. 617, 1879 Royal Commission, qq. 2737, 727; Bishop of Gloucester, Church Prospects, p.11.

¹¹⁴ 1874 S.C., q. 545.

of the locality'.¹¹⁵ The fundamental justification for private patronage, however, was the property right. It was therefore seen to have been perfectly legitimate for landowners to sell benefices or even the power of nomination. Arguments that a broader class than the gentry and the nobility thus was involved in the nomination, and that the Church was consequently enabled to draw upon new sources of wealth, were subordinate to the belief that it was the right of property that validated the process.

A priestly caste?

In resisting the reformers' arguments that alleged abuses would be corrected by an increase in episcopal power, the defenders of the traffic in livings took refuge in the tradition that the Church (that is, the clergy) should not be separated from the laity (that is, the class of patrons). Particularly in the 1870s, when debates over ritualism were at their most intense, the apologists for lay patronage - in all its aspects - were adamant that the existing system helped to soothe partisan feeling. A church stricken with theological and liturgical division (it was argued) needed at all costs to avoid the creation of an institutional structure in which preferment was monopolised by a monolithic authority.¹¹⁶

Private patrons ... provided some variety and fairness of dealing towards men of a different school of thought. It was of great importance to the Church of England that there should be a certain amount of independent patronage clear of the prevailing pattern - or rather, tone - of religious feeling.¹¹⁷

This argument was an extension of the view that the genius of Anglicanism was that it could lay claim to be a national church, and was not,

¹¹⁵ Hansard, iii, 224, p. 1206, my emphasis.

¹¹⁶ 1874 S.C., qq. 1671-5. In the Manchester diocese, the Bishop allowed one school to dominate, with the effect (so it was alleged) that the Church was isolated from potential supporters in the class of wealthy merchants and manufacturers. Wainwright to Wilberforce, 28 December, 1869, Gladstone MS. 4435, f. 119.

¹¹⁷ Hansard, iii, 311 (1887), p. 1049.

therefore, a priestly caste. Therefore it was thought that attempts to enlarge the powers of the bishop, at the expense of the laity, should be resisted. It was significant that one of the defenders of the existing system, in the House of Lords debates on the ill-fated bills to reform it, was the Marquis of Salisbury,¹¹⁸ whose writings had demonstrated a strongly-felt suspicion of episcopal power, despite, or rather because of, the fact that he was a high churchman.¹¹⁹ It was 'an application of his libertarian principle - an extension of the belief that the professional classes needed watching'.¹²⁰ The bishops such as Magee wanted more power largely to enable them to uphold a professional ideal - efficiency and accountability in the ranks of the clergy. As the debate in the 1870s demonstrated, it was a principle that was contrary to the customary laissez faire assumptions underlying the traditional procedures of appointments to incumbencies. Even the concept of efficiency was novel in this context. There was a parallel in the areas of military organisation and of public health:

Miss Nightingale's inclusion of 'efficiency' in the title of her Notes [1857] is one of the first uses of the word in its modern sense (it did not enter the official military vocabulary until 1864); her use of the word coinciding with the early moves to reform the civil service, universities and local government is a portent of things to come.¹²¹

In the Church of England, Magee's notion was somewhat at odds, as an ideal, with an older attitude shared by the moderate reformer, Mr Flew:

I object to the sort of doctrine, that in presenting a clergyman you are to look out for the best possible man. I hold that a

¹¹⁸ Hansard, iii, 218 (1878) pp. 913-4.

¹¹⁹ Maurice Cowling, Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England, Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 374-6.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 376.

¹²¹ F.B. Smith, Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power, Croom Helm, London and Canberra, 1983, p. 81.

patron has done his duty if he has chosen a fit and proper man, and I think that this sort of competitive examination in exercising the right of patronage is vicious and undesirable.¹²²

There was another aspect to this question of professional efficiency. Those who went further than Flew and defended the old system of nomination, in its entirety, believed that the Bishop's examination for ordination was sufficient guarantee of a clergyman's fitness.¹²³

Opposed to an all-powerful episcopate, Salisbury felt more strongly still about the advance of democracy.¹²⁴ He was not alone, for however much reformers might point to popular feeling outraged by this or that abuse of patronage, in the decade following the second Reform Act there was little support in the Church for an extension of the principle of popular election to the process of selection of incumbents. As a class, churchwardens were referred to slightly, by Mr Flew, as 'mostly men of low calibre'.¹²⁵ Electoral procedures involving parishioners would result in a clergyman's character becoming a topic of vulgar debate in 'The Blue Boar', according to a speaker in the House of Lords,¹²⁶ and if there were others who doubted whether the patrons of a local inn would concern themselves with such matters,¹²⁷ there seems to have been general agreement that, whatever were the problems of the existing methods of nomination, the answer was not to be found in democratising the process. Magee, for one, was worried about the professional standing and dignity of the clergy:

¹²² 1874 S.C., q. 934.

¹²³ 1879 Royal Commission, q. 1284; Hansard, iii, 312 (1887), p. 342; 224 (1875), p. 1207.

¹²⁴ Cowling, op. cit., pp. 362-73; Robert Taylor, Lord Salisbury, Allen Lane, London, 1975, chapters 1 and 2, and pp. 68-70.

¹²⁵ 1874 S.C., q. 934.

¹²⁶ Hansard, iii, 311 (1887), p. 686.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 1038.

This is the old democratic fallacy as to the virtue of numbers ... Bribery, intimidation and jobbery are things not altogether unknown at popular election ... It brings with it all the degrading incidents of public competition ... the public addresses of rival candidates, the house-to-house canvassing of electors, the trial sermon, the competition prayer ...¹²⁸

Speaking in the year of the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, he was worried, also, by the inflaming of party bitterness; a likely result, he believed, of popular election.¹²⁹

Conclusion

Thirty years later, discussions of ritual observance aired, once more, the question of parson's freehold. It is evident that, in the intervening period, opinion in the Church of England had changed. Witnesses before the 1905 Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline spoke critically of 'rectorcraft', a term that was used in significant contrast to 'priestcraft'. Lord Hugh Cecil claimed that 'the incumbent's position has become unwholesomely independent both of the bishop and the congregation'. It was not a new phenomenon in itself, but its evils had formerly been ameliorated by 'a much more general sense of obedience and discipline in the community generally and in the clergy amongst other people'. Ritual controversies had caused this aspect of rectorcraft to be emphasised, over the previous fifty years. It was claimed that, as a result, clergymen were often arrogant and over-bearing. The solution suggested was the institution of limited tenure, and (was it that thirty years of experience of democracy in the political nation had mollified fears in the Establishment?) lay participation in the decision whether or not to extend the rector's term of office.¹³⁰ The focus of the discussion of Church reform appears to have

¹²⁸ Ibid., 218 (1874), p. 913.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 914; see also Winnington-Ingram, op. cit., p. 22; letter from John Davenport, secretary, Bishop of Oxford, to Revd G. Venables, 22 March, 1879, 1879 Royal Commission, Appendix O, p. 115.

changed from the rights of property-owners and the privileges and status of the incumbent (including what was claimed to have been his highly desirable independence from his parishioners, and even from his diocesan) to the need to establish a rational system of discipline, and to the consequences of the fact that clergymen were subjected to the temptations that unlimited power (admittedly exercised within a narrow compass) had placed in their way.

130 Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons) 1906, Vols. xxxii and xxxiii, qq. 10421-7, 10510-71 (Cecil); 9179 (Cripps); 16369 (W. Sanday); 22502 (H.J. Torr); 22712 (D. Eyre of the Church Reform League).

PROFESSIONALISATION

In some ways, the ministry appeared to have been relatively successful in its adaptation to social change. As with law and medicine, it moved away from the model of a gentlemanly profession: for example, in the trend to provide ordination candidates with theological training, in the recognition of the qualities of efficiency and meritorious performance, and in the partial acknowledgement of the need for specialisation of function. In other (and more important) respects, however, the clerical order was unable to cope with the gathering forces of modernisation. Reduced incomes, a proliferation of rival occupations which enticed into their ranks would-be clerical recruits, and a demoralising sense of a continuous decline, both in the demand for the ordinances provided by the ministry, and in the deference given to those who served in it - these were the principal manifestations of the plight of the Anglican clergy on the eve of the Great War.

I

The professional model which had evolved by 1850 has been distinguished from the 'gentlemanly' professions of the eighteenth century and the bureaucratic and corporate professions of the twentieth.¹ In the Anglican ministry, the genteel nature of the earlier, Hanoverian professional type, was obviously derived from the intimate association of the beneficed clergy with the landed classes,² yet certain of the qualities of this clerical

1

Daniel Dumay, 'Pathway to professionalism: the English Bar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,' Journal of Social History, Vol. 13, no. 4 (Summer, 1980); Russell, op. cit., p. 17.

2

Russell, op.cit., pp. 18, 32-3, 35.

model were shared with barristers and city physicians who had no similar identification with the squirarchy. These common characteristics may be listed as follows: a liberal, general education by way of preparation, non-dependence of members on fees (which payments were, therefore, really honorariums),³ a lack of autonomy as regards one's client, and the high social status of the elite within the occupational group, yet a sharp differentiation, in social standing and income, between those who could be called leaders, and the journeymen practitioners.⁴ Law was the first profession to modernise. Before the nineteenth century opened, barristers were succeeding in establishing independence vis a vis their clientele.⁵ Moreover, lawyers created an esoteric system of knowledge, one which pre-dated similar developments in medicine, and achieved a powerful measure of self-government in membership, practice, and the guardianship of the store of specialised learning. Finally, individual merit and performance came to be determinants of one's standing in the profession.⁶ Physicians gradually followed suit. Some of the trails blazed by the barristers were pursued, eventually, by clergymen, although less decisively and successfully, and not without many backward glances at the gentlemanly ideal.⁷

³ The idea that a profession was an occupation which, by definition, was not the means by which a practitioner gained his daily bread, lingered on well into the next century. 'The Church is very materially helped by persons from the higher classes, who enter her ministry, not for the sake of a livelihood, but as a profession and a line of life.' 'Clericus,' A Letter on Two Present Needs of the Church, viz., Increase and Education of Clergy, London, 1846, p. 24.

⁴ Dumay, op. cit., pp. 615-6.

⁵ For attornies in the eighteenth century, see Michael Miles, 'A haven for the privileged': recruitment into the profession of attorney in England, 1709-1792,' Social History, Vol. 11, no. 2, May, 1986, pp. 197-210.

⁶ Dumay, op. cit., pp. 615-8; Russell, op. cit., p.17.

⁷ Russell, op. cit., pp. 47-8.

The clerical vocation

The difference between the clerical order and the related professions is most clearly evident in a study of motives - not only of those entering the ministry, but of those serving in it. Contrast the early nineteenth century casualness with the attitude of the Revd C.G. Crowley who had an ordinand, Reginald Broderick, in his parish. He was 'really keen and useful' in his work with young men and lads. Yet his vicar confessed:

I cannot feel that he is in any way whatever more prepared for the Priesthood than on the day he came ... He told Mr Burrows, head of the Leeds Clergy School, that he found it very irksome to have to visit. When visits are paid, I fear that they are almost ... wholly secular.

He had no conception of helping souls, nor any desire to convert the impenitent.

If I reckon rightly he is a good fellow, ordained deacon because his people have been mixing up a lot with clergy, and they thought he should be a clergyman and did not see what else he could be.

The higher expectations of a clergyman's duty and function - expectations implicit in this assessment of a candidate who, very probably, would have met the seemingly casual requirements of the Georgian episcopate - clearly emerge in a distinction which a pastoral theologian, in 1913, drew between well-meaning intentions and a vocation. Some, who were quite free of base motives,

it is possible, seek admission into the Ministry because they wish to devote all their time to the Work of God and because they think they see in it a wider sphere of usefulness, but they are not necessarily called. We may applaud the motive but doubt the reality of the call.

⁸ C.G. Crowley to Davidson, 28 December, 1896. Davidson, Ordination Papers, Lambeth Palace Library.

⁹ J.E. Watts-Ditchfield, The Church in Action: Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Cambridge, London, 1913, p. 2.

The new conscientiousness

In the late-nineteenth century Church, the need for a clergyman to have a calling, is exemplified by handbooks. Motivation was not even mentioned in one published in 1842; by 1898, however, vocation was given priority.¹⁰

One 'clerical barrister' recounted his experiences:

Some years ago I was unfortunately induced to enter the Church, and like many more having been from youth intended ... for the Church, I had never seriously thought of the step I was about to take ... but having taken Deacon's Orders, I was compelled to study theology more carefully. I then found many things with which I could not agree, and specially finding myself entirely unfitted for the work, I became so miserable¹¹ that I determined on no account to take Priest's Orders.

He claimed to know several clergymen in a similar position: their theological views had changed but, without private means 'and unable to enter any other profession', they had to choose between 'hypocrisy and starvation'. The issue seems to have become especially pertinent in the mid-Victorian Church because some - perhaps many - of the large number of clergy who had been ordained for 'conventional' reasons, were confronted with the greatly intensified theological debate of these years. Moreover, they had to live with the results of this confrontation in a ministry in which higher demands were made on its members, in terms both of doctrinal precision and performance of duty. Presumably in recognition of these developments, the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, in February, 1865, agreed to admit to the Bar clergymen who had '(as far as they can) abandoned the clerical profession'.¹²

Loftier standards of duty and commitment were, no doubt, the result of the influence of the Evangelical and Oxford Movements.¹³ The Evangelicals

¹⁰ Haig, op. cit., pp. 8-11.

¹¹ Letter: 'AZ', 'Clerical Barristers,' The Times, 29 November, 1864, 7b.
¹²

The Times, 17 February, 1865, 11f. See also 24 November, 1864, 9c; 25 November, 7f; 21 December, 1864, 12a.

(though not, perhaps, those who inclined to Tractarianism)¹⁴ were clearly responding to the Georgian clergy who were reputed to have taught 'little else but dry morality'.¹⁵ Yet Evangelicals, in turn, were causing a reaction, at least in the opinion of the admittedly Anglo-Catholic Liddon:

It is plain that the English people, just now, believe that enough attention has not been bestowed by their teachers on what are called in the Collect 'the fruits of good living'.¹⁶

Thus, 'two forms of moral excellence' were necessary in the clerical order: 'self-denying activity and disinterestedness'. Yet¹⁷

partly from an habitual national reserve, and partly from a dread of all unreality and cant in religious matters, it is usual even for religious Englishmen to avoid any reference whatever to their private spiritual life ... Any allusion to its existence is held to be of the nature [almost] of social impertinence ... Too often this reserve is but a screen ... to hide ... what is spiritual ruin.¹⁸

This, it is true, was seen primarily as a problem for the laity.

Nevertheless, it was from the laity that the clergy was drawn; moreover, the kind of reserve, described here, was a characteristic of the classes that, in the mid-Victorian period, still were the main source of

¹³ Elisabeth Jay, The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century Novel, Oxford University Press, pp. 31-2, 45-6, 54-7, 59-62, 69; Ian Bradley, The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians, Jonathan Cape, London, 1976, pp. 21-8, 59-66; Kitson Clark, op. cit. pp. 47-9; G. Battiscombe, John Keble: A Study in Limitations, London, Constable, 1963, pp. 158, 175-9; G. Rowell, The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 5-8, 36-7, 41-2, 116-140.

See Battiscombe, op. cit., pp. 143-4, on Keble's reserve, which, she states, has affected the ethos of the Church of England as a whole.

¹⁵ H.P. Liddon, The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges: A Sermon Preached at the Cuddesdon Anniversary Festival on 10 June, 1868, London, 1868, p. 16.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 17

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 21-2.

ordinands.¹⁹

Performance, reputation and ambition

Once law and medicine became, for the practitioners, the means of gaining a livelihood, meritorious performance affected the vital issue of one's professional standing; this, in turn, especially for lawyers, and even for physicians,²⁰ helped to legitimate ambition as a motive, both for those practising in the profession, and for those desiring to enter it. Thus, it might be thought, a gap was opened between law and medicine, on the one side, and, on the other, members of the clergy, all of whom were urged to eschew 'worldliness' and 'self-promotion'.²¹ Furthermore, in theory the idea of performance was irrelevant to what has been called a property profession.²² This point was made in the course of a turn-of-the-century controversy over taxation and the tithe rent charge. A 'tithe-payer' criticised the syllogism that an incumbent was a professional man, that his income was the tithe, and that, therefore, the tithe was a professional income. The basis of this criticism was that a clergyman's payment was not based on personal exertion.²³ It was a political and legal question. A similar point was made, more brutally, by a prosecuting solicitor in the course of his cross-examination of a Revd G. Collins, the defendant in a case of drunken and riotous behaviour in his Derbyshire parish: was his income not certain (he was asked), however offensive he was to his parishioners?²⁴

¹⁹ Towler and Coxon, op. cit., p. 21.

²⁰ Haig, op. cit., p. 16.

²¹ For example, Report of the Fifth Conference on the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders, held in the Examination Schools, Oxford, on January 13th and 14th, 1891, Oxford, 1891, pp. 42-3.

²² Offer, op. cit., p. 92.

²³ T.E.Rogers, 'The Tithe Rent Charge from a Tithe Payer's Point of View,' [Letter] Guardian, 16 February, 1898, p.241.

These related issues - professional competence and personal ambition - were, however, by no means considered to be irrelevant to the parish ministry. In 1863, in response to the gloomy prognostications of a lack of desirable positions in the Church, Robert Gregory opined:

There was no wonder that so many [clergymen] ... complain of their ill-requited labour ... Preferment ... does not bear that relation to merit that it ought, but even if it did there must annually be a large amount of merit passed over unrewarded.²⁵

J.J. Halcombe agreed: the need for more endowments was obvious. Loftier reasons for desiring to enter the clerical profession he treated almost off-handedly; the continuing appeal of the ministerial career to the upper classes was assumed:

Apart ... from higher motives, there is hardly a family in England of any social position which would not feel an immediate personal interest in the success of such a scheme.²⁶

The admitted need for new endowments was most strongly felt in urban areas. It was in these new parochial districts that the role of the clergyman was the most remote from the late eighteenth century ideal, not only in the practical reality of his living and working conditions, but in the ways in which it partially conformed to the sort of careerism more obviously evident in law and medicine. In 1891, a complaint was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Rector of Stockport had fraudulently obtained money from his curate, in order to build an iron chapel 'by which he secured money gain and earned advantage in his professional standing'.²⁷

²⁴ The Glossop-Dale Chronicle, North Derbyshire and North Cheshire Reporter, 4 October, 1889, p. 7.

²⁵ Guardian 17 September, 1863. A cleric wrote, in the same year: 'This is a state of things that may well startle those who have been accustomed to look upon the clerical profession, with its glittering prizes, as the most attractive of all the professions.' Quoted by Towler and Coxon, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁶ Letter, 'Clerical Incomes,' Guardian, 30 September, 1863, p. 403.

Although the means he had employed were censured by Benson's correspondent, there was no implication that the effects, which the chapel's construction were supposed to have had on the rector's career, were in any way improper or 'unclerical'. Nevertheless, in the same month, Archdeacon Sinclair claimed that, on the basis of thirteen years of observation in Westminster, a 'restless desire for promotion' was a common defect of character among younger clergymen.²⁸

Training for a learned profession

Professions differ from crafts to the extent that the profession is based on a theoretical body of knowledge. A practitioner must be able to exercise judgement, must show the ability to cope with the unfamiliar.²⁹ In 1830, Revd R.N. Adams identified the following qualities as those desirable in a cleric: 'solidity of judgement, accuracy of discrimination, and acuteness of reasoning'.³⁰ Liberal education, which inculcated these virtues, was said to be the foundation of all study. This was particularly so in the case of those undertaking a later course of theology, which was quite unlike law and medicine, for these disciplines were based upon 'difficult technicalities, which none but professional men can understand'. Theology, and the peculiar duties of the clerical profession, 'have for their foundation the liberal arts and sciences'.³¹ Given the relatively

²⁷ Charles G.K. Gillespie to Benson, 2 January, 1891, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 85, ff. 301-2; sworn statement of Revd C.G.K. Gillespie concerning the conduct towards him of Revd W. Symonds and W.G. Bridges, Ibid., ff. 303-8.

²⁸ Report of ... Conference on Training ... 1891, p. 55.

²⁹ Towler and Coxon, op. cit., p. 42; S. Ranson, A. Bryman, and Bob Hinings, Clergy, Ministers and Priests, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, p. 53.

³⁰ Revd R.N. Adams, The Qualifications for the Christian Ministry. A Sermon Preached at Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, on Commencement Sunday, 4 July, 1830, Cambridge, 1830, p. 4.

³¹ Dr Jebb, Report of Convocation of Canterbury on the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders, Guardian, 27 May, 1863, p. 503.

unscientific state of medicine and surgery when this statement was made, in 1863,³² it is a striking indication of how far theology and medicine were to diverge in their respective approaches to, and use of, scientific and technical expertise, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the early '60s, however, it was perfectly possible for theology's - and the ministry's - freedom from technical esotericism to be counted as the virtue of a liberal discipline par excellence. One reason for this was that in medicine (the profession that was the closest, in many respects, to the clerical order), scientific training and method, and the public's perception of medical practitioners as scientific experts, were developments that lay in the future, despite Jebb's opinion.³³ In 1868, in arguing that a liberal education was necessary preparation for the clergyman if he were to fulfil his prophetic office, H.P. Liddon saw no incongruity in using a medical metaphor: the ministry, he claimed, was not a 'random proclamation of a scientific discovery', but the careful adaptation of a Divine remedy to the wants of a patient'.³⁴ In the '60s, the drawing of such a parallel with another liberal profession could have been seen as a legitimate means to clarify the clergyman's function; half a century later, it would have been thought, at best, as inappropriate. The importance placed upon an ordinand's liberal education was such that any distractions from their undergraduate studies, even those relevant to their professional careers, were not to be tolerated. 'Training in Homiletics could hardly be given during a University course,' the 1891 Oxford Conference was informed, 'because education then became over-specialised; the broad culture, which was so necessary, would be diminished.'³⁵

³² A.J. Youngsen, The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine, London, Croom Helm, 1979, pp. 154-5, 157-60, 186, 226-30.

³³ Ibid., chapter 1, passim, but especially pp. 14-5, 17, 20.

³⁴ Liddon, op. cit., pp. 14-5.

Towards the end of the century, the definition of a broad education changed somewhat; it was extended to include at least informal studies in political economy. Archbishop Davidson, in particular, gave these high priority.³⁶ It is not surprising that such a course of reading was believed to be useful to the clergy at the time of the turn-of-the-century agonising over the 'condition of England' question.³⁷ It carried a justification that was similar, in two respects, to that tirelessly pleaded on behalf of the classical curriculum. First, the study of economics and society enabled clergy (it was hoped) to reach, and influence, the working classes:³⁸ traditional liberal education was said to give one a knowledge of the world and to impart human sympathy, precisely as the study of 'social questions', later, was supposed to do. Secondly, by 1900, many believed that knowledge of economics was part of the intellectual equipment of the educated man.

A liberal education was, therefore, a necessary pre-requisite for a

³⁵ Report of ... Conference .. on Training ... 1891, p. 112; see also p. 86, and Watts-Ditchfield, op. cit., p. 11.

³⁶ Davidson, *Ordination Candidates*, I, pp. 23, 43 (Peter Green, 23 years, was a 'fine fellow, full of social ideas and thoughts. The very sort of man we want.'), 58, 79, II, 282. In 1890, E.W. Benson wrote to Professor Wescott that 'our clergy are dropping quite behind their ordinary Laity in notions of Industrial Economics'. Benson thought that the cause was certain views on charity entertained by certain clergymen, views that were 'a corrupting and depressing force among our swarms of poor'. Benson to Wescott, 18 January, 1890, quoted in A.C. Benson, The Life of Edward White Benson Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, London, Macmillan, 1899, Vol II, p. 295. The same point had been made by R.F. Littledale in 1871: 'A majority of English clergy, through their ignorance of political oeconomy, are quite blind to the large share they have in maintaining ... pauperism ... by indiscriminate almsgiving.' Secular Studies, p.19.

³⁷ Watts-Ditchfield, op. cit., pp. 87, 88-90. The Rev. W.H. Fremantle's Bampton lectures of 1883, within ten years, came to be 'considered one of the great inspirational pieces of ... Social Christianity ... For Fremantle, Christianity was primarily a way of life, and as such must infuse the body of believers with a will to action for the betterment of their fellows.' Paul T. Phillips, 'The Concept of a National Church in Late Nineteenth Century England and America,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 14 (June, 1986), pp. 26-7. Fremantle's idea of a national church had roots as diverse and as venerable as Thomas Arnold, S.T. Coleridge, and even

(Footnote continued)

clergyman, more so than for members of the allied professions. Although an education that was merely professional was always undesirable, according to T.E. Espin in 1863, a lawyer or physician need not necessarily be inferior in his art because he has learned nothing else. Theology, however, was at the keystone of the arch which was built up by the liberal arts. Studied first, or alone, it narrowed the mind and hardened the heart. If this were the only real education given to a young man, 'he will hardly escape strongly marked party sympathies, exclusively professional habits of thought and feeling, - all of which ... constitute a priestly caste'.³⁹ Anglicanism's status as an established, national religion made it essential, first, that it pursue the objectives of doctrinal breadth and comprehensiveness, and secondly, that it stake out a claim for the allegiance of the governing classes. Party narrowness was destructive of the former and a seminarily trained priesthood would have compromised the latter.

Theological training and a learned profession

Canon Bernard told the 1891 Oxford Conference on clerical training that he believed that there were two possible ways to deal with growing unbelief in society; either to meet objections to the faith with the weight of authority and definite dogmatic teaching, or to find out the origins and significance of objections, and to approach them by a deep search of revelation. 'The second way can be taken only by those who have built their theology on a basis of general culture, and for whom theology is a science.'⁴⁰

³⁷ (continued)

Richard Hooker, *ibid.*, and the tradition of the Anglican parish itself. Kitson Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-1.

³⁸ Watts-Ditchfield, *loc. cit.*

³⁹ Our want of clergy ..., p. 9.

⁴⁰ Report ... conference .. Oxford ... 1891, p. 98.

The first of Canon Bernard's possible strategies was impractical, because by the end of the century it was evident that urbanisation, the popular press, mass literacy, and franchise reform had eroded the Church's authority.⁴¹ Ordinands needed, therefore, not only a general, liberal education but thorough and scholarly instruction in theology. This was possible because of the rich heritage of learning that the discipline had bequeathed to the late nineteenth century.⁴² Therefore, theological students needed to be encouraged to acquire a 'scholar-like appetite' and to eschew 'cramming'. The study of special subjects achieved this, and took students from the 'mere text books to the better Commentaries'.⁴³ The clergyman's role as a teacher made it necessary that he have 'clear intellectual convictions'; in him was no 'mediocrity, feebleness, compromise nor timidity'; he had 'candour, liberty, force'.⁴⁴ These characteristics, strikingly similar to those that distinguished the ideal Anglican clergyman as he was perceived by the world beyond the theological college, were contrasted⁴⁵ with those of an eclectic, who chose only a part of a system, and was consequently feeble when he came into contact with other angles of the great system of truth. He was not, as a result, an effective instructor in the faith.

Specialised expertise

In spite of the commitment to the classical curriculum, those responsible for the training of Anglican ordinands came to believe that the cultivation

⁴¹ See pp. 35-88.

⁴² Lord Arthur Hervey, Address of the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Revd Bishop of Bath and Wells to the Students of the Theological College at the Opening of the Chapel in the Vicar's Close, 2 February, 1876, Wells, n.d., pp. 6-7.

⁴³ Professor Plumptre, Report ... Conference ... Cambridge ... 1891, p. 43.

⁴⁴ Canon Furse, *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

of technical expertise should constitute part of the preparation for the ministry. Pastoral work was the subject of scrutiny, in this connection, with a view to improving its efficiency (by inducing clergymen to be more methodical in their visiting) and its effectiveness (by teaching ordination candidates psychology).⁴⁶

The most urgent matter, however, appears to have been the improvement of preaching. The crude, mechanistic approach was of course deprecated.⁴⁷ The examining chaplain of the Bishop of Truro, Canon Mason, confessed that he was never taught how to make a sermon. Except on one or two occasions, he had not had to teach it to others. Yet even he, who believed that the 'training of the ministerial character' imparted, in itself, the appropriate preaching skills, acknowledged that reading classes ought to be an essential part of every divinity school.⁴⁸ In colleges designed to cater mainly for literates, the emphasis upon 'such practical preparations as reading, expounding and composition of sermons' was, naturally, greater;⁴⁹ nevertheless, college courses were needed for graduates, because of the deficiencies of the universities in what was (significantly) described as technical training.⁵⁰ By the turn of the century, it was expected⁵¹ that

⁴⁶ Canon G.H.G. Anson, Report ... Conference ... Oxford ... 1891, p. 54; CSS Leaflet no. 58, Pastoral Theology (April, 1914).

⁴⁷ That is, the giving of formulas for the achievement of a limited objective. D.H. Munro, 'Pawns against the devil,' E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education 1963, Melbourne University Press, 1963, pp. 25-6.

⁴⁸ Report ... of ... Conference ... on Training ... 1891, pp. 57-64.

⁴⁹ Canon Saumarez Smith claimed that his introduction of the Preliminary Examination course at St. Aidan's had had the effect of diverting the attention of the students from general Biblical lectures, special pastoral instruction and practical subjects. Report of the first Conference upon the training of Candidates for Holy Orders held in the Divinity School, Cambridge, on April 16th and 27th, 1881, n.p., n.d., p. 33.

⁵⁰ Revd W. Stanley, Report of ... Conference ... Oxford ... 1891, pp. 89-90. See prospectus for Wells Theological College, c. 1850, in which it was stated that 'particular attention is paid to the subject of practical

(Footnote continued)

ordinands should demonstrate that they had elocutionary skills of a reasonable standard.⁵² This concern, by the authorities, may have been the result of a decline in the quality of candidates,⁵³ thus making it necessary for instruction to be given in skills that once could have been taken for granted. More important causes, however, were, first, a change in the taste of congregations, and secondly, a perception that a wider audience demanded different styles of preaching. In the mid-nineteenth century, clergymen adopted 'a style of address which would recommend their discourses more readily to working men'.⁵⁴ In 1879, Canon Hole asked Mr Gladstone if he would allow the canon's book on hints to preachers to be dedicated to him; in making this request, Hole reminded Gladstone of the celebrated Dr. Dollinger's warning: 'Depend upon it, if the Church of England is to make way and be called a National Church, the clergy must give up the practice of preaching written sermons.'⁵⁵ The same words were quoted in a lecture to the Cambridge Divinity School, in 1913.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ (continued)

or pastoral theology ...' encl. in Bliss Correspondence, British Library MS. 34578 f.47.

⁵¹ Perhaps unfairly: a response to a query from Archbishop Benson about the extent of help given to young clergymen in their preaching, revealed that, in one diocese, a scheme more than thirty years old was being adapted for use; such preparation that ordinands received did not involve giving ideas for sermons, nor did it raise matters of voice production, manner in the pulpit, or pronunciation. George Farmer to Benson, 13 March, 1893, Benson Correspondence, Vol 119, f. 19.

⁵² Although W.T. Martin was 'clearly in earnest', evidence of an improvement in his reading and speaking proficiency was 'essential'. Davidson, Ordination Candidates, II, p. 28; J.E.G. Wootton's bad stammer was said to be a barrier to his ordination, *ibid.*, p. 60; Frederick Smith's reading was criticised at length, *ibid.*, p. 78; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 82, 84, 86. Of A.A. Midwinter, Davidson wrote: 'Throat difficulty - thickness and poorness of utterance. I could not ordain a man with such a remedial difficulty.' *ibid.*, p. 270. See also William Collis to Davidson, 24 June, 1905, Davidson Ordination Papers, 1904/5.

⁵³ See below, pp. 144-8.

⁵⁴ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 96; see also comments of Revd R.B. Girdlestone, Conference ... Cambridge ... 1881, p. 45, justifying the study of Evidences as part of a general course of reading 'at a time when artisans of the

(Footnote continued)

The demand for training in specific skills represented a sharp break with the view that a general education was sufficient preparation for the ministry, even if, as in the ideal arrangement, the specialised training were undertaken after graduation. Moreover, the old view - that a classical education was all that was required for a clergyman - was consistent with the mores of the 'hey-day of the period of the gentleman-parson', when 'the question of what such a person did was patently absurd'.⁵⁷ In the mid-nineteenth century, however, secular scholarship was beginning to assert its independence, and specialisation developed,⁵⁸ and in the modern state, occupations are increasingly defined by particular skills.⁵⁹ Late-twentieth century society is oriented to achievement, not ascription: what one does is more important than what one is.⁶⁰ Thus, the attempts to establish areas of expertise and specialisation in the ministry may be seen as part of a long-term historical trend, in society at large, as well as in the professions themselves. The transitional nature of the professional status of the ministry at the turn of the century - between, in other words, the generalist and the specialist - was encapsulated in the remarks made by Alfred Barry at the 1881 conference. They were training men for a calling that was one of 'representation and leadership', rather than 'distinctiveness and isolation'. Still, training was for a special

⁵⁴ (continued)

large towns were perfectly familiar with sceptical objections to Christianity'.

⁵⁵ Hole to Gladstone, 6 December, 1879, Gladstone MS 44461, f. 207.

⁵⁶ Watts-Ditchfield, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵⁷ Towler and Coxon, op. cit., p. 49.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 17-8; Lucas, op. cit., p. 330.

⁵⁹ Towler and Coxon, op. cit., p. 53; Russell, op. cit., p. 235.

⁶⁰ R. Towler, 'The Role of the Clergy,' Nicholas Lash and Joseph Rhymer (eds.), The Christian Priesthood, London, Darton Longman and Todd, 1970, p. 178.

vocation: 'as clerics we are to be experts in distinction from laymen'; therefore, the education of ordinands had to be technical.⁶¹

Specialisation of function

According to Anthony Russell, specialisation within individual professions is a twentieth century development.⁶² The beginnings of this process can be seen in the late Victorian ministry. One area which the trend to specialisation affected, at an early stage, was social work. Originally the Church's prerogative, this was seen to require the application of scientific principles and systematic organisational procedures, in place of the old idea of individual, voluntary philanthropy. Thus the State moved in, replacing the Church.⁶³ Even when parochial clergymen continued to provide social welfare, however, a more 'professional', that is, specialised, approach is evident.⁶⁴

Despite the occasional suggestion that team ministries ought to have been deployed (with a view to encouraging skilled preachers, or pastors, or administrators, or those with a sense of mission to a particular group - men, the working classes, and so on - to concentrate their efforts accordingly),⁶⁵ specialisation in the clerical order did not develop to the extent that it did in law, medicine and engineering. The reason was the Anglican commitment to the parochial system. When, occasionally, there was a departure from the ideal of a general ministry, and particular kinds of ministry were envisaged, there was little indication that this was done

⁶¹ Conference ... Cambridge ... 1881, pp. 8-9.

⁶² Op. cit., p. 254.

⁶³ Kitson Clark, op. cit., p. 274.

⁶⁴ Witness the range of parochial organisations, in late 19th century parishes. They were under the nominal control of the incumbent, but laymen were involved in them to an extent unheard of in the villages two or three generations previously. See above, pp.

⁶⁵ see pp. 81-2,

because - as in other professions - the complexity of technical knowledge made specialisation necessary. In the ministry it was the reverse. Men of inferior quality, socially or intellectually, wished to be ordained. Some believed that such could be used in home or foreign mission work. Davidson noted the following, of a candidate Robert Dans: 'A remarkable man - simple, robust, honourable, earnest. Wants to do mission work amongst rough people. Ought in that capacity to do well.'⁶⁶

Set apart

Deploring the 'distracting and secularising tendency' of 'collateral pursuits' (tuition and agriculture) which clergymen were forced to undertake for financial reasons, Canon Stowell, in 1866, opined that a priest ought to be a man of 'one motive, one purpose, one pursuit'.⁶⁷ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the clerical order developed its own professional sub-culture.⁶⁸ Nowhere was this more evident than in the clergy's recreations. In the Victorian Church, there was general disapproval of hunting as a clerical pastime. In view of its importance in rural society, and the deserved reputation that eighteenth and early nineteenth century parsons had for enthusiastic participation in it,⁶⁹ this, in itself, was something of a revolution. It was brought about largely because of the higher expectations, in Church and society, of the clergyman's duties.⁷⁰ Although T. Espin, in 1863, stated that the work of the minister was practical, and that 'never surely had the clergyman

⁶⁶ Davidson, *Ordination Candidates I*, p. 6 (Kennington Park Rd., 7 March, 1895). My emphasis.

⁶⁷ Supply and Training, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-8; Haig, *op. cit.*, 18-9.

⁶⁹ Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-7; Pamela Horn, The Rural World 1780-1850: Social Change in the English Countryside, London, Hutchinson, 1980, pp. 172-3.

⁷⁰ Russell, *loc. cit.*; see above, pp. 123-4.

greater or more prospects of usefulness and success', he believed that the life of the priest 'must be drawn within stricter lines than that of other men'.⁷¹ The specialised training, the idea of the dedicated life, were pleaded as a defence of the clerical order's professional autonomy, when such was believed to be under attack, as, for example, in the proposals to introduce church boards.⁷² The growing burden of duty in large urban parishes resulted in the frequent calls for use to be made of 'the lay agency', yet this did not mean that work had to be found for 'clerically minded laymen'. On the contrary:

I am stating this as a matter of fact, not in a professional or sacerdotal spirit, nor in the idea of jealous antagonism or rivalry. The rule of the Church, and of the State too, is to reserve certain functions for the Clergy ...⁷³

In 1881, Professor Plumptre seems to have thought that the clerical trend to holy separateness had gone too far. 'It was easy to understand the tone of mind which desired to lead men apart, but our Lord did not call the disciples away entirely from practical work into the Mountain.'⁷⁴

In the evolution of a clerical, professional sub-culture, theological colleges, rapidly increasing in number and importance in the Victorian Church, played an essential part. A college such as Cuddesdon imparted a system of devotion, discipline, conduct, life; by such a rule men would be braced and elevated.⁷⁵ In 1858, Liddon tried to distinguish between Christian and pagan manliness. Objections that Cuddesdon men were 'unmanly' arose from a general recognition that its students had 'more control over

⁷¹ Op cit., p. 19.

⁷² J.J. Hulme, Church Boards ..., p. 10.

⁷³ Address of Bishop, Minutes of the Oxford Diocesan Conference held on 26 and 27 September, 1889, Oxford, n.d., p. 12.

⁷⁴ Conference ... Cambridge ... 1881, p. 24.

⁷⁵ Liddon, The Moral Groundwork ..., p. 18.

mere animal spirits and energy than many of their fellow clergy'. Their 'common tone of mind' was surely superior to the 'free and easy clerical jauntiness' with which his own Oxford experience had made him familiar.⁷⁶ In 1891, Cuddesdon's Principal, the Revd W.M.G. Ducat, acknowledged the strength of the Anglican clerical tradition, in claiming that, at College, a 'manly Christian character should be developed, such as would instinctively avoid an unnatural or official demeanour'. The best way to acquire it was participation in the common life of a college such as Cuddesdon. This sort of experience the university could not supply.⁷⁷ Yet corporate college life created problems. The effete, 'unmanly' attitudes and bearing of some Cuddesdon students worried Wilberforce; he was as anxious to avoid a 'Cuddesdon stamp' on clergymen as he was to raise the clerical tone.⁷⁸

The perceptions, by those responsible for the training of ordinands, of a separate and identifiable clerical order, were matched in society at large. A clerical mode of behaviour became de rigeur. Occasionally, distinctions were made within the ranks: a gamekeeper and a rat-catcher giving evidence to a commission in Lincoln inquiring into the alleged misconduct of a certain Canon Moor, deposed that they had seen Canon Moor perpetrate certain familiarities 'which would have been all right in a curate'.⁷⁹ Whilst denying that these familiarities were followed by any act of indecency, as alleged, Moor described them as 'unwise but perfectly harmless'.⁸⁰ Generally, however, clergymen in Victorian England, be they

⁷⁶ Liddon to Wilberforce, 19 November, 1858, Wilberforce MS., d.40, f.184.

⁷⁷ Report ... Conference ... Oxford ... 1891, pp. 51-2.

⁷⁸ Wilberforce to Liddon, 20 November, 1858, Wilberforce MS., d.40, f.194.

⁷⁹ Encl. in C. Moor to Davidson, 25 May, 1906, Davidson Correspondence, Vol. 118, f. 266.

beneficed or merely assistant curates, were expected to keep themselves apart, if not actually aloof, from their parishioners. On those occasions when priests were brought before the courts on charges of misconduct, relatively harmless breaches of this code were frequently admitted, breaches that had been the subject of misrepresentation, it was (often) claimed by the defendant. In 1855, the Revd Robert West was charged with 'habitually drinking to excess' and actually 'degrading himself as a clergyman of the Church of England by undue familiarity with his servants' and by 'brawling, quarrelling, smiting and by habitually swearing'. Although the charge of excessive familiarity probably would not have been preferred without the more serious allegation of drunkenness, it was seen to sustain it. West defended his behaviour under the former head by claiming that he 'was brought up on the Continent', and that, although 'rather excitable', he was 'of a kind and open-hearted nature', possessed of 'great frankness of manner', and very 'affable to all persons'. His style of conversation was 'lively and energetic'.⁸¹ Charged with adultery, and with 'conducting himself with undue and improper familiarity', the Revd J.C. Edwards claimed that his 'manifestations of kindness and freedom of manner' had been characterised as levity and sin by 'men and women of an opposite temperament, and more especially narrow-minded and evil-disposed persons' including 'cloistered ecclesiastics' whose pride he contrasted with the 'vocation of the Christian pastor'.⁸²

⁸⁰ Moor to Davidson, loc. cit.

⁸¹ Court of Arches/ 5150 / Johnson versus West, H 842 1855.

⁸² Court of Arches / 6450 / Moss versus Edwards H 926 / 1-66 1868. See also Court of Arches / 6706 Norwich versus Pearse H 916 / 1-45 1868, Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette, 21 December, 1867, and 30 May, 1868; case of Revd C. Young see Retford and Worksop Herald, 2 November, 1901, p. 6 d; case of 'the smoking parson', see The Weekly Guardian (Edmonton), 10 September, 1897; for a controversy over clerical moustaches, see Guardian, 21 March, 1906, p. 498; 28 March, p. 543, 4 April, p. 583; 11 April, p. 623.

III

These extensive discussions about the professional role of clergymen took place against a background of a serious decline in clerical status. True, about 1850, it might have seemed that the prestige of the clergy had never been higher. Moreover, that manifestation of decline probably most obvious to contemporaries - the level of stipends - was not apparent until the last three decades of Victoria's reign. There were, however, long-term trends that had the effect of lowering the status of the ministerial office, and these were evident at an early stage in the period under review.

The decline in stipends

Despite the complaint, in 1862, that there were too many incumbencies, inadequately endowed,⁸³ it still seemed, to large numbers of assistant curates, that there were not enough livings of any sort to give them very much hope of acquiring a benefice. As a result, 'the clerical profession is come to be regarded by prudent parents as the most precarious of all vocations,' in the view of that doughty champion of the unbeneficed journeymen parsons,⁸⁴ J.J. Halcombe. This was said to have been the result of the consistent effort of Churchmen to carry on the work of Church extension by employing additional curates, instead of providing more incumbencies.⁸⁵

Even before the serious decline in stipends occurred (in the period beginning in the late 1870s),⁸⁶ their inadequacy concerned many.⁸⁷ The

⁸³ Stowell, op. cit., p. 5; Ince, Holy Orders ..., p. 8.

⁸⁴ Haig, op. cit., p. 17.

⁸⁵ The Clergy. Too Many and too Few, p. 3.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 113.

scantiness of the support of the clergy, wrote Canon Stowell in 1863, was aggravated by 'the more costly scale of modern social life'.⁸⁸ In a commercial country such as England, the monetary standard was applied to social relationships: voluntary poverty was counted as an eccentricity, and a parson who was seen to be shabby-genteel, or who was in debt, was unable to exert influence at any level. His family would be excluded from the society of the rich, even if he were tolerated himself, and the poor would follow in the lead of the rich and treat him with contempt.⁸⁹ Clergymen were trapped: customary notions of their social position lingered long after their incomes allowed them to live up to it - as late as 1900 a diocesan committee reported with some incredulity that 'even retail trade' was competing with the professions, and especially the ministry, for recruits.⁹⁰ The effect of the gap between the stipend and their nominal social position, was the destruction (so it seemed to contemporaries) of their traditional function of quiet, pervasive influence. 'Clerical poverty ... is too sad and too true,' acknowledged E.W. Benson, in 1869.⁹¹ In one

⁸⁷
⁸⁷ (continued)

For example, the Revd J.E. Edmonds, curate of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, in the 1850s, was a man 'whom neither the Church nor the world knows anything about and neither ... has smiled on him.' 'After many years of labour, and extreme self-denial in the Church,' he was 'worthy of something better'. He had a large family, and a wife 'completely paralysed and helpless'. Interceding with Keble on his behalf, his champion wrote: 'I believe that he lives worse than a day labourer.' King to Heygate, n.d. (1858) encl. Heygate to Keble, 20 October, 1858, Keble Correspondence: 97.

⁸⁸ Supply and Training of Ministers, p. 3.

⁸⁹ Littledale, Secular Studies, p. 21. Explaining his broken marriage, Revd Bryan O'Malley claimed that his wife had alleged that 'I had made her do household work and gardening, and that she was not in society and that she was starved on the stipend of the Church ...' O'Malley vs Norwich, Court of Arches / 6764 Hh 28, Affidavit of appellant, 15 March 1892, paper 22.

⁹⁰ Winchester Diocesan Conference, Report of the Committee on the Supply of Candidates for Holy Orders, p. 5, encl., Davidson Correspondence, vol. 72, ff. 318-22.

⁹¹ Benson to Miss E. Wordsworth, 27 November, 1869, A.C. Benson, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 322, see also *ibid.*, pp. 478-9; on the case of Revd L.
(Footnote continued)

remote country parish which A.C. Benson visited with his father, the vicar was evidently a man of some education, but 'completely worsted in his struggle with grinding poverty'. In Moolah, in Kent, J.W. Ebbsworth was accused, in 1894, of scandalous and irreverent conduct in church. This consisted of denunciations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of various members of his congregation, particularly one churchwarden. His eccentricity bordered on insanity; his wife was bedridden and he was chronically ill. The parish comprised mainly farm labourers; there were only two resident tenant farmers. The living had been detached from another, and when this had occurred the proprietor had driven a very hard bargain. In recent years, the income had been almost nothing. The church at Moolah was

dilapidated and filthy beyond description. The churchwardens affirm that he never allowed anyone so much as to tidy it, still less clean it. Upon the Holy Table I found matches, torn paper, dirty books. There are holes in the ceiling, and some of the masonry should be looked to.

Sick and virtually penniless, Ebbsworth had evidently been driven to his unhappy condition by years of isolation, poverty and loneliness. Yet once he had antiquarian interests: he had corresponded with W.C. Hazlitt on scholarly subjects.⁹²

Ebbsworth's case was, admittedly, extreme, but reports of clerical hardship abounded at the turn of the century. Assistant curates were at the bottom of a very elongated pyramid. Hardworking clergymen, who for decades had been passed over for preferment, sometimes were alleged to be the

⁹¹ (continued)

Rugg, see The Consecration of Churches. Correspondence with the Bishop of Winchester and Protest of the Incumbent against the Consecration of a Church at Sydonton, in Hants., London, Joseph Masters and Son, Newbury, 1865, p. 13.

⁹² Lee v. Ebbsworth, 1893, Court of Arches / 5576/ Hh32; J.W. Ebbsworth to W.C. Hazlitt, 10 March, 1874, Hazlitt Correspondence, Vol. V, Add. MSS. 38,902 (British Library).

victims of exploitation by their rectors.⁹³ One, 'though [relatively] fairly well paid,' had only L12 a year to provide for a household comprising his wife and three children.⁹⁴ For many beneficed clergymen in the 1890s, however, the situation was hardly better. The subjecting of the income from the tithe rent charge to a rate based on its full value, often resulted in the incumbent's liability exceeding his disposable income, burdened as this frequently was with a curate's stipend and, perhaps, the upkeep of a large benefice house built in the palmy days of rural prosperity and clerical abundance.⁹⁵ The result was the welling up, amongst parish clergymen, of a mass movement of protest - the Federation to Free Clerical Income from the Rates. This was a new departure: the debate on clerical incomes had hitherto been conducted along traditional Radical lines, reminiscent, in another context, of early nineteenth century objections to the aristocracy and the monarchy.⁹⁶ In the federation's rhetoric, blame for the hardships of parochial clergy was attributed to government neglect, which in turn resulted from the alleged belief of the Marquis of Salisbury that clergymen were helpless. 'The Government ... thought that we would never combine because as a rule the clergy have never combined.'⁹⁷ Although it is true that Prebendary Salmon claimed that members of the federation were acting from the interests of justice, not class, there was little in this statement that distinguishes this protest movement from those in the secular world.⁹⁸ In establishing this pressure

⁹³ For example, Derbyshire Times, 9 March, 1907, p. 7e.

⁹⁴ The Times, 1 December, p. 14c, 9 December, p. 14e, 1910; see also Guardian, 25 March, p. 540, 5 September, pp. 1437-8, 1906.

⁹⁵ Offer, op. cit., p. 92; Maurice Bridgeman, letter: 'Clerical Burdens', Guardian, 18 July, 1906, p. 1208.

⁹⁶ For example, F.B. Smith, Radical Artisan: William James Linton 1812-97, Manchester University Press, 1973, pp. 29-33.

⁹⁷ Guardian, 22 June, 1898, p. 978.

group, the object of which was to lobby Parliament for pecuniary ends, benefited clergymen were responding to their personal financial crisis in a way that was akin to the aims, tactics and assumptions of bureaucratic professional organisations, even of trade unions, in a twentieth century state. It was a new role for the parish ministry. One problem facing the Church with regard to the low level of stipends was identified, in the year after the Federation's agitation, as being 'the natural reluctance of the clergy to plead for themselves'.⁹⁹ The significance of the new movement was not lost on the Guardian, which lectured the Federation's protesters that their actions demonstrated that too much emphasis was being placed upon the emoluments of office, and insufficient attention paid to its duties. Financial worries were producing a 'querulous and uncharitable temper'.¹⁰⁰ A correspondent agreed - the language of the protest was intemperate: the clergymen responsible resembled 'prizefighters'.¹⁰¹ In 1899, the government decided to rebate half the rates of the residential clergy, although traditional sympathies (for the Church and landed interest) in the Unionist ministry of 1895-1905, were probably mainly responsible for this apparent victory for the federation.¹⁰²

The financial hardships of the clergy were reflected in the relative poverty of ordination candidates, as the Church ceased to attract very many sons of the wealthy or even of the comfortable classes. Appeals for funds for ordinands, to enable them to continue their studies, were

⁹⁸ See Guardian, 1898: 26 January, p. 137; 2 February, p. 153; 9 February, p. 105; 16 February, p. 240; 11 May, p. 701, 22 June, pp. 957, 978-80.

⁹⁹ Worcester Diocesan Conference, Report of the Lay Work Committee with an Appendix on Lay Ministerial Offices Prepared by Mr. S. Royle Shore for the Information of the Committee, Birmingham, n.d. My emphasis.

¹⁰⁰ Guardian, 19 January, 1898, pp. 85-6.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 9 March, 1898, p. 302.

¹⁰² Offer, op. cit., pp. 210-11, 213.

commonplace.¹⁰³ Canon Scott Holland urged London parents to consider Kings College, London, if they were deterred by the expense of an Oxford or Cambridge degree for their sons who wished to be ordained. Its graduates would not (he conceded) enjoy the same advantages as those from the older institutions, but the London B.A. and B.D. courses were an admirable preparation.¹⁰⁴ To the extent that the clerical order was still self-recruiting, it was so mainly because entrance standards had declined. A number of clergymen's sons examined by Davidson, at the turn of the century, were often without private means,¹⁰⁵ or even deficient in their education because of their fathers' financial situation.¹⁰⁶ One, for example, was the son of a curate 'who had brought up his family with great self-denial'.¹⁰⁷ It was claimed, about 1900, that there were Christian gentlemen by birth and breeding, anxious to be ordained but 'too hopelessly impecunious to undertake it: they were sons of clergymen, officers and other professional men'. The burden of a father having to tell his son that the family's poverty would prevent his entering the ministry, was particularly heavy for a parent who was in Orders.¹⁰⁸ The 'lamentable financial position of the clergy' was said to have been the chief reason for the serious drop in the number of ordination candidates after 1897.¹⁰⁹

103 For example, Guardian, 3 January, p. 26, 17 January, p. 118; 21 March, 1906. See also E.H. Knowles (Principal, St. Bees) to Benson, 7 September, 1892, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 117, f. 373; Conference upon the training of candidates for Holy Orders, p. 4 encl., *ibid.*, vol. 109, f. 401-4; Wescott to Benson, 14 January, 1890, *ibid.*, vol. 85, f. 114; V.H. White to Mr White-Thomson, Ely College, 15 June, 1892, encl., *ibid.*, vol. 109, f. 434.

104 Guardian 28 February, 1906, p. 394.

105 Davidson, Ordination Books, I, pp. 15, 28; II, 12, 170.

106 *Ibid.*, I, p. 156.

107 A.L. Irmey to Davidson, 19 November, 1903, Davidson, Ordination Papers, p. 75, envelope 6 (1902/6)

108 W. Ayhurst, On the Need for a Theological Correspondence College, encl. Davidson Correspondence, Vol. 72, f. 240.

The tragedy of Ebbsworth in Moolah illustrated a further problem caused by pathetically inadequate stipends - the absence of a pension scheme such as would have enabled old, worn-out men to retire. In Kingsdon, Somersetshire, the parish was entirely neglected by the 87 year old incumbent. Occasionally, in cases of this sort, neighbouring clergy, or the rector's wife and daughters, would maintain some kind of duty; in this instance, however, the neighbouring gentry and clergy would have nothing to do with him, because of his reputation, and members of his family were as little respected as himself.¹¹⁰ Higher standards of work, more precise definition of clerical duties, inability (because of straitened circumstances) to employ assistant curates, and a disinclination by society at large to accept the old view that ownership of a benefice implied a right to occupy it without regard to professional performance, all combined to focus attention on the question of superannuation, the absence of which was said to explain the reluctance of parents to encourage their sons to seek ordination.¹¹¹

Rival professions

As early as 1863, it was clear to T.E. Espin that the relative position of Holy Orders, in a worldly sense, had fallen: 'trade turns over larger sums, involves mightier interests, presents quicker returns to industry and enterprise and is held in much higher estimation'.¹¹² One of the reasons for the presumed decline in the number of men entering the ministry was said, in the 1860s, to have been the institution of competitive examinations in the Civil Service.¹¹³ Advancement on the basis of merit had

109 Winchester, Report, p. 2, *ibid*.

110 M.J. Neale to Benson, 20 February, 1892, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 109, f. 234.

111 Winchester, Report, p. 5, *ibid*.

112 Our Want of Clergy, p. 7.

particularly strong attractions in the second half of the century; the contrast with the largely unreformed system of appointments in the Church,¹¹⁴ and with the long probationary terms that had to be served by assistant curates,¹¹⁵ was obvious. Schools advertised that they prepared pupils for the Home and Indian Civil Service, and for the Army.¹¹⁶ Once one of the three professions 'with a special degree of respectability all of its own', the ministry, by 1900, was 'only one of heaps'. Formerly 'the approved method of converting tradesmen's sons into gentlemen', a clerical career had to compete with a multitude of professions which provided an easier path to genteel status, and a better pecuniary reward.¹¹⁷ Moreover, for a lower ultimate income, a graduate ordinand had to read for a longer course.¹¹⁸ Yet an extension of the course in medicine, in 1892, from four to five years, did not lead to a great falling off in numbers of candidates. The quality of medical students had increased markedly in the period 1880 to 1900. The reasons given showed the nature and extent of the problem facing the clerical order: they were claimed to have been the more stringent examination and the increasing cost of medical education.¹¹⁹

113 Stowell, Supply and Training, p. 3.

114 See above, chapter 4.

115 [John Hunt], Clergymen Made Scarce. Five Years' Experience as a Curate in the Diocese of London. A Letter to the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Revd Lord Bishop of London, by a Presbyter, 2nd edition, 1867, p. 42. See also Memorial to the Conference upon the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders, 13 January, 1891, (for private circulation), which referred to the perception that promotion in the clerical order was due to 'accident', more than in other professions. Encl. Benson Correspondence, Vol. 101, f. 114.

116 See, for example, the Prospectus for Quenmore School, Plaistow Lodge, Bromley, Kent (circa 1899), encl., Temple Correspondence, Vol. 21.

117 S. Royle Shore, The Maintenance and Supply of the Clergy. An Address Delivered at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Worcester Diocesan Conference, Birmingham, September 27/28, 1899, Birmingham, n.d.; S. Royle Shore, Church Affairs, 1898-1928, Christ Church Library, 512, Oxford; Robert Pope Censor to Davidson, 18 September, 1908, Davidson Correspondence, Vol. 72, f. 244-5.

118 Winchester, Report, p. 6, *ibid.*

There could have been no clearer demonstration of the attractiveness of medicine to more able youths. In 1900, according to a scholastic appointments agent, the best men coming down from Oxford and Cambridge did not think of the teaching or clerical professions: they chose the Civil or Indian services.¹²⁰ Even more ominous was the fact that

Many men whom we have had to remove from our own lists - not that they have been wanting in personal character, but they have utterly failed as Schoolmasters - have taken Holy Orders of late.¹²¹

Professional status

In clear contrast to medicine and law, the ministry of the Church, by the end of the nineteenth century, could not be said to have had a systematic form of theoretical knowledge at its base.¹²² Moreover, Anglicanism was removed, first, from its position of having an educational monopoly, then from its privileged status of possessing a controlling influence over the country's universities and schools; at approximately the same time the Queen of Sciences, theology, was obliged to abdicate.¹²³ Worse, there was no recognised standard of secondary education 'such as every lay profession requires, in addition to technical training'. Also, the laity had no notion that the clerical order demanded of its members a period of training and apprenticeship, such as other professions did.¹²⁴ In a scathing critique of the state of Anglican theological education, the Guardian, in 1898,

¹¹⁹ F. Halle to Davidson, 28 December, 1900, Davidson Correspondence, vol. 72, f. 251-2.

¹²⁰ John Gabbitas to Revd C. Darnell, encl., *ibid.*, vol. 72, ff. 264-8.

¹²¹ *ibid.*

¹²² Towler, in Lash and Rymer, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.

¹²³ Towler and Coxon, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Russell, The Clerical Profession, p. 10; A.G.L. Haig, 'The Church, the Universities and Learning in Later Victorian England,' Historical Journal, Vol. 29, no. 1 (1986) pp. 187-201.

¹²⁴ Memorial to the Conference ... 13 January, 1891.

claimed that the vulnerable point was the period of special training, and that 'the weaker candidates are over-taxed ... the stronger find the questions absurdly easy'.¹²⁵ Nothing could indicate more clearly that the Guardian's concern had some foundation, than a prospectus - issued a few years later by a tutor of allegedly disreputable antecedents - advertising a course of tuition for students preparing for the preliminary examination for deacons' and priests' orders. Prospective clients were assured that they would be taught by one who was familiar with the views of the examiners, the implication being almost brutally clear that success was practically guaranteed to candidates who were coached in the correct opinions.¹²⁶

What expertise the clergyman did have to offer, was manifestly less in demand in the second half of the century. In 1863, Canon Stowell noted that there was 'constant disparagement of the clerical order', and the next year the Council of the English Church Union complained that, although judges consulted scientists and medical experts when such were required, they felt it perfectly appropriate to determine, unaided, questions of ecclesiastical discipline and doctrine.¹²⁷ However demeaning this may have appeared to Anglo-Catholic clergymen, the fact was that, neither amongst the general public, nor at the most exalted sphere, did many Englishmen allow that ministers of the Church had any particular technical expertise. Despite Canon Stowell's view, however, this did not amount to active disparagement of priest by people. The Bishop of Manchester was probably not far off the mark when he told his Diocesan Conference, in 1877, that

the clerical mind ... is not altogether supposed by the laity to

¹²⁵ 'The Training of the Clergy' (sub editorial), 16 March, 1898, pp. 401-2.

¹²⁶ encl. in Davidson Correspondence, vol. 107, f. 130.

¹²⁷ Encl., T.W. Perry to Gladstone, 9 December, 1864, Gladstone MS. 44404 f. 167.

be a good representative of masculine intelligence. (Laughter.) It is somehow supposed that the clerical mind lives in a perpetual haze and that it deals with questions in which no rational being can feel a vivid interest, and further ... that it has an inverted scale of values ...¹²⁸

Thus, clergymen lacked what, in a simpler, rural society, they appeared once to have - a captive audience, or something approximating to it. Future priests would have not only 'ignorant rustics' to teach, but 'educated and reflecting men'.¹²⁹ One problem, according to Littledale, was that clergymen associated mainly with women and children; the result was that their caste of mind and their language became imperceptibly effeminate. There was a need, therefore, for the cleric to master 'plain, vigorous, racy, idiomatic English'.¹³⁰ Davidson was worried about one candidate, M.N. Rice, because he was too diffident; he needed self-assertiveness, authority and sympathy - qualities needed to minister to the group that, above all, had been alienated (it was believed) from the Church - young men.¹³¹

Decline of autonomy: authority

One factor in the diminished authority of the parish clergy was the increasing assertiveness of some sections of the laity. In large part, this was due to the Evangelical movement, because of the role it gave lay people, in (for example) Sunday Schools, and the anti-sacerdotalism it engendered. On the latter point, a Church Association lecturer conceded that God enjoined the people to revere the ministerial office, but claimed that they should also denounce abuses of it. One of the cheering signs of the times was that lay people were 'asserting their privileges and taking

¹²⁸ Report of the Manchester Diocesan Conference, Reprinted from the Manchester 'Courier', 1877.

¹²⁹ Ince, Holy Orders, p. 21.

¹³⁰ R.F. Littledale, The Secular Studies of the Clergy, p. 12.

¹³¹ Davidson, Ordination Papers, p. 78, envelope 6, 1902/6, R1 - R3 9.

their rightful positions as an integral part of the Church'.¹³²

In Hawkshaw Lane, Manchester, the trustees - apparently under the domination of a Mr E. Haworth - arranged for the appointment of an assistant curate, in 1876, and of his successor, eighteen months later. There seems to have been local opposition to the incumbent's exercising his legal rights in the matter, but no doubt the guiding hand in this outbreak of congregationalism¹³³ was Haworth's. A neighbouring clergyman wrote of him:

I believe [him] to be a good man and it cannot be denied that, though only a book keeper, or cashier in a cotton mill, he has for many years devoted all his spare time and pecuniary means [he was a bachelor] to a ... Church Sunday School at Two Brooks ... But on account of what he has done in his humble way he seems unfortunately to think he has acquired¹³⁴ a right, an authority, which do not properly belong to him.

When the rector, Dowsett, mildly remonstrated with Haworth, he was told that 'these parochial rights are little more than a vain ambition to hinder the good work of building up with living stones the Church of God'.¹³⁵

Decline of autonomy: discipline and doctrine

A combination of factors put the Anglican parish minister in what was, in some circumstances, a uniquely uncomfortable relationship with his parishioners. As an officer of an Established Church, he was legally

¹³² R. Payne Smith, 'The Doctrine of the Church of England upon Confession and Absolution,' Lectures Delivered in St. Anne's Church, Manchester, during the winter of 1867-8 in Connection with the Manchester Diocesan Church Association, Manchester, 1868; see also Revd Canon McCormick, President, Churchmen's Alliance, Save the Church: A Call to Action. The Substance of a Speech Delivered at Preston, Monday, 9 December, 1889, to over Four Thousand Persons, London, n.d., p. 11, encl. Davidson Papers, vol. 28, ff. 97-106.

¹³³ See letters, enclosing testimonials, etc., from various clergymen to Haworth, applying through him to the trustees for the position. L139/2/2/ 1-31 (4) - (15), Manchester Archives.

¹³⁴ J. Hornby Butcher to Revd H. Dowsett, 1 March, 1878. L139/2/6/ 1-7 (4).

¹³⁵ E. Haworth to Dowsett, 22 February, 1878, L319/2/6 1-7 (2).

obliged to perform professional services.¹³⁶ Yet, because Anglicanism was established, it defined 'parishioner' in terms of residence, not of belief. This fact had no relevance in a Latitudinarian age, but in a period in which doctrinal opinions were being more sharply defined, when many priests were influenced by the Tractarian view of the importance of their office and of discipline of the laity, and when the exercising of such discipline was - for a variety of social and political reasons - impractical, it was a matter of great importance. No doubt, there were excellent reasons for Watts-Ditchfield to quote, in his lectures on pastoral theology in 1913, Bishop Lightfoot's advice that 'an assertion of authority by a young clergyman provokes only opposition'.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, such a dictum would have been of little use to the hapless incumbents who, a few decades previously, had confronted Mr Cook, Miss Andrews and Dr Swayne. All three cases involved attempts to discipline powerful parishioners; two over points of doctrine. All ended in defeat for the clergymen; one was even obliged to publish an abject apology to his antagonist, his professional brother, Dr Swayne. The three incidents demonstrated that, if the autonomy of the practitioners be a hallmark of a profession, the clerical order could not be said to have passed the test.¹³⁸

Partisanship

The raising of issues such as Churchyards, education, disestablishment and the unionisation of agricultural labour, lured some clergymen into the

¹³⁶ Towler and Coxon, op. cit., p. 44

¹³⁷ Op. cit., p. 3.

¹³⁸ Andrews v. Warrington, 1883, Court of Arches / 167 H975 / 1-31. Swayne vs. Benson, Court of Arches / 8908 Hh 23; Rochester and Chatham Journal and Mid Kent Advertiser, 26 January, 1889, p. 2f; 2 February, 1889, p. 2g; 9 February, 1889, p. 2g; 16 February, 1889, p. 2c; 23 February, 1889, p. 2g; Jenkins vs. Cook, Court of Arches / 5060 H966 / 1-32. For the difficulties of disciplining a parishioner who allegedly ill-treated his wife, see T. Keble to J. Keble, 6, 11, 15, 16 August, 22 September, 26 December, 1862, Keble Correspondence: C. 22.

political arena. As a partisan activist, involved in campaigning - for his own candidature, or on behalf of a supporter, or in favour of a particular issue - he compromised his traditional position as an aloof and paternal guardian of the common weal. This was all the more likely because such questions were debated in the context of a widened electorate, for School Board and parliament alike.

The Revd C.W.A. Brook, for example, was deeply involved in School Board elections in 1898. Was the lewd yet strangely naive letter, that purported to come from him to a female servant, in fact the work of his political enemies? Certainly, the court was of the opinion that it was a forgery.¹³⁹ Some twenty years before, the Revd J.S. Marriner unsuccessfully brought an action against the Bishop of Bath and Wells for non-institution; it was evident that his troubled parish had been the scene of a bitter controversy between the rector and a number of his parishioners: some villagers wanted to establish a board school, and the provision of land for a Nonconformist burial ground caused contention. According to the testimony of the Wesleyan minister (who supported the rector on the education question), party feeling was strong. Marriner claimed that his parishioners' malice was the reason for a damning report of his drunkenness (which he denied).¹⁴⁰

The other issue causing clergymen to become embroiled in controversy was the long-running conflict over ritual. Even before the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, the role of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in enforcing the north-end mode of celebration, was the reason for some clerics to abandon their customary position as upholders - enforcers even - of the law. Gladstone disliked the judgment, but believed that it was a hardship to be borne. Liddon, however, opined:

¹³⁹ Bolton v. Brooke, Court of Arches / 1002 / Hh 37.

¹⁴⁰ Marriner v. the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1876, Court of Arches / 6004/ H972 / 1-60; see also [Hunt], op. cit.

The real difficulty about counselling obedience lies in the Constitution of the Court ... Great as the social and moral mischiefs of ostentatious disobedience to the civil law on the part of the Clergy [are], ... there is ... the question of the effect of obedience on entire congregations ... It is ... morally impossible for not a few of the clergy to obey the judgement.¹⁴¹

Conclusion

The difficulties confronting the Anglican ministry at the turn of the century had been foretold for at least a generation. In one way, the position may have seemed healthy: in 1892 A.J. Worlledge produced figures that demonstrated that 61% of ordinands were from Oxford and Cambridge; when other university graduates were added the total of university men was 72%. From his viewpoint, however, the notable statistic was the two fifths of the candidates who came from other than the ancient universities. They were, therefore, without the benefits of a classical education which 'gives a dignity and a strength and breadth and depth and refinement and tact and generosity to many an English clergyman'.¹⁴²

These were not, however, the qualities that distinguished a large number of University men (nearly all from Oxford and Cambridge) interviewed by Davidson in the 1890s. Many impressed him as 'earnest' and therefore were acceptable. Frequently, though, they were of 'poor ability', 'unimpressive', and neither gentlemanly nor refined. Davidson described one from Oxford as 'a good sort but roughish'; another (also from Oxford) as 'unwholesome and arrogantly conceited'. Despite years of exhortations on the need for clergymen to be well-informed, many had weak academic records, and the ignorance of several graduates, especially in areas such as church

¹⁴¹ Gladstone to Liddon, 26 February, 1871; Liddon to Gladstone, 28 February, 1871, Gladstone MSS 44237, ff.51, 53 (my emphasis).

¹⁴² Revd A.J. Worlledge, Preparation for Deacons' and Priests' Orders. A Paper on the Training of Non-graduate Candidates Read at the Church Conference, Folkestone, 6 October, 1892, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 117, ff. 352-61.

history, was noted by the examiners.¹⁴³ Few seemed to have read very much in the appropriate fields. One ordinand earned Davidson's wry comment: 'Reading: Special Cambridge II. Not read much beyond books required for examinations. Reading slight, therefore.' He thought that a certain Mr Newton would have difficulty meeting what he described as 'our rigid conditions', and advised him to apply to another diocese.¹⁴⁴ Several candidates rejected by Davidson were, in fact, ordained elsewhere. His idea of 'rigid conditions' was relative, however, as the comment on a Mr Easton demonstrates: he was simple, straightforward, 'painfully impressionable' and probably 'self-satisfied'. He would never be an able man, but 'has to be thrown into parish work'.¹⁴⁵

Davidson still looked for gentlemanly attributes in the candidates who appeared before him, but there was one further qualification he sought in future clergymen - naturalness, or an absence of 'artificiality'. He commented approvingly on those who were 'straightforward and manly', who had qualities of 'common sense and manliness', who were 'simple and straightforward', 'fine, strong and manly', 'unaffected', 'big and frank', 'simple and athletic', and 'manly and vigorous'. Evidently he was anxious to avoid the late-nineteenth century corruption of the ideal gentleman: the milk-sop curate of a Punch cartoon, or the professional holy man, aloof, unctious and complacent.

¹⁴³ Davidson, Ordination Books, Vols. 1 and 2, passim.

¹⁴⁴ Ordination Book, 2, p. 216.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 212.

THE CLERGY IN AUSTRALIA

EXPATRIATES

In 1885, the Archbishop of Canterbury announced that the Colonial Clergy Act of 1874 was to be administered in such a way as to require of priests ordained outside the United Kingdom a formal examination of their learning and fitness, before they could be given licences to officiate in his province. Thus E.W. Benson, to the contemptuous fury of the Australian radical press, and to the disquiet of many colonial Churchmen, appeared to be making a fundamental distinction between priests of the Anglican communion who were ordained by English, Scottish, or Irish bishops; and those who were not. Nevertheless, the classification of English clergy serving in the Australian Church was rather more complicated than this. Apart from graduates of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin, there were those whose training comprised a course at St. Bees or St. Augustine's College. Others came to Australia as laymen, and entered the colonial ministry by the path of stipendiary readerships. These variations need to be taken into account when an assessment is attempted of the motives of English clergy who chose the Australian 'corner of the Lord's vineyard' in which to labour.

I

Extension of the Church of England in Australia is a chapter in the history of nineteenth century missionary activity. It is true that work in the Australian colonies differed from missions to the heathen: as Bishop Moorhouse said, in a speech at a luncheon welcoming him to Melbourne in 1877, the inducements for clergy to come to Australia did not include the romantic possibility of being roasted and eaten.¹ Yet, by the

(Footnote continued)

mid-nineteenth century, so great were the numbers of the unchurched, in England and (therefore) among English settlers abroad, that much pastoral work and church extension involved the conversion of people who were, in most respects except technically, non-Christian, whether they were to be found in East London or in rural settlements in New South Wales.²

The missionary impulse

Generally, it could be said that all English clergymen working in Australia were responding, at least nominally, to the call to serve the Church as missionaries. True, in England, popular or lay enthusiasm for missions came to a climax after 1870,³ in a period, that is, when the Australian Church was forced to look to local sources of supply for its ordinands, and when English clergymen were increasingly regarding service in the settled parts of Australia less as a mission than as an extension of the sort of ordinary parochial work done at home.⁴ Nevertheless, in the first half of the century, the Evangelical⁵ and Oxford movements⁶ were largely responsible for a strongly developing force of missionary endeavour. Although the Evangelicals concentrated their efforts on the

¹ (continued)

¹ Church of England Messenger (Melbourne) Vol. IX, no. 100 (18 January, 1877) p. 7 (hereafter: Messenger).

² 'In the England of 1840, as Professor Chadwick observes, the idea of a mission pertained to the lapsed at home as well as the heathen overseas.' J.D. Bollen, 'English Christianity and the Australian Colonies, 1788-1860,' Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 28 (1977), p. 361. See also David H. Chalmers, 'Tempest-Tost': The Life and Teaching of C.H. Nash, Founder and Principal of the Melbourne Bible Institute, Church Press Publications, Melbourne, 1959, p. 46.

³ D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942, University of Queensland Press, 1978, pp. 121-2.

⁴ Messenger, 24 March, 1870.

⁵ Max Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History, London, S.C.M., 1965, pp. 27, 30-5; Stephen Neill, A History of the Christian Missions (The Pelican History of the Church, Vol. 6), Harmondsworth, 1964, pp. 252-4.

⁶ Bollen, op. cit., pp. 380-2.

conversion of the heathen overseas, their zeal for saving souls was by no means confined to Africans and Pacific Islanders, given the growing realisation in mid-Victorian Britain that there was vast scope for their labours among the 'practical pagans' at home, and among those of this class who emigrated. For their part, the Tractarians had a vision of Anglicanism as being the Apostolic faith of the English nation, and this had obvious implications for settlement colonies abroad.⁷

In his discussion of explanations of nineteenth century British enthusiasm for missions, Max Warren listed ten motives which, according to the Dutch scholar Johannes Den Berg, underlay the work of converting the heathen overseas. These were: utilitarian (binding the ruled to the ruler), humanitarian, cultural, ascetic, a sense of guilt, romantic (for example, a desire for adventure), theocentric, ecclesiological, eschatological, and obedience to Christ's commission. Some of these Warren expanded - for instance, he believed that a sense of guilt was manifested, after 1833, in the view that reparation for slavery had to be made by the Christian West. Furthermore, he suggested additional motives: gratitude for the fact that the Gospel had been made freely available to the British people, and the belief that the possession of an Empire implied stewardship, missionary activity being a way of fulfilling this obligation.⁸

The motives of Englishmen who wished to undertake Australian work appear to have shown certain points of similarity with the Van Den Berg/Warren

7

All the pioneer bishops in Australia, except Charles Perry (Melbourne), have been credited with having had Tractarian sympathies, although the evidence of such a tendency has been provided more by the tempestuous anti-Puseyite reaction of an ultra suspicious laity and clergy, than by the actual views of the prelates themselves. Bollen, op. cit.; G.P. Shaw, Patriot and Patriarch: William Grant Broughton 1788-1853, Melbourne University Press, 1978, pp. 126, 163-4, 180-2; N.K. Meaney, 'The Church of England in the Paradise of Dissent: A Problem of Assimilation,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 3 (1965-6), pp. 141-3; Neil Batt and Michael Roe, 'Conflict within the Church of England in Tasmania, 1850-58,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 4 (1966-7) pp. 39-62.

⁸ Warren, op. cit., pp. 45-55.

list. Problems emerge, however, in assessing the evidence. Statements made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in support of attempts to obtain financial assistance for men intending to be missionaries, depend for their reliability upon the candour and the powers of self-perception of the applicants. It is, furthermore, impossible to say with any precision what the impact was of sermons and speeches delivered by those attempting to recruit missionaries for the Antipodes. The same is true of news items about the colonies. The gold rushes of the 1850s were responsible for an extensive coverage of Australian topics in the English press,⁹ including the official newspaper of the Established Church. Nevertheless, the impact of this publicity was probably ambiguous. A characteristic of colonial religious or social life that, as a missionary challenge, might have inspired some zealous souls, may well have repelled potential recruits of a different stamp.

Evangelism

A simple wish to spread the Word was rarely the only reason for desiring Australian colonial service, but for some it may have been the major cause of their wish to undertake such work as this. A warning that this kind of purely religious motive should be given full weight - particularly when one is examining the conduct of men relatively low on the social scale¹⁰ - is provided by a letter sent to an Anglican cleric in Australia by an Evangelical parishioner, who had arrived in England shortly before he wrote

⁹ F.G. Clarke, The Land of Contrarities: British Attitudes to the Australian Colonies, 1828-1855, Melbourne University Press, 1977, chapter 8, passim.

¹⁰ In Australia, the zeal of Wesleyan missionaries of low social status was widely attested. Revd W. Carr, Hard Places for the Church of England Out of England, or, Six Years with Australian Bishops: An Endowed Episcopate and Unendowed Clergy are a Novel and Difficult Form of Church Government, Adelaide, 1868, p. 13; A.R. Russell, The Personal Relations of the Church of England Clergy to Nonconformist Ministers, Adelaide, 1870, pp. 13-5; G. Serle, The Golden Age, Melbourne University Press, 1963, p. 342; G. Serle, The Rush to be Rich, Melbourne University Press, 1971, pp. 141-3.

to his former vicar. Scandalised by the non-attendance of the sailors at the first Sunday service on the voyage, he had obtained the captain's permission to visit them in the forecastle on the afternoon of the day in question.

some in bed others at cards. washing clothes and mending them. they looked at me. & saw I was in earnest. told them to put away their cards for another¹¹ day and bring their Bibles. so some did. we read at Luke 15 ...

This rather guileless example of lay evangelism occurred half a century after the zenith of the Evangelical movement. Forty years before Mr Trezise's attempts to convert the seamen, the zeal of many clergymen and prospective ordinands, to spread the Gospel for its own sake, can be imagined. Such appears to have been the inspiration of Thomas Hart Davis, who came to Victoria in the 1850s, having spent his early life in England as a captain in the Army. 'After being awakened to the more earnest life of a Christian,' he began conducting Bible classes among his men. As Bishop Perry's examining chaplain wrote, years later, in what appears to have been an understatement, this religious work attracted some attention, and thus encouraged, the army officer took the necessary steps to prepare for ordination.¹² The Revd Ebenezer Collins, who applied to the S.P.G. in 1845 for assistance, with a view to his working in Australia, had a long-standing attraction to low-church and evangelical principles. He had begun his working life as an apprentice to a chemist and druggist, and had served the Church in Sierra Leone. Because he was acting as a curate at the time of his application for help to resume his missionary career (on this occasion in Australia), his commitment to the Scriptural precept - to

¹¹ Thomas Trezise to Revd Henry Barren, March (1897), Herbert Barren Papers, MS. 2455/6, La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

¹² G. Goodman, The Church in Victoria during the Episcopate of the Rt. Rev. Charles Perry, Melbourne, 1892, p. 173.

spread the Gospel to all nations - seems evident, because he was not, therefore, simply transferring from one mission field to an easier and more congenial one.¹³ W.A. Turner, a former pupil teacher, believed that it was his 'special duty in life' to engage in missionary work: his vicar thought that he was likely to be a 'useful man'.¹⁴ H.J.O.E. Hill was judged by his archdeacon to be prayerful, pious, earnest, evangelistic and devout. As with Turner, he had, from an early age, taught in Sunday Schools. In addition, he had performed 'useful work' in a missionary area of Liverpool.¹⁵

Personal connections with Australia

Some clergymen who came to Australia claimed that, initially, they were attracted to the missionary life by a single incident. Archdeacon Marryat was led to accept colonial work because he was 'moved at the sight of the consecration of four colonial bishops at Westminster Abbey'.¹⁶ The equivalent turning-point for Revd C.H.S. Matthews was a missionary lecture,¹⁷ of the sort common in England towards the end of the century.¹⁸ It is, however, significant that, in both cases in which a single incident was said to have sparked the vital decision, there were personal connections with the Australian Church. Particularly was this so with

¹³ Rev. E. Collins to S.P.G., Rev. J. Clarke to S.P.G., 5 July, 1845; H. Venn to Rev. G. Fagan, 12 July, 1845, File no. 6725, Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster.

¹⁴ William Abel Turner to S.P.G., Rev. T. Walker to Sketchley, 21 April (no year), S.P.G. 5071.

¹⁵ H.J.O.E. Hill to S.P.G., Lefray to S.P.G., 24 June, 1889, L.W. Honeyborne to S.P.G., 22 May, 1889, S.P.G. file 4154.

¹⁶ J. Marryat, Farewell Sermon at St. Paul's, Adelaide, on Sunday, 28 June, 1868, Adelaide, 1868, p. 6.

¹⁷ C.H.S. Matthews, A Parson in the Australian Bush, 1908, revised edition, 1926, Rigby edition, Adelaide, 1973, p. 37.

¹⁸ I. Bradley, The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians, Jonathan Cape, London, 1976, chapter 4; Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, p. 123.

Marryat, whose uncle was Bishop of Adelaide - hence his presence in the Abbey at the service that moved him so deeply.¹⁹ Matthews met a cleric, F.H. Campion, who, before ordination, had served on the staff of the Governor of New South Wales. From conversations with Campion, the future bush parson was 'fired with the need' for the ministrations of the Church in rural New South Wales and northern Queensland.²⁰

It can be shown that this sort of contact was important for several other clergymen who went to the Australian colonies. Macartney had links, through relatives, with the Port Phillip District.²¹ Charles Perry made the cause of colonial church work known in the Evangelical circles in which he was prominent.²² Frank Carr knew the rector of Kalgoorlie, Western Australia,²³ and Gregory Bateman claimed an acquaintance with the Archdeacon of Hobart, Hutchens.²⁴ In the late 1880s, a prospective missionary, William Williams, corresponded with Revd J. B. Sharp, a Victorian clergyman visiting England; Williams had 'a friend in Holy Orders in the Diocese of Melbourne - a Mr Howell'.²⁵

¹⁹ Loc. cit.

²⁰ Matthews, op. cit., pp. 38-9. Contemporaneously with Matthews, the personal links with Australian missionary work, forged at Eton College, were mentioned in W.K. Firminger (ed.), Missionary Sermons by Various Writers, London, 1898, p. 57.

²¹ Goodman, op. cit., p. 38; H.B. Macartney, *Memoirs, 1799-1890*, 2 vols., MS held by Diocesan Archives, Chapter House, Melbourne, Vol. 1, p. 133.

²² Goodman, op. cit., p. 40; Messenger, VIII, 98 (9 November, 1876), p. 7.

²³ S.P.G. file 2902.

²⁴ S.P.G. file 5549.

²⁵ W. Williams to J.B. Sharp, 7 July, 1885, D.W. Thomas to J.B. Sharp, 12 October, 1884, J.B. Sharp file, 'English Visit,' Christ Church, Brunswick, Victoria, Archives (C.C.B.).

The idea that Englishmen had an obligation to the Australian colonies, especially to Victoria and New South Wales, was fostered in the 1850s, partly with a view to obtaining Home funds for Church extension there, but also with the aim of encouraging clergymen or ordinands to undertake colonial work. Occasionally, the assumption was made that, because Britain had polluted south-eastern Australia with convicts, she had to make reparation by encouraging the growth of religion in colonial society.²⁶ Nevertheless, emigration was the topic that was raised most frequently, in the decade of the New South Wales and Victorian gold rushes, by those Englishmen wishing to arouse in their compatriots a sense of responsibility to the Australian colonies.

Emigration and the Church

The Church was involved in the emigration question in a variety of ways. First, it occurred to individual clergymen that this was a solution to a problem confronting them daily on their parochial rounds. Thus, the Revd James Ashurst attempted to find sponsors to finance emigration, to America, of the 'surplus population' of his rural parish of Little Milton.²⁷ The Revd Henry John Poole not only believed that emigration was the best way to relieve hardship among the distressed weavers of Bedworth, Warwickshire, but resolved to go himself to the colony of Queensland as a missionary.²⁸ The leader writer of The Times, in 1852, claimed that the transfer of the redundant population from a land of toil to one of plenty was the most expeditious and logical solution to the problem of poverty in England. Quoting a pamphlet, written by a Norfolk clergyman, which argued in favour of emigration to South Australia, he opined that members of the clergy, as

²⁶ Guardian, 24 June, 1854.

²⁷ J. Ashurst to P. Bliss, 13 & 16 March, 1852, Dr P. Bliss, Correspondence, British Library MS 34582, ff. 342, 344.

²⁸ Messenger, XXV, 299 (8 September, 1893), pp. 250-1.

an educated, benevolent and disinterested class, and as familiar figures to the rural unemployed, were likely to be the most persuasive advocates of a policy such as this.²⁹

Secondly, the spiritual care of the emigrants before, during and after their voyage was urged to be the clear responsibility of the established Church. The gathering of the migrants at depots prior to their departure, and the temptations en route, posited the need for chaplains; this, for example, was argued, (though probably not disinterestedly) by an intending ordinand, a Mr Carter.³⁰ Once the new settlers were in Australia, 'the mere separation from home, from their accustomed religious habits and well-known church, is itself a severe trial to the Churchmanship of most emigrants'.³¹

It was believed, also, that emigrants as a class were very susceptible to corruption, or rather, perhaps, to further corruption, on their arrival. Although some observers had seen Australia, before the Gold Rush, as an haven of innocence and pastoral simplicity,³² no longer could it have been regarded as having such qualities. The moral and physical restraints of Home were relaxed in the colonies, and the aggravation of what one moralist saw as the emigrants' criminal tendencies was the result.³³ The Revd J.D. Mereweather acknowledged that the Antipodean level of wages was such that 'want is unknown to the industrious, steady man'.³⁴ Nevertheless, his impression of some emigrants was distinctly unfavourable: they were brash,

²⁹ The Times, 2 September, 1852, p. 4e.

³⁰ Carter to E. Bullock, 19 July, 1853; to E. Hawkins, Secretary, S.P.G., 29 July, 1853, S.P.G. file 6742. For the possibility that he had mixed motives, see below. For the corruption of the migrants en route, see Guardian, 30 September, 1857, p. 753.

³¹ Guardian, 1 August, 1855, pp. 592-3.

³² Guardian, 30 September, 1857, p. 753.

³³ Guardian, 30 September, 1857, p. 753.

³⁴ John Davis Mereweather, Diary of a Working Clergyman in Australia and Tasmania, London, 1859, p. 42.

vulgar and arrogant.³⁵

In the eyes of a visiting Churchman, Australian society was flawed in yet one further respect: the strength of the Irish segment of the population. Thus, a continuous influx of even a debased class of Englishmen was preferable to an Irish Papist ascendancy.³⁶

An Anglican failure?

It is not, therefore, surprising that an Australian Anglican wrote to a friend at home that the 'the Church had lost ground most fearfully'. There was a lack of consecrated buildings. Although the service was read, in his district, once a fortnight, this was not enough

to keep up in the minds of the nomadic tribes that now form the principal part of the population of the colony of Victoria, that religious spirit which was instilled once into the hearts of most of the immigrants when young.³⁷

The breaking of old ties and hallowed associations was easier to deplore than to remedy. Suggestions were made that clergymen in England might provide emigrants with references and letters of introduction to colonial parishes. Yet, from the evidence, it seems that little was done, at least at the level of mass migration.³⁸ Of English migrants landing at Cooktown, T. Eykyn wrote that hardly any brought letters from clergymen at home; this was a frequent complaint from colonial Churchmen.³⁹ Not until the new century opened was any systematic action taken to remedy this. When the Church Emigration Society was formed, the first of its listed aims was to effect the introduction of emigrants by means of commendatory letters to

³⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁶ Guardian, 31 August, 1853.

³⁷ Guardian, 22 April, 1857 p. 307.

³⁸ Guardian, 23 June, 1852 (letter from an American rector).

³⁹ T. Eykyn, Parts of the Pacific, by a Peripatetic Parson, p. 79.

colonial clergy.⁴⁰ A few years later, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge published a booklet, which gave the names of clergymen, in every part of the Empire, to whom commendatory letters could be addressed. Thus, action was taken after fifty years of neglect. It is significant, however, that Canon Tomlin thought it necessary to suggest that English laymen who knew of any intending emigrants should have to 'jog the parson's memory': the tradition of apathy, with regard to this aspect of pastoral care, died hard.⁴¹ The possibility that emigrants came from a class that was already lost to religion, and the fact that most were responding to government schemes rather than private ones with which clergymen were associated, may explain the apparent neglect.

Especially after the 1850s, it is likely that appeals made on behalf of the Colonial Church produced only individual responses; perhaps they did not succeed in awakening general interest among clergymen in England.⁴² In this matter, publicity may have been at fault. A 'country curate' complained, in 1854, that the colonial Church's wants were not made well enough known: particularisation was lacking. Invitations from colonial bishops to English youths did not reach them in 'a tangible shape'. Prudent parents were deterred from encouraging their children to enter on this course, because they were strangely ignorant of details. How much were the stipends? Would manual labour be required of missionaries?⁴³ Inadequate publicity, however, only partially explains the lack of enthusiasm among Churchmen at home for the cause of the Church in the colonies. The S.P.G.

⁴⁰ Leaflet (c. 1901), Church Emigration Society, enclosure, Benson Correspondence, vol. 43, f. 368.

⁴¹ J.W.S. Tomlin, Australia's Greatest Need, p. 289.

⁴² The Times, 10 May, 1870, 12c.

⁴³ Guardian, 24 May, 1854, p. 414.

consistently urged that colonial work was an appropriate form of apprenticeship for young clergymen who were intending to spend most of their working lives in England. The flaw in this idea was that the mother Church did not open curacies, sole charges, or incumbencies, at an appropriate level, to men returning from the overseas mission field.⁴⁴

III

The idea was widely held that the Anglican Church, and in particular its clergy, provided the principal means by which English civilization could be established in the Australian settlements. It was a view encapsulated by a writer for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in an idealistic sketch of the colonies' future. He looked forward to a day when

Australia's vast plains and forests shall, like our own happy England, teem with towns and villages, and the first object which everywhere meets the eye shall be the parish church pointing with its spire to heaven.⁴⁵

Civilizing the Antipodes

In reality, few deluded themselves about the momentous nature of the task of civilizing Australian colonial society. Emigrants were mainly humble and simple men who quickly prospered: there was no established upper class to give tone to society and gradually absorb those who rose from below.⁴⁶ Mereweather's observations of Melbourne in the 1850s provided what appeared to be graphic examples of how riches, too easily gained, corrupted the

⁴⁴ Guardian, 6 July, 1859, p. 580.

⁴⁵ Anon., Work in the Colonies: Some Account of the Missionary Operations of the Church of England in Connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, 1865, p. 258.

⁴⁶ Revd Charles Abbey, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford, The Duties of Christian Colonists being the Denyon Theological Prize Essay for 1862, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 15.

immigrants, and how, as a result, society was turned upside down. No more was there any tranquillity. Good fellowship between classes had ceased. There was only confusion, selfishness and subversion of respect for wealth, talent and education. The aristocracy was brawn and muscle, and bore with insolence its new-found honours.⁴⁷ In rural districts, according to the Bishop of Goulburn, people were growing up in lawless ignorance and habits of intemperance. Violence, dishonesty and cattle-stealing were rife in the interior.⁴⁸ Appealing for donations to enable clergy to be brought from home, the Melbourne Diocesan Committee stated:

Touching ... upon lower considerations than we have hitherto named ... will not worldly possessions be more secure - will they not rise in value in proportion to the power exercised by the righteous principles diffused among the community?⁴⁹

This was, admittedly, a ploy. The clear intention was to exploit the presumed sense of self-interest in those most able to contribute. There is, however, no reason to suppose that this statement about the role of the colonial clergy was made only for tactical purposes.

Clearly, therefore, colonial life needed to be refined and purified. The response of Churchmen⁵⁰ indicated that there was widespread agreement about the way in which England's established religion would assist in the permeation of what Mereweather - after having been entertained at the

⁴⁷ Mereweather, op. cit., p. 215. See also Guardian, 19 January, 1853, p. 34, and 25 October, 1854, p. 50, for other reports of the social revolution wrought by gold.

⁴⁸ Thomas to the Secretary of the S.P.G., 22 December, 1867, Barbara Thorn (ed.), Letters from Goulburn. A Selection of Letters from Mesac Thomas, First Bishop of Goulburn, 1863-1892, Canberra, 1964, p. 28.

⁴⁹ Anon., An Appeal for a Special Fund of L 2000 for Bringing out from England not less than Ten Additional Clergymen, Melbourne Diocesan Society, n.d., p. 9.

⁵⁰ A. Barry, First Words in Australia. Sermons Preached in Australia in April and May, 1884, Sydney, 1884, pp. 29-38; Messenger, III, 53 (6 February, 1873), pp. 11-12; Guardian, 14 September, 1853; The Times, 9 July, 1874, p. 9f; 13 June, 1888, 15d; 31 October, 1895, 8c.

Melbourne Club - rhapsodised as 'the wonderfully civilizing influences of the Anglo-Saxon race'.⁵¹ None the less, these assertions of Anglicanism's cultural and civic virtue were normally made in the context of appeals for funds, rather than in the course of recruiting drives. Indirectly, the success of the former assisted the latter: even if funds earmarked for passage money were not the specific object of the appeal, the size of the colonial Church's endowment affected its ability to attract clergy from home. Furthermore, attempts to raise English funds brought the needs of the Australian Church to the attention of potential recruits for overseas work.

It is, however, possible, and even likely, that publicity given to the civilization question was a disincentive to recruiting. The advertising of Australia's need for the benign influence of Anglican parochial clergy, probably had the effect of dissuading many of those men whose academic attainments and social status would, in terms of the contemporary assessments of those qualities, have made them the most effective agents in the civilizing process. In the early 1850s, the English Church press carried reports of the plight of gentlemen in Sydney and Melbourne, gold rush frontier towns in which only labourers, tradesmen and domestic servants were in demand.⁵² The correspondent of The Times recorded that 'so completely are the relations of society reversed here, the garb of the gentleman (or 'swell' in the colonial vernacular) is in itself sufficient protection [from footpads], being the badge of poverty ...',⁵³

After the unsettling excitements of the 1850s, it might be thought, the outlook for those in genteel occupations, such as the Church of England ministry, would have improved. In fact, the professions of law and medicine did offer good prospects to their members, and to those aspiring to become

⁵¹ Mereweather, op. cit., pp. 16-7.

⁵² Guardian, 17 August, 1853, p. 542.

⁵³ Guardian, 31 August, 1853, p. 574.

such, by the end of the decade.⁵⁴ With the Anglican Church, it was different. In most colonies in the 1860s, state aid to religion ceased, and there was not a compensating rise in the level of lay donations: the meanness of Australian Churchmen was thrown into sharp relief by the presumed wealth of the colonies,⁵⁵ and was highlighted, in England, by appeals to Church people for donations; these requests were made continually in the second half of the nineteenth century, no matter how contemptuously the Melbourne Argus deplored this mendicancy.⁵⁶ Ministering to an ostentatiously democratic society, the Australian Church was not only unendowed. It was forced to operate under voluntaryist principles in an environment of notorious lay parsimony.⁵⁷ As a field of work, its attractions for educated gentlemen in the ranks of the mother Church must have been minimal.

The Colonial Clergy Act, 1874

The impression that clergymen who were graduates and who were in the possession of reasonable livings, would not have found colonial work enticing, is confirmed by a study of the Church's administration of the Colonial Clergy Act of 1874. Long before the controversy about the Act had run its course, it was evident that the authorities considered that 'the standards both of intellectual attainment and of a certain kind of savoir

⁵⁴ The careers of notable lawyers who prospered in the 1850s are chronicled in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vols. 3-6. See also G. Serle, The Golden Age, *passim*. The local Church, naturally, never tired of lamenting that there was a gulf between the straitened circumstances of the clergy and the prosperity, not only of the members of the other learned professions, but of those of humble occupations. More than half of the clergy in the diocese of Melbourne had stipends of less than L300 a year, in 1875. Yet a cook could earn L60 a year and a mechanic more than L200. Messenger, VII, 78 (4 March, 1875), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁵ Bishop Moorhouse's speech at reception at Town Hall, Messenger, IX, 100, (18 January, 1877), p. 10. See also Messenger, XIII, 141 (7 June, 1880), p. 7.

⁵⁶ Argus, 30 May, 1876, 4ef.

⁵⁷ See below.

faire differ with respect to men destined for work in England and for work in the colonies'.⁵⁸ It was an opinion held by parish clergy as well: William Williams, a solicitors' clerk, became anxious to enter the ministry during a time when he was engaged in an office in Liverpool. His vicar mentioned 'clerical employment in the colonies to him as easier to be gained than at home, and requiring less pecuniary outlay'.⁵⁹ E.W. Benson's reported refusal, in 1885, to license colonially ordained clergymen, began the debate. The more tempestuous of his critics, especially in Australia, regarded it as a 'fanatical imputation on the intelligence, devoutness and general aptitude' of clergymen ordained outside Britain.⁶⁰ Alfred Barry, Bishop of Sydney, made the same point more temperately. If all colonially ordained priests were debarred from service in England, 'such a course would produce great and (I think) deserved bitterness of feeling here'.⁶¹

The Archbishop saw the matter differently: to him, the serious danger was that 'some men are attempting to use the colonial Church as a back door for orders in the Church of England'.⁶² Thus, the Church in England and the colonial branches needed the act to be administered with rigour; concerning the colonies' interests, such a policy would prevent the drift of men back to England - men who were needed in their overseas sphere of duty.⁶³ For his part, Barry was aware of the problem. Each case, he thought, should be dealt with on its merits. He acknowledged, however, that there were

⁵⁸ Guardian, 23 May, 1906, pp. 856-7, sub-leading article.

⁵⁹ D.W. Thomas to J.B. Sharp, 7 October, 1884, C.C.B.

⁶⁰ Age, 29 September, 1885.

⁶¹ Barry to Benson, 27 July, 1885, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 41, f. 283, Lambeth Palace Library.

⁶² Benson to Barry, 24 September, 1885, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 41, f. 285.

⁶³ Barry to Benson, 3 November, 1885, f. 290; 10 June, 1886, f. 347; Guardian, 13 May, 1874, p. 585.

'outlying dioceses' in which men were ordained 'for the work lying there before them', men who were not suited to the ordinary English parish.⁶⁴ Yet the fact that the problem existed, is the clearest evidence that inferior standards of gentility and education were accepted for colonial work.⁶⁵

To one clergyman in the 1880s, the Act was justified because of the specialist nature of missionary work: it did not equip parochial clergymen in the mother Church with the right sort of skills; it was, therefore, an inappropriate form of apprenticeship. This view, while anticipating a modern conception of professional specialisation, was out of step with a tendency in the 1890s to regard mission work as an excellent preparation for an English parochial clergyman.⁶⁶ Still, to this supporter of the Colonial Clergy Act, the real slur was occasioned by those ministers who, trained for the foreign mission field, attempted to return to England after a brief period of service overseas.⁶⁷ His contemporary, Bishop Mitchinson, was of an entirely different opinion, however. To him, 'the spirit that that act embodies is still the true English spirit of insular contemptuousness for colonial growths'. Churchmen at home had no right to pray that God would put it into the hearts of the able and righteous to give themselves to the branch of the profession that the mother Church deliberately treated as an inferior department.⁶⁸

Home prospects closing?

Industrialisation in Britain produced a class described by R.S. Neale as 'literate' - children of the petty bourgeois and professional classes,

⁶⁴ Barry to Benson, loc. cit.; Argus, 20 October, 1885, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁵ Guardian, 18 July, 1906, p. 1208.

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 177-8.

⁶⁷ Guardian, 13 January, 1886, p. 66.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 16 December, 1885, p. 191.

'half-educated, half-gentlemen,' lacking capital and connections, competing for 'the limited number of places'.⁶⁹ Many who sought and obtained ordination in the Australian Church were literates, both in the sense in which the word is used here, and according to the meaning which the Church gave the term. Many, too, appear to have been in a situation similar to that described by Neale. There were others, however, who were Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin graduates, whose situation was similar but less precarious, and whose belief that prospects were better in the colonies was brought about less by general economic and social forces, than by the factors peculiar to the Established Church. This latter group will be examined first.

Many livings were closed to all but a relative few, by networks of patronage. No doubt, his uncle's position as Bishop of Adelaide had something to do with the decision of the future Archdeacon Marryat to come to South Australia, as he acknowledged, but he claimed that the principal reason was the English Church's 'evil system of patronage and preferment'.⁷⁰ When he visited England, in 1853, the Revd Thomas Reibey wrote that one of the two colonial chaplains who grumbled about clergy incomes in Tasmania

should only come here and live upon the incomes of some of the best and most devoted clergy [here]. They would soon find the differences and long again to be stationed in their most despised classless colony.⁷¹

By the 1860s, church extension had led to the multiplying of laborious cures in the Church of England:

⁶⁹ R.S. Neale, 'Class and Class Consciousness in Early Victorian England: Three Classes or Five?' reprinted in R.S. Neale (ed.) History and Class, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983, p. 152.

⁷⁰ Marryat, op. cit., p. 6.

⁷¹ Thomas Reibey, Letters, 27 October, 1853, NS 585/1 (Tasmanian Archives).

These new cures are held by men not morally nor intellectually inferior to the last generation of clergy, but less amply furnished with means and connections and unable, without assistance, to bring up their families to the station which a clergyman's children are expected to fill.⁷²

Some clergymen, or their sons, made their way to Australia to take up work because of declining pecuniary prospects. The value of commuted tithes reached a low point in 1855,⁷³ which may explain the large number of articles on the subject in the Guardian in the mid 1850s. Dean Macartney accompanied Bishop Perry to Melbourne at the end of the 1840s for reasons connected with the tithe rent charge;⁷⁴ Newham's scholarly career, before he was ordained, was interrupted by family financial difficulties, and he was forced to go into commerce.⁷⁵ Several applicants to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel mentioned their membership of large families as the reason for their need to seek assistance, in order to undertake work in the Australian Church.⁷⁶ Only one furnished details, however: the aspiring missionary's family had been made destitute by his clerical father's building mania.⁷⁷

Turning now to the class of literates, as a specific group, one finds them well represented in colonial dioceses.⁷⁸ William Dove, whose father was a 'respected Congregational minister in Gloucester', became an Anglican

⁷² 'Curates,' leading article, Guardian, 9 September, 1863, pp. 841-2.

⁷³ Evans, The Contentious Tithe, p. 161. This is not to deny that the major crisis for recipients of the tithe rent charge was in the last two decades of the century.

⁷⁴ Goodman, op. cit., Macartney, op. cit., p. 132.

⁷⁵ Goodman, op. cit., p. 40.

⁷⁶ S.P.G. files 6750 (Beamish), 6742 (Carter), 6732 (Seddon), 6132 (Bayfield).

⁷⁷ S.P.G. file 3018.

⁷⁸ See appendix 2.

and travelled to New South Wales 'in order to seek ordination'.⁷⁹ The future bishop of Goulburn, Chalmers, entered the ministry in a somewhat similar way: his father was a Presbyterian and lacked the means to send him to a university; it seemed that colonial work via St. Augustine's College provided the means by which he was able to be ordained.⁸⁰ William Williams, who wanted to go to Australia as a lay worker, to sit for the qualifying examination in Melbourne, and become ordained, was the son of a quarryman. His mother and sister taught in a national school which, like his father's quarry, was owned by Lord Penryhn. Williams told J.B. Sharp, a Melbourne clergyman visiting England, with whom he was corresponding about missionary work in Australia: 'His lordship's daughter ... some time ago ... took an interest in my welfare & helped me materially to get into an office.' He was a student at a theological college, but the prospects of his completing the course were poor, owing to a shortage of money.⁸¹ As with Williams, applicants to the S.P.G. who were non-graduates had, typically, done parish work as lay assistants, often in visiting, and conducting the Sunday School. Weakness in Classics was a common flaw in their educational background. One, a Mr Carter, was quite clearly suspected of using the S.P.G. as a means to obtain a position in England. The letter of the applicant read:

I have personal reasons for wishing to be ordained in England - not on account of any imagined privileges above those belonging to the colonial clergy as you suppose ... Unless ordination in this country is made the link between my past eventful career and that which is in the future, I know not how I can get rid of harassing doubts in another hemisphere. Surely ... you will respect such

⁷⁹ R.G. Boodle, Recollections of Ministerial Work in New South Wales, S.P.C.K., London, n.d. (1870), p. 126.

⁸⁰ W.C. Pritchard, A Memoir of Bishop Chalmers: A Recollection of Thirty-Five Years of Work for the Church in Australia, Melbourne, 1904, pp. 10-12. (Chalmers did, however, qualify after he was priested for a B.D. (Toronto).)

⁸¹ Williams to Sharp, 30 September, 7 October; Thomas to Sharp, 11 October, 1884, C.C.B.

feelings as⁸² these which flow from the awful mysteries of my past existence.

The sincerity of most applicants, however, was tested by reference to the way they had performed their duties as lay assistants.

What did the Australian Church have to offer clergymen or ordinands who were in these two categories? Simply this: glittering prizes were few or non-existent.⁸³ Colonial Anglicanism, however, did not have the great inequalities of income such as those which characterised the mother Church. It is likely that this advantage of the local Church would have appealed to those who, at home, found that their prospects for advancement were slender. Perhaps for this reason, it was fairly widely trumpeted.

Personal reasons

A large number of clergymen chose to work in Australia because of the country's reputation for having a warm, dry and healthy climate. It is a motive that sits strangely with the references frequently made to the fact that colonial clergy, especially in the country, had to endure conditions that were far more trying than those enjoyed at home. After years of reports of the burdensome nature of the work, moreover, greater scepticism by clergy, later in the century, might have been expected, especially by those who might have been concerned at the possibility that their wives would not survive the ordeal.⁸⁴ Some thought that Australia, a settlement colony, was preferable to a station in an heathen (tropical) mission

⁸² Carter to E. Hawkins, 29 July, 1853 4417/53 S.P.G. file 6742.

⁸³ Messenger, XX, 222 (8 March, 1887). This was particularly so in view of the habit of the Australian Church of looking to England to fill the highest positions. See below, pp.

⁸⁴ Matthews, op. cit., p. 40; Macartney, op. cit., p. 132; Goodman, op. cit., p. 39, S.P.G. file nos. 6607, 2902, 6750, 3003, 3177, 6594, 6725; Gilbert White, Thirty Years in Tropical Australia, London, S.P.C.K., 1918, p. 1; A.E. David, Notes on Brisbane Clergy, Brisbane Diocesan Archives, Oakley, Stoneman; Messenger, 4 March, 1875, 8 June, 1894, 7 September, 1894, 1 July, 1899.

field,⁸⁵ at least for those with families to nurture. A former Indian missionary wrote to a younger colleague, whose wife had shortly before arrived in Victoria from Madras:

I can quite understand what you say of Mrs. Barren's views of the colony, but you must both remember that some sacrifice of both comfort and predeliction must be made to the prospects of future usefulness and the upbringing of your children.⁸⁶

Some wished to make a fresh start; others wanted to invest in land. By the end of the century, much of Australia was regarded hardly as being missionary territory. The clergyman, Pollock, who wrote to Bishop Montgomery in Tasmania, either had less zeal than the average or more than the usual amount of candour, when he stated that he meant to try the colonies for interest and experience (he had means), and desired to take up some light work.⁸⁷

In another way, however, the turn of the century saw a revival of missionary zeal. It seems to have had parallels with the work done at Toynbee Hall. In both cases young men of good family and education were encouraged to spend time in a missionary area, with a view to proceeding, after five years or a similar period, to conventional parish work. The motives of those wishing to serve in the arid interior of Australia were partly bound up with the phenomenon known as 'new imperialism'. This work was seen, on the most superficial level, as a broadening experience; it appealed to a young graduate's sense of adventure. There were others who found this kind of missionary work attractive because it appealed to their

⁸⁵ S.P.G. file 6732

⁸⁶ Dubois to Barren, 18 May, 1878, Barren Papers Box 2454/2.

⁸⁷ Pollock to Montgomery, 15 February, 1898, Letterbook of Bishop Montgomery, NS 373/74 (Tasmanian Archives); on the 'fresh start', see the Trevor case, Melbourne Church News, 17 August, 1868, p. 189, and Ballarat Star, 4 July, 16 July, 1868, Ballarat Courier, 4 July, 1868; and Dr Brough: Goodman, op. cit., p. 239; and D. Seddon, S.P.G. file 6732; Carr, op. cit., p. 6 (on regarding colonial work as an investment).

asceticism. Finally, the semi-military overtones of discipline and obedience, qualities required of those who served in the New South Wales and Queensland Bush Brotherhood, seem almost deliberately adapted for the generation of men entering adulthood in the last years of Queen Victoria's reign.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ David, Notes, Gerrard; Eykyn, op. cit., p. 169; Matthews, op. cit., pp. 40, 42; Messenger, 24 March, 1870; Firminger, op. cit., passim, esp. p. 57; Guardian, 6 July, 1859; Montgomery to Hughes, 23 February, 1898, Montgomery, Letterbook, ff. 45-6.

ANGLICANISM UNENDOWED

English visitors and settlers frequently were impressed by the fact that much of what they saw in colonial Australia was, at least superficially, familiar.¹ In 1855, the Bishop of Tasmania and his clergy informed 'Newly arrived Immigrants of the Communion of the Church of England':

...You will gladly learn that, though you have passed from one side of the earth to the other, the land to which you are come is not a strange land. You will find here the same tongue spoken, the same laws and customs that surrounded you at home.²

Forty years later, N.F. Rowland, a member of the Toynbee Guild, noted that Sydney was like a 'small and faded London', for it appeared to resemble 'a hitherto undiscovered suburb; trains, trams, buses, arcades, churches, theatres, concerts, hurrying throngs...'³ Not only in the appearance of their cities and in their social life, but in their political, legal, commercial and academic establishments, in their journalism and their religion,⁴ the Australian colonists faithfully reproduced the patterns of the motherland, a country which, as late as the 1890s, was still called 'home', however 'quaint and pathetic' Rowland, for one, thought such an appellation to be.⁵

Of these transplanted institutions, Anglicanism, it is natural to suppose, was considered in the nineteenth century to have been the most

¹ Anon., A Visit to Australia and its Gold Regions, London, S.P.C.K., 1853, pp. 106, 108.

² 'A Pastoral Welcome,' The Tasmanian Church Chronicle, 3 July, 1855.

³ N.F. Rowland to H. Rushdall, 25 January, 1896, MSS. Eng. Lett., c 344, pt. 5 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

⁴ R. Lawson, 'The "Bush Ethos" and Brisbane in the 1890s,' Historical Studies, Vol. 15, no. 58, (April, 1972), pp. 279, 280.

⁵ Rowland to Rushdall, loc. cit.

quintessentially English. Even the Revd J.D. Mereweather, who was usually a censorious critic of Australian society, was impressed with the decorum of colonial worshippers.⁶ Later in the century, Church of England clergymen were led, almost instinctively, to describe Anglicanism as being (for the colonists at large) the 'Church of their fathers'.⁷ In the 1880s, Archdeacon Langley went so far as to suggest that Australians of English descent had a latent national loyalty to the Church of England and that this sentiment was capable of being awakened, if only the clergy would adopt a more aggressive stance.

Two points need to be made at this juncture.

First, in exhibiting similarities to the parent body, the Anglican Church was not unique among Australian religious denominations. An important link with the Church in England was maintained by the practices of choosing leaders, and of trying (with varying success) to recruit rank and file clergy, in Britain. This policy was followed, to some extent, by the Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Congregationalists.⁸

Secondly, and more significantly, in several respects the resemblances between the established Church in England and its Australian off-shoot were superficial and misleading. At the root of the differences between the two institutions was the impoverishment of colonial Anglicanism. The Church in England was endowed. After the dissolution of the Church and Schools Corporation of New South Wales, in 1833, the Church in Australia was not. This reform - perpetrated in the colony by a combination of Tory pragmatism

⁶ Mereweather, op. cit., p. 31.

⁷ For example, the Revd T. Sharpe, Kiama Notebook, August, 1869, Papers, Mitchell Library.

⁸ Walter Phillips, Defending 'A Christian Country': Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1981, pp. 53-5; Richard Broome, Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society, 1900-1914, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1980, pp. 20-1.

and Whig liberal righteousness⁹ - was to have an immense effect, during the remainder of the nineteenth century, on the role, status, quality, and behaviour, of the Anglican clergy in Australia.

I

The governments that deprived the Church of England of its endowment did not leave it penniless; except in South Australia, which abolished aid in 1851, religion was assisted by direct treasury grants until some years after the colonies severally acquired self-government. By 1855, three separate grounds of justification for the spending of taxes on religion had been developed. The government needed to assist the churches' efforts to reform a society depraved by the convict system.¹⁰ This prolonged the practice of paying chaplains from the Imperial treasury, in the colonies that had convict establishments beyond 1850 (Tasmania and Western Australia). Secondly, in the 1840s, government schemes of migration posited the need for chaplains.¹¹ Finally, in New South Wales and Victoria, in the 1850s, the possibility that social dislocation would be caused by the gold rushes, suggested to the legislators that prudence required that religion be assisted by government.¹²

⁹ G.P. Shaw, Patriarch and Patriot, pp. 40, 47-52, 76-9; A.G. Austin, Australian Education, 1788-1900, Pitman, London, 1961, pp. 19-26.

¹⁰ Austin, op. cit., chapters 1-3, passim; Barrett, op. cit., pp.34, ff.; J.S Gregory, Church and State, Changing Government Policies Towards Religion in Victoria, Cassell Australia, 1973, chapter 1, passim.

¹¹ Petition to the Governor from a large and influential body of residents at Port Adelaide requesting that a chaplain be appointed to the port, especially to perform the duties of visiting emigrant ships on arrival, Encl. no. 2, Augustus Short to Colonial Secretary, 16 October, 1851, Sir H.E.F. Young to Earl Grey, 9 January, 1852, British Parliamentary Papers.

¹² Gregory, op. cit., chapter 2, passim.

Problems of state aid

From the Anglican point of view, the substitution of state aid for the unfulfilled promise of endowment was unsatisfactory. In the first place, under the Church Act of 1836, Anglicans lost their near-monopoly of Treasury funds.¹³ Secondly, the expenditure of public money on religion was a target for voluntaryists and anti-clericals, in the press and in the legislatures. Thirdly, what the State bestowed, the State could take away; this was exactly what the new Legislative Council did in South Australia, in 1851, dominated as it was (in the opinion of Bishop Augustus Short) by 'a party ultra Republican in Religion and Politics; men who emigrated from England with embittered Political and religious feelings'.¹⁴

The replacing of an independent endowment with annual government grants raised another problem for colonial Anglicanism. The most obvious alternative to these ways of financing religion was voluntary congregational subscription. To Anglican laymen, this was as novel as it was distasteful, a fact that rapidly became notorious, and weakened the colonial Church long after even the frail prop of State aid was removed.¹⁵ The laity, therefore, brought with them to the colony an ingrained belief that 'voluntary support of the pastor by his flock was a burden to the flock and a degradation to the pastor'.¹⁶

State Aid: Nursery Dependence

As a result, the Church of England in Australia developed an unhealthy

¹³ Barrett, loc. cit.

¹⁴ A. Short to Burdett Coutts, 15 September, 1851, Burdett Coutts Papers, MS. 1385, Lambeth Palace Library; D. Pike, Paradise of Dissent: South Australia, 1829-1851, Melbourne University Press, 1967, pp. 434-7.

¹⁵ C. Perry, On the Church. A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. James, Melbourne, on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1851, previous to the Opening of the Conference of Clergy and Laity of the Church of England of the Diocese of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1851, p. 14; Church News of Tasmania, quoted, Melbourne Church News, Vol. IV, no. 103 (1 July, 1870), pp. 149-50.

¹⁶ R.G. Boodle, 'Recollections of Ministerial Life in New South Wales,' R.J. Halcombe (ed.) The Emigrant and the Heathen, or Sketches of a Missionary Life, London, n.d., p. 19.

dependence upon the State's ever-diminishing generosity. In Melbourne, in 1852, Bishop Perry despondently contemplated the consequences of such an attitude: congregational apathy, a decline in lay liberality, and a lack of accountability on the part of the clergy. What this could mean, as far as discipline was concerned, was brought home to Bishop Hale in Western Australia, in 1856, for he found that the Revd Henry Brown 'performs no duties, especially in connection with the [convict] depot, although he is one of the chaplains receiving L100 per annum from Imperial funds'.¹⁷ Such a reliance on the public treasury seemingly reached a peak in Tasmania. The newly-appointed bishop in 1884 believed that, in this aspect, the Church was a faithful replica of society at large, for the whole colony suffered from 'the demoralising influence of lavish Imperial spending'. The result was that there was created 'an entire dependence on Government', with the concomitant 'subordination of ecclesiastical authority and the chaplain's office to the civil and military officers'. Thus, 'the Church has taken its tone from general social habits. It was provided for out of the government purse, and we have not recovered from its effects.'¹⁸

Possibly, chaplancies attracted an inferior type. This was implied by the Revd C.T. Perks, incumbent of Richmond (Victoria), in an address in London in 1870, for he thought that it 'sometimes' happened that personal or political influence resulted in the appointment of clergymen who were unfitted to fulfil any but the 'social requirements' of their position as chaplains overseas.¹⁹ Nor was the difficulty confined to stipendiary chaplains. The Bishop of Melbourne, Charles Perry, claimed that in every

¹⁷ Diary of the Rt. Rev. Matthew Blagden Hale, 1856-1875, typescript, S.P.G., Westminster, 11 August, 1856.

¹⁸ Sandford to Benson, 31 December, 1884, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 32, ff. 95-7, Lambeth Palace Library; see also: Denison to Earl Grey, 7 October, 1847, Enclosure no. 8, British Parliamentary Papers, 459, 19.

¹⁹ Address to the Colonial and Continental Church Society, Messenger, 14 July, 1870, p. 7.

branch of the Church there were men attracted to Holy Orders because of the lure of 'filthy lucre'; therefore (he implied) State aid should be resisted on principle; in Victoria the danger was intensified because it was a colony 'to which the needy and disappointed of all classes ... naturally look for an improvement in their worldly condition'.²⁰ Inadequate though it was as a substitute for permanent and independent endowment, State aid nevertheless helped to foster a mendicant attitude in the Church of England. Furthermore, unaccustomed to systems of voluntary support of their ministers, Anglican laymen were the least well-prepared for the eventual abolition, in the 1870s, of government aid to religion.

II

The lack of endowment, and the relative impoverishment of the Australian Church, were the basic reasons for the difficulties encountered by the diocesan bishops in their efforts to attract ordained men from Britain. The possible resignation of merely one clergyman, in northern Tasmania, was the cause of worry and trouble to Archdeacon Reibey. He noted that it would be possible to entice a man from England with the promise of a secure stipend only if large landed proprietors were prepared to come forward and make a permanent endowment.²¹ As long as the tide of emigration continued to flow from England, Perry conceded, Victorian Churchmen might expect it to be matched by support from home in the form of passage money and temporary stipends for clergy coming to the colony. Permanent endowment was needed,

²⁰ Messenger, IV, 4 (1853). Within a few years, even Perry was forced to agree that State aid was necessary for the survival of the Church, given its penurious circumstances. See G. Quaife, 'Money and Men: Aspects of the Anglican Crisis in Victoria, 1850-65,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 5 (1968-9), pp. 45-61.

²¹ T. Reibey, 1 November, 1862, Papers, NS/585-1, Tasmanian State Archives.

however, in order to assure potential recruits that they would be secure against 'either arbitrary assertion of Episcopal authority or capricious change of popular feeling'.²²

English recruitment

It was natural that Australian dioceses should have tried to exploit English sources of supply. In the colonies, as well as in England, there was a fairly widespread opinion that, whatever other qualities a parish clergyman should exhibit, he should have enjoyed the benefits of a general, liberal education at a university.²³ This ideal retained its attractiveness, even as it became increasingly removed from reality. Furthermore, clergy had to be provided urgently, to minister to the thousands of immigrants who poured into the colonies which, being of recent settlement, were unable to provide sufficient indigenous manpower in a profession that was characterised by a high degree of self-recruitment.²⁴

With fewer, and less developed, resources than New South Wales, and of more recent foundation, Victoria in the 1850s had yet the burden of a larger influx of migrants than the parent colony. Therefore this brash and vulgarly affluent settlement had to cope with an enormous and rapid increase in the population, and could supply only a very primitive level of services.²⁵ There was some reason, accordingly, for Charles Perry to have been one of the most indefatigable of the Australian bishops as a recruiter of English clergy.²⁶ By the end of the 1860s, however, it was evident that

²² Messenger, II, p. 154 (1851).

²³ Goodman, op. cit., p. 460; J.W.S. Tomlin, Australia's Greatest Need, S.P.G., London, 1914, pp. 299-30.

²⁴ Towler and Coxon, op. cit., pp. 80-1.

²⁵ Serle, Golden Age, passim; G. Patterson, The Tariff in the Australian Colonies, 1856-1900, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 1-2, 7-8, 12, 15-7.

²⁶ Quaife, op. cit., pp. 45-61; A. de Q. Robin, Charles Perry, Bishop of Melbourne: The Challenge of a Colonial Episcopate, 1847-76, University of W.A. Press, 1967, pp. 54, 83, 153.

the motherland was not a fruitful source.²⁷ Prospects at home for ordained men were said to be improving, with the opening of new parishes and the better opportunities available for curates;²⁸ in fact, there was a clergy shortage in England.²⁹ The only recruits readily available were precisely those who were not wanted: invalids, failures and misfits.³⁰

Evidently undaunted by the indifferent success of Victorian Churchmen, the Bishop of Brisbane, Matthew Hale, told his synod in 1876 that his own opinion had always been 'decidedly in favour of priests ordained in the mother country'.³¹ Yet, a year later, his efforts to procure clergy from England had been checked, because young men there had been reluctant to emigrate until they had assurances about their future security.³² As usual, the difficulty was financial. According to Hale, wealthy laymen were not alive to their responsibilities.³³ In his final year of office (1884), Hale despondently told his synod audience that, although he still preferred clergymen from Britain, 'the refusal of the colonists to keep up the general Church fund' made their widespread introduction impossible.

²⁷ Melbourne Church News, II, 22 (March, 1867), p. 71; Messenger, 24 March, 1870, pp. 2-3; Goodman, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁸ Melbourne Church News, II, 22, p. 71.

²⁹ Church Gazette, III, 71 (19 January, 1865); Goodman, op. cit., pp. 458-9; Diocese of Adelaide, Report on Proceedings of Synod, Diocese of Adelaide, Twenty-first Annual Session, A.D. 1875, Vol. III, Adelaide, 1875, p. 363.

³⁰ Melbourne Church News, II, 25 (1 April, 1867); Church Gazette, II, 29 (16 April, 1863); Goodman, loc. cit.; Boodle, op. cit., p. 28; Supplement to the Messenger, IX, 102 (March, 1877); *ibid.*, XI, 115 (13 April, 1878).

³¹ Diocese of Brisbane, Report of Proceedings of the 1st Session of the Fourth Synod, 1876, p. 7.

³² Synod Proceedings, 1877, p. 7.

³³ Sixth Synod, 1881, p. 4; see also Memorandum by W.L.G. Drew, Council (Synod) Minutes, 6 May, 1881.

Recruitment for short-term service

Hale's successor, Webber, passed one third of his eighteen year episcopate (1884-1902) in England, in efforts to raise money and recruit clergymen.³⁴ Archdeacon David judged these 'mendicant journeys' to have been a financial success: £70,000 was added to the diocesan coffers.³⁵ Bishop Webber's strategy was, partly, based on an appeal to young English clergymen who, he hoped, might be 'attracted by the unconventional missionary work which is open to them in Queensland'.³⁶

This scheme, born of financial stringency, had its disadvantages. Clergymen were moved about excessively between different parishes, in the view of one observer, who doubted, too, if such men, residing in Australia so briefly, would have adapted sufficiently to 'the Australian spirit'.³⁷ This was plausible: an English priest, some forty years before, writing of clergymen who settled in Australia for a considerably longer period, claimed that 'bitter experience has ... taught most of them that ... their [English] training and ideas were unsuited to the people they had come to labour amongst'.³⁸ By the time of the 1902 Church Congress, Archdeacon David was of the opinion that English recruitment was a sign of immaturity; it was unsatisfactory and unworkable as a permanent policy.³⁹ As Australian dioceses, one by one, came to accept this conclusion, each was obliged to do so largely because of straitened circumstances arising out of lack of endowment.

³⁴ Proceedings, 1st Session, Seventh Synod, 1884, p. 9.

³⁵ A.E. David, Australia. Handbooks of English Church Expansion, Oxford, 1908, p. 127.

³⁶ Enclosure, Benson Correspondence, Vol. 64, ff. 327-8.

³⁷ Tomlin, op. cit., p. 294.

³⁸ Anon., An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of the United Church of England and Ireland in Australasia by an English Clergyman, p. 10.

³⁹ F.W. Samwell (ed.), Official report of the Proceedings of the Adelaide Church Congress, 1902, Adelaide, 1903, p. 224.

III

As it became evident to Anglican leaders that they would have to take steps to recruit an indigenous ministry, it became equally clear that, in this matter, their lack of financial resources was crucial. This was because, for most ordinands, the Church herself had to provide such training and preparation as they received. This responsibility was being assumed by the Church in England, in a way that was more direct and specific than had been customary. There were, broadly, five reasons for this development: first, the secularisation of Oxford and Cambridge, secondly, higher expectations of clerical performance and the resulting perceived need for systematic vocational training, thirdly, the growth of theology as a specialist study, fourthly, the fact that the clerical profession was losing its place as a principal choice of career on the part of the classes that formerly filled its ranks, and finally, the increasing tendency to find ordinands among non-graduates.

Theological training and liberal education

All of these factors, or their equivalents, were present in Australia, although usually in greatly exaggerated form. This is most apparent when one considers the question of clerical training and its relationship to institutions of higher education. Two colonies (Western Australia and Queensland) did not have universities in the period under review (1850-1910); those of Adelaide and Tasmania were not established until 1874 and 1889, respectively, and when the universities of Sydney and Melbourne opened, in 1852 and 1855, the students attended institutions that were then, and remained, entirely secular. At first, the number of graduates was small: in Melbourne's case, embarrassingly so.⁴⁰ The figures became

respectable only when faculties of medicine and law were established,⁴¹ and they, of course, were disciplines that served professions other than the Church. These, therefore, were not auspicious circumstances for a body that prided itself on having, for its clergy, persons of gentle birth, scholarly disposition and a liberal education.

Sydney was not quite so unfortunate, for a benefactor, Thomas Moore, donated a sum of money which enabled the diocese to build a theological college that bore his name. Ordinands in Victoria, however, were obliged to seek instruction outside their colony: the usual choice was New South Wales or England.⁴² Moore College was the butt of considerable criticism in Melbourne Anglican circles: the inconvenience of its location was not alleviated by its having a worthwhile reputation as a seat of learning;⁴³ its teaching was characterised as narrow, its style was illiberal, almost quasi-monastic, and appropriate only to a seminary; its curriculum, as far as Greek and Latin were concerned, was inadequate.⁴⁴ Yet the fact that Melbourne had no theological college was admitted to be shameful.⁴⁵ Of the learned professions, only the clerical was without facilities to train men intending to enter it.⁴⁶ From the caustic comments directed at Moore College, it might be inferred that the Melbourne diocese would have

⁴⁰(continued)

⁴⁰ G. Blainey, A Centenary History of the University of Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1957, p. 20.

⁴¹ Ian Westbury, 'The Sydney and Melbourne Arts Courses, 1852-1862,' E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1963, Melbourne University Press, 1964, p. 277.

⁴² Church Gazette, I, 8 (2 June, 1862), pp. 48-9.

⁴³ Ibid., I, 17, (16 October, 1862), p. 144.

⁴⁴ Melbourne Church News, III, 70 (4 February, 1869), p. 44. The fact that Melbourne paid a subsidy to Moore undoubtedly spurred criticism. See also Goodman, op. cit., p. 337.

⁴⁵ Melbourne Church News, I, 2.

⁴⁶ Petition to Church Assembly, October, 1862, Church Gazette, I, 16, pp. 132-3.

hastened to establish a church college, on the Oxbridge pattern, connected with the University. The matter was seen to be more urgent in Victoria because it was a young colony, peopled by those who had ties to the mother country: there was thought to be a danger that wealthy families would send their sons to England to complete their education.⁴⁷ It is a measure of the impecuniousness of the Church in gold-rich Victoria, that it was not until 1870 that an Anglican college, Trinity, was founded, and a further six years before the appointment of a salaried principal was made.⁴⁸

In fact, the debate about theological and liberal education was conducted upon English lines. Prompted by the comments of the new prelate, an editorial in the diocesan newspaper conceded that the apostles were ignorant men. It agreed that, in the history of the Church, there were many who were great Christians because of their faith, not their general culture. Certainly, 'no amount of culture can equal faith', yet one might not, from an absence of culture, infer 'the presence of general inspiration'. Ordinands, therefore, needed a Bachelor of Arts degree, for mathematics and logic trained one to think accurately, and imparted the power to apply cool reason to theological subjects.⁴⁹ For a college such as Trinity, there was a still broader rationale. Because of the secular nature of the University, it was seen to be particularly important for an Anglican affiliated college to civilize young men who were preparing for professions such as law and medicine.⁵⁰ There were intellectual and 'social' reasons

⁴⁷ Goodman, op. cit., p. 339.

⁴⁸ James Grant, Perspectives of a Century: A Volume for the Centenary of Trinity College, 1872-1972, Melbourne, 1972, chapter 1. It is relevant to note that, even so, the Church was spurred to act by the colonial government's threat to resume ownership of the grant of land intended for the Anglican college. Goodman, op. cit., p. 339; Messenger, 18 January, 1877, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., IX, 101, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Argus, 5 April, 1870.

for giving all youths who were destined to enter the learned professions, a common education at public school and university.⁵¹

A paucity of graduates for orders

Nevertheless, the reality appears to have been different. Notwithstanding the theoretical arguments in favour of a clergyman's having such a form of training as this, the fact remained that most of the products of Church schools - supposed to be the recruiting ground par excellence of the ministry - and of Universities, went overwhelmingly to the secular professions.⁵² At the Adelaide Church Congress, in 1902, Bishop Green lamented that it was 'the rarest thing' to derive ordinands 'from Australian families of influence and standing'.⁵³ As for Trinity College, in 1890 a member of the Church Assembly, Mr Justice Molesworth, was highly critical. Although he yielded to none in his admiration for broad, liberal culture, he could see no justification for the Church to spend money on an institution which, during the previous fifteen years, had sent merely ten men into the ministry, and for the last three years, none.⁵⁴ In the 1860s, the expectation in Church circles had been that an Anglican university college would supplement an ordinand's arts course with special training in divinity, thus affording 'a guarantee of intelligent culture', whilst supplying 'many of those social feelings and refinements that the world looks for in a clergyman, more than in anyone else'.⁵⁵ Thirty years later, it appeared that lawyers, engineers and medical practitioners, rather than parish priests, were the beneficiaries of the policy implemented to achieve such a desirable object.

⁵¹ Ibid.; Messenger, IX, 101; Goodman, op. cit., p. 337.

⁵² Samwell, op. cit., p. 241.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 218

⁵⁴ Messenger, 16 October, 1890.

⁵⁵ Melbourne Church News, I, 8 (17 July, 1866), p. 115.

Late development of theological colleges

Even in dioceses and colonies where no university had been founded, there was a reluctance to establish purely theological colleges. Instead, locally recruited men were trained by individual clergymen, frequently whilst they - the recruits - held positions as stipendiary readers. The reasons why this system was adopted were only partly financial. In a church in which the personality of the bishop was of great importance,⁵⁶ it may well have been, as J.W.S. Tomlin suggested, that many members of the colonial episcopate had a false idea of ministerial efficiency, for those who had been accustomed to a clergy educated in English public schools and at Oxford or Cambridge, found it difficult to divorce clerical training from a university: they instinctively thought that a theological college should not pre-date a university foundation.⁵⁷ Thus evolved what Tomlin called 'the dark age of the Church', a system of ministerial supply characterised by the employment of lay readers in the role of journey-men parsons. However critical many were of the small diocesan colleges established around the turn of the century - they were said to have been narrow, restricted, partisan and intellectually inadequate - these institutions, clearly, were an improvement on the expedient of training lay readers.

The prejudice detected by Tomlin was, no doubt, an important reason why diocesan colleges did not appear earlier. Even Archdeacon David, who was a firm believer in recruiting an indigenous clergy, appears to have shared it in a curiously residual form, for he reported, rather negatively, to Synod:

Personally I have no fear that, if due discrimination be exercised in the selection of candidates, the high standard of ministerial efficiency, which it has been our object to maintain in this diocese, will be in any way impaired by the establishment of the College.⁵⁸

56

David, op. cit., p. 55.

57 Op. cit., p. 299.

Yet the financial constraints were larger still. In 1898, Bishop Green, a pioneer in the field of theological education in Australia, reminded his synod that the existing system of obtaining clergy was very precarious and unsatisfactory. Those who expressed an interest in being ordained, lacked training. He had no financial means to arrange for them to be prepared, and (as was usual under those circumstances) contrasted this situation with that which obtained in the legal and medical professions. The diocese was asked to raise L1500, and - pending the appointment of a principal - he undertook to devote what time he had left after attending to his episcopal duties, to instructing them.⁵⁹ Brisbane had to wait until 1906 before it established a fully-fledged college; had Bishop Webber not left the diocese a handsome bequest, it is doubtful if anything substantial could have been done, even then.⁶⁰ Financial problems continued to occur: the number of contributors, as well as the number of students, was low. The intellectual quality of the latter does not appear to have been impressive: David referred to their having to be 'coached' in Greek and Latin.⁶¹ His hope was that the university - the foundation of which was then in prospect - would assist the Church in training ministers. This was an understandable sentiment; nevertheless, given the choice of profession of most of the graduates in existing Australian universities, perhaps it was unrealistic.

⁵⁸
⁵⁸ (continued)

⁵⁸ Notes for the History of St. Francis' College, Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

⁵⁹ Messenger, XXX, 357 (1 July 1898), p. 101.

⁶⁰ Canon Tomlin, Sketch on the Early History of the [St. Francis'] College, Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

⁶¹ Notes on theological college: David to Donaldson, Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

Unable to recruit sufficient numbers of clergymen from overseas, or to attract to its ministry many local graduates, or to build and staff the required number of theological colleges, the Anglican Church was forced to employ stipendiary lay readers, particularly in remote areas. Although it was claimed that the system had incidental advantages, its raison d'être was its cheapness. It was an attempt by an unendowed church to duplicate the English parochial system in a thinly populated country of vast distances. Lay readership was an office instituted for missionary areas: few doubted its importance in such frontier parishes.⁶² The other major purpose of the office was to provide a form of clerical apprenticeship: lay readers constituted an important source of candidates for orders, particularly in Victoria. In 1887, Bishop Goe told the Assembly in Melbourne that, of the fifty-three clergymen who had been ordained since 1879, only ten were graduates of the colony's university; of the remainder, the majority had been stipendiary readers. This, according to Goe, was 'the class from which the ministry was mainly recruited'.⁶³

Rationale for lay readerships

Stipendiary readers were supposed to read theology, or in other ways prepare for the study of divinity, under a supervising clergyman. In a sense, they might be said to have been the colonial equivalent of the individual pupils who were, customarily, taught by the parish clergy of the English Church. If the resemblance ended there, at least the system furnished the means by which, in the absence of a better alternative, some form of ministerial training could be carried on. The practice of licensing (or not) at the beginning of the process, and the examination, at the end,

⁶² Anon., An Enquiry ..., p. 12; Diocese of Adelaide, Report of Proceedings ... 1861, p. 361; Melbourne Church News, I, 18 (17 December, 1866), p. 279.

⁶³ Messenger, 13 October, 1887.

by the bishop's chaplain, provided some sort of control. In 1873, Perry reported to the Church Assembly that several lay readers had left the diocese in order to avoid having to face an examination. Nevertheless, because the hope had been held out to them (although not by his 'provincial brother') of easy ordination in other dioceses, it does seem as if such a safeguard was not very effective outside the sees of Melbourne and Sydney.⁶⁴ For example, two of the three catechists in the Diocese of Newcastle, in 1854, had previously been refused ordination by the Bishop of Sydney.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, taking the long view, if clergymen were still considered to be a learned class, and if continued studies were normally to be expected of them, it was not a radical change of role or function for a parish priest to have a master and apprenticeship relationship with a lay reader who was studying for ordination. Further, at least it could have been said that the intellectual training was accompanied by severely practical parish work.

It was also urged on behalf of the lay readership policy, that it had the advantage of recruiting men from a class which, hitherto, had been almost completely ignored as a source of ordinands: for example, a tram conductor, clerks (one of whom was the son of a Manchester commercial traveller), schoolmasters, and former members of the Salvation Army.⁶⁶ Generally, they were destitute of private means, according to Melbourne's Bishop Goe, in 1887.⁶⁷ Many lacked education; nearly all made up for these deficiencies by being earnest, devout, sincere and hard-working. Not all expected to become priests: one, formerly of the Church Army, was 'a most devoted and

⁶⁴ Ibid., 28 November, 1873.

⁶⁵ Newcastle Diocese, Papers, Mitchell Library, p. 54.

⁶⁶ A. David, Notes on the clergy; Bishop Goe, Messenger, 30 October, 1887; T. Reibey, Papers, 26 June, 1862; Herbert de Patron Hitchcock, Reminiscences, MS 10440 (La Trobe Library).

⁶⁷ Messenger, 13 October, 1887, p. 9.

excellent man' who 'knew his own limitations' and did not seek ordination.⁶⁸ Normally, however, lay readerships were considered to be a path to ordination, albeit a difficult one. In permitting numbers of men described variously as 'rough', 'uneducated' and 'not particularly strong intellectually' to pursue it, Australian bishops were implementing a radical policy that, officially, was only at the discussion stage at home. It was believed by one school of thought, in the colonies, that there were men who were undeniably fitted for the pastoral office but who were, from 'defects in their training or other special causes, ... unable to stand the ordeal of University examinations'.⁶⁹ On the other hand, in the Diocese of Newcastle there was, for example, a Mr. Way 'who might be a useful man among his own class of people if he would only remain a layman'.⁷⁰ There were, therefore, limits to this tolerance; even so, in being willing to use the aspiring ordinand, Mr. Way, as an unordained worker, the authorities were considerably in advance of contemporary English developments.⁷¹

The position of stipendiary reader was not an easy one. Many worked in a harsh environment; they were, often, required to travel long distances in order to take Sunday services, and to conduct pastoral visits. It was considered, therefore, to be a better test of a man's vocation than the conventional mode of preparation.⁷² On the other hand, such was the social

⁶⁸ David, Notes on the Clergy.

⁶⁹ Messenger, XII, 130 (7 July, 1879).

⁷⁰ Newcastle Diocese, Papers, 'Catechists'.

⁷¹ The Church Army was not founded until 1882 and, being a highly organised and centrally controlled body, was a rather different kind of response to a specific problem of evangelical outreach - the alienation of urban slum-dwellers. See Edgar Rowan, Wilson Carlisle and the Church Army, London, 1905. In Australia, it was deliberate policy to place unordained men in positions that could be considered as probationary for Holy Orders.

⁷² The Revd C.S. Perry (no relation to the bishop), as a layman, gave proof of his sincerity by his serviceability as a reader at Woodend. Messenger, 12 March, 1888, p. 3. See also Goodman, op. cit., pp. 350-1.

standing of many readers, that a more than usually rigorous trial was thought to be required, especially as they had not normally been given a standard educational test prior to their having been accepted. The work of the lay reader was demanding enough to screen those who might have sought ordination for 'worldly motives'.⁷³ A further advantage of the system was that it was relatively easy for a man who, having changed his mind about the priesthood or his suitability to be ordained to it, decided to abandon the pilgrimage.⁷⁴

Opposition to the system

Notwithstanding these attempts to defend the practice of licensing laymen as readers to act as surrogate clergymen, criticism of it, by contemporaries, was not lacking.

First, it was alleged that, because it was expedient to provide ministers to parishes at reduced cost, the lay readership policy involved a cheapening of the clerical office itself. In 1878, the Melbourne diocesan newspaper published a letter, from one who signed himself 'Clergyman', in which the complaint was made that lay readers delivered written sermons. This was described as hypocritical because the discourse was assumed (by the congregation) to have been the composition of the man who was reading it. Moreover, the practice put ordained clergy at a disadvantage. The aggrieved correspondent suggested that many a congregation, therefore, rested satisfied with the services of a Reader, in districts that should have been seeking to maintain a clergyman. But, from their point of view, why do so? The Reader preached better sermons at £100 per annum less!⁷⁵ In Buninyong, Victoria, readers had become de facto parochial ministers: if the system appeared to work satisfactorily, the temptation was that 'the

⁷³ Messenger, 13 October, 1887, p. 9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 97 (16 February, 1866) pp. 41-3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, XI, 122 (18 November, 1878), pp. 9-10.

little matter of Ordination could be dispensed with, as it involves extra expense'.⁷⁶

The second disadvantage of the lay readership system was that these quasi-ministers lacked education and systematic training. The hardships of the average reader's existence made study difficult: their conditions were such that even a person accustomed to reading and reflection would have found it hard to cope with the subjects that had to be covered. Moreover, the heavy work-load of the parish clergy, and the remoteness of the districts of many Readers, made supervision of them, often, nugatory.⁷⁷

On the social status of many stipendiary readers, something that bothered several laymen, 'Ecclesiaste' expressed his views candidly, almost brutally:

Of such value is the culture gained, the discipline and sacrifice imposed, by college life, that every candidate for orders should be made to go through the mill. The man who will not stand up to this test of his ability and sincerity, but seeks to slip into her ministry by some side door, is, ⁷⁸except in some rare cases, unfit to hold the Church's commission.

He reminded his readers that it was the 'boast of the great English universities that they can make their students not only scholars but gentlemen', and implied that those who had not had the experience of such an education lacked both of these advantages.⁷⁹ In 1892, Archdeacon Herring included 'gentlemanly manners' and 'fair education', in his list of qualities desired of those taking the lay reader's path to Holy Orders.⁸⁰ According to Revd J.C. Allnutt, neither of these attributes was much in

⁷⁶ Church Gazette, IV, p. 152. See also Messenger, XI, 120 (13 September, 1878).

⁷⁷ Messenger, 13 October, 1887; see also: Argus, 31 January, 1883.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Messenger, XXIV, 282 (8 April, 1892) pp. 66-7.

evidence, 'as far as many of this class were concerned. ...',⁸¹

Finally, the youthful inexperience, lack of education, and (it was thought) the low social position of many Readers, resulted in their often exhibiting undesirable traits of personality. Moreover, the ironical fact was that the essential qualifications for a Reader - zeal and sincerity - were judged, in some instances, to have contributed to the problem. Even so ardent an Evangelical as Perry conceded this point. 'Self-sufficiency and impatience of control are too common characteristics of young men,' he pointed out, 'and need to be corrected and subordinated in all who would become ministers'.⁸² Archdeacon David praised a Reader by the name of C.A. Anderson for 'the good work done with great difficulty'; he was 'a good fellow but inclined to be conceited'.⁸³ Boodle noted that, so often in this class, there was 'a forward, self-satisfied manner of one who only awaits the reception of his commission to begin setting everything to right by his confident inexperience'.⁸⁴ The examining chaplain in the Diocese of Newcastle expressed doubts as to whether 'men of this class who preach extempore are doing good work around them'. A Mr H. Lubeck, who was acting as a catechist under Canon Tyrell, with the hope of being ordained, was 'a very bumptious person' who, early in July, 1879,

advertised in the most vulgar style to give lectures on the 'Ingoldsby Poems'. I stopped the lectures. At some time he applied for ordination in September, on the plea that he was then of age and could pass the examination. I had an interview with him ... and with Canon Tyrell and found his demeanour ['manner' crossed out] so unsuitable that I declined ...⁸⁵

⁸¹ Ibid., 6 February, 1884, p. 12.

⁸² Melbourne Church News, I, 4 (16 May, 1866), p. 56.

⁸³ David, Notes.

⁸⁴ Boodle, 'Recollections', p. 135.

⁸⁵ Diocese of Newcastle, Papers, Mitchell Library.

Confusion of Function

The system of employing laymen to act as full-time ministers resulted from the implementation of a strategy which was basically flawed - the attempt to copy the parochial model of the mother Church. Seemingly, the parish church and its incumbent constituted an enduring symbol of what was seen as Anglicanism's most attractive characteristic - a humane and civilizing influence, pervasive yet subtle, which was believed to underlie the genius of the English race. The urge to construct a similar organisation in an alien, even a hostile environment, was, therefore, instinctive and almost irresistible.

The position of the lay reader was anomalous in several ways. It was claimed, for example, that those Anglican Readers who were of better social position and education than Dissenting ministers, were none the less regarded, in the communities in which they were placed, as having a status inferior to that of Nonconformist clergymen.⁸⁶ Partly for this reason, perhaps, some Readers acquired semi-sacerdotal pretensions, manifested in practices such as the wearing of stoles or the adoption of the title 'Reverend'. Because of a 'thoughtless and ambitious spirit', many were (allegedly) guilty of such improprieties.⁸⁷ According to one contemporary, the problem arose from the grafting of an ad hoc pseudo-Congregationalist expedient (lay readerships) on to an institution with a monarchical form of government. The result was that, although the Anglican system of lay readerships appeared to resemble the (highly) successful Wesleyan organisation, the difference between the two was that the Methodist lay workers were not paid. In retrospect, it appears that this was the principal cause of the break-down of the distinction between lay Reader and ordained minister, in the Church of England. The confusion was probably

⁸⁶ Melbourne Church News, 17 December, 1866.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1 July, 1870.

aggravated by the nineteenth century infrequency of sacramental worship (especially in rural areas), and the general absence of sacerdotal ritual on the few occasions when the communion was celebrated.⁸⁸ The lay Reader's position was one of considerable delicacy, perhaps requiring a greater measure of tact than could have been reasonably expected of many of this class, no matter how devoted and conscientious they may have been.⁸⁹ However much some may have earned the respect of their districts, overall they probably lessened the esteem in which Anglican clergymen were held in colonial Australia. As the Bishop of Newcastle was told by his examining chaplains, 'it was a matter of regret' to senior clergy that the existing system of training candidates for Holy Orders had 'been the means of introducing into their ranks men of low mental culture and imperfectly trained in the principles of our Church'. Such a policy not merely weakened the Church. It was unjust to those clergymen whose training had been conducted along traditional lines.⁹⁰

Conclusion

The difficulties confronting Australian Anglicanism, after 1850, were formidable. It had to minister to an immigrant class which was, in a practical sense, agnostic, for all the complacent and sentimental assumptions made about the hold of the national Church on the masses of the English people, and despite the heroic missionary labours undertaken at home when it began to dawn on the authorities that these assumptions were, very largely, false. In its own mission to working class and lower middle class immigrants, the Church, therefore, had to make up ground lost in the

⁸⁸ A clergyman, in the 1860s, complained of the widespread tendency in Australia to regard eucharistic worship as being appropriate only for 'advanced Church people'. Boodle, op. cit., p. 104.

⁸⁹ Op. cit., p. 334.

⁹⁰ Letter to the Bishop of Newcastle, 23 September, 1878, Diocese of Newcastle, Papers.

motherland. It had to attempt to do so in a society that had no upper class, and almost no landed gentry possessed of a sense of an attachment to, or responsibility for, local communities. It had few endowments, yet its laity was relatively slow to accept the commitments that voluntarism thrust upon it. Valiantly, but largely without success, the Church tried to throw a parochial net over a vast, relatively primitive, sparsely populated, and continuously expanding agricultural and pastoral frontier, the considerable wealth of which rarely stayed in the region, let alone the district, from which it was derived.

It must be conceded that the response of the Church was, in many ways, ill-advised. The attempts to recruit clergy from England; the belated, uncoordinated and only partly effective measures to develop theological colleges, the establishment of the catechist and lay readership systems in an effort to overcome the problems raised by, first, the recruitment and training of an indigenous clergy and, secondly, rural ministerial supply; and above all, the failure to adapt, at least in a workable and adequate fashion, the Church's organisational structure - all these omissions and misdirections were criticised then and since. If the primary responsibility for them had to be borne by the Church's leaders, members of the laity could not escape from a share of the blame. Their parsimony - notorious but, in retrospect, understandable - was not, in itself, the main issue. This was, rather, their inability or reluctance to match their exalted expectations about the social status, liberal education and genteel demeanour of the clergy, with what alone would have allowed these expectations to have been fulfilled - the provision, for the Church, of an income which, if not full, perfect and sufficient, was at least permanent, reliable and ungrudging. The problem was not apparent immediately, it is true. The reason for this was the gulf between, on the one side, the city and suburban parishes, in which it was possible to maintain a simulacrum of the traditional ideal of the parochial clergyman, and on the other, the

rural districts, in which the ideal could not be upheld.

An inadequate supply of English clergy, the tendency of local graduates to choose non-clerical professions, and the lack of theological colleges, all combined to force the bishops to turn to what Perry, making a virtue out of a necessity, described as the Apostolic practice of using unlettered and uncultivated men in the ministry.⁹¹ Lay readers and clergymen of this class were employed in areas in which the conditions were the most trying, the work the most arduous, and the stipends the least generous. No doubt there was substance in the frequent episcopal and archidiaconal assurances to the clergy that the laity esteemed those pastors who exhibited the qualities of earnestness and zeal. Certainly, the heroic missionary labours of bush priests appear to have been appreciated by the members of their scattered and isolated flocks. Nevertheless, three important qualifications need to be made. First, in rural parishes there were those, by nature more articulate, who could not overlook the rector's or the Reader's lack of breeding, culture and education. Secondly, the devotion and diligence of country clergymen, and of their lay assistants, were remote from the experience of the suburban middle class, which was the most important group, numerically, in the laity of the Australian Church. Thirdly, the existence of stipendiary lay readers, the opportunities, which some exploited, for such to advance to Holy Orders, and the tendency in the country to confuse the function and status of priest and Reader, combined to demonstrate that, as a body, the clerical order lacked the power, if it did not lack the will, to control entry into its ranks.

⁹¹ Sydney, having Moore College, appears to have been a partial exception to this.

AN EROSION OF ESTEEM

The lack of a significant wealthy class committed to aiding the Church's mission, the implications of land selection and of the spread of settlement into the interior, and the ideological and political culture of nineteenth century Australia, all affected the finances of the Anglican Church and the degree of esteem in which her clergymen were held.

I

Observers of colonial Australia frequently commented that its society was a duplication of Britain's, with, however, two important qualifications: in Australia, there was a larger proportion of working class and lower middle class people, and the aristocracy was virtually unrepresented.

Consequently, the classes that were the Church's principal benefactors in England, were smaller and less powerful in the colonies. The Church retained its belief that Anglicanism was the national faith of the English people; thus it had a strong motive to attempt to minister to those members of the working class who had emigrated from England and Wales.¹

The lack of an hereditary upper class

In 1854, Bishop Nixon (Tasmania) told the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that the time was approaching when the Church of England would cease to be the recipient of State aid, because pressures from without would end that policy. Such a development (he believed) was not entirely unjust; although the government had rightly supported the Church when religion was in its infancy, by then, the times had changed. The country was settled. The farmers were thriving, merchants and tradesmen were

1

Messenger, IX, 107 (9 August, 1877), p. 5.

prospering, and wages were high. The Church had before it a task - by no means, Nixon implied, an impossible one - to secure, from its own ranks, a permanent form of endowment.²

Nixon's assessment was unrealistic. A general prosperity, shared amongst all social groups, was not enough to ensure that Anglicanism would be able to cope with the new circumstances in which the Church found itself, after the ending of State assistance. What was needed, it appeared, was a class of landed proprietors who considered that it was their duty to ensure that their dependants were furnished with the services of religion. Such a paternalistically ordered society might yet (it was hoped) evolve in Victoria. Until it did, the Church would have to improvise.³ In New South Wales, Boodle commented that there were congenial conditions for his ministerial work, because in his parish there was a gentleman settler (a sheep and cattle owner) with his household and his 'dependants'.⁴ A Queensland clergyman blamed the low attendance at his country church on the absence of a leading figure in the district: there was no one, therefore, to set the ordinary people an example.⁵ In northern Queensland, many a squatter (observed a clergyman)

instead of being a father to his people, like a great English squire, cares nothing about his own men, beyond getting his money's worth out of them. Perhaps the men also would resent, as undue interference, any friendly counsel on the part of the employer.

The result, he believed, was that the working classes lacked the qualities of thrift and prudence.⁶ Writing in the 1880s, of Australian urban society,

² Anon., Work in the Colonies, London,. 1865, p. 292.

³ Melbourne Church News, II, 24 (16 March, 1867), p. 83.

⁴ Boodle, op. cit., p. 45.

⁵ Glennie, Diary, 6 December, 1857.

⁶ T. Eykyn, op. cit., p.13.

Richard Twopeny claimed that the plutocracy was utterly selfish in character. It did not 'interest itself in those social duties, which are proving so effectual a prop to the nobility and the landed gentry of England'.⁷

Non-Anglican riches; absenteeism; export of wealth

The contrast between the Church's poverty and the wealth of the country at large, was a standing embarrassment to Anglican spokesmen, particularly when they attempted to raise funds in England for the colonial Church. There were three arguments advanced, at the time, to explain the apparent incongruity.

First, in Victoria and Queensland, especially Victoria, much of the wealth of the country was in non-Anglican hands. Scotch pastoralists of the Presbyterian denomination, in fact, were dominant in Melbourne financial circles.⁸ Bishop Moorhouse said that, in Melbourne:

A pair of horses can find their way to chapel, as well as to church. Many of the rich people belong to the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians or the Dissenters, and the number of rich Churchmen is comparatively small.

Sir W.F. Stawell asserted, in 1873, that a large proportion of the important proprietors were not of the Church of England.¹⁰ The Bishop of Ballarat, Thornton, described his diocese as a region abounding in poor and

⁷ R. Twopeny, Town Life in Australia (1883), Penguin Colonial Facsimiles edition, 1973, p. 109.

⁸ Serle, The Rush to be Rich, pp. 134-5, 167-8.

⁹ Moorhouse to Bullock, 2 September, 1878, Moorhouse, Letterbook, Diocesan Archives, Melbourne. Bullock, admittedly, was secretary of the S.P.G. The bishop's statement was, perhaps, tailored to his correspondent, for it contrasts with his comments, at his welcoming luncheon, that Victoria was obviously a wealthy colony and therefore the Church could afford to provide better facilities to train its clergy. On the other hand, he might well have repented of his earlier, optimistic opinion, uttered twenty months before he wrote the letter quoted here.

¹⁰ Messenger, III, 53 (6 February, 1873), pp. 11-2.

struggling persons. In the rich western districts, the land was in a few hands - mostly non-Anglicans, or absentees.¹¹

Absentees, however, were a greater problem in the vast interior of Queensland and New South Wales. The inhabitants of the country traversed by the Revd J.A. Cardew could not possibly have afforded to maintain a clergyman. The stations did not have owners: they were run by managers.¹² In 1901, after some years of drought, the Bishop of Bathurst lamented that, although Anglicans of wealth and property were aware of the privations of the clergy, they ignored appeals for relief.¹³

The third argument in defence of Anglican mendicancy was the fact that much pastoral and mineral wealth went back to Britain.¹⁴ An appeal to Englishmen to contribute funds for the building of St. John's Cathedral, Brisbane, referred to the 'vast tracts' of land held in Queensland by investors who lived in the Old Country.¹⁵ Although the Dean of Melbourne deplored the need for mendicant appeals to Britain, he asked that those who criticised Bishop Perry for his journeys to England to appeal for funds, to recall how much wealth had gone from Victoria to England in the quarter century since gold was first discovered.¹⁶ Thirty years later, Archdeacon David pointed out that England had sent thousands of penniless migrants to Australia, yet from Australia had drawn immense wealth.¹⁷ The colonial

¹¹ Messenger, XVII, 184, (12 January, 1884), p. 16; see also Vol. XII, no. 141 (7 June 1880), p.7.

¹² Unidentified article, 'Account of a parish in the Bush,' Diocesan archives, Brisbane.

¹³ Charles Edward Camidge, President's Address on the Occasion of the Tenth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Bathurst delivered in St. John's Church, Mudgee, on Tuesday, July 16, 1901, Bathurst, 1901, p. 14. See also Tomlin, op. cit., p. 305.

¹⁴ Melbourne Church News, II, 24 (16 March, 1867), p. 83.

¹⁵ Appeal to build St. John's, Brisbane, enc., Temple Correspondence, Vol. 22, f. 34.

¹⁶ Argus, 1 June, 1876, p. 5.

Church, therefore, was trying to arouse, in absentee landlords and investors, the kind of responsibility traditionally exercised by local men of substance. In so doing, Australian Anglicans were placing themselves in the undignified position of obsequious and impotent suppliants, yet they could claim, in part justification, that they were accustomed to a milieu in which this kind of support, by prominent laymen, was forthcoming.

Lay parsimony

Mereweather complacently believed that, if handled with confidence, the laity would do anything for their minister, by way of pecuniary support. He was writing of the early 1850s, and it may be doubted if even his limited experience bore out this sanguine view.¹⁸ Complaints were, perhaps, likely to be louder and more insistent than praise. Yet the chorus of criticism of the meanness of Australian laymen was too overwhelming to be dismissed. No colony seems to have escaped. West Australian Churchmen were very ungenerous compared with the laity of the Roman Catholic and Dissenting bodies,¹⁹ and Mrs. Edward Millett contrasted not only the Roman Cathedral but the gracious Wesleyan church, with the 'barn-like' Anglican Cathedral of St. George, in Perth.²⁰ Of South Australia, the Revd Whitmore Carr asserted that the Church there suffered from its having an endowed episcopate and an unendowed clergy;²¹ and in Melbourne, Bishop Perry lamented that the response to an appeal for funds had been very nearly limited to a generous donation from one layman.²² A Sydney clergyman, the

¹⁷ David, Australia, p. 12.

¹⁸ Mereweather, op. cit., pp. 250-1.

¹⁹ Work in the Colonies, p. 287.

²⁰ Mrs. Edward Millett, An Australian Parsonage, University of Western Australia Press facsimile edition, p. 37.

²¹ Carr, op. cit., p. 23.

²² C. Perry, An Appeal to the Few Zealous Members of the United Church of
(Footnote continued)

Revd C. Child, delivered a sermon on the duties of the laity to support the clergy, and at the request of several ministers, published and circulated it.²³ Tasmania's social structure approximated to what many articulate Anglicans regarded as the ideal - a class of gentry was dominant, comprising 'landowners probably more paternalistic than their mainland counterparts'.²⁴ Nevertheless, even this colony displayed the parsimony that was characteristic of Anglicans elsewhere. The laity was 'almost devoid of charity and Church feeling', wrote the secretary of the Church Finance Committee of Launceston.²⁵ Brisbane may have been the worst case of meanness, certainly among the rich. In 1876 it was reported that there were few wealthy contributors to the General Fund: most of the sum was made up of small subscriptions.²⁶ Five years later, individual proprietors were described as not being responsive.²⁷ Appeals to the laity had been productive of little good, noted the Diocesan Treasurer in 1881.²⁸ A vicious circle was said to be developing: money was needed to bring clergy from England, but wealthy laity complained about the quality of men recruited thus far; their contributions lessened as a result, with the further consequence that their means to bring competent priests from England were reduced.²⁹

²² (continued)

England and Ireland in the Province of Victoria: A Letter on the Financial Position of the Church by the Rt. Revd the Lord Bishop of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1857, p. 12.

²³ William Dow to Selwyn, 14 April, 1864, Selwyn Papers, A 736, Mitchell Library.

²⁴ Henry Reynolds, 'Men of Substance and deservedly good repute': the Tasmanian Gentry, 1856-1875,' Australian Journal of Politics and History, XV, 3 (December, 1961), p. 65.

²⁵ Henry P. Kane to T. Reibey, 8 June, 1868, Reibey Correspondence (published), p. 6.

²⁶ Diocese of Brisbane, Report of Proceedings of Fourth Synod, 1876.

²⁷ Synod Proceedings 1st session, sixth synod, 1881.

²⁸ Drew Memorandum, 1881, Brisbane Diocesan Council Minutes, 6 May, 1881.

Clerical mendicancy

The rich were expected to donate more than their wealth, for it was to this class that the clergy looked for leadership in organising subscription lists. Asking for money was not, Bishop Perry considered, appropriate for a parish minister.³⁰ Referring to the question of raising Church funds in northern Tasmania, Thomas Reibey noted that in this matter the archdeacon was thought of as a sort of machine: laymen had to be involved in the task.³¹ It was a responsibility that, too often, laymen were unwilling to undertake.

It is highly significant that the difficulties were mainly over contributions to a central fund, although raising money even for parish spending was not always a simple matter. The landowners would not collect donations from their men, Glennie complained, and it fell to the clergyman to organise the subscription list.³² In 1863, in Melbourne, a meeting called to arrange the collection of money for a clergy fund was poorly attended: only fifteen persons contributed, and all depended upon the labours of the parochial clergy.³³ In 1872, the Diocesan Council of Brisbane found that 'no person of sufficient influence and social standing' could be 'induced to undertake the collection of money to form a central fund'.³⁴ In this matter, the tradition of lay non-cooperation appeared at the local level, as well. The problem was that clergymen were as reluctant as the laity to engage in money-raising, at least for central funds. The

29 First Session, Seventh Synod, 1884.

30 Messenger, 1850-3; p. 175.

31 Reibey to H. Kane, 7 May, 1868, Reibey Correspondence (published) p. 5.

32 Glennie, Diary.

33 Church Gazette, 6 January, 1863.

34 Blackberry/Jones, Council Minutes, 7 February, 1872.

small number of districts contributing to the fund was deplorable, a contemporary observed, but he noted that, 'as the clergy seem to object to taking the matter up in their several parishes, I do not see how any improvement can be made'.³⁵

Effects on the clergy's reputation

Notwithstanding this sort of complaint concerning clerical laxity in fund-raising, there was widespread agreement that, if clergymen engaged in constant appeals for money, their office would suffer. The holding of bazaars and tea meetings was demeaning to those who presided over them.³⁶ For the clergy to seek funds to reduce the church debt was undesirable, because it had 'an unspiritualising effect'.³⁷ Even in Tasmania's more deferential society, the clergy had acquired a reputation for being mercenary.³⁸ The Melbourne Argus believed that lay parsimony was partly to blame for the Church's mendicant position, unique (the newspaper claimed) among denominations in the colony:

It is the Church of England alone - the Church of the wealthy classes, the nursing mother of the creme de la creme of society - which is always in difficulties, and it is not ashamed to sue in forma pauperis for the means of dragging on a miserable existence. The spectacle is deeply humiliating.³⁹

If the laity shared much of the blame, the degradation was borne mainly, it seems, by the clergy.

³⁵ C. Allen to Revd A.P. Martin, 24 May, 1888, Letterbook, Archdiocese of Brisbane, E, 15 May, 1888 - 16 December, 1889, p. 12.

³⁶ W.R. Sayers, Speech to the 1913 Church Congress, Official Report, Brisbane, 1913, p. 208.

³⁷ Messenger, XXIV, 245 (1 February, 1889), p. 21. See also: Perry to D. Thompson, 12 July, 1866, Melbourne Church News, III, 48 (17 March, 1868), p. 65.

³⁸ Reibey, 24 October, 1859, Reibey Papers, Tasmanian State Archives.

³⁹ Argus, 31 May, 1876, p. 4ef.

Between 1858 (Tasmania) and 1869 (South Australia), all but one of the colonial parliaments in Australia passed acts to sell Crown lands in order to facilitate closer settlement.⁴⁰ Beyond the encroaching agricultural frontier - to some extent compelled to settle there by land selection in the more hospitable country nearer the coast - were the proprietors who owned the sheep stations in the interior, and their employees. Finally, there were mining settlements, many of which were in remote districts. The task of evangelising people living in these vast regions was enormously daunting. The size and difficulty of the operation affected powerfully the ministry that undertook it.

Closer settlement and the clergy

Urging assistance for the Church's evangelical work amongst settlers,⁴¹ Moorhouse argued that the natural tendency was to assume that sparsely populated pastoral areas placed the greatest burden upon the Church, and that the more densely populated areas correspondingly presented fewer problems. Nevertheless, the opposite was the case, he claimed, because, in the districts thrown open to selectors, there were struggling yeomen farmers scarcely able to earn a living. They had no capital, and hardly more agricultural expertise than an artisan back home. Most were Church of England, and 'desired to have its services established among them'.⁴² The

⁴⁰ The exception was Western Australia, where Crown Lands were still under Imperial control. On land selection, see T. Dingle, The Victorians: Settling, chapter 4; Serle, The Rush to be Rich, pp. 51-3; D.B. Waterson, Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper: A History of the Darling Downs, 1859-93, Sydney University Press, 1968, chapters 5, 6; G. L. Buxton, The Riverina, 1861-1891, Melbourne University Press, 1969, chapters 4 and 5; J.B. Hirst, Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1917: Their Social and Political Relationship, Melbourne University Press, 1973, pp. 78-95.

⁴¹ Moorhouse to Bullock, 2 September, 1878, Moorhouse Letterbook, Melbourne Diocesan Archives.

pastoral areas, before the selection period, had actually been more amenable to the influence of the Church, because the squatters had had the means, and sometimes the inclination, to provide at least an itinerant ministry for the benefit of their employees.

Following the selectors into the dense forests of Gippsland, or on to the dry plains of the Mallee, posed problems of a logistical sort for the Church. They had an echo in the other colonies - in Adelaide, for example, the Synod was told that the shifting agricultural frontier necessitated a modification of the incumbency system. There were two courses open to a Church trying to maintain its ministry to existing settlements and, simultaneously, attempting to expand into newer areas. It could either obtain a lower grade of clergy, less educated and of an inferior social standard, or it could 'call on serious-minded laymen, as part of the royal priesthood of Christ's Church, to conduct services as lay Readers'.⁴³

There was a deeper issue, as well. Basically, Christian conservatives distrusted the political and social forces that brought land selection into existence. It was the product of militant democracy, which, in Victoria, actually became violent, as was made evident by the riots outside parliament in August, 1860. In New South Wales, by the Land Acts, the government had (it was alleged) wilfully scattered the masses of people beyond the limits of civilization. Without civilization's amenities - roads, bridges, churches and schools - the people were sinking into barbarism.⁴⁴ The selection movement broke up society, and thus caused the

⁴² Ibid. See also Bishop Thornton's address to the Ballarat Church Assembly, Messenger XVII, 184 (12 January, 1884), p. 16; Perry's speech to the Church of England Association, 21 October, 1873, *ibid.*, V, 62 (8 November, 1873) p. 6; Revd C.P. Allnutt, quoted, *ibid.*, XIII, 141 (7 June, 1880), p. 7; on New South Wales, see Thorn, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Goodman claimed that Moorhouse 'made selectors his special work'. Herald, 17 June, 1886, p. 2f.

⁴³ Report of the Proceedings of the Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide Incorporated during the Twenty First Annual Session, A.D. 1875, Vol. III, Adelaide, 1875, p. 361.

collapse of that settled, ordered existence which Anglicans believed was the bulwark of religion.⁴⁵ Australian land reformers, especially in New South Wales and Victoria, were influenced by English working class (radical and Chartist) demands that the people be given allotments so that they could escape the tyranny of factory employment.⁴⁶ In fact, their views bore little resemblance to the yeoman ideal of the past, but owed far more to the peasant ideal of self-sufficiency.⁴⁷ It was not, therefore, a social ideology with which the Church of England could feel comfortable, committed as it was, during the selection period, to a parochial system that depended for its effectiveness upon the good works and uplifting example of prominent and influential laymen, at the parish level as much as at the diocesan.

The clergy as missionaries

In the course of a visit to Sydney in the 1890s, a young English schoolmaster, N.F. Rowland, described Australia as a strange and savage country. A clergyman in the Australian bush usually had to travel long distances, almost always on horseback (for gigs were expensive and, owing to the roughness of much of the terrain, impractical). This was tiring in itself, especially in extremes of temperature: Glennie, once, broke down while delivering a sermon, and blamed the travelling which he had been obliged to do.⁴⁸ Furthermore, it meant that a colonial missionary, as one of them observed, had to be a stockrider by day and a parson by night. But worse, it seems, was the enormous amount of time that had to be spent in the saddle - time that should have been given to study. The roles of the

44 Anon., Australia as it is, pp. 228, ff.

45 Messsenger, 6 June, 1888, p. 9.

46 Dingle, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

47 Ibid., p. 60.

48 Glennie, Diary

faithful pastor and scholarly teacher were not compatible, and it was the latter that was surrendered.⁴⁹

The size of parishes imposed another hardship on clergymen - isolation. At this time the railway was bringing together English country parsons at ruridecanal meetings, clergy conferences, and visitations; in Australia, many of their clerical brethren passed months without seeing another priest. Even in the smallest colony, Tasmania, the isolation of some of the rural clergy worried Bishop Bromby, for it 'detached them from all fellowship' with their 'brother workmen'.⁵⁰ In 1902, the Adelaide Church Congress was told that the lives of promising young clergymen had been broken by the loneliness of the ministry in the bush.⁵¹ Frequent contact with other priests was partly a matter of maintaining a sense of professional esprit de corps. Without it, isolated country clergymen were prone to become involved in local jealousies and pettiness, faults which often disfigured small townships.⁵²

Laity and clergy in rural Australia

Some clerics were unflattering about the laity to whom they ministered in the interior of the continent. Emigrants had not come to Australia for religious reasons but in order to make money.⁵³ Although it was frequently assumed that there was, or had been, a high degree of religious observance

⁴⁹ Anon., An Enquiry ..., p. 10; Hale to Bullock, 21 February, 1867, Diary; Pritchard, op. cit., p. 32; de Patron Hitchcock, Reminiscences; Dubois to Barren 19 June, 16 August, 14 September, 1877, Allnutt to Barren, 27 December, 1889, Barren Papers (Allnutt confessed that he was not sure if it was religious to do too much); Revd C.J. Chambers, 'Church work in Gippsland,' Messenger, XXII, 256 (5 July, 1889), p. 109.

⁵⁰ Charles Bromby, The Opening Address of the Bishop of Tasmania at the Diocesan Synod, April, 1865, Hobart Town, 1865. p. 6.

⁵¹ Samwell, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵² Messenger, VII, 68 (7 May, 1874); see also David, Notes (Gerrard); Cardew, op. cit.

⁵³ Messenger, XVII, 305 (4 March, 1894), p. 47.

in the motherland (high, that is, relative to Australia), Boodle made the significant observation that, because many of the emigrants had come to the country to make money by labouring, they could be assumed to be not of the Faith.⁵⁴ Yet he, too, seems to have shared the view that England was a religious nation: emigrants who settled in the Australian bush were vulnerable to irreligious influences because of the 'breaking of old ties'.⁵⁵ The extent of profanity and drunkenness in the bush was widely deplored, even by clergymen who were not prone to find fault. Frodsham described their vices as being their fondness for drink, their blasphemy and their gambling; their virtues were their nobility of character, and their strong sense of mutual loyalty.⁵⁶ Profanity, drunkenness and a lack of religious feeling were assumed to be causally linked, or, if not that, at least to have been part of the same problem.

It is not necessary to subscribe to an idealised view of the piety of old England, to perceive that, in the bush, there were definite secularising tendencies. The Lord's Day lost its special significance: it was not distinguishable from any other.⁵⁷ Although observers disagreed on this, there were complaints that there was extensive ignorance about religious matters.⁵⁸ People in remote townships would not discuss religion lest denominational differences opened up between them: they considered it better to leave the subject alone.⁵⁹ Although the Church, in an institutionalised form, had been unable to keep up satisfactorily with the spread of Australian settlement, it was the case (claimed Archdeacon David)

⁵⁴ Op. cit., p. 58.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ A Bishop's Pleasance, London, 1915, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Boodle, op. cit., p. 45.

⁵⁸ Stiles Papers, Mitchell Library Document 2681.

⁵⁹ Boodle, op. cit., p. 70.

that many bushmen had been victims of soi disant Evangelists, men whose life and doctrine were in stark contrast to each other.⁶⁰ The remoteness of settlements had meant that many had not had the services of religion for years.⁶¹ Even in Tasmania, Bishop Montgomery reported to Archdeacon Whittington that there were sheepowners, at Cressy, who were living in a state of paganism.⁶²

Attitudes to the clergy in rural Australia

Bishop Moorhouse was evidently touched by the rural laity's gratitude for his arduous missionary journey among them.⁶³ This sort of lay reaction was widely reported, and there is no doubt that the heroic labour of some of the rural missionaries was the reason for the respect in which many clergymen were held, in the countryside and the interior. When they met individual travellers, or workers in small groups, on the road or in shepherds' huts, and offered to pray with and read to them, they appear almost invariably to have met with a polite, cooperative and even deferential response.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, it would not be prudent to assume, on this evidence, that the traditional mode of behaviour - such as devotional habits and respect for the clerical order - were characteristic of life in Australia's interior. These reactions, and the requests for the full liturgy (not 'bush rites', as the simpler devotions might be called), may well have been prompted by feelings other than piety, or deference for the cloth. When de

⁶⁰ Op. cit., p. 8.

⁶¹ Wand, White of Carpentaria, p. 33; Thomas, op. cit.; Cardew, op. cit.

⁶² Montgomery to Whittington: State of the Clergy,; Instructions for Archdeacon Whittington, Administrator, N.S. 373/210 (Tasmanian State Archives).

⁶³ Moorhouse to Bullock, 2 October, 1878, Moorhouse Letterbook.

⁶⁴ For example, Boodle, op. cit., p. 36. See also Frodsham, op. cit., p. 7, Messenger, XXXI (1 September, 1899), pp. 139-40.

Patron Hitchcock conducted a service at a railway camp, the demeanour of the congregation could be described, at best, as bluff friendliness: it was very far from being in the tradition of grave Anglican reverence.⁶⁵

Frodsham's experience of a shearers' camp was more daunting still: shearers were 'amazingly touchy folk, not by nature inclined to be in love either with churches or clergymen'.⁶⁶ Shearers in the interior were among the most militant of Australian trade unionists at the turn of the century.⁶⁷ The apparent piety shown by knots of drovers, or by the selector and his wife in a hut in a remote gully, may have been the product of sheer loneliness, their gratitude to the parson for his visit, or an understandable respect for professional zeal and heroism that matched their own; the desire for 'a full service in whites', an expression of their nostalgia, magnified by the awesome solitude of their surroundings. The popularity of hymn-singing in the nineteenth century was probably a further reason for the apparent desire for religious services: the tunes of Dykes and Monk appear to have been widely known; Mrs Edward Millett observed that even convicts in Western Australia enjoyed the Sunday service, 'especially the hymn or two, which they join in singing'.⁶⁸

The experiences of the Revd Herbert de Patron Hitchcock, in rural Victoria, are instructive, as is his reaction to them, and the advice he offered to missionary clergy.⁶⁹ He was the vicar of a hamlet at the time of the relief of Mafeking. All the inhabitants wanted a Feu de Joie, but how was it to be performed? Someone suggested the Parson; the initial response

⁶⁵ Op. cit.

⁶⁶ Op. cit., pp. 329-30.

⁶⁷ J.A. Merritt, 'W.G. Spence and the 1890 Maritime Strike,' Historical Studies, Vol. 15, no. 60 (April, 1973), pp. 594-609.

⁶⁸ Millett, op. cit., p. 350.

⁶⁹ Op. cit.

was sceptical: 'He? Sermons on Sunday are more in his line.' But the one suggesting it had heard that the parson once had been a sergeant. There was a deputation; he consented. Hitchcock thought that one trouble with Australia was that 'the powers that be' were almost always men born and bred in the cities. It took a great deal of country experience before they realised that 'many a despised plain and homely country man could instruct them in useful knowledge'. He applied this to horsemanship: respect of country people would evaporate if a new clergyman demonstrated no ability to ride. Yet he should not be 'horsey': this 'did not become our calling'. Hitchcock was extremely condescending toward his parishioners. 'But looking back to this scene,' he wrote of the Mafeking frolic, 'I realise the genuine loyalty underlying it all.' Yet he was, as well, concerned that the clergyman should cut a correct figure: the views of the populace did count. Clearly, he was only speculating when he suggested that the townsfolk's impression of him, initially, was that of a man whose competence was limited to preaching, but the fact that this was his view of their perceptions of him, is important. Moreover, he was happy to demonstrate that the parson's expertise extended beyond the Sunday sermon. His admonition against unbecoming horsiness may have been an example of the late nineteenth century concern that the clergy eschew the gentry's sports of riding and hunting. Perhaps, alternatively, it was evidence of the desire that clergymen should not demean themselves by competing with the bushman's love of horsemanship.

In the role of the bush parson, there seem to have been, therefore, elements of continuity with the older tradition. Nevertheless, Bishop Harmer was at least partly correct when he told the Adelaide Church Congress that Australians set store by the efficiency of their pastors, not the longevity of their service.⁷⁰ In rural Australia, such a test of

⁷⁰ Samwell, op. cit.

effectiveness was applied to clergymen engaged in hard, rough work, in primitive conditions. The harsh environment and the demands it made on the priests themselves, the remoteness of their parishioners and the nomadic habits of many of them, combined to change the conception of the Anglican clergyman in the interior. In this context, it is perfectly understandable that, as Hitchcock claimed, the laity, in rural areas at least, used the word 'parson' if they wanted to insult the incumbent, and the word 'minister' if they desired to pay him a compliment.⁷¹

Buildings and services

In older districts, in the country, worshippers were likely to have gathered in an hotel dining room, or the verandah, entrance passage or drawing room of a squatter's mansion; in townships, shire halls and mechanics' institutes served their turn. In some hamlets there was the so-called 'union church', a building used by all Protestant denominations, as well as by Anglicans. Not very much of an improvement was an Anglican church building with rough furniture and mean appointments.

The practice of holding services under such makeshift conditions, in a multi-purpose hall, or in bare and crude church buildings,⁷² had a number of deleterious effects on the Church of England. The lack of buildings, set apart for the performance of its particular rites, harmed Anglicanism, contributing to an erosion of its sense of separate identity amongst the various non Roman Catholic denominations. The devotional habits of its

⁷¹ Hitchcock, op. cit.

⁷² White, op. cit., pp. 27-8. Glennie, op. cit., 30 May, 1856; Thomas to Hawkins (Secretary, S.P.G.), 20 March, 1865, Thorn, op. cit., p. 14. Tomlin, op. cit., p. 168; Messenger, XXII, 250 (5 July, 1889), p. 250; Thomas to Hawkins, 20 March, 1865, Thorn, op. cit., p. 14; Revd John Roberts, A Mirror of Religion and Society in Tasmania during the Years 1857 and 1858, n.p., n.d., p. 13. Roberts, 'a clergyman of the Church of England,' took issue with Bishop Nixon (Tasmania) for the latter's alleged preference for hotels, rather than borrowing Dissenting chapels, for Anglican services. Both to the Bishop and his Evangelical critic, this was a matter of Churchmanship.

worshippers were threatened or destroyed: a scandalised Bishop Moorhouse referred to the 'laughter and jollity' of congregations supposedly preparing for divine service; this was (he said) shocking to English Churchmen, and was the result, he believed, of the use by the Church of buildings erected for secular purposes.⁷³ Matters had not improved by 1879, when he complained to the Church Assembly of the listlessness of congregational worship, and singled out the young for particular criticism: their indolent posture and the buzz of conversation before and after services.⁷⁴ It was a matter of some notoriety that, in Australia, kneeling by congregations was far from being customary.⁷⁵ Thus, Anglican services became less clearly differentiated from the forms of worship used by Dissenters. To an increasing extent, the Church was in danger of being regarded as merely another Protestant sect. This is part explanation of the nomenclature applied to Anglican clergymen in rural Australia. 'Parson' was a generic term for all Protestant and Anglican clergymen; 'vicar', 'rector' or 'incumbent' were not, but it seems that such terms were rarely used by non-Churchmen when they spoke of Anglican priests. The more common title seems to have been 'Man of God'. It was employed respectfully but applied indiscriminately to the ministers of any sect operating in the interior.

III

As R.M. Crawford commented in 1960, 'Australia has presented a commonplace

⁷³ Messenger, IX, 183 (123 April, 1887).

⁷⁴ Ibid., Supplement, October, 1879, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Melbourne Church Gazette, IV, 86, p. 163; Messenger, XVI, 174 (5 March, 1883), p. 12, IX, 102 (March, 1877) p. 2; The Northern Churchman, 9 October, 1905, encl. in Davidson Correspondence, Vol. 108, f. 115 (Lambeth Palace Library); Messenger, 13 April, 1878, pp. 17-8; Thornton to Barren, 20 November, 1877, Barren Papers, La Trobe Library.

face to the world',⁷⁶ and this seems to be true both in the quality of its public life, and in the lack of regional variation. It was, and is, a highly urbanised society, for all its obsessions with the 'bush' in its art, literature and folk-lore.⁷⁷ Throughout, the pastoral, mining, construction and agricultural industries were the most important in the economy. By the 1880s, Tasmania's gentrified society had given way to a social order that approximated more closely to the pattern on the mainland,⁷⁸ and South Australia provided the sole (and then only a partial) exception to the generalisation that settlers and free migrants came to Australia for motives that were largely pecuniary and entrepreneurial.

Materialism

Colonial materialism was treated with fear and suspicion by Anglican spokesmen for much of the period; however, towards the end of the century, the more reflective of local clergymen appear to have accommodated themselves to it, acknowledging that some of its manifestations could be explained by the geographical and economic environment, rather than by peculiar and inherent moral failings of the population. The Australian penchant for gambling, for example, was attributed to the fact that developing the country imposed risks on a wide range of people involved in speculative ventures.⁷⁹

The sudden injection of wealth into the colonial economies caused grave misgivings among conservative Churchmen, who believed that their ideal form of social organisation was being threatened. Perry was worried that instant

⁷⁶ An Australian Perspective, Melbourne University Press, 1960, p. 3.

⁷⁷ R. Ward, The Australian Legend, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1958; see also R. Ward, 'The Australian Legend Re-visited,' Historical Studies, Vol. 18, no. 71 (October, 1978); Leigh Astbury, City Bushmen: The Heidelberg School and the Rural Mythology, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1985, pp. 1-4, 43-78.

⁷⁸ Reynolds, op. cit., pp. 71-2.

⁷⁹ Tomlin, op. cit., p. 97; David, op. cit., p. 9.

riches would prove to be a snare to the labouring classes, members of which were incapable of applying large sums of money to beneficial use.⁸⁰ The gold rushes, Perry reflected gloomily, placed great sums of money in the hands of people who knew no enjoyment but the gratification of their own appetites.⁸¹ It was not simply that the class system was being undermined, however. Because of the gold rushes, society was developing a new tone, one that was not congenial to the Church of England. Anglican piety was distinguished by calmness, sobriety and rationality. In the colony at large, as a result of the gold rush, there was, or would be, 'a loosening of restraints;' feverish excitement and evil passions would be unleashed.⁸² The Revd John Potter, incumbent of Ballarat, believed that they were living in times dominated by a 'haste to be rich'; speculative mania had resulted in uncertainty and excitement. In such an atmosphere, what regard would be paid to moral and spiritual welfare? Potter's advice to his parishioners was to pursue an honest livelihood, and to provide for their families. They would have children to bless and revere them; their reward would be peace, contentment and affection.⁸³

Churchmen naturally believed that the ministry of the Gospel was important in bringing about such a state of affairs, namely, of all orders in society - not merely rich men with ability - living peaceably in their habitations. But Perry went further, in expressing the view that they must, as well, depend upon

the education of the rising generation, and upon the moral influence which the higher class - the intellectual, thoughtful and well-principled portion of our present colonists and of those

⁸⁰ Messenger, 1850-3, p. 325.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 292.

⁸² Ibid., p. 325.

⁸³ Revd John Potter, The Days are Evil. A Sermon Preached at Christ Church, Ballarat, on the 19th Day of August, The Eleventh Sunday after Trinity, Ballarat, n.d., pp. 9, 15.

fresh emigrants who are pouring in upon us from England - may gradually acquire upon the mass.⁸⁴

Perry's dilemma was that the more society was in need of this disinterested influence, the less likely the upper class would be able to exert it, for it, too, would have become infected by the prevailing worldliness. 'There is no conscientious monied class in New South Wales,' N.F. Rowland reported in 1897. All that concerned such people was the making of money.⁸⁵ In South Australia, in 1905, B. Hawker reported that he was 'more and more struck by the cleavage between the classes that represent capital and labour'.⁸⁶ For the parish clergy, the prospect was the development of a gulf between the materialism of the laity, and the spiritual qualities of the conscientious priest. Bishop Short (Adelaide) warned that not all missionary work was outside the towns and the capital city.⁸⁷

Egalitarianism

High wages, the absence of an hereditary upper class, and the democratic franchise, combined to create in Australia an egalitarian ethos; it was strengthened by the influx of working class migrants in the 1870s and 1880s, many of whom, it now appears, were influenced by radical opinions circulating among the lower orders at home.⁸⁸

Of all the religious denominations, Anglicanism was the one that adapted the least well, according to Richard Twopeny,⁸⁹ who suggested that, among

⁸⁴ Messenger, 1850-3, p. 292.

⁸⁵ Rowland to Rushall, 28 August, 1897, MSS. Eng. Lett. L344, pt. 192.

⁸⁶ B. Hawker to Davidson, 7 December, 1905, Davidson Correspondence, Vol. 112, ff. 126-7.

⁸⁷ A. Short, Sermon Preached by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide at the Ordination of the Revd Henry Martyn Pollitt at Trinity Church, Adelaide, 6 January, 1864, Adelaide, 1864.

⁸⁸ Graeme Davison, 'Sydney and the Bush: an urban context for the Australian Legend,' Historical Studies, Vol. 18, no. 71 (October, 1978), pp. 199-200; C.N. Conolly, 'Class, birthplace and loyalty: Australian Attitudes to the Boer War,' *ibid.*, pp. 226, 230.

members of the predominant lower middle class, Protestantism - that is, Dissent or low Church views - was the most popular form of belief. Part of the explanation for this was the ability to be hail-fellow-well-met with the Nonconformist pastor.⁹⁰ It is true that the exclusivism of high Anglicanism, and the esoteric and antiquarian arguments employed to sustain its doctrinal and historical claims, were not easily understood. Antipodean democracy was a more hospitable setting for Dissenters, particularly for those (according to Twopeny, a considerable number) who remembered past wrongs in England. One such seems to have been the anonymous correspondent of a provincial newspaper in the 1880s: he objected to the term 'parish church' in the journal's report of a function held by the local Anglicans. In the Victorian town of Maldon, in 1892, one dared not call the Anglican church the 'Church of England'.⁹¹

Twopeny also observed that the Church of England retained its upper class associations in Australia.⁹² In North Queensland, Eykyn wrote: 'I have a strong feeling that what damns dear old Church far more than the matter of Establishment or Disestablishment is the prevalent notion that she is merely the Church of the Classes and a Tory Club.'⁹³ The diocesan newspaper in Melbourne candidly acknowledged that the Church in Australia was labouring under disadvantages that were largely self-imposed, or, rather, inherited. Its services were sometimes described as being 'too high class' and genteel. Objection was probably not taken to the liturgy, as such. The problem was more delicate. As a denomination, it had become identified with

89 Op. cit., p. 117.

90 Ibid.

91 Hamilton Spectator, 24 August, 26 August, 2 September, 1882; William Evans (ed.), Diary of a Welsh Swagman, Melbourne, 1975, p. 197.

92 Op. cit.

93 Op. cit., p. 27.

political and social exclusiveness. 'The clergy, as teachers and patterns, need not exalt conservatism and conventionality into a religion.'⁹⁴

Reputation and Regeneration

Another aspect of colonial egalitarianism was the decline in the importance that was placed upon 'character'. In commercial life, Twopeny noted, 'the old-fashioned English prejudice against bankruptcy has been improved out of existence by the speculative nature of all business ... Even when there has been swindling, it is soon forgiven and forgotten.'⁹⁵ In 1850, Mereweather referred to the 'veil of oblivion over the failings, even the crimes, of a past life' which awaited those who emigrated. 'The whole man becomes physically and morally regenerated,' he claimed, 'and he feels an independence with regard to surrounding influences which he never felt before.'⁹⁶ Such a one was the Revd G. Trevor, who was forced to leave England because he was an habitual drunkard. Bishop Perry gave him a stipendiary readership in charge of All Saints Church, Ballarat. In 1868, Trevor was found to be intoxicated in his lodgings, and his vicar, Potter, reported the matter to his diocesan. Trevor's churchwardens accused Potter of dictatorial behaviour. One of the vicar's opponents stated at a public meeting that, as far as the All Saints congregation was concerned, Trevor was well regarded because he had caused the church to prosper during the time he had spent there as Reader, but Potter 'frequently came up and with his very pompous manner, more like that of a pope than a Church of England minister, had completely disgusted people'. The feeling was so strong that a 'Free Church of England' congregation was formed, with Trevor as its minister. Canon Potter's rank, Trevor's past questionable conduct, and his present peccadillo, all counted for little when weighed against the

⁹⁴ Messenger, 6 August, 1884 (leading article).

⁹⁵ Op. cit., p. 192.

⁹⁶ Op. cit., p. 262.

Reader's 'efficiency' in his work with the people of All Saints.⁹⁷

The case of the Revd Thomas Reibey furnished a yet more remarkable example of what seemed to be a national trait of absolving public men from their past misdeeds. Reibey was obliged to resign as Archdeacon of Northern Tasmania, after losing a libel case he brought against a parishioner, Henry Blomfield, who had made allegations that the archdeacon had attempted to seduce his, Blomfield's, wife. Although an impartial observer might not consider the evidence against Reibey to have been entirely convincing,⁹⁸ it was sufficient to satisfy those (described by the archdeacon's counsel as 'anti-Church claquers') who packed the court and the street outside. They greeted Blomfield's acquittal - and, by implication, Reibey's guilt - with uproarious cheering.⁹⁹ Yet within five years Reibey was elected to the Tasmanian legislature in the first of several victories at the polls. He was to spend a number of years as speaker and was also, for a short while, the colony's premier. His political career demonstrates the fluidity of colonial society, certainly,¹⁰⁰ but, more than that, it provides exemplification for the comment made by Bishop Frodsham, a generation later: 'A man who is above the average gets on in Australia far quicker ... Such ... may retrieve a folly, even a disgrace, and build up an honourable name.'¹⁰¹

This casualness in relation to a man's past character was to be expected, no doubt, in a developing economy and a frontier society. But in setting so

⁹⁷ Ballarat Courier, 4 July, 1868; Ballarat Star, 16 July, 1868.

⁹⁸ A Full Report of the Great Libel Case, Reibey versus Blomfield, tried at the Supreme Court, Launceston before his Honour Sir Francis Smith, Knt., Chief Justice, June, 1870, Reprinted from the 'Cornwall Chronicle', Launceston, n.d.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol. 6, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ Op. cit., p. 37.

little store by rank and reputation, and by being enabled to be, as Mereweather said, independent of 'surrounding influences', Australian colonists were, in effect, breaking another link between the new country and the old order in which the established Church, and its clergy, had been able to exercise much informal control. The new colonial ethic was one more way in which deference was undermined, but it was of greater significance than that. The restraints about which Perry had spoken (see above, pp.) were being removed, partly because one of the necessary conditions for their existence - a concern, on the part of ordinary people that they had the approval of conventional and respectable institutions - no longer held.

Scepticism and Christian defence

In the Australian colonies, the issues of evolution, the reliability of Scripture, and more generally, the relationship between science and religion, appear to have been publicly debated first in Victoria.¹⁰² In Australia, the controversy reached a climax in the 1880s; thereafter, active scepticism seems to have suffered a decline;¹⁰³ whether because the financial depression and federation diverted attention to other matters, or because the churches accommodated themselves to theories of evolution and Higher Criticism,¹⁰⁴ it is impossible to say. What is certain is that the percentage of the population that declared itself to be of no religion, free thinking, or agnostic, or refused to state either way, fell from 2.19 in 1891 to a mere 0.56 in 1911.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² J.S. Gregory, 'Church and State, and Education in Victoria to 1872', E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education 1958 - 1959, Melbourne University Press, 1960; A.G. Austin, Australian Education, pp. 181-4; C.M.H. Clark, A History of Australia Vol. IV The Earth Abideth For Ever, 1851-1888, Melbourne University Press, 1978, pp. 293-6.

¹⁰³ Walter Phillips, Defending 'A Christian Country', chapter 5; Richard Broome, Treasure in Earthen Vessels, pp. 12-9, and Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁴ Phillips, op. cit., pp. 135-40; Broome, op. cit., pp. 17-8.

For many reasons, the public was thought to have been peculiarly susceptible to free thought. The education acts, beginning with Victoria's, in 1872, were presumed to have been instrumental in raising literacy levels; moreover, they were secular, and in Victoria's case, allegedly punitively so. It was a time of 'unsettlement' in the minds of the laity on questions of belief, and this was said to have been of particular concern in Australia, because of the relatively high level of intelligence of the laity.¹⁰⁶

In work of defence of the faith, the Church of England favoured central organisation, large rallies, and the use of experienced and effective speakers.¹⁰⁷ Why did the Church of England apparently neglect the parochial pulpit as a means to strengthen the faith of congregations by the delivery of expository sermons? The reasons hold true for Protestant denominations as well: poor clerical training, the burden of parochial work, and the ignorance of congregations.¹⁰⁸

Parish clergymen as apologists

The clergy's lack of training and of general education was a matter of some notoriety with Anglicans. It was likely to have been the reason for the Church using its most distinguished leaders, rather than the local clergy, in the work of Christian defence. In the performance of this task - proselytising sceptics and (especially) resolving the doubts of parishioners - was the Church, however, actually hindered by the shortcomings of its parish ministers? Certainly, many contemporaries

¹⁰⁵ Broome, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Messenger, XXIV, 289 (4 November, 1892); Boodle, Diary; Thorn, op. cit., p.11.

¹⁰⁷ Phillips, op. cit., p. 127

¹⁰⁸ Broome, op. cit., p. 17.

believed that it was. The increasing level of education among members of the laity, the more elevated standard of mental culture in society at large, the greater scepticism of the age - all these points were urged by Church publicists, usually in connection with the issue of clerical training.

It is, however, possible that the science and religion debate was not so much a reason to believe that better preparation for ordinands was required (or that clergymen should be spending more time in their studies), than a convenient argument used by those who had always upheld the tradition of a learned clergy, and were scandalised by the extent to which it was ignored in the colonial Church. In Victoria, ministerial training had been an issue long before the controversies about science and religion had preoccupied the Church, and the schemes for improved preparation of ordinands owed far more to Bishop Moorhouse than to the pressures of infidelity.¹⁰⁹ Two questions, however, remain. Would a better-instructed ministry have prevented defections? And did the Church of England clergy fail in its role as teacher of the flock? In fact, there seem to have been relatively few outright conversions to Scepticism. What appears to have happened, was that there was a steady decline in church attendance, except for rites of passage.¹¹⁰ Even so, Moorhouse told an English audience, on his return, that there was a better rate of church-going in Victoria than there was at home.¹¹¹ Serle points out that sceptics were more articulate than believers, and the mass of churchgoers, as he states, probably remained as committed to Evangelical religion as their clergymen were. Doubts and criticisms of more educated laymen, who stayed more or less within the

¹⁰⁹ Serle, The Rush to be Rich, p. 133; Moorhouse to Hindley, 20 August, 1878, Moorhouse Letterbook, 20 August 1878 - 20 January, 1887, Diocesan Archives, Melbourne.

¹¹⁰ Messenger, XXII, 251, p. 147.

¹¹¹ Serle, The Rush to be Rich, p. 127.

Anglican orbit, were another matter. In Sydney and Melbourne, however, such cases as these were likely to be found in parishes where the incumbents were more extensively educated, more thoroughly trained, and more urbane; in short, who were better equipped to deal with intellectual problems about the Faith, or at least were less likely to disgrace the metier by ill-considered and intemperate outbursts. On the issue of Christian Apologetics in a decade of unprecedentedly publicly-articulated Scepticism, the shortcomings of the average Anglican clergyman were, therefore, obvious. It is, however, unlikely that they were relevant to such defections from Anglican ranks as occurred: clergymen of a liberal theological outlook tended to exaggerate the extent to which the artisan classes had intellectual problems with Christian doctrine.¹¹²

Church leaders and Christian defence

Apart from the intellectual level and pedagogical skills of the average parish priest, there were powerful reasons for combatting infidelity and unbelief by public lectures delivered by the best speakers the Church could supply. First, the opposition was tackled in a well-publicised forum which was the way in which sceptics spread their poison (as Evangelicals described the Rationalists' campaign). The fact that Christian lectures received more lavish press coverage than that given to the enemy, was an additional advantage. Secondly, the Church may have learned a lesson from the efforts of a young Anglican clergyman, the Revd E.C. Spicer, to debate freethinkers in public: the result was not satisfactory, from the point of view of the faithful.¹¹³ Thirdly, the Church of England was fortunate in its leaders in New South Wales and Victoria in the 1880s: Bishops Barry, Pearson and Moorhouse, and Canon Sharp (St. Paul's College, University of Sydney) were able, eloquent and esteemed apologists.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Phillips, op. cit., p. 139.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 122-3.

The importance of Church leaders in the tasks of retaining Anglican laity within the fold, and of Church extension, was urged by no less a figure than the Governor of Victoria.¹¹⁵ On the eve of his departure from Melbourne, in 1900, Lord Brassey wrote to Archbishop Temple, drawing his attention to the 'discouraging position of our communion' in the colony. He judged that 'we have little hold over the Australian people'.

We want among our clergy a few live and magnetic men. I urge that a few of our younger clergy at home with special gifts for preaching and public speaking in secular subjects should be induced to come here for a few years ...¹¹⁶

The former Bishop of Melbourne endorsed the suggestion: some two or three men of 'adequate knowledge and intellectual force', good extempore speakers, of 'some emotional and intellectual power', could address gatherings in the cities where they could attract 'large and attentive audiences and do much good to our Church'.¹¹⁷

The debate between religion and science was at its most intense in the decade in which the centralising tendencies in Australian economic, political and social life - especially in the two largest colonies of New South Wales and Victoria - were at their peak.¹¹⁸ One manifestation of this was the power and influence of the metropolitan daily newspapers.¹¹⁹ If

¹¹⁴ Phillips, op. cit., pp. 124,7,9,31; Serle, The Rush to be Rich, pp. 133-4; J. Roe, 'Challenge and Response: Religious Life in Melbourne 1876-86,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 5, no. 2 (December, 1968).

¹¹⁵ Admittedly, Lord Brassey did not impress Beatrice Webb: A.G. Austin (ed.), The Webbs' Australian Diary 1898, Melbourne, Pitman, 1965, p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Brassey to Temple, Temple Correspondence, Vol. 33, f. 350.

¹¹⁷ Moorhouse to Temple, 7 February, 1900, *ibid.*, f. 352.

¹¹⁸ N.G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge University Press, 1964.

¹¹⁹ P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, Parliament, Factions and Parties: The First Thirty Years of Responsible Government in New South Wales, 1856-1889, Melbourne University Press, 1966, chapter 6; Henry Mayer, The Press in Australia, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1964, p. 15.

only in terms of publicity, it made sense, in the work of Christian Apologetics, to use a few practised and eloquent Church leaders at large meetings. The fact was that a bishop had an authoritative presence, university training, and oratorical skills of a much higher order than those of the average clergyman. An air of authority, in a local minister, could easily have been dismissed as pomposity, and in a parish priest the virtues of tact, humility and sympathy were regarded as being as important as a commanding pulpit presence.

Scepticism and the parochial clergy

The gathering forces of doubt and agnosticism may not have had an effect on the reputation of the parish clergy that was as immediate as many contemporaries assumed. If working class men attended lectures by free thinkers, it was not necessarily because they were undergoing a crisis of faith: 'they enjoyed the irreverent attacks on churchmen whom they despised for reasons other than the alleged conflict between science and religion'.¹²⁰ In the long term, it was a different matter. As a class, clergymen did not suffer a loss of esteem because they were found wanting upon their being required, by a significant part of the laity, to answer, authoritatively and reasonably, various questions posed by scientific discovery, historical research and Biblical scholarship. Instead, the central problem for the ministry was that the growth of philosophical doubt and scientific knowledge contributed to the widely held perception of the clergy that its pastoral role was confined to fairly narrow limits. Let clergymen act as pastors to self-selecting congregations, and they would be respected and even honoured. Let them launch campaigns against agreed moral evils, and they would be applauded. But should they insist on their presumed denominational rights based on a form of learning that, in the light of scientific, philological and historical discoveries, seemed to

¹²⁰ Phillips, op. cit., p. 139.

have been increasingly obscurantist and irrelevant, they would be subjected to ridicule and contempt. 'The lay heart,' wrote the Age during the debates in Victoria over education, 'had more faith than the clerical.' ¹²¹

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, the boast of the Australians that they were building 'a new Britannia in another world', encapsulated the problems confronting the Anglican clergy in the colonies. The English formed the majority of a population of a country that appeared to be a duplication of the motherland. Church of England pastors, therefore, lacked the eclat of Irish Roman Catholic parish priests who assumed the role of esteemed community leaders of an under-privileged minority. In many ways, the Anglican clergymen brought out attitudes engendered by Establishment, and in Australia bore its stigma, without however enjoying the benefits of such a status. They were associated, in the public mind, with the upper classes, yet from them derived little pecuniary advantage; many Anglican ministers were obliged, therefore, to assume the unaccustomed state of a mendicant order under de facto vows of poverty.

In so far as the building of the new Britannia consisted of rural development, it involved the Anglican clergy in arduous missionary work. The conditions of the interior made study and intensive visiting, supposed to be the characteristic virtues of Anglican clergymen, virtually impossible. Moreover, in his labours, his theology, and in the setting of the services he conducted, there was little to distinguish the Anglican bush clergyman from the Dissenting pastor. The nation-building was accompanied by rapid economic expansion, which was distinguished by a high rate of geographical and social mobility. This was unsettling for the Church because it was destructive of deference and even of some accepted

¹²¹ Quoted by D. Grundy, 'Secular Compulsory and Free,': The Education Act of 1872, Melbourne University Press, 1972, p. 93.

codes of honour and concern for reputation. The relative weakness of customs and traditions - those, at least, of the old world - meant that the clergy worked in an environment that had none of the underpinning ties of association, and few ingrained habits of respect. Materialism abolished or mitigated all social divisions save those based on wealth; pragmatism bred distrust of traditional forms of learning that buttressed Anglicanism's historical claims; egalitarianism and secularism combined to vilify, or at least to denigrate, dogmatic teaching. What made the world different for the builders of the new Britannia, made the world for the Church of England clergy considerably worse.

CHURCHMANSHIP

Churchmanship was another factor affecting the social standing of the clerical order. Australian Anglicanism's predominantly Evangelical tone had ramifications beyond the question of science and belief. Although these were less philosophically profound than the impact of Darwinism, or of Higher Criticism, they were probably of greater social significance, in so far as they had an impact upon the mass of the laity, and even upon the population at large.

I

In 1850, in dramatic fashion, the Australasian Anglican hierarchy demonstrated a definite high church tendency, for at the Bishops' conference in that year all but one of the six attending upheld Baptismal Regeneration. Near unanimity was not enough, however, because Nixon, of Tasmania, vowed that he would harry out of Van Diemen's Land any clergyman who taught the doctrinal position taken by the sole dissentient, Perry, who responded by saying that any Vandieemonian refugees would be given asylum, and employment, in Melbourne.¹ In this way, division between bishops and curates was in immediate prospect. It became a reality when laymen in Tasmania, New South Wales and South Australia reacted with strong protests to the Tractarianism and (as they saw it) the exclusivism and authoritarianism of their bishops.² Nor was the problem solved when an

¹ G.P. Shaw, Patriarch and Patriot, p. 238.

² Neil Batt and Michael Roe, 'Conflict within the Church of England in Tasmania, 1850-8,' J.R.H., 4 (1966-7); K.J. Cable, 'Protestant Problems in New South Wales in the Mid-nineteenth Century,' J.R.H., 3, no. 2 (December, 1964), p. 129; N.K. Meaney, 'The Church of England in the Paradise of Dissent - A Problem of Assimilation,' J.R.H., 3, pp. 137-57, passim.

Evangelical, Frederic Barker, was appointed to Sydney as Broughton's successor, in 1854, because in every diocese there were groups of ministers and laymen who were prepared to take up cudgels against their diocesan, should he be a man who held pronounced opinions, be they Catholic or Evangelical, in opposition to their own. The conflict was intensified by a prevailing anti-Papalism that did not appear to abate as the century progressed.

Low Church proclivities of Australian Anglicanism

In 1879, the Vicar of Christ Church, West Bromwich, the Revd Robert Hodgson, was considered by the Bishop of Lichfield to be admirably suited as suffragan of the Australian diocese of Newcastle, except for one drawback - his churchmanship was probably too high for the colony.³ In Windsor, New South Wales, the Revd Henry Stiles dispiritedly recorded:

The organ itself, set up long ago; the altered pews, from penfolds; the ceiling; the singing; the new windows; even my carrying the vessels for Holy Communion from the vestry to the Table before the service - all ... grounds for suspicion and dislike.⁴

In England, 'an Australian' complained, to readers of the Guardian, of the lack of Church feeling in Melbourne; he attributed it to what he described as the lax principles of 'the ultra-Evangelical school'. The laity was, therefore, ill-instructed. Anything that showed the Church of England 'in its distinctiveness' was suppressed.⁵ A local layman was scandalised by nineteen common breaches of the rubrics. Some, relating to

³ Correspondence Concerning the Revd R. Hodgson, Vicar of Christ Church, West Bromwich, England, and Testimonials to his Fitness to be Appointed Coadjutor of the Diocese of Newcastle, New South Wales, West Maitland, 1879, p. 3.

⁴ Henry Stiles to his son, 5 October, 1864, Stiles Papers, no. 22, Mitchell Library.

⁵ Letter reprinted, not without editorial disapproval, from the Guardian, in Church Gazette, II, 31 (16 May, 1865), pp. 83-4.

ordination services or the vesture of bishops, were said to show slackness at the highest level; others, such as the use of bags and boxes instead of basins for collections, and the use of basins instead of fonts at baptisms, or the wearing of hoods by graduates at Communion, or the wearing of hoods by non-graduates at any time, demonstrated low churchmanship by the parish clergy, or, at least, a lack of punctiliousness.⁶ In 1884, it was claimed that, in many dioceses, the Church's distinctiveness was manifested only in its mode of government; for the rest, because there was little evidence of any development of the Anglican system of sacraments, services, festivals and seasons, it seemed to be merely an episcopal sect.⁷

After Bishop Moorhouse (1876-88) left Melbourne, a press controversy spluttered about the failure of an ordination candidate (dubbed 'a Cambridge M.A.') to satisfy the examining chaplain that he was fit to be priested. Yet, his champions expostulated, the Church had admitted to her ministry, in the previous few years, several men who had formerly been nonconformist pastors: the authorities had rejected 'a scholar, a gentleman, and a moderate churchman' whilst

men who six months before stood in dissenting pulpits and denounced the Church ... are now found kneeling in Church of England prayer⁸ desks murdering the Church services to the worst of their ability.

The rejected candidate's superintending clergyman inferred from the proceedings that there had been no intention of ordaining him, and commented caustically that it would have been kinder of the authorities if they had advised 'Cambridge M.A.' to seek admission to the ministry of another denomination, and thus qualify to enter the Anglican priesthood in

⁶ Church Gazette, IV, 86 (1 September, 1865), p. 163.

⁷ Messenger, XVII, 191 (6 August, 1884), pp. 1-2.

⁸ Herald, 23 June, 1886, p. 2gh.

that fashion.

A revolt against formalism

According to a Ballarat layman, in 1870, the motherland owed much to the Church of England because its consistent, systematic efforts to raise the moral tone of society had achieved far more than the 'wild impulses' of the sects. The Establishment had given the country ideas, prayers, music, architecture, and above all, the English Bible:

Give me a respectable Nonconformist, possessing gentlemanly instincts, and a comprehensive mind, refined by education, and I warrant he will speak respectfully of the Established Church, and that he will not be unwilling to pay his quota towards its support.⁹

Of these contributions to English national life, the one that was most distinctively Anglican, and the one most easily transmitted to the colonies (apart from the Authorised Version of the Bible) was the liturgy. Because, at home, gentility, refinement and education were said to have been needed in Dissenters, were they to appreciate the value of the Establishment, the apparent absence of these qualities in much of Australian society was, perhaps, one reason why Church of England rites were not considered to have been very greatly esteemed in the colonies. A writer in the Melbourne diocesan newspaper suggested, in 1889, that the services of the Church were too high, too unfamiliar, for the mass of the population.¹⁰ It may have been that the formal structure of Matins, the Litany, and the Communion Office, and of Evening Prayer,¹¹ was ill-suited to people who had been uprooted from their past associations and who had, in any case, been less

⁹ 'A Ballarat Layman,' Letter, 'Church and State,' Messenger, IV, 112 (16 November, 1870), pp. 257-8.

¹⁰ Messenger, XXII, 247 (5 April, 1889), pp. 57-8.

¹¹ Rt. Revd J.R. Harmer, opening address to Adelaide Church Congress, 29 September - 3 October, 1902, F.W. Samwell (ed.), Official Report of Proceedings of the Adelaide Church Congress ... 1902, Adelaide, 1903, p. 26.

influenced at home by religion, than many assumed.

Australian colonists had much greater deference for British institutions than has been inferred by those whose view of the country's turn-of-the-century nationalism has been based on a simpler, coarsened stereotype. Nevertheless, there was little to sustain the observance of Anglican liturgical practices in Australia. In England, as James Bentley pointed out,¹² Ritualism was a manifestation of Victorian opulence: in Australia, a moderate, even a minimal, ritual observance was difficult, separated as it normally was from its architectural, musical and literary setting. Governors, judges and premiers might owe formal allegiance to the communion, but there was no merging of the identity of the disestablished Church with that of the secular state. The government schools may have taught a form of British Imperial and Protestant ideology,¹³ but this curriculum had little that was distinctively Anglican about it. Even the seasons of the Christian Year were the reverse of those in Nature. Mrs. Edward Millett recalled:

There was a feeling of inappropriateness about the Sunday lessons, which in the old country, long habit makes to harmonize with certain states of weather.¹⁴

In Australia, she observed, 'one day seemed to constitute the whole of Christmastide'. She doubted whether there were many persons, born and reared in the colony, who have ever heard of the Twelfth Day.¹⁵ It is not surprising that, in Australia, Mothers' Day is celebrated on the date of

¹² J. Bentley, Ritualism in Victorian Politics: The Attempt to Legislate for Belief, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 25.

¹³ S.G. Firth, 'Social Values in the New South Wales Primary School, 1880-1914: An Analysis of School Texts,' E.L. French (ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education, 1970, Melbourne University Press, 1971, pp. 123-59.

¹⁴ Millett, op. cit., p. 113.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 114.

the American festival, and not on Refreshment Sunday, the Fourth in Lent.

In the soul-searching that accompanied Federation and the opening of the new century, Churchmen discerned in the social setting, and in the Australian national character (as they perceived it to be), factors that helped explain, they believed, the difficulties encountered by the Church, ministering as it was in the context of a formal, inherited, and historic liturgy. Less restrained than Englishmen, Australians tended to distrust reserve, treating it as a form of pride. The social background lacked the subtleties and regional variations of the motherland: this was a remarkably uniform country. There was a strong democratic spirit which often manifested itself in a lack of discipline. The climate bred informality, and the love of sport bordered on an obsession; moreover, much of life could be spent outdoors, a cause, if not of anti-intellectualism, at least of a lack of reflection, in all save a tiny, alienated, minority. Australians were less likely to venerate institutions, customs and habits for their own sake, but tended to be more practical, and more accustomed to improvise.¹⁶

These characteristics were commonly associated with people living in the interior of the continent. Nevertheless, they were not necessarily confined to country dwellers, and in reality were, perhaps, more likely to be evident in those living in the cities and towns. Although there were some moderately high dioceses in Australia, and although every diocese had some high church parishes, a society that exalted the virtues of spontaneity, sincerity and novelty, tended to be far more hospitable to an Evangelical form of religious expression.

Anti-popery

The potency of anti-Catholicism in late nineteenth century Australia not

¹⁶ David, op. cit., pp. 8-10; Tomlin, op. cit., pp. 93-107, 117, 121-2, 133-40; Samwell, op. cit., pp. 23-4, 27-8, 173.

only helps to explain the popularity of low Church attitudes, but contributed to much of the ill-will with which battles over this or that aspect of churchmanship were fought. To this extent, the colonial Church and society (for the conflict raged, as well, in the world beyond the household of faith) duplicated quite precisely events in England.

Lancashire's anti-Catholicism, inflamed if not caused by widespread working class Irish immigration, likewise had its colonial equivalent. Then, too, the English horror of Fenianism was echoed in Australia, colonial animus reaching a peak after the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh, in 1868, by Charles James O'Farrell.¹⁷ Four years later, in Victoria, the 'free, compulsory, and secular' education act was passed, against a background of embittered anti-Catholicism.¹⁸ This course of events was repeated, in 1880, in New South Wales. Thereafter, the sectarian issue was kept before the public by attempts of the Roman Catholic Church to have state aid for its schools renewed - attempts which were always rebuffed.

Again as in England, almost any doctrine or practice that could be associated with Tractarianism or Ritualism was labelled as Roman. In 1851, for example, a public meeting of leading citizens in Hobart, called to consider the minutes of the Australasian Episcopal Conference, agreed to the following motion, in which a sense of a besieged Protestantism is clearly evident:

That the alarming prevalence of teaching and proceedings of a Romanizing tendency, and the numerous defections of Ministers of the Church of England, have rendered necessary the formation of 'the Church of England Association' for maintaining in Van Diemen's Land the principles of the Protestant Reformation.¹⁹

¹⁷ C.M.H. Clark A History of Australia, Vol. IV, pp. 253-7; A.W. Martin, Henry Parkes: A Biography, Melbourne University Press, 1980, pp. 235-9, 290-4.
¹⁸

Grundy, op. cit., chapter 3.

A meeting in Adelaide, on 28 January, 1851, called to consider the Tractarian threat (represented by the Bishops' Conference) to the Protestant doctrines of the Church of England, was made up of persons even more respectable than those attending the one in Hobart, for among those present were a Judge, the Colonial Treasurer, the ex-Colonial Secretary, the Crown Solicitor, three physicians, two bank managers, and several landowners and merchants;²⁰ no anti-Papist rabble, this. Strong Protestant feelings were articulated at other social levels, none the less. It was urged against the Revd G.F. Garnsey, while he was curate of St. Matthew's, Windsor, New South Wales, that he advocated views that were inconsistent with the Protestant and Reformed Church of England, in so far as he was responsible for the placing in the church a cross made of oakleaves. It was alleged that he had said that he would have installed other 'images had he been willing to risk congregational dissension', indicating 'what he might possibly do, did he possess that influence that he cannot at present command'.²¹ The Revd Henry Stiles, in 1864, was accused of 'Romanizing tendencies' because he wanted to introduce an unfamiliar hymnal; the book with which he wished to vary the staple diet of Tate and Brady was called Popish.²²

Events in Sydney at the turn of the century most clearly showed the influence of anti-Papalism on the low church school. The controversy hinged on the use of the chasuble,²³ a powerful symbol as much as an historical

¹⁹ (continued)

¹⁹ Enclosure no. 7, Denison to Grey, 15 September, 1851, British Parliamentary Papers, 512/72.

²⁰ Meaney, art. cit., pp. 143, 4.

²¹ C.F. Garnsey, Miscellaneous Papers, Mitchell Library MSS. 915. He later became rector of Christ Church St. Laurence, and was responsible for bringing the ceremonial of Christ Church 'into line with that of Anglo-Catholic churches in England'. L.C. Rodd, John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence, Sydney, 1972, p. 37.

²² Stiles Papers, no. 22, 5 October, 1864.

and theological issue, and accordingly was taken up in society at large: it was a matter of great concern to the forces of 'tribal Protestantism';²⁴ to people, that is, for whom the reformation meant (as Horton Davies said of their English cousins) anti-Popery, rather than positive adherence to the tenets of Luther, Calvin or Zwingli. This modern vestiarian controversy first flared up during the episcopate of Alfred Barry (1884-9), but neither he nor his successor, William Saumarez Smith, although they were both low churchmen, would heed demands that the chasuble be banned, for each was of a tolerant, liberal, and scholarly disposition; moreover, Smith was uncertain as to the legal standing of the vestment (in view of the lack of clear guidance from the 1905 Royal Commission on Discipline), and in any case would not tolerate attempts in Synod to dictate to him on matters which he believed to be his prerogative.²⁵ The see became vacant again in 1909, and by then the Evangelical party was in control of the synod's re-appointment machinery. This resulted in the accession of John Charles Wright, whose credentials combined a publicly-stated opposition to the chasuble, a legalistic mind, and a determination to exercise his episcopal functions as a constitutional administrator, as one who enforced the law.²⁶ The party that secured his election was not disappointed: in 1911 the incumbents of Christ Church St. Laurence, and St. James, King Street, were obliged to sign statements that they would no longer use the vestment in their respective churches.²⁷

Two questions remain.

²³ Rodd, op. cit., p. 40.

²⁴ Broome, op. cit., p. 94.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 90-1, 92-3; Clark, History, V, p. 178; Rodd, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁶ Broome, op. cit., p. 93; Rodd, op. cit., pp. 31-2, 8, 40-1.

²⁷ Rodd, op. cit., pp. 40-1; Broome, op. cit., p. 92.

First, why did anti-Catholic feeling grow so quickly in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century? The obvious answer is that the English Ritualist movement reached Sydney in the 1880s. In 1883, the rector of Christ Church St. Laurence, Garnsey, visited England; the next year, a brass cross and candles appeared on its altar, and by 1885 chasubles had been introduced.²⁸ During the brief reign of Alfred Barry, there were those who saw signs that St. Andrew's Cathedral was about to become the focus of high churchmanship; further, there was evidence that an increasing number of clergymen and members of the laity held moderately high, and broad church, views.²⁹ Moreover, incumbents of this persuasion tended to be found in parishes that were in affluent, and growing, suburbs; low church clergymen in Sydney proper were located in older, inner-city parishes, with declining populations.³⁰ The strong language of the more pronounced Evangelical was a manifestation, therefore, of a deep-seated fear that, to an increasing degree, Popish practices were undermining the citadel of Protestantism.³¹ In 1886, the anti-Ritualist body, the Church Association, formed a branch in Sydney; previously, there had been no need for such a society in a monochrome diocese.³² The most zealous of the low churchmen established the Protestant Church of England Union in 1898. This small, militant group was only the tip of a very large iceberg of anti-catholic,

²⁸ Rodd, op. cit., p. 37; Ruth Teale, 'Party or Principle? The Election to the Anglican See of Sydney in 1889-90,' Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 55, pt.2 (June, 1969), p. 144.

²⁹ Teale, op. cit., pp. 145-6.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 147-8.

³¹ In England, 'the unrelenting passions that underlay many Dissenters' hostility to the established church need ... explaining ... Some surely sprang from a peculiar irritation at the fact that the Church of England which had been ... a bulwark of ... protestantism, was no longer sound ...' Geoffrey Best, 'Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain,' Robert Robson (ed.), Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, London, 1967, p. 141.

³² Teale, op. cit., pp. 148-9.

evangelical feeling in New South Wales society.³³

Secondly, why was there not a similarly dominant movement of sustained anti-Romanism in Melbourne, the other large, low church diocese? If Sydney's strong, Evangelical partisanship - the most powerful in the Anglican communion - can be partly attributed to the long episcopate of Frederic Barker (1854-83), why was it that the twenty-nine year regime of the founding Bishop of Melbourne, Charles Perry, did not result in the same triumphant dominance of the Evangelical party in his diocese? Perry was scarcely less staunchly Evangelical than his episcopal brother, and both recruited like-minded clergymen from England, although Barker was more successful in this venture. The reason why Melbourne's Evangelical tradition was less extreme than Sydney's, lies partly in the Church itself, and partly in the social and political background of each colony. Melbourne did not have the equivalent of Moore College, an institution that inculcated many priests with the strong, low church Protestantism that was, and is, a hallmark of the diocese of Sydney. Further, Melbourne had Moorhouse, admittedly for only ten years, but this period was twice as long as that during which Barry was in Sydney - and Barry was the least narrow and most scholarly prelate that the senior diocese had to rule and reign over it in the years 1850-1910. James Moorhouse's efforts to improve the level of clerical training may not have had a great impact in the short term.³⁴ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that, by the liberality of his mind, and by his eloquence, tact and charm, he gave Melbourne's churchmanship a more elevated tone, one that was quite different not only from Sydney's, but from that which marked his own diocese under his predecessor. One of his clergy said of him that 'he found the Church in Victoria at a low ebb. He left us, cheered, inspired, and strengthened, to

³³ Broome, op. cit., pp. 87-8.

³⁴ Ibid., 4, p. 281.

a degree no one would have thought possible in so short a time.' ³⁵

As regards the rather different social and political setting of each colony, it is possible to say that New South Wales was more prone to sectarian conflict than Victoria. In Sydney, in 1868, after O'Farrell's unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Duke of Edinburgh, the Colonial Secretary, Sir Henry Parkes, was (wrongly) convinced that the Irishman was one of a group of Fenian plotters; Parkes' biographer accepts 'the tradition that his stubborn pursuit of the Fenian chimera kept the colony's ugly sectarian divisions too long at boiling point'.³⁶ This, at least, Victoria was spared. Each colony experienced a bruising Roman Catholic/Protestant encounter on the question of secular education and, in particular, on the state's decision to withdraw aid from church schools. Victoria's phase of this sectarian battle was quite as embittered as that of New South Wales;³⁷ nevertheless, it remains true that a decade or more separated these events from the Ritualist revival. On the other hand, in New South Wales, the debate over education and religion between Archbishop Vaughan and the premier, Sir Henry Parkes,³⁸ occurred within four or five years of the appearance of the allegedly Romish ceremonial in several city churches. Finally, it was New South Wales that, in 1897, saw the attempt by Cardinal Moran to be elected to the federal convention. This excursion into politics was disastrous for his Eminence, and aroused a storm of anti-Catholic feeling.³⁹ The controversy carried over into the New South

³⁵ Quoted by Serle, The Rush to be Rich, p. 134.

³⁶ Martin, op. cit., p. 248.

³⁷ Grundy, op. cit., pp. 29-34.

³⁸ Austin, op. cit., pp. 208-12; Martin, op. cit., pp. 306-11.

³⁹ Richard Ely, Unto God and Caesar. Religious Issues in the Emerging Commonwealth 1891-1906, Melbourne University Press, 1976, pp. 16-8; Patrick Ford, Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P. A Study in the Encounter between Moran and Socialism, 1890-1907, Melbourne University Press, 1966, chapter 27.

Wales elections of 1901 and 1904, mainly because the Labour party had emerged as a force in the colony's parliament. Stronger in the mother colony than in Victoria, Labour was associated with 'Romanism and Drinkdom' in the speeches of Protestant orators who commanded an extensive organisation, attracted large and enthusiastic crowds at their meetings, and demonstrated that they wielded considerable influence at elections. All this was evidence of the continuing strength of anti-Catholic feeling in the laity and, further, in Protestant circles generally.⁴⁰ Broome seems correct when he points out that, in the struggle against Romish ritual, clergymen were supported by a large section of the laity.⁴¹

II

As regards the standing of clergy in society, the effect of these apparently interminable conflicts - of which Sydney's were only the most acrimonious - is difficult to assess. Often influenced by the conventional wisdom of a secular and ecumenical age, the modern reader is perhaps misled by the plethora of anti-clerical cartoons in the Sydney Bulletin or the Melbourne Punch into assuming that his disapproval of these squabbles over trifles is akin to the common reaction at the time, at least in the world outside the Church. What does seem demonstrable, however, was the way in which controversies over churchmanship affected conventional notions of the role and function of the clergyman.

Anglican comprehensiveness

Alfred Barry had not been long in the bishop's residence in Sydney, when he spoke in a sermon of the 'wise comprehensiveness' which was

⁴⁰ J.D. Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910, Melbourne University Press, 1972, pp. 145-51; Ford, op. cit., ch. 33.

⁴¹ Op. cit., p. 94.

'Anglicanism's greatest glory'.⁴² These words now appear to have a touch of unconscious irony about them, in view of events in his diocese at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, until the 1880s, it was Melbourne's Bishop Perry who appeared to be the most partisan administrator in the Australian Church, despite his claim, in 1863, that in his diocese high, low and broad churchmen worked together, 'differing as independent men do'. There was, it was boasted, as much freedom of thought in Melbourne as there was in the mother Church.⁴³

Not many Churchmen outside the Evangelical party would have agreed with this assessment, by the time Perry's episcopate ended. From 1856, the year in which it opened, St. Andrew's, Brighton, conducted its services 'on the model of the choral system in use in the cathedrals and in several parochial ... churches in England'.⁴⁴ Perry disapproved of the practice, and in fact commanded the incumbent, Taylor, to discontinue it, but the latter refused. When the vicar left the parish temporarily, on leave of absence, the bishop appointed the Revd Mr Moore as locum tenens. In the opinion of the congregation, he was chosen because his views on choral services were the same as those of his diocesan.⁴⁵ Immediately upon his appointment, Moore

issued imperative instructions to the choir that no parts of the service, or of the responses, including the 'Amen', should be sung or intoned as had been the practice previously, and that the anthem should be discontinued.⁴⁶

The members of the choir protested; certain gentlemen in the congregation

⁴² A. Barry, First Words in Australia. Sermons Preached in April and May, 1884, Sydney, 1884, pp. 13, 29.

⁴³ Church Gazette, II, 33 (16 June, 1863), pp. 104-5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 5 (16 April, 1862), p. 25.

⁴⁵ Perry did not dispute this. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

were approached to mediate in the dispute. They suggested a compromise: the choir should comply in all that Moore demanded, except that the anthem should be retained, this being part of the musical services of the Church of England which (as the seat-holders' representative tartly pointed out to the Bishop) 'has not yet been suppressed in all the churches even in this diocese'.⁴⁷ This compromise was rejected by Moore 'in terms of marked discourtesy'.⁴⁸ Perry was unyielding: he was doing his duty to prevent music of that character having (his words are almost a paraphrase of those of the Revd Obadiah Slope)⁴⁹ 'an injurious influence upon the devotional spirit of the congregation'.⁵⁰ Within three years, he issued a general injunction against choral services.⁵¹ This provoked extensive correspondence in the diocesan newspaper.⁵²

On each of these occasions, Perry's opponents claimed that his actions were arbitrary and partisan, for (they argued) choral services were permitted by the rubrics and sanctioned by past and current usage in the mother Church.⁵³ Further, in the Brighton case of 1862, the Bishop had intervened unilaterally to stop a lawful practice that had the support of the seat-holders and the congregation, and was the subject of no complaint of anyone living in the parish.⁵⁴ Concerning the injunction of 1865, his critics stated that Perry was imposing his sectional and idiosyncratic views on the mass. As a result, members of the laity were becoming

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁹ A. Trollope, Barchester Towers, chapter 6.

⁵⁰ Church Gazette, I, 5, p. 27.

⁵¹ Ibid., IV, 86 (1 September, 1865), p. 161.

⁵² Ibid., 86, pp. 161-4; 87, pp. 171-7; 88, pp. 185-9.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., I, 5, pp. 25-6.

alienated.

Many of them ... believe that the National Church of England ... has sought to adapt herself to the varieties of thought and feeling to be found among her⁵⁵ baptized members; she has sought to be inclusive - not exclusive.

To Perry, it was a question of the literal interpretation of Prayer Book instructions; his critics, however, accused him of being selective because, first, a variety of interpretations was possible, secondly, other rubrics were openly flouted, in the diocese, with impunity.⁵⁶ The Bishop feared that lawful authority was being disobeyed. 'I cannot believe,' he told the Brighton memorialists,

that you will adopt a course which is utterly subversive of all Ecclesiastical order and which, initiated by gentlemen, might hereafter be followed, according⁵⁷ to their various tastes, by all sorts of unprincipled ruffians.

To Perry, the acts, in themselves, perhaps mattered little; whether or not they were in conformity with this or that interpretation of the rubrics, or even totally in defiance of them, was not the point. The grounds of the Bishop's intervention were that his interpretation, however narrow and disputable, of the rubrics, was to be imposed willy nilly upon all congregations committed to his charge.⁵⁸

A more serious case of sectionalism concerned the Revd Rowland Hayward, who was a deacon in charge of the church at Kew, in 1870. From all accounts he was able, diligent, orthodox and popular. Perry refused, nevertheless, to ordain him priest because he was not satisfied that the candidate held

⁵⁵ Ibid., IV, 87 (16 September, 1865), p. 172.

⁵⁶ Ibid., IV, 86, pp. 163,4; 87, pp. 171, 7, 187.

⁵⁷ Ibid., I, 5, p. 27.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 26-7. See also the Bacchus Marsh case, Melbourne Church News, III, 80, pp. 159, 163; 81, pp. 171, 175-7; 83, p. 195.

acceptable views on the Eucharist, confession, and the power of the Bishop to settle disputed matters of ritual. In the Church Assembly, Sir James Palmer asked him to table the paper of questions he had put to Hayward, but he refused. The affair provoked considerable protest. 'It is a pity,' wrote one of the hapless deacon's supporters

that the Bishop (scholar as he unquestionably is) chooses by his refusal to recognise in the clergy and candidates for ordination that latitude which the Church allows, to force those who desire to see any lawful opinions represented in the Church to form themselves into parties with ugly names ...⁵⁹

It is not necessary to go as far as the Argus did when, in an editorial castigating Perry for partisanship, it suggested that the Bishop was personally to blame for the Church's poverty: his narrow, intolerant Evangelicalism (the newspaper claimed) had dried up the stream of lay liberality. There was, however, substance in the view that Perry's attitudes and administration were inconsistent with Anglican traditions of comprehensiveness.⁶⁰ In keeping with this customary liberalism, the high churchman, Bishop Montgomery, in Tasmania, noted that St. John's, Launceston, and St. George's, Battery Point, had to be kept on Evangelical lines.

Nothing could be more fatal than to destroy in our cities refuges such as these for many of our old-fashioned, earnest people who hate ritual and love extempore prayer.⁶¹

In the same spirit, Archdeacon Hales, in Tasmania, attempted to soothe an

⁵⁹ Ibid., IV, 93, p. 76. See also IV, 95, p. 54; 92, p. 15; 91, p. 3; 99, p. 104; 100, p. 115; 102, p. 140; 104, pp. 164-5; A. de Q. Robin, Charles Perry, pp. 159-60.

⁶⁰ Argus, 30 May, 1876, p. 4. For comments on how Moorhouse introduced Melbourne to Anglican comprehensiveness, see Messenger, 5 July, 1887, p. 12; Argus, 30 June, 1887.

⁶¹ Montgomery to Whittington, 'State of the Clergy,' (1887) NS 373/210 (T.S.A.).

Evangelical parishioner of the Revd Rowland Hayward, who had gone to Tasmania after Perry's rejection of him. The parishioner was as unimpressed with Hayward's churchmanship as the Bishop of Melbourne had been. Hales wrote:

He has a right to be high church as you have to be a low churchman, and as churchmen neither has the right to repudiate the other ... If he puts into the church furniture and ornaments of which you do not approve, appeal to the wardens ... If [he] should teach what is contrary to the doctrine of the Church, speak to him first and ask him to explain. Should his replies be unsatisfactory, let Mr Hayward know you will write for information either to myself or to the Bishop. But do not assume ... he must be wrong.⁶²

At the other end of the spectrum, but deferring to the same tradition, was William Saumarez Smith. Because of his belief in Anglican comprehensiveness, he would not act against the wearing of the chasuble in Christ Church St. Laurence and St. James King Street. An indication of the way in which extremes of churchmanship undermined this characteristic tolerance was the description of Smith as weak and indecisive because he subscribed to it.⁶³

The laity and churchmanship

When the resolutions of the Bishops' Conference of 1850 were debated at the meeting of 'lay members of the Church of England' in Hobart, it was resolved, inter alia, that in any assembly set up for the administration of the Church, the lay members should be entitled to propose measures, express opinions, deliberate and vote with the clergy. The meeting also asserted the right of the laity to be 'consulted in and give their decisions concerning the faith and practice' of the Church of England.⁶⁴

⁶² F. Hales to McKenzie, 7 March, 1878, Archdeacon Brown, Letterbook, NS 373/77.

⁶³ Archdeacon Boyce, cited by Broome, op. cit., p. 92.

⁶⁴ Enclosure no. 7, Denison to Grey, 15 September, 1851, British Parliamentary Papers, 476 / 366.

This statement of lay rights and privileges must be seen as a response to the decisions of the episcopal conference to restrict the rights of formulating doctrine to bishops and priests; the laity would have a vote only on temporalities, and then only with the consent of the clergy.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the lay resolution concerning the legislative structure must be seen also in the context of the controversial decision of the bishops to endorse Baptismal Regeneration. As for clergymen, the bishops had resolved that the most expeditious way of deploying their resources would be for priests to be moved about at the behest of the diocesan. The reasons were twofold: it was a missionary country, and there was not a parochial structure of endowed benefices as in England. The meeting of the laity deprecated this plan, believing it to be injurious to 'the mental independence, and pastoral fidelity of the clergy and as contrary to the principles of the Protestant Church'.⁶⁶ Thus, Nixon's occupancy of the see, and the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, combined to encourage the laity to resist prelacy, and to assert the rights of parish minister. In South Australia, so insistent were the prominent laymen who assembled to denounce the decisions of the 1850 episcopal conference, and so determinedly did they (and others) campaign against their bishop's constitutional proposals, that they were largely responsible for a relatively rapid change of heart by Bishop Short: he adjusted his attitudes from those of a privileged head of a semi-official Church, to those more appropriate for the leader of a voluntaryist sect.⁶⁷

Churchmanship raised different issues for the laity in Sydney, in 1854, and in Melbourne. In the latter diocese, an Evangelical bishop used powers, in a way that would not be contemplated in England, to suppress 'a

⁶⁵ No. 15, Denison to Grey, 15 September, 1851, *ibid.*, 478 / 38.

⁶⁶ Enc. no. 7, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ Meaney, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-5.

legitimate development' which was tolerated in the motherland.⁶⁸ In doing so, he was enforcing an interpretation of the rubrics that was open to challenge by laymen, who demonstrated that they were perfectly competent to contest these historical and legal points in debate.⁶⁹ Twice in his answer to the Memorialists from St. Andrew's, Brighton, who protested to him about the suspension of their choral services, Perry wearily referred to the unruliness of colonials: 'I am well aware of the impatience of the people in this colony under any kind of control,' and 'I know the reluctance even of Colonial Churchmen to submit themselves to mere authority'.⁷⁰ In fact, his powers were considerable, if only because he, alone, advanced men to the priesthood and issued licences to officiate. The isolation of the diocese made his effective monopoly almost beyond challenge - a point not lost on priest and layman alike.⁷¹

The strong hand of Bishop Barker kept Sydney free of overt high church practices, yet the number of moderate Anglo-Catholic and broad church priests gradually rose in the closing years of his episcopate.⁷² In the adoption of more catholic forms, initiative came from the clergy, although amongst the laity, churchmen who were inclined to this school were to be found mainly in the business and professional classes.⁷³ They were always in a minority in Synod, but caused an Evangelical reaction so tempestuous as to be out of all proportion to the danger that they represented. In 1886, as soon as it was established, the Church Association began organising for synod elections, and by the end of the 1880s it held a

⁶⁸ Church Gazette, IV, 86.

⁶⁹ Ibid., IV, nos. 84-6, passim.

⁷⁰ Ibid., I, 5, p. 27,

⁷¹ Messenger, 8 June, 1876, p. 13; Church Gazette, II, 29, pp. 55-6.

⁷² Teale, op. cit., p. 146.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 146-7.

powerful bloc of seats.⁷⁴ Low churchmen distrusted episcopal power,⁷⁵ or rather, the bishop's unwillingness to use power in a way that the party demanded. English training and ordination, likewise, were regarded with askance, as extra-diocesan influence was assumed to have been more or less polluted. Pleading democratic arguments, the low churchmen, lay and clerical, gained for synod, and therefore effectively for themselves, the right to veto parochial appointments (1895). The party also had a majority on the discipline committee, the body that determined (among other things) liturgical practices.⁷⁶

These instances of laymen asserting themselves were prompted by the bishops' misdeeds, or at least by episcopal failure to move in the required direction on doctrinal and liturgical questions. Normally, the laity did not act independently of the clergy, but clearly there were times when laymen were less vulnerable than their ministers. The emotions aroused by Puseyism and Ritualism, rather than colonial anti-authoritarianism, explain why the laity came forward so prominently. It was Bishop Perry who took the initiative in the Brighton case, despite his allegation about unruly colonials. Yet he was, in a sense, correct, when he issued his warning that ruffians might take over an issue that was, at that time, still being debated amongst gentlemen. Lay involvement democratised the dispute; matters of faith and order ceased to be questions of professional concern among clergymen and became, eventually, the subjects of scurrilous pamphlets and demagogic oratory. In the 1850s, the bishops had been opposed to constitutional arrangements that would have enabled the laity to have considered doctrine. In Sydney, by 1905, however, even the sensitive questions of the detailed administration of the laws governing ritual

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 150.

⁷⁵ Broome, op. cit., p. 89.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 90.

observance, were no longer the bishop's responsibility. They were the province of a synod committee, in a diocese the founder of which was William Grant Broughton.

Anglican anti-sacerdotalism

When Bishop James Moorhouse was formally welcomed to Geelong, at a function at the Mechanics' Institute, he told the gathering that he rejected some aspects of Puseyism. Yet he conceded that it had been responsible for some beneficial influence, in the more reverent way in which worship was conducted. He was careful, however, to preface this expression of guarded approval with a statement that, had the sacerdotalism of the Oxford movement been adopted by the Church of England, the results would have been very injurious, for it conferred upon the priesthood 'a peculiar and sacred character'. Puseyites desired to place the priesthood in a special relation to God and man, and make the priesthood a necessary vehicle of communication between the human soul and heaven, according to the bishop. Members of the audience forgot themselves so far as to hiss the statement. Moorhouse reproved them: they must not hiss. 'We all enjoyed our own opinions. He did not agree with the sacerdotal party, but there were some very holy men within it.'⁷⁷

The reaction of the Geelong audience was an indication of the power of the association of ideas: in 1877 Australian ritual innovations were modest and tentative, and distrust of the priestly office, as such, was likely to be articulated on a relatively theoretical level. Thus, 'Habitans in Rure', an anonymous correspondent to Melbourne's diocesan newspaper, referred to the Revd Reginald Cook as a 'young gentleman' whose solemn injunction to the laity 'to obey them that have rule over you'

the while comfortably ranging himself among 'the rulers' is one of the most exquisite pieces of juvenile clerical⁷⁸ humour or priestly arrogance that I have ever enjoyed a laugh at.

⁷⁷ Messenger, IX, 103 (12 April, 1877), p. 9.

Claiming that there was nothing uniquely valid about episcopal ordination, 'Habitans in Rure' was sceptical about the spiritual grace said to be conferred by holy orders, because (in his experience of them) clergymen had evinced very little grace in their lives.⁷⁹ This was taking the argument no further than the stage it had reached at the time of the first generation of Tractarians. In his reply, Cook merely doubted that 'Habitans in Rure' was a churchman at all, such was his ignorance of her formularies; modesty alone prevented him from citing his own case as an example of the way in which grace is imparted by the laying on of hands.⁸⁰

Liturgical innovations gradually began to influence anti-sacerdotal feeling in the 1880s, although it is arguable that low church views of the ministry were employed as arguments with which to fight a particular practice, rather than being the grounds for the dislike of what was being attacked. Thus, a letter from 'Old Paths' argued that the bread at communion should be taken, and not passively received. The words of the Institution implied that it should be picked up by the communicant, but

it is said that that the new mode of institution has taken its rise from sacerdotalism, to encourage the idea that the priest, by virtue of his office, has more power to give the Blessing of the Supper than the communicant to receive it.⁸¹

The eastward position, and the chasuble, directly implied a high view of the priesthood, and other Anglo-catholic ornaments and practices were associated with this concept also.⁸² It was at this stage - in the 1880s

⁷⁸ Ibid., XVI, 173 (6 February, 1883), p. 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., XVI, 174 (5 March, 1883). See also no. 175, p. 11.

⁸¹ Ibid., XVII, 189, p. 12.

⁸² Broome, op. cit., p. 86.

and 90s - that anti-sacerdotalism was most clearly identified with the prevailing no-Popery sentiment. Nevertheless, 'priestly pretensions' aroused opposition for reasons that were connected with Australian Anglicanism, and were more or less independent of the Roman question. The Anglo-Catholic view of the ministry seemed to be inconsistent with colonial professions of egalitarianism and democracy. More important still, it was popularly thought to have been irrelevant to, and probably inconsistent with, the qualities that were widely believed, towards the turn of the century, to distinguish the successful Anglican minister - zeal, earnestness, sympathy, sincerity and humility.

Conclusion

The holy war between Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical probably did not, at the time, involve the clergy in a serious loss of esteem: in this respect, contemporary anti-clerical cartoons, because of their graphic nature, and their durability, compared with other sorts of evidence, are somewhat misleading. The deep-seated passions and prejudices in society enlivened the debate between high church and low; however, in saving it from becoming a ludicrously esoteric quibble over irrelevant trifles, the involvement of broader social forces tended to vulgarise the issues. The clergy's reputation for moderation, fair-mindedness and urbanity suffered as a result. Furthermore, party labels or identification came to form important items in the criteria for making appointments. Notions of the gentility of the clerical order were therefore, in the long run, seriously compromised.

CLERICAL INCOMES

The level of clerical stipends was directly affected by issues discussed in previous chapters: the lack of extensive endowments, the relative parsimony of the laity, and the attempts by ecclesiastical leaders, notwithstanding their slender resources, to implement ambitious plans for church extension. The modest income of the Australian parish priest probably did not impress a society which tended to judge a man's worth according to severely practical and materialistic criteria. Moreover, their inadequate stipends forced the less fortunate clergy, and the Church on their behalf, to make constant appeals for money - appeals which were as unedifying as they were, on the whole, unavailing.

I

Writing of the Anglican clergy in the Australian colonies, Richard Twopeny expressed the opinion that 'the lowness of the salaries, if not the hardness of the work, has made the Anglican clergy as a class inferior to their English brethren.'¹ Of all professional people in Australia, they received the worst pay, for performing the most burdensome labour.² Their position was made more difficult because the Church was not established, and therefore they had not the 'social compensation' which the clergy enjoyed in England. Twopeny none the less implied that, whether or not the Anglican priesthood had a measure of social prestige, the wants of Dissenting ministers were 'naturally' less.³

¹ Op. cit., p. 116.

² Ibid., p. 198.

³ Ibid.

The level of stipends

The gold discoveries caused prices to spiral and the real level of clerical incomes suffered as a result;⁴ even in a non-auriferous colony, Tasmania, the change in the value of money meant that clerical incomes were 'generally inadequate to the decent maintenance of their position'.⁵ By 1863, however, Perry was able to report to the Melbourne diocesan Assembly that matters had improved to the extent that average stipends (L350) compared quite favourably with those of the parochial clergy in England, 'and it is, although we do not quote it as an advantage, more equally divided'.⁶ In the Diocese of Goulburn, by the late '60s, a stipend of L250, with house and horse, did not compare unfavourably with other professional incomes,⁷ despite the fact that, in 1867, Bishop Thomas lamented that low salaries had resulted in enforced retirements.⁸

In 1866, despite his optimism three years previously, Perry noted a decrease in the income of the parochial clergy⁹ but this was partly because more ministers had to be paid out of the fixed government grant. The diocesan newspaper claimed that the average stipend had dropped to L296,¹⁰ but the figure was disputed by W.E. Morris, the diocesan registrar, who asserted that the editor's statement (there were three parishes in which the stipend was less than L50) was untrue: the lowest stipend was L150. Three others were below L200. Of the rest:

⁴ Goodman, op. cit., p. 412; Messenger, IX, 103 (12 April, 1877), p. 8; Boodle, Tyrell, p. 141.

⁵ Arthur Davenport, History of Synodal Proceedings in Tasmania, Hobart Town, 1858, p. 15.

⁶ Church Gazette, II, 33 (16 June, 1863) p. 104.

⁷ Thorn, op. cit., p. 44.

⁸ Thomas to Secretary, S.P.G., 22 December, 1867, *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁹ Church Gazette, V, 97 (10 February, 1866), pp. 41-3.

¹⁰ Melbourne Church News, I, 2 (16 April, 1866).

9	amounted to	L200	and upward.	7	amounted to	L450	and more
10	"	L250	" "	4	"	" L500	" "
7	"	" L300	" "	2	"	" L550	" "
10	"	" L350	" "	2	"	" L600	" "
10	"	" L400	" "				

Fourteen parishes had sent in only part returns. The estimate for these was: 1 at L200, 1 at L250, 6 at L300, 4 at L350, 1 at L400, and 1 at L500. Of the eighty-nine cures, sixty-three had parsonages. A low valuation on these individually was L80. The average income, therefore, was L410.

These statistics may have offered some comfort in the mid 1860s, but from that point the clergy's position seems to have worsened. Perry told his assembly, in 1870, that every year his anxiety increased about the pecuniary position of the parochial clergy. 'The most distressing appeals are made to me, but I can do little more than express my sympathy.'¹¹ The next year, a layman's letter to the church newspaper claimed that half the clergy had incomes of less than L300; 16, under L250, and 6 under L200.¹² An editorial in 1873 stated that many clergymen were suffering extreme privation: 'some were almost on the verge of starvation'.¹³ In 1875, according to the church newspaper, a quarter of the clergy had to live on a stipend of less than L200 a year.¹⁴ In an Assembly debate in 1880, the Revd Mr Ford put the average stipend at L227; when another speaker suggested that archdeacons' stipends might be trimmed, the bishop intervened, saying that this would be Black Wednesday.¹⁵ There were two cases, in 1890, of

¹¹ Ibid., IV, 94 (18 February, 1870), pp. 42-3.

¹² Messenger, III, 33 (14 July, 1871), p. 11.

¹³ Ibid., III, 54 (6 March, 1873), p. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid., VIII, 78 (4 March, 1875), pp. 8-9.

vestries attempting to lower stipends during periods of vacancy: only the bishop's intervention prevented them.¹⁶ By 1893, incomes had fallen further, although not as much as those of the laity - these were years of depression - and, as a result, noted the church newspaper, 'our people deserve great credit for the high principled conduct they have shown and our brethren the clergy would do well to recognise it.'¹⁷ It was, however, only a temporary reprieve. An 'obscure country parson' pleaded, in 1895, for regular and set payments of his stipend, to prevent his becoming deeper in debt.¹⁸

A similar pattern may be observed in other colonies. Bishop Marsden urged members of his synod, in 1874, to do what they could to make their clergy comfortable 'and to free them from domestic anxieties that they may be able to give undivided attention to their arduous and responsible work'.¹⁹ A priest in Goulburn found that his lack of visiting cost him his income; yet, as his bishop noted, even efficient clergy would find that 'the people expect in their clergyman a guinea's worth though they can only contribute 2/6 for his maintenance!'²⁰ Concerning the parish clergy, the Bishop of Brisbane believed it necessary to exhort his synod, in 1869: 'Let it be your care that they should not want the proprieties and comforts of their position.'²¹ In 1871, synodsmen were told that the general fund would be

¹⁵ Ibid., XIII, 140 (9 November, 1880), p. 9. On Wednesday, 8 January, 1878, during a constitutional crisis in which the upper house of the legislature blocked supply, the (radical) ministry summarily dismissed senior public servants, judges, coroners and magistrates.

¹⁶ Ibid., XXII, 257 (7 February, 1890), pp. 241-2.

¹⁷ Ibid., XXV, 298 (4 August, 1893), pp. 127-8.

¹⁸ Ibid., XXVII, 323 (6 September, 1895).

¹⁹ Bathurst Times, 28 April, 1874, Marsden Papers, (Mitchell Library).

²⁰ Thomas to White, 1 December, 1869, Thorn, op. cit., p. 39.

²¹ Diocese of Brisbane, Proceedings of Synod, 1st session, 2nd synod, 1869.

needed to supplement the income of parish ministers; if this were done, 'the anxiety of many a hard-working clergyman would go'.²² Eight years later, the Revd J.K. Black moved that synod express its opinion that the clause of the canon for the regulation of parishes (providing that 'the Churchwardens make provision for the punctual payment of the clergyman's stipend') should be more strictly enforced, and further, that the stipend should be the first charge on parochial funds. The motion was lost on a division by orders; all but one of the eleven clergy were in favour of it, but only seven of the twenty laymen voted affirmatively. In Tasmania, the priest who had been spurned by Perry, in the diocese of Melbourne, the Revd Rowland Hayward, was 'next door to starvation and hundreds of pounds in debt' in spite of his efficiency and diligence.²³ If the central fund of the diocese were called upon to pay 'the deficiencies of parishes', it would not only have been 'positively injurious but quite insufficient'.²⁴ Concerning arrears of stipend, in 1889 Bishop Montgomery advised one of his priests, Webster, to accept settlement if he had 'reached within L50'. He wrote: 'I do not know of any clergyman who has asked for the uttermost farthing, especially in these lost financial years.' The rector of Oatlands had been owed L150; he offered to take L70. 'I think he was right, although he is a very poor man.' At Sorell, the rector was owed L200. 'But he forgoes all, because the times were bad.' Montgomery suggested that, if his correspondent's parishioners knew that nearly all clergymen 'had met their people and made an arrangement when the people made an effort, they would be surprised if Webster called for the whole amount'.²⁵ Of the parishes that made returns in Tasmania, in 1904, two clergymen received a net income

²² Ibid., 2nd synod, 1871, p. 7.

²³ Hales to Davenport, 22 June, 1886, f. 194 NS 373 / 77.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Montgomery to Webster, 13 June, 1889, Montgomery Letterbook, NS 373 / 77.

of less than L100; twenty-three were in the range L100 to L199, twenty-four, between L200 and L299, and one in the highest category (L300 - L400).²⁶

Stipends, salaries and wages

In 1866, an editorial in Melbourne's diocesan newspaper pointed out that stipends were, as a rule, inferior to the salaries of higher clerks in the government service.²⁷ In reply, the registrar claimed that it was an unreliable basis of comparison: the yardstick should have been (he argued) the level of clerical incomes in other colonies and in other parts of the Anglican communion. On this basis, Melbourne's stipends were satisfactory.²⁸ It was a valid point, but one that had little impact in a society prone to measure the level of Anglican clerical incomes against local criteria - the stipends of ministers of other denominations, the salaries earned in other professions, and even the wages of artisans and operatives. Thus, in the late 1860s and 70s, the relative financial position of the Anglican clergyman seems to have become worse. Of the early 1880s, Twopeny wrote: 'Of all the professions, medicine is certainly the best remunerated ... the general average income is about L2000 a year, and the unknown M.R.C.S. within a month of his landing can walk into a practice of L600 for the asking.'²⁹ In Melbourne in the 1880s, even an unskilled labourer could earn up to L90 to L120 a year, and artisans half as much again: building tradesmen and metal workers received L150 to L180. A small minority of the highly skilled - blacksmiths, boilermakers and turners - earned L200 and more a year.³⁰

²⁶ Church statistics for 1904, Diocese of Tasmania, Year Book, 1904.

²⁷ Melbourne Church News, I, 4 (16 May, 1866), p. 51.

²⁸ Ibid., I, 5 (1 June, 1866), p. 73.

²⁹ Op. cit., p. 196.

³⁰ Serle, Rush to be Rich, p. 91.

Of Dissenting ministers, Twopeny stated that, if they had any ability, they were paid at least as well as Anglican clergy; in fact, probably better.³¹ There were several reasons for this. First, in the capital cities there were wealthy dissenting chapels (or, in colonial parlance, non-Anglican Protestant churches) that were accustomed to making enticing offers to personable clergymen of their respective persuasions in Britain. Secondly, the emphasis on preaching, in nineteenth century non-Catholic religion, gave eloquent nonconformist ministers an advantage over most of their Anglican brethren. Thirdly, the Free Churches did not have quasi-Establishment pretensions; therefore, they did not attempt to cover the colonies with networks of parishes: the efforts of the Church of England, in this respect, depressed stipends, because of the sheer number of ministers whom it felt it had to place in unremunerative positions. Fourthly, Dissenters were accustomed, by voluntary giving, to maintain their pastors; moreover, because their congregations were more self-selected than those of the former Establishment, they were more likely to have been reasonably generous. In Melbourne, finally, it was complained - during Perry's episcopate - that able clergymen were hard to recruit because of a fear that they would be subjected to arbitrary use of the power to withhold the licence to officiate. Such was not a problem for churches with a more democratic form of government.

II

Most of the reasons for the low level of Anglican stipends have been discussed in earlier chapters - lay parsimony, the lack of endowment, the inability of relatively fixed incomes to adjust to an expanding economy and to the consequent price inflation, and the failure of the Church, on the

³¹ Op. cit., p. 198.

whole, to adapt to voluntarism. The cessation of State aid in the 1870s was a further blow: six clergymen left the diocese of Melbourne after the grant of L10,000 was withdrawn.³² Such could be said to have been the underlying causes of the Anglican clergy's financial plight, but it was aggravated by additional factors.

Church buildings and finance

Charles Perry observed, in 1865, that Church finances were complicated by the strange fact that, although large funds were sometimes raised for the erection of expensive buildings, there was a continuing difficulty in finding funds for the maintenance of the clergy.³³ Archdeacon Dingle, of Bathurst, believed that 'we seem to begin at the wrong end. In new parishes we build the church and starve the man.'³⁴ It was the opinion of an anonymous English clergyman that the liberality of the people was devoted to building rather than to providing stipends, and he suggested that erecting a church might have been expected to attract business to a township. Or was it, he wondered, that it circulated money? Or, perhaps, the laity preferred to contribute only one sum rather than their being under a sense of permanent obligation. Whatever the reason, he considered that to build a church and not to provide for a clergyman, was like building a house and not furnishing it.³⁵

In spending money on buildings, yet in being content to have their clergymen paid at a level probably lower than that which ministers of the larger Protestant denominations enjoyed, Anglican laymen were, possibly, responding to a form of nostalgia, for the colonists' aim in most respects

³² Messenger, V, 57 (5 June, 1873) p. 9.

³³ Church Gazette, III, 72, p. 276.

³⁴ Quoted by C.E. Camidge, President's Address ... 1901, p. 12.

³⁵ Anon., An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of the United Church of England and Ireland in Australasia by an English Clergyman, Adelaide, 1866, p. 13.

was to reproduce in their new country, the cities, streetscapes, buildings and institutions characteristic of the motherland. Circumstances such as the rapid and far-flung rural expansion would, of course, at first limit the extent to which this could be done. As settlements became established, however, and as church buildings put in their appearance, it does seem that, given the continual erosion of stipends, the order of priorities was such as was noted by Perry. The desire to reproduce church buildings on an English pattern resulted in the expensive, neo-Gothic style that marks Anglican parish churches in the suburbs and the larger towns. It was less well adapted than domestic architecture to Australian conditions. Perhaps there may have been, occasionally, a vicar who, in the course of reading Matins and observing the fierce summer sun pouring through tall Gothic windows on a sweltering congregation, wondered if this were not a form of retribution by the deity on a people who paid his servants so badly but erected buildings to gratify misplaced sentiment and civic pride. D.B. Waterson wrote of Toowoomba in Queensland: 'Once establishments teaching social subservience or Christian salvation, some [churches] became monuments to the material progress and personal advance of their adherents.'³⁶ Even in their giving to religion, it seems that laymen demonstrated their materialism.

A position to maintain

When Twopeny compared Anglican stipends with those of Dissenting ministers, and observed that the 'wants' of the latter were 'naturally' less, he articulated a widely held assumption that the Church of England clergy had to keep up a position. This was also the assumption of those within the Church who participated in the frequent and lengthy discussions on clerical incomes. This generalisation is correct, that is to say, about

³⁶ D.B. Waterson, Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper. A History of the Darling Downs, 1859-1893, Sydney University Press, 1968, p. 70.

the 1860s. In 1871, a clergyman wrote as follows, concerning the calls on a stipend:

He is a gentleman, and before he became a clergyman was accustomed to decent clothing; he must make a decent appearance before his parishioners ... He believed [his wife] ought to be as well dressed as her servant ... [His children] must have some kind of clothing, and if possible some kind of education. He is a reading man ... He has a parsonage which his parishioners think ought to be furnished like a gentleman's house ...³⁷

Thirty years later, however, the problem was, rather, how to relieve actual hardship; some clergymen were claimed to be almost on the verge of starvation. General standards of clerical maintenance had fallen by the end of the century. Nevertheless, as late as 1890, the following was offered as a list of a clergyman's essential expenses: servants, books, hospitality and children's education.³⁸

The difference between the stipends received and the social position which, it was felt, had to be maintained, is demonstrated by the extent to which clergymen fell into debt. 'Nothing creates greater scandal,' wrote Moorhouse, reproving one of his ministers, 'than the failure to pay just debts, and surely as you have no one to maintain but yourself, you ought to be able to provide your own bread.'³⁹ When the Revd R. Hayward was refused a licence in Melbourne, the honorary treasurer of the testimonial fund raised for his benefit, C.F. Bradley, in passing over a cheque for L230, expressed the hope that he would be able to exercise 'those Christian virtues and social habits which have so eminently distinguished your seven years' ministry at Kew'.⁴⁰ According to his superiors, Hayward did, in

³⁷ 'A Churchman,' Letter: 'The stipends of the clergy,' Messenger, III, 34 (11 August, 1871), p. 11.

³⁸ Ibid., XXII, 257 (7 February 1890), pp. 241-2.

³⁹ Moorhouse to Goodhart, 5 February, 1880; see also Moorhouse to Thornton, 27 December, 1879; Moorhouse to Atterbury, 4 June, 1879; Moorhouse, Letterbook.

fact, exercise these virtues and habits in Tasmania,⁴¹ but the virtues did not seem to be sufficient to prevent the habits from leading him disastrously into debt.⁴² 'Who could wonder,' asked the Revd J. Caton, rhetorically,

with such stipends, if a clergyman got into difficulties, and passed under the thumb of some storekeeper or grocer, by getting into his books? He [that is, Caton] had been warned of the danger, and kept out of those books, though he made enemies in consequence.⁴³

Even a relatively good stipend was not enough to stop clergymen from falling into debt in Goulburn,⁴⁴ and when H.H. Barren retired from his ministry in Victorian and New South Wales rural parishes, he appears to have left a string of unpaid bills behind him.⁴⁵

Although it is often thought that there was, and is, a long tradition of clergymen not only not settling their tradesmen's accounts, but taking perverse pride in their failure to do so,⁴⁶ in reality it was a residual attitude, derived from an earlier period in which clergymen, as members of a gentlemanly profession, treated shopkeepers with disdain. A moralistic tract, written (in England) in 1832, and republished twenty years later, illustrates the transition between the old mode of behaviour and the development of the new ethic:

The habit of running into debt is pregnant with evil and misery

⁴⁰ Melbourne Church News, IV, 102, p. 140.

⁴¹ Hales to Davenport, 22 June, 1880, Letterbook NS 373 / 77 f. 194.

⁴² Hales to Hayward, 7 July, 1880, *ibid*.

⁴³ Messenger, XII, 146 (9 November, 1880).

⁴⁴ Thorn, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁵ H. Kuring to Barren, 20 May, 1900; accounts of Crammond and Dixon, G.H.C. Finck, A. Peacock; Barren Papers, MS 2455 / 6, 10724 Box 5.

⁴⁶ An example is the rector in George Orwell's novel A Clergyman's Daughter.

... The money which you owe a tradesman is really his property ... To a man possessed of proper feeling and a nice sense of honour, it must be very painful to suffer a tradesman to ask twice for what is clearly his right ... The manner in which some men, who would be ready to shoot any one who disputed their claims to be considered gentlemen, treat their creditors, whom they choose to call duns,⁴⁷ would ... be almost ludicrous, if it were not so culpable.

These sentiments had an echo in an editorial in Melbourne's diocesan newspaper in 1866. The clergyman's office was to instruct and set an example. 'If they cannot pay their bills, whose duty is to teach others to "owe no man anything", then their influence would be severely damaged.'⁴⁸ The problem was that, for many clergymen, keeping up appearances and keeping out of debt proved to be an impossible task.

III

Most clergymen had to provide for their families. This complicated their financial position in a number of ways, apart from the obvious increase in the direct calls on the stipend. Austerities, even hardships, that could be tolerated by an unmarried workforce, were not considered to be appropriate in the way of life of heads of households. Moreover, in her husband's ministry, the clergyman's wife had a role which was invalidated by financial stringency.

The importance of a married clergy

Anglicanism's long-held prejudice against the training of ordinands in seminaries, was based on the belief that clergymen should not be cut off from the society that it was their duty to influence. Similarly, after ordination, they were expected to take their place in the secular world,

⁴⁷ Revd Edward Berens, M.A., Advice to Oxford Freshmen in Ten Letters from an Uncle to his nephew, Oxford, 1853, pp. 75-6.

⁴⁸ Melbourne Church News, I, 7, p. 99.

however clearly their duty and status were delineated. Only in this way could they become a moral force, at all levels of national life. Also, to be pastorally effective, clergymen had to share the experience of ordinary laymen. This was the point of a speech made by Archdeacon Whittington at the Adelaide Church Congress of 1902. He was replying to a paper in which the celibate state was (the archdeacon thought) excessively praised. Whittington was sure that only a married clergyman could fully sympathise with his parishioners.⁴⁹

From the point of view of the British layman, too, the clergyman needed to be a married man. Geoffrey Best's comment about English attitudes on this topic holds true for Australia: 'Protestant laymen liked their clergy to be morally superior versions of themselves, not a different sort of being altogether.'⁵⁰ Men normally desired to be married and have families: so, too, should ministers of religion.⁵¹ Distaste for the idea of a celibate clergy was, doubtless, intensified in England by the controversy over auricular confession, for the practice was said to involve clergymen prying into the intimate details of family life, and thereby undermining the position of the father as head of the Victorian household. That this should have been done by any third party was deplorable:⁵² if perpetrated by an unmarried priest, it was - to most nineteenth century Protestants - intolerable. The controversy over auricular confession, as such, did not disturb the Australian Church to so nearly as great an extent; nevertheless, these sentiments found expression in the anti-Catholic feeling that was so prominent a force in Australian public life. Scurrilous stories concerning the alleged sexual immorality of Roman Catholic clergy

⁴⁹ Samwell, op. cit., pp. 173-4.

⁵⁰ Best, 'Popular Protestantism,' op. cit., p. 125.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Bentley, op. cit., pp. 30-5.

were in relatively wide circulation at the end of the century;⁵³ it is not necessary to maintain that these tales were always believed, in order to argue that they reinforced the Protestants' assumption that a strength of their ministries (including the Anglican) was that members of the clergy were not forced into so unnatural a state as celibacy.

Wives as helpmates

Ecclesiastical authorities clearly regarded the parson's wife as an essential part of her husband's ministry. In Brisbane, the Revd C.E. Hughes was 'hopelessly lazy', noted Archdeacon David, and he added by way of a coup de grace that his wife was no help.⁵⁴ More fortunate were the parishioners of Circular Head, in Tasmania, for there, the parson's wife ('an angel') did virtually all the work, and it was only for her sake that the Bishop did not discipline her husband.⁵⁵ His colleague at Longford was equally 'hopeless' and, in addition, was married to a woman who would 'ruin any parish'.⁵⁶ Another Tasmanian clergyman, Wilmur, was disqualified from appointment to Hamilton solely on the grounds that his wife came from the district and was greatly disliked.⁵⁷ In Goulburn, Bishop Thomas went so far as to put the blame for the inefficiency of two of his clergymen on their respective wives.⁵⁸ At the other end of the scale of usefulness was the 'earnest Christian couple' in a large parish in Western Australia: this extensive district, with its scattered population, was 'well worked by him, and his wife'.⁵⁹ Bishop Thomas thought that, in the colonies, a clergyman's

⁵³ Broome, op. cit., p. 112.

⁵⁴ David, 'Notes on the clergy'.

⁵⁵ Montgomery, 'State of the clergy'.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Thomas to L.B. White, 1 December, 1869, Thorn, op. cit., p. 33.

⁵⁹ J. Mills to Secretary, S.P.G., 17 March, 1898, S.P.G. file 3177.

wife had to be a woman of devoted piety. If she were not, she would be a great hindrance. In view of these high minimal standards, it is not surprising that he advised the Colonial and Continental Church Society always to take account of the wife of any clergyman who was being considered for a colonial appointment.⁶⁰

The role of the clergyman's wife was assumed to be important in the mother country; her work called for considerable tact, as well as requiring her to display skills as a manager. She had to avoid, furthermore, giving the slightest impression that she was interfering in her husband's duties. Thus, a writer in the English Church Times attempted to draw a line of distinction between lay and clerical, amateur and professional, spheres of duty.⁶¹ In Australia, in rural areas especially, where much more work was given to the incumbent's wife, because of the greater amount of labour required of both, it may have been more difficult to separate types of activity. Playing the harmonium, teaching in the Sunday School, training the choir - all these unpaid duties fell conveniently into the category of lay work. Visiting was another question, however, as was the day to day contact with her husband's parishioners who, of necessity, in parts of Australia, could almost be called her own.

His wife an example

In England, the parson's wife was seen to be an important part of her husband's ministry for one further reason: the incumbent's household was supposed to set an example of godly domesticity. This, in turn, was a major factor in the influence which a clergyman was supposed to possess in his district - and in this respect perhaps a factor more tangible than most. Even so, his wife was supposed to have a moral force of her own,⁶²

⁶⁰ Thomas to L.B. White, 1 December, 1869, loc. cit.

⁶¹ Article reprinted in Messenger, XXIX, 349 (1 November, 1897).

⁶² Ibid.

particularly with women and children. In Australia, the task of establishing such a model of a righteous and well-managed household was all the more urgent because of the harsh climate and primitive state of existence in rural areas. Slip-rails for gates, calico sheets instead of plaster ceilings, inadequate cooking facilities, the absence of blinds to screen the fierce afternoon sun, the dust, heat, flies and bush fires.⁶³ - such were the crudities, the hardships and the perils of many 'an Australian parsonage'; yet, given the size of the average clerical income, and the calls on the time of a parson's wife arising out of her husband's excessively burdensome work, her ability to set an example was severely circumscribed.⁶⁴

Poverty

The financial hardships afflicting many clerical families, more particularly in rural areas, can largely be attributed to the strength of de facto congregationalism in the Australian Church,⁶⁵ because this parochial independence was the main reason that most dioceses were unable to build up central funds, and therefore poor parishes were given little or no assistance, by way of subsidies, in paying their clergy. Also, congregationalism discouraged deference: the result was, sometimes, the prevalence of lay attitudes which made poverty harder to endure:

A man is formed to bear the roughness and ruggedness of life, but who can enter into a woman's mind and know all she feels when her husband's sermons are torn to pieces, his impartiality impugned, his disinterestedness doubted, his person slighted, or his position endangered?⁶⁶

⁶³ Millett, op. cit., pp. 59-64, 89-93, 96-8.

⁶⁴ Mrs. Millett's husband, although a popular and conscientious clergyman, was owed arrears of his stipend - as were his two predecessors. R. Erickson, introduction to the facsimile edition of An Australian Parsonage, University of Western Australia Press.

⁶⁵ See chapter 'Episcopal Congregationalism'.

Under the heading 'The Outposts of the Church', the Melbourne Argus, on 11 March, 1896, published a letter that purported to be written by the wife of an Anglican clergyman in a country parish. Giving herself the nom de plume 'Poor Parsoness', she wrote from a district which she described as 'remote, unfriended, melancholy and slow'. Her husband's stipend was nominally L70 a year, but he had received no more than L40 in the previous eighteen months. The family of nine was in debt, the parsonage was dilapidated, the children were barefoot, her husband, despondent.⁶⁷ This, the Argus commented,

is the temporal reward which a man, necessarily of education and culture, receives for carrying⁶⁸ the message of religion into sparsely populated districts.

Why, it asked, were Anglicans less successful than Wesleyans and Roman Catholics in the matter of church extension? It was evident that a recent scheme to pool financial resources had failed. Country clergymen had to sacrifice study, cultured companionship, and the future of their families. To these hardships had to be added poverty, which was particularly burdensome in an age 'when the social status of the clergy has been raised to a level which compares with the dignity and sacredness of their office'.⁶⁹

'Poor Parsoness' had requested that the authorities cease sending, to rural backwaters, men who were encumbered with families. In the short term, she asked Anglicans to contribute to a central fund, to relieve the hardship felt by the wives and families of the country clergy. The response, in the form of letters and donations, was immediate. Neither did

⁶⁶ Messenger, II, 24 (3 November, 1870), p. 2.

⁶⁷ Argus, 11 March, 1896, p. 5d.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 23 March, 1896.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

the rate of contributions appear to slacken after the diocesan registrar questioned the facts presented by 'Poor Parsoness', and after she acknowledged, in response to his scepticism, that she had exaggerated the position somewhat. Emily Lane, of Alexandra, found it necessary to write to the newspaper in order to deny that she was 'Poor Parsoness', although (she claimed) the facts fitted her circumstances and those of others placed similarly to her.⁷⁰ 'The wife of a clergyman' claimed that the registrar's official figures of clerical stipends exaggerated the real income: for example, there was little payment in kind, and horses and buggies had to be kept.

For the past year my husband received less than L35 in addition to what he spent on horses and necessary travelling expenses. Out of this sum another L20 must now be spent on horses, leaving a personal income of L15. My children have quite sufficient food, and do not go without boots, through the kindness of the storekeepers in giving long credit. It is right to say that this is only the third time that the income has been so small; as a rule it is about L100.⁷¹

Clergymen's wives should not have to go round collecting their husband's stipend (wrote another) any more 'than a labourer's wife should go to the man who employed her husband and beg for his wages', and yet the former 'is done year after year'.⁷²

It was evident that the immediate reason for the decline in clerical income was the financial depression of 1893. Incompetence and unsuitability of individual clergymen might, in some cases, also have been responsible for hardship.⁷³ The standing cause was, however, the poor response by the laity to the Bishop of Melbourne Fund and to similar

⁷⁰ Ibid., 27 March, 1896.

⁷¹ Ibid., 23 March, 1896.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Messenger, XXVIII, 330 (1 April, 1896) pp. 4-5.

ventures which had as their object the raising of money for extra-parochial disbursement.⁷⁴ A repentant layman confessed:

As a vestryman, I was present at a meeting of our church, when the question of establishing a general fund for the benefit of the whole clergy was discussed ... But there were so many pros and cons that we decided in favour of the existing arrangement to pay our own clergyman ourselves. It has, however, since reading your leader, &c., occurred to me that we were rather selfish in our actions.⁷⁵

It took, therefore, a letter from 'Poor Parsoness' to arouse, in this vestryman, an awareness of the needs of the church beyond his parish. The process of enlightenment was not, however, accomplished without cost, in the form of humiliating revelations, in the daily press, of the conditions of a number of rural clergymen, and the appeals by their wives for public charity.

Conclusion

In the 1850s and 60s, Australian colonists assumed that the Anglican clergymen, who attempted to minister to them, conformed to certain standards of gentility. The erosion in the value of stipends had a serious effect on the reputation of the clerical order. The role-model of the Anglican priest was not a seminarily trained celibate who lived apart from the world. The Anglican minister was obliged to set an example of godly living, to be an holy influence on society at large. Nothing could have been more destructive of this than a penny-pinching existence, unless it was the near-constant appeal for public charity that it produced.

⁷⁴ Revd J.S. Hart, letter, Argus, 13 March, 1896.

⁷⁵ Letter, 'A Vestryman,' *ibid*.

EPISCOPAL CONGREGATIONALISM

In the Australian Church during the late nineteenth century, a system of government evolved which appeared to manifest two contrasting characteristics: a strong episcopate, and congregational assertiveness. In his survey of Australian Anglicanism, Archdeacon David conceded that his readers might consider that he had given too much weight to the role of the bishops, at the expense of the part played by the parochial clergy. He justified this emphasis in his book by pointing out that the impact of the Church's leadership was magnified because of the pioneering and missionary context in which much of the expansion of the Australian Church took place.¹ On the other hand, however, members of local congregations - compared with parishioners in England - had considerable influence on Church policy.

This state of affairs had little to do with the relative strength, in Australia, of representative bodies such as synods and church assemblies, because these often appear to have taken what could be called the 'diocesan view' in administrative matters. It is true, also, that congregations by no means always asserted their rights - for example, in the case of appointments - although when they did, central authorities sometimes were discomfited and (it was claimed) the interests of the wider Church compromised. This was because Anglican parochialism (in the pejorative sense of that word) seems to have imparted few of the benefits of the strong Congregational tradition of English Dissent,² but suffered from its various disadvantages. Its effects upon the status of the Anglican parish

¹ David, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6.

² C. Driver, A Future For the Free Churches? London, 1962, pp. 17-8; David M. Thompson (ed.), Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1972, pp. 3-5, 47-50, 220-2.

ministry were considerable.

I

After visiting Australia in the 1850s, a Congregational minister (Thomas Binney) expressed the view that both the Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations had failed to adapt to local conditions: practical Independency was widespread because of the isolation of the clergy.³ A similar trend was observed in other colonies. Although Anglican commentators were less benevolently disposed towards Independency than Binney, most of them appeared to favour, appropriately, some kind of via media between excessive congregational power and an insufficiency of it. Bishop Bromby (Tasmania) conceded that parishioners perhaps needed to have some measure of control over their ministers, in order to prevent indifference, carelessness and the perfunctory performance of duties; still, clerical families (he pointed out) should be removed from the danger of poverty, although 'a clergyman should depend to a degree upon the attachment of his people as a measure of his zeal and popularity'.⁴

Causes of 'practical congregationalism'

Australian colonists had a reputation for unruliness. In his dispute with the parishioners of St. Andrew's, Brighton, Bishop Perry twice mentioned that colonial churchmen were unwilling to submit to authority.⁵ Although he was a good and earnest man, the Revd Mr Thorpe, in Tasmania, had not shown

³ T. Binney, Lights and Shadows of Church Life in Australia Including Thoughts on Some Things at Home, London, 1860, p. 151. Binney has been described (by Elaine Kay, in The History of the King's Weigh House Church: A Chapter in the History of London, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1968, p. 62) as 'at once both representative and architect of nineteenth century Dissent'.

⁴ Speech to the Synod, meeting in Launceston, Examiner (Launceston), 24 February, 1870, p. 5.

⁵ See pp. 265-8.

'the judgement and caution necessary for colonial work', in the opinion of his (native born) archdeacon.⁶ Bishop Montgomery warned a clergyman desiring Australian employment:

There are peculiar differences between Englishmen in the Old Country and colonists, which are very hard to define but very real. I think it is true to say that they are very independent and require more tact than the people at home need.

Two negative factors contributed to this colonial reluctance to acknowledge ecclesiastical authority. First, there were almost no local patrons who owned livings: responsibility for the maintenance of the Church was, therefore, widely shared. Wealthy patrons might donate money, but the sums would have been likely to have been tied to their far-flung stations, rather than intended for specific localities; moreover, because the disbursement of such funds was undertaken by diocesan authorities, it was unlikely that congregations would have been influenced by such benefactors.⁸ Secondly, the ending of state aid increased the importance of donations by parishioners. Selwyn was advised by his bishop not to press his congregation for the last L50 owing to him; he was told that he should be content with the extra sum from the government.⁹

Apart from the ubiquitous bazaar and tea meeting, parochial funds were raised in three ways, and each expedient seems to have had the effect of increasing congregational assertiveness, and reducing deference towards the vicar:

However estimable a [clergyman] may be, both in respect to his private character and personal worth, people instinctively shun his advances when they know that the 'confidential chat' or the 'amusing and instructive conversation' will inevitably be followed

⁶ 1 November, 1862 (Entally), Reibey Papers.

⁷ Montgomery to Pollock, 15 February, 1898, Montgomery Letterbook.

⁸ Tyrell to Selwyn, 25 September, Selwyn Papers, A 736.

⁹ Tyrell to Selwyn, 2 February, 1855, *ibid*.

by the production of a subscription list, accompanied by a mild but almost undeniable request for extra names.¹⁰

Particularly when a local cause was being established, the use of a subscription list was to be expected, because it gave promise of security through regular payments; nevertheless, the term had overtones which suggested that the subscribers had a measure of control over the organisation which they were supporting. A second method of raising funds was the renting of pews. Here, as was so often the case, the colonists followed the English pattern of behaviour: 'Nineteenth century Anglicans were much more ready to rent the parson's services than to buy them outright with endowment.'¹¹ Melbourne's Church Assembly was told that it was a matter for regret that parishes were becoming increasingly dependent upon this form of finance.¹² As late as 1913, at the Church Congress in Brisbane, it was acknowledged that Australian Anglicans could not always afford to follow the English trend to have 'free and open' churches: the only concessions to this desirable principle were, according to the speaker who raised the subject, that a minimum of one third of the sittings should be available to non-ratepayers, and that unoccupied rented pews should be considered free after the commencement of the service.¹³ On the latter point, there was a sharp debate in the Melbourne Church Assembly in 1880. Bishop Moorhouse was sympathetic to the view that rents should be abolished, but he believed that the Church was obliged to retain them 'in the interests of clergymen's stipends'.¹⁴ The third method of fund-raising,

¹⁰ Argus, 30 May, 1876, p. 4 ef.

¹¹ W.R. Ward, 'The Cost of Establishment. Some Reflections on Church Building in Manchester,' C.J. Cuming (ed.), Studies in Church History, Vol. III, Leiden, 1966, p. 286.

¹² Church Gazette, III (1 February, 1865) pp. 289-90.

¹³ Australian Church Congress, Brisbane, 1913, Official Report, p. 207.

voluntary Sunday collections, led some to infer that payment was made on the basis of the minister's performance.

Accountability and visiting

Conditions in the colonial Church were, therefore, favourable to the evolution of informal lines of accountability between the priest and his parishioners. The most important areas of his performance in which he was assessed, appear to have been visiting and preaching.

Of all ministerial duties, pastoral visitation was claimed to have been the one most closely identified with the ethos of Anglicanism. Dubois advised Barren that it was to be considered as important as the preparation and delivery of sermons.¹⁵ It gave the incumbent valuable insights into the art of effective preaching.¹⁶ To this traditional rationale must be added the late-nineteenth century interest in efficiency. Church authorities often stressed the need for a system, and this, in fact, seems to have been acknowledged in practice.¹⁷ Yet the effectiveness of visiting could not be measured, at least in the short term. Moreover, laymen were sometimes thought to have wanted visits for the wrong reasons. Mereweather wondered whether people regarded the parson's call primarily as a form of social compliment.¹⁸ There was thought to have been a continual temptation for clergymen to become secularised in their performance of this, more than of any other, duty.¹⁹ Even if the simple nexus, between the size of the

¹⁴ (continued)

¹⁴ Messenger, XIII, 146 (9 November, 1880), p. 1. See also the letter from the Revd E. Herring, of Kyneton, complaining that a man had been turned out of a rented pew because of the arrival, after the First Lesson, of the seat-holder. Ibid., XIV, 149 (8 February, 1881), p. 12.

¹⁵ Dubois to Barren, 7 June, 1877, Barren Papers.

¹⁶ For example, Messenger, XXII, 247 (5 April, 1889), pp. 57-8.

¹⁷ Montgomery to Shelley, Montgomery Letterbook, f. 15; Pritchard, Chalmers, pp. 50, 148; Notebook, Barren Papers, Box 4.

¹⁸ Op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁹ Messenger, XXII, 247 (5 April, 1889), pp. 57-8.

stipend and the degree of diligence in visiting, was thought to have been defensible, most Churchmen believed the matter to have been more complicated. Bishop Montgomery had no very high regard for one of his ministers, L'Oste, and so he was probably neither surprised nor displeased when he recorded: 'L'Oste is no preacher and no visitor - the people will not give to him.'²⁰ A similar fate befell F.R. Seaborn, in Goulburn.²¹ Nevertheless, a conscientious clergyman might yet incur the displeasure of his parishioners. Incumbents were advised not to confine their visits to seat-holders and subscribers, but to call, as well, on parents of Sunday School children and on those who had been married, or confirmed, in the parish.²² The trouble was that sometimes subscribers and seat-holders complained if visits were not confined to them.²³

Accountability and preaching

As in the mother Church, preaching was a frequently debated topic in Australia. The sermon's prominence in Protestant worship was, perhaps, the main reason for this. A clergyman's performance in the pulpit also raised questions of ministerial efficiency. Furthermore, the influence of the preacher was considered to have been seriously eroded by the secular press,²⁴ and so it was natural for Churchmen to canvass ways by which lost ground might have been regained. The fact that the parish minister was dependent upon congregational offerings, subscriptions, and pew rents, added a certain piquancy to the discussions.

Criticism of Anglican pulpit oratory was widespread.²⁵ Sermons were

²⁰ Montgomery to Schopira, n.d. (1889), Montgomery, Letterbook, f. 133.

²¹ Thomas to the Revd L.B. White, 1 December, 1869, Thorn, op. cit., p. 33.

²² Messenger, XXII, 247 (5 April, 1889), pp. 57-8.

²³ Mereweather, op. cit., pp. 10-11, 184.

²⁴ Again, as in England. See above, chapters 2 and 3.

either too platitudinous or too highbrow; they were not practical enough or too secular in content; they were delivered too quickly, or so slowly as to be monotonous. There was also the issue of whether sermons should be delivered extempore, or read from a manuscript. Twopeny was of opinion that the 'shallowness and halting pace' of Australian sermons was the result of 'the colonial love of extempore preaching',²⁶ a mode which was criticised by one publicist, in 1864, as being quite inconsistent with the Church's traditions of sound learning, for it offended the canons of good taste and did not promote reflection. It merely succeeded in arousing excitement, and was alien to the methods, the procedures, and the ethos, not only of the Anglican Church, but of Parliament and the Bar as well.²⁷ A clergyman, the Revd Thomas Sharpe, visiting a town on the southern coast of New South Wales, disgustedly observed the reaction of Anglican lay people who had been attracted to the preaching of a famous Wesleyan evangelist: 'They grasp after excitement, not real piety.'²⁸

The criticism of extempore preaching, therefore, was grounded on the opinion that this form of sermon delivery was incompatible with the spirit and forms of three kindred institutions - the Church itself, Parliament, and the Law. The defence of the practice of reading sermons evoked an age of calm, rational and sober judgement in Church and State; a period, that is, before these institutions were defiled, respectively, by religious enthusiasm and demagoguery. Nevertheless, this apology for the time-honoured style of Anglican preaching overlooked three facts. First,

²⁵ For example, Church Gazette, III, 52 (1 April, 1864), pp. 47-8, 1 August, 1864, pp. 143-4.

²⁶ Op. cit., pp. 121-2.

²⁷ Church Gazette, III, 66 (1 November, 1864), pp. 215-6. Twopeny, and most Anglican laymen, would probably have thought that the writer's worry - about the danger of undue excitement being caused by Anglican extemporaneous preaching - was excessive.

²⁸ Memo Book, Kiama, August, 1869, Sharpe Papers.

even in England, the practice of extempore delivery was lauded by the most respectable authorities.²⁹ Secondly, in an atmosphere of Protestant and Low Church voluntarism, extempore preaching was likely to have been desired, even demanded. Thirdly, the abilities required of good extempore preachers were of a high order, and therefore not likely to have been found in many Anglican parish clergymen. John Sadleir recalled an incident in which a country parson made an unsuccessful attempt to emulate his more talented diocesan. After walking along a rough mountain road, covering fifty miles in two days, Bishop Moorhouse

delivered such a sermon as was not easily forgotten. The only ill-effect of this fine sermon, delivered extempore and without notes, was that our resident parson, a man of slow speech, for a few Sundays inflicted some very tedious extempore discourses on his people until they rose up against him and insisted upon his return to the use of written sermons.³⁰

At the Church Congress in Brisbane, in 1913, Mr L.V. Biggs acknowledged that it was wrong to attend church merely, or even principally, to hear the sermon. He believed it to have been a fact, however, that the Church of England had lost thousands of adherents because of the low standard of its preaching. The link between this and the Church's income was demonstrated by the speaker who addressed the Congress on the subject of finance (W.R. Sayers). Because of the lack of endowments (he said), the first item governing the income of most parishes was the personality of the rector. Sayers proceeded to discuss this in terms of what some Anglicans, half a century before, had disparagingly called 'pulpit power'.³¹

²⁹ See above, chapter 5.

³⁰ John Sadleir, Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer, Melbourne, 1913, Penguin Colonial Facsimiles, 1973, p. 171.

³¹ Australian Church Congress, Brisbane, 1913, Official Report, pp. 207, 9, 248.

Factionalism

Anglicanism's dependence upon congregational funds gave laymen the opportunity to engage in intrigue; this tendency was encouraged by the Anglican tradition of comprehensiveness, because in every local church there were potentially more divisions of opinion than in the congregations of a self-selecting sect. Furthermore, partisan battles over churchmanship embittered the disputants.

An example of the pastoral problems created by comprehensiveness was the dispute between the Revd Henry Stiles, of Windsor, New South Wales, and a local astronomer, John Tebbutt, who happened to have been opposed to the introduction of a new hymn book.³² Stiles' patient efforts to show Tebbutt 'the folly and ignorance' of his objections were of no avail: 'he stoutly assails the Established doctrine.' Stiles noted that his wayward parishioner was actively canvassing the town for assistance in organising opposition to the use of the hymns. In this, he was (Stiles thought) aided by the sort of people who were to be found in any parish and who were only too happy to seize any opportunity to oppose the parson.³³ There was a further instance of factionalism when an appointment to St. John's Church, Launceston, was under consideration. The Archdeacon, Thomas Reibey, coveted the living, not (he assured a fellow cleric) for any sordid motive³⁴ but because St. John's was the principal church in the archdeaconry, and the one most centrally placed. Despite Reibey's determination to resign as archdeacon if he were not made incumbent of St. John's, the parishioners favoured the appointment of a Mr Brownrigg. 'The congregation,' wrote the Revd H.P. Kane, 'has three delegates on the [Patronage] Board, and they can do just as they please.'³⁵ Reibey claimed that Brownrigg's election had been

³² See above, p. 259.

³³ Stiles to his son, 15 June, 1864, H. Stiles, Papers.

³⁴ T. Reibey to H.P. Kane, 7 May, 1868, Correspondence Published by Archdeacon Reibey for Circulation, Launceston, n.d. (1870), p. 5.

secured by the influence of only one man - his rival had a friend in the parish 'who left not one stone unturned to solicit and obtain subscriptions.'³⁶ The question of churchmanship may also have been involved: Reibey referred to 'secret and unjust accusations' that he was 'too High Church' or 'too much of a Ritualist'.³⁷ Later, he was assured that 'party feeling has nothing to do with the strong desire which the congregation has expressed for ... Mr Brownrigg,'³⁸ yet the Bishop shared Reibey's view of why he was rejected:

You are too independent, nor sufficiently pronounced to suit the party tendencies of the₃₉ majority of the congregation, and the bare majority of the Board.

Even so, from the viewpoint of the Bishop, and even of the Archdeacon, Brownrigg was far from being the worst choice,⁴⁰ for, as much as he deplored the fact that the committee had failed to select his archdeacon, Bromby evidently believed that he had been fortunate to have escaped the nomination of either of the two other candidates, because of their theology, and because secretaries of societies 'made wretched parish priests'. He told Reibey: 'We ought to have at St. John's a man of liberal education who would carry weight with the counsels of the town clergy.'⁴¹

³⁵ Kane to Reibey, 8 June, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁶ Reibey to Stackhouse, 2 July, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁷ Reibey to Kane, 7 May, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 5

³⁸ Kane to Reibey, 15 June, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 8; see also Stackhouse to Reibey, 30 June, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁹ Bromby to Reibey, 8 June, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Kane to Reibey, 11 May, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴¹ Bromby to Reibey, 8 June, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 11.

The relatively strong position of the congregation within the structure of Anglican Church government did not bother one clergyman, the Revd J.M. Watson, for he let it be known, in 1884, that he desired that local bodies be given more powers. In the colony, he pointed out, the laity provided the Church with its support. Anything that resulted in an increased interest, and 'excited energies', was useful.⁴² Such, however, was not a popular view in the ministry, although not all were negative: Chalmers found that his labours were 'cheered everywhere by encouragement on all sides'. His temporal wants were supplied, and he did not find the burden of the voluntary system intolerable. 'If at times I could not have my own way ... the discipline has been good for me.'⁴³ Generally, however, the fickle nature of congregations came close to being proverbial.⁴⁴

'Congregationalism' and clerical status

Most clergymen distrusted the de facto congregationalism that was apparently becoming entrenched in the colonial Church, even if they did not go to the lengths of the Bishop of Newcastle who, in 1873, described the trend as 'degrading', and expressed the opinion that for the congregation to choose its own pastor, was as inappropriate as it would be for children to choose their own teacher.⁴⁵

Many Churchmen alleged that the most serious effect of 'congregationalism' was that it resulted in clergymen losing their independence.⁴⁶ Thus, the relationship between priest and congregation was

⁴² Messenger, 12 January, 1884. Watson held a number of country cures after his training at Moore College, Sydney, which he completed in 1868. Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1891.

⁴³ Pritchard, Chalmers, p. 37.

⁴⁴ Messenger, XXI, 242 (16 November, 1886).

⁴⁵ Address to Synod, 1873, Selwyn Papers, ff. 297-303.

⁴⁶ For example, Bromby, Examiner (Launceston), 24 February, 1870.

beginning to resemble that which existed between workman and employer.⁴⁷ The parson ceased to be one who was appointed to a cure of souls: rather, it was the cure of stipends, church debts, and committee squabbles that was his charge.⁴⁸ His energies were enfeebled by secular needs and hindrances, in the opinion of the Revd H.C.E. Morris.⁴⁹ In 1893, the Revd J. Youlder complained that the power of the laity, in country parishes, was excessive, for both of his predecessors had been turned out.⁵⁰ In the same year, another observer claimed that, of all the possible methods of appointing clergy, the congregational one was the worst. Parishioners turned into mob-rulers, and clergymen into sycophants.⁵¹

'Congregationalism,' therefore, was seen to have been demeaning to the clerical office. Laymen frequently made their decisions about appointments on grounds that were arbitrary and unfair, it was said. To be assured of even a minimal income, the vicar had to strive to be popular. This could mean that the parish clergyman was forced to flatter wealthy members of his congregation, a particular danger, perhaps, when building funds had to be raised during periods of Church expansion. An additional complication was the prevailing sensitivity over churchmanship. Twice, the Revd Charles Perry incurred the wrath of a few wealthy laymen, in parishes with which he was associated.⁵² More serious than this, however, for the clergy's reputation, was an event such as that which occurred in 1890, when the living of St. Paul's, Geelong, became vacant. No fewer than sixteen candidates were interested, and some even allowed their qualifications and

⁴⁷ Messenger, XI, 112 (10 January, 1878), p. 3; Tomlin, op. cit., p. 309

⁴⁸ Messenger, XI, 112, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 6 February, 1884.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 13 October, 1893.

⁵¹ Ibid., XXV, 297 (7 July, 1893).

⁵² Perry, Autobiography, pp. 5-6.

antecedents to be advertised in the press.⁵³

Security of the parish clergy: the Sharp case

Anglican 'congregationalism' had the effect, at times, of dividing brother from brother in the clerical order, or at least of deepening existing divisions between them, if for any reason the laity supported the curate against his superior. Thus arose the spectre of the vicar's being 'starved out', or if not that, at least there was the prospect of the incumbent's becoming the object of widespread criticism, and even obloquy, in the district. Such was the case in St. Mark's, Fitzroy, early in 1893.

Although it was once one of Melbourne's fashionable inner suburbs, in the 1880s Fitzroy had a rapidly growing working class constituency.⁵⁴ For the benefit of this section, the curate of St. Mark's, the Revd E.S. Hughes, conducted what was called the Mission of the Holy Redeemer. It was founded during the incumbency of the Revd T. Stretch. By an agreement of the vicar and churchwardens, the mission was under Hughes' personal control. Sums of money were raised for it beyond the parish and even beyond the Church of England.

Problems arose, however, with the change of incumbency of St. Mark's. The new vicar, the Revd J.B. Sharp, formerly of the country parish of Maffra, 'owed his appointment to the clerical members of the Board of Patronage, the laity representing this Parish being unanimously opposed to it'.⁵⁵ Six hundred parishioners signed a petition to the Board, requesting that Hughes be appointed.⁵⁶ After his induction, Sharp tried to bring the mission 'under parochial and diocesan control', in order to assert his rights as

⁵³ Messenger, XXII, 261 (6 June, 1890), p. 324.

⁵⁴ G. Davison, The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1978, pp. 153-5.

⁵⁵ Fitzroy City Press, 24 February, 1893.

⁵⁶ Hughes to Sharp, 19 January, 1893, Fitzroy City Press, 3 March, 1893.

incumbent, and (he claimed) to restore the finances of the parish. After a lengthy correspondence,⁵⁷ on 19 January, on being 'officially informed that the Parish was unable to fulfil its financial engagements', Sharp gave Hughes notice to leave, and would not consider his offer to continue at the mission, drawing only upon its own income.⁵⁸

Sharp correctly predicted that there would be 'a bit of a rumpus' over Hughes' departure.⁵⁹ In fact, his attempts to assert his legal rights, as incumbent, brought on his head the wrath of the congregation, and of people beyond it. At the annual meeting, a few days after the dismissal of the curate, the vicar, as chairman, objected to the presence of press reporters, and ruled that they be asked to leave. When the meeting overruled him, he walked out, accompanied by one churchwarden and five or six other persons.⁶⁰ The assembly continued its business in his absence. The Churchwardens' report denied that the mission had been losing money, but pointed to a decline in collections since Sharp had begun his ministry.⁶¹

Well aware that he owed his preferment to diocesan authorities, and that Hughes was the overwhelming choice of the parish, Sharp may well have been jealous of the younger man's popularity,⁶² and rather melodramatically described as 'schism' the curate's request that he be allowed to continue in his independent position as missionary. At various times in the course of their acrimonious correspondence, each appealed to the other as a 'brother priest', but the positions of both were, in their different ways,

⁵⁷ Published in the Fitzroy City Press, 24 February, 3 & 10 March, 1893.

⁵⁸ Sharp to Hughes, 19 January, 1893.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Fitzroy City Press, 27 January, 1893.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Sharp to Hughes, 17 January, 1893.

rather suspect. Sharp was denying a fellow-clergyman the right to carry on a successful work which was separate from the parish yet geographically and legally within it. In attempting to continue the mission, Hughes appealed to the congregation and the general public, even to the extent of allowing the vestry to publish the letters exchanged between them. To Sharp, this action made Hughes 'insufferable'. Hughes had not (Sharp acknowledged) been responsible for the circulation of a petition to the Board of Patronage: this had been the suggestion of Sharp's predecessor, the Revd T. Stretch. Yet Hughes' appeal to the congregation was, Sharp alleged, consistent with the gathering of signatures for the petition, a document which he was moved to describe as 'a sorry indication of the paradoxical result of a course of Catholic teaching on a congregational basis'.⁶³ Sharp stayed in the parish for only three years.

Security of the parish

When selecting their pastors, Anglican congregations were often said to have been attracted above all by novelty. There was, admittedly, a certain lack of consistency here, for when parishes became vacant, the laity was accused, at other times, of favouring the appointment of the curate currently in residence, rather than bestowing the preferment upon a stranger, however deserving. Possibly, these alternative vices - an obsession with novelty, or an irrational determination to stay with the familiar - were denounced by candidates who, at the time of appointments, were always seen by patronage committees as meeting the wrong criteria.

Nevertheless, what does seem certain is that, compared to their co-religionists in England, Australian churchgoers had little attachment to their parish priest. Incumbencies were generally shorter than they were in

⁶³ Sharp to Hughes, 20 January, 1893. On the confrontation between Hughes and Sharp, see also Messenger, XXV, no. 292 (3 February, 1893), pp. 21-2; no. 293 (3 March, 1893), pp. 37-8, 46-7; no. 294 (7 April, 1893), pp. 66-7; no. 295 (5 May, 1893), p. 76.

the mother Church: 'there is something in the genius of the colony which makes our people given to love of change.' It was as though the act of migration cut the old associations; friendships were briefer, and restlessness pervaded colonial society. Thus, frequently, a clergyman would be enthusiastically welcomed, but the warmth would not endure. In Australia, therefore, the useful period of a parson's term of office, in any parish, was shorter than it was in England.⁶⁴

One solution to the problem of a jaded existence and a perfunctory ministry was leave of absence, to allow a visit home for rest and recuperation. But what of the locum? If he were the equal of or superior to the incumbent, 'the clergyman returns to find a divided parish or the cold shoulder'.⁶⁵ For this reason, there was a great temptation to install a poorly qualified man as locum tenens.⁶⁶ According to Bishop Moorhouse, it was a common joke that an English visit by an Australian clergyman led to his losing his parish.⁶⁷ The matter was more important in Australia because of the length of the minister's absence. Yet, on this issue, the clergy's interests were divided: the number of those who felt threatened was presumably smaller than the group that sensed an opportunity. A bill was introduced into the Melbourne Church Assembly, in 1890, forbidding any who had acted as locum tenens in a particular parish to nominate for its vacancy. The measure was defeated by the votes of the clergy.⁶⁸

Whether to avoid the formation of factions around a locum tenens during an incumbent's absence, or whether because of the dictates of general professional ethics, certain principles were laid down, informally, from

⁶⁴ Melbourne Church News, IV, 193, pp. 28-9.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Messenger, XXII, 253 (9 October, 1889), p. 168.

⁶⁷ Ibid., IX, 107, (9 August, 1877), p. 9.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 5 December, 1890.

time to time, concerning the conduct of a locum tenens - he should, for example, adhere strictly to existing forms of worship.⁶⁹ Even so, the most conscientious locum could sometimes find it hard to avoid factionalism and controversy. At Holy Trinity, East Melbourne, the Revd H.N. Wollaston's deputy was a Dr Tucker. Although he acquiesced in the appointment of an organist, a Mr Goold, by the parochial committee, he made it clear that the arrangement was only temporary; moreover, he deferred a controversial issue (the chanting of psalms) until Wollaston returned.⁷⁰ When the vicar resumed his duties, however, the organist's position had become entrenched; Goold seemed to think that he was partly responsible to the congregational committee. In this rather unseemly quarrel with the congregation, over his stipend and other financial arrangements, it seems that Wollaston even expressed a sense of grievance that an L8 testimonial had been presented to Dr Tucker by the parishioners.

III

In Australia, the relationship between the Anglican Church and what, in England, was called Nonconformity,⁷¹ was complex. The first question was one of definition. Were Wesleyans to be classified as Dissenters? And were Presbyterians to be called Nonconformists, given their established status in part of Great Britain? Secondly, church parties within Anglicanism differed markedly among themselves over the relationship between Churchman and Dissenter. Some of the Low Church school favoured, in practice, the

⁶⁹ Ibid., XXII, 249 (7 June, 1889), p. 8.

⁷⁰ Statement of the Committee of Holy Trinity Church ...

⁷¹ In the colonies, the term 'nonconformist' lingered; Anglicans and, perhaps, members of the general public (often the same thing), appear to have used it unselfconsciously. The term, constitutionally, made little sense; nevertheless, as a cultural, religious and political label, it was not without meaning.

creation of a strong bond of unity between evangelicals of all denominations. At times this could lead to the suspicion that some extreme low churchmen were willing to regard their commitment to evangelical religion as so important that it eclipsed their duty to their fellow-Anglicans, and to their diocesan.

For the Anglican clergyman, colonial Dissent raised several difficulties. Enfeebled in a number of ways discussed in previous chapters, the Church and her ministers were vulnerable to rivalry from other denominations. Furthermore, the church was weakened because her meagre resources were over-stretched, because of her failure to reconcile her voluntaryist status with her pseudo-establishmentarian pretensions manifested in her attempt to duplicate the English parochial system in Australia, and because of the prevailing Protestant anti-sacerdotalism in colonial society.⁷² In the process, the Church of England lost her distinctiveness and, therefore, much of her raison d'être in the eyes of Anglicans whose connection with the Church was largely nominal.

Anglican disadvantages

Although the Anglican ministry retained sufficient eclat to attract a number of erstwhile Nonconformists into its ranks, especially in Melbourne during the episcopate of James Moorhouse,⁷³ Anglicans were in a state of continual apprehension that they were losing people to Dissent, although this loss is not easy to quantify, statistically.⁷⁴ In trying to retain the allegiance of their flocks, Anglican ministers had, or were thought to have had, a number of disadvantages. First, it was almost universally acknowledged that, in Australian conditions, the Wesleyan method of Church

⁷² Concerning Victoria, in 1870-2 at any rate, Denis Grundy would describe this sentiment as anti-clericalism: op. cit., pp. 69-70.

⁷³ See above, chapter 9.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1.

government was greatly superior: if the Methodists were the first denomination to be established in a district, as often happened, the position of the Church was severely affected. The problem was not, however, confined to organisational questions.

Much of the rivalry took place on the Dissenters' chosen ground, which was preaching ability. Anglican sermons were usually considered to have been inferior to those heard from Nonconformist pulpits. Furthermore, because of the Church's de facto congregationalism, her ministers were forced to compete with the Dissenters for the allegiance of lay people who were notoriously willing to move from church to chapel if the vicar's ministrations were unsatisfactory. The erosion of Anglicanism's separate identity was another reason for laymen to take less notice of denominational divisions: conversions of convenience appear to have been usual. In the 1890s, the English visitor, N.F. Rowland, was quite ready to teach in the Sunday School, and sometimes attend the Sunday services, of the local Congregational minister in Sydney; his sole reason seems to have been that he considered that this clergyman was by far the ablest pastor in the city. Admittedly, Rowland's ecumenism owed more to his experiences in Toynbee Hall than to Australian influences, but it is clear that the colony provided a congenial setting in which he could apply his liberal principles.⁷⁵ Though an Anglican, Sir R.G. MacDonnell thought it disgraceful that Bishop Short, of Adelaide, would not allow the Independent minister, Thomas Binney, to preach in Church of England pulpits;⁷⁶ his lordship's exclusivism was not, however, matched by some of the teachers in Mr Wollaston's Anglican Sunday School in rural Victoria, for they objected to the use of the Church of England catechism.⁷⁷ The readiness with which

⁷⁵ Rowland to Rushdall, 25 January, 1896, MSS. Eng. Lett., c. 344, pt. 5.

⁷⁶ Kaye, op. cit., pp.79-80; D. Hilliard, Godliness and Good Order, pp. 45-6.

Anglicans would 'drop in' on chapel services was noted, somewhat resignedly, by the Revd Mr Allnutt,⁷⁸ but in the prevailing atmosphere of syncretised, Low Church and evangelical religion, little else, perhaps, could have been expected. The observation was made that, in the interior of New South Wales, the sole function of the Church was often assumed to have been the providing of a bulwark against Popery; in Western Australia, Mrs. Edward Millett thought that the popular tendency to equate 'Church of England' with 'Protestant' was the result of the large number of Irish in the colony: 'I even found that a dog, which habitually followed his master to Church, had received the complimentary name of "the Protestant" in consequence.'⁷⁹

A certain casualness with regard to denominational distinctions was matched by an erosion of discipline. High marriage fees, or the inability of lay readers to perform the rites of passage, allegedly caused defections.⁸⁰ Annie Drysdale Aitken told her former vicar that she was forced to marry in a Presbyterian church because of the expense involved in arranging for an Anglican ceremony.⁸¹ Discipline could not have been otherwise than almost non-existent in circumstances in which Anglicans were cooperating with Presbyterians in several districts in Victoria the 1870s and 1880s.⁸² The admitting of Nonconformists to communion was, strictly speaking, irregular, as Archdeacon Whittington conceded, in 1882.

⁷⁷ Alivia Wollaston to Barren, 19 April, 1881, Barren Papers.

⁷⁸ Allnutt to Barren, 18 July, 1889, Barren Papers.

⁷⁹ Millett, op. cit., p. 53.

⁸⁰ Revd H. Stiles to G. Stiles, n.d. (1864?) no. 21, Stiles Papers; Revd J. Herring believed that the Anglican prohibition on the conducting of marriages in houses was 'driving people away.' Messenger, 6 August, 1884, p. 10.

⁸¹ A.D. Aitken to Barroun (sic), 8 November, 1892, Barren Papers.

⁸² Messenger, VIII, 93 (8 June, 1876), p. 13; XVI, 174 (5 March, 1883), p. 13.

Nevertheless, he thought that the letter of the law could not have been enforced in 'the present state of discipline'.⁸³ Shortly after he had denounced (in synod) clerical laxness, Bishop Montgomery (Tasmania) issued a personal reprimand to a miscreant who had solemnised a marriage in a private house. He expostulated:

Is it possible that my rural dean has broken a rule because he was afraid of offending a wealthy parishioner? ... You cannot act weakly without hurting us all ... There is no way of winning respect but by fulfilling the laws of the Church and loyally supporting your Bishop. I foresee that you will have trouble in Wynyard by weakly giving way.⁸⁴

The action that provoked Montgomery's rebuke was significant in one further respect: if he had been correct in his suggestion about the motives of the recalcitrant, the incident could be cited as an example of how, under the de facto congregationalist style of church government, parish clergymen lost their independence vis a vis their parishioners.

The challenge of 'Nonconformity'

One day early in October, 1890, saw the Revd Herbert Barren draughting a letter to the Wimmera Mail. His purpose was to defend his failure to cooperate with the local Methodists. On the basis of the Anglican doctrine that the orders of the Wesleyan denomination were irregular, he claimed that no conscientious Church of England clergyman could be associated with such a body in its religious work.⁸⁵

One of Barren's arguments - that which was based upon the doctrine of apostolic succession - was, therefore, neo-Tractarian; the other was a more general appeal to the Church's traditional position on order and

⁸³ Minutes of the meeting of the clergy of the Hobart Archdeaconry, 9 February, 1882, Whittington papers, NS 282 / 51.

⁸⁴ Montgomery to Wilson, 30 May, 1899, Montgomery Papers.

⁸⁵ H. Barren, MS letter to the Wimmera Mail, 1 October, 1890, Barren Papers.

discipline. His letter neatly epitomised the dilemma facing Anglican clergymen in their relations with Nonconformists. The challenge represented by the Free Churches was clear: the methods by which the Church might most effectively counter the threat were not so evident. The climate of opinion which discouraged clericalism, exclusivism, and denominationalism, fostered a strong Protestant and Low Church feeling which was inhospitable to the sort of arguments which Barren employed. Yet these constituted, it seems, the only defence left for Anglican apologists to make, if there were to have been any overt resistance to what was considered as an effective and seductive form of rivalry. Anglicanism's traditional buttresses were lacking - an established, or at least an official status, and those bonds of custom, heritage and locality that were still characteristic of many parishes in England, outside the larger urban areas. Furthermore, Anglicanism lost much of its distinctiveness, culturally, theologically and liturgically, and its clergy, as perceived by the public, was assuming a much more amorphous character than was so in England. The weapons of theological and historical argument, fashioned or at least sharpened by the Oxford Movement, might have appeared to have been the only ones remaining.

Anglicans were gloomily certain that the Free Churches posed a strong threat to their denomination. Most Methodists in Van Diemen's Land, according to Mr Bateman, in 1843, were shopkeepers of the emigrant class, for whom religion provided a stepping-stone to social advancement.⁸⁶ Other disgruntled Churchmen believed that the Wesleyans appealed to the thoughtless and simple-minded,⁸⁷ to those who were attracted by ephemeral excitement and glamour. Here, again, Church of England publicists of this particular school, portrayed Anglicanism as an organisation that

⁸⁶ Bateman to Hawkins, 8 August, 1843, Bateman Correspondence, British Library.

⁸⁷ Revd R.W. Cooke, Messenger, XXII, 245 (1 February, 1889), p. 21, Kiama notebook, Sharpe Papers.

in its laity, the growth and maturation of religious feeling, rather than the promoting of dramatic conversion experiences. Her strength, it was implied, lay not in meretricious pulpit oratory, but in grave, sober and rational piety.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, in the Anglican reaction to Dissent, there was, as well, the realisation that in the open, competitive environment of egalitarian voluntarism, Church of England clergymen were put on their mettle in a way that was inconceivable in the motherland.⁸⁹ Bishop Thomas believed that Dissenters and Roman Catholics were striving to profit by Church of England laxity: their opposition, he noted, was unceasing.⁹⁰ Nonconformists urged people in country districts to forsake Anglicanism because of its failings.⁹¹ It is probable that most Churchmen considered it prudent to avoid open confrontation. 'We are quietly getting hold of them,' Bishop Hale recorded in his diary, about his clergy's success in proselytising Western Australia, but added that they were not publicising their achievements.⁹² The full extent of the rivalry is therefore evident only in private comment. Montgomery's notes on the state of the parishes, for example, show that, in his estimates of how the Church was faring in individual districts, the effectiveness of the Anglican cause was usually measured in relation to the activity of the local Nonconformists.⁹³

⁸⁸ For examples, see Rose E. Selwyn, 'Memories,' Mitchell Library MS.; Ayres (ed.) op. cit., p. 270; Skinner, op. cit., pp. 38, 79, 213, 225, 248.

⁸⁹ Melbourne Church News, 26 June, 1862.

⁹⁰ Thomas to the Revd J. Evans, Secretary, S.P.C.K., 19 October, 1868, Thorn, op. cit., p. 19.

⁹¹ Goodman, op. cit., p. 19.

⁹² Hale, Diary, Hale to Hawkins, 24 June, 1864, Hale Papers, S.P.G.

⁹³ Montgomery, Notes on the Parishes; Montgomery to Shortland, 18 February, 1898, Montgomery Letterbook, f. 37.

Conclusion

After the wardens of St. George's, Malvern, reprimanded the vicar for his failure to attend the previous three vestry meetings, the vestry was informed by the incumbent that the letter which contained these expressions of surprise and resentment was without parallel in his experience.⁹⁴ In many ways, Australian Anglicanism seemed to epitomise what were believed to have been the faults of an unendowed church. First, the cash nexus between the priest and congregation caused a drastic diminution in the status of the parish clergy. Secondly, the reluctance of the laity to contribute to extra-parochial funds meant that stipends in the poorer districts were reduced to a beggarly minimum, and the result was a further erosion of clerical status. Thus the 1890s economic depression was a final blow: in some rural parishes clerical incomes were so reduced that, far from being beacons of civilisation in these areas, clergymen and their families became, literally, objects of charity.

Although the main reason for the strength of the congregation in Australian Anglicanism was financial, it may also be partly attributed to the prevailing Protestant and Evangelical sentiment in Church and society. The clergyman was esteemed, if at all, for what he did rather than for what he was. Moreover, the areas of performance in which he seemed to have been judged - pulpit eloquence, earnestness, sincerity, and even sociableness - were such that the forces of Nonconformity appeared to enjoy advantages, over and above those which their organisation, and their more adaptable democratic ethos, gave them.

⁹⁴ Vestry Minute Book, 13 September, 1881, St. George's Church, Malvern, Victoria.

PATRONAGE AND PROFESSIONALISM

In most of colonial Australia, the Church of England did not offer very enticing career prospects to her ministers. There could have been few parts of the Anglican communion in which the ideal type of country parson corresponded so imperfectly to the reality of his social position and his living and working conditions. The absence of a landed class of the English type had fundamental significance for the ministry: in rural Australia, the Anglican clergyman had long since ceased to exercise even a shadow of his customary function of local government; indeed, in most parts of the country he had never filled this role. Moreover, the Church of England lost much of its distinctiveness, its sense of having a separate identity. Not merely theologically and doctrinally, but liturgically and institutionally, Anglicanism seemed increasingly to be absorbed into a nondescript Protestantism.

Few Anglicans (at least openly) regretted the decline of the 'squarson'. Yet neither in the Church, nor in society, was the Anglo-Catholic party notably successful in its attempts to replace this older concept with one based upon a sacerdotal perception of the ministry. Therefore, the Church of England rector became, in effect, simply the minister of a sect, and a poorly paid one. When the Anglo-Catholic John Hope was inducted into a rural parish in Queensland, shortly after the Great War, he was welcomed (by the Presbyterian pastor there) merely as the 'senior Protestant minister' in the district.¹ As with Gulliver when he was closely embraced in the Academy of Lagado, Hope found this a compliment he could well have excused.

¹ Rodd, op. cit. p. 43.

The Anglican problem of clerical supply resulted in the lowering of standards required of ordinands, and the widespread use of lay readers as de facto ministers.² The adoption of such expedients, however, helped to create, in the long run, an embarrassing issue for the Church of England. In nineteenth century Australia, a high degree of centralisation had led to the economic, cultural and administrative dominance of each colony by its capital city,³ which meant, in turn, that parishes in the larger towns and suburbs tended to offer clergymen employment that was relatively easy, congenial and lucrative. Thus, in the ministry, two classes evolved. One comprised those who enjoyed the possession of city livings; the other, those who laboured in the harsh, pioneering conditions of rural Australia. Although the members of the latter group may have been esteemed by their rustic congregations,⁴ and celebrated by sentimental story-writers in a later period, their heroic, self-denying toil was largely unknown to, or unappreciated by, the patronage committees of wealthy city parishes.

The country clergy and preferment

In the country, inadequate stipends, and the considerable hardships of everyday life, had the natural effect of making rural clergymen regard town livings as recompense for years of conscientious work in the bush. Indeed, even some of the less deserving regarded urban parishes as a legitimate prize.⁵ There was, however, an obstacle in the way of promotion to parishes:

² See chapters 7 and 8.
³

J.W. McCarty and C.B. Schedvin (eds.) Australian Capital Cities, Sydney University Press, 1978, pp. 9-25.

⁴ Even this was not necessarily true. The priests who served in the Riverina (New South Wales) were sometimes looked upon as outsiders, and on occasions were almost forced out. Laurel Clyde, In A Strange Land. A History of the Anglican Diocese of the Riverina, Melbourne, 1979, p. 192.

(Footnote continued)

in the larger centres: parochial representatives on patronage committees frequently appeared to overlook the claims of rural clergy. Often, it was the assistant curate in the vacant living who was the congregation's choice. Such attempts to promote young men - ahead of senior clergy - provoked protest in the wider Church.⁶

Critics of such accelerated promotion claimed that it was no defence that the beneficiaries had good, if short, records of service. Such was the rate of urban expansion, in the 1870s and 1880s, that success was assured to any clergyman who presided over a district in a colonial city.⁷ Another practice that was deplored (at the diocesan level, at least) was the appointment, to a new incumbency, of a priest who had been curate in charge of the area prior to its separation from the mother parish. This, it was thought, offered 'encouragement to the self-seeking' in the ranks of assistant curates.⁸

Appointing from outside the diocese

Priests outside the diocese, or even beyond the Australian colonies, provided another source of rivalry for the coveted city parishes.⁹

⁵
⁵ (continued)

Messenger, XIII, 146, (9 November, 1880), p. 9; 'Church patronage,' leading article, ibid., XXI, 236 (10 May, 1888); Archdeacon Langley, ibid., 13 October, 1893; Charles Edward Camidge, D.D., President's Address on the Occasion of the Tenth Synod of the Diocese of Bathurst delivered in St. John's Church, Mudgee, on Tuesday, 16 July, 1901, p. 6; 'Notes on the Clergy' (Westbury, Longford), Montgomery, 'Notes on the Clergy,' Letterbook; Report of Proceedings of the Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide Incorporated during the Seventeenth Annual Session A.D. 1871, Adelaide, 1871, p. 63; Proceedings of the Third Session of the Eighth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 4 August, 1891 (address by the president) p. 16.

⁶ Pritchard, Chambers, p. 75; Messenger, XXIX, 342 (1 April, 1897), p. 44; letter from Thomas Howard Fellows, ibid., VIII, 98 (9 November, 1876), pp. 13-4.

⁷ Ibid., XXI, 236 (10 May, 1888).

⁸ Ibid., XV, 169 (4 October, 1882).

Letter, 'Justitia,' Messenger, 7 February, 1890, p. 240; ibid., XXI, 345 (1 July, 1897), pp. 89-90. ibid., XXV, 297 (7 July, 1897), p. 111; South Australian Register, 17 April, 1895, p. 6d. Letters: 'M.D.,' ibid., 19
(Footnote continued)

If there were conflict over appointment to a vacancy, it often appears to have been between the diocesan authorities and the congregation (or one or two members of it) which was ignoring senior, local clergymen.¹⁰ In 1897, an embittered 'country clergyman' suggested that the board of nomination could be likened to a 'pack of hyenas, snarling over so much prey', and stated that

the Bishop in Council, instead of being representative of the whole diocese, is merely a Melbourne clique, absolutely ignorant of the country and of country administration.¹¹

Given the strength of 'practical Independency' in Australian Anglicanism,¹² it is not surprising that the most controversial issue to emerge from the debate over patronage was the right of congregations to choose their own pastors. For some, these claims were based upon democratic sentiments.¹³ Somewhat more down-to-earth, perhaps, was the argument that those who paid the vicar's stipend should have sole power of his appointment.¹⁴ On the other hand, those who defended the system by which the diocese had a powerful voice on boards of patronage, argued that the Offertory belonged to God, and that the parishioners who paid pew rents were entitled merely to claim seats in the church building; only in those

⁹ (continued)

April, 1895, p. 6b; 'Layman,' *ibid.*, 20 April, 1895, p. 6c; 'M.D.,' *ibid.*, 24 April, 1895, p. 7e, letter of 'Seat-holder of Twenty Years' Standing,' *ibid.*, 23 April, 1895, p. 6.

¹⁰ Letter from 'A Member of the Church Assembly,' *Argus*, 1 May, 1888, p. 5g.

¹¹ Letter: 'A Country Clergyman on Church Patronage,' *Age*, 14 May, 1898, p. 4e.

¹² See chapter 'Episcopal Congregationalism', *passim*.

¹³ *Messenger*, 16 October, 1890, p. 396; *ibid.*, XXVI, 312, (12 October, 1894).

¹⁴ Letter from 'Seat-holder ...', *South Australian Register*, 23 April, 1895, p.6g. See also *Argus*, 30 June, 1887.

cases in which the clergyman's stipend was entirely raised by direct subscription could it have been said that the congregation 'paid' its minister.¹⁵ Furthermore, against the democratic, quasi-congregational principles of parochial election, the wider interests of the diocese were urged: usually this meant that justice had to be done to country clergymen in recognition of their long-suffering, ill-requited toil. This was possible only if diocesan representatives (who were aware of the claims of all the individual candidates for promotion, not merely of those clergymen currently serving in city parishes) were able to take part in the selection process.¹⁶

The patronage issue in Victoria

Although the claims for promotion of experienced clergymen, particularly of those in country districts, were certainly not neglected in other dioceses,¹⁷ it was in Victoria that the patronage debate appears to have been the most intense. Four reasons may be suggested to explain this. First, in Victoria, the Church (in common with government services) was put under extraordinary pressures, in the 1850s, in its efforts to cater for an enormous increase in population, yet Church and State, owing to the colony's recent foundation, had fewer resources than was the case in New South Wales.¹⁸ Secondly, the policy of settling smallholders on the land was more successful, particularly in the late 1860s and the 1870s: the farmers - often scattered, sometimes impecunious,¹⁹ but generally

¹⁵ Messenger, XXV, 297 (7 July, 1893), p. 111.

¹⁶ Ibid., 8 September, 1893, pp. 155-6; letter from 'Q', *ibid.*, XXI, 239 (14 August, 1888), p. 12; and *ibid.*, 5 July, 1887, p. 12.

¹⁷ 'Notes on the clergy (Tamar, Ulverstone),' Montgomery, Letterbook; South Australian Register, 4 May, 1897, p. 7 a-b; see above, pp.

¹⁸ N.G. Butlin, Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900, Cambridge University Press, 1964, p. 3.

¹⁹ The poverty of the selectors has been exaggerated: see C. Fahey, 'The
(Footnote continued)

(according to Bishop Moorhouse)²⁰ desirous of Church services - presented a challenge that was more formidable than elsewhere. Thirdly, in Victoria, the capital city was particularly dominant in the colony's society and economy,²¹ and there was, correspondingly, a greater contrast between the economic condition of the urban parishes, and that of the rural districts. Finally, the Church of England in Victoria had fewer endowments and was less wealthy than the Church in the older settlements. Tasmania's smaller area, West Australia's later period of development (in the gold rush years, in the last two decades of the century), and Queensland's less dominant capital city, all point to less embittered feelings, in those colonies, on the issue of preferment. Admittedly, the Church in South Australia had to minister to people over vaster areas, but the pattern of land settlement was such that, in this colony, the Church made a sharper and - one supposes - a more workable distinction between a missionary area and a traditional parish; furthermore, the Adelaide diocese was probably more adept in modifying the parochial system to local requirements.²² The issues of patronage and promotion were brought before the Victorian public more

¹⁹ (continued)

wealth of farmers: Victorian regional study, 1879-1901,' Historical Studies, vol. 21, no. 82 (April, 1984), pp. 29-30, 36, 39-40, 43-4, 48, 51. Conditions were the hardest until the late 1880s.

²⁰ See chapter 'An erosion of esteem'.

²¹ For Melbourne's dominance, in absolute terms, and compared with other colonial capitals, see McCarty and Schedvin, op. cit., pp. 65-73; Butlin, op. cit., p. 163; S. Glynn, Urbanisation in Australian History, 1788 - 1900, Melbourne, 1970, pp. 29-30.

²² Report of Proceedings of the Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide Incorporated during the Twenty-seventh Session A.D. 1881, Adelaide, 1881, pp. 341-2; Report ... Adelaide ... 1882, pp. 451-3. In South Australia there was a greater proportion of English trained and Oxbridge educated priests than in any other colonial diocese: in 1895, two thirds of Adelaide clergymen had been trained overseas. David Hilliard, Godliness and Good Order, p. 57. Possibly, this reduced the number of colonial aspirants for important positions in South Australia.

frequently than elsewhere; several bills on the subject were presented to the Melbourne Church Assembly in the 1890s, and a number of disputed cases aired in the press. The discussion provoked on such occasions raised issues which some Churchmen considered to be unedifying, especially as they were debated in public.²³

Seniority and promotion

From the diocesan viewpoint, clergymen had to know that 'length of service and work well done will count as regards preferment'.²⁴ Yet the Revd W. Green claimed that, because of the strength of congregationalism in the Church, and the prevalence of what he called 'cavilling and carping at the clergy', seniority and experience were almost disqualifications for promotion.²⁵ Nevertheless, the fact was that there were no easy answers to the issues posed by participants in the debate over seniority - namely, whether long service, as such, was a factor that should have been considered by boards of patronage when they discussed the merits of various candidates for preferment. References to 'the heat and burden of the day', in relation to senior clergy, were common enough to be platitudinous, and were, in a colonial context, perhaps appropriate, because of the climate and the difficulties experienced by English-born clergymen in adapting to it; yet the parable in St. Matthew was hardly an argument for the claim of seniority to be favourably considered, rather, the reverse, for the labourers hired at the beginning of the day received no more than those hired at the eleventh hour. This point was not often made but there was one - a critic of those who argued that clergymen with long service should be given favoured treatment - who pointed out²⁶ that it was fair to retort

²³ Revd F.C. Kent, synod debate, Messenger, XXVI, 312 (October, 1894); leading articles, *ibid.*, XXX, 356 (1 June, 1898), pp. 31-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XX, 231 (9 December, 1887).

²⁵ 'Union amongst our clergy,' *ibid.*, XVIII, 329 (1 March, 1896), p. 38.

(to those who quoted the phrases in St. Matthew: XX: 12): 'Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.'²⁷

Still, there were greater problems about seniority than this. Were such a principle rigorously applied, it was suggested, able young men would leave the diocese, and none would be attracted to it from other colonies, nor would any competent clergymen come from England.²⁸ Furthermore, guaranteed promotion, as a reward for long service, could result in indolence and faithlessness in the field of clerical duty.²⁹ There were parallels in the contemporary political debate concerning the question of tariff protection. Those who wished to give preference to local clergy, in parochial appointments, were said to be trying to build a 'Chinese wall' around the diocese.³⁰ Dr Stacy Chapman, a cleric of conservative political views, believed that it could not be said that the heat and burden of the day had been borne only by priests in the Melbourne diocese, and thought that they were 'in danger of tending to do something like the Trades Hall policy'.³¹

The champions of the seniority principle stressed the traditional virtues of the Anglican parochial ministry - quiet, unostentatious labour, undertaken by men 'who, without complaint, have gone on to their steady routine of usefulness'.³² The implied - or often explicit - contrast with

²⁶ Letter from 'F.M.O.C.', 'Recent Appointments,' Messenger, XXI, 236 (10 May, 1888), p. 12.

St. Matthew: XX: 14.

²⁸ Letter from 'Observer', 'Recent Appointments,' Messenger, XXI 237 (6 June, 1888), p. 12. The point was, in part, conceded by the other side in the debate, e.g., ibid., 8 June, 1894, pp. 92-3.

²⁹ Judge Hodges, Assembly debate, ibid., XXVI, 312 (October, 1894).

³⁰ Hon. F.S. Grimwade, synod debate, 1894, ibid., (October supplement) XXVI, 312.

³¹ That is, presumably, tariff protection. Dr S. Chapman, ibid. See also Judge Hodges, ibid., p. 6.

³² Camidge, op. cit., p. 2.

meretricious pulpit oratory, was clear, as was the celebration of experience in contradistinction to the glamour of a youthful and ingratiating curate. Archdeacon Langley, although by no means favourable to the exclusion of extra-diocesan candidates when preferment was being considered,³³ admitted that the claims of the country clergy often were overlooked by parishioners who had heard an eloquent sermon, or who admired one 'famed at a distance'. Something more than pulpit oratory, he believed, had to be considered. Parochial work, and experience as a teacher, were quite as important as the ability to preach a good sermon on a great occasion.³⁴ Yet such an appeal, on behalf of senior country clergymen, to the old-fashioned, traditionally Anglican virtue of all-round parochial experience, did not ring completely true even in the rural milieu in which this type of ministry was supposed to have ripened and flourished. The 'pastoral and fatherly relationship' between the clergyman and his flock was unusual in Australia, because of the size of parochial districts and the scattered nature of the population,³⁵ and because of the fact that long incumbencies were the exception rather than the rule.³⁶ The parish was no longer a 'circle of ground' to which people were attached 'by ties of family or estate'.³⁷

Problems of ministerial work in the towns and cities were different again, and were such as to make country experience (some alleged) at best irrelevant and at worst actually a disadvantage. A Church paper, the Mitre, was of the opinion that clergymen who spent long years in rural districts

³³ Archdeacon Langley, Messenger, 4 December, 1891, p. 10.

³⁴ Ibid., 13 October, 1893, p. 8. See also the letter from 'H' on 'Church Patronage', *ibid.*, XIII, 144 (7 September, 1870) p. 13.

³⁵ Revd H.F. Tucker, Messenger, 16 October, 1890, p. 398.

³⁶ See chapter 'Episcopal congregationalism'.

³⁷ Messenger, XXIV, 283 (6 May, 1892) pp. 74-5.

might be expected to acquire rustic habits; the implication was that they would thereby be disqualified from holding urban livings.³⁸ These sentiments are an indication of the extent to which, in social, economic and intellectual life, the city had diverged from the countryside in late nineteenth century Victoria. During the period of the 'long boom' (1860-1890), Melbourne developed a self-image of sophistication.³⁹ Priding themselves on the level of their education, and the quality of their intellectual culture, its citizens, or a number of the most vocal of them, demanded of their Church of England pastors a high standard of learning and of pulpit eloquence. Certainly, the first appears to have been consistent with the conventional view of Anglican clergy, but in reality it was not the sort of learning that was, traditionally, prized in the English Church. In the late nineteenth century, what Australian congregations required - or what it was thought that they required - was something quite different: intellectually rigorous, 'scientific' sermons.⁴⁰

There was a general belief, even among the champions of the country clergy, that the needs of city and rural incumbencies were different - so much so, that the suggestion was made that bush parsons, by a system of exchanges, should be given experience in the towns.⁴¹ There, the march of science, and lay familiarity with the broad outlines of biblical criticism, had been most in evidence. The view that these developments required an

³⁸ Leading article, 'Church Patronage,' in which the editorial views of 'our contemporary' were criticised. Messenger, XXXI, 366 (1 April, 1899), pp. 50-1. See also, Letter, 'Recent Appointments,' *ibid.*, 6 June, 1888, p. 12.

³⁹ Davison, *op. cit.*; Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, Pelican edition, 1968, pp. 294-300.

⁴⁰ South Australian Register, 5 May, 1896 (leading article). But see also the views of the Revd J. Sunter in the Synod debate: he doubted (on the basis of experience) if congregations wanted discourses of this sort. *Ibid.*, 7 May, 1896.

⁴¹ Leading article: 'Bi-parochialism,' Messenger, XXI, 240 (11 September, 1882), p. 2.

intellectual ministry in the cities, may have been a delusion.

Nevertheless, it was one that, being widely shared, would have been quite fatal to the chances of promotion of country clergy, had the Anglican system of patronage been more of a congregational one than, in fact, it was.

II

The patronage question - an important, even a burning one in the Australian Church - involved more than the grievances of a lower clerical class which, according to its own reckoning, was deserving of promotion, yet found itself excluded from the best livings. The relatively small number of senior positions and desirable parishes in the Australian Church, and the tendency - particularly in the earlier period - to reserve many of these for clergy from home, introduced the issue of nationalism into policy discussions at various levels of this, the most English of institutions in colonial society. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, prospects for federation of the Australian colonies, and the reality of the accomplishment of forms of national union by such bodies as employers' organisations and trade unions, combined to give additional relevance to the question of whether Antipodean Anglicanism should, without renouncing its heritage, attempt to identify itself more closely with Australian national aspirations. For Churchmen, however, it was the problem of patronage that first raised the issue of nationalism. Justice for senior clergy (to put the matter at the highest), or frustrated career and social expectations (to put it at its lowest), seem to have been - until the twentieth century, at any rate - the main concern of those Anglicans who wanted the Church in Australia to assert some form of institutional and even attitudinal independence.

Searching for English clergy

The practice of turning to the mother Church in order to fill senior posts - even those below the rank of bishop - had less to do with the English birth, training and parochial experience of members of the colonial episcopal bench, than with the determination to maintain, in the colonies, a clerical order of well-educated gentlemen. The large proportion of the population that was working class, and the scarcity of people 'who have inherited or amassed wealth', did not augur well for the prospects of the colonies producing ministers of an acceptable sort.⁴²

Because of the expansion of opportunities for clergy to be appointed to numerous positions in home and missionary dioceses, there were few parishes or offices in Australia likely to attract ordained men from Home,⁴³ given the assumption that emigrating clergy were motivated by such considerations as career prospects, rather than being influenced by a desire to assist in Church extension, or by a pioneering spirit, or by a sense of Imperialism. 'Doubtless colonial life has its charms in the enterprise and faith it demands,' the Adelaide synod was told, 'but the educated clergyman may fairly expect something more than a bare subsistence.'⁴⁴

Career prospects for colonial clergy

Such expectations about income were not, however, confined to 'educated clergy' from Home, and if the only parishes that could offer 'something more' were a few posts in the larger centres, it was increasingly believed, in the 1880s and 1890s, that these should not have been the preserve of imported incumbents. In 1887, the Revd H.C.E. Morris protested at what he

⁴² Report on the Diocese, Report ... Adelaide ... 1876, p. 426. Report on the Diocese, Report ... Adelaide ... 1873, p. 190. Report on the Diocese, Report ... Adelaide ... 1877, p. 22.

⁴³ 'The ties of home are strong and are not easily severed. Except in the larger towns or the metropolis of each colony, there are few parishes or endowments equal to those of the mother Church.' - President's address, Report ... Adelaide ... 1880, p. 242.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

claimed was an unprovoked attack on colonial churchmen, in the newspaper of the diocese of Ballarat. The effect of the article was 'to excuse the fact that the more important posts in the Church in this diocese are being filled from England'. This was done by the author's representing 'that colonially trained clergymen are not capable of filling them'.⁴⁵

This sort of criticism of local clergy came mainly, it seems, from laymen. One wrote to the Standard, in 1893, warning English congregations against 'ignorant, colonially ordained preachers'. Defending them, the former principal of Moore College, the Revd A. Lubyn Williams, wondered if the critic were aware that the Church of England 'is in our country parishes still dying of respectability', and that 'colonially trained clergy have just those powers which are likely to attract our people back'. The only concession that Williams was prepared to make was that, often, the local product was not as polished as his English brother.⁴⁶ Perhaps this, however, was precisely what offended certain members of the laity, especially those prominent in synod, and powerfully represented on the councils of those parishes deemed to be prizes. Locally ordained men were sometimes spoken of slightly in society,⁴⁷ although in this respect, not only the laity was at fault:

We had a sorry case in the Sydney diocese of one priest who had been ordained at home railing against another in the secular press, whose orders were colonial, with the taunt that he was not qualified to work at home.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Star (Ballarat) 28 March, 1887. Morris, a locally ordained literate, had, three years before, objected strongly to the 'absence of diocesan representatives in the matter of nomination'. Messenger, XVII, 184 (12 January, 1840), p. 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XXV, 295 (5 May, 1893), p. 76.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 93 (8 June, 1876), p. 12.

⁴⁸ Enclosure in Major General Crook to Temple, 25 May, 1900, Temple Correspondence, Vol. 34, ff. 401, 403.

Principally, however, it was laymen in affluent livings who were alleged to have been both indifferent to the claims of local clergy, and excessively disposed to favour priests ordained in England. In 1880, an anonymous parson claimed that 'strangers from England and other colonies' were one category of men appointed to wealthy or easy parishes - those, in other words, that should have been given to ministers who had faithfully and successfully laboured in the country - and that preferment was bestowed upon these outsiders at the behest of inconsiderate patrons.⁴⁹ In colonial Australia, those most firmly attached to the motherland, both politically and culturally, were middle class townsmen.⁵⁰ If, as appears likely, they were Anglophiles also in Church affairs,⁵¹ they must have contributed to the locking up of coveted town livings and senior appointments, thereby, in turn, making nationalists out of an unlikely occupational group - certain of the clergy of the Church of England.

Colonial disillusionment with imported clergy

In the last decades of the century, criticism of English appointments was voiced with increasing candour and frequency. In 1882, at a special meeting of the synod in Adelaide, summoned to discuss the vacant see, the Revd A. Sells complained that one third of the colonial bishops retired within ten years of their appointment. 'They would run the risk of getting a man who would not stay long and would not prove a first class colonial bishop,' were they to refer the choice to England.⁵² The Melbourne diocesan paper, in 1887, pondered the question of why senior clergymen in the colonies were

⁴⁹ Messenger, XIII, 138 (2 March, 1880). The other two categories were: clergy who waited in town curacies hoping for preferment, and those who, after a short period in country service, arranged to be strategically placed as a locum tenens.

⁵⁰ C.N. Connolly, 'Class, birthplace and loyalty: Australian attitudes to the Boer War,' Historical Studies, Vol. 18, no. 71.

⁵¹ As in South Australia: see Hilliard, Godliness and Good Order, p. 59.

⁵² Messenger, XIV, 163 (5 April, 1882), p. 11.

overlooked when bishops were appointed to prominent sees - appointed in spite of the fact that Englishmen found the climate difficult, the social conditions strange, and the great distances burdensome. Further, there was the indignity of English clergymen being offered a position and, at the last minute, declining it.⁵³

Local Churchmen, and especially local clergymen, had many objections to the policy of looking to the motherland for persons to fill senior appointments, but nothing annoyed them more than the failure of the English appointees to stay in the colonies. This was demonstrated by the case of Archdeacon Day, about whom the Bishop of North Queensland wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as follows:

I shall be very grateful if you can express somewhat strongly to Archdeacon Day your hope that he intends to return to his post, at any rate for a few years. He came to be sub dean of Townsville and archdeacon a little more than fifteen months ago. ... It was impossible for me to refuse his request to go home to his father; his departure has already been prejudicial to the good name⁵⁴ of the Church. The injury will be increased if he fails to return.

Day informed the Archbishop that the first cause of his return was his father's health 'and his earnest wish to hand over his small Norfolk living into my hands'.⁵⁵ This attitude - regarding appointments in Australia as a rung in a career ladder in the Church at Home -⁵⁶ caused resentment in the colonies, particularly because locally ordained clergymen were being kept

⁵³ Messenger, XX, 222 (8 March, 1887); see also J.W.S. Tomlin, op. cit., p. 298.

⁵⁴ Bishop of North Queensland to Davidson, 2 June, 1905, Davidson Correspondence, Vol. 108, ff. 100-2.

⁵⁵ Day to Davidson, 16 September, 1905, *ibid.*, ff. 111-2.

⁵⁶ In 1906, an Adelaide newspaper quoted the congratulations offered to the future Bishop Thomas in the English press: Adelaide was the most desirable of the colonial sees, and a sure stepping-stone to the English episcopate. In a few years (it was prophesied) they should be welcoming him back. In fact, this was not so; Bishop Thomas was the first English appointee to remain in Australia after his retirement from thirty-five years as a colonial bishop. Hilliard, Godliness and Good Order, p. 53.

out of such positions as a result, or so it was thought. Moreover, they considered that their status was slighted because they were passed over in favour of priests who were by no means outstanding and who, frequently, did not develop a long-term commitment to the cause in the new country.

The Church fragmented

To those who argued that preference for diocesan clergy was a narrow and un-catholic attempt to sever local Anglicanism from the broader Church, the nationalists had a ready answer: overseas and colonial dioceses had, for some years, been isolated from the mother Church by means of the Colonial Clergy Act.⁵⁷ A memorandum on this matter was issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1893, in which it was stated that the measure was necessary for three reasons: discipline at home, support for colleges and societies that educated and maintained men for foreign and colonial ministrations, and even

to maintain the status of the colonial clergy by precluding misrepresentation on the part of persons untruly pretending to that position,⁵⁸ or who have lost character or who have forfeited all respect.

Colonial clergy could have been forgiven, however, for suspecting that the Archbishop thought that the first reason was the most important. Two of the three 'notorious' cases, cited to justify the Act, were in the field of home discipline.⁵⁹ Certainly, the local clergy appeared willing to forgo the protection that, it was claimed, the Act extended to their own status.

At times, the Act made it inconvenient for Australian priests who wished to officiate, on a temporary basis, in England,⁶⁰ but such irritations were

⁵⁷ See chapter 6.

⁵⁸ Messenger, XXVI, 306 (6 April, 1894), p. 64.

⁵⁹ Ibid. The other 'notorious' case related to the second reason.

⁶⁰ As a Melbourne clergyman, J.B. Sharp, discovered, when he attempted to
(Footnote continued)

relatively minor matters. More importantly, 'a clergyman ordained abroad is practically a prisoner in his own diocese, so long as the Bishop of the diocese chooses to hold him'.⁶¹ Yet not even a local bishop's wish to retain a colonially ordained priest was needed to keep him from finding work in England. This was shown by the case of the Revd G.L. Wallace. After having given ten years' service in Queensland, and with the Bishop's approval, he returned to England, seeking work in London. In reply to his request for a title, the Archbishop stated that he 'was very sorry that he could not vary his conditions' and grant Wallace a title before two years had expired, even though J. Adam, incumbent of Woodside, urgently desired an assistant curate.⁶²

Some synod orators claimed that those who had served faithfully in other parts of the Anglican communion should have been given credit in the Melbourne diocese for this. In the context of Canterbury's administration of the Colonial Clergy Act, it was to be expected that such arguments would be met with rebuttals such as the Revd R.G. Burke's. If he went to England, he pointed out, he would not expect his Victorian service to be reckoned.⁶³ Canon Vance believed that the argument - against Melbourne preference - emphasising the unity of the Church, had already been eclipsed by events. Were English positions open to Australian clergy? Men who had grown grey in the service of the Anglican Church had to sit for an examination, if they wished to obtain clerical employment in England.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ (continued)

obtain a licence to officiate. J.F. Hodges to J.B. Sharp, 11, 21, and 24 November, 1883, Sharp Correspondence: File: English Visit, Christ Church, Brunswick, Victoria, Archives. See also H.E. Fox, hon. secretary, C.M.S., to Temple, n.d., Temple Correspondence, Vol. 34, f. 265.

⁶¹ Messenger, XXI, 264 9 (16 November, 1888), p. 4.

⁶² G.L. Wallace to Temple, 10 May 1898, Temple Correspondence, Vol. 27, f. 301. For other protests about the Act, see J. Crook to Temple, 25 May 1900, *ibid.*, Vol 34, f. 265, and Geo. Grant to Temple, 4 July 1902, *ibid.*, Vol. 53, ff. 24-5.

⁶³ Messenger, XXII, 264 (16 October, 1890), p. 393.

III

Thus extensive discussions of patronage resulted from attempts to resolve the tensions arising out of the conflicting claims of (on the one hand) seniority, local experience, and sacrificial labour, and of (on the other) learning, oratorical competence, and urbanity. These debates provide insights into the ways in which Australian clergymen perceived themselves, concerning their occupational status and function. As in England, three modes, or phases, of the genus professional were involved - the gentlemanly, the learned, and the bureaucratic. Although, in Australia, the gentlemanly professional was an extinct species, in the late nineteenth century several of his supposed characteristics retained a powerful emotional hold upon many Churchmen. The learned professions served as a basis of comparison, as a yardstick against which the status of the clergy could be measured in the variety of ways in which this was said to be manifested: recruitment, appointments to offices, income, and professional training. Nevertheless, it was the adoption of the third type - that of the bureaucratic profession, with its overtones of central control, and a consequent decline in the autonomy of its individual members - that seems to have been the tendency of much of the debate about patronage and perhaps of events in the Church as well.

The gentlemanly professional

It is evident that the social, political and economic realities of nineteenth century colonial Australia, ended the Anglican ministry's prospects of ever being able to conform to this model.⁶⁵ Relatively meagre

⁶⁴ Ibid., XXVI, 312 (October Supplement).

⁶⁵ See pp. 179-235.

financial resources, the strength of rival denominations, shortness of tenure, the scattered nature of the population, and its geographical and social mobility, the lack of an upper class, the attractiveness, for graduates, of alternative careers, and the growing tendency, in a variety of occupations, to specialise - these are only the principal reasons for the model to have become obsolete and irrelevant and even, outside Anglicanism, somewhat discredited. Nevertheless, some of the ideals associated with it were more durable, at least among Churchmen. The concept of parochial experience was one. Furthermore, the virtues of sympathy, disinterestedness, benevolence, tact and unworldliness were widely and fervently admired, even when parochial endowments, which had made the exercise of them possible, had long since disappeared, or where (as in most parts of Australia) they had never existed.

The learned professions

The clergy naturally saw medicine and law as sister professions, and it was to them that Churchmen turned for precedents when they agonised over the state of the clerical order. The three professions were bracketed together as a matter of course.⁶⁶ In the continuing controversy concerning the appointment of extra-diocesan clergy to important positions, it was to be expected that analogies would be made with the legal profession. What would local barristers say, wondered a leader-writer of Melbourne's Anglican newspaper, if Victorian judges were appointed from among their brethren in New South Wales or South Australia?

In early and mid-nineteenth century Oxford, those who defended the continuance of the Church's domination of the university and collegiate system, did so on the grounds that the welfare of the nation required that the training of men destined to take their place in the learned professions, should be conducted in an academic setting that was strongly

⁶⁶ Church Gazette, Vol. 1, no. 17 (16 October, 1862), p. 143.

influenced by the Church. As late as 1885, Bishop Barry (Sydney) voiced a similar idea. In this connection, the problem for the ministry was not only that relatively few graduates were entering its ranks. More humiliating still, was the fact that the qualifications of local ordinands were considered to be inferior by the mother Church. This was demonstrated by the administration of the Colonial Clergy Act. As the Revd C.J. Godby, the English trained incumbent of an affluent Melbourne suburban parish, pointed out, clergymen who had been ordained in the colonies had been compelled by English bishops to go through re-examination before they had been licensed in English parishes, because they had been able to produce no guarantees of their learning.⁶⁷ Questions of income aside, could clergymen maintain the fiction that, in their status, they were approximately equal to their sister professions? A sense of inferiority starkly characterised some of the contributions to the debates over the establishment of an Australian college of theology. In the Melbourne Church Assembly, the bishop stated his view that:

It would be a poor and pitiful thing to say that, because they could not establish such a college in Australia as would entitle men to wear silk gowns, command influence, and get bishoprics in England, it was useless.⁶⁸

Moreover, by the end of the century, the learned professions were claiming that their members had qualified for admission by having undergone training at a rigorous intellectual standard. Theology was said by Churchmen to be the queen of the disciplines, but how could clergymen, with far more

⁶⁷ Messenger, 4 December, 1891 (Supplement) p. 7. For concern at the falling numbers of graduates entering the ministry, see, for example, Proceedings of the First Session of the Sixth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 28-31 August, 1883, President's Address, p. 27; see also chapter 'Anglicanism Unendowed,' above. Even St. Peter's Collegiate School, Adelaide, which had once promised a 'rich harvest' of ordinands, was not realising the hopes of its pious founders. Bishop's address, Report ... Adelaide ... 1863, p. 50.

⁶⁸ Messenger, 4 December, 1891 (Supplement).

parochial duties than had been placed upon ministers fifty years previously,⁶⁹ cope with study?⁷⁰ Every time a complaint was made about the burdensome nature of the work of a parish priest, a blow was struck at the ministry's reputation for learning - a reputation that was based, in part, on the notion that the clergy had sufficient leisure to read and reflect.

Recruitment

Late nineteenth century emphasis on the problem of attracting men to the ministry furnishes an example of the extent to which clergymen were no longer members of a gentlemanly profession, one of the hallmarks of which was self-recruitment. Furthermore, the difficulties of persuading men to become ordinands, graphically illustrate that the gulf was widening between the ministry and the two other professions with which members of the clergy customarily compared themselves. The principal factors deterring men were widely agreed to be, first, low stipends, secondly, irregular payments of the stipend, thirdly, the lack of opportunity for promotion, and finally, the failure of the Church to develop an old-age pension scheme.

The stipend issue was seen to have been the greatest disincentive. The Bishop of Sydney appealed to parents in 1890 and 1891 to 'direct your sons' attention to the Christian ministry as being a noble profession, though not a lucrative one'.⁷¹ In the boom years of the 1880s, a Melbourne Anglican pondered whether the Church of England was unique in showing a want of parental control and example, in the growing tendency of its members to look upon religion as an article of commerce, as a return for investment, in having her ministers paid inadequately, and in having laymen who, by

⁶⁹ Complaints about clerical busy-work were rife. See, for example, Messenger, 4 October, 1882. Members of the laity were frequently admonished for allowing clergy to become burdened with trivial chores that could well have been performed by parishioners.

⁷⁰ Messenger, 4 December, 1891 (Supplement), p. 8.

⁷¹ Ibid., 3rd session, 8th synod, 4 August, 1891, p. 20.

reason of their 'ability, education and social position' were marked out for influencing others for good, and yet who held back.⁷² This demonstrates a strikingly traditionalist perception of the Anglican ministry. There was nothing novel about parents regarding the university fees of their ordinand son as an investment, nor incongruous in their believing - as it was once possible to do - that such an apparently mercenary motive was consistent with a desire for their son to be, as a clergyman, an influence for good. It was apparent, in late colonial Australia, that there were other professions, and even non-professional occupations, which offered far more attractive prospects to those men who would have been the most likely to wield social influence in the parochial ministry. Moreover, the ability of the clergyman to exert such influence was, by then, severely limited by demographic, social and political developments.

Another alleged obstacle in the path of clerical recruitment was associated with the question of patronage. The small number of desirable livings and of executive positions in the Church of England, and the increasingly controversial practice of reserving many of these for English clergy, were said to have been factors discouraging young men from entering the ministry. The supposedly excessive powers of capricious congregations were also criticised in this respect.⁷³ Whether a lack of opportunities for promotion did, in reality, constitute a disincentive for prospective candidates is, however, difficult to say: speculation on the subject by

⁷² Messenger, XVI, 183 (5 December, 1883), p. 2. For other comments on the stipend question, see letter by 'Q', *ibid.*, VIII, 93; Proceedings, 3rd session, 8th synod, Sydney, p. 20; Report ... Adelaide ... 1867, pp. 187-8; on the irregularity of stipend payments, see Report ... Adelaide ... 1878, pp. 94-5.

⁷³ Messenger, XXV, 296, pp. 91-2 (leading article: 'The Board of Patronage'); Canon Carlisle, debate in Melbourne diocesan church assembly on bill to amend the patronage act, *ibid.*, XXVI, 312 (October supplement, 1894); Report of the committee on the subject of candidates for Holy Orders, Proceedings, 2nd session, 7th synod, Sydney, p. 169 (Appendix no. xix).

somewhat embittered critics of the patronage system, does not add up to very satisfactory evidence on this point. Nevertheless, it was likely that potential ordinands were worried that a clerical career offered little or no security for old-age and ill-health,⁷⁴ for this matter was bound up with the fundamental problem of the Anglican ministry - inadequate and irregular incomes.

A bureaucratic professsion

A bureaucratic profession is mainly characterised by, first, a high degree of central control, particularly in such matters as promotion, discipline and salaries; secondly, a rigid career structure; and thirdly, formal administrative procedures. It could therefore be said that, in some ways, the Anglican ministry in Australia was moving in this direction. Although one of the main limitations on the evolution of such an organisation was the reluctance of parishes to contribute to diocesan funds, discussions of the issues of preferment and recruitment revealed that the centralising forces, at least in the Church's administration, were gathering strength. Attempts to bureaucratisise the clerical profession were based on the realisation that, first, there were large numbers of rank and file clergymen of average ability, undertaking necessary, but unglamorous and poorly publicised work; and secondly, that such a clergyman's career prospects were disagreeable, to the extent that they were dependent upon performance and connections - the conventional paths to success in the learned professions.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Report ... Adelaide ... 1876, p. 188; Samwell, op. cit., p. 225; Church Gazette, Vol. 1, no. 17 (16 October, 1862) pp. 143-4. Low clerical stipends, and a lack of funds at the diocesan level, were the main reasons for the delay in the introduction of insurance and superannuation schemes. In Newcastle, one of the Church's wealthiest dioceses, the superannuation fund was not established until 1886: twenty years later, although healthy, it was supporting only two pensioners. Only if more parishes contributed could it have expanded. Newcastle Herald and Miners' Advocate, 29 June, 1906, p. 6b.

⁷⁵ Messenger, XXIX, 347 (1 September, 1897) p. 131.

The grievances of the country clergy, concerning preferment, were the main argument for more centralised authority in the Church. Some saw the diocesan bishop as their protector. In Tasmania in the 1860s, Archdeacon Reibey attended a clerical meeting in Launceston, called to consider synod resolutions on patronage; he found that 'the clergy were unanimous in desiring the Bishop of Tasmania to have direct and unfettered patronage'.⁷⁶ Others believed that a classification of parishes and clergy was necessary: the parishes to be ranked according to such criteria as wealth, region, and the degree of difficulty in working them, and the clergy to be classed according to seniority. Such schemes were not proceeded with, but the fact that they were seriously debated indicates the extent to which the perception of the clergy, as autonomous members of a professional group, had altered.

We can understand indeed that, to Churchmen from England, accustomed to a free exchange of preferment, the cry of 'Melbourne livings for Melbourne clergy', may sound somewhat unreasonable, and free nomination without respect to dioceses appear the wiser and worthier plan.⁷⁷ Those who know the conditions of the colony will not say so.

In Melbourne's acrimonious disputes on the subject of patronage,⁷⁸ the main contentious issue was the power exercised by the diocesan nominators. Their defenders argued, however, that the interests of clergymen who were not only senior but competent, learned and pastorally efficient, required both a degree of centralisation and even a species of career structure, albeit an informal one.

⁷⁶ Letter, Entally, 2 April, Reibey papers (Tasmanian archives).

⁷⁷ 'Church Patronage,' leading article, Messenger, XXI, 236, (10 May, 1888).

⁷⁸ Ibid.,. XX, 226, 131, 236; XXV, 297; XXVI, 308; Fitzroy City Press, 30 December, 1892, 27 January, 24 March, 1893; Argus, 30 June, 1887 (Sub-leading article); 1 May, 1888, p. 5g.

Qualms about professionalism

The frequency with which the issue of preferment was brought before the Melbourne church assembly, or raised in the press, was disturbing to some. In 1894, during the debate on the bill to amend the patronage act, the Revd G. Gladstone, opposing the measure, urged the assembly to pass on to other matters: outsiders would (he argued) infer that all that interested clergy were questions of place and income.⁷⁹ Yet, four years before, the Melbourne diocesan paper had dismissed as 'pure prudery', the 'certain delicacy' with which the subject of clerical incomes was often treated. Stipends were so low that the question needed to be faced realistically. Clergymen were now treated as other men: no longer were their incomes supplemented by presents from their congregations; of the clergy's creditors, the only ones to show any generosity were members of the sister profession of medicine and, occasionally, school proprietors.⁸⁰ Thus, by the end of the century, law and medicine were still seen, by the clergy, as being kindred professions, but it seems that they were distinctly rich relations. The clergyman

moves in the best society on about one tenth of the income of a doctor or lawyer, and daily dissembles before men and cloaks his poverty from the vulgar gaze.⁸¹

The inadequacy of stipends lay at the basis of the Churchman's soul-searching about the clerical order, in the 1890s. Despite the continued and instinctive assumption that the clergy, at least theoretically, had the same occupational status as doctors and lawyers, there was a tendency to use the adjective 'professional' pejoratively. One writer even denied that the clergymen were members of a profession; rather, they had a 'vocation'.⁸² Was this, perhaps, an unconscious rationalisation

⁷⁹ Messenger, XXVI, 312 (October Supplement, 1894).

⁸⁰ Leader, 'Clerical incomes,' *ibid.*, XXII, 257 (7 February, 1890).

⁸¹ 'Clericity' (Original Papers), *ibid.*, 24 May, 1891, p. 106.

of the painfully obvious fact that the position of the late nineteenth century clergy was such that its members could not consider themselves as the equals of either the beneficed clergyman in late eighteenth century England, or those of their contemporaries in Australia who happened to be doctors or lawyers? Because of their low incomes, according to one observer, they came to resemble their parishioners, in that they were concerned with, even obsessed by, worldly matters.⁸³ In this, admittedly, they were not different from the English tithe-owning parson of tradition. Nevertheless, the Evangelical and Oxford Movements had succeeded, in their different ways, in raising expectations about the clergyman's performance of his duties, and in setting him apart as a specialist 'holy man'.⁸⁴ Therefore, to some extent, the colonial clergyman in the late nineteenth century had become, once more, indistinguishable from his flock, but this was because of the disadvantages of his position, rather than because, as in the earlier, English, example of this genre, he had been able, as one to whom tithes were paid, to share in the prosperity of an expanding agricultural economy.⁸⁵

In what might be thought to have been an alternative criticism of 'professionalism', it was also said that there were clergymen who set themselves apart from their flocks. Here, the word was used as one synonymous with 'affectation'.⁸⁶ Was this very different, however, from the other view, that which was censorious of clergymen because they were allegedly too closely identified with their parishioners? 'Professionalism'

⁸² 'Hindrances to the divine work in the Australian Church,' *ibid.*, XXIII, 278 (4 December, 1891) pp. 211-12.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ G. Rowell, The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism, Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 5.

⁸⁵ Evans, *op. cit.*, chapter 5.

⁸⁶ 'Clericity,' *loc. cit.*

here appeared to be an hypocritical cloak for mercenary motives, or a device of mealy-mouthed clerics who spoke of their 'ministerial influence' in order to divert the attention of the public from their real concern - which was said to be their incomes.⁸⁷ These affectations, in other words, had the effect of setting apart the clergyman who adopted them, in spite of the fact that he was as worldly as the most avaricious layman. Once more, the beggarly level of clerical stipends compounded the problem: the minister's integrity - measured by the extent to which he could avoid these undesirable attributes of professionalism - was harder to maintain, because of his relative poverty.⁸⁸

Clergymen were urged, also, to be 'natural', to be all-round students of the human condition, as this was revealed to them in their pastoral work. The tact and humility of the 'Christian gentleman' were contrasted with the exaggerated concern for the dignity of office, and the unreal affectations, of the professional man.⁸⁹ The delineation of these vices seems to indicate the extent to which the clerical office had declined, in the estimate of lay society. A stately but pretentious facade was contradicted by the realities of a low income and an irretrievable loss of status. And once their position was reduced, clergymen were in danger of recruiting to their ranks 'vain and weak men' of an inferior caste, such as would confound the office with the man. These persons would seldom, if ever, show 'high souled ardour', nor 'passionate devotion'. Instead, they would be marked by 'perfunctory diligence' and 'professional zeal'.⁹⁰

The life of the spiritually-minded pastor, then, was contrasted with the

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 106.

⁸⁹ Revd W. Hancock, 'The Christian Minister - the character of his vocation,' Messenger, XXVIII, 338 (1 December, 1896), pp. 162-3.

⁹⁰ Ordination sermon by the Dean of Melbourne, *ibid.*, XXVIII, 328 (1 February, 1896) pp. 22-3.

career of the professional clergyman. One was kindly, sincere, humble and selfless; the other, affected, sanctimonious and worldly. The dichotomy, clearly, had implications for the issue of patronage. True, some argued that there was a place for 'consecrated ambition', and that a clergyman should not scruple to hold back in the search for preferment to another, and perhaps better, cure.⁹¹ Yet tension remained between the self-sacrificial performance of arduous duty amongst members of a thinly-scattered, poorly educated and penurious flock, and the very human desire to be given a living in a large, prosperous town, or in the affluent suburb of a capital city. The dilemma was increased by the tendency, noted here, to deprecate what was seen as a form of professionalism, namely, careerism and worldly ambition, which led to discontent. Giving the bishop reasonably wide powers of appointment, as opposed to the Presbyterian system of parochial 'calls', went a long way to resolve the difficulties of the conscientious clergyman wrestling with the moral and pastoral issues involved in a move to another parish.⁹² Ideally, the decision should have been entirely the bishop's, in the opinion of some Churchmen in the 1890s. To spread responsibility, however, and to make more palatable what might have amounted to a spurning of the wishes of individual congregations, episcopal powers were, in practice, shared with a committee of synod. The upshot was that the centralising of the procedures of appointment, and the consequent limiting of the extent of local option and of individual choice, together demonstrate at least a small measure of bureaucratisation of the clergy, although it was implemented under the rubric of 'the broader interests of the diocese'.

⁹¹ Letter by 'A.C.', 'Discontented Clergy,' *ibid.*, XXII, 262 (4 July, 1890), p. 341.

⁹² *Ibid.*, V, 56 (1 May, 1873) (leading article); for congregational opposition to a minister's translation, see Dubois to Barren, 6 December, 1877, Barren Papers, MS 10724, La Trobe Library.

Conclusion

Class divisions in the Anglican colonial ministry were based upon income differentials, the degree to which the work could have been described as difficult, or congenial, the acceptability of qualifications, and the social status of the parishioners. It was not a novel situation, because the gulf between the wealthy, beneficed incumbent, and the overworked and underpaid assistant curate, had long been denounced as one of the greatest scandals of the eighteenth century Church. Neither was this unique to the clerical order: witness the difference between a minor country solicitor and a fashionable city barrister. What, then, was the significance of the friction between more fortunate clergymen and their down-at-heel brethren, in late nineteenth century Anglicanism in Australia?

First, it occurred in a church in which there were representative institutions (synods, assemblies), and at a time when malcontents, both lay and clerical, had access to widely circulating Church newspapers and to the secular press, which seemed only too willing to publicise complaints. Secondly, these disputes occurred at a time when, in the Church, specialisation of function and training was beginning to modify the older emphasis on liberal education and general, all-round competence in the practising clergyman. Performance, therefore, at least in theory, was able to be more accurately measured. Thirdly, incumbencies in the colonial Church were relatively short, and concepts of promotion and demotion were correspondingly strengthened. Fourthly, the older practice of sending to England for clergymen, and the parallel action of the mother Church in placing obstacles in the way of colonially ordained clergymen being given positions at Home, depressed the status of those who had been trained for the ministry in Australia. Fifthly, the last-mentioned factor, and, in addition, the 'congregationalism' of many parochial nominators (setting store by preaching ability), the apparent tendency of upper middle class suburban laymen to favour clergymen who had been ordained in England, the

failure of most country parsons to reach the standards set by liberally educated gentlemen, or by trained, professional men - all these matters led many to claim that seniority should have been a major criterion for promotion.

Clergymen were members of an order in which, in theory, considerations of promotion, income, power, and popularity were eschewed. Yet, in the Australian Church, worldly matters such as career, wealth and status were analysed and, at times, bitterly debated. The problem was aggravated by the failure of the Church to produce a self-recruiting caste of clergy, by the ease of entry into the clerical ranks, and by the fact that the social status of the Anglican clergyman was still higher than the income the position generated. Thus the motives of those who had entered, and were entering, the ministry, were seen at the time to have been suspect, especially in the context of the frequently unedifying debate about patronage. The heroisms of Australian country parsons counted for less than they should, because the Church they served so faithfully retained - at least in the cities, where these things mattered - an idealised picture of the scholarly, refined and cultivated Anglican rector.

CONCLUSION

Anthony Trollope believed that the true English clergyman was the beneficed incumbent of a rural parish.¹ Only the country parson was able to be a power for good at all levels of society. Because he was a graduate of one of the ancient universities, had ample leisure to pursue intellectual interests, and in social rank was the equal of the squire, he was esteemed by landed gentlemen and by members of urban elites. His life tenure of the living, and the social and geographical immobility of his parishioners, gave him the opportunity to bring to bear, simply by his presence, a wholesome and even civilizing influence on his small community. The strength of rectordom was not, however, based merely upon 'moral suasion'. In the countryside, the power of custom and tradition, the importance of character and reputation to the villagers and their masters, and the clergyman's position as one who enforced law and order (a role often formalised by his being a magistrate), combined to add an element of coercion to his social role. With the understandable exception of Radicals and Dissenters, however, Englishmen tended to give less emphasis to this than they did to their conception of the clergyman as a pastor. Ideally, all the inhabitants of his parish regarded him as their friend, confidant and adviser; all, that is, except those who, by adhering to a sect, deliberately cut themselves off from the Established Church. This was the significance of his liberal education: it gave him wisdom, moderation, judiciousness, tact and compassion. These were the best - perhaps, apart from learning, the only - qualifications expected of a parish priest in the

¹ A. Trollope, Clergymen of the Church of England, London, Chapman and Hall, 1866, p. 51.

English Church of the early nineteenth century.

There were two further aspects to this traditional picture. The beneficed clergyman was largely his own man, at least as far as his superiors and professional brethren mattered. Secondly, the Hanoverian parson, in many respects - his dress, attitudes, bearing and daily activities - was as readily identified with the gentry as he was with what was nominally his own order. The railway age severely modified the clergyman's autonomy and, as the nineteenth century progressed, his identity as a member of a separate calling became clearer. Yet the older ideal retained much of its attractiveness. In the debates about patronage in the 1870s, even those who denounced the alleged evils in the existing system of appointments, sometimes showed that they were beguiled by the idea of a landed proprietor and a beneficed clergyman sharing a paternal interest (largely derived from property ownership and residence) in the local community.

As the closely knit and deferential society, which had sustained this image of the parish clergyman, was undermined, the ideal became increasingly divorced from reality. With urbanisation, the workforce became more mobile. A rigidly ranked social order, with squire and parson at its apex, was transformed over much of England. In the power structures and elites of urban Britain, the Church of England and her parochial clergy were not without influence - in Lancashire, for example, Anglicanism benefited from the support of the textile masters - but the Established Church, even in Lancashire, had to share this influence with Dissent.² Most importantly, the size of their parishes made it impossible for city clergymen to undertake the sort of pastoral work which was boasted to be

² Anthony Howe, The Cotton Masters 1830-1860, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1984, pp. 61-5, 280-3. In the vestry politics of the industrial north, in the 1830s and 40s, the Established Church was strongly challenged by the Nonconformist interest, on the question of the Church rate. Derek Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England. The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities, Macmillan, London, 1979, pp. 31-54.

the glory of Anglicanism. Because of the growth of central government, many of the rector's secular duties were taken over by the State: notably, policing, administration and education - the last being an area thought by Churchmen to have been religious but one which the world, increasingly, did not.³

As in society, with (for example) civil service examinations, so in the Church, with the plethora of visitations and conferences: there was a growing emphasis on efficiency and accountability. In a wide variety of occupations, including the parson's, what mattered was not who one was, but what one did. Largely because of the Evangelical and Oxford movements, expectations about the clergyman's duties were heightened. The day of the leisured gentleman of the cloth was over: one of the last appearances of a representative of this genre was at the celebrated debate between Samuel Wilberforce and Thomas Huxley, in the Oxford Museum in the summer of 1860.⁴ The local clergyman, burdened by multifarious parish duties, had neither the time nor the inclination to become an amateur naturalist, or antiquarian, or the writer of mathematical or scientific treatises. It is doubtful, moreover, whether he had the mental equipment to do so. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, a broad general culture (as opposed to professional expertise) was, for the clergy, somewhat of a luxury. Part of the reason for this was the growth of Biblical and historical criticism, and of patristic scholarship. This, and the expansion of science, contributed (so many contemporaries believed) to the increase of religious doubt, which was said to have been particularly prevalent in the aristocracy of labour: the typical representative of the class most affected by religious questioning and agnosticism was, it seemed, the

³ A. Russell, The Clerical Profession, pp. 143-5, 161-8.

⁴ J.R. Lucas, 'Wilberforce and Huxley: A Legendary Encounter,' Historical Journal, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1979), especially p. 330.

artisan autodidact. Fundamental issues of belief had to be addressed, if the Church were to avoid the continued alienation of such persons.

Supposedly aloof from the rough and tumble of local politics, Anglican parish priests were expected to display gentlemanly moderation. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, they were drawn into various fiery and long-running political and religious controversies. Battles between high and low churchmen, conflicts institutionalised in the Church Association and the English Church Union, probably did more than anything to destroy the reputation of the clergyman as an urbane and disinterested mediator. Moreover, disputes between Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical, over eucharistic doctrine, ornaments, liturgical practices, sisterhoods and the confessional, were envenomed by England's deep-seated anti-Papalism. These campaigns persisted as late as the turn of the century: witness, for example, the candidature of several anti-Ritualist champions at the general election of 1900.⁵

By 1910, the public held the clerical office in less esteem than formerly. The decline in clergymen's incomes, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, may have had an impact on the community's attitudes to the parson, but the most deleterious effects of the fall in stipends were less direct: no longer could clergymen easily afford to educate their sons to the customary level of formal excellence. Furthermore, the calling ceased to attract the best graduates, for they could choose among a growing number of professional careers, more lucrative, and enjoying greater prestige, than the priesthood. The last point should be briefly elaborated: there was a decline in the demand for what may be called the clergyman's professional services, at a time when more value was placed

⁵ G.I.T. Machin, Politics and the Churches ... 1869-1921, pp. 246-51; H. Pelling, A Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910, Macmillan, London, 1967, pp. 18-19, 70, 103, 138-9, 143-4, 156-7, 184 226, 402-3, 408, 417.

upon those of the architect, medical practitioner, lawyer, accountant and engineer.⁶ Even if the local parson were an expert theologian, church historian or Biblical scholar - and, given the intellectual quality of the turn-of-the-century ordinand, this was not likely - these disciplines hardly commended themselves to the public as being particularly useful, or in other ways deserving of great respect.

Thus the picture of the ideal clergyman had altered somewhat. The definition of learning had changed, for it was beginning to encompass political economy, a subject that it was thought desirable for an English clergyman to have as part of his ordination training. His duties were more narrowly 'religious', but paradoxically had also become increasingly burdensome. More systematic, energetic and efficient performance of work that was held in lower regard by the laity; such was the lot of the parish clergyman at the opening of the twentieth century. Yet there is a qualification to this generalisation. In his study of Britain's decline from 1850 to 1980, Martin Wiener writes of what he calls 'cultural values and economic lag'.⁷ For the English clergyman's social expectations, the term 'cultural lag' would be more appropriate. In theory, Anglican parish priests were still required to be cultivated and urbane. There were two reasons for this. First, these qualities were thought to provide the best guarantee that the clergyman would avoid being involved, as a partisan, in embittered religious and political disputes, although, as argued above, in

6

An insight into the extent of the change is provided by comments made by William Butler in 1857. The earnestness of the High Church school, he observed, was not confined to 'the Parsonic and higher grades of society' but was characteristic, also, of 'vast numbers of the middle class'. Into this lowly category - relatively humble, that is, compared with what he evidently believed the clergyman's status to have been - Butler placed not only clerks in counting houses and employees of government offices, but lawyers. Butler to Wilberforce, 18 May, 1857, Wilberforce MS c. 22, f. 229 (Bodleian).

7

M.J. Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980, Penguin Books, 1985, pp. 3-5.

reality over the previous eighty years conflicts such as these had probably succeeded in irretrievably compromising the clergy's reputation for impartiality. Secondly, the traditional perception of the parish minister - which was that he was a source of benevolent, civilizing influence in local affairs - continued to have some residual importance. Without entering the controversy of whether an anti-progressive element in English culture was economically and technologically dysfunctional, one may still argue for the existence of such a prejudice against modernity. The celebration of the countryside, and the corresponding denigration of the city, were manifestations of this; so too was an organicist view of society, one that stressed humane, collectivist virtues. In Edwardian Anglicanism, the parish was still dominant, even after two generations of soul-searching over its viability as the basic administrative unit in a church which had to minister to a complex urban society. Similarly, the parish church still tended to be the venue for rites of passage.⁸ Two world wars had not yet wreaked havoc on patterns of formal allegiance to the Established religion: the number of Easter Day communicants - a reasonably reliable indicator of the maximum the Church of England could claim as members - was not to reach a peak until 1927.⁹ Until the Great War, therefore, it is understandable

⁸ Of all marriages in England and Wales in 1850, 85.7% were performed by Anglican rites, and 4.1% by civil ceremonies. By 1910, the Anglican share had fallen to 61.6%, and the civil had risen to 20.4%. The sharpest percentage decline and increase, respectively, had been in the last decade of the period 1850-1910. Even so, in percentage terms, the most serious losses (for the Church) and most dramatic percentage gains (for secularism) were to come, namely, in the decade 1962-72, by the end of which a mere 36.5% of all marriages were performed by Church of England clergymen, whereas a greater percentage (45.5) were conducted by civil celebrants. By 1910, in short, the place of Anglican clergymen as performers of this rite of passage was still relatively secure. The number of Anglican baptisms reached a pre-war peak of 587,076 in 1904; except for the statistically extraordinary year of 1920, when the figure was 603,947, the 1904 level was not reached again. R. Currie, A. Gilbert, and L. Horsley, Churches and Churchgoers, pp. 167, 223.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 128-9. The number of confirmations, admittedly not a very reliable guide to formal church membership, but obviously a more
(Footnote continued)

that there were elements of continuity in the expectations that Church and society had about the social role and public character of the English parish clergyman.

In several ways, Englishmen in Australia tried to reproduce their homeland in the Antipodes. Their attempts were reinforced by successive waves of migration from the British Isles. In appearance, many of the larger towns and cities bore a resemblance to urban Britain. Australian business, legal, constitutional, academic and industrial institutions were created, and were operated, on British lines. The same was true of the press. A powerful sense of Imperial loyalty, at least amongst the middle classes, strengthened the ties between the colonies and the motherland. Similarly, the Church of England reproduced the structures, the practices and, as it seemed to the casual observer, the spirit of the parent institution. Compared to other denominations, it had certain advantages. It was the official church of the colonising power. It also had greater social prestige and respectability: it was not an Established religion, but it was (with some admittedly notable exceptions) the religion of the Establishment.

The society in which the transplant was made was, however, significantly different from that of the motherland. It was more democratic, egalitarian and secular. It had, proportionately, a larger working class, and no upper class to speak of. The Anglican segment of the population was smaller. Nonconformist and low church sentiment in Australia was stronger than it was in England and, in the missionary context of much of colonial church life, it was difficult for the Anglican parson to make a plausible claim that his denomination was distinctive; at least, it was difficult for him

⁹ (continued)

satisfactory indicator of allegiance than numbers taking the rites of passage, reached a peak (for the period 1872-1965) in 1911. The greatest yearly number of scholars in Anglican Sunday Schools, in the period 1870-1965, was in 1910. Ibid., p. 167.

to do this and at the same time establish his credentials as a genuine Protestant, an important priority in a society which was polarised by sectarian rivalry. In this somewhat poisonous atmosphere, the most innocuous Anglican traditions and practices, or the slightest manifestations of sacerdotalism, were tainted with Romanism. The result was the development of a fairly pervasive anti-clerical sentiment, not in the tradition of European radicalism, but nativist, and directed against what articulate secular radicals considered to have been the anachronistic and supercilious pretensions of Anglican rectorcraft.

The colonists were probably more materialistic than their English cousins, for most people who came to Australia, as settlers or migrants, did so to improve their prospects. In a new society which was sustained, during most of the period, by a vigorously expanding economy, and which had a well-paid and relatively mobile work-force, the ties of locality and of custom were rather weak. Character and reputation, too, mattered comparatively little. The prospects for the Anglican parson to establish himself as a community leader, on the pattern of rural England, were (in most parts of Australia) therefore virtually negligible. In itself, this fact would suggest that Australian expectations of the clergyman would be quite different from those in the parent society. But there was a further complication: the response of the colonial Church to the new environment.

The basic problem for Australian Anglicanism was that it failed to adapt very effectively to local conditions. The Wesleyans, fired by evangelical zeal, accustomed to employing unpaid lay workers, and with no dignity to lose, were notably successful in the early decades of expansion on the far-flung rural frontier. The Church of England, however, attempted to create a parochial system on the conventional pattern; it was an impossible task largely because the population was thinly spread over vast distances. Furthermore, colonial Anglicanism lacked endowments and consequently did not have the resources to build so ambitious an institutional structure. To

judge from the welter of contemporary complaints, the Anglican laity, accustomed to an endowed and Established Church, only too graphically provided evidence for the Voluntaryists' claim that there was a causal link between congregational apathy and an endowed religion. It seems likely, too, that the colonial bishops were accustomed to the comfortable tradition of a university-educated clergy. Perhaps understandably, they recruited manpower from home, and for years neglected to establish theological colleges. For the clerical order, the results were far-reaching. First, a two-tiered class system evolved in the ministerial ranks. Secondly, the more affluent parishes in the suburbs and larger towns, where the clergyman was likely to conform to the accepted (English) model, tended to develop as the preserve (it was alleged) of the priests of university training and English ordination. By contrast, in the distant rural charges, frequently the laity had to be content with a stop-gap stipendiary reader, whose aspirations to clerical status were not a satisfactory substitute for it. The social and economic domination of metropolitan areas aggravated the division between urban and rural parishes in the colonial Church, creating a strongly-felt sense of grievance amongst the over-worked, under-paid ministers in remote districts. Those who believed that the best positions went to clergymen outside the diocese, even outside the country, had another source of irritation: the administration of the Colonial Clergy Act. The inevitable, unflattering implications of this were that priests ordained outside the British Isles were relegated to second-class status. This stigma was not applied in England alone. Lay parochial representatives, on the patronage committees in colonial cities, were also said to have been, at times, prejudiced against local clergymen. The development of a form of careerism was one outcome: it was urged by disappointed candidates for promotion that criteria such as the length of service in the local diocese, and the diligence of a minister's performance of duty under difficult conditions, ought to have been applied when

decisions about appointments were made. Another result was the denigration of the effete 'professional' clerical type, personified in the clergyman whose worldiness was masked by an unctuous and insincere facade. The caricature provides evidence of ways in which the traditional clerical ideal had - so some evidently believed - become corrupted.

The myth of the Church of England parochial clergyman was part of the ethos of Anglicanism. The extent to which the myth continued to be influential, in Church and society, therefore appears to have been related to the maintenance of the cultural, political, social and institutional context in which it had evolved. In both countries, lip service was still paid to the hallowed ideal of the Anglican parochial ministry, despite the differences in at least the political and social circumstances which had helped to give rise to the ideal. Major changes to the social and political order, and the profound effects of religious movements such as Tractarianism and Evangelicalism, were the main reasons for the model to have been adapted, although the adaptations were not necessarily inconsistent with, for example, older elements such as the qualities of shrewdness, urbanity and learning. It was largely a matter of emphasis. Thus, spirituality, earnestness, and self-denying diligence were among the main attributes that were sought in English and Australian clergy, in the years immediately before the first of the two world wars which were, in the long term, to affect the Church and its ministry so fundamentally after 1950.

APPENDIX I

Religious profession in Australia, 1850 - 1911

It used to be assumed that there was a decline in formal religious belief in Australia, between 1850 and the outbreak of the First World War. Recent work on the statistics of religious profession and church attendance, in the Australian colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century, has demonstrated, however, that the older assumption has little foundation in fact. In New South Wales, for example, the proportion of the population nominally subscribing to Christianity rose to a peak (98.67%) in 1911.¹ Moreover, although the proportion of sceptics in New South Wales was at its highest in 1891 (after a ten-fold percentage increase during the previous decade), it still measured a minuscule 1.3% of the population, and during the next ten years the numbers of sceptics, those without religion, and Unitarians, fell, respectively, by 44%, 22.3% and nearly 50%. There was a similar pattern in Victoria.²

Of the larger denominations, the most marked percentage increases in the proportion of adherents to the total population were recorded by the Methodists. In New South Wales, this body comprised 5.86% of the population in 1856; in 1871 the proportion was 7.8%; in 1881, 8.6%; in 1891, 10.01%; in 1901, 10.16%; and in 1911, 9.19%.³ In Victoria, the Methodist share of the population was greater, mainly because of the spurt of growth in the

¹ R. Broome, op. cit., Appendix 1. The trough for the period 1871-1921 was 97.17% in 1891.

² Walter Phillips, 'Religious profession and practice in New South Wales, 1850-1901: the statistical evidence,' Historical Studies, Vol. 15, no. 59 (October, 1972), p. 384.

³ Census of New South Wales, 1856; W. Phillips, 'Religious profession ...', p. 381; J.J. Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform, Appendix 1; Victorian Year Book, 1881; Broome, loc. cit. (who puts the 1881 figure at 8.72%, and the 1911 one at 9.32%; Census, 1911 (Commonwealth of Australia).

1860s, when its number of adherents rose from 7.75% to 12.86%.⁴ In Tasmania, there was a growth of Methodism of a similar order in percentage terms, but over a longer period: there, the figures were 7.23% (1870) increasing to 11.69% (1891).⁵ Methodists in Western Australia constituted 5.84% of the population in 1870; the proportion rose to 7.02% in 1881, to 9.23% in 1891, and 13.33% in 1901.⁶ The Queensland figures were: 5.21% in 1861, 6.72% in 1881, and 9.44% in 1901.⁷ The most powerful Methodist following in the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century was in South Australia, the 'Paradise of Dissent'. There, in 1866, the Wesleyans, along with the Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists, made up 21.1% of the population.⁸ The proportion rose to 23.8% in 1891.⁹

In the face of the increasing strength of Methodism, how did the Church of England fare, in terms of formal religious adherence? The colonies in which Anglicanism would seem to have had the most to lose, were those in which the effects of the convict system were the most enduring, namely, Tasmania and Western Australia. In Tasmania, there was an inundation of transported felons in the 1840s; free immigration, therefore, had been too slight to dilute the 'convict element' in a colony that continued to receive prisoners until 1853. Western Australia, to the somewhat self-righteous outrage of colonists in eastern Australia, actually petitioned for transported convicts in 1849, and received them from 1850 until 1868. In 1854 and 1861, officials in this colony crudely classified

⁴ Census of Victoria, 1871.

⁵ Census of Tasmania, 1891

⁶ Census of Western Australia: 1870, p. 22; 1881, p. 28; 1891, p. 37.

⁷ Census of Queensland, 1868, 1881; Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901, p. 174.

⁸ R.B. Walker, 'Methodism in the "Paradise of Dissent" 1837-1900,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 5 (1968-9), p. 331.

⁹ Ibid., p. 332.

religious adherence on the basis of 'Protestant' , 'Church of Rome,' and 'Other',¹⁰ Thus, civil servants were using the same broad categories that were in common usage in the population at large, if the observations of Mrs. Edward Millett hold true generally.¹¹ For her, the habit of identifying 'Protestant' with 'Anglican' was the result of the large proportion of Irish among the settlers; to the statist, the categorisation was a manifestation of the convict status of the colony. From this, several inferences may be drawn: the inherent advantage enjoyed by the Established Church of the colonising power; the practice of providing the services of Anglican chaplains to all non-Roman Catholic convicts; and the likelihood that convicts would be nominally Church of England rather than Nonconformist. Further, the low rate of immigration to convict colonies meant that the Nonconformist element of the population could not be expected to increase. It follows that the small Protestant denominations in Western Australia were likely to enjoy marked improvements in their formal strength, once the convict era was over (in Western Australia, in 1868). Thus, in 1854, denominational adherence was computed so: Protestant, 75.35%; Roman Catholic, 24.28%; other, 0.37%;¹² in 1881 the Methodist proportion was 7.02% as against 54.74% who owed allegiance to the Church of England,¹³ but by 1901 the Anglican share had diminished to 41.09%, whereas the Methodist had grown to 13.33%. In Tasmania, the Anglican strength dropped by only 1.54% in the years 1870-91; if the comparison is made on the basis of excluding from the total those who failed to specify any religious adherence, the proportion of Anglicans actually rose slightly. The main denominations to lose support were the Roman Catholics and

¹⁰ Statistics of Western Australia, 1861.

¹¹ See p. 298.
¹²

Statistics of Western Australia, 1854.

¹³ Census of Western Australia, 1881.

Presbyterians, for the proportions of the population owing allegiance to these bodies declined by 4% and 2.23% respectively.¹⁴

In Queensland, where Methodism increased its share of support, between 1868 and 1901, by 4.23%, the maximum change in Anglican support between 1868 and 1911 was a drop of 2.88% between 1868 and 1881.¹⁵ In the period 1881-1901, the Methodists in Queensland improved their position by 2.72% but the Church of England proportion also rose, by 2.34%.¹⁶ The Anglicans of South Australia (with lower numbers, than the Australian average, of nominal adherents) had fluctuating support according to the census returns, for although 30.16% owned that they were Anglicans in 1871, in the next decade the proportion declined to 27.09%, yet there was an increase of 2.37% by 1901.¹⁷ In fact, the Anglican recovery in the 1890s was suggested by the Church's building activity,¹⁸ and also by the fact that the 1890s were a decade in which the South Australian population became more urbanised,¹⁹ and it was in the suburbs that the Church of England did its most effective work.²⁰ In New South Wales, in 1851, the Anglican (including 'Protestant Undefined') proportion of the population was 49.7%; the figure

¹⁴ Census of Tasmania, 1891.

¹⁵ Census of Queensland, 1883; Victorian Year Book, 1881; Census of the Commonwealth, 1901.

¹⁶ Victorian Year Book, 1881; Census of the Commonwealth, 1901.

¹⁷ South Australian Census, 1871; Victorian Year Book, 1881; Census of the Commonwealth, 1901, p. 174.

¹⁸ M. French, 'The Church Extension Crisis in South Australia: The Impact of the Depression and Demographic Changes in Church Organisation in the Late Nineteenth Century,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 8, p. 392.

¹⁹ J.B. Hirst, Adelaide and the Country, 1870-1914: Their Social and Political Relationship, Melbourne University Press, 1973, p. 57.

²⁰ French, op. cit., p. 394. See also David Hilliard, 'South Australian Anglicanism, c. 1880-1930,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 14, no. 1 (June, 1986), whose figures (p. 39) show that the percentage of Anglican baptisms as a proportion of the total registered births rose from 16.4 in 1881 to 24.1 in 1901, and his Godliness and Good Order, p. 60.

after 1861 was about 45%; in the same period the Methodist share increased by 3.5%.²¹ In Victoria, however, the great period of Methodist expansion, the 1860s, when their share of the population rose by 5.11%, was one of Anglican loss (the proportion of Anglican adherents declining by 3.71%). Between 1881 and 1901, however, the Anglican decline in Victoria was slight (0.08%).²²

When one tries to account for these fluctuations, one finds that the picture is complicated by immigration. An additional difficulty is the lack of information concerning the religious affiliation of immigrants who came to Australia in non-government schemes. It is true that much of the Methodist advance in South Australia can be attributed, not to immigration, but to the ability of that denomination to adapt to the colonial environment.²³ Another factor in the growth of this denomination was, it has been suggested, the success of revivalist movements.²⁴ (Sharp, the Anglican clergyman visiting Kiama in New South Wales in the late 1860s, testified ruefully to the attractiveness of Wesleyan revivalism, but implied that Anglicans returned to the fold after their evangelical fervour subsided.)²⁵ Nevertheless, in the colonies that were receptacles for convicts at the beginning of the period (Tasmania and Western Australia), immigration played an important part in bringing about the establishment of a 'normal' social pattern, akin to that which was characteristic of settlement colonies. One manifestation of this process, as explained above,

²¹ Phillips, 'Religious profession ...', p. 381. He suggests that the real Anglican figure in 1851 was approximately 45%.

²² Census of Victoria, 1871; Victorian Year Book, 1881; Census of the Commonwealth, 1901.

²³ Walker, op. cit., p. 332; French, op. cit., 339-40.

²⁴ Walker, op. cit., pp. 339-40.

²⁵ T. Sharp, Memo Book, Kiama, August, 1869, Sharpe Papers, Mitchell Library.

was an increase in the number of non-Anglican Protestants, especially of Methodists. In Tasmania, this occurred at a time when the gentrified society of the island was being modified in such a way that the colony more closely resembled her mainland sisters.²⁶ True, the Church of England in Tasmania did not, at the time, suffer a diminution of her nominal strength. In Western Australia, however, the rise of Methodism was accompanied by a decline in the proportion of the population that professed to be Anglican. These two tendencies were most marked in the 1890s, when gold attracted migrants in their thousands.²⁷

On the other hand, the 1860s in Victoria - when the Methodists enjoyed a boom and the Church of England suffered a decline - were not years of heavy immigration.²⁸ Here, there seems to be statistical backing for the pessimistic view of contemporary Anglican publicists that, especially compared with the Methodists, the Church of England was not having much effect on the frontier regions of the colony, for its organisation was not well adapted to evangelical work in rural districts. What probably had greater effect on Anglican morale, however, was the realisation of the extent to which the Church of England in the colonies was a nominal religion. In New South Wales, for example, although there was an increase - in the proportion to the total adherents - of Anglican attendances at public worship, during the 1860s and 1870s; in the second half of the century there was an overall decline, and the figures for Anglican attendances as a proportion of total church attendances slumped from 37.8%

²⁶ H. Reynolds, 'Men of Substance and Deservedly Good Repute': the Tasmanian Gentry, 1856-75,' Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. XV, no. 3 (December, 1969), pp. 71-2.

²⁷ F.K.Crowley, Australia's Western Third, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1970 edition, pp. 118-9.

²⁸ The percentage of Victorians born in Britain in 1861 was 52.81; in 1871 it was 48.63. C.M.H. Clark (ed.), Select Documents in Australian History, Angus and Robertson, Melbourne, 1958, p. 667.

in 1850 to 27.3% in 1900.²⁹ Immigration to New South Wales in the 1880s increased the proportion of nominal Anglicans by 46.9%, but the increase in Anglican attendance was only 9.6%.³⁰ This decade had the

largest net increase to the population through immigration since 1860. This probably affected the Anglican figures more than those of any other denomination, since the majority of the immigrants were Anglican, but only nominally so.³¹

Thus, the oft-repeated complaint that colonial clergymen were not informed, by the Church at home, about the personal details of Anglican migrants, had some point; but those who raised the question in Australia seem to have overlooked the fact that immigrants' professions of religious adherence were nominal. It is not likely, therefore, that many emigrants were known to those who, back home, were their vicars only in name. One qualification about Anglican 'nominalism', however, needs to be made. In spite of falling attendances (in proportion to the number of adherents), the proportion of Anglican communicants, in New South Wales, rose from 21.0% in 1880 to 34.3% in 1901.³² 'Evidently the Church of England was increasing its hold upon its members.'³³

For Anglicans, the problems of nominal adherence were even greater in Victoria. In 1876, the Anglican proportion of people attending public worship was a mere 13.11%, compared with 21.55% who were Presbyterians, the Roman Catholic figure of 23.31% and the Wesleyan percentage of 32.13. In clergy numbers, the figures were: Presbyterian, 157; Wesleyan, 138; Anglican, 135; Roman Catholic, 96.³⁴ The claims made for Wesleyan

²⁹ Phillips, 'Religious profession ...', p. 391.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 391-2.

³² Ibid., p. 395.

³³ Ibid., p. 396.

attendances at this time may, admittedly, have been exaggerated.³⁵ By 1880, the comparative percentages, by denomination, of those attending worship, were: Anglican, 15.44; Roman Catholic, 24.38; Methodist, 24.11; and Presbyterian, 25.09. The Church of England was also, evidently, middle class, in terms of attendance if not of nominal profession: in Melbourne, in 1891, the highest figure for active adherence was in the well-to-do suburb of Kew (27.0); attendance in all the working class areas measured one third or less of that percentage. Moreover, nearly all the Anglican indices of religious zeal were from one quarter to one half of the corresponding figures of the Presbyterian denomination, Kew being the only suburb in which the percentages of each church's attendances were approximately the same. In the rites of passage, a similar pattern, depressing to Anglicans, emerged. Between 1898 and 1902, in Victoria, 1681 couples were married in the Church of England. The Methodists married 1770, the Roman Catholics, 1292, and the Presbyterians, 1297.³⁶

A similar difficulty confronted Anglicans in South Australia. Their numbers attending church in Adelaide on Sunday evenings in August-September, 1888, were 2636, compared with the Wesleyan-Methodist figure of 3226.³⁷ In the colony as a whole:

More infants were baptized in the Church of England than in any other denomination. After the 1860s, however, Methodist ministers performed more marriages. This was probably because Methodist churches were the most numerous in South Australia and because Anglican clergy usually refused to conduct marriages in private homes or those which involved divorced persons.³⁸

³⁴ Victorian Year Book, 1876-8, p. 201.

³⁵ Phillips, 'Religious profession ...', p. 387, suggests that, in New South Wales, before 1850, the Wesleyan figures were 'probably inflated'.

³⁶ Victorian Year Book, 1902, p. 164.

³⁷ David Hilliard, op. cit., p. 39. The number of Anglican Sunday evening attendances in 1888 was equivalent to 9% of Anglican adherents according to the 1891 census: the Wesleyan Methodist, Baptist and Congregational attendances as percentages of their total numbers were respectively 28, 20 and 41.

The half-hidden rivalry³⁹ between Anglicanism and Nonconformity, and especially between the Church of England and 'New Dissent' (Methodism), had roots in nineteenth century England:

Throughout the period from the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 to the era of ecumenical fraternity after World War I, tension and conflict between Anglicanism and Dissent - 'Church' and 'chapel' - became, and remained, the primary determinant of the role and significance of religion in public life.⁴⁰

It is true that this political conflict - over establishment itself, church rates, burials in churchyards, and education - was not duplicated in the colonies. The friction that these long-running disputes engendered, however, was reproduced in Australia, and perpetuated there by Anglicanism's pseudo-Establishment pretensions, by the de facto official status afforded to the Church of England, at least in the colonial capitals, and by the prestige which Anglicanism claimed, in the hey-day of the British Empire, by its being the religion of the English. But it was another aspect of the established position of the mother Church - the extent to which professed Anglicans were merely nominal in their allegiance - that kept alive the rivalries and the conflicts of the Old Country. As measured by the number of churches and pastors, and by attendances at its services, the Methodist cause was flourishing, both in absolute terms and compared with the fortunes of Anglicanism. This fact, obvious to contemporaries, is born out statistically. Moreover, the figures for marriages provide a bench mark of the decline of Anglicanism even as a

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ See chapter 'Episcopal Congregationalism', section IV.

⁴⁰ Alan D. Gilbert, The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A History of the Secularization of Modern Society, Longman, London, 1980, p. 73.

nominal religion. This is, perhaps, the most devastating evidence of the failure of Australian Anglicanism to reproduce, in the colonial laity, that peculiarly English perception of the local Church of England priest as the principal, or official, clergyman of the district, and of his church building as the natural venue of the important occasions that marked the daily lives of ordinary people.

APPENDIX 2

The Training of clergy in four Australian Dioceses, 1875-81

<u>INSTITUTION</u>	Adelaide(1875-6)	Ballaarat(1877)	Melbourne(1878)	Sydney(1881)
None recorded	13	10	17	14
<u>Universities:</u>				
Melbourne		1	8	
Sydney				5
Madras		1		
Berlin				1
Giessen				1
Göttingen				1
Aberdeen			1	
Glasgow			1	
St. Andrews			1	
Oxford	6	1	5	11
Cambridge	6	1	9	12
Dublin	3	4	6	9
Kings College, London		1	1	1
London College of Divinity			1	2
Christ College, Tasmania				1
St. Pauls, Sydney				3
<u>Theological Colleges:Colonial</u>				
Moore,Liverpool New South Wales		6	25	30
St. James' Sydney				2
<u>Theological Colleges:England</u>				
Chichester				1
C.M.S. Islington				1
St.Augustine's, Canterbury	1	3	4	1

The Training of clergy in four Australian Dioceses, 1875-81

<u>INSTITUTION</u>	Adelaide(1875-6)	Ballaarat(1877)	Melbourne(1878)	Sydney(1881)
St. Bees	1	2	1	1
St. Aidan's				1
St.Mary's Hall	1			
<u>Other</u>				
London University Matriculation				1
Queens College, Oxford-no qualification	1			
B.A.-unspecified		1		
D.D.-awarded by the Archbishop of Canterbury			1	
<u>TOTALS</u>	32	31	81	99

SOURCES: Diocesan handbooks, English Clergy Lists,
Crockford's Clerical Directory

APPENDIX 3
ANGLICAN EXPANSION, 1836 - 1926

Dioceses founded prior to 1850

- 1836 Australia (Sydney, 1847).
- 1842 Tasmania.
- 1847 Newcastle [New South Wales] (from Sydney).
- 1847 Adelaide [South Australia].
- 1847 Melbourne [Victoria].

Dioceses founded 1850 - 1910

- 1857 Perth [Western Australia] (from Perth).
- 1859 Brisbane [Queensland] (from Newcastle).
- 1863 Goulburn [New South Wales] (from Sydney).
- 1867 Armidale [New South Wales] (from Newcastle).
- 1869 Bathurst [New South Wales] (from Sydney).
- 1875 Ballarat [Victoria] (from Melbourne).
- 1878 North Queensland.
- 1884 Riverina [New South Wales] (from Goulburn).
- 1892 Rockhampton [Queensland] (From Brisbane).
- 1898 British New Guinea (from Brisbane).
- 1900 Carpentaria [Queensland] (from North Queensland).
- 1902 Bendigo [Victoria] (from Melbourne).
- 1902 Wangaratta [Victoria] (from Melbourne).
- 1902 Gippsland [Victoria] (from Melbourne).
- 1904 Bunbury [Western Australia] (from Perth).
- 1909 North West Australia [Western Australia] (from Perth).

Dioceses founded 1911 - 1926

- 1914 Kalgoorlie [Western Australia] (from Perth).
- 1914 Grafton [New South Wales] (from Armidale).
- 1915 Willochra [South Australia] (from Adelaide).
- 1926 St. Arnaud [Victoria] (from Ballarat).

Sources: H.W. Nunn, A Short History of the Church of England in Victoria, 1847-1947, Melbourne, 1947, p. 82; Year Book of the Dioceses of Melbourne, Bendigo, Wangaratta and Gippsland, 1911-14; Sydney Diocesan Directory, 1881-2; and 1913.

The diocesan boundaries of the Anglican Church in Australia, 1926



from; H.W. Nunn, A Short History of the Church of England in Victoria,
1847 - 1947, p. 81.

(following p. 355)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT

1. England

London:

British Library

Bliss, Dr P. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 34575 ff. 81, 87, 462; 34578 ff. 3, 19, 47, 55, 60, 468; 34579 ff. 185, 189, 351; 34582 ff. 11, 28, 62, 70, 120, 152, 159, 191, 262, 268, 279, 342, 344, 365, 379, 404, 438, 440, 579, 592, 602, 610, 616, 627, 635, 637, 638.

Denison. Correspondence with W.E. Gladstone, 1847-95.

Add. MSS. 44140 ff. 1, 5, 7, 18, 67, 81, 85, 97, 108.

Dilke. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 43909 f. 5.

Gladstone. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 44037 ff. 229, 234, 238, 302, 308; 44107 f. 299; 44127 ff. 125, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 138, 147, 159, 169, 175, 184, 190, 196, 205, 207, 209, 213, 217, 219, 223, 229, 231, 235, 237, 240, 242, 249, 256, 259, 263, 267, 271, 279, 283, 289, 291, 293, 295, 298, 303, 305, 307, 311, 314, 317, 328, 329, 331, 333, 337, 339, 342, 346, 349, 354, 357, 360, 362; 44237 ff. 3, 9, 17, 27, 31, 35-9, 43, 51, 53, 55, 63, 65, 69, 76, 129, 134, 137, 148, 155, 159, 168, 295; 44243 ff. 25, 32, 40, 331; 44331 ff. 81, 89, 90, 94, 128, 134, 147, 154, 160, 179, 195, 200, 207, 221; 44343 ff. 89, 127, 135, 137, 189, 225, 274, 287; 44344 ff. 91, 95, 113, 169, 188, 192, 207, 209, 213, 214, 223, 229, 233, 235, 241, 261; 44345 ff. 43, 89, 95, 99, 121, 134, 148, 152, 158, 175, 185, 221, 245; 44353 ff. 209, 260; 44354 ff. 76, 44357 ff. 287, 288-92; 44370 ff. 28, 66 140, 141; 44371 ff. 57, 202, 44373 ff. 3, 43; 44374 ff. 69, 87, 189, 44375 f. 94; 44377 ff. 65, 127, 128, 135, 143, 146, 44378 ff. 50, 54, 123, 44381 ff. 187, 259, 266; 44382 ff. 20, 34; 44383, f. 20, 44384 ff. 6, 20, 25, 31, 50, 127, 203, 279; 44385 ff. 49, 60, 340, 344, 44387 ff. 9, 328, 332, 44388 ff. 32, 101, 108, 44399 f. 175, 44400 ff. 114, 172, 179, 181; 44401 f.291; 44404, ff. 73, 167; 44408 f. 220; 44423 ff. 19, 21, 23, 30; 44427 f.155; 44431 ff. 65, 168; 44434 ff. 190, 194, 241; 44437 ff. 11, 196, 171; 44445 ff. 166, 226; 44447 ff. 8, 45, 235, 243, 290, 295, 297; 44448 ff. 113, 194, 343; 44449 ff. 17, 116, 120, 242, 247; 44450 f. 234; 44454 ff. 1, 3, 105, 221; 44457 f. 319; 44461 ff.190, 291, 207, 44462 ff. 87, 138, 204, 44468 ff 158, 279; 44479 ff. 46, 136, 251, 272; 44480 ff. 26, 76, 77, 79, 88, 97, 138, 222; 44481 ff. 12, 136; 44482 ff. 40, 54, 117, 159, 286; 44483 ff.77, 352, 356; 44484 ff. 37, 58, 123, 144, 216, 283, 311, 318; 44485 ff.7, 13, 73, 82, 85, 203; 44489 ff. 66, 147, 158, 187, 205; 44492 f. 162; 44499 ff. 74, 323; 44525 f. 15, 45345 ff. 104, 169; 46047 ff. 19, 21, 27 46049 ff. 16, 221; 46050 f. 47; 46268 ff. 63 -117.

Grove. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 35243 ff. 396, 877, 879.

Hazlitt. Correspondence. vol v.

Add. MSS. 38902 f. 12

Hardwicke. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 35798 ff. 20, 606; 39962 f. 87.

Maskell. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 37824 ff. 55, 59, 234.

Spender. Correspondence.

Add. MSS. 46391.

Lambeth Palace Library:

Burdett-Coutts Papers.

MS. 1385.

Court of Arches.

Records of Cases, 1850-1910: no. 8763; Hh 13, Hh 19, Hh 23, Hh 25, Hh 28, Hh 32, Hh 35, Hh 37, Hh 49 B Hh 749, H 593, H 812, H 842, H 882, H 884, H 893, H 895, H 916, H 903, H 926, H 938, H 951, H 964, H 966, H 972, H 973, H 975, H 982, H 983, H 993.

Correspondence.

Benson: volumes 2 ff. 250, 252, 270; 12 ff. 367-70; 14 ff. 408, 414, 424; 18 ff. 144; 32 ff. 95-97, 102-3; 33 f. 4; 35 ff. 264, 269, 271, 272; 37 ff. 19-21, 189, 196-9; 44 ff. 108, 171, 176, 182, 280, 283, 285, 290, 294, 314, 315, 328, 330-2, 347; 64 f. 327-8; 66 f. 360; 68 f. 248; 69 ff. 166, 302; 79 ff. 213-8, 223-4, 229; 81 ff. 1, 7; 85 ff. 92-105, 107-114, 175-6, 173-4, 179-80, 181, 301-2, 303-8; 100 f. 333; 101 ff. 114, 109 ff. 224-7, 234, 286, 288-9, 291, 297, 336-341, 401-4, 416-7, 434, 110 f. 28; 111 ff. 221-3; 117 ff. 46, 141, 178-83, 331-40, 352, 364-6; 119 ff. 19, 128, 132, 263, 282, 283, 287, 295, 296, 301, 336, 368, 397; 152 ff. 409-11.

Davidson: volumes 28 97-106, 72 ff. 240, 251-2, 264-8; 277-8, 293-4, 318-22; 73 ff. 322-3; 85 ff. 82-3, 84-5, 86, 90-7, 101; 107 ff. 130, 142; 112 ff. 126-7, 129-30; 108 ff. 100-2, 115, 122-3; 118 ff. 256-7, 261-2, 266, 267, 268, 280; 119 ff. 266-7, 272-3, 423; 123 ff. 223-4, 225.

Longley: volumes 2 ff. 193-6, 279-84; 3 ff. 23, 24, 29; 4 ff. 60-2, 63-4, 257; 3 f. 34; 5 ff. 104-5, 106-7, 126, 148, 158-9, 160-1, 182-3, 184-7; 6 ff. 255-7; 7 ff. 157-9, 175-6, 177-8, 243-4.

Tait: volumes 144 ff. 74, 78, 405, 409; 417 f. 395; 151 f. 413.

Temple: volumes 2 ff. 74, 78, 221, 227; 6 f. 366; 15 f. 44, 50, 145, 146, 150, 153, 352-7, 362; 17 ff. 322, 328, 18 ff. 18, 21, 29, 31, 35, 37, 43, 47; 12 ff. 391-9, 359, 363; 21 ff. 178-9; 22 ff. 59-60, 178-9, 438; 22 f. 68; 27 ff. 169, 295, 299, 301; 33 ff. 274, 350, 352, 354; 34 ff. 265, 401, 403; 43 ff. 368, 388; 45 ff. 386, 388, 400; 53 ff. 24-5, 40; 56 ff. 86-7, 263-70, 272-3, 273, 275-80; 59 ff. 441, 425.

Davidson.

Ordination Papers envelope 6 (1902/6).

Ordination Books vols. 1 & 2.

Tait.

Ordination Books: Papers, vols. 390-6.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives.

Applicants for S.P.G. assistance.

Dossiers, correspondence: files 3018, 6750, 6607, 6319, 2902, 2950, 6742, 3003, 3008, 6135 6725, 3177, 6594, 6732, 5071, 5216, 6723.

Bateman correspondence.

Hale, Matthew. Diary (typescript).

Manchester:

Correspondence relating to Hawkslane Curacy. L 139/2/2/1-31.

Miscellaneous Papers relating to Church and School, St. James, Hope, Pendleton. L115/8/1

Sayers, H., Letter to his parishioners, 18 February, 1888.

Oxford:

Bodleian

Rushdall Correspondence.

MSS. Eng. Lett., c. 342 part 11, 174, 176; c. 344 parts 7, 38, 41, 76, 111, 120, 124, 136, 162, 166, 192, 210

Wilberforce Correspondence 1853-6.

e. 13 [Private meeting of bishops].

Wilberforce Family Correspondence, 1834-72.

MSS. Wilberforce c. 19 ff. 247, 250; c. 20, ff. 137, 149, 191, 194, 195; c. 22 ff. 1, 3, 11, 13, 15, 23, 27, 39, 41, 45, 47, 62, 69, 71, 73, 77, 78, 88, 93, 96, 102, 126(a), 130, 132(b), 134, 195, 197, 227, 229, 237, 244; c. 23 ff. 3, 10, 15, 23, 25, 37, 35(b), 50, 64, 65, 79, 85, 110, 114, 116, 123, 125, 132, 134, 136, 138, 150, 152, 153, 171, 172, 175, 203, 214, 236, 244, 247, 263, 277, 275, 250, 283; c. 25 ff. 19, 94, 118, 121, 149; d. 12 f. 78; d. 40 ff. 20, 32, 38, 52, 73, 75, 80, 90, 92, 100, 107, 112, 114, 116, 130, 133, 135, 137, 139, 147, 148, 158, 162, 164, 168, 170, 176, 180, 184, 188, 194, 204, 211, 220, 226, 229, 238, 244, 252, 256, 260, 262; d. 41 ff. 6, 13, 43, 64, 74.

Christ Church

Cobb, Peter G., 'Thomas Chamberlain - A Forgotten Tractarian' MS. 617.
Shore, S. Royle, Church Affairs 1898-1928. 572.

Keble

Keble Correspondence.

A.1, C.16 (Keble family correspondence, 1861-2), C.22 (T. Keble to J. Keble, 1852-66), Keble correspondence: no. 44; no. 52 (5 letters from J. Keble to Revd R. Haverfield, 1858-63); no. 61; no. 97; no. 105; no. 109 (W.D. Morice to Keble); no. 110 (J.W. Richards to Revd J.F. Moor, 1868, with notes about John Keble's pastoral ministrations); John Keble 'Pastoral Epistles' [MS]; no. 130; no. 136; no. 137; no. 155; no. 156.

Magdalen

Bloxam, Dr. J.R. Letters. MS. 445.

Oriel

Letters and other papers acquired before 1932.

Life of Edwin Hatch, by his widow, 4 vols MS H48 Orielsia.

2. Australia:

Brisbane

Diocesan Archives [Anglican]

Minutes, Diocesan Council, 1870, 1872, 1879, 1880, 1881.

Letterbook, Archdiocese of Brisbane, 1888-89.

Archdeacon David, Notes on the Clergy.

Theological college: Circular letter, 1 January, 1907; sketch by
Canon Tomlin on the early history of the college.

Notes for History of St. Francis' College.

Cardew, J.A. (Revd). Account of a parish in the bush.
(unidentified published article).

Dawes, M.G., Notes on the Life of Nathaniel Dawes, first Bishop of
Rockhampton.

Oxley Library

Glennie, B. Typescript copy of his Australian Diary.

Hobart

Tasmanian State Archives

Brown, Archdeacon, Letterbook NS 373/77

Davenport, Fanny M., Diary, NS 144/2/2

Diocesan Correspondence, 1889-91 NS 373/112

Mason, Thos., Letter to Chas. H. Leake, 15 February, 1867
(typescript).

Montgomery, Bishop, State of the Clergy, NS 373/210; Letterbook NS
373/74.

Official Record of the Diocesan Synod of Tasmania, June, 1860, NS
282/30/9

Reibey, Thomas, Letters and Papers, NS 585/1

Riley, Frederick R., Canon

'A Glimpse of Tasmania's Wild West' (Typescript in possession of
the Revd W.R. Paton, All Saints' Rectory, South Hobart).

Melbourne

Diocesan Archives:

Macartney, H.B., Memoirs (MS. 2 vols.).

Moorhouse, James, Letterbook.

Perry, Charles, Letterbook.

La Trobe Library:

Barren, Henry Herbert, Papers. MS. 10724 Boxes 2454/1-5

de Patron Hitchcock, Herbert, Reminiscences, MS. 10440 1 & 2.

Perry, Charles, Revd, Autobiography, MS. 10722.

Parochial Archives:

Brunswick, Christ Church, Correspondence of Revd J.B. Sharp:
'English Visit'.

Malvern, St. George's, Vestry Minute Book.

Sydney

Mitchell Library:

Diocese of Newcastle, Papers, ML MSS 3704.
 Garnsey: Miscellaneous Papers ML MSS. 915.
 Hassall Correspondence A 1677 - 1-5.
 Marsden Papers FM 4/949.
 Selwyn, Rose, 'Memories'.
 Selwyn Papers A 736-7.
 Sharpe Papers. Memo Book, Kiama, August, 1869.
 Spencer, George, Notes Concerning the Early History of the Church
 in the Territory Placed Under the First Bishop of
 Goulburn, being the reminiscences of Archdeacon Spencer
 During 1850-1895, ML Doc. 2681.
 Stiles, Henry, Papers nos. 13, 17, 20, 21, 22, 35, 37.

OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

1. England

Parliamentary

Report of Select Committee of the House of Lords on Church Patronage,
 together with the proceedings of the Committee: Minutes
 of Evidence, with Appendix, Parliamentary Papers, 1874,
 Vol. viii.

Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission appointed to Enquire
 into the Sale, Exchange, and Resignation of
 Ecclesiastical Benefices, 1879. Parliamentary Papers
 [Lords], vol. xxxii, 1880.

Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Minutes of Evidence, Vol.
 II, Parliamentary Papers [Commons] vol. xxxiii, 1906.

Hansard Third series vol. 141 [Lords] 1856; vol. 216 [Lords] 1873; vol.
 218 [Lords] 1874; vol. 222 [Lords] 1875; vol. 224
 [Lords] 1875; vol. 237 [Commons] 1878; vol. 260
 [Commons] 1881; vol. 311 [Lords] 1887; vol. 312 [Lords]
 1887.
 Fourth Series vol. 38 [Commons] 1896; vol. 58 vol. 122 [Commons]
 1903.

Ecclesiastical

Barber, Edward, Oxford Diocesan Inspector General's Report for
 the year 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881.

Bristol, Report of Committee to Inquire into The
 Bristol Poor, London, 1885.

Cambridge Divinity School, Report of the first Conference Upon the
 Training of Candidates for Holy Orders Held at
 the Divinity School Cambridge on April 26 & 27
 1881.

Canterbury, Convocation of, Committee on Relations of Church and State,
 1877 (appointed).

- , Report by the Committee on Intemperance for the Lower House of Convocation, London, 1869.
- , Report of Committee on the "Alleged Increase in Prostitution and the Best means for the Recovery of the Fallen", n.p., n.d.
- , Report of the Joint Committee on the Position of the Laity, 1902.
- Church of England Working Men's Society,
President's Address 1878, n.p., n.d.
- Church Pastoral Aid Society, Report of the Committee. Statement of the Design of the Society, The Regulations, Constitution. etc., London, 1836.
- Christ Church Mission to East London,
Report for 1882-1883, Oxford 1883.
- Christ Church, Isle of Dogs, Report and Statement of Accounts, December, 1888-1889.
- , Report and Statement, 1891-1892.
- Church Mission to the Fallen Third Annual Report 1883.
- Conference of Bishops, July 1888,
Encyclical Letter...Resolutions and Reports, London, S.P.C.K., 1888.
- Conference Upon Preparation for Holy Orders, n.p., n.d. (1863).
- Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,
Reports of Anniversary Festivals 1882, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890.
- Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,
Thirty-ninth Report 1900-1901.
- Crockford's Ecclesiastical Directory
- Cuddesdon College, Annual Record: 1876, 1889, 1891, 1894, 1895.
- Exeter Diocesan Board of Education,
The Report ... Adopted at the Annual Meeting of Subscribers, Exeter, 1858.
- Exeter, Diocese of, Acts of the Synod of Exeter, London, 1851.
- Guild of St. Matthew, Report of Council for Year Ending 31 August 1883.
- London Diocesan Conference, Report of Committee on Unbelief 1883-4, London, n.d.

- London Diocesan Conference, Report of the Committee on the Welfare of Young Women 1883-4, London, n.d.
- National Society, Statistics of Church of England Schools for the Poor in England and Wales for the Years 1866 & 1867, London, n.d.
- Oxford Churchmen's Union, Sixth Annual Report, January, 1866.
- Oxford, Diocese of, Minutes of the Oxford Diocesan Conference, 1878, 1880, 1881, 1884, 1889.
- , Report on Clergy Pensions to be Submitted to Diocesan Conference, 1891.
- Report of Committee on the Degradation of Women
- Report of Oxford Ladies Association for the Case of Friendless Girls 1889, Oxford, 1890.
- Report of the Fifth Conference on the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders held in the new Examination Schools Oxford on January 13th & 14th, 1891, Oxford, 1891.
- Smith, B.F., Diocese of Canterbury. Report of the Diocesan Inspector of Schools, 1866, n.p.
- , Diocese of Canterbury. Report of the Diocesan Inspector of Schools, 1867, Canterbury, 1867.
- , Evidence given before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Education, Tunbridge-Wells 1867.
- St. Augustine's Missionary College, Calendar for 1858.
- , Circular, Spring Term, 1892.
- St. George's Mission, St Peter's, London Docks, Annual Reports for 1884, 1885, 1887, 1890 and 1893
- St. Saviour's Mission, St. Saviour's Mission Northumberland Street Poplar New Town Annual Report 1869, London, 1870.
- , St. Saviour's Mission, Annual Report 1871.
- , St. Saviour's Mission, Annual Report 1870.
- Stafford Archdeaconry, Report of the Church Board of Education for the Archdeaconry of Stafford, 1877, n.p, n.d.
- Winchester College Mission, St Agatha's Landport: Report for the Year 1884, London, n.d.

- Winchester College Mission, Portsmouth,
Annual Report Year Ending 24 March 1891,
 Landport, n.d.
- Winchester, Diocese of, Report of St. Thomas's Home for the Friendless
 and the Fallen, n.p., 1880.
- York Church Congress, Report of the Meeting of Working Men 10
 October, 1866, York, n.d.

2. Australia

- Adelaide: Report of Proceedings of the Church of England in the Diocese of
 Adelaide ...1861, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69-70, 71,
 72, 76, 78, 79, 1881-5.
- Australian Church Congress, Brisbane, 1913,
Official Report.
- Brisbane: Report and Proceedings of Synod, 1870, 1871, 1876, 1879, 1880.
- Church of England in Tasmania,
Year Book, 1905.
- Report of the Archdeaconry of Hobart and Launceston, 1905.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- Age (Melbourne)
 September, 1885; March, 1896; May, 1898.
- Argus (Melbourne)
 April, 1870; March, 1873; May, June, 1876; January, May, 1883;
 September, October, 1885; June, 1887; March, 1896 May, 1888;
 October, 1897.
- Church of England Messenger (Melbourne)
 1870-99.
- Cornwall Chronicle (Tasmania)
 March, 1870.
- Courier (Ballarat, Victoria)
 July, 1868.
- Courier (Brisbane)
 October, 1896.
- Darling Downs Gazette (Toowoomba, Queensland)
 April, 1903.
- Derbyshire Times
 March, 1907.
- Devon Post
 June, 1880.
- Durham Chronicle
 May, 1880.
- Examiner (Launceston, Tasmania)
 February, 1870.
- Fitzroy City Press (Victoria)
 1892-3.
- Glossop Dale Chronicle, North Derbyshire and North Cheshire Reporter
 September-October, 1889.

- Guardian (London)
1850-6, 1858, 1859, 1863, 1864, 1870, 1873, 1874, 1885, 1886,
1897, 1898, 1906.
- Hamilton Spectator (Victoria)
August, September, 1882.
- Herald (Melbourne)
June, July, 1886.
- Hobart Daily Town Courier
June, 1855.
- Manchester Courier, and Lancashire and General Advertiser
July, 1883; July, 1889.
- Melbourne Church Gazette
1862-5.
- Melbourne Church News
1866-70.
- Melbourne Church of England Messenger
1850-3.
- Newcastle Herald and Miners' Advocate (New South Wales)
June, 1906.
- Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette
December, 1867; May, 1868.
- Observer (Bristol)
October, 1874.
- Ovens & Murray Advertiser (Victoria)
October, December, 1866.
- Register (Adelaide)
May, 1884; April, May, 1885; May, 1886; May, 1893; April, 1894;
April, 1895; May, 1896; May, 1897.
- Retford and Worksop Herald
June-July, 1901.
- Rochester and Chatham Journal & Mid-Kent Advertiser
January-February, 1889.
- Star (Ballarat, Victoria)
July, 1868
- Surrey Advertiser & Surrey Gazette
March, 1855; December, 1860.
- Surrey Herald
November, 1901.
- Sydney Morning Herald
June, 1881; July, 1882; September, October, 1896; July, 1898;
August, 1905.
- Tasmanian Church Chronicle
1856.
- Tasmanian Messenger
March, 1861.
- The Aborigines' Friend. Journal of the Aborigines' Protection Society,
January, 1881.
- The Times (London)
1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1856, 1853, 1863, 1864-5, 1870, 1875,
1876, 1886, 1888, 1895, 1896, 1910.
- Weekly Guardian (Edmonton)
September, 1897.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLISHED SERMONS

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Abbey, Charles J., <u>Rev'd</u> | <u>The Duties of Christian Colonists,</u>
Edinburgh, 1862. |
|---------------------------------|---|

- Abraham, C.O., et al. Correspondence concerning the Revd R. Hodgson, Vicar of Christ Church West Bromwich, England, and Testimonials of his Fitness to be Appointed Co-Adjutor Bishop of the Diocese of Newcastle, New South Wales, West Maitland, 1879.
- Acland, Henry W., The Influence of Social and Sanitary Conditions on Religion, A Paper Read ...at the Church Congress, Brighton, 9 October, 1874, n.p., n.d.
- Adams, R.N., The Qualifications for the Christian Ministry, Cambridge, 1830.
- Ady, W.B., Revd The Condition of the Labourer in Agricultural Parishes, London, 1850.
- Armstrong, John, Revd An Appeal for the Formation of a Church Penitentiary, London, 1849.
- Anon., A Full Report of the Great Libel Case Reibey versus Blomfield tried at the Supreme Court, Launceston, before His Honor Sir Francis Smith, Knt., Chief Justice, June, 1870, Reprinted from the "Cornwall Chronicle", Launceston, 1870.
- , A Grammar of Socialism, London, 1878.
- , A Parson With his Fellow Workers. An Additional Chapter to "A Priest to the Temple" by George Herbert, London, 1864.
- , A Short Address to the Clergy of All Denominations and to Earnest Enquirers After Truth, by a Layman, Melbourne, 1875 [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 32, S.L.V.].
- , A Quarter of a Century at the Parish of St Mary Magdalen Paddington, London, 1890.
- , A Visit to Australia and its Gold Regions, London S.P.C.K., 1853.
- , An Appeal for the House of Mercy Clewer, Lent, 1856.
- , An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of the United Church of England and Ireland in Australasia by an English Clergyman, Adelaide, 1866 [South Australian Theological Pamphlets, Vol. 3, S.L.V.].
- , Australia as it is. By a Clergyman; or, Facts and Figures Sketches and Incidents of Australia and Australian Life, London, Longman Green and Co. 1867.

- , Christian Socialism by a Radical Parson,
London, n.d.
- , Church Extension at St. Pancras. A Comparative
Statement, London, 1862.
- , Church of England Vicarages. A Letter Which
Appeared in "The Evening Standard" of 28 May,
1873, Birmingham, n.d.
- , Church Papers by one of our Club, London,
1862.
- , Church Prospects Church Reform and Church
Parties. Three Addresses, London, n.d. (1872).
- , Corporate Penitence, (by the Bishop of
Oxford), circa 1916.
- , Cuddesdon College by One Who Knows It, n.d.,
n.p. (1858).
- , Diocesan Progress. An Address ... on the Works
of the Year, 1871.
- , "Do This" Church of England Working Men's
Society tract, n.p., n.d.
- , Ecclesiae Cure or A Parson's Cares by a Vicar
of the English Church, London, 1848.
- , Echoes of the Jubilee of Christ Church
Coventry August 1882.
- , Grave Moral Questions, London, n.d.
- , Guide to Churches in London and its Suburbs,
London, 1858.
- , Hints for Those Who are Beginning Immediate
Preparation for Holy Orders (by 'NMGD'),
Oxford, n.d. (1884-6).
- , Inaugural Meeting of the Semper Fidelis:
Society for the Promotion of Good Manners,
n.p., n.d.
- , Incense, Papers No. 1 [St Mary Magdalen],
London, 1899.
- , Is it Right for a Woman to Preach in the
Public Congregation and What Says the Bible?
n.p., n.d.
- , Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fellows of
Sion College With Respect to the Proposed
Union of City Benefices n.p., n.d.

- , Nassington and Yarwell Church and Village Annals 1880-1886, n.p., n.d.
- , On Clerical Education: A Letter, London, 1832.
- , One Year's Bridge Building in East London, London, 1888.
- , Penitentiary Work in the Church of England, 1873.
- , Proposals for the Establishment of a New Theological Examination, Cambridge, October, 1872.
- , Questions for Self Examination for the Use of the Clergy, London, 1872.
- , Reply by the Committee of Trinity Church, East Melbourne, to a Pamphlet Published by the Reverend the Incumbent Entitled "An Explanation", Melbourne, 1871 [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 37, S.L.V.].
- , Some Consideration of Church Principles and Obedience to Them. The Safe Rule of Conduct During a University Career by a Fellow of the College, Cambridge, 1842.
- , St. Augustine's Stepney, Settlers Street Commercial Rd. East, n.p., n.d.
- , St. Mary's Brookfield. Correspondence with the Bishop of London on the Denial of the Right of the School Children of the Poorer Classes to Attend Public Working in Churches, London, 1874.
- , St. Saviour's Hospital and Refuge for Destitute Women and Children, London, 1886.
- , Statement of the Committee of Holy Trinity Church, East Melbourne, to a Meeting of Seat-holders Convened to Consider the Dismissal of the Organist, Melbourne, 1871 [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 37, S.L.V.].
- , Suggestions Regarding Parochial Visitation by the Clergy. Compiled from Various Sources, London, 1892.
- , Suggestions Relating to the Professional Education of the Clergy, London, 1833.
- , Sunday Morning in Leather Lane. Some Account of its Sunday Fare, London, 1866.

- , The Church and the People. An Address to Churchmen Upon the Pew System and the Weekly Offertory, London, 1865.
- , The Church, the Census and the People by a Priest of the Church of England, London, 1882.
- , The Deficient Supply of Well Qualified Clergymen for the Church of England at the Present Time. A Paper Read Before the Liverpool Clerical Society, Birkenhead, n.d. (1863).
- , The Ecclesiastical Courts by 'G.T.', Reprinted from 'John Bull', n.p., n.d. (1881).
- , The Girl of the Period Union Review 1809 Art. xii.
- , The Manual of the Religious Order of Repentance, London, n.d. (1867).
- , The Mission - What is it?, (Home mission Tracts no. 12), S.P.C.K., London, n.d.
- , The Politics of Churchmen, London, 1863.
- , The Riots at St. George's East. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, London, 1860.
- , The S.P.G. at Exeter Hall, London, n.d. [1896?].
- , The Tourists' Church Guide, 1881.
- , The Trouble at St. Agnes' and St. Pancras' Sefton Park Liverpool A.D. 1899, Liverpool, n.d.
- , Twenty Five Useful Remarks for the Benefit of Young Clergyman by a Minister of the Church of England, n.p., n.d.
- , What the Bible Says About Confession and Absolution, Plain Tracts no. 32, n.p., n.d.
- , Work in the Colonies: Some Account of Missionary Operations of the Church of England in Connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, 1865.
- , Working Men, C.E.W.M.S., n.p., n.d.
- Ashwell, A.R., The Restoration of Worship: A Sermon, London, n.d. (1866).
- Ayre, Thomas, (?), The Perils of the Diaconate: A Paper, London, n.d. (1864).

- Badham, Charles, Revd, Correspondence between the Rev. Charles Badham and the Rev. W.N. Andrews relative to certain letters which have recently appeared in "The Essex Standard", 1849.
- Badnell, William Beaumont, The Law of Pews and Sittings in Churches, London, 1865.
- Bailey, Ebenezer, Conformity to the Church of England, Hull, 1864.
- Bailey, Henry, Mission Heroes. Bishop Broughton of Australia, London, S.P.C.K., n.d.
- Baird, William, Revival of the Sub-diaconate. A Plea for the Extension of the Ministerial Office, London, 1865.
- Bardin, C.P.M., Reasons for Thankfulness: A Sermon in Aid of the Nightingale School Preached on the Day of Thanksgiving for the Restoration of Peace, August 10th, 1856, by C.P.M. Bardin, B.A., Incumbent of the United Parishes of Brunswick, Phillipstown and Flemington, Melbourne, n.d. [1856] [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 6, S.L.V.]
- Barry, Alfred, First Words in Australia. Sermons Preached in April and May, 1884, Sydney, 1884.
- , 'Not that we would be unclothed but clothed upon.' The Motto of the Christian Minister and the Church, London, 1877.
- Barter, Henry, Revd Party Questions and Party Societies, n.d. London.
- Bartholomew, John, The Census and the Church Rate: A Charge, London, 1860.
- Bates, Thomas, Revd A Proposal for the Formation of a Theological University, Birmingham, 1879.
- Bath and Wells, Bishop of, A Charge Delivered to The Clergy of the Diocese of Bath and Wells...May 1847, London, 1847.
- , A Pastoral Letter Addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese by ... the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, London, 1867.
- Batty, F. De Witt, Revd The Diocese of Brisbane, being Some Gleanings from its History, Past and Present, Brisbane, 1909 (?)
- Baynes, R.H., Revd The Church's Work Among the People: A Sermon, London, n.d. (1871).

- Benson, E.W., Sermon Preached at Westminster Abbey at the Opening of the Lambeth Conference June 2, 1888, London, S.P.C.K.
- Bere de la, Baghot, Revd St. Mary's Prestbury. Report of Presentations made.....to, London, 1881.
- Berens, Edward, Revd Advice to Oxford Freshmen in Ten Letters From an Uncle to his Nephew, 1832, 1853 edition.
- Berkeley, G.W., Revd To the Friends and Supporters of the Mission of All Hallows Southwark, (Occasional Paper, no. 20), n.p., 1887.
- Bickersteth, Cyril, Revd The Duty of the Church in Regard to the Religious Education of the Young: A Sermon, Bradford, 1893.
- Bickersteth, Edward, Counsels of Peace for the Church of England: An Address to the Rural Deanery of Wandsworth. Delivered at Smethwick, 23 July 1877, n.p., n.d.
- , The Authority and Responsibility of the Christian Ministry: A Sermon, London, 1866.
- , The Conscience Clause. A Letter to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, London, 1867.
- , The Pastorate of Souls. A Sermon ...Osaka Japan...1891, Yokohama, n.d.
- Bidder, H.J., 'No Continuing City' A Sermon for the Disillusioned, Oxford, 1892.
- Binney, T., Lights and Shadows of Church Life in Australia Including Thoughts on Some Things at Home, London, 1860.
- Blunt, J.H., Revd The Condition and Prospects of the Church of England. An Address, Salisbury, 1871.
- Body, George, Revd The Doctrine of the Church of England on Confession and Absolution, London, 1873.
- Bombay, Bishop of, Dangers to be Avoided. A Sermon, 14 June 1888.
- Boodle, R.G., The Life and Labours of the Right Revd William Tyrell, D.D., First Bishop of Newcastle, New South Wales, London, n.d.
- Boucher, Sidney, Revd The Readings and Recreations of the Clergy, n.p., 1887.
- Brereton, J.L., Revd The Failures of Our Ministry: Their Cause and Remedy, Barnstaple, 1857.

- Bricknell, W. Simcox, Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, n.p. n.d. (1869).
- Bright, William, Christ's Presence Amid Theological Studies. A Sermon, London, 1870.
- , Fidelity and Sympathy United in True Teachers. A Sermon, Oxford, 1891.
- Bromby, Charles, The Opening Address of the Bishop of Tasmania at the Diocesan Synod, April, 1865, Hobart Town, 1865 [Tasmanian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 29, S.L.V.].
- Brunel, Isambard, A Letter on Parochial Councils, London, 1871.
- Buchanan, T.B., The Aims of a Theological College. A Sermon, Devizes, 1882.
- Buckle, Prebendary Sermon at Induction Weston Super Mare, n.d. [Press cutting, Oriel College Library].
- Bull, Paul B., Revd Free Access to Holy Orders, Leeds, n.d (1902).
- Bullen, R.A., Revd Social Purity Alliance: Some Dangers to a Young Man in Life. A Paper Written for the Bristol Branch of the Social Purity Alliance, Croydon, 1879.
- Burton, Charles James, In Memoriam. The Church Lessons Briefly Reviewed, London, 1872.
- Butler, Edward, Thoughts on Clerical Qualifications and Particularly on the Obligation to Diligent Study. A Charge, London, 1840.
- Camidge, C.E., President's Address on the Occasion of the Tenth Synod of the Diocese of Bathurst Delivered in St. John's Church, Mudgee, on Tuesday, July 16, 1901, Bathurst, 1901.
- , President's Address ... Third Session of the Tenth Synod ..., Bathurst, 1902.
- Caldicott, John, Revd Religious Education and Religious Freedom, London, 1872.
- Carr, Whitmore, Revd Hard Places for the Church of England Out of England, or Six Years with the Australian Bishops: An Endowed Episcopate and an Unendowed Clergy Are a Novel and Difficult Form of Church Government, Adelaide, 1868 [South Australian Theological Pamphlets, Vol. 3, S.L.V.].
- Carter, John Proctor, A Paper Read Before the Ruridecanal Conference at Slough, 25 May 1899, London, n.d.

- Central Society for Sacred Study,
Leaflet No. 9., 16, 20, 24, 25, 31.
- Central Society for Sacred Study,
Occasional Paper: The Clergyman in his Study
and in the Pulpit, Cambridge, 1909.
- Central Society for Sacred Study,
Reading Circles by Ven. Archdeacon Fearson,
Cambridge, n.d.
- Central Society for Sacred Study,
The Responsibility. Chief Subjects and
Methods, Cambridge University Press, n.d.
- Chambers, George, F.,
The Church and State Handy Book of Facts and
Statistics Suited to the Times, London, 1866.
- Chase, S. Lloyd,
A Pastoral Address to the Parishioners of St.
Paul's Parish, Melbourne, Melbourne, n.d.
(1865).
- Chester, Greville,
The Temptations of Young Men in Towns. A
Sermon, London, 1862.
- Chester, John Charles,
The Voice of Blood Crying from the Ground. A
Sermon, Sheffield, n.d. (1861).
- Christopher, A.M.W., Revd The Supply of Clergy, 1875.
- Church, C.M., Revd Supply and Preparation of Candidates for Holy
Orders, Leeds, 1873.
- Church, R.W.,
The Purpose of the Christian Ministry. A
Sermon, London, 1872.
- ,
The Twofold Debt of the Clergy. A Sermon,
London, 1869.
- Churton, W.R., Revd The Extension of the Colonial Episcopate. A
Sermon, London, 1877.
- Claughton, Thomas Leigh,
Fishers of Men. A Sermon, Oxford, 1869.
- 'Clericus',
A Letter on Two Present Needs of the Church
viz. Increase and Education of the Clergy,
London, 1846.
- "Committee of Clergy, A" (ed.),
Marriage and Divorce, London, n.d.
- Conroy, John, Sir Imprisonment for Obedience to the Book of
Common Prayer. Mr Green's Case, A Speech Made
at the Oxford Diocesan Conference, 7 October,
1881, n.p., n.d.
- Cowley, Mission Priests of, Retreats, London, n.d.

- Cowper, William Macquarie, The Autobiography and Reminiscences of William Macquarie Cowper, Dean of Sydney, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1902
- Cox, Charles, The Sale of Benefices in the Church of England, London, n.d. [1880].
- Cox, J. Bell, Some Difficulties and Dangers of the Clergy. A Paper Read Before the Liverpool Clerical Society, London, 1887.
- Cutts, Edward, The Good Time Coming. An Address to the Working Men of England, 17 March 1862, n.p., n.d.
- Dale, James Murray, Church Extension and the Ecclesiastical Commission: The Law Relating thereto with Suggestions for its Amendment, Oxford, 1864.
- Dallas, A.C.R. (?), A Letter Addressed to the Bishop of London Developing a Plan for Improving the Arrangements at Present Existing for Administering Medical Advice and Visiting the Sick Poor, London, 1826.
- Daubeney, Charles, A Letter to the Provost of Oriel on University Extensions, London, 1865.
- Davenport, Arthur, History of Synodal Proceedings in Tasmania, with an Appendix Containing the Act of Parliament by which the Diocesan Synod is Constituted, Hobart Town, 1858.
- David, A.E. Handbooks of English Church Expansion, London, n.d.
- Denison, Graham, Charge of the Archdeacon of Taunton, May 1856, n.p., n.d.
- , The 'Conscience Clause'. Speech by the Archdeacon of Taunton ... 6 February, 1866, London, 1866.
- , The Church and the School. Two Sermons, London, 1851.
- , The Thing Vulgarly Called Disestablishment of the Church of England Properly Called Disinheritance of the Crown and People of England, London, 1886.
- Denison, W., Sir The Church as a Social Institution. A Lecture to the Y.M.C.A., London, 1868.
- Dodgson, Charles, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Richmond at the Visitation in May, 1863, Leeds, 1863.

- Ellison, Canon et al., Church Temperance Work, n.p., 1881.
- Elsdale, D., Revd To the Habitants and Friends of the District of St. John the Divine Kennington, Advent Sunday, 1870, n.p., n.d. (1870).
- Emerton, Revd Dr [compiler] Prize Essay on the Evils of the Present System of Church Patronage with their Remedies, London, 1863.
- Enraght, R.W., Revd My Prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act. A Statement. London, 1883.
- Espin, T.E., Our Want of Clergy, Its Causes and Suggestions for its Cure. A Sermon, Oxford, 1863.
- Eykyn, T., Parts of the Pacific, by a Peripatetic Parson, n.p., n.d.
- Exeter, Bishop of, A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter on the Present State of the Church, London, 1851.
- Fifoot, Thomas, Is the Church of England the Church of the Working Man? London, n.d. (1875).
- Firminger, W.L., Revd (ed.), Missionary Sermons by Various Writers, London, 1898.
- Foot, J. Vicars, My Church and I, 1885.
- Forster, T.H., A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Tasmania, Piddington, Sydney, 1852.
- Foster, Richard, Some Wants of the Church at Home and Abroad, London, 1881.
- Fowle, F.W., Revd Men's Sins and God's Judgements. A Second Sermon on the Irreligious and Immoral Legislation of the British Parliaments. London, n.d. (1872).
- Freeman, Edward A., Disestablishment and Disendowment. What Are They? London, 1885.
- Frere, E.T., The Christian Ministry. A Sermon Preached at St. Mark's, Liddington, London, 1886.
- Frere, W. H., Revd The Christian Ministry. (National Mission Paper, Christian Faith and Practice Series), c. 1916.
- , The Relation of Church and Parliament in Regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline, London, 1903.
- Frodsham, G.H., A Bishop's Pleasance, London, 1915.

- , Inaugural Address by the Rt. Rev. George Horsfall Frodsham, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of North Queensland, n.p., n.d.
- Fuller, Morris, Revd Letters on the 'Disestablishment Question', Norwich, 1885.
- Gent, George W., Fraternity, London, 1886.
- Girdlestone, C., Revd A Letter to ... the Bishop of London in Reference to a Meeting of Landowners and Employers of Labour in the Metropolis, London, n.d. [1863].
- Girdlestone, R.B., The Training of Clergy. A Paper, Oxford, 1880.
- Girdlestone, R.B. et al., Words to Workers, London, 1885.
- Gooch, Charles, Revd The Apostolic Commission, Birmingham, n.d. (1850).
- Goodman, George, The Church in Victoria During the Episcopate of the Rt Revd Charles Perry, First Bishop of Melbourne, Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, London, 1892.
- Goodwin, Harvey, The Church of England, Past Present. A Popular Lecture, S.P.C.K., London, n.d. (1881).
- Gore, Charles, Buying Up the Opportunity. A Sermon Preached Before the University of Oxford, London, 1895.
- , Hints for the Study of Theology with a View to Holy Orders, 2nd edition, London, 1887.
- , The Clergy and the Creeds, London, 1887.
- Gorett, D.S., Revd Cottage Homes: their defectiveness in a sanitary social, moral and religious aspect, with suggestions for their improvement, London, 1860.
- Gough, Edward John, Revd What Says the Prayer Book? A Sober Standard for the Church of England on Questions of the Day, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1891.
- Green-Armytage, N., Revd Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Sick Lawful, London, 1899.
- Gregory, Robert, Revd The Need for more Clergymen to Make the Church More Efficient, London, 1884.
- Grier, R.M., Revd Personal Intercourse Between Priest and People, n.p., n.d.
- , The Christian Priesthood. A Sermon, London, 1869.

- Grindle, W.S., Revd Women Preaching and Teaching (Oxford Fly leaves no. 22), n.p., n.d.
- Gurney, Alfred, Revd Auricular Confession. A Lecture, Brighton, n.d. (1878)
- Halcombe, J.J., Revd The Clergy. Too Many and Too Few. A Paper Read at the Leicester Church Congress, 1880, Cambridge, n.d. (1880).
- Halcombe, R.J. (ed.), The Emigrant and the Heathen or Sketches of Missionary Life, London, S.P.C.K., n.d. (1870?)
- Halifax, Viscount Catholic Unity and the Relation the National Churches to the Church Universal. An Address. London, n.d. (1892).
- , The English Church Union. Its Future Reviewed in the Light of Its Past, London, n.d. (1891).
- , The Events of the Last Twelve Months. An Address...the 44th Anniversary of the E.C.U., London, n.d., (1903).
- Hamilton, H.F., Revd The Present Condition of Religion in England, n.d. (circa 1916).
- Hamilton, James, The Church of England Not Established by Law and Not Endowed by the State, S.P.C.K., n.d.
- Hannah, J., Revd What has Christianity Done for the Poorer Classes? Three Lectures, London, n.d. (1874).
- Harrison, Benjamin, An Address delivered to the Churchwardens and Sidesmen of the Archdeacory of Maidstone, London, 1885.
- Hassall, James, Revd An Old Australian Records his Reminiscences from 1794, London, 1901.
- Hayne, R.J., Deaconesses for the Church of England, London, 1860.
- Headlam, Stewart, The London School Board in 1890: An Address by Mr Headlam to his Constituents Delivered at the Mansford Street Board School on Wednesday, November 26th, 1890, Westminster, n.d.
- , The Sure Foundation. An Address given before the Guild of St. Matthew at the Annual Meeting, 1883, London, n.d. (1883).
- Heale, J.N., Revd The Influence of the Different Schools of Thought in the Church of England upon General Society, Maidstone, 1877.

- Heaton, W.H., The Prevention of Immorality, n.p., n.d.
- Hervey, Arthur, Lord Address of the Rt Hon. and Rt Revd the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells to the Students of the Theological College at the Opening of the Chapel in the Bishop's Close, 2 February, 1876, Wells, n.d. (1876).
- Hessey, James Augustus, The Laity Counselling the Church, or, Diocesan Conferences. A Charge delivered to Clergy, Churchwardens and Sidesmen of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex at his Third Visitation held at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, May 23rd, 1878, London, 1878.
- Hiley, Alfred, Some Plain Words to the Electors of England on the Church of England Question, London, n.d. (1885).
- Hill, Octavia, et al. Work for the University Men Among the London Poor Speeches...Meeting...Keble College...1884, Oxford, 1884.
- Hole, Canon Church Reform. An Address, 9 February, 1886, London, n.d. (1886)
- , Speech to the Church of England Working Men's Society, 29 January, 1885, n.p., n.d.
- Hopkins, Ellice, On the Early Training of Girls and Boys: An Appeal to Working Women. Especially Intended for Mothers' Meetings, London, 1886.
- Horsfall, T.C., The Laity of the Church in Relation to Education, n.p., n.d. (1901).
- Hubbard, J.G., A Census of Religions; Denominational Worship; The National Church: Three Essays, London, 1882.
- , and Trevor, George, The Conscience Clause in 1866. Speeches Delivered in the Chapter House of York Minster on 13 October, 1866, London, 1866.
- Hulme, S.J., Church Boards. A Letter to Albert Grey, Esq., M.P., London, 1881.
- Humble, J.R., "Clergy and the Masses" - The Curate Question, London, 1888.
- [Hunt, John], Clergymen Made Scarce. Five Years' Experience as a Curate in the Diocese of London. A Letter to the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Revd the Lord Bishop of London by a Presbyter, with a Postscript Containing Two Years' Further Experience in the Country, London, 1867.

- Ignatius, Fr The Catholic Church in England and What She Teaches. A Lecture by Fr. Ignatius, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, Manchester, n.d.
- Ince, William, A Memory of Bishop Mackarness. A Sermon, Oxford, 1889.
- , Strengthen the Brethren. A Sermon, London, n.d. (1885).
- , The Education of the Clergy at the Universities. A Sermon, London, n.d. (1882).
- , The Internal Duties of the University in Prospect of External Changes. A Sermon, Oxford, 1878.
- , The Restoration of the Outward Unity of the Church. Two Sermons, London, 1887.
- Ingram, E.M., How to Recover the Lapsed Masses to the Church of England, London, 1885.
- Irons, William, Considerations on Taking Holy Orders, Oxford, 1872.
- Irving, F.F., Jurisdiction. A Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the Clifton Branch of the E.C.U., 21 November, 1901, Bristol, n.d. (1901).
- Jackson, Edward, How May the Working Classes be Best Attracted to the Church of England? A Paper, October 19, 1870, London, 1870.
- James, Herbert, Revd A Few Thoughts on the Best Methods of Preparation for the Work of the Preacher, Oxford, 1891.
- Jones, Spencer, The Catechism, London, 1896.
- , The Clergy and the Catechism. A Lecture, n.p., n.d.
- Jones, William Basil, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of St David's, London, 1877.
- Kate, Mother Old Soho Days and Other Memories (St. Saviour's Priory, London, North East), Mowbray, London, 1906.
- Kerr, Walter, A Charge to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Salisbury at his Triennial Visitation in May 1867, London, 1885 (5th edition).
- King, Bryan, Revd Sacrilege and its Encouragement Being an Account of the St. George's Riots and Their Successes, London, 1860.

- Kingsley, Charles, Revd Letter to Young Men on Betting and Gambling, S.P.C.K., London, 1871.
- , The Message of the Church to the Labouring Men. A Sermon, 22 June 1851, London, 1851.
- Kirtchin, G.W., A Letter to the Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford on the Summer Term and Commemoration Week, June 1869, n.p., n.d.
- Knox Little, W.J., Revd "The Priest in Absolution" A Sermon, Manchester, 1877.
- Lambert, Frederick, The Church's Cause Being an Appeal to Churchmen to Realize and Uphold the Claims of the Church..., London, 1886.
- Lendrum, A., Revd The Judicial Committee. The Misgovernment of the Church and the Remedy, London, 1882.
- Liddon, Henry Parry, Active Love a Criterion of Spiritual Life. A Sermon, London, 1862.
- , The Moral Groundwork of Clerical Training. A Sermon ...Cuddesdon... 1873, London 1873.
- , The Secret of Clerical Power. A Sermon, 1865.
- , The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges. A Sermon, London, 1868.
- , Two Addresses Read Before the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity at the General Chapter June 1859 May 1861, Oxford, n.d.
- Lightfoot, J.B., Inaugural Addresses, Diocesan Church Conference, Durham, Bishop Auckland, 1885.
- Lightfoot, R. Prideaux, The Tithe Rent-Charge Bill. A Speech, London, 1888.
- Lindsay, Colin, Discipline: an Address Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the English Church Union 20 June 1865, London, 1865.
- Littledale, Richard, Ritualists not Romanists, C.E.W.M.S., n.d.
- Litton, E.A., Revd The Secret of Ministerial Success, London, 1858
- Lockhart, William, Fr., The Chasuble. Its Genuine Form and Size, London, 1891
- Long, Archdeacon, The Extension of the Diaconate. A Paper, London, n.d. (1886)

- Lowder, C.F., Ten years in Saint George's Mission Being an Account of its Origins Progress and Works Of Mercy, London, 1867.
- Luckock, Herbert Mortimer, Preparation for Holy Orders, London, 1887.
- , An Appeal to the Church I. Not to Withdraw her Clergy from University Training II. To Adopt More Aggressive Measures in her Warfare Against Sin. A Sermon, London, 1882.
- Lund, Thomas, The Reading and Deportment of Clergy During Divine Service, London, 1862.
- Mackonochie, A.H., Letter of Parish Church of St. Alban the Martyr 16 June 1867, n.p., n.d.
- Manchester, Bishop of, Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Manchester, Bishop of Manchester, n.d. (early 20th Century).
- Mann, Horace, Sketches of the Religious Denominations of the Present Day, London, n.d. (1851).
- Manning, Henry Edward, Penitents and Saints. A Sermon, London, 1844.
- Marriott, Charles, Revd, A Lecture Delivered at the Diocesan College Chichester at the Opening of Lent Term 1840, Chichester, 1840.
- , The Church's Method of Communicating Divine Truth, Chichester, 1841.
- Marryat, Archdeacon, Farewell Sermon at St. Paul's Church, Port Adelaide, on Sunday, 28 June, 1868, Adelaide, 1868 [South Australian Religious pamphlets, vol. 2, S.L.V.].
- Martin, W., The Social Crisis in England, Manchester, 1877.
- Matthews, C.H.S., A Parson in the Australian Bush, [1908] Rigby edition 1973.
- Maude, J.H., The Method of "The Catechism" shortly Explained With Outlines of Courses Edited for the Counsel of the Society of the Catechism, London, 1903.
- Melbourne Diocesan Society, An Appeal for a Special Fund of L2000 for bringing Out from England Not less Than Ten Additional Clergymen [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, vol. 11, S.L.V.].
- Menet, John, Revd, Some Dangers of the Age. Lectures, 1882, n.p.
- Mereweather, John Davis, Diary of a Working Clergyman in Australia and Tasmania, London, 1853.

- Meynell, Henry, 'Am I My Brother's Keeper?' A Sermon, York, 1867.
- Meyrick, Frederick, Revd The Bible? the Church? Conscience? Which is Supreme? A Sermon, London, 1887.
- Miller, Edward, A Second Letter to the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford upon the Approaching Diocesan Conference, n.p., n.d.
- , Provincial Councils in lieu of the Proposed House of Lay Consultees. A Paper, Oxford, n.d. [1885].
- Miller, John, The Church of England in Birmingham, n.d., n.p.
- Millett, Mrs. Edward An Australian Parsonage, or, The Settler and the Savage in Western Australia, [1872], University of Western Australia Facsimile edition, 1980.
- Moberley, George, The Future of St. Peter and St. John. A Sermon, Salisbury, n.d.
- Moberley, R.C. Revd and Talbot, E.S. Revd, Theological Colleges. Their Aim and Spirit, Salisbury, n.d.
- National Church Reform Union, The Church and the People, n.p., n.d.
- , The People's Interest in their National Church, London, n.d. [1880-1(?)].
- Neale, J.M., A Few Words of Hope in the Present Crisis in the English Church, London, 1850.
- Neale, J.M., Revd Songs and Ballads for Manufacturers, London, 1850.
- Nelson, Rt. Hon. Earl, and Bush, Paul, Revd Home Re-Union. Two Papers Read at the Diocesan Conference held at Truro, 1881.
- Newland, Henry, Revd 'One and All,' or, the Disintegration of Society and Some of its Remedies. A Lecture 26 October, 1851, n.p. n.d.
- Newdegate, Charles N., Convent Inquiry. Religious Disabilities, London, 1872.
- Nixon, F.R., Substance of a Reply to a Deputation Appointed at a Public Meeting of Members of the Church of England Held in Hobart Town on Thursday, April 22, MDCCCLII, Hobart, 1852 [Tasmanian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 10, S.L.V.].

- Norris, John P., Revd The Christian Ministry. A Sermon, London, 1886.
- Northey, A.E., Revd Pupil Teachers. Their Training and Instruction, Oxford, 1878.
- Oakley, John (ed.), A Letter to the Clergy on the Subject of Labour Organisations, London, 1880.
- , The Church in relation to Trades Unions and the Agricultural Labourers' Unions. A Paper, London, 1887.
- , Revival Movements and the Demand for Personal Guide and Counsel to which They Give Rise, n.p., n.d.
- , The 'Conscience Clause'. Its History, Terms, Effects, and Principle. A Reply to Archdeacon Denison, London, 1866.
- 'Obscure Parson, An' The Clerical Question, London, 1862.
- Order of the Holy Redeemer, Mission Work Amongst the Poor of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1869.
- Otley, R.L., Revd The Present Relation of the Clergy to the Old Testament, Oxford, n.d. [1892].
- Owen, Sydney, Preaching. A Paper, York, 1867.
- Paget, Francis, Revd 'The Victory That Overcometh the World'. A Sermon, Oxford, 1885.
- Parish, W.D., Revd School Attendance Secured Without Compulsion, n.p., 1871.
- Pearce, William, An Examination of the Letter of the Hon. and Rev. R. Liddell, London, 1858.
- Pearson, Charles B., Revd The Ministerial Mission. A Sermon, London, 1867.
- Pennethorne, G.E., Theological Colleges and Cathedral Reform, Oxford, 1869.
- Perowne, J.J. Stewart, Confession in the Church of England. A Sermon, 29 July, 1877.
- Perry, Charles, Revd Clerical Education Considered with Special Reference to the Universities in a Letter to the Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield, London, 1841.

- , Rt Revd, On the Church. A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. James, Melbourne, on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1851 (Previous to the Opening of a Conference of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England in the Diocese of Melbourne) by the Lord Bishop of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1851 [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, Vol. 6, S.L.V.].
- , Rt Revd, The Comparative Position of the Church in England and in Victoria. A Sermon Preached June 14, 1854, by the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Melbourne to which is Appended A Bill ... to Provide for the Regulation of the Affairs of the Church with a Letter from the Bishop to the Members of the Church Explaining its Provisions and Shewing the Necessity which Exists for Such an Enactment, Melbourne, 1854 [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, vol. V, S.L.V.].
- , Rt Revd, To the Zealous Members of the United Church of England and Ireland. A Letter on the Financial Position of the Church by the Rt. Revd the Lord Bishop of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1856, [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, vol. 9, S.L.V.].
- Perry, Thomas Walter, Revd All Gifts to be Used in the Christian Ministry. A Sermon, n.p., 1881.
- Phillimore, Robert, Sir Clergy Discipline. A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, London, 1872.
- Phillpotts, H., Rt Revd Letter to the Venerable the Archdeacon of Exeter on the Proposed Office of Scripture Readers, London, 1847.
- Plumptre, Edward Hayes, The Education of the Clergy. A Sermon, London, 1862.
- Poole, William, The Augmentation of Small Benefices, London, 1880.
- Pott, Alfred, et al. Correspondence Relating to Cuddesdon Theological College in answer to the Charges of the Rev. C.P. Golightly and the Report of the Commissioners thereon, Oxford, 1858.
- Potter, John, The Days Are Evil. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Ballarat, on the 19th Day of August, the Eleventh Sunday After Trinity, by John Potter, B.A., Incumbent, Ballarat, n.d., [Victorian Religious pamphlets, vol. 9, S.L.V.].
- Powell, C., The Sequel to a Parochial Mission, n.p. 1884.

- Powell, C. with Thomas, G.H., Church Work in the Slums and Common Lodging Houses, n.p. n.d. [1886].
- Pritchard, W. Charles, A Memoir of Bishop Chalmers (Second Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales) A Record of Thirty-five Years of Work for the Church in Australia, Melbourne, 1904.
- Provost, George, Revd Sir The Christian Minister a Witness to the Truth. A Sermon, 1835.
- Pullan, Leighton, Revd Authority in the Church of England, London, 1901.
- Puller, F.W., Revd The Duties and Rights of parish Priests and the limits of Obedience Due from Them to their Bishops Considered with reference to the Present Crisis in a Letter to a Friend, London, 1880.
- Pusey, E.B., A Letter to the Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. the Lord Bishop of London in Explanation of Some Statements Contained in a Letter by the Revd N. Doddsworth, London, 1851.
- , Unlaw in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, London, 1881.
- Pusey-Cust, Arthur P. The Imprisonment of the Revd S. Green Impartially Considered. An Address, n.p., 1881.
- Ramsay, Thomas, Is Christian Socialism a Church Matter? London, 1851.
- Reibey, T., et al. Correspondence Published by Archdeacon Reibey for Circulation, Launceston, n.d. [1870].
- Reynolds, H.W., Revd The Church and the People, London, S.P.C.K., n.d.
- Ritchie, D.G., The Moral Function of the State. A Paper Read Before the Oxford Branch of the Guild of St. Matthew, London, n.d. [1887].
- Roberts, G.B., Revd Church Reform. A Criticism of Two Essays by the Revd D. Gore and the Rev R. B. Rackham, n.p., n.d.
- Roberts, John, Revd A Mirror of Religion and Society in Tasmania During the Years 1857 and 1858, n.p., n.d. [Episcopal and religious Pamphlets, Tasmania, Vol. 10, S.L.V.].

- Rockhampton, Bishop of, et al.,
Frederick Halton Sams: The Fighting Parson. Impressions of his Five Years' Ministry in the Queensland Bush Recorded by some who knew and loved him, Longreach, November, 1915.
- Roundell, Earl
The Endowments and Establishments of the Church of England An Address, London, n.d.
- Rountree, J.P., Revd
The Prospects for Home Re-Union, London, 1885.
- Rowley, Charles,
Social Politics, London, 1885.
- Russell, H.R.,
The Personal Relations of the Church of England Clergy to Nonconformist Ministers. A Paper read by the Dean of Adelaide at a Clerical Meeting at St. John's Parsonage, Adelaide, February 22nd, 1870, Adelaide, 1870 [South Australian Theological pamphlets, vol. 2, S.L.V.].
- Sanday, N.,
The Example of a Christian Scholar with Remarks on the State of Learning in Oxford. A Sermon, Oxford, n.d. [1889].
- Sandford, John, The Ven.
Social Reforms, or the Habits, Dwellings and Education of our People, London, 1867.
- ,
The Church Rate and the Census, Birmingham, 1860.
- Scholae Cancellarii, Lincoln,
Form of Service for Admission of Students to the Theological School, Lincoln, Lincoln, 1879.
- Shelly, John,
Unsectarianism and School Boards. A Speech delivered by Mr John Shelly at the Annual Meeting of the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Branch of the E.C.U., London, n.d. [1892].
- Self, Richard William,
Suggestions Respecting the Neglect of the Hebrew Language as a Qualification for Holy Orders, London, 1832.
- Shipley, Orby, Revd
The Real Presence, n.p., n.d. [tract]
- Short, Augustus,
Sermon Preached by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide at the Ordination of the Revd Henry Martyn Pollitt at Trinity Church Adelaide, 6 January, 1864, Adelaide, 1864 [South Australian Theological Pamphlets, vol. 1, S.L.V.].
- Simcox, William Henry,
The Use of the Classics as an Instrument of Christian Education: A Prize Essay, Oxford, 1867.

- Skinner, James, Revd A Tract for the Times: The Church and the Census, London, 1860.
- , A Letter from the Rev. James Skinner to the Rev. Henry Montagu Villers on his Appointment to the Vicarage of St. Paul's Knightsbridge, London, n.d. [1881?].
- , The Bishops are Responsible. An Appeal for Probation Suggested to the Catholic Laity in the Present Crisis in the Church of England, London, 1877.
- , Facts and Opinions Concerning Statute Hirings Respectfully Addressed to Landowners, Clergy, Farmers and Tradesmen, London, 1861.
- Smith, Gregory, Revd The Conscience Clause. Can it be Justified? A Letter to the Rev. J. Oakley in Reply to his Pamphlet, London, 1866.
- Smith, J.E., On the Nature of Canonical Obedience: A Paper, Hammersmith, 1881.
- Smith, Samuel, M.P. Lawlessness in the Church of England: A Speech in the House of Commons, February 8 and 9, 1899, London, n.d.
- Society for the Liberation of Religion, Glebe Lands and Allotments, n.p., 1885.
- , Questions for Electors, n.p., 1885.
- , The Country Clergy and the Country Poor, n.p., 1885.
- , The Parson and the Parish, n.p., 1885.
- , Tithes and the Poor, n.p., 1885.
- , Will the Parsons Run Away?, n.p., n.d. [1885]
- , What has it Done for You? A Word to Agricultural Labourers, n.p., n.d.
- St Alban's, Holborn, Parish Magazine, no.78 June 1890, no.79 July 1890, no.80 August 1890, no.88 April, 1891.
- Stephenson, J.H., Revd A Final Tribute to the Memory of a Venerated Father (Rev. J. Clarke), 1870, n.p.

- Stewart, H.W., Revd The Diaconate Restored, Dublin, 1864.
- Stirling, John, Twelve Letters, London, 1857 [written 1841].
- Stowell, Revd Canon. Supply and Training of Ministers, Manchester, n.d. [1853].
- Stubbs, Charles William, The Church in the Villages. A Paper, London, 1893.
- , The Church and Democracy, London, n.d. [1888].
- , Clericalism. A Sermon, London, 1881.
- Sweet, J.B., Revd The Increase of Immorality and the Abeyance of Church Discipline, London, n.d. [1883]
- Symonds, R.G., Abstract of Official Correspondence on Some of the Bishops and Clergymen, Adelaide, 1860.
- Talbot, E.S., Revd Free Education and the Church in Leeds: A Sermon ..., Leeds, 1891.
- Thompson, H.W., Revd Are you a Sunday Evening Christian? n.p., n.d.
- , Call No Man your Father upon the Earth, n.p., n.d.
- , Let Every Man Enjoy His Own Opinion, London, n.d.
- , Let Him Come to Me, n.p., n.d.
- , Should the Bishops' Hands be Strengthened? n.p., n.d.
- , What does your Religion Cost You? London, n.d.
- , What is Church of Englandism?, n.p., n.d.
- , What is Sacerdotalism? St Bartholemew's Church Tracts, No. 17, Brighton, n.d.
- , What is the Apostolic Succession?, n.p., n.d.
- , Why ought I to go to Church?, n.p., n.d.
- Thompson, Henry, National Schools. Hints on the Duty of Diocesan Inspection and a Plan Respectfully Submitted, London, 1848.
- Tomlins, Henry George, Revd An Englishman's Politics, n.p., 1884
- Towry Law, William, A Letter to the Parishioners of Harborne from the Vicar of the Parish, Birmingham, 1850.

- Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, The Work and Hopes of the Universities' Settlement in East London, Oxford, 1887.
- Tremenheere, Hugh Seymour, Disestablishment and Disendowment, London, S.P.C.K., n.d.
- Trevarthon, John, Lay Services and Preaching, London, 1885.
- Truro, Dean and Chapter, The Cornish See and its Cathedral: Historical and Architectural Notes, London, n.d.
- Twopeny, R., Revd Some Remarks upon the Visitation of Cuddesdon College, and the State of the Church in the Diocese of Oxford, London, 1858.
- Twopeny, Richard, Town Life in Australia, [1883] Penguin Colonial Facsimiles, 1973.
- Tyrwhitt, R. St. John, Revd Concerning Clerical Powers, Duties, "Religious Enquiry" and Daily Prayers, n.p., n.d.
- Vorse, C. Defence of the Revd Charles Vorse, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Helaugh, Tadcaster, Yorkshire, on his Trial for Heresy by Publishing Certain Erroneous Doctrines in a Work Entitled "The Sling and the Stone", at York Cathedral from the London "Daily Telegraph", 2nd December, 1869, Melbourne, 1870 [Victorian Religious Pamphlets, vol. 129, S.L.V.].
- Walker, J. Edgar Notes on the Church Catechism, London, 1885.
- Walker, R. Bailey, (ed.) The Organisation of Societies Nationally and Locally Considered ... 1870-1871, n.p. n.d.
- Walsh, W.H. All Saints Alrewes Churchwardens' Accounts 1869-70 and Pastoral Letter, Rogation Sunday, 1870, n.p., n.d.
- Waters, R., Revd Christ's Stewards: A Sermon, 19 June, 1870, n.p., n.d.
- Watkins, H.W. Ven. The Church in Northumberland: A Charge, 18 May, 1881, London, 1881.
- Watson, John, Revd The Church of England. Four Plain Lectures to Churchmen on the Church of England in its Relation to I. the Church of Rome, II. The Sects, III. the State, IV. Church Parties, Hull, 1884.
- Watts-Ditchfield, J., Revd The Church in Action: Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Cambridge in 1913, London, 1913.

- Welby-Gregory, W.E., Sir The Church in its Social and Domestic Relations to the Upper Classes. A Paper, Lincoln, n.d. [1882].
- White, Gilbert, Rt Revd A Northern Theological College. A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney 2nd September, 1900, Sydney, 1900.
- , Thirty Years in Tropical Australia, London, S.P.C.K., 1918.
- Whitfield, Frederick, Revd The Treasure in Earthen Vessels: A Sermon, n.p., 1860.
- Wilberforce, Samuel, A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford at his Second Visitation, November, 1851.
- , A Charge to the Diocese of Oxford at his Third Visitation, November, 1854, n.p.
- , A Sermon Preached in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, 15 June 1852, n.p.
- Wild, John, Revd Remarks on the Clerical Supply and Demand in the Church of England, Stamford, 1865.
- Wilkinson, G.H., Revd Confession. A Sermon Preached in St. Peter's Eaton Square ... 18 March, 1874, London, 1874.
- Wilkinson, G.H., Revd Two Addresses to Communicants, London, 1881.
- Wilkinson, W.F., A Plea for the Study of Hebrew in Preparation for Holy Orders in the Church of England, London, 1870.
- Willis, William Downes, Simony in Two Parts, London, 1865.
- Wilson, Alex., Revd Letter to Parishioners of All Halls Tottenham, January, 1884, n.p.
- Wilson, R.F., The Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders: A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, London, 1874.
- Winnington Ingram, A., Church Difficulties, London, S.P.C.K., 1898.
- , New Testament Difficulties (second series). Historical and Scientific, London, S.P.C.K., 1894.
- , The Church and Working Men. Papers for Working Men, no. 9, London, n.d.
- , The Difficulties of Working Men. Papers for Working Men, no. 1, London, S.P.C.K., n.d.

- Wise, R.F., Revd No God, No King or Paris and the Communists,
Truro, 1871.
- Women's Christian Temperance Association, Manchester,
Proposed Day of Humiliation on Account of the
Drink Traffic, n.p., 1889.
- Woodford, James Russell, St Paul as a Working Man: A Sermon, London,
n.p., n.d.
- Woodard, N., St Nicholas' College, n.p., n.d.
- ,
A Plea for the Middle Classes, n.p., n.d.
- Wooley, J. Revd Clergy Discipline. In Relation to Doctrine,
Ritual and Morals, n.p., 1881.
- Wordsworth, Charles, On a Proposed Subdivision of Dioceses. A
Letter to Viscount Dungammon, London, 1860.
- ,
The Coming Mission, London, n.d.
- Wordsworth, E. A Mission. What Does it Mean? London, n.d.
- Wordsworth, John, Love and Discipline. A Memorial Sermon,
Lincoln, 1885.
- ,
The Church and the Universities, Oxford, 1880.
- Worlledge, C.W. A Few Thoughts on Ecclesiastical Training and
the Sacerdotal Life, London, 1886.
- ,
Preparation for Deacons' or Priests' Orders,
n.p. [about 1891].
- ,
The Promotion of Spiritual Ends by Secular
Means, n.p., n.d.
- Wray, Cecil The Church's Work in our Large Towns. A
Paper, Liverpool, 1869.

LATER WORKS

ARTICLES

- Batt, N., and Roe, M., 'Conflict within the Church of England in
Tasmania 1850-58,' Journal of Religious
History, Vol. 4 (1966-7).
- Bollen, J.D., 'English Christianity and the Australian
Colonies, 1788-1860,' Journal of
Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 28, (1977), pp.
361-85.

- Cable, K.J., 'Protestant Problems in New South Wales in the mid nineteenth century,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 3.
- Davis, R.P., 'Christian Socialism in Tasmania, 1890-1920,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 7 (1972-3).
- Daw, E.D., 'Electing a Primate: Alfred Barry,' Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, Vol. 66, pt. 4 (March, 1981).
- French, Maurice, 'Church Extension in South Australia in the Late Nineteenth Century,' Journal of Religious History, Vol. 8 (1974-5).
- Haig, Alan, 'The Church, the Universities and Learning,' The Historical Journal, Vol. 29, no. 1 (1986).
- Heeney, B., 'On Being a Victorian Clergyman,' Journal of Religious History, vol. 7 (1982-3).
- Hilliard, David, 'South Australian Anglicanism, 1880-1930,' Journal of Religious History, XIV: 1.
- Lucas, J.R., 'Wilberforce and Huxley: A Memorable Encounter,' Historical Journal, Vol. 22, no. 2 (1979).
- Meaney, N.K., 'The Church of England in the Paradise of Dissent,' Journal of Religious History, vol. 3.
- Miles, Michael, '"A haven for the privileged": recruitment into the profession of attorney in England, 1709-1792,' Social History, Vol. 11, no. 2 (May, 1986).
- Phillips, Paul T., 'The National Church Concept in Late Nineteenth Century England and America,' Journal of Religious History, vol. xiv.
- Phillips, Walter, 'Religious profession and practice in New South Wales, 1850-1901: the statistical evidence,' Historical Studies, Vol. 15, no. 59 (October, 1972).
- Quaife, G., 'Money and Men: Aspects of the Anglican Crisis in Victoria, 1850-65,' Journal of Religious History, vol. 5, (1968-9).
- Roberts, M.J.D., 'Private Patronage and the Church of England,' Historical Journal, vol. 32, no. 2 (April, 1981).
- Sandford, Keith, 'Cricket and Victorian Society,' Journal of Social History, xvii, 2.

- Stephen, M.D., 'Gladstone's Ecclesiastical Patronage, 1868-1874,' Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 11, no. 42 (April, 1964).
- Teale, R., 'Party or Principle? The Election to the Anglican See of Sydney in 1889-90,' Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, vol. 55, pt. 2.

BOOKS

- Astbury, Leigh, City Bushmen. The Heidelberg School and Rural Mythology, Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Austin, A.G., Australian Education, 1788-1900. Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia, Pitman, Melbourne, 1960.
- (ed.), Select Documents in Australian Education, 1788-1900, Pitman, 1963.
- Bailey, Peter, Leisure and Class in Victorian England. Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978.
- Barrett, John, That Better Country. The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia 1835-1850, Melbourne University Press, 1966.
- Battiscombe, Georgina, John Keble. A Study in Limitations, Constable, London, 1963.
- Bentley, James, Ritualism in Victorian Politics: The Attempt to Legislate for Belief, Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Blainey, Geoffrey, A Centenary History of the University of Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1957.
- Bollen, J.D., Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910, Melbourne University Press, 1972.
- Border, Ross, Church and State in Australia 1788-1872. A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia, S.P.C.K., London, 1962.
- Bowen, D., The Idea of the Victorian Church. A Study of the Church of England, 1833-1889, McGill University Press, Montreal, 1968.
- Bradley, Ian, The Call to Seriousness. The Evangelical Influence on the Victorians, Jonathan Cape, London, 1976.

- Brendon, Piers, Hawker of Morwenstow. Portrait of a Victorian Eccentric, Jonathan Cape, London, 1975.
- Broome, Richard, Treasure in Earthen Vessels. Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society, 1900-1914, University of Queensland Press, 1980.
- Budd, Susan, Varieties of Unbelief. Atheists and Agnostics in English Society 1850-1960, Heinemann, London, 1977.
- Burne, Kathleen (ed.), The Life and Letters of Father Andrew, S.D.C., Mowbray, London, 1948.
- Butlin, N.G., Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861-1900, Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Chadwick, O., The Victorian Church, 2 vols. 1966, 1970.
- Clark, C.M.H., A History of Australia, Vol. IV, The Earth Abideth For Ever 1851-1888, Melbourne University Press, 1978.
- , A History of Australia, Vol. V, The People Make Laws 1888-1915, Melbourne University Press, 1981.
- , (ed.) Select Documents in Australian History, 1851-1900, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1955.
- Clark, G. Kitson, 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, Methuen, 1973.
- Clarke, F.G., The Land of Contrarities. British Attitudes to the Australian Colonies, 1828-1855, Melbourne University Press, 1977.
- Cowling, Maurice, Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England, Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Cox, Jeffrey, The English Churches in a Secular Society. Lambeth, 1870-1930, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982.
- Crowley, F.K., Australia's Western Third: A History of Western Australia, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1970.
- Currie, R., Gilbert, A., and Horsley, L., Churches and Churchgoers. Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles Since 1700, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977.
- Davison, G., The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1978.

- De Serville, Paul, Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1980.
- Dingle, A.E., The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England. The United Kingdom Alliance 1872-1895, Croom Helm, London, 1980.
- , The Victorians: An Anniversary History, Vol. II, Settling, Fairfax, Sydney, 1984.
- Dobb, Arthur J., Revd Like a Mighty Tortoise: A History of the Diocese of Manchester, Littleborough, 1978.
- Dow, G.M., George Higinbotham: Church and State, Pitman, Melbourne, 1964.
- Ely, Richard, Unto God and Caesar. Religious Issues in the Emerging Commonwealth, 1891-1906, Melbourne University Press, 1976.
- Evans, Eric J., The Contentious Tithe. The Tithe Problem and English Agriculture 1750-1850, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.
- Fraser, Derek, Urban Politics in Victorian England. The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities, Leicester University Press, 1976, Macmillan edition, 1979.
- Gilbert, Alan D., The Making of Post-Christian Britain. A History of the Secularization of Modern Society, Longmans, London, 1980.
- Girouard, Mark, The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981.
- Grundy, Denis, 'Secular, Compulsory and Free.' The Education Act of 1872, Melbourne University Press , 1972.
- Haig, Alan, The Victorian Clergy, Croom Helm, London, 1984.
- Hancock, W.K., Country and Calling, Faber, London, 1954.
- Heeney, B., A Different Kind of Gentleman. Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England, Hamden, Conn., 1976.
- Hilliard, David, Godliness and Good Order. A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia, Wakefield Press, Netley, 1986.
- , God's Gentlemen. A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942, University of Queensland Press, 1978.

- Hirst, J.B., Adelaide and the Country 1870-1917. Their Social and Political Relationship, Melbourne University Press, 1973.
- Hollis, Patricia, (ed.), Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England, Edward Arnold, London, 1974.
- Horn, Pamela, The Rural World 1780-1850. Social Change in the English Countryside, Hutchinson, London, 1980.
- Hurt, J.S., Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Inglis, K.S., The Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963.
- Jay, Elisabeth, Religion of the Heart. Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth Century Novel. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979.
- Kent, John, Holding the Fort. Studies in Victorian Revivalism, London, Epworth Press, 1978.
- Lash, Nicholas, and Rhymer, J. (eds.), The Christian Priesthood, Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1970.
- Lloyd, Roger, The Church of England in the Twentieth Century, Vol. 1, Longmans, London, 1946.
- Marrin, A., The Last Crusade: The Church of England in the First World War, Duke University Press, N.C., 1974.
- Marsh, P.T., The Victorian Church in Decline. Archbishop Tait and the Church of England 1868-1882, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1969.
- Martin, A.W., Henry Parkes, A Biography, Melbourne University Press, 1980.
- Martin, David, A General Theory of Secularization, Harper and Row, New York, 1978.
- Melada, Ivan, The Captain of Industry in English Fiction, 1821-1871, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1970.
- Neale, R.S. (ed.), History and Class. Essential Readings in Theory and Interpretation, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.
- Neill, Stephen, A History of Christian Missions, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1964.

- Offer, Avner, Property and Politics, 1870-1914: Land Ownership, Law, Ideology, and Urban Development in England, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Phillips, Walter , Defending 'A Christian Country'. Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After, University of Queensland Press, 1981.
- Pike, Douglas, Paradise of Dissent, South Australia, 1829-1857, Melbourne University Press, 1967.
- Ranson, S., Bryman, A., & Hinings, B., Clergy, Ministers and Priests, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1977
- Robin, A. de Q., Charles Perry, Bishop of Melbourne. The Challenges of a Colonial Episcopate, University of Western Australia Press, 1967.
- Robson, Robert, (ed.), Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain. Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark, Bell, London, 1967.
- Rodd, L.C., John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence, Alpha, Sydney, 1972.
- Rowell, Geoffrey, The Vision Glorious. Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism, Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Russell, Anthony, The Clerical Profession, London, S.P.C.K., 1980.
- Serle, G., The Golden Age. A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861, Melbourne University Press, 1963.
- , The Rush to be Rich. A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1883-1889, Melbourne University Press, 1970.
- Shaw, G.P., Patriarch and Prophet. William Grant Broughton, 1788-1853. Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic, Melbourne University Press, 1978.
- Smith, Martin (ed.), Benson of Cowley, Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Thompson, F.M.L., English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963.
- Thorn, Barbara (ed.), Letters from Goulburn. A Selection of Letters from Mesac Thomas, First Bishop of Goulburn, 1863-92, Canberra, 1964.

- Towler, Robert, and Coxon, A.P.M.,
The Fate of the Anglican Clergy. A Sociological Study, London, MacMillan, 1979.
- Ward, Russel,
The Australian Legend, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1958.
- Warren, Max,
The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History, S.C.M., London, 1965.
- Waterson, D.B.,
Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper. A History of the Darling Downs, 1859-93, Sydney University Press, 1968.
- Wiener, Martin J.,
English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980, Penguin, 1985.
- Wilkinson, Alan,
The Church of England and the First World War, S.P.C.K., London, 1978.
- Youngson, A.J.,
The Scientific Revolution in Victorian Medicine, Croom Helm, London, 1979.

DIARIES & MEMOIRS PUBLISHED LATER

- Ayres, Jack (ed.),
Paupers and Pig Killers. The Diary of William Holland A Somerset Parson, 1799-1818, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1984.
- Plomer, William (ed),
Kilvert's Diary. Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert, 3 vols., Jonathan Cape, London, 1973.
- Skinner, John,
Journal of a Somerset Rector 1803-1834 [edited by H. and P. Coombs], Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Verey, David (ed.),
The Diary of a Victorian Squire. Extracts from the Diaries and Letters of Dearman and Emily Birchall, Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1983.

THESES

- Condon, H.H.,
Charles Henry Bromby. Second Bishop of Tasmania, M.A., University of Tasmania, 1969.
- Coxon, A.P.M.,
A Sociological Study of the Social Recruitment, Selection, and Professional Socialisation of Anglican Ordinands, Ph.D., Leeds, 1965.
- Hart, P.R.,
The Church of England in Tasmania under Montgomery, M.A., University of Tasmania, 1963.

Morgan, J.L.

Anglicanism and the Concept of Social Duty in
Diocese of Melbourne 1850-1875, B.A.,
University of Melbourne, 1962.

Russell, A.,

A Sociological Analysis of the Clergyman's Role,
with Special reference to its Development in the
Early Nineteenth Century, D. Phil., Oxford,
1970.
