

**Anglican Church expansion and colonial reform  
politics in Bengal, New South Wales and the Cape  
Colony, c. 1790-1850**

Joseph Hardwick

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first study which examines Anglican Church expansion from a comparative and trans-national perspective. The thesis draws attention to the connections and networks between the Church establishments in different parts of the eastern empire. In addition to comparing the experience of different colonial Anglican Churches, the thesis has two subsidiary aims. The first is to provide an account of Anglican Church expansion in the eastern empire in the period between the Napoleonic wars and the early 1850s. The first two chapters examine the relationship between the Church of England and the military empire which historians have argued spread out from India after 1800. The final three chapters explore the ways in which the Church reacted to the break-up of this colonial 'fiscal-military' state in the 1830s and 1840s. These chapters show how the separation of church and state in the colonial world led to a series of tensions between the laity and the colonial bishops. These tensions can be seen as amplifications of the disagreements which occurred between different Church parties in the metropolitan Church in this period.

The thesis also explores the relationship between the expansion of the Anglican Church and the development of reform politics in three colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century. In recent years historians have argued that the period after 1815 saw the emergence of political 'publics' among the expatriate communities in the main colonial urban centres. This thesis shows how questions relating to religious toleration and the status of the Church of England featured prominently in the reform movements which surfaced in the 'British world' in the 1820s and 1830s.

The thesis concludes by drawing connections between Church debates in Britain and the colonies and highlighting some of the ways in which Church reform in Britain was driven by colonial precedents.

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### **Author's declaration**

Parts of this thesis have been presented before. I presented versions of chapter one to the Imperial History Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research in October 2007 and to the University of York History Department research seminar in February 2008. I also presented some of the themes addressed in the conclusion to a graduate conference held at the University of York History Department in October 2006.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis has two principal aims. The first is to provide an account of Anglican Church expansion in Britain's eastern empire in the period between the Napoleonic wars and the introduction of self-government in the colonies of white settlement in the early 1850s. Whereas previous accounts of Church expansion in this period have tended to be national in outlook, this thesis sets out to examine the question of Anglican Church expansion from a comparative and trans-national perspective. The second aim of the thesis is to examine the relationship between the expansion of the Church and the development of reform politics in Bengal, New South Wales and the Cape Colony in the same period.

The bulk of the literature which has appeared on the subject of 'religion and empire' in recent years has focused on the attempts which Anglican and other Christian missionaries made to convert non-Christian indigenous populations.<sup>1</sup> While this work has considerably enhanced our knowledge of the relationship between voluntary mission and secular empire, it has tended to draw attention away from the role which the established Church of England played in ministering to communities of Anglicans and European settlers across the British colonial world.<sup>2</sup> Existing studies of the colonial Churches tend to be local histories of individual national churches.<sup>3</sup> It has only been relatively recently that historians have begun to approach Church expansion from a trans-national perspective. Rowan Strong's recent work, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, traces the attempts which the established Church made to extend Anglicanism in the colonies from the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> The work focuses primarily on the theory behind the expansion of the Anglican

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<sup>1</sup> The literature on mission and empire is vast. Two seminal works are Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester, 1990) and Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> The expansion of the Anglican dominion in the British Empire is studied in more detail in Andrew Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 222-46.

<sup>3</sup> The tradition of local church histories can be traced back to the publication in 1898 of a series of books in the 'colonial church histories' series by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Two titles in this series were Edward Symonds, *The Story of the Australian Churches* (London, 1898) and Alfred Caldecott, *The Church in the West Indies* (London, 1898). For more recent literature, see Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia* (London, 1962); Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa: An Account of the History and Development of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London, 1963); and Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700-1850* (Oxford, 2007).



Church and pays little attention to events in the colonies. Consequently, we get little sense of how the expansion of the Church was actually carried out. As yet, no attempt has been made to write a history of the colonial Church which pays attention to the material experience of the Church of England in the colonies.

This thesis compares the development of the Anglican Church in three different colonial locations: Bengal, the Cape Colony and New South Wales. The thesis takes as its starting point the contention that the early nineteenth century saw a 'swing to the east' in Anglican concern. In his recent book, Strong suggests that the establishment of an Anglican bishopric in 1813 at Calcutta was a watershed moment in the history of the Anglican Church in the British Empire. Before 1813 the attention of British politicians and churchmen had been focused on promoting the Church of England in British North America: bishoprics were established at Nova Scotia in 1783 and Quebec in 1793, and a system of clergy reserves was introduced to Upper Canada in 1791. In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century the pattern of colonial church-state relations which had been worked out in North America was introduced to the British possessions east of the Cape of Good Hope. For example, following the establishment of the Calcutta bishopric a system of clergy reserves – modelled on those in Upper Canada – was introduced to New South Wales in the mid-1820s.<sup>5</sup>

This shift in Anglican concern mirrored the increasing attention which other metropolitan groups showed towards Britain's colonies in the eastern hemisphere. The early nineteenth century saw evangelical humanitarians take a closer interest in the moral state of the indigenous population of India. In the late eighteenth century humanitarians and evangelicals had been primarily concerned with the religious instruction of the slaves in the West Indies. While attempts were made to launch missions in India, little was achieved until the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813, which included clauses which relaxed the restrictions on the entry of missionaries to India.<sup>6</sup> The 1810s and 1820s saw a growth in the volume of missionary traffic in India and the emergence of a number of high-profile petitioning campaigns, notably against sati and the East India Company's connexion with Hindu 'idolatry'.<sup>7</sup> The increasing interest which evangelicals took in the state of British India stimulated other groups to

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. ch. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Peter, J. Marshall, 'The moral swing to the East: British humanitarianism, India and the West Indies', in Peter J. Marshall, *'A Free Though Conquering People': Eighteenth-Century Britain and its Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 69-95.

<sup>7</sup> Clare Midgley, 'Female emancipation in an imperial frame: English women and the campaign against sati (widow-burning) in India, 1813-1830', *Women's History Review*, 9:1 (2000), pp. 95-121.

turn their attention to the east and to campaign for the reform of the East India Company's system of rule. While metropolitan merchants campaigned for the opening up of the Company's trade monopoly, political radicals called for 'liberal' reforms to be introduced in India, notably trial by jury and a free press.<sup>8</sup> This heightened interest in British Asia extended to the other colonies in the eastern hemisphere. The political radicals who demanded reform of the Company's system of rule also criticised the autocratic colonial regimes which governed New South Wales and the Cape Colony. Both of these colonies began to attract the attention of evangelicals and humanitarians in the early nineteenth century. The London Missionary Society established a mission at the Cape in 1799 and the Wesleyan Methodists followed suit in 1814. The latter society also decided to establish a mission in New South Wales in 1813 and the first missionary arrived in 1815.<sup>9</sup> The Anglican Church was therefore just one of a number of institutions and groups which were turning their attention to what was beginning to be defined as the 'eastern empire'.<sup>10</sup>

It is of course important not to overstate either the strength of this 'swing to the east' nor the extent to which British imperial interests in the nineteenth century were wholly focused on India and the eastern hemisphere. Indeed, the argument that a general 'swing to the east' in imperial concern occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is one which has recently fallen out of favour with imperial historians. Scholars are sceptical of any attempt to neatly parcel regions and historical periods into discreet categories such as 'eastern', 'Atlantic', 'first' or 'second' empires.<sup>11</sup> It is important to acknowledge that the West Indies continued to attract a good deal of humanitarian and evangelical attention, particularly after emancipation.<sup>12</sup> In the 1820s the Colonial Office

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<sup>8</sup> Miles Taylor, 'Joseph Hume and the Reformation of India, 1819-33', in G. Burgess and M. Festenstein (eds), *Radicalism in English Political Thought, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 285-309; Joshua Civin, 'Slaves, sati and sugar: constructing imperial identity through Liverpool petition struggles', in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850* (Manchester, 2003), pp. 187-205.

<sup>9</sup> J. D. Bollen, 'English Christianity and the Australian Colonies, 1788-1860', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28:1 (1977), p. 364.

<sup>10</sup> Examples of contemporary works which treat the eastern empire as a distinct category are, Charles Payne, *The Eastern Empire: Crown Colonies* (London, 1847); [Anon.], *The political, commercial and financial condition of the Anglo-Eastern Empire in 1832* (London, 1832); Leitch Ritchie, *The British World in the East: a guide historical, moral and commercial to India, China, Australia, South Africa and the other possessions or connexions of Great Britain in the Eastern and Southern Seas* (London, 1847).

<sup>11</sup> An example of a work which has attempted to problematise the distinctions between the 'first' and 'second' empires is Peter J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empire: Britain, India, and America c. 1750-1783* (Oxford, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002).



attempted to strengthen the position of the Church in the West Indies: bishoprics were established at Jamaica and Barbados in 1824 and the number of clergy in the West Indies grew rapidly in the 1820s.<sup>13</sup> While this thesis does not wish to downplay the links between Church expansion in the eastern and western hemispheres, this thesis does argue that it was the eastern colonies which received a disproportionate share of the Church's attentions in the first half of the nineteenth century. The expansion of the Church in the eastern hemisphere was intended to keep pace with the growth of the settler dominion and the proliferation of the number of non-Anglican missionaries in the colonies.

A second reason why this thesis focuses on these three colonies is because it wishes to explore the connections between colonial Church establishments. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the ecclesiastical establishments in both New South Wales and India were dominated by evangelical chaplains who had been sent out by a group of metropolitan evangelicals known as the Clapham Sect. The appointment of these chaplains helped to create a network which connected evangelicals in both New South Wales and India. Chapters one and two of this thesis examine the connections between evangelical communities in New South Wales and India in more detail. The creation of the bishopric at Calcutta in 1813 further strengthened the links between the Church establishments in these two areas. Historians have acknowledged the role which Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, played in establishing a disciplined Anglican ecclesiastical establishment in India.<sup>14</sup> Chapter two shows how the Church in New South Wales – which was included in the Calcutta diocese – was also influenced by Middleton's project. Links between the Church in the Cape and India were strengthened during the 1820s as successive bishops passed through the colony on their way to India. The links and connections between the three Church establishments is a theme which is continued throughout the thesis.

The final reason why this thesis focuses on the eastern empire is because it seeks to engage with the work of those historians who have drawn a direct link between colonial Church extension and the expansion of what has come to be known as the colonial 'fiscal-military state'.<sup>15</sup> The idea that the British Empire in

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<sup>13</sup> *Return of Number of Bishops and Ministers of the Established Church in W. Indies*, Parliamentary Papers, 1825, [351], xxi, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> W. W. Wroth, 'Middleton, Thomas Fanshaw (1769-1822)', *rev.* Penelope Carson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004), vol. 38, pp. 86-87.

<sup>15</sup> The phrase 'fiscal-military' was first used by John Brewer as a means of categorising the British state in the eighteenth century. For Brewer, the infrastructure of the British



the period between 1780 and 1830 was essentially a 'fiscal-military state' has been developed by the Cambridge historian Christopher Bayly. In a series of publications Bayly has rejected the idea that British imperial expansion in this period was driven by commercial factors and the search for new markets. Instead, Bayly argues, imperial expansion was triggered by the need to find secure sources of revenue, which were in turn necessary to finance the military establishments which had grown dramatically during the eighteenth century. Imperial expansion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was therefore characterised by the extension of what Bayly calls the 'imperial garrison state'. While Bayly notes that British Asia and the eastern hemisphere was the focus for this expanding garrison state, he notes that it extended to other parts of the eastern empire, the Caribbean and British North America.<sup>16</sup>

For Bayly, an important element in this autocratic and conservative 'second empire' was the establishment of versions of the metropolitan 'Protestant constitution' of church and state in the colonies.<sup>17</sup> Bayly shows how the promotion of Anglicanism neatly complemented the aristocratic and agrarian character of the empire in the period between 1780 and 1830. For Bayly the creation of bishoprics in British North America in the late eighteenth century and at Calcutta in 1813 were significant because they were part of the revival of the established order, which occurred both in Britain and in the colonies. The aim of the first two chapters of this thesis is to test Bayly's thesis. To what extent was the expansion of the Church driven by counter-revolutionary forces back in Britain? Chapter one does this by examining the mechanisms which were in place in metropolitan Britain for the recruitment of colonial clergymen. The chapter looks at the kind of institutions and organisations which were responsible for selecting clergymen for the colonies. The chapter asks whether these groups shared the same agenda as the statesmen and politicians who established the colonial bishoprics. Chapter two turns to focus on events in the colonies themselves. The aim of this chapter is to show how the 'Anglican design'

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state was entirely geared to extracting revenue to support the military machine which was fighting across the globe in the eighteenth century. For both Bayly and Brewer, military finance was the key determinant of state policy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (London, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> Christopher Bayly, 'The First Age of Global Imperialism, c. 1760-1830', in Peter Burroughs and A. J. Stockwell (eds), *Managing the Business of Empire: Essays in Honour of David Fieldhouse* (1990), pp. 28-47; *idem.*, 'The British Military-Fiscal State and Indigenous Resistance: India 1750-1820', in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London, 1989), pp. 322-54.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), pp. 136-47.

actually worked in the colonies. Attention is drawn to the creation of a range of ecclesiastical institutions and organisations in the colonies in the period after 1815. This chapter shows how after 1815 the colonial authorities in Britain and the empire did make a concerted effort to strengthen and extend the parochial Church across the British Empire.

Chapter two also considers the various arguments which have been put forward to explain why the colonial version of the Protestant Constitution collapsed in the period after 1830. Bayly offers a compelling argument for why the 'fiscal-military' state disintegrated in the 1830s and 1840s. He suggests that it was a series of financial crises, coupled with the emergence of movements for self-determination and constitutional reform on the periphery of empire, which resulted in the gradual dismemberment of the military empire which had dominated the Empire in the period before 1830.<sup>18</sup> Bayly also emphasises the important role which pressure from non-Anglicans in the colonies played in forcing the British government to abandon the 'Protestant Crusade' and to adopt a more pragmatic religious policy.<sup>19</sup> Chapter two again tests these arguments and examines the extent to which pressure from the periphery was important factor in the collapse of the colonial confessional state.

While it is important to recognise the significant challenge which non-Anglicans in the colonies mounted to the Protestant constitution, we should also acknowledge the way in which the return of the Whigs to power in 1830 prompted a change in imperial ecclesiastical policy.<sup>20</sup> Churchmen in Britain were horrified when the Whigs assumed power and predicted that they would attempt to undermine or destroy the Church establishment. These fears were some way wide of the mark: the Whigs did not favour disestablishment and were not automatically opposed to religious establishments. Rather, Whigs tended to see the value of establishments in terms of the role which they played in inculcating moral and spiritual improvement among the inhabitants of a region.<sup>21</sup> In those areas where the existence of a religious establishment impeded rather than stimulated moral and religious improvement, the Church establishment was ripe for reform. The Whig assault on unpopular establishments began first in Ireland. While the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Grey's government did not initially set out to reform the Irish

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<sup>18</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 235-47; *idem.*, 'The First Age of Global Imperialism', p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 242-43.

<sup>20</sup> A point which Peter Burroughs makes in his 'Lord Howick and the Colonial Church Establishment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25 (1974), pp. 381-405.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841* (Oxford, 1987).



Church, their principles forced them to prune a Church which only represented a minority of the Irish population. In February 1833 Lord Althorp introduced his Irish Church Temporalities Bill, which proposed the reduction of the number of Irish bishoprics, the suspension of appointments to parishes where there had been no service for three years, and the reduction of revenues of some of the wealthier sees.<sup>22</sup> Lord Stanley, the chief secretary, also introduced a national system of non-denominational education in this period. But reform of the Irish Church was problematic. Althorp had proposed that the surplus revenues of the Church of Ireland should be appropriated by the state and used to subsidise either the education of Catholics or a Catholic establishment. Appropriation was however unpopular among many cabinet members. A group of ministers, led by Stanley, opposed the appropriation of Church revenues for non-Church purposes, and the subsequent resignation of the members of this group was one reason why Grey's government collapsed in 1834.<sup>23</sup>

But while Irish Church reform was problematical, reform of the Church in the colonies was perhaps more straightforward. The appointment of the young Lord Howick as under-secretary of state for the colonies in 1831 ensured that colonial policy would also be influenced by liberal Anglican ideas. Like other Whigs, Howick believed that privileged ecclesiastical establishments were only justifiable when the privileged Church represented the religion of the majority of the inhabitants of the country. In mid-1831 Howick recommended that the clergy reserves in Upper Canada should be abolished and the local legislatures given the power to distribute the funds for religious instruction to each of the Christian denominations. While these radical proposals were blocked by the more conservative secretary of state, Lord Goderich, Howick did succeed in reducing the grants which were made from the imperial treasury to the SPG and the Anglican Church in the Canadas.<sup>24</sup> Anglican privileges were also removed in other parts of the empire. In New South Wales Governor Bourke, an Anglo-Irish Whig, passed a Church Act in 1836 which terminated all special privileges to the Church of England and granted state aid to each of the four main Christian denominations (Anglicans, Presbyterian, Wesleyans and Roman Catholics). The success of these reforms should be contrasted with the problems which the Whigs faced when they attempted to introduce similar measures in Ireland. As early as

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<sup>22</sup> G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Ian Newbould, *Whiggery and Reform, 1830-41: The Politics of Government* (Basingstoke, 1990), pp. 130-51.

<sup>24</sup> Burroughs, 'Lord Howick and the Colonial Church Establishment', pp. 381-405.



1833 Lord John Russell had hoped that a land tax could be introduced in Ireland which would have provided funds for the 'concurrent endowment' of Catholic, Presbyterian and Church of Ireland clergy by the state; the resignations of Stanley and the other opponents of appropriation had however prevented him from taking the scheme any further.

Chapters three, four and five of this thesis (which are case studies of each of the three colonies) show how the disintegration of the Protestant constitution in the British Empire was a long drawn-out process. Vestiges of the Anglican ascendancy remained in place in New South Wales into the 1840s. For example in New South Wales Bishop William Grant Broughton held a seat on the colony's executive council until the early 1840s. The persistence of the Anglican ascendancy in the British Empire can be most clearly seen in India, where the renewed charter of 1833 made provision for the establishment of two additional bishoprics at Madras and Bombay. While the Company did support a small number of Church of Scotland ministers and Roman Catholic priests, the bulk of its ecclesiastical establishment was comprised of Anglican chaplains (despite the fact that the Christian denomination with the largest number of Christian adherents in India was the Roman Catholic Church). Chapter five shows how many Europeans and Indians believed that the Company's decision to terminate its connexion with Hindu and Muslim religious establishments in the 1830s would further consolidate the privileged position of the Anglican Church in India. The persistence of the Anglican ascendancy was one reason why campaigns for religious equality surfaced in each of our three case studies during the 1830s and 1840s. Indeed, one of the aims of this thesis is to show how issues relating to religious freedom and the Church of England were a continual feature of the 'Age of Reform' in the British colonies. There is a growing body of literature which has begun to explore the way in which the metropolitan 'Age of Reform' was also relevant in the colonial context.<sup>25</sup> Peter Marshall and Miles Taylor have shown how the metropolitan campaign for parliamentary reform intersected with a series of reform movements which surfaced across the British world overseas in the 1820s. The existing work on these colonial reform movements has given the impression that the issues which were of most importance to the British communities overseas were judicial reform and the

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<sup>25</sup> Peter J. Marshall, 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A failed colonial society?', *The International History Review*, 12:1 (1990), pp. 26-44; Stanley Trapido, 'From Paternalism to Liberalism: The Cape Colony, 1800-1834', *The International History Review*, 12:1 (1990), pp. 76-104; Taylor, 'Joseph Hume and the reformation of India', pp. 285-308.

freedom of the press. While this thesis recognises that these were key demands, it also suggests that the campaign to remove Anglican privileges was one of the central strands in the 'Age of Reform' in the British colonies. Chapters three, four and five examine the contribution which religious questions played in the politicisation of the colonial 'public' in each of our three case studies.

These three chapters also consider the way in which the Church in different parts of the British Empire responded to the gradual break-up of the colonial confessional state.<sup>26</sup> More specifically, these chapters show how the colonial Churches were caught up in the wider high church revival which occurred in Britain in this period. The revival of the Church in this period is commonly associated with the Oxford Movement, which is thought to have instilled in the Church a new evangelical ardour and sense of spiritual mission. Scholars have noted how many Tractarians and advocates of the Oxford Movement took a special interest in the colonial Churches. Individuals like Edward Pusey and William Gladstone believed that the ideal model of the independent and hence spiritually-pure Church could be established in the colonies and then imported to Britain.<sup>27</sup> The later chapters of this thesis show how Church expansion in the 1830s and 1840s was strongly influenced by Tractarian ideas. Colonial churchmen made efforts to recruit Tractarian students as clergymen and there was a strong Tractarian component in organisations such as the Colonial Bishops' Fund, which was established in 1841 to provide funds towards the creation of additional colonial sees.

But this 'second' Anglican design should not be seen as a Tractarian preserve. Recent scholarship has shown how the revival which swept through the Church of England in the 1830s was not merely the product of the Tractarian movement. Arthur Burns, for instance, has shown how a cadre of orthodox high churchmen<sup>28</sup> (who were often sympathetic to the Oxford Movement but who

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<sup>26</sup> Recent attempts have been made to compare the reaction of the Church in different parts of the empire: Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm and empire'; Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, ch. 4.

<sup>27</sup> On Pusey and the colonial Church, see Ruth Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', in Perry Butler (ed.), *Pusey Rediscovered* (London, 1983), pp. 185-209.

<sup>28</sup> As Peter Nockles reminds us, delineating specific church 'parties' in the pre-Tractarian period is notoriously difficult. Prior to 1830 the Church of England was characterised by a relative harmony between groups who would later be termed 'evangelicals' and 'high churchmen'. Evangelicals and high churchmen cooperated in a variety of ventures, and evangelicals could be as vociferous in their celebration of establishment and the 'Protestant constitution' as their high church counterparts. Nevertheless, as Nockles states, the 'Tractarians sharpened a sense of party identity in the Church of England but they did not create it'. Distinct parties can be discerned in the period before 1833. Disagreements were common over doctrinal and theological issues, particularly over



nevertheless recoiled from its Catholic elements) played a crucial role in reinvigorating a series of diocesan institutions and organisations which had fallen into disuse in the eighteenth century. While Burns acknowledges that the revival of many of these diocesan structures occurred before the 1830s (he notes that the position of rural dean and the visitation had been revived during the first decades of the century), he shows how many of the key reforms were introduced in the post-1833 period.<sup>29</sup> Although Burns rarely mentions the colonies, it is striking how many of the orthodox high churchmen who led the metropolitan diocesan reform movement were also involved in colonial Church expansion in the 1830s and 1840s. Indeed, several of the colonial bishops studied in this thesis were orthodox high churchmen who were closely connected to their metropolitan counterparts. Chapters three and four (which are case studies on New South Wales and the Cape respectively) show how bishops such as William Grant Broughton, the bishop of Australia, and Robert Gray, bishop of Cape Town, attempted to implement many of the reforms associated with the diocesan revival in their own colonial dioceses. Chapter five, which studies the career of the Church in India after 1830, shows how Daniel Wilson, the bishop of Calcutta from 1832 to 1858, made a similar attempt to extend the reach and improve the efficiency of his diocese. The fact that Wilson was an evangelical supports Burns' argument that the 'diocesan revival' was not the preserve of any one Church party.

While on the one hand the colonial Churches were strongly influenced by the revivalist currents which spilled out from metropolitan Britain in this period, developments in the colonies themselves also played an important role in changing the character of the colonial Church. From roughly 1820 onwards the laity, which had made only a minor contribution to the Church in the era of the

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predestination, justification through faith and baptismal regeneration. The two parties were also distinguished from one another through their membership of rival organisations, such as the evangelical Church Missionary Society and the more high church SPG and SPCK. See Peter Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: the "Orthodox" – some problems of definition and identity, in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 334-59. This thesis accepts Nockles' argument that 'high church' is a usable category for the pre-1833 period. As Nockles suggests, 'orthodox high churchmen' can be categorised as churchmen who, among other things, placed particular emphasis of the apostolic succession and the religious establishment. For a definition of 'orthodox high church', see Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 25-6.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999). For the period before 1833, see Burns' 'A Hanoverian legacy? Diocesan reform in the Church of England c. 1800-1833', in Walsh *et al.* (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833*, pp. 265-82.



military chaplaincy, began to play a more visible role in the administration of the Church. As the colonial Church gradually shed its association with the fiscal-military state and took on a more parochial character, opportunities emerged for the laity to participate in Church administration. The laity played a particularly visible role in the expansion of the Church at the Cape in the 1820s. Laymen in the colony sent petitions to the Colonial Office and religious societies in Britain asking for additional clergymen and funds towards the establishment of churches. Although opportunities for lay involvement in the Church in India were circumscribed, it is clear that soldiers, Company servants, and private merchants were not backward in raising money towards Church extension and petitioning government for the appointment of additional chaplains. As in India, the laity in New South Wales played only a limited role in the administration of the Church in the chaplaincy period. The religious societies which were established in the colony in the late 1810s and early 1820s were one means by which the laity could participate in religious issues.<sup>30</sup> However, the introduction of the 1836 Church Act stimulated greater lay involvement in the Church as it made the extension of the Church dependent on the funds which the community itself raised.<sup>31</sup>

The final three chapters of the thesis show how these twin developments – the growth of the laity and the increasingly high church character of many colonial dioceses – led to a series of disagreements and tensions within the colonial Churches in the post-1830 period. These chapters show how unresolved questions about the nature of ecclesiastical authority in the colonies led to clashes between the bishops and the colonial laity. The separation of the Church from the state, which occurred in several colonies in this period, left the colonial Churches without any form of government and considerably enhanced the powers possessed by the bishops. In New South Wales, for example, the 1836 Church Act, which divorced the state from the Church, confirmed that the civil government – which traditionally represented the lay element in Church governance – had no authority to pass legislation relating to the Church. The immediate result of the act was that authority over the Church devolved entirely on the bishop (Broughton was appointed as the first bishop of Australia in 1836). The absence of any ecclesiastical court in the colony meant that the Bishop of

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<sup>30</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society in New South Wales 1788-1840', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 86:2 (2000), p. 101.

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, 1987), pp. 26-27.

Australia could claim complete control over the stationing and licensing of clergy and could theoretically remove incumbents at will. These issues surfaced in other colonies. The establishment of an Anglican bishopric at the Cape in 1847 threatened the tradition of lay participation in Church affairs which had developed in the colony since the early 1820s. In India the question of ecclesiastical authority was slightly different as it came to focus on the question of the Bishop's jurisdiction over the two Anglican missionary societies, the Church Missionary Society and the SPG. During the 1820s and 1830s the Indian bishops encountered serious opposition from the lay-members of the CMS in Calcutta when they attempted to claim full authority over the licensing and stationing of all Anglican missionaries in their dioceses.<sup>32</sup>

The separation of church and state and the creation of additional bishoprics in the 1830s and 1840s therefore had negative implications for the colonial laity. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Anglican laity in India, South Africa and Australia began to voice demands for a more constitutional and regulated form of colonial episcopacy. As will be seen in chapters three, four and five, the strength of these lay movements varied from colony to colony. In New South Wales and the Cape Colony the dispute between the episcopate and laity came to a head in the early 1850s when both Bishop Broughton of Sydney and Bishop Gray of Cape Town attempted to establish diocesan synods in which the laity would enjoy only marginal representation. For the colonial bishops diocesan synods represented the most effective means of resolving the questions which had surrounded colonial Church governance since the early 1830s. The Anglican laity, by contrast, was not prepared to support the creation of synods in which the bishop and clergy enjoyed precedence over the laity.

While the early 1850s saw the emergence of strong lay movements in both New South Wales and the Cape Colony, there was no such demonstration of lay solidarity in India. Nevertheless, chapter five shows how the lay community in India did demand a more active role in the management of the Church. Laymen resisted any attempt by the bishopric to claim jurisdiction over bodies such as the vestry and the committees of the missionary societies.<sup>33</sup> These demands for a constitutional episcopacy and a more democratic form of Church government were nourished by the growth of voluntarism in the colonies. The

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<sup>32</sup> Hans Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850* (London, 1952).

<sup>33</sup> Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*.



growing preference which many colonists had for voluntarism was itself largely a product of the Whig reforms of the early 1830s. During the 1830s and 1840s the burden of supporting religious establishments was shifted from the state to the laity. This can be seen most clearly in New South Wales, where the Church Act made state aid to religion dependent on the amount which the individual congregations could raise through voluntary subscription.<sup>34</sup> Voluntarism encouraged the laity across the empire to make demands for a more democratic form of Church government: after all, as it was they who provided the money which maintained the Church, the laity believed they had the right to have a voice in ecclesiastical government.

This thesis suggests that both ecclesiastical and political historians have underestimated the significance of these lay reform movements. In the past these movements have been studied in terms of the contribution which they made to the establishment of new forms of colonial Church government.<sup>35</sup> There has been no attempt to explore how the lay reform movements may have intersected with the campaign for political and constitutional reform which gathered pace in Cape Town and Sydney in the 1830s and 1840s. Historians have overlooked the fact that the campaigns for lay representation which emerged in New South Wales and the Cape Colony in the late 1840s and early 1850s occurred at the same time as the public in these colonies were mobilising to resist the continuation of transportation, a campaign which in turn led to the revival of the campaign for political reform and self-government. A notable exception is the ecclesiastical historian Bruce Kaye, who has suggested that there were links between the Anglican laity's attempts to secure a more democratic Church polity and the demands which colonists made for the introduction of responsible government.<sup>36</sup> The final three chapters of the thesis use Kaye's comments as a starting point to examine the contribution which the emergence of a politicised Anglican laity made to the development of colonial politics in each of our three case studies. These chapters point out that involved in the question of colonial Church government were a number of issues which were also relevant in constitutional

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<sup>34</sup> For a full discussion of the state aid question in New South Wales, see Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare? State Aid in New South Wales 1836-1862* (Canberra, 1972).

<sup>35</sup> E. D. Daw, *Church and State in the Empire: The evolution of imperial policy, 1846-1856* (Canberra, 1977); *idem.*, 'Church and State in the Empire: the Conference of Australian Bishops 1850', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 5:3 (1976), pp. 251-69; Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*.

<sup>36</sup> For example, see Bruce N. Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods in Australia and the 1850 Bishops' Conference', *Journal of Religious History*, 27:2 (2003), p. 195.



reform debates. At face value issues such as the power of the bishopric, the representation of the laity and the relationship between the colonial Church and the 'mother' Church in England may appear to have only been significant to the Anglican community. But the final chapters of this thesis show how contemporaries did draw links between the campaign for a more democratic form of Church government and the movement for constitutional reform.

One of the secondary aims of this thesis is to show how the emergence of the Anglican laity made a positive contribution to the expansion of civil society in our three case studies in the period after roughly 1820. As already noted, the last two decades have seen the appearance of a number of works which have examined the emergence of an independent colonial public in the eastern hemisphere in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>37</sup> Generally speaking, recent work on the expansion of the colonial public sphere has tended to focus on the contribution which secular institutions made to the development of civil society.<sup>38</sup> Saul Dubow, for instance, has traced the contribution which institutions such as the museum, library and South African College made to the development of a middle-class civic and public culture in Cape Town from the 1820s onwards.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, little attention has been shown to the position which religious institutions occupied in the expansion of the colonial public sphere. This is perhaps surprising given the fact that scholars have largely rejected the idea that modern 'publics' were essentially the product of secular developments.<sup>40</sup> Christopher Bayly, for instance, has pointed out that it was religious institutions such as Sunday Schools, churches and charitable organisations which spread much faster than their secular counterparts in the nineteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Such institutions proliferated in our three case studies. The first public institutions established in New South Wales were the New South Wales Society for

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<sup>37</sup> Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa, 1820-2000* (Oxford, 2006), ch. 1; Kirsten McKenzie, 'Of Convicts and Capitalists: Honour and Colonial Commerce in 1830s Cape Town and Sydney', *Australian Historical Studies*, 118 (2002), pp. 203-4; Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Cape Town and Sydney, 1820-50* (Melbourne, 2004). Also see Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain* (Houndmills, 2003).

<sup>38</sup> For instance, Peter Clark makes little mention of religious societies in his account of the spread of associational culture in the overseas British communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), ch. 11. Clark concludes on page 470 that clubs and societies were 'primarily secular in format'.

<sup>39</sup> Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, ch. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in Britain and India* (Princeton, 2001).

<sup>41</sup> Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004), p. 333.

Promoting Christian Knowledge and Benevolence (1813), the Sunday School Association (1814), the Benevolent Society (1816) and the Auxiliary Bible Society (1817).<sup>42</sup> A School Book Society and an auxiliary branch of the Church Missionary Society were established at Calcutta in 1817 and 1818, and a Church of England Prayer Book and Tract Society was created at the Cape of Good Hope in 1824.

Despite this evidence historians have failed to make any link between the expansion of the Church of England and the emergence of the colonial public in the 1820s and 1830s. As we have seen, Bayly himself has portrayed the Church as an essentially conservative institution, one which was allied to the 'fiscal-military' state and hostile to the democratic forces which were pushing the colonies of white settlement towards self-government. National historians have likewise presented the Church of England as an institution which stood outside the mainstream of colonial history.<sup>43</sup> The later chapters of this thesis include a discussion of the connections between the expansion of the Anglican Church and the development of civil society in each of our three case studies in the 1820s and 1830s. Particular attention is drawn to ecclesiastical institutions such as vestries and missionary society corresponding committees. Institutions of this kind started to appear across the eastern empire in the 1820s. A vestry was established at St. John's Church in Calcutta as early as 1787. Vestries were also established in the churches which the colonists built in the Cape Colony in the 1820s and 1830s. By contrast, it was not until the Church of England Temporalities Act was passed in 1837 that vestries and churchwardens started to appear in New South Wales. The contribution which these organisations and institutions made to the development of the colonial public sphere has either only been briefly considered or overlooked entirely.<sup>44</sup> Historians of Hanoverian Britain have drawn attention to the important role which secular institutions and public societies played in formulating a sense of group consciousness and cohesion among the urban middle class.<sup>45</sup> The later chapters of this thesis ask whether ecclesiastical

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<sup>42</sup> Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society in New South Wales', p. 101.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851* (Melbourne, 1965), pp. 13-23.

<sup>44</sup> An exception is Peter Marshall's article 'The White Town of Calcutta under the rule of the East India Company', *Modern Asian Studies*, 34:2 (2000), pp. 307-331, which mentions that the vestry at St. John's was one of only a small number of bodies in Calcutta which gave the wider European community the opportunity to become involved in the affairs of the city. See p. 320.

<sup>45</sup> Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 464-65; Kathleen Wilson, 'Urban Culture and Political Activism in Hanoverian England: The Example of Voluntary Hospitals', in Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany*



institutions made a similarly positive contribution to the growth of colonial civil society.

Finally, it should be stated that the thesis is primarily interested in those colonies in the eastern hemisphere where the Church of England was considered to be 'established' or where the Church's primary role – at least initially – was to provide spiritual instruction to the expatriate population. Therefore, the thesis does not include South Australia, a colony which was created without any established Church, and New Zealand and Ceylon, where from the outset the Church was primarily a missionary institution which was focused on converting the indigenous inhabitants. While the thesis makes occasional references to the Church in the western hemisphere, there is no room here to provide a systematic comparison of the expansion of the Church in the eastern empire and in British North America and the Caribbean. There were, nevertheless, important connections between the Church establishments in the Canadas and the eastern hemisphere. For instance, the Canadian bishops developed schemes for synodical government at around the same time as their counterparts in South Africa and the Australian colonies were considering the issue. It should also be said that this thesis only occasionally refers to the important case of the Church of Ireland, an establishment which can be regarded as the first 'colonial' Church. The connections between Ireland and the rest of the empire are noted at points in the thesis. Chapter one notes that the 'Anglican design' which the Colonial Office implemented in the 1820s was strongly linked to the efforts which the revival of the Church of Ireland and the 'Second Reformation' movement in Ireland in the 1820s.<sup>46</sup> As we have already noted, the Whig ecclesiastical project began first in Ireland and then was implemented in other parts of the empire. Again, a study of the links between the colonial Churches and the Church of Ireland is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is hoped that this thesis encourages other historians to study the links between colonial Church reform and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870.

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*in the late eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 165-184; R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-50* (Manchester, 1990); idem., 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis', *The Historical Journal*, 26:1 (1983), pp. 95-118.

<sup>46</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'The New Reformation Movement in the Church of Ireland, 1801-29', in Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller (eds), *Piety and Power 1760-1960: Essays in honour of Emmet Larkin* (Belfast, 2000), pp. 180-208.



## Sources

This study is based on a wide-range of sources. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel archive held at Rhodes House Library was an extremely useful resource which allowed me to get a clear sense of how the Church expanded in the period after 1830. The private papers of colonial churchmen stored in the archive, coupled with the annual reports of the society, gave me an insight into the motors – both in Britain and in the colonies – which were driving Church expansion. A research trip to Sydney in February and March 2007 produced a great deal of information of the expansion of the Church in New South Wales throughout this period. The private papers of prominent churchmen such as William Grant Broughton (held at the Moore Theological College Library in Sydney) gave a vital insight into how the ‘second’ Anglican design actually worked. Locating sources on the colonial Churches prior to 1830 was more difficult, as only scattered documents relating to the Ecclesiastical Board for the Colonies – the department of the Colonial Office which was responsible for the colonial Churches after 1824 – are extant (those that do – an invaluable file on the recruitment of clergymen in the period between 1822 and 1826 – are stored at Rhodes House in the X-series of the USPG archive). The papers of the bishops of London (who were theoretically responsible for recruiting and selecting colonial clergymen) which are held at Lambeth Palace provided some information on the Church in the Napoleonic and immediate post-Napoleonic period. The archives of organisations such as the Colonial Church Society (stored at the Guildhall Library in London) and the Church Missionary Society (held at Birmingham and on microfilm in the University of York library) gave a perspective on the societies which competed with the SPG in the 1830s and 1840s.

The task of locating the social and educational backgrounds of the colonial clergy was accomplished by consulting the ‘blue books’ stored in The National Archives (in which the names of the clergy are listed) and a list of East India Company chaplains which is stored in the Asia, Pacifica and Africa Collections in the British Library.<sup>47</sup> The backgrounds of some of these clergy were then found in the alumni lists and on Arthur Burns’ invaluable on-line Clergy of the Church of England database, which contains biographical information on English clergy between 1540 and 1835.

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<sup>47</sup> British Library, London, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, Mss. Eur. D847, ‘The Chaplains of the East India Company’ by S. J. McNally.



Newspapers, lay periodicals and the petitions which were sent to the Colonial Office (and which are stored at the National Archives in London) gave some insight into the lay presence in the colonies. The dusty colonial newspapers stored at TNA and in the Mitchell Library in Sydney allowed me to track the frequent disagreements between the colonial laity and colonial bishops in the period after 1830. The Anglican laity who resided in India, although a small group, occasionally feature in the copious 'Ecclesiastical Proceedings' which are held in the India Office Records stored in the Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections at the British Library. These proceedings contain a number of petitions and memorials which the laity sent to the colonial authorities in India. This information provided the basis for much of the discussion on the vestry debates in chapter five. Lay petitions can also be found in *Parliamentary Papers* and in the private papers (such as the Burdett-Coutts papers) stored at Lambeth Palace.

It is the nature of comparative history that the sources for some regions are more extensive than for other areas. The relatively small size of the Anglican community in India meant that the conflicts between the laity and the colonial bishops in the presidency towns may appear pale in comparison to the more dramatic events at the Cape and New South Wales. Nevertheless, this thesis has tried to show how the same debates surfaced with regional variations in different parts of the British world.

It should be stated that although I did secure funding for a field trip to Sydney, of the three case studies examined here, it is New South Wales which has been covered by the richest historiography. Excellent secondary works have been produced which cover the career of the colonial Church in Australia in this period.<sup>48</sup> The main protagonists in Church expansion in this period – individuals such as William Grant Broughton – have also been the subject of biographies.<sup>49</sup> Despite the wealth of secondary literature on the Church in Australia, this thesis addresses a number of questions which either have not been asked before or which have received only partial coverage in the existing literature. More specifically, this thesis attempts to uncover the connections between Church reform debates and the wider constitutional reform movement which gathered pace in the colony in the 1840s and early 1850s. Existing accounts of constitutional reform politics rarely make any reference to the lay movement

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<sup>48</sup> For example, Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia* (London, 1962); Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable (eds), *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, 1987).

<sup>49</sup> G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton, 1788-1853: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic* (Melbourne, 1978).

which emerged in the late 1840s and which resisted bishop Broughton's plans for a diocesan synod. Similarly, ecclesiastical historians have largely underestimated the wider significance of the campaign against the synods. This thesis therefore uses the existing literature on the colonial Churches as a platform for addressing a series of new questions. Finally, in contrast to this existing literature, this thesis places the individual national Churches within a broader imperial perspective.



## CHAPTER ONE

### **Anglican Church expansion and the recruitment of colonial clergy for New South Wales, the Cape Colony and Bengal, c. 1790-1850**

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the dramatic expansion of the Anglican Church in both the eastern and western hemispheres. Before the establishment of the bishopric at Calcutta in 1813, the Anglican presence in the colonial world had been largely confined to British North America. Bishoprics had been established in Nova Scotia in 1783 and Quebec in 1793, and a system of clergy reserves was introduced to support the Church of England in Upper Canada in 1791.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in the late eighteenth-century empire the Anglican presence was meagre. The East India Company maintained a small number of Anglican clergymen and a handful of military chaplains were stationed in New South Wales and the Cape Colony.<sup>2</sup> In the early nineteenth century, however, the position of the Anglican Church outside of North America was revived. The system of church-state relations which had been worked out in British North America was applied to other parts of the empire: bishoprics were established at Jamaica and Barbados in 1824 and an archdeaconry was erected in New South Wales in the same period. Wherever possible, the British model of religious establishment was introduced to the colonies. The expansion of the Church continued apace in the 1830s and 1840s. The Colonial Bishoprics' Fund, which was established in 1841, provided funds for the erection of eleven bishoprics between 1841 and 1849.<sup>3</sup>

As the frontiers of the Anglican empire expanded outwards, so the 'mission' of the Church of England in the colonies gradually changed. According to the historian Christopher Bayly, the colonial Church in the Napoleonic period performed a counter-revolutionary function. In British North America, for instance, the Church's role was to assimilate settlers who may have been exposed to republican ideologies emanating from the United States. Bayly shows how the Church in India was charged with bringing Company servants who had been

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<sup>1</sup> Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816* (London, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, there were only seven chaplains stationed in Bengal in 1788. Henry Barry Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal. Being a History of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Honourable East India Company in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Calcutta, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> James S. M. Anderson, *The History of the Church of England, in the foreign dependencies of the British Empire* (3 vols, London, 1856), vol. 3, pp. 714-15.

‘enervated’ by contact with the indigenous population back within the Anglican fold.<sup>4</sup> The Church’s role in the early nineteenth century was therefore to assimilate marginal and recalcitrant groups. In the post-war period, however, the Church’s function was modified. In this period there was a need for a Church which could cater for the spiritual needs of the increasing numbers of European immigrants who were settling in colonies such as the Cape and New South Wales. In both these colonies military chaplains were gradually replaced by chaplains who held civilian appointments. Attempts were also made in the 1810s and 1820s to transfer the model of the parochial Church from England to the colonies. But by the late 1840s the priorities of colonial Churchmen had again begun to shift. Until the late 1840s the Church and organisations such as the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel (the Church’s outreach association) assumed that their prime duty was to provide spiritual instruction to the settler population. Backed by reformist currents within the Church at home, colonial bishops and metropolitan churchmen in the 1840s argued that the time had come for the Church to realise its missionary obligations to non-Christians and non-whites. By the early 1850s the Church’s energies were increasingly directed towards the establishment of missionary Churches which were focused on ‘missionary bishops’ who would work beyond the settler dominion.<sup>5</sup>

This is a story which will be familiar to most historians of missionary expansion and the colonial churches.<sup>6</sup> Given this, it is surprising that we know very little about the forces in metropolitan Britain which drove overseas Anglican expansion. More specifically, little research has been done on the administrative structures back in Britain which supported this expansion. Consequently, we know almost nothing about how government-sponsored colonial clergymen were recruited, what institutions were responsible for making appointments, and what kind of social and educational backgrounds the recruits came from.<sup>7</sup> While there is a growing literature on the recruitment techniques of

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<sup>4</sup> Christopher Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> Peter C. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Lieden, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> The changing character of the colonial Church is described in Andrew Porter, ‘Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire’, in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. III: The nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 222-46; see also Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Though an attempt has been made to examine the recruitment of clergymen for the continental chaplaincies: John E. Pinnington, ‘Anglican chaplaincies in post-Napoleonic Europe: A strange variation of the Pax-Britannica’, *Church History*, 39:3 (1970), pp. 327-44.



the Protestant missionary societies,<sup>8</sup> little has been written about the Colonial Office's selection procedures. Prominent colonial clergy have been the subject of biographies<sup>9</sup>, but as yet no prosopographical analysis of the group as a whole exists. Studies on the metropolitan clergy also rarely mention individuals who worked outside mainland Britain.<sup>10</sup>

This chapter aims to fill this lacuna in the existing literature by examining the recruitment of clergymen for three different colonial regions: New South Wales, the Cape Colony and Bengal. The chapter shows how the shifts in the Church's overseas mission were, to some extent, reflected in changes in the ways in which colonial clergymen were recruited. In particular, this chapter will draw attention to the important changes in the recruitment process which were introduced in the 1820s. In 1824 an Ecclesiastical Board for the Colonies was established as a department of the Colonial Office. The establishment of the Board has been largely ignored by historians<sup>11</sup> which is perhaps surprising when one considers that it was the first government organisation which was directly responsible for sending clergymen to the colonies (though it was not responsible for sending clergymen to India: East India Company chaplains continued to be recruited by the Board of Directors). The Board – which was staffed by the Bishop of London, the archbishops and a secretary – regularised the appointment procedure and allowed the ecclesiastical authorities in Britain to exercise a closer supervision over the expansion of the Church (prior to the creation of the Board the recruitment of colonial clergymen had been the sole responsibility of the Bishop of London). This chapter will show how the creation of the Board was part of the Colonial Office's wider attempt to establish parochial Churches in several of the Crown colonies in this period. An attempt was made to staff colonial chaplaincies with men who had been educated at university and who had experience of clerical work in mainland Britain, either as curates or incumbents of parishes. This contrasted with the situation before the establishment of the

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<sup>8</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India* (Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984).

<sup>9</sup> For instance, see Alexander T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden, The Great Survivor* (Victoria, 1968); there are some comments on the clergy in New South Wales in Kenneth J. Cable, 'Some Anglican Clergy of the 1840s', *Descent*, 4:2 (1969), pp. 41-55.

<sup>10</sup> A notable example is Alan Haig's 1984 study *The Victorian Clergy* (Sydney, 1984), which despite being published in Sydney makes almost no reference to the colonial clergy.

<sup>11</sup> The creation of the Board is briefly mentioned by the Australian historian John Eddy, but he does not elaborate on the role which it played in recruiting men for the colonies: John Eddy, *Britain and the Australian Colonies, 1818-1831: The Technique of Government* (Oxford, 1969), p. 264.

Board, when the colonial authorities had paid less attention to the individual's academic qualifications and previous experience. Although sources pertaining to the Ecclesiastical Board are somewhat patchy, records relating to the selection of clergymen in the period from 1822 to 1826 do still survive.<sup>12</sup> From these records it has been possible to build a picture of how the Board operated and what kind of men it was interested in recruiting.

The second half of the chapter examines the recruitment of colonial clergymen in the period after 1830. As we have already noted, this was a period of considerable change for the colonial Church. As the state withdrew its support for Anglican expansion the Church was forced to rely on its own resources. One aspect of this change was that the state handed responsibility for finding clergymen to the Church and the SPG (the Ecclesiastical Board was abolished in 1833). Despite these wider changes in the ecclesiastical policy, the aims of the colonial Church remained largely unaltered. The priority was to still to meet the spiritual wants of European settlers rather than to convert the non-white indigenous population. For instance, the Colonial Bishops' Fund, which was established in 1841, was initially concerned with providing the British settlements overseas with bishops and clergy. What had changed, however, were the personnel who were responsible for recruiting clergy and extending the Church overseas. From the mid-1830s onwards it was largely the high church party which provided the impetus for Church expansion. The second half of the chapter examines the impact which the high church party had on the recruitment of clergymen in the 1830s and 1840s. This section attempts to answer a number of questions. To what extent did the requirements for entry into the colonial Church change as a result of the increasing prominent role which the bishops played in colonial Church extension? Did the SPG and the colonial bishops take a particular interest in receiving men from a particular social class or educational background?

While this chapter is primarily interested in showing how the recruitment of clergymen mirrored wider shifts in the Church's mission, it also highlights those instances when the recruitment system was controlled by groups whose agendas did not always correlate with those of the ecclesiastical and colonial authorities who ran the Church in the colonies. A notable example is provided by the recruitment of colonial clergymen in the Napoleonic period. As we noted

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<sup>12</sup> The only extant records relating to the Ecclesiastical Board can be found in Rhodes House Library, Oxford, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archive, X-Series, X-154, General Correspondence Book.



earlier, scholars such as Christopher Bayly have argued that the established Church was one of the main supports of the conservative and autocratic order which spread with regional variations across the British Empire in the period between 1780 and 1830.<sup>13</sup> This interpretation fails to recognise that in the Napoleonic period the recruitment of clergymen was controlled by prominent members of the 'Evangelical' party of the Church of England. This group of metropolitan-based evangelicals was responsible for the appointment of a series of 'pious chaplains' to the East India Company's ecclesiastical establishment in the period between roughly 1790 and 1820. Although the evangelical role in recruitment has been noted before,<sup>14</sup> the first section traces the nature of this evangelical network in more detail and highlights the important role which it played in the recruitment of clergymen for New South Wales as well as India. Evidence of evangelical contribution to the recruitment of colonial clergymen suggests that the Church's mission was more complicated than historians such as Bayly have suggested. Instead of there being one mission – i.e. to provide spiritual instruction of soldiers and settlers – the presence of evangelical chaplains in the empire (whose interest was rarely confined to ministering to the European population) suggests that the aims and objectives of church and state in the colonial context often conflicted.

Finally, this chapter seeks to illuminate the ways in which the expansion of the Church overseas was challenged by recruitment problems back in Britain. Convincing young university graduates and more experienced clergymen to go overseas was a perennial problem. Henry Goulburn, the under-secretary of state for the colonies between 1812 and 1821, was recorded as telling the House of Commons in 1819 that it was difficult to 'induce clergymen to abandon Europe for New South Wales, or indeed for any other country'.<sup>15</sup> Another problem was that the various recruitment bodies had trouble finding men of the right educational and social backgrounds. The preference from the 1820s onwards was to select men who had been educated at one of the ancient universities and who were preferably English. By the 1830s and 1840s colonial ecclesiastical establishments were home to a wide range of Irish, evangelical, and non-graduate

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<sup>13</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 137-44; Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, ch. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Penelope Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ: Evangelicals and India, 1788-1833', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1988); Peter J. Marshall, 'The moral swing to the East: British humanitarianism, India and the West Indies', in Peter J. Marshall, *'A Free Though Conquering People': Eighteenth-Century Britain and its Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 69-95.

<sup>15</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, series 1, xxxix (18 February, 1819), col. 490.



clergy. The diversity of the colonial clerical workforce was an anathema to colonial bishops who wished to anglicise the Church overseas. Nevertheless, the diversity of the colonial clerical workforce to some extent mirrored the plurality of the colonial communities which they served.

**(i) Voluntary networks and the appointment of colonial clergy, c. 1788-1820**

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the Anglican Church in the eastern hemisphere existed as an arm of the military establishment. The clergy in New South Wales, the Cape, and in the Indian presidencies were all regarded as members of the military establishment and were instructed to perform their duties according to military rules and discipline. Although the chaplains' chief function was to provide spiritual instruction to the troops, emphasis was also placed on their roles as upholders of public morality. Chaplains were supposed to raise the moral calibre and respectability of their congregations. This was particularly important in the Indian context, where the Warren Hastings debacle had raised questions about the morality of the Company's imperial mission. The increase in chaplains in India was related to a wider drive to reform the manners and morality of the European population in India, a policy associated with the governor generalships of Lord Cornwallis and Richard Wellesley.<sup>16</sup>

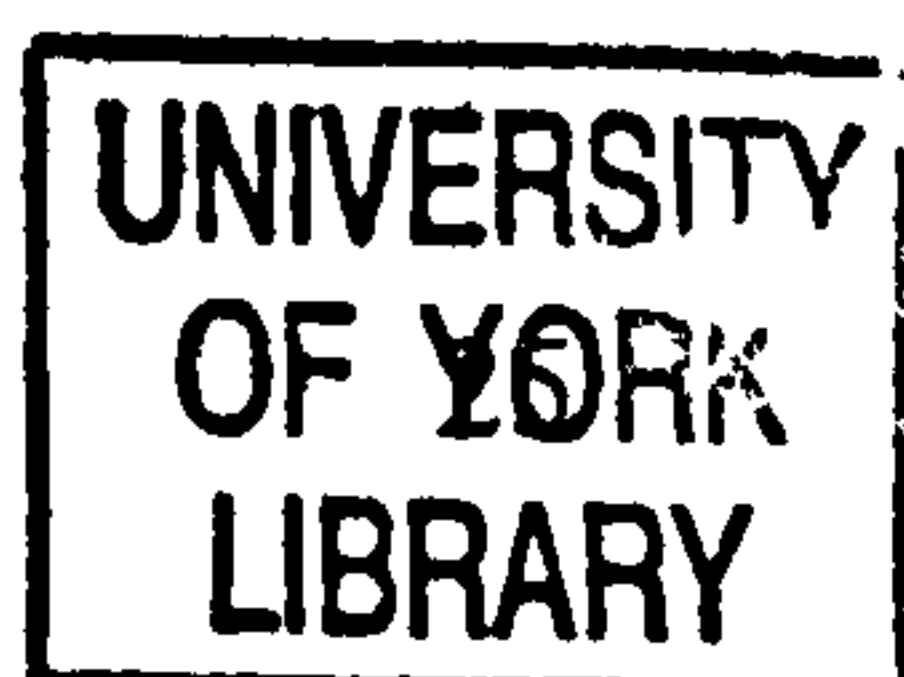
A number of agencies were responsible for sending chaplains to the colonies. By an order-in-council passed in 1633 the Bishop of London had full jurisdiction over Anglican communities abroad, and in theory the Bishop was required to sanction all appointments to overseas chaplaincies.<sup>17</sup> Generally, however, the task of finding suitable candidates devolved on other organisations. The SPG had taken a prominent role in the recruitment of clergymen for the colonies in the Caribbean and British North America in the eighteenth century. The military chaplains stationed at the Cape were selected by the Chaplain-General's Department of the War Office, which had been established in 1796 to control all army chaplains.<sup>18</sup> All the chaplains sent to India were selected by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Appointments to the ecclesiastical

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India*, II:1, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 78.

<sup>17</sup> Pinnington, 'Anglican chaplaincies in post-Napoleonic Europe', p. 328.

<sup>18</sup> Keith Edghill, 'Dangerous Doctrines! The Battle for Anglican Supremacy in the British Army, 1810-1865', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 80 (2002), pp. 36-57.





establishment were made in much the same way as young men were appointed to 'writerships'. There was no open competition and individuals were nominated by a patron. While the appointment of chaplains to India was regulated, there was no central agency responsible for the sending out of clergymen to the other colonial locations. The SPG, which had played a central role in sending men to British North America in the eighteenth century, made little effort to supply the colonies in the eastern hemisphere with clergy (prior to 1820 the society only supported two schoolmasters in New South Wales).

Yet in spite of the existence of these various bodies, the actual task of finding men for the colonies was left to non-state groups and networks. The practice by which clergymen were recommended to the Court of Directors by patrons opened up considerable space for private individuals and voluntary groups to influence the appointment of Company chaplains. The extent to which the recruitment of clergymen in the early nineteenth century was dominated by voluntary agencies and individuals can be seen by the role which the Church evangelical party – or Clapham Sect as they are more famously known – played in the appointment of the chaplains sent to India and New South Wales. The Clapham group's involvement in the appointment of chaplains was prompted by William Wilberforce's failure to have the 'pious clause' included in the Company's new charter in 1793 (the clause would have obliged the Company to send out schoolmasters and chaplains for the instruction and education of both the British community and the Indian population in each of its three presidencies). In the wake of this failure the Church evangelicals concentrated on advancing the cause of missions by sending out evangelical chaplains to India. It was the presence of Charles Grant on the Board of Control from 1794 – himself a member of Clapham group – which allowed the Evangelical party to dominate the appointment of clergymen for the next two decades. Grant relied on Charles Simeon at Cambridge to supply him with a steady stream of evangelical undergraduates who were willing to take up positions in India. In addition to sending out well-known chaplains such as David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie and Thomas Thomason, Simeon provided a host of less celebrated individuals. The correspondence between Simeon and Grant at Ridley Hall reveals the names of twenty-five other Cambridge scholars who Simeon considered sending out to India between 1805 and 1815.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The correspondence can be found in Ridley Hall Archives, Cambridge, Letters from Charles Simeon, Box 2.

Simeon's early involvement in the selection of Company chaplains established a close relationship between Cambridge and the Company's ecclesiastical establishment. Sixteen of the thirty-three chaplains appointed prior to the establishment of the episcopate at Calcutta in 1813 were from Cambridge colleges. The majority of the chaplains who Simeon sent out to India were men from modest backgrounds who displayed considerable evangelical fervour. Of the twenty-six individuals mentioned in the correspondence between Grant and Simeon, ten were 'sizars' – a title given to men who could not afford the cost of education at Cambridge and who had to find financial support elsewhere. The more famous 'pious chaplains' were likewise all from fairly lowly backgrounds. Buchanan's father was an Inverary schoolmaster, Thomason's was a schoolmaster, and Martyn came from Cornwall where his father had been a clerk. It should be noted that the majority of the individuals who Simeon approached refused his offer (only eight of the twenty-six mentioned in the correspondence agreed to go to India), and those who accepted seem to have done so because they had few other options.

Although Grant and Simeon played a key role in the appointment of chaplains, they did not monopolise the recruitment process. Any individual who was recommended by a private patron could expect to be appointed to the Company's ecclesiastical establishment. Among the chaplains appointed to Bengal before 1813 were six individuals whose fathers are listed in the alumni lists as apparently well-off gentlemen or esquires. Edward Brodie, a chaplain appointed to Dinapore in 1812, was the fourth son of a baronet. Simeon was therefore not entirely correct when he stated in later life that 'almost all the good men who have gone thither [India] [...] have been recommended by me'.<sup>20</sup>

The involvement of the Clapham Sect in the recruitment of chaplains for India has been treated as an important part of a wider 'moral swing to the east' which occurred in the aftermath of the abolition of the slave trade.<sup>21</sup> Yet if we take the sending out of evangelical clergymen as a register of the growing interest which humanitarians and philanthropists showed towards the British possessions in the east, the role which the Clapham group took in the appointment of clergymen for New South Wales suggests that this 'swing to the east' extended as far as the Australian colonies. It was through the influence of

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<sup>20</sup> Simeon wrote this comment on the back of an application, dated September 1787, from four evangelicals in India asking for support for a mission to Bengal. See RHA, Simeon Box 2, f. 38.

<sup>21</sup> Marshall, 'The moral swing to the East', pp. 69-95.



Wilberforce, John Newton, and Henry Thornton that William Pitt agreed to send an Anglican chaplain to New South Wales on the First Fleet. The first three chaplains appointed to New South Wales – Richard Johnson, John Crowther<sup>22</sup> and Samuel Marsden – all came from Magdalene College, and had all come under the sway of Charles Simeon. All three were from relatively humble backgrounds in the north of England (indeed Wilberforce found Crowther ‘rough’<sup>23</sup>) and all had been sent to Magdalene by the Leeds-based Elland Society, a provincial evangelical organisation which raised money to enable young men from poor backgrounds to enter the ministry. Johnson and Marsden appear to have had some contact with Methodism in their early years, possibly as a result of their education at Hull Grammar School, whose head in this period was Calvinistic Methodist Joseph Milner.<sup>24</sup>

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the responsibility for finding chaplains for New South Wales gradually passed from Wilberforce and the members of the immediate Clapham circle to provincial evangelicals in Yorkshire. The man who appears to have been responsible for finding suitable candidates was Miles Atkinson, the curate of St Paul’s Church Leeds, a member of the Elland Society and a friend of Samuel Marsden. Atkinson found the task difficult. Atkinson told Marsden that all the missionary societies found it difficult to find volunteers and because of this they often ‘have recourse to Germany to get the few that are willing to offer themselves’.<sup>25</sup> Atkinson thought he had found a suitable man in 1808 but he quickly discovered that he was unsuitable as ‘he spells dreadfully & shews very great ignorance’.<sup>26</sup> These problems meant that Marsden himself was forced to travel to England in 1808 in search of candidates for the colonial chaplaincy. As a result of this tour Marsden received official sanction to send William Cowper and Richard Cartwright as chaplains to New South Wales, while John Hosking, a Methodist, was chosen as schoolmaster to

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<sup>22</sup> Crowther never took up his chaplaincy in New South Wales. The ship which took him there hit an iceberg and a badly shaken Crowther returned to Britain.

<sup>23</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, London, Fulham Papers, Porteus Papers, vol. 3, William Wilberforce to Bishop Beilby Porteus, June 27, 1789, f. 263.

<sup>24</sup> For the Elland Society, see Alexander T. Yarwood, ‘The making of a colonial chaplain: Samuel Marsden and the Elland Society, 1765-93’, *Historical Studies: Australia & New Zealand*, 16 (1975), pp. 362-80.

<sup>25</sup> Mitchell Library, Sydney, Marsden Papers, A1992, Miles Atkinson to Samuel Marsden, July 13, 1805, ff. 33-34; since the early seventeenth century the majority of SPCK-sponsored missionaries in India were German Lutherans: Penelope Carson, ‘The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience: The Ambiguities of Religious Establishment and Toleration, 1698-1833’, in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2001), pp. 47-48.

<sup>26</sup> ML, Marsden Papers, A1992, Atkinson to Marsden, Leeds, June 4, 1808, f. 69.



the Orphan School at Parramatta.<sup>27</sup> Like Marsden, both Cowper and Cartwright were products of the northern evangelical revival. Both had held posts as curates in England (Cowper was curate at Rawdon at Leeds – Marsden's former stomping ground – and Cartwright held a post at Bradford), and Cartwright had been educated at the strongly evangelical St. Edmund Hall at Oxford.

In all, nine clergymen were appointed to serve as chaplains in New South Wales before 1820. There was tremendous variety in their social and educational backgrounds. This variety was indicative of the limited concern which the British government showed towards the Church establishment in the colony. Prior to being appointed a regular crown chaplaincy in 1811, Henry Fulton, a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, had been transported for life as a result of his part in the 1798 uprising in Ireland. Another chaplain, John Youl, was a Congregational minister and a missionary of the London Missionary Society who had spent time as a lay preacher in New South Wales. In 1815 Youl received a commission from Earl Bathurst (the secretary of state for the colonies from 1812) to serve as chaplain in Van Diemen's Land but spent three years as chaplain at Liverpool in New South Wales. The remaining three chaplains were Benjamin Vale – a military chaplain who had been educated at Christs' College Cambridge – and John Cross and Richard Hill, neither of whom had any formal higher education.

The Cape of Good Hope did not come within the orbit of evangelical concern and there is no evidence to suggest that the Clapham Sect had any involvement in the selection of chaplains to the colony. Before 1811 the only Anglican clergymen who had worked in the colony had been the military chaplains who had accompanied the British forces stationed at the Cape. Some of these men were of doubtful quality: Laurence Halloran, who had been previously accused of murder, had used forged documents to obtain his position as a military chaplain at the Cape.<sup>28</sup> The first permanent civilian chaplain stationed at the Cape was Richard Jones, another 'sizar' and graduate of St. John's College Cambridge. While Jones can be described as an evangelical, his successor, George Hough (appointed 1813), was a high churchman who had come under the tutorship of the Hackney high churchman William Howley when he was at Pembroke College Oxford (Howley was Regius Chair of Divinity at Oxford until his appointment as Bishop of London in 1813).<sup>29</sup> Bathurst's appointment of Hough

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<sup>27</sup> Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, p. 116.

<sup>28</sup> See Augustus T. Wirgman, *The History of the English Church and People in South Africa* (New York, 1898), pp. 119-120, for information on the military chaplains.

<sup>29</sup> Alan F. Hattersley, 'George Hough: Senior Colonial Chaplain, 1817-47', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 12:4 (1958), p. 146.



indicates that by the mid-1810s the Colonial Office was interested in taking a more direct role in the appointment of colonial chaplains.

This section has suggested that prior to 1820 there was no systematic system in place for sending chaplains to the eastern colonies. The colonial authorities appear to have considerable trouble finding men for the colonies and were often obliged to accept the services of dissenters and, in the case of New South Wales, former convicts. Miles Atkinson noted that men were unlikely to willingly accept colonial positions: he told Marsden that colonial service was regarded as a 'dreadful banishment' in Yorkshire.<sup>30</sup> However, for evangelicals such as Richard Johnson, the relatively incoherent nature of the recruitment procedure did have its benefits. When Youl was ordained and appointed to the New South Wales chaplaincy in 1815, Johnson – then a rector in the City of London – wrote a letter to the Bishop of London expressing his satisfaction that a man with no formal classical education had secured a position. The colonies, Johnson argued, required 'clergymen of sincere piety & religious zeal' rather than men with university educations. 'Plain pious men', Johnson continued, 'carrying the simple word of God, & in their general conduct walking consistent both with their profession & sacred office, maybe of incalculable benefit to those poor ignorant & too general depraved people that are sent hither from time to time from this Country'.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, the Company's recruitment procedures opened up space for the appointment of a significant number of evangelical men from relatively humble backgrounds. The differences between these colonial chaplains and the 'missionaries' who were sent out by the CMS and other voluntary evangelical societies were therefore often blurred.

So to what extent do these findings alter our understanding of church-state relations in the British Empire in the Napoleonic period? This section has only been able to cover the recruitment of clergymen for three of the eastern colonies, and naturally more work needs to be done on the men who were sent to the Caribbean and British North America before any definite conclusions can be reached.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the information presented here suggests that historians such as Bayly have overestimated the strength of the connections between the military authorities and the colonial chaplaincies. The fact that no central

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<sup>30</sup> ML, Marsden Papers, CY A1992, Atkinson to Marsden, July 13, 1805, f. 34.

<sup>31</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, volume 25, Richard Johnson to Bishop Howley, March 16, 1815, f. 111.

<sup>32</sup> The names of the individuals who were sent to British North America and the Caribbean between 1748 and 1824 can be found in William W. Manross, *The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonies Section Calendar and Indexes* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 297-322.

organisation existed for the recruitment of colonial clergymen also raises doubts about the extent to which the British government was committed to extending the Church overseas. The actual task of recruiting individuals devolved on non-state and non-military organisations. This section has suggested that it was an evangelical rather than military agenda which drove the recruitment of colonial clergymen in this period. The primary concern of evangelical chaplains in New South Wales and India was not to uphold the established order, but rather to bring the gospel to non-Christian populations.

However, it should be stated that a study of the recruitment of colonial chaplains in the Napoleonic period qualifies rather than overturns the argument that the Napoleonic period saw a revival of the alliance between Church and state in the colonial world. Although the evangelicals who were selected by the Clapham group were often viewed with suspicion by the colonial military authorities (this theme is to be discussed in more detail in chapter two), the chaplains were not necessarily opponents of the autocratic and conservative order. Clapham evangelicals consciously tried to distance themselves from Calvinistic and 'enthusiastic' evangelicals.<sup>33</sup> Bayly and J. C. D. Clark both note that moderate evangelicals could defend the established authorities as vociferously as their high church counterparts.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, Claudius Buchanan, one of the most prominent of the 'pious chaplains', published a series of pamphlets between 1805 and 1813 which advocated the extension of the full machinery of the 'National Church' overseas.<sup>35</sup>

It was not until the post-1815 period that the pattern of colonial church-state relations which had been developed in British North America in the late eighteenth century was applied to other areas of the empire. In the 1820s an Ecclesiastical Board for the Colonies was established, a system of clergy reserves was introduced to New South Wales, and additional clergymen were sent to the

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<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne, 'The foundation of the Church Missionary Society: the Anglican missionary impulse', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 254-55.

<sup>34</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, p. 141; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 247.

<sup>35</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India; both as a means of perpetuating the Christian religion among our own countrymen; and as a foundation for the ultimate civilisation of the natives* (London, 1805); *idem.*, *Colonial ecclesiastical establishment: being a brief view of the state of the colonies of Great Britain, and of her Asiatic empire, in respect to religious instruction...To which is added, a brief sketch of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India* (London, 1813).



Caribbean and other parts of the empire. It is to these developments that this chapter now turns.

## **(ii) The recruitment of colonial clergy after 1820**

This section examines the extent to which the procedures for selecting colonial clergymen were transformed by the introduction of the 1819 Colonial Clergy Act and the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board for the Colonies in 1824. Both of these initiatives were designed to give central government and the Church hierarchy greater control over the selection of colonial clergymen. The Colonial Clergy Act, which Bathurst introduced to the Lords in May 1819, was designed to resolve the irregularities surrounding the ordination of colonial clergy. The Bill handed responsibility for the ordination of colonial clergymen to the archbishops of York and Canterbury, as well as to the Bishop of London. The main aim of the bill, however, was to make it more difficult for clergymen who had served in the colonies to subsequently take up positions in mainland Britain. When he introduced the bill to the Lords on May 26, 1819, Bathurst noted that many of the individuals who had been ordained for service in the colonies had in fact never left Britain and had instead used their ordination papers to find a position in England. To prevent this practice, the bill recommended that returning colonial clergy would have to present a certificate of good conduct from the colonial bishop before they could take up metropolitan positions. Bathurst was recorded as saying that these regulations would 'prevent persons who might be very proper for communicating religious instruction in the colonies, but less suited to that duty here, from availing themselves of the character they had acquired, to enter on the care of souls in this country'.<sup>36</sup> The introduction of the Act gives us some sense of the suspicions which many senior colonial officials had of colonial clergymen in this period.

The second initiative, the Ecclesiastical Board, was the first government body which had full responsibility for providing the colonies with clergymen. The Board was designed to provide the Bishop of London and the archbishops with more accurate information on the educational and personal backgrounds of the individual applicants. It is not entirely clear where the idea for the Board originated. Correspondence between Robert Wilmot-Horton (Goulburn's

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<sup>36</sup> *P.D.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. xl (May 26, 1819), col. 802.

successor as under-secretary) and William Howley, the Bishop of London, suggests that the Board was Howley's idea. Howley had told the Colonial Office that he did not have the 'means of obtaining the information with respect to the qualifications of Candidates for Colonial Clerical situations which it is so necessary & desirable to possess'.<sup>37</sup> But if we dig a little deeper it appears that the first suggestion for a Board may have been made by Thomas Hobbes Scott, who had been appointed as the first archdeacon of New South Wales in 1824. An undated Colonial Office memorandum noted that at a meeting between Scott and Howley the former had pointed out that several of the chaplains who had been sent to New South Wales were not strictly eligible to serve as clergymen. Scott noted that they had been appointed because the secretary of the Bishop of London had only verified the signatures on the testimonials and letters of orders of these applicants, and had not made any inquiry into the personal character of the individuals. Scott called for the establishment of a Board which would take into their own hands the jurisdiction of the colonial Church and which would properly supervise the appointment procedure.<sup>38</sup>

The expansion of the Anglican Church in the 1820s has often been regarded as the brain-child of Earl Bathurst.<sup>39</sup> It is perhaps surprising therefore that Bathurst was initially sceptical of the proposed Board as he was fearful that such a body would compromise the authority of the newly-established bishops in the Caribbean. He added that there was little need for a central recruitment agency as the colonial bishops could appoint their own clergy. Educational institutions in the colonies could also be relied upon to furnish a supply of locally-trained clergy. Bathurst's attitude towards the projected Board appears to have changed once he was assured that the Board's duties would extend no further than the selection of suitable candidates for the colonial establishments.<sup>40</sup> The Board which was finally established in 1824 was composed of Edward Venables-Vernon, the archbishop of York, Charles Manners-Sutton, the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Howley. Its secretary was the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, a pluralist who was rector of Loughton in Essex, prebendary of Wells, rector at St. Pancras, chaplain in ordinary to the sovereign, and

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<sup>37</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 24, Robert Wilmot-Horton to Howley, November 15, 1824, f. 144.

<sup>38</sup> The National Archives, Kew, London, CO 201/157, undated memorandum, f. 264.

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, Eddy, *Britain and the Australian Colonies*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 144-46.



secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1825 Hamilton was also appointed as the first chaplain-general to the colonies.<sup>41</sup>

So why was the Colonial Office so eager to resolve the irregularities surrounding the recruitment of colonial clergymen? The establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board was an aspect of the greater emphasis which colonial administrators placed on the position of the colonial Church in the post-war period. While he was initially sceptical of the Board, the driving forces behind colonial policy in this period do seem to have been Earl Bathurst and the under-secretary, Henry Goulburn: both were devout Anglicans (Goulburn has been described as one of the several evangelical ministers in Lord Liverpool's government),<sup>42</sup> and both assumed that the Church would uphold the established order in both the colonies and the metropolis. Goulburn used the 1816 slave revolt on Barbados as an opportunity to assert the supremacy of the Anglican Church in the Caribbean. Immediately after the revolt Goulburn issued a circular instructing each of the slave colony governors to give greater assistance to the Anglican Church. The circular also asked for accurate returns on the number of clergy and the size of congregations.<sup>43</sup> Additional clergymen were subsequently sent to each of principal British colonies in the Caribbean. In 1825 the Anglican presence in Jamaica was comprised of one bishop, one archdeacon, and seven ministers.<sup>44</sup> Three years later the ecclesiastical return revealed that there were twenty Anglican ministers on the island.<sup>45</sup> Steps were taken to strengthen the Church in other parts of the empire. In New South Wales a Church and Schools Corporation was established to supervise the clergy reserves which had been allocated for the support of the Church. A similar system of clergy reserves was mooted for the Cape Colony in 1822.<sup>46</sup> An attempt was also made to give the Church a more prominent role in the provision of education in the colonies. In Upper Canada an attempt was made to replace the non-denominational schools which had been established by an Act of 1816 with a system of schools modelled on the 'National Schools' which the 'National Society for the Education of the Poor' had introduced in Britain since 1811. Bishop Strachan was later appointed

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<sup>41</sup> Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, (6 vols, London, 1965), vol. 1, p. 1299.

<sup>42</sup> Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford, 1988), p. 226-7.

<sup>43</sup> Brian Jenkins, *Henry Goulburn, 1784-1856: A Political Biography* (Liverpool, 1996), pp. 119-21.

<sup>44</sup> *Return of Number of Bishops and Ministers of the Established Church in W. Indies*, Parliamentary Papers, 1825 [351], xxi, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> TNA, CO 142/41.

<sup>46</sup> University of York Library, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/1, Anthony Hamilton to Wilmot-Horton, May 18, 1822, f. 99.



president of the General Board of Education for Upper Canada, a position which gave him almost complete control over popular education.<sup>47</sup> Attempts were also made to establish National Schools in the Caribbean and New South Wales.<sup>48</sup>

The main aim of these policies was to strengthen and extend the parish system in the colonies. Efforts were made in the 1820s to improve clerical discipline and the quality of pastoral care which was provided by the Anglican clergy. Thomas Hobbes Scott, who had travelled to New South Wales as an assistant to the commissioner J.T. Bigge in the early 1820s, was the author of a report which outlined a series of measures which was designed to strengthen the parish system and to expand the influence of the established Church.<sup>49</sup> Scott also made efforts to reform what he considered to be the poor level of clerical residency and the quality of religious instruction provided by the evangelical clergy who had preceded him. In November 1825 Scott sent a circular to his clergy instructing them 'not use any Prayers but such as are in the Liturgy'.<sup>50</sup> The creation of a bishopric at Calcutta can also be seen as part of this wider attempt to strengthen the parish system. In an early charge to his clergy Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, said that he hoped that they would be 'in all respects placed upon the footing of parochial incumbents', and that each of them 'was to have his parish church, to which he was to be assisted in the superintendence of his flock by churchwardens and overseers, as the parochial clergy in England'. Like Scott, Middleton was determined to bring order and discipline to the Church in India. Middleton called on his clergy to conform to the order and discipline of the established Church. The clergy were told to abide by the 'rubric and canons of our church', even to the extent of wearing the appropriate dress and of conducting marriages at appropriate times and, wherever possible, in churches rather than in private homes.<sup>51</sup>

A link can be made between the attempts which the Colonial Office made to reform and strengthen the parochial system in the colonies with the

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<sup>47</sup> Bernard Hyams, 'The Colonial Office and Educational Policy in British North America and Australia before 1850', *Historical Studies in Education*, 2:2 (1990), p. 326.

<sup>48</sup> *Papers respecting the Religious Instruction of the Slaves in the West Indies*, PP, 1826-27 [009], xxvi.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, CO 201/157, Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes Scott to Earl Bathurst, March 30, 1824, ff. 170-85.

<sup>50</sup> ML, Letter Book of Thomas Hobbes Scott, A850, Scott to his clergy, Nov 25, 1825, ff. 134-135.

<sup>51</sup> 'A charge, delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Calcutta, at Calcutta the 7<sup>th</sup> December 1815, at Madras the 11<sup>th</sup> January, and at Bombay the 13<sup>th</sup> June 1816', Henry Kaye Bonney, *Sermons and Charges, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D. Late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. With Memoirs of His Life* (London, 1824), pp. 191, 201.



efforts which the British state and various voluntary organisations made in the same period to extend the established Church in Ireland. Stewart Brown has noted how the 1801 Act of Union prompted a renewed effort by Protestants in Britain to extend and strengthen the parochial system in Ireland. Additional clergy were appointed, clerical residency and discipline was improved, and a number of voluntary organisations, such as the Hibernian Bible Society and the Irish Sunday School Society, were established to provide a popular scriptural education to the Roman Catholic inhabitants. This 'second' or 'new reformation' was designed to extend the influence and authority of the established Church over the Irish population and to secure the conformity of the Roman Catholic population to both the Church of England and the United Kingdom.<sup>52</sup>

This colonial parochial Church performed different roles in different regions of the empire. In several areas, the function of the colonial Church was comparable to the Church of Ireland. In the Caribbean, for instance, the Church's role was essentially evangelical: its task was to convert slaves and other recalcitrant groups to the Anglican Church and to prevent the consolidation of other denominations. In New South Wales, it was the 'vicious and degraded state of a large proportion of the Population' which 'called for the labours of a numerous and active body of clergy' in that colony.<sup>53</sup> But elsewhere Bathurst's 'Anglican design' had alternative objectives. At the Cape, for instance, the aim was to provide spiritual instruction to the growing number of British settlers who arrived in this period (in the early 1820s some 4,000 Britons settled in the colony as a part of an assisted emigration scheme). Hamilton warned the Colonial Office that,

[u]nless additional means be afforded to them of deriving religious instruction from the sources to which they have been accustomed they will be compelled in preference to living altogether without the powers of partaking in the ordinances of religion to connect themselves with the Roman Catholics or the Dissenters.<sup>54</sup>

Similarly, the Colonial Office recognised that a more extensive ecclesiastical establishment was required to meet the spiritual needs of the growing number of free settlers and emancipists in New South Wales. In a letter to Viscount Sidmouth in 1817, Bathurst explained the extent to which the colony had been

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<sup>52</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'The New Reformation Movement in the Church of Ireland, 1801-29', in Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller (eds), *Piety and Power 1760-1960: Essays in honour of Emmet Larkin* (Belfast, 2000), pp. 180-208.

<sup>53</sup> TNA, CO 201/205, Hamilton to Sir George Murray, February 10, 1829, ff. 407-18.

<sup>54</sup> CO 323/209, Hamilton to W. Hay, February 11, 1828, ff. 231-4.



transformed as a result of free emigration and the growth in the number of emancipated convicts. Bathurst told Sidmouth that 'hopes may reasonably be entertained of its becoming, perhaps, at no distinct period, a valuable possession of the Crown'.<sup>55</sup> The Colonial Office was prepared to promote the expansion of this free society. The commission which was appointed by Bathurst in 1819 to inquire into the state of the colony was instructed to recommend ways in which the 'agricultural and commercial interests of the colony' could be promoted. An important aspect of this new vision was the establishment of a parochial Church.<sup>56</sup> J. T. Bigge, the conservative lawyer who led the commission, was instructed by Bathurst to attend to 'the possibility of diffusing throughout the colony adequate means of education and religious instruction'.<sup>57</sup>

To facilitate the expansion of the Church the Office introduced new methods for collecting data on Church extension. From 1828 onwards the Colonial Office began accumulating data on the status of the Church in all the Crown colonies. This project was proposed by Anthony Hamilton. Although he was primarily interested in tracking the expansion of the Church in the West Indian dioceses, Hamilton believed that information on the 'clerical establishments of the other Colonies would enable the Board to form an estimate of the spiritual concerns of His Majesty's foreign possessions generally'.<sup>58</sup> In July 1826 a circular was sent to each of the government chaplains stationed in the colonies which instructed them to provide the Colonial Office with annual reports that described the population of each parish, the regularity of services, the size of the congregations, the number of 'natives' and Europeans attending services, and the number of births and marriages celebrated in their parishes.<sup>59</sup> The introduction of a uniform procedure for counting Christian attendance in the colonies demonstrates that the colonial authorities in London were anxious to extend the Church in all the Crown colonies.

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<sup>55</sup> *Instructions to J. T. Bigge on Inquiry into State of the Colony of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, Parliamentary Papers, 1823 [532], xiv, Bathurst to Viscount Sidmouth, April 23, 1817, p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Eddy, *Britain and the Australian Colonies*, ch. 2.

<sup>57</sup> *Instructions to J. T. Bigge*, Parliamentary Papers, 1823 [532], xiv, Bathurst to John Thomas Bigge, January 6, 1819, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, X-Series, X-154 General Correspondence Book, Hamilton to Wilmot-Horton, November 1, 1825, ff. 79-80.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Queries addressed to the civil Chaplains in His Majesty's Colonies, by direction of the Secretary of State' dated July 1826, *ibid.*, ff. 244-46. The Office received the first returns in 1828. The first returns can be found in TNA, CO 323/209. The first returns from New South Wales can be found in CO 201/205.



The Ecclesiastical Board was charged with finding men to fill the additional posts which the Colonial Office's expansionist policies had created.<sup>60</sup> In the previous section we noted that Simeon was interested in recruiting, as he put it, 'young men of good talent, & of real, but sober, piety'.<sup>61</sup> By contrast, the Ecclesiastical Board was interested in recruiting men who were to work primarily among populations of Europeans and potentially recalcitrant slaves; hence, we might expect that the Board was interested in recruiting men from different social and educational backgrounds than Simeon's 'pious chaplains'. Certainly, the Board was under pressure from colonial churchmen to supply clergymen of orthodox theological sensibilities. For instance Scott, the ultra-conservative archdeacon of New South Wales from 1824 and 1828, urged the metropolitan authorities to take more care in the appointment of colonial chaplains. Scott complained to Hamilton that on his arrival he found the services in his archdeaconry 'administered much more after the manner of a Methodist Chapel than of a Church'. Scott advised Hamilton that,

[t]he rising Church of this Colony should consist of members firmly attached to the Establishment. I most earnestly recommend that the clergy for this colony be selected from that number, for indeed I fear many of the irregularities have arisen from persons of a different character having been chosen. Without education, of previous knowledge of Ecclesiastical subjects, & being chiefly connected with the Methodistical & "Evangelical" set before their ordination. Some of those appointed prior to my arrival have so identified themselves with the missionaries of the various Societies that they are extremely jealous of a person who has other habits & ideas.<sup>62</sup>

It is somewhat difficult to judge whether the members of the Board shared these convictions, as only patchy records relating to the Board remain. Hamilton played a crucial role in the selection procedure, but as his personal papers do not appear to have survived we know little about what kind of men he was interested

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<sup>60</sup> Although it was concerned with appointing men to all the Crown colonies (excluding India), it appears that from the outset the bulk of the Board's time was spent recruiting men for the West Indies. Certainly the colonial officials who were responsible for establishing the Board felt that its chief duty was to organise the ecclesiastical affairs of the Caribbean colonies. Wilmot-Horton believed that a chaplain-general was necessary as 'the trouble imposed on this Department by the Slave Question & its consequences really makes the situation of sole Under Secretary hardly endurable'. He added that a 'considerable practical relief will ensue from having an accredited person to be the medium of communication on these subjects': LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 24, Wilmot-Horton to Howley, July 6, 1824, f. 14.

<sup>61</sup> RHA, Letters from Charles Simeon to Charles Grant, Box 3, Simeon to Charles Grant, October 31, 1814, f. 81.

<sup>62</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/4, Scott to Hamilton, May 21, 1827, f. 31.



in appointing.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, a letter which Hamilton sent to Scott gives an indication of the type of individual which the Board was not prepared to appoint. Hamilton told Scott that,

[t]he present list affords but little choice, and I consider myself extremely fortunate in meeting with Mr Wilton [an ordained clergyman appointed to New South Wales in 1826]. There are abundance of a different description, and among those several Irish Clergymen, who have removed the errors of Popery, whose pretensions are backed by the Parliamentary influence of the opponents of emancipation. But I am not disposed to encourage such tenders of service, as it is difficult to ascertain the true character of such converts.<sup>64</sup>

For Hamilton – and presumably the other members of the Board – Charles Pleydell Neale Wilton approximated the model colonial clergyman. The son of a Sussex clergyman, Wilton had attended Oxford prior to becoming a curate in Gloucestershire and Kent for six years between 1820 and 1826. In May 1824 Wilton applied to the Ecclesiastical Board for a posting in New South Wales as some of his close friends had decided to emigrate to the colony.<sup>65</sup> In 1826 Wilton was offered the position as teacher at the Female Orphan School in Parramatta, an offer he accepted as he had recently failed to secure a living at Blatheney.<sup>66</sup> Wilton was particularly attractive to Hamilton because he had experience teaching in the National Schools (Scott had previously told Hamilton that knowledge in this system was ‘one of the most essential qualifications in a Clergyman’ who was to reside in his colony).<sup>67</sup> A sermon which Wilton gave to the congregation of St. James’ Church in Sydney in September 1827, in which he called on his listeners to adhere to the civil and ecclesiastical government of the colony, sheds some light on his political sympathies and suggests why he was selected for a colony populated by convicts and emancipists.<sup>68</sup> Wilton’s appointment, then, can give us some indication of the kind of clergyman which the Board wished to appoint: preferred applicants would be university graduates and would have had experience of clerical work in England. To what extent was the Board successful in recruiting men who conformed to these requirements?

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<sup>63</sup> There is some correspondence between Hamilton and Robert Wilmot-Horton – Goulburn’s successor as under-secretary – held in the Catton Collection at the Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock. The correspondence can be found in the file D3155/WH 2804.

<sup>64</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, X-Series, X-154, General Correspondence Book, Hamilton to Scott, October 7, 1826, f. 288.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, John Sarjent to Horton, May 9, 1824, f. 29.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Hamilton to Hay, Sept 14, 1826, f. 261.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Hamilton to Scott, October 7, 1826, ff. 286-7.

<sup>68</sup> The title of the sermon was ‘The beauty of order in the Church of England’. See C. M. E. Clark, *A History of Australia, vol. II: New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, 1822-1838* (Melbourne, 1968), p. 170.



Our ability to answer this question definitively is hampered by the fact that complete records of the men who were appointed by the Board do not exist. A file in the SPG archives at Rhodes House does however contain forty-five applications for colonial chaplaincies spanning the period between 1822 and 1826. Of these forty-five individuals, eleven were subsequently offered positions in the colonies. One can also get an idea of the men who were appointed by the Board by studying the educational backgrounds of the men appointed to the individual colonies in this period. A study of the men who were selected to serve in New South Wales and the Cape in the 1820s confirms that the Board was concerned to appoint individuals who had received some form of higher education. All but five of the twenty individuals who were sent to these two colonies had been educated at either university or at the theological colleges which had been established at St. Bees' in 1816 and Lampeter in 1822 (the remaining five individuals could well have been graduates of St. Bees' but as no college records remain before 1835 this can not be confirmed). The available evidence suggests that the Board was also interested in appointing men who had experience of clerical work in Britain. Seven of the eleven individuals who were offered positions by the Board between 1822 and 1826 had experience as curates or tutors in England and Ireland. However, one should not overstate the Board's commitment to appointing individuals with clerical experience in Britain. Only five of the twenty sent by the Board to New South Wales and the Cape had held curacies in England. That eight of the fourteen New South Wales clergy had been appointed within two years of being ordained suggests that the Board was prepared to appoint individuals with relatively limited experience. It is unclear how many of these men had experience teaching in National Schools. Thomas Reddall, who was appointed to New South Wales in 1820, was familiar with the National Schools system and later became the Director-General of all Government Schools in New South Wales.

This evidence suggests that the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board did mark a shift in the recruitment of colonial clergy. When Bathurst introduced the Colonial Clergy Bill to the Lords in 1819 he stated that only those unqualified to hold clerical positions in Britain would be induced to leave Britain to take up chaplaincies and incumbencies overseas.<sup>69</sup> The Board's activities in the 1820s indicated that that was not entirely the case. By the 1820s the colonies were beginning to attract men who were educated at either a university or a theological

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<sup>69</sup> *PD*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. xl, (May 26, 1819), col. 802.



college and who were qualified to hold permanent livings in England and Ireland. The appointment of university graduates and graduates of theological colleges after 1820 contrasted markedly with the situation before that date when four of the nine clergymen who served in New South Wales had received no classical education whatsoever.

However, the Board's task was made difficult by the fact that clergymen and recent graduates clearly would have preferred a position in mainland Britain. Despite the fact that clerical salaries in the colonies were comparable to those in Britain,<sup>70</sup> the available evidence indicates that the men who applied to the Ecclesiastical Board only did so because they had little hope of securing a promotion in the metropolitan Church. While there were men who applied for family reasons (three of the eleven individuals who were offered positions in the 1822 to 1826 sample had relations in the colonies and one, High Seymour Yates, had been born in Jamaica), a significant proportion were men who had trouble securing a permanent living in the Church in England or Ireland. The majority of the forty-five men who applied between 1822 and 1826 appear to have been men from modest backgrounds who had little hope of advancing in the Church at home. Although not all the candidates explained their motivations for applying, twelve individuals stated that they were forced to apply for a colonial chaplaincy because they had been unable to secure a curacy or incumbency in Britain. Four more stated that financial problems had driven them to apply. Only one candidate, a man named Christopher Barnes, applied for what he called 'pious motives'.<sup>71</sup> The majority were in a similar position to Sotherton Backler, a graduate of St John's College Cambridge (an institution which traditionally attracted men from more humble backgrounds), who explained that because he was 'without fortune, or Interest in this Country', he was 'desirous of obtaining if possible, an appointment as a Chaplain to some Colony abroad'. J. M. Edwards, another Cambridge graduate who had held a curacy in Bedfordshire, explained to the Board that he was in 'no very affluent circumstances; and what is worse my chances of future advancement are by no means encouraging'.<sup>72</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>70</sup> Chaplains in New South Wales were paid a stipend worth £250 in the late 1820s. A commentator at the Cape noted that the 'emoluments' of the clergy there 'exceed the medium value of livings in England, particularly those of the civil chaplain, which are very ample if considered as a remuneration for the duty performed': William Wilberforce Bird, *The State of the Cape, in 1822* (facsimile reprint, Cape Town, 1966), p. 63.

<sup>71</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, X-Series, X-154, General Correspondence Book, Christopher Barnes to Hamilton, July 7, 1826, f. 203.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, Sotherton Backler to Wilmot-Horton, April 16, 1822, f. 6; J. M. Edwards to Wilmot-Horton, May 24, 1824, f. 36.



Robert Heath, who asked for a position in either Honduras or New South Wales, told the Board that though he was 'perfectly content with the situation in which Providence has placed me',

[w]hen I consider my wife and family I must confess I feel bitterly the scantiness of the provision that I can make for them with all my exertions: and should gladly accept any clerical appointment in which I might be enabled by a diligent fulfilment of my professional duties to ensure to them a comfortable tho' humble maintenance.<sup>73</sup>

Individuals who applied for positions in New South Wales did so for similar reasons. Although he had recently become a curate in Somerset, William Chester applied to the Board because he believed he had 'very feint hopes of success in my profession in this country'. George Dodsworth, a thirty-year-old curate at New Brentford, was also obliged to apply because he had little hope of advancing in the Church.<sup>74</sup>

The number of individuals who were driven to apply to the Board because they experienced difficulty finding a permanent position in the metropolitan Church can be partly explained by the role which private patronage played in the Church in this period. M. J. D. Roberts has calculated that in 1821 62% of all clerical livings were in the hands of private individuals. By contrast, the Church only controlled about 12% of the total number of benefices.<sup>75</sup> Appointment to an incumbency often had more to do with private patronage than the individual's professional competency or religious zeal.<sup>76</sup> The twelve individuals who told the Board that they were struggling to gain promotion in Britain were likely to have been men who did not have private patrons. Significantly, four of these men were Cambridge 'sizars' who presumably lacked the family contacts which were necessary to secure a private benefice. A colonial appointment was particularly attractive as colonial positions were among those rare livings which were in the gift of the Church rather than a private individual. This partly explains why eleven applications came from Irish clergymen and graduates of Trinity College Dublin. Irish graduates experienced considerable discrimination from English churchmen and academics who assumed that Trinity College produced graduates of a weaker calibre to Oxford and Cambridge. Like non-graduates, graduates of Trinity College Dublin tended to find work in

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Robert Heath to Wilmot-Horton, May 5, 1824, f. 30.

<sup>74</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/4, William Chester to William Huskisson, May 16, 1825, f. 111; *ibid.*, George Dodsworth to Murray, June 17, 1828, f. 114.

<sup>75</sup> M. J. D. Roberts, 'Private patronage and the Church of England, 1800-1900', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), p. 202.

<sup>76</sup> Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 249.



northern England if there were no opportunities in Ireland. Edward Roberts, a graduate of Trinity College Dublin and a friend of the chaplain at the Gold Coast, explained to the Board that as he found 'every situation, which the Church holds out, eagerly sought after by a number of Candidates', he was 'induced to throw myself on your Lordship's consideration & humanity'.<sup>77</sup> Significantly, a number of Irish candidates explained that they had been unable to progress in the Church because they lacked the necessary contacts. Lewis Jones Lambert, another Trinity College Dublin graduate, dolefully explained that 'I have no Great man, a friend, through whom I could make application to your Lordship'.<sup>78</sup>

The proportion of men who applied to the Board because they lacked the requisite contacts to advance in the Church at home indicates that the Board were frustrated in their attempts to appoint men who had been educated at one of the ancient universities and who had experience of clerical work in Britain. We have noted that Hamilton was frequently disappointed by the number of well-qualified men who offered their services to the Board. A key problem was that only a limited number of Oxford and Cambridge graduates applied. Less than half (40%) of the applicants in the period 1822 to 1826 were from the ancient universities, and five of them were sizars from relatively humble backgrounds. Alan Haig has noted that graduates of the established universities tended to prefer rural parishes in southern England and were often unwilling to take up positions in the north and in urban areas (Haig estimates that only 15% of Oxford graduates went north).<sup>79</sup> By contrast, the ancient universities were increasingly incapable of providing enough men to fill curacies and livings in the north of England. According to Haig, non-graduates, Irishmen, and graduates of St. Bees' and Lampeter tended to predominate in northern England.<sup>80</sup> A similar situation began to emerge in the colonies in the 1820s. Oxford and Cambridge graduates formed less than half of the Anglican clergy who served in New South Wales and the Cape during the 1820s. Of the fourteen individuals who were appointed to New South Wales between the Board's foundation in 1819 and its demise in 1833, only six had attended either Oxford or Cambridge. The colony's clerical workforce also included two men from Trinity College Dublin, one from St.

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<sup>77</sup> RHL, UPSG Archive, X-Series, General Correspondence Book, X-154, Robert Alexander Parke, to an unnamed correspondent, July 14, 1825, ff. 74-75; Edward Roberts to Bathurst, Dec 30, 1825, ff. 106-7.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Lewis Jones Lambert to Bathurst, August 3, 1824, f. 38.

<sup>79</sup> Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 119.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.



Bees' and one from Lampeter. Similarly, only five of the eleven clergymen who arrived at the Cape between 1820 and 1832 were from Oxford and Cambridge.

In contrast to the limited number of Oxford and Cambridge graduates who applied to the Ecclesiastical Board, the majority of men who were appointed to serve in the Indian presidencies in this period were from the ancient universities. It should be noted that whereas the procedures for sending clergymen to the crown colonies were radically reformed in the 1820s, the method by which chaplains were selected for India remained largely unaltered. Appointments to the Indian presidencies continued to be controlled by the Court of Directors. The Church did have some control over the appointments as the Bishop of London was supposed to scrutinise the academic calibre and moral fibre of chaplains before they embarked for India. Commentators claimed that in reality the bishop rarely took much interest in appointments to the Company service. Critics also charged that the Company appointed men to clerical positions in much the same way as they appointed young men to administrative posts and 'writerships'. The result was that well-connected men were more likely to be appointed than men who could demonstrate genuine piety and religious zeal.<sup>81</sup> A study of the men who were appointed by the Company in this period shows that Oxbridge graduates and men from more prosperous backgrounds were particularly well represented on the Bengal establishment. Oxford and Cambridge supplied 59% of the chaplains sent to Bengal between 1820 and 1833 (27 of a total of 46). By contrast, only three were from Trinity College Dublin. 20% (9 of the 46) had fathers who are described in the alumni lists as being 'gentlemen' or 'esquires'. Three more were the offspring of army officers or Indian civil servants.<sup>82</sup> So whereas recruitment to the Crown colonies was controlled by the Church, appointments to India remained in the hands of private individuals.

This evidence suggests that by the late 1820s differences between the ecclesiastical establishments in the Crown colonies and the Indian presidencies were becoming more apparent. In the previous section we noted the strong connections between the chaplains who served in India and in New South Wales in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the ecclesiastical

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<sup>81</sup> [Chaplain to the Bombay Establishment], *A Letter to a Friend in England, on the State and Patronage of the Church in India* (London, 1829), pp. 48-49.

<sup>82</sup> These figures should be approached with caution as the fathers of eight of the individuals are not recorded in the alumni lists. Haig notes that the occupations of the unrecorded fathers could range from professionals and merchants to tradesmen and artisans. Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, pp. 35-37.

establishments in New South Wales and the Cape (which gradually lost their military character in the 1820s), the Church in India continued to exist as an arm of the military. The Company did recommend the appointment of additional chaplains to India throughout the 1820s,<sup>83</sup> but this was generally a question of extending the military chaplaincy; despite Middleton's best efforts, no attempts were made by the Company authorities to establish a parochial Church which was civilian in character. As we shall see in the next chapter, the lack of control which the Anglican Church had over the appointment of Company chaplains meant that the Church was forced to focus on missionary work: after 1820, the extension of the Church would largely be achieved through conversion and the creation of a 'native' ministry.

This section has pointed to some of the ways in which the recruitment of colonial clergymen was transformed in the 1820s. The establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board was part of a wider effort on the part of the colonial authorities in London to regularise imperial ecclesiastical arrangements and to extend the parochial system in the colonies. Closer scrutiny was paid to the social and educational background of candidates. Although the evidence is patchy, it appears that Anthony Hamilton and the other members of the Board were interested in appointing men who had been educated at either university or a theological college and who had experience of clerical work in Britain. An attempt appears to have been made to distinguish 'missionaries' from 'clergymen'. In the early years of the century this distinction had often been blurred: Simeon's 'pious chaplains' had reconciled their official roles as chaplains with their wider desire to evangelise among the non-white population. In the 1820s, colonial churchmen like Thomas Hobbes Scott warned against the appointment of Methodist chaplains and called for men firmly attached to the orthodox wing of the Church of England. Scott specifically stated that clergymen in his archdeaconry should not act as the agents of missionary societies.<sup>84</sup> These findings cast doubt on Elizabeth Elbourne's contention that the opening up of India in 1813 made missionary activity appear more 'respectable'.<sup>85</sup> Instead, the charter renewal appears to have had the opposite effect, as the colonial authorities made a bolder effort to disassociate clergymen from missionaries. We

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<sup>83</sup> For documents on the expansion of the Church in the Company's territories in this period, see *Minutes of Evidence taken before the select committee of the affairs of the East India Company [I, Public]*, PP, 1831-32 [735], ix, Appendix (P.), Papers relating to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, pp. 783-829.

<sup>84</sup> ML, 'SPG – Extracts, presumably from records of SPG 1808-1833', As 143/4, Scott to Hamilton, March 3, 1827, no pagination.

<sup>85</sup> Elbourne, 'The foundation of the Church Missionary Society', p. 263.



should be wary of overstating the antipathy of colonial churchmen to missionary work in this period: Scott himself recommended the appointment of itinerant catechists and clergymen who would provide baptisms and marriages to the populations in outlying areas.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, from the 1820s an attempt was made by both the Colonial Office and the ecclesiastical authorities in Britain to bring greater order and regularity to the colonial Churches and to ensure that Anglican services were conducted in permanent parish churches.

The establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board challenged the monopoly which the Evangelical party had enjoyed over the recruitment of colonial clergymen in the first two decades of the century. In 1833 Charles Simeon told Samuel Marsden that he was struggling to find Cambridge graduates who were prepared to take up a position in New South Wales.<sup>87</sup> Responsibility for recruiting colonial clergymen had passed from a voluntary network to an official state body. This transition mirrored wider changes in colonial governance which scholars have argued occurred in this period. In a recent study Zoë Laidlaw has argued that these decades saw an information and bureaucratic revolution in colonial government. Before 1830 the Colonial Office had relied on extensive personal networks to provide it with information on colonial issues. In the early 1830s these fragile networks of personal patronage, friendship, family, and shared interest were superseded by an impersonal bureaucratic system which placed particular emphasis on the collection and storage of information and statistics. For Colonial Office staff like James Stephen, the permanent under-secretary from 1836 to 1848, the collection of statistics represented the best means by which a disparate collection of colonies could be governed as a uniform whole.<sup>88</sup> Although it may be too dramatic to argue that the process of recruiting colonial clergymen was 'depersonalised' or 'bureaucratised' (after all, it was now Anthony Hamilton, rather than Charles Simeon, who pulled the strings), it is fair to say that an attempt was made to introduce more uniform and regulated procedures.

However, the evidence presented in this section shows that the expansion of the Church in the colonies in the 1820s was hampered by recruitment problems back in Britain. Irrespective of whether the members of the Board had an idea of the kind of men who they wished to appoint, they were rarely able to

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<sup>86</sup> RHL, Archives of the USPG, C/AUS/SYD/4, Scott to Hamilton, March 3, 1827, f. 29.

<sup>87</sup> ML, Marsden Papers, CY A1992, Simeon to Marsden, November 10, 1833, f. 549.

<sup>88</sup> Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester, 2005), p. 195.

find men who matched these specifications. Colonial service continued to be stigmatised. The 1819 Colonial Clergy Act did little to remove this stigma as it implied that colonial clergymen did not possess the qualifications and attainments of their metropolitan counterparts.<sup>89</sup> The evidence presented here suggests that it was generally men who did not have the necessary contacts and personal patrons to advance in the Church in England who applied to go overseas. Therefore, we should not overestimate the extent to which the creation of the Ecclesiastical Board represented a watershed in the recruitment of colonial clergymen. Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests that by the late 1820s colonial administrators in London had considerably relaxed their recruitment policies. For instance, George Murray, Bathurst's successor as secretary of state between 1828 and 1830, was happy to appoint a Church Missionary Society missionary named Thomas Sharpe to New South Wales in 1830. Murray told Blomfield that 'Instructors of the most humble class would be most likely to be successful' with 'rude and uninformed' populations such as those found in New South Wales.<sup>90</sup> As the next section shows, these recruitment problems would continue to plague the colonial Church after 1830, and was one reason why colonial churchmen attempted to claim a more central role in the recruitment process.

### **(iii) Ecclesiastical reform and the recruitment of colonial clergy, c. 1830-48**

Bathurst's pro-Anglican ecclesiastical policy was discontinued by the Whigs when they returned to power in 1830-31. The change in governments brought to power a group of 'liberal Anglican' ministers whose religious sensibilities were in line with those of moderate evangelicals such as Charles Simeon. As Richard Brent has argued, these liberal Anglican Whigs were committed to establishing a pluralist state, both at home and in the colonies, which could comprehend the followers of all the Christian denominations.<sup>91</sup> As we noted in the introduction to the thesis, the Whigs were unwilling to privilege unpopular religious establishments. Across the empire Anglican privileges were removed and support

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<sup>89</sup> Ruth Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', in Perry Butler (ed.), *Pusey Rediscovered* (London, 1983), p. 204.

<sup>90</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Blomfield Papers, vol. 66, Murray to Bishop Charles Blomfield, June 8, 1830, ff. 1-2.

<sup>91</sup> Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform, 1830-1841* (Oxford, 1987).



was given to non-Anglican denominations. It should be borne in mind that the aim of these reforms was not to weaken the Church: rather, the Whigs hoped that reform would make the Church more efficient and capable of competing with its rivals.<sup>92</sup>

This section explores the extent to which the return of the Whigs heralded a shift in the recruitment of colonial clergy. The withdrawal of state support meant that the responsibility for church extension devolved almost entirely on the Church of England itself. In contrast to the period before 1830, the Colonial Office played only a minor role in the recruitment of clergymen for the colonies. The Ecclesiastical Board was abolished in 1833, and the task of finding clergymen was instead handed to the SPG, which up to this point had been primarily focused on sending Anglican missionaries to Bengal and North America. While the Church did come to play a more central role in the recruitment process, this section shows that the problems which the Ecclesiastical Board had confronted in the 1820s continued to hamper the SPG in the 1830s and 1840s. This section and the following one argue that the SPG's failure to recruit men of sufficient training and education was one reason why colonial bishops began to take a more central role in the recruitment process and to establish their own diocesan training colleges.

Historians have shown how quickly the Church of England adapted to the changes in imperial ecclesiastical policy which accompanied the Whigs' return to power. The Church Act which was passed in New South Wales in 1836 provided the foundations for the dramatic growth of the Anglican Church. The Act stipulated that the government would donate £1,000 towards the erection of churches and other religious buildings provided the congregation subscribed an equal sum. Clergy would also be paid between £100 and £200 per annum depending on the size of their congregation.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, rather than weakening the position of the Church of England the Whig reforms led to the expansion of the Church of England in New South Wales. As the largest denomination in the colony the Church of England stood to gain most by the Church Act. Before 1836 only ten Anglican churches had been constructed in New South Wales. Between 1837 and 1841 eight churches were constructed and the foundations of

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<sup>92</sup> Ian Newbould, *Whiggery and Reform, 1830-41: The Politics of Government* (Basingstoke, 1990), p. 132.

<sup>93</sup> Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, 1987), p. 35.

fifteen more were laid.<sup>94</sup> The colony also received eighty-one additional Anglican clergymen in the two decades after 1830.

The gains which the Church made in colonies such as New South Wales prompted prominent high churchmen in Britain to make bolder efforts to strengthen the position of the Church of England in the colonies. The increasing interest which the Church showed towards the colonial Church can be related to the efforts which metropolitan churchmen and politicians made in this period to strengthen the established Church in mainland Britain. In February 1835 Sir Robert Peel established the Ecclesiastical Commission, an organisation made up of clergy and laymen which made recommendations for the reformation of the organisation and revenues of the Church. The 1830s also saw the proliferation of local diocesan societies which were charged with raising voluntary contributions for the erection of additional churches.<sup>95</sup> Individuals who played a prominent role in the revival of the metropolitan church also came to play a crucial role in the expansion of the Church overseas. For instance, the Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield – a dominant figure in the Ecclesiastical Commission and founder of the Metropolis Churches Fund – was a key figure in the creation of the Colonial Bishops' Fund in 1841. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1840, Blomfield argued that events of the past decade had indicated that the time had come for the Church of England to take full responsibility for the extension of the Church overseas. Blomfield began by reiterating the old point that 'it is a sacred duty, incumbent upon the government of a Christian state, to make due provision for the maintenance and extension of Christianity in every part of the dominions of that state'.<sup>96</sup> To remedy the state's neglect Blomfield recommended the establishment of episcopates in all the principal British colonies.

It is important to recognise that the creation of additional colonial bishoprics was essentially an extension of the efforts which Bathurst and the Colonial Office had made in the 1820s to establish a parochial Church in the colonies. In the letter Blomfield noted that the first task was to provide British settlers with clergy and bishops. 'It is not enough', he wrote, 'that we send out with them [British settlers], or amongst them, a certain number of missionaries

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<sup>94</sup> John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia, 1835-1850* (Melbourne, 1966), p. 42.

<sup>95</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-46* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 184-217, 238; for the local context, see Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999).

<sup>96</sup> Charles Blomfield, *A letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the formation of a fund for endowing additional bishoprics in the colonies* (London, 1840), pp. 9-10.



[...] if we desire the good to be complete, permanent, and growing with the Church's growth, we must plant the Church amongst them in all its integrity'.<sup>97</sup> A declaration passed at the inaugural meeting of the Fund held in April 1841 announced that the Bishopricks' Fund was specifically designed to meet the spiritual wants 'of the members of our National Church residing in the British Colonies, and in distant parts of the world'. The places highlighted for particular attention – New Zealand, the Mediterranean, the Cape, New Brunswick, Van Diemen's Land and Ceylon – demonstrates that the intention was not to establish a missionary Church.<sup>98</sup> It was more the scale of this undertaking which distinguished it from Bathurst's earlier scheme. At the inaugural meeting of the Bishopricks' Fund fourteen different areas were highlighted as being in need of bishopricks. By June 1843 the Fund had already received donations amounting to £43,731; by 1856 total receipts were £256,544.<sup>99</sup>

While the Colonial Bishopricks' Fund was charged with establishing additional bishopricks in the colonies, the SPG was given the task of finding additional clergymen. Although the secretary of state for the colonies continued to make some clerical appointments,<sup>100</sup> the Colonial Office played little role in the selection process. A candidates' committee of the SPG – composed of both laymen and clergy – was subsequently responsible for organising the appointment of candidates. Complaints were however occasionally made about the presence of laymen on the committee.<sup>101</sup> To counter these criticisms a 'Board of Examiners' was created in 1846 which was composed of clergymen selected by the archbishops and the Bishop of London. This organisation was essentially a continuation of the Ecclesiastical Board.

The establishment of the Colonial Bishopricks' Fund, coupled with the new role which the SPG played in the recruitment of colonial clergymen, opened

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<sup>97</sup> Blomfield, *A letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Ernest Hawkins, *Documents Relative to the Erection and Endowment of Additional Bishopricks in the Colonies* (London, 1855), p. 15.

<sup>99</sup> Hawkins, *Documents Relative to the Erection and Endowment*, p. 58; J. D. Bollen, 'English Christianity and the Australian Colonies, 1788-1860', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28:1 (1977), p. 382.

<sup>100</sup> The evangelicals and liberal Anglicans who inhabited the Colonial Office in the 1830s were not as concerned as their Tory predecessors about appointing orthodox clergymen to the colonies. For example, the evangelical Glenelg appointed a Congregationalist called Thomas Atkins to the chaplaincy of the penal settlement at Norfolk Island in February 1836 (Atkins had been educated at the LMS training institution at Islington): *Correspondence on Progress and Measures for Advancement of Religion in Australia*, PP, 1837-38 [75], xl, p. 9. For Atkins' career, see Thomas Atkins, *Wanderings of a Clerical Ulysses, described in a narrative of ten years' residence in Tasmania and New South Wales; at Norfolk Island and Moreton Bay; in Calcutta, Madras, and Cape Town* (Greenwich, 1859).

<sup>101</sup> For example, from Pusey: see Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', p. 197.



up new opportunities for high churchmen to play a more central role in the expansion of the Church. In the past historians have tended to argue that the establishment of the Colonial Bishops' Fund was a Tractarian initiative. Ruth Teale, for example, has argued that it was 'no accident that the great missionary expansion of the 1830s and 1840s, exemplified by the success of the Colonial Bishops' Fund, was contemporaneous with the Oxford revival'.<sup>102</sup> Likewise, Teale intimates that the colonial Church in the 1830s and 1840s was significantly influenced by Tractarians such as Pusey.<sup>102</sup> While the Tractarian influence in the colonial Church should not be overlooked – the emphasis which colonial Churchmen placed on self-sufficiency and independence in these decades owed a great deal to Tractarian teaching – it is also important to recognise that the expansion of the Church in these decades was largely the work of the older generation of pre-Tractarian Hanoverian churchmen. Indeed, throughout this period the SPG was dominated by orthodox high churchmen. Between 1839 and 1846 the members of the committee which vetted each candidate included the Hackney high churchman John Lonsdale (rector of Southfleet and later the Bishop of Lichfield), the orthodox high churchman William Hale Hale (archdeacon of London), and the pro-Tractarian high churchmen J. E. Tyler and Benjamin Harrison (Harrison was the author of a number of the early tracts). Similarly, the Bishops' Fund can not be described as an entirely Tractarian preserve. At the April 1841 meeting orthodox high churchmen such as Lonsdale, Hale and William Howley mixed with Tractarians such as Henry Manning and young conservatives (such as Thomas Dyke Acland, Roundell Palmer, William E. Gladstone, Edward Cardwell and Stafford Northcote) who had been educated at Oxford and were sympathetic to the movement's teachings.<sup>103</sup> The bishops who were appointed to the new sees were similarly from a variety of parties. Tractarians such as Edward Field, Augustus Short and John Medley (Bishop of Fredericton 1845-1892) were appointed alongside Cambridge-educated evangelicals such as Charles Perry (Melbourne), Thomas Dealtry (Madras), George Smith (Hong Kong), and orthodox high churchmen such as Francis Russell Nixon (Van Diemen's Land), George Trevor Spencer (Madras) and

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<sup>102</sup> Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', pp. 203-205; J. D. Bollen makes a similar point: Bollen, 'English Christianity and the Australian Colonies', p. 380.

<sup>103</sup> Several of these individuals were also involved in church extension schemes in Britain. Gladstone and Acland were part of a coterie of young Tories who developed a programme for a national system of Church schools. See Brown, *National Churches*, p. 214.



Francis Fulford (Montreal).<sup>104</sup> Therefore, rather than seeing Church expansion as a Tractarian initiative, we should see the extension of the Church as a project which could attract individuals from across the full spectrum of the high church party. In this sense the expansion of the Church overseas mirrored the wider 'diocesan revival' in Britain, a phenomenon which Arthur Burns has argued was dominated by orthodox high churchmen, but which was not necessarily the preserve of any one party.<sup>105</sup>

Given the increasingly central role which the high church party played in the colonial Church, an important question to ask is to what extent these decades saw the development of a specific high church 'vision' of empire. Certainly the attempts which the high church party made to expand the Church in the 1830s and 1840s did differ from earlier attempts in a number of respects. One important aspect was the confidence which high churchmen had in the colonial Church. There was a growing sense in these years that the beleaguered mother Church could be strengthened by the expansion of the Church in the colonies. Tractarians such as Edward Pusey and Gladstone gradually recognised that the emphasis of the future Church would lie in the colonies rather than in mainland Britain.<sup>106</sup> Secondly, high churchmen placed greater emphasis on the role which bishops would play in the expansion of the Church. Bishoprics were necessary as, in Blomfield's words, 'an Episcopal Church, without a bishop, is a contradiction in terms'.<sup>107</sup> Finally, Church expansion in these decades was marked by a distinct Anglo-centrism. At the heart of the high church venture was the belief that colonisation required the transplantation of the English nation overseas. The notion that the colonies of Great Britain were in fact the property of England alone had been commonplace in high church imperial ideology for some time. The *British Critic*, the organ of the high church party in the early decades of the nineteenth century, posited in 1813 that 'our Indian possessions are the possessions of England, and not of Scotland or any other country'.<sup>108</sup> But in the 1830s and 1840s this Anglo-centric attitude to empire was aired again by the

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<sup>104</sup> Although the Crown retained the right to appoint new colonial bishops, in the 1840s the principle was established by which the missionary society who provided funds towards the endowment of a colonial see were allowed to nominate candidates to the colonial secretary. See Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', pp. 191-2 and p. 207, n. 33. Lists of colonial bishops appointed up until the 1850s can be found in Hawkins, *Documents Relative to the Erection and Endowment*, p. 57, and Anderson, *The History of the Church of England*, vol. 3, p. 714-15.

<sup>105</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*.

<sup>106</sup> Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', p. 204; H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809-1898* (Oxford, 1999), p. 74.

<sup>107</sup> Blomfield, *A letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> 'Buchanan's Researches', *British Critic* 14 (March, 1813), p. 277.

supporters of the Bishops' Fund. Gladstone, for example, believed that the object of colonisation was the 'creation of so many happy Englands'. For Gladstone, the ties of language and patriotism which connected colonial settlers with the mother country would be strengthened by the establishment overseas of English institutions such as the hierarchy of the Church of England. William Grant Broughton, the first Bishop of Australia (1836 to 1852), voiced similar sentiments. Broughton told his friend Edward Coleridge, headmaster at Eton, that 'it is not enough that the Church of England be secured in England, but that its principles must be carried out to the most distant quarters of the English empire. Wherever our language is, there our Church should be'.<sup>109</sup> Previously Broughton had proposed to 'make the Colonies so like England, that they may form together in (sic) one body'.<sup>110</sup>

So to what extent did the involvement of high churchmen change the way in which clergymen were recruited in the 1830s and 1840s? In the previous section we noted that the Ecclesiastical Board preferred to recruit men from university backgrounds. The available evidence suggests that in the post-1830 period close attention was also paid to the social and educational backgrounds of candidates. Colonial bishops sent back specific instructions to the SPG and their colleagues about the kind of individuals which they wished to receive. William Grant Broughton, for instance, informed his high church colleagues in England that he wanted to see Oxford and Cambridge graduates sent to his New South Wales diocese. Broughton asked Coleridge whether he could find 'any men of good education and good sense and orthodox sentiments, with zeal of mind and strength of body to go through a good deal of duty who would come out to us?' Broughton's preference was for scholarly individuals of 'sound judgement' who were removed from the 'enthusiasm' of evangelical religion. Although he conceded that candidates 'must have something perhaps of what may be called enthusiasm in their character', Broughton warned against 'that ranting erratic enthusiasm which is mere vapour, and is quickly dissipated by its own vehemence'.<sup>111</sup> The Indian bishops similarly demanded that greater care be taken in the recruitment of chaplains for India. Daniel Wilson, the evangelical bishop of Calcutta, told Charles Blomfield in 1839 that only men in priest's orders who

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<sup>109</sup> Matthew, *Gladstone*, p. 74; Moore Theological College Library, Sydney, Broughton Papers, 1/15, William Grant Broughton to Edward Coleridge, February 17, 1842, no pagination.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 1/3, Broughton to Coleridge, October 19, 1837, no pagination.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, no pagination.



had had at least two years experience of clerical work in Britain should be ordained for service in British India.<sup>112</sup>

Broughton's letters to Coleridge also indicate that he was particularly interested in receiving university students influenced by the teaching of the early Tractarians. Broughton's attitude towards the early Tracts was typical of many orthodox high churchmen. The emphasis which the Tractarians placed on the authority and spiritual autonomy of the Church struck a chord with orthodox high churchmen who had viewed with alarm the changing relationship between the Church and the state which had begun in the late 1820s.<sup>113</sup> In October 1837 Broughton wrote to Coleridge that 'if I might make choice of my fellow-labourers, they should be from his [John Henry Newman's] school. They take, I think, the most just and comprehensive view of the true constitution of our Church, and of its actual duties in the present state of the world'.<sup>114</sup> Finally, Broughton's correspondence reveals that he wanted to receive Englishmen, and preferably those from the south of England. For example in August 1837 Broughton provided the SPG with a list of candidates who he had been informed were willing to migrate to the colony. Significantly, all six of the individuals named were clergymen who resided in south-west or southern England.<sup>115</sup>

Blomfield appears to have taken an active role in the recruitment of colonial clergymen and the number of papers in his private papers at Lambeth Palace Library relating to overseas positions suggests that he searched for candidates himself. These letters also indicate that Blomfield tried hard to find clergymen who matched Broughton's requirements. Several individuals were turned down because they had not graduated from a university or were not in Holy Orders.<sup>116</sup> Blomfield also rejected applicants on the grounds that they did not have the required academic qualifications. For example, Blomfield told a Mr. T. C. Humphrey that 'I should doubt from what you say of your reading, whether you would quite come up to the standard which I have fixed'.<sup>117</sup>

However, if we turn to examine the social and educational backgrounds of the eighty clergymen and SPG missionaries who were sent to or served in New

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<sup>112</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Blomfield Papers, Blomfield to Rev. Cook, Sept 16, 1839, f. 96.

<sup>113</sup> Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 274-75.

<sup>114</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/3, Broughton to Coleridge, October 19, 1837, no pagination.

<sup>115</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/2, Broughton to Alexander Campbell (secretary to the SPG), August 14, 1837, f. 14.

<sup>116</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Blomfield Papers, vol. 11, Blomfield to Rev. R. Bingham, November 2, 1835, f. 25; *ibid.*, vol. 14, Blomfield to G. M'Ghee, April 3, 1837, f. 12.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 13, Blomfield to T. C. Humphrey, March 28, 1837, f. 98.

South Wales between 1831 and 1850, then the evidence indicates that the SPG and the Church were both incapable of supplying Broughton with university graduates who held orthodox beliefs. Quite early in the recruitment process Blomfield was forced to appoint three non-graduates because no graduates were forthcoming. He also told J. H. Singer – a fellow and tutor at Trinity College Dublin – that he had ordained two individuals for New South Wales who were not ‘properly educated for the ministry’. Blomfield hoped that ‘for the time to come there will be a sufficient supply of candidates who have graduated at one of our universities’.<sup>118</sup> Despite Blomfield’s assurances it is clear that neither he nor the SPG could rely on the ancient universities to supply the colony with enough clergy. The problems which had confronted the Ecclesiastical Board in the 1820s had not been resolved in the 1830s and 1840s. Oxford and Cambridge were still unable to supply enough men to fill vacant parishes in the north and urban England, let alone the colonies. It has been possible to find information on the educational backgrounds of sixty-eight of the eighty clergymen who served in New South Wales between 1831 and 1850. The educational backgrounds of these individuals were as follows:

Cambridge	Oxford	Trinity College Dublin	Missionary institutions	St. James' College, Sydney	Other universities	Non-graduates
14	17	10	5	7	4	11

The SPG was responsible for sending out forty-nine of these clergymen. The educational backgrounds of the SPG clergymen followed a similar pattern to that shown above: 11 had been educated at Cambridge; 12 at Oxford; 9 at Trinity College Dublin; 2 at missionary institutions; 3 at other universities; and 8 were non-graduates (information was unavailable on the remaining six). These figures should be compared with Haig’s findings, which show that Cambridge and Oxford provided 81.9% of the clergymen who were ordained in England between 1834 and 1843, and 71.9% of those ordained between 1844 and 1853.<sup>119</sup> The fact that these universities only provided 38% of the clergy who served in New South Wales suggests that important comparisons can be drawn between the colonies

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 17, Blomfield to T. F. Winslow, September 5, 1838, f. 44; *ibid.*, vol. 14, Blomfield to J. H. Singer, July 7, 1837, ff. 55-56.

<sup>119</sup> Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 32. Table 2.2.



and the situation in the north of England, where non-graduates, Irishmen, and students from theological colleges were increasingly employed in this period.<sup>120</sup>

Therefore, despite the radicalism of the Whig reforms and the establishment of the Colonial Bishops' Fund, the evidence shows that recruitment patterns – at least relating to New South Wales – changed little between the 1820s and the 1830s and 1840s. There was also no substantial change in the social backgrounds of applicants. As in the 1820s, a significant proportion of applicants in the 1830s and 1840s were men who could not secure a position in Britain or lacked the necessary contacts or patrons. Although legislation against pluralism in the Church did lead to an increase in the number of benefices in England (Roberts states that 1,188 new livings were created between 1835 and 1853),<sup>121</sup> this increase was offset by the fact that the number of clergy also grew in this period. One result of the increase in the number of clergy was that the number of assistant curacies increased dramatically. The length of time which the average clergymen spent as a curate increased markedly in this period.<sup>122</sup> For individuals who were without the means of securing an incumbency through private patronage, colonies such as New South Wales offered considerable employment opportunities. Of the eighty individuals who served as clergymen in New South Wales before 1850, twenty-three had been curates or chaplains in Britain prior to their arrival in the colony. Although many of these individuals only briefly served as curates, there were clergymen in New South Wales who had served as assistants for a considerable length of time. For instance, William Branwhite Clarke, a son of a schoolmaster, held various curacies in Suffolk and Sussex between 1823 and 1829 before becoming a teacher in a school and the chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, Charles Woodward held six different curacies between 1831 and 1846. Thomas Naylor had been a curate in Somerset for eleven years and Robert Allwood had been a curate in Bristol for ten years before applying to the SPG. Penury (curatal stipends were £79 in 1853) and the pressure of supporting large families forced these men to seek more lucrative colonial appointments. William West Simpson, a schoolmaster in Hackney, was 44 years of age and had ten children when he

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<sup>120</sup> Although Haig only provides figures for the York diocese in 1865, the comparison is still instructive. The figures show that only 30% of the individuals who were ordained for work in the diocese in that year were educated at either Oxford or Cambridge. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>121</sup> Roberts, 'Private patronage and the Church of England', p. 202.

<sup>122</sup> Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, ch. 5.

<sup>123</sup> Ann Mozley, 'Clarke, William Branwhite (1798-1878)', *Australian Dictionary of National Biography* (Melbourne, 1969), vol. 3, pp. 420-22.

applied. Likewise James Walker, the rector at Haddington in Somerset, was 45 and had eight children. William Branwhite Clarke (40 years old), John Morse (47) and John Jennings Smith (47) had two, six, and ten children respectively. For men such as these the colonies presented the best opportunity of securing a permanent incumbency.

The evidence from New South Wales shows the extent to which Church expansion in the 1830s and 1840s was threatened by continuing recruitment problems back in Britain. In the early years of his bishopric Broughton had entertained hopes of modelling his diocese according to Oxford principles. These hopes were threatened by the SPG's appointment of Irish clergymen and evangelicals. Irishmen and graduates of Trinity College Dublin continued to apply to the SPG in significant numbers. Of the 339 individuals who applied to the SPG between 1848 and 1850, 17% (60) were Irish or had been educated at Trinity College Dublin.<sup>124</sup> Broughton admitted to Edward Coleridge that 'among the clergymen sent out by the S.P.G. there exists a vast variety of shades of opinion'.<sup>125</sup> Broughton was himself extremely critical of many of the SPG clergymen. Joseph Kidd Walpole (who had been educated at the CMS training institution at Islington and who had experience of missionary work in India) was described as having 'a timidity of manners and an unacquaintance with the world'.<sup>126</sup> Broughton was also extremely critical of the graduates of Trinity College Dublin. He was particularly irked when one Trinity evangelical, William Stack, attacked the Tractarian Newman at a meeting of the Diocesan Committee.<sup>127</sup> In 1850 he told Coleridge that the SPG should beware of sending out 'too large a proportion of Irish graduates'.<sup>128</sup> Broughton was not the only Australian bishop to harbour suspicions about Irish clerics. Even the evangelical bishop of Melbourne, Charles Perry, told Broughton that he had been warned against employing Irishmen. Perry told Broughton that,

[...] it has happened that I have an undue proportion of them; and certainly although they possess many valuable qualities, and are oftentimes truly faithful and zealous men, I can understand the ground of my friend's caution: for there is in almost all of them more or less of a wrong-headedness, if I may call it, which is continually bringing them

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<sup>124</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, X-Series, X-110, Missionary Applications: list with notes, 1848-52, ff. 1-27.

<sup>125</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/44, Broughton to Coleridge, November 5, 1844, no pagination.

<sup>126</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers misc., Broughton to Joshua Watson, January 17, 1838, no pagination.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, Broughton to Watson, Jan 17, 1838, no pagination.

<sup>128</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/81, Broughton to Coleridge, May 8, 1850, no pagination.



into difficulties, and putting them in a false position. I would not say so much to one of themselves; but I own, that I feel very thankful when I can secure the services of a sound sensible sober-minded Englishman.<sup>129</sup>

A number of explanations can be advanced to explain this high church antagonism to Irish clergy. Firstly, the employment of Irish clergy challenged the Anglo-centric imperial vision possessed by many high churchmen which we outlined earlier. Secondly, English churchmen tended to regard Trinity College Dublin as an inferior institution to the ancient English universities. Thirdly, the evangelical character of a large portion of the Church of Ireland and the hostility which many Irish clergyman showed towards the Oxford Movement may have been a source of concern to high churchmen.<sup>130</sup> Finally, the essentially 'missionary' character of the Church of Ireland may have been a source of concern for English churchmen.<sup>131</sup> The missionary aspect of the Church of Ireland was bolstered by the existence of a number of Evangelical-dominated organisations such as the Irish Society (1818), Scripture Readers' Society (1822), the Irish Reformation Society (1828) and the Established Church Home Mission (1828), all of which were targeted at converting the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland to Protestantism. It may have been the case that high church bishops may have coupled Irish clergymen with 'enthusiastic' missionaries. However, it should be noted that not all English churchmen were as hostile to Irish clergy as Perry and Broughton. Thomas Hobbes Scott had few qualms about receiving Irish clergy in his archdeaconry in the 1820s. Similarly, Charles Blomfield was responsible for sending several Irish clergymen to the colonies. Blomfield told J. H. Singer, a fellow and tutor at Trinity College, that a subscription, raised in Ireland, might be used to finance the appointment of Irish clergy to New South Wales.<sup>132</sup>

It was not merely recruitment problems which threatened to derail the high church imperial project in the 1830s and 1840s: in these decades the work of

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, Bishop Charles Perry to Broughton, June 7, 1850, no pagination.

<sup>130</sup> For the evangelical character of the Church of Ireland, see Donald H. Akenson, *The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885* (New Haven, 1971), pp. 132-42; Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: A Study of Protestant-Catholic Relations between the Act of Union and Disestablishment* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 61-80; In contrast to these works, Peter Nockles has delineated a high church strand in the Church of Ireland. He suggests that the Oxford Movement may have made a more positive contribution to the Irish Church than was once thought: Peter Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822-1869', *The Historical Journal*, 41:2 (1998), pp. 457-93.

<sup>131</sup> I am thankful to Dr. William Sheils of the Department of History at the University of York for drawing my attention to this point.

<sup>132</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Blomfield Papers, vol. 14, Blomfield to Singer, July 7, 1837, ff. 55-56.



high church organisations such as the SPG and the Colonial Bishopricks' Fund was challenged by the increasingly important role which evangelical societies such as the Colonial Church Society played in the recruitment of colonial clergymen. The society was formed in 1838 out of two earlier societies, the Newfoundland School Society – which had been established in 1823 and was focused on sending clergymen to the Canadas – and the Western Australia Church Missionary Society, which had been established in 1836. These societies had aimed at providing ministers to British colonists, rather than missionaries to the non-white population. The first report of the Colonial Church Society announced that its object was to provide spiritual instruction to the 'Colonists of Great Britain', who, given that they were 'connected with us by the closest ties, and retaining, wherever they settle, English opinions, habits, and affections', deserved 'to be remembered as our countrymen'.<sup>133</sup> In colonies where there was no bishopric, the CCS competed with the SPG to provide British settlers with clergymen. Between 1840 and 1850 the CCS sent four clergymen to the Cape and the SPG sent out five. The backgrounds of two of the Cape CCS clergy – T. A. Blair and John Boon – are obscure: Blair appears to have been already resident in the Cape while Boon was sent to the colony as a catechist. The two other clergy – Herbert Beaver and Robert Gumbleton Lamb – were evangelicals. Beaver had been educated at Oxford, and Lamb was an Irishman who had attended Trinity College Dublin and served as a curate at Dunkerrin in Ireland. These evangelical clergymen were wary of Episcopal authority and indeed in the later 1840s the Cape branch of the Colonial Church Society featured prominently in the opposition movement which developed in Cape Town to Bishop Robert Gray (the conflict between Gray and his clergy is studied in more detail in chapter four).

In total, fifteen Anglican clergymen were sent to the Cape between 1831 and 1848. A study of the eleven clergymen who were not sent out by the SPG and the CCS reveals the now-familiar story of men of modest means who struggled to secure advancement in the Church at home. Like New South Wales, the Cape attracted men who had spent considerable time as clerical assistants or chaplains. Before he was appointed as a colonial chaplain at Cape Town and Wynberg in 1831, Edward J. Burrow had been a perpetual curate in Yorkshire between 1810 and 1816 and the chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester for twelve

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<sup>133</sup> Guildhall Library, London, Colonial Church Society Archive, Annual reports, 1838-47, MS 15,718/3, *Second report of the Western Australia Missionary Society, now formed into the Colonial Church Society* (London, 1838), p. ix.



years. George Booth (appointed 1840) had likewise been a curate in three different places and held a curacy at Atherstone in Warwickshire which was worth only £110 a year. Philip W. Copeman, chaplain at Uitenhage from 1846, was thirty-three when he applied and had held three curacies in Lancashire, Norfolk and Oxford but had never held his own benefice.<sup>134</sup> Like their counterparts in New South Wales, these men clearly craved the stability and security which a position in the colonies could to some extent provide. The Cape clergy also came from a wide variety of educational and social backgrounds. Although the proportion of Oxbridge graduates was slightly higher at the Cape than at New South Wales – eight of the eleven had been educated at Cambridge or Oxford – four had attended St. John's College, and one was a 'sizar' at Trinity. Two more had attended Trinity College Dublin and one – John Heavyside – was a non-graduate who had attended St. Bees (and had experience of missionary work in India).

This section has shown how the ecclesiastical reforms of the early 1830s did not herald any dramatic change in the recruitment of colonial clergy. Although the bishops came to play a more central role in the expansion of the Church, their ability to control the selection of clergymen was severely hampered by familiar recruitment problems. The colonies continued to offer an attractive field of employment for men who either would not have been able to enter the ministry at home or who were prevented from securing an incumbency. Considerable opportunities also remained for evangelicals and Irishmen. The next section shows how the Church's inability to control the recruitment of clergymen led colonial bishops to take a more central role in recruitment and to develop plans for their own diocesan training colleges.

Before we conclude this section it is worth noting that there continued to be marked differences between the clerical establishments in the colonies of white settlement and in the Indian presidencies. India continued to attract a larger proportion of Oxbridge graduates than the other colonies: ninety-one (71%) of the one hundred and twenty-nine chaplains who were appointed to the Bengal presidency between 1813 and 1850 had been educated at Cambridge or Oxford. The social backgrounds of the clergy found in the two crown colonies and in Bengal also differed. While the Cape and New South Wales continued to attract individuals from relatively modest backgrounds, the East India Company tended to recruit individuals from higher up the social scale. Despite the fact that the

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<sup>134</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/5, Philip W. Copeman to Ernest Hawkins, July 20, 1846, ff. 213-16.



familial backgrounds of twenty-nine of the graduate chaplains are unrecorded (according to Haig the fathers of these individuals could range from professionals and merchants to tradesmen and artisans),<sup>135</sup> the descriptions of the remaining fifty-six reveal that a significant proportion of the Company chaplains came from prosperous middle-class backgrounds. Seventeen chaplains were the sons of clergymen, ten were sons of apparently well-off gentlemen and esquires, and fourteen had military fathers. Nine had been born in India and had returned to England to be educated before returning as chaplains to Bengal. The Company's clerical workforce also included two chaplains who were sons of baronets, one whose father was a chevalier, and another who was the son of a general who had served in India. These recruitment methods were criticised by nonconformist missionaries who claimed that they resulted in the appointment of 'men of feeble talent, and still feebler zeal'.<sup>136</sup>

The most important feature which distinguished India from our other two case studies was the strength of evangelicalism in the Indian dioceses. We have already noted the important role which Cambridge played in supplying clergymen to the Company's ecclesiastical establishment. The Board of Control was also strongly influenced by evangelicalism: both Charles Grant and his son, Baron Glenelg, were chairmen of the Board (the latter from 1830 to 1834). It was largely due to Glenelg's position on the Board that evangelicals such as Daniel Wilson (Calcutta), Thomas Dealtry (Madras) and Thomas Carr (Bombay) were appointed to the Indian bishoprics in the 1830s (George Trevor Spencer, an orthodox high churchman who was appointed to Madras in 1839, was an exception). The appointment of evangelical bishops suggests that India was largely by-passed by the high church revival which radiated out from Britain to the colonies in this period. It is more difficult to tell whether the chaplains who arrived in India were influenced by the Oxford movement or the high church revival. After all, attendance at a particular university was not a definite register of party affinity. The nonconformist missionary mentioned in the previous paragraph provided a clue when he argued that the Company chaplains were all 'more or less tinctured' with Puseyism.<sup>137</sup> It is true that individuals who were sympathetic to Tractarian teaching were occasionally sent to India by the SPG.

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<sup>135</sup> Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, pp. 35-37. Haig notes that the occupations of fathers from more humble backgrounds were frequently omitted and that several of the descriptions, such as 'gent.' and 'Esq.' are imprecise and tell us little about the exact social status of the individual.

<sup>136</sup> J. Kennedy, 'Affairs in India', *British Banner*, August 16, 1848.

<sup>137</sup> J. Kennedy, 'The Church of England in India', *British Banner*, August 23, 1848.



The society was responsible for appointing the Tractarian Arthur Wallis Street to Bishop's College in the early 1840s (Street had been recommended by J. H. Newman). Ebenezer Wilshere was another Tractarian who the SPG sent as a missionary to India.<sup>138</sup> However, these men appear to have been minority figures in the Indian dioceses. Daniel Wilson was himself militantly anti-Tractarian. In 1841 Wilson stated explicitly that he would refuse to ordain missionaries who he suspected as holding Tractarian views.<sup>139</sup> In the final analysis it was Wilson's presence in Calcutta which was the primary reason why Tractarianism was not as prominent in the Indian Church as it was in our other two case studies.

#### **(iv) The missionary revival and the establishment of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury**

In this final section we will examine the efforts which churchmen in both the colonies and metropolitan Britain made to reform the recruitment of colonial clergy in the mid-1840s. Clerical recruitment in this decade was marked by two developments. Firstly, colonial bishops in those colonies which traditionally relied on men sent from mainland Britain started to recruit men locally. Secondly, churchmen in England took steps to establish a central training institution for colonial clergy. These developments demonstrate the extent to which colonial bishops were dissatisfied with the existing recruitment procedure and wished to see it replaced by a system which would give them greater control over clerical training. These attempts to reform the training of colonial clergy paralleled similar moves to reform clerical training in mainland Britain. Since the 1820s churchmen had become increasingly uncomfortable about the quality of training provided at Oxford and Cambridge. Of particular concern was the 'moral influence' provided at university and the level of theological knowledge among graduate ordinands. High churchmen, eager to raise professional standards among the parochial clergy, argued that something more than an undergraduate degree was needed for a clerical career.<sup>140</sup> These concerns lay behind the

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<sup>138</sup> Hans Cnattinngius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698-1850* (London, 1952), pp. 209-215.

<sup>139</sup> RHL, Archives of the USPG, C/MSS/INDIA I (3), Bishop Daniel Wilson to Campbell, October 12, 1841, f. 15L.

<sup>140</sup> Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 72.

establishment of theological colleges for post-graduates at Chichester in 1839 and Wells in 1840.<sup>141</sup>

Another significant development in the 1840s was the increasing emphasis which the Church placed on overseas mission. We have noted that the Church traditionally did not involve itself in missionary activity. For much of the early nineteenth century the Church was interested in providing spiritual instruction to British settlers overseas. Of course there were exceptions: the Church of England was quick to embrace missionary work in Bengal in the early 1820s. By the late 1840s the Church in other parts of the empire was beginning to undertake missionary work. Bishop Gray of Cape Town established an Anglican mission in South Africa in the early 1850s and the Australia bishops discussed the possibility of a Polynesian mission at a meeting in Sydney in October 1850. The Church's growing engagement with missionary activity can be explained by two factors. Firstly, it was borne out of necessity: Anglicans understood that the task of converting the heathen could not be left to nonconformists and Roman Catholics. Secondly, the missionary revival was linked to the Tractarian movement, and particularly the emphasis which Tractarians placed on the need for the Church to rediscover its apostolic mission.<sup>142</sup> This final section examines the ways in which the recruitment of clergymen in the 1840s changed as a result of these developments.

The impetus for a reform of colonial clerical training came from the colonies themselves. In the early 1840s William Grant Broughton suggested that there was a need for an institution which was specifically designed to train colonial clergy. We have already noted that Broughton was a vehement critic of the SPG's somewhat pragmatic recruitment procedure. But in the early 1840s Broughton began to question the competency of the graduate clergy which were sent to him from the ancient universities.<sup>143</sup> Exposure to the interior of the colony appears to have convinced Broughton that academic clergymen were not required in New South Wales. In 1841 he wrote that 'it is plain that the mode of life is adapted for such only as are of hardy constitution, and moderate views'.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, Broughton went as far as to tell Edward Coleridge that William Cowper – the veteran evangelical who had been appointed by Marsden in 1808 – was

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<sup>141</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, pp. 151-6.

<sup>142</sup> Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', p. 203.

<sup>143</sup> For example Broughton complained about the 'respectability' and authority of Benjamin Lucas Watson, a graduate of St. Mary's Hall Oxford who he had ordained as a priest in 1842: MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/17, Broughton to Coleridge, July 11, 1842, no pagination.

<sup>144</sup> RHL, USPG Archives, C/AUS/SYD/2, Broughton to Campbell, April 3, 1841, f. 50.



precisely the ‘description of men we want: supposing only a little more acquired learning (as the present state of society here requires) and a grain or two of warmer preference for Church principles over those of the Bible Society’.<sup>145</sup>

In 1837 Broughton suggested to the Bishop of London that a college which was specially designed to train colonial clergy should be established in Britain.<sup>146</sup> At this point it was concerns about the difficulty which his colleagues had experienced recruiting sufficient numbers of clergymen for colonial service, rather than fears about the suitability of Oxbridge graduates, which led Broughton to recommend a training college. It was not until 1842 that Broughton articulated these plans in more detail to Joshua Watson and Edward Coleridge. Broughton told Coleridge that a theological college situated in Britain would be ‘a central fountain from which the waters might flow to all the colonies’. Similarly the bishop at the head of the college would ‘form a centre to the entire ministry of the Churches in all the Colonies’.<sup>147</sup> Broughton told Coleridge that the college should be managed by a churchman who had experience of colonial work, and he put forward his own name and that of William Coleridge, Edward’s cousin and the Bishop of Barbados, as possible candidates to become the college’s first superintendent.<sup>148</sup> Broughton emphasised the distinction between the Church in the colonies and the Church in the mother country. Clerical work in the colonies was markedly different from work in Britain and required a particular training. What was needed, Broughton told Joshua Watson, was ‘a class of clergymen suited for Colonial service’.<sup>149</sup>

Broughton’s letters provided the impetus for the eventual establishment of the theological college at St. Augustine’s College Canterbury in 1848. Proposals for the establishment of an institution for the training of colonial clergymen at Oxford had been put forward earlier by Charles Marriott – the principal of Chichester diocesan college and a close friend of the Tractarian Newman – and Robert Lynch Cotton, the provost of Worcester College at Oxford (unlike Marriott, Cotton was an orthodox high churchman who was critical of the Oxford Movement).<sup>150</sup> However, neither of these plans were realised and it was left to the orthodox high churchmen, Edward Coleridge and Alexander Beresford

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<sup>145</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/14, Broughton to Coleridge, February 4, 1842, no pagination.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 1/3, Broughton to Coleridge, October 19, 1837, no pagination.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 1/17, Broughton to Coleridge, July 11, 1842, no pagination.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, no pagination.

<sup>149</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers misc., Broughton to Watson, July 11, 1842, no pagination.

<sup>150</sup> R. J. E. Boggis, *A History of St. Augustine’s College Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1907), p. 30.

Hope – the high church Tory M.P. for Maidstone – to organise the foundation of the college. The genesis of the project was a circular which Coleridge sent to the headmasters of English grammar schools asking for suitable candidates for the colonial churches.<sup>151</sup> Although Coleridge had initially intended only to make a general call for candidates for colonial service, the support he received encouraged him to develop plans for the establishment of a training college. In a second circular Coleridge outlined his plans for an educational establishment for colonial clergy. Coleridge's plan was to 'provide an Education, embracing, as nearly as may be, all the advantages, which our ancient universities now offer to those, who are destined to Holy Orders, but at less expense, and with greater simplicity and frugality of habits'.<sup>152</sup> Coleridge's circular reiterated the point that the Church's first task was to meet the spiritual wants of British settlers. In the circular Coleridge wrote that 'our fellow-subjects in the Colonies will not be deemed less our Brethren, less dear objects of Christian Charity, because they have been induced by the spirit of honest enterprise, or compelled by scarce necessity, to settle in a distant part of our Empire'.<sup>153</sup> Like Broughton, Coleridge thought that the education provided at the college would be different from that given at Chichester and Wells: in his view the education at St. Augustine's would be 'simpler' and more 'frugal' but with an equal concern for theological knowledge. Although Coleridge believed colonial work required a specific training, he did not always distinguish between the clergy in Britain and those in the colonies. For example, in an early draft of the circular Coleridge suggested that the college might become a 'powerful engine for adding to the numbers of our Clergy in Great Britain, of which a large number neither are nor in the present can be supplied annually by Oxford and Cambridge'.<sup>154</sup> This suggestion was however dropped in the final draft and the college was described instead as being purely for colonial clergy.

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<sup>151</sup> A copy of this circular, dated December 18, 1842, can be found in LPL, Burdett-Coutts Papers, MS. 1383, ff. 1-2.

<sup>152</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archive, Canterbury, St. Augustine College Archive, U88/A2/2/3, Letter Book 1845-71, circular dated September 1, 1843, f. 55.

<sup>153</sup> It is unclear how far Coleridge intended for his scheme to incorporate India. He noted that 'these observations [...] are scarcely applicable to India'. Coleridge only noted that India 'has a peculiar claim upon us for pecuniary as well as personal aid, arising out of the fact that she largely and directly contributes in various forms from her public revenue, the produce of her labour, to swell the wealth of Great Britain'. See Boggis, *History of St. Augustine's*, p. 48.

<sup>154</sup> CCA, U88/A/1/10, Summaries and copies of letters (1842-46) extracted from a MS book of A. J. Beresford Hope, 'Sketch of a plan of a missionary college according to the doctrine & discipline of the Church of England', f. 7.



Coleridge's plan for a college for colonial clergy received a mixed reception. Opponents of the college argued that it would be too expensive and suggested instead that colleges should be established in each of the colonies. Others, such as J. C. Coleridge, argued that the Church should concentrate on providing spiritual instruction to the 'English heathen' at Manchester rather than expending money on educating clergy for service overseas.<sup>155</sup> The archbishop of Canterbury was initially hostile to the proposed college as he was fearful that it would draw valuable funds away from the SPG. The most serious objections were raised when Coleridge suggested that the college would be established in Oxford. The majority of the individuals who replied to the circular argued that situating the college in Oxford would give the impression that the college was a Tractarian institution.<sup>156</sup> These objections forced Coleridge and Beresford Hope to shift the proposed college from Oxford to the old monastic buildings at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. All of the first diocesan colleges were denounced as nurseries of Tractarianism,<sup>157</sup> an accusation which was not entirely justified. While it is true that the establishment of both Chichester and Wells owed a great deal to the Tractarian Henry Manning, an important contribution was also made by orthodox high churchmen. The same was true of St. Augustine's. At the opening of the college on June 29, 1848 Tractarians such as John Keble, Charles John Manning, Henry Manning, Charles Marriott, William Maskell and William Upton Richards mixed with older high churchmen, including John Hume Spry, Thomas Thorp, William Hodge Mill (formerly the principal at Bishop's College Calcutta), Benjamin Webb, William Rowe Lyall and Christopher Wordsworth.<sup>158</sup> As Arthur Burns reminds us, the diocesan colleges were not the preserve of any one church party.<sup>159</sup> The key figures in the foundation of the college – Coleridge, Broughton and Beresford Hope – were all orthodox high churchmen who distanced themselves from the Catholic elements in Tractarianism.<sup>160</sup> Similarly the provisional committee which organised the erection of the college included

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<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, J.C. Coleridge to Edward Coleridge, March 9, 1843, f. 14.

<sup>156</sup> For example, see *ibid.*, U88/A2/2/1, Letter Book 1843-45, S. T. Coleridge to Edward Coleridge, February 21, 1843, f. 3.

<sup>157</sup> James Bateman, *The Tractarian Tendencies of Diocesan Theological Colleges* (London, 1853).

<sup>158</sup> For a complete list of the individuals who attended the consecration of the college, see Michael Blain, 'College of St. Augustine Canterbury: participants at the consecration, St. Peter's Day, 1848' (2007), [http://anglicanhistory.org/england/sac/blain\\_opening2007.pdf](http://anglicanhistory.org/england/sac/blain_opening2007.pdf) (accessed October 22, 2007).

<sup>159</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 154.

<sup>160</sup> Beresford Hope was perhaps the most pro-Tractarian of the three; he was the author of *Worship in the Church of England* (London, 1874), a work which advocated the use of vestments and wafer-bread in the Anglican service.

the Hackney high churchmen John Lonsdale and Joshua Watson, the moderate evangelical William Cotton and the high churchmen Benjamin Harrison and Richard William Jelf.<sup>161</sup> The establishment of the college should therefore be seen as a part of a broader high church revival.<sup>162</sup>

To what extent did the college provide students with a specialist education? Like the other colleges established at this time the St Augustine's curriculum centred on theological subjects, but to this was added 'oriental' languages. Less emphasis was placed on literature, mathematics and sciences as these subjects were associated with a university education. Lessons were also given in practical subjects such as medicine, carpentry and printing.<sup>163</sup> At points however St. Augustine's curriculum merged with those at Wells and Chichester. All of these colleges provided an education which was high church in emphasis. Although there were differences between the colleges – not least in the fact that St. Augustine's was a non-graduate college and the other two were for post-graduates – they were essentially all part of a common attempt to raise the level of theological knowledge and professional competency among the metropolitan and colonial clergy.

Although St. Augustine's was established primarily to raise the theological knowledge of the colonial clergy, there is evidence to suggest that the college was also designed to ensure that colonial clergymen would come from respectable middle class backgrounds. Linked to this was the hope that the students would be English, rather than Irish, in origin. This may not always have been the intention: in his draft of the 1843 circular Coleridge had written that the college might afford 'an economical education to worthy, but poor aspirants to Holy Orders'. By contrast, in a revised draft, Coleridge stated that his aim was to recruit students from among the English grammar schools. However, like the other theological colleges, St. Augustine's struggled to recruit students. Only six students of the fifteen students who had expressed an interest in entering the college arrived for the first term in 1848.<sup>164</sup> In all, only forty-two students attended the college between 1848 and 1855.<sup>165</sup> Four of the nine students who arrived at the college during the first year were from grammar school backgrounds (the number may have been more but records on some students do

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<sup>161</sup> Boggis, *History of St. Augustine's*, p. 63.

<sup>162</sup> Colonial reactions to the college are examined in chapter three.

<sup>163</sup> Boggis, *History of St. Augustine's*, pp. 101-3.

<sup>164</sup> CCA, U88/A2/9/C53, Scrapbook of misc. letters on college matters, 1848-49, George G. Pearson to George Gilbert, December 18, 1848, no pagination.

<sup>165</sup> For a complete list of the students who attended the college, see Boggis, *History of St. Augustine's*, pp. 312-27; also see CCA, A2/5/1, List of students.



not exist). Information on what kind of backgrounds these individuals came from is sketchy, but available information shows that the English students came from families which were involved in the middle class professions such as manufacturing and the law. The English-born students who attended St. Augustine's therefore do not seem to have been from the same class as those who attended institutions such as the CMS training college at Islington.<sup>166</sup>

The establishment of St. Augustine's stimulated the creation of diocesan colleges in the colonies themselves. Broughton told Coleridge that he expected that 'the entire character of the Colonial Churches will be moulded according to what St Augustine's shall be during the next 20 years'.<sup>167</sup> Since the late 1830s Broughton had planned to raise a 'Magdalen Tower on the shores of the Pacific',<sup>168</sup> but it was not until 1845 that he established a seminary at St James' parsonage in October 1845 (the college moved to more commodious premises at Lyndhurst in the Glebe area of Sydney in 1847). Broughton initially intended that his college would operate as an auxiliary of St. Augustine's and for a period he entertained the idea of naming it after the Canterbury college.<sup>169</sup> By January 1846 Broughton had admitted eight students to the college, all of whom were sons of either clergy or prominent Anglican laymen. All eight were subsequently ordained and served as ministers either in New South Wales or Victoria. Robert Gray established a theological college at Cape Town in 1849 and appointed Henry Master White, a graduate of Balliol and New College Oxford, as the first principal. We should be careful of overstating the uniqueness of the colleges which were established in Sydney and Cape Town. Theological colleges had been established in British colonies since the eighteenth century. Codrington College on Barbados had been preparing men for the ministry since 1745. Bishop's College was established by Bishop Middleton at Calcutta in 1822 to train Europeans and converted Hindus as missionaries. These colleges stimulated the establishment of Anglican colleges in other parts of the empire, such as the King's Colleges at Toronto (established 1827) and Fredericton (1825).<sup>170</sup> The establishment of the colleges at Sydney and Cape Town therefore further extended a pre-existing network of theological and diocesan colleges.

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<sup>166</sup> Piggin has shown how the majority of the evangelical missionaries who went to India were from the skilled working class and the lower middle and professional classes. See Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, ch. 1.

<sup>167</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/36, Broughton to Coleridge, August 15, 1844, no pagination.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, no pagination.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 1/45, Broughton to Coleridge, December 28, 1844, no pagination.

<sup>170</sup> Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', p. 226.

There is evidence to suggest that the Indian bishops similarly attempted to play a more central role in the recruitment of the Company chaplains. In 1838, for instance, Daniel Wilson outlined plans for the creation of a class of younger chaplains who were recruited in Britain and who would then gain experience of work in India as curates to the more established Company chaplains. Significantly, Wilson recommended that these younger chaplains would be taught partly at Bishop's College, an institution which had been originally designed as a training facility for Anglican missionaries.<sup>171</sup> The Company, however, blocked not only this proposal but also Wilson's suggestion that in certain instances missionaries should be employed as chaplains.<sup>172</sup> The control which the Company wielded over the selection and stationing of clergymen was a source of concern for Indian bishops as it effectively precluded them from exercising any control over recruitment. During the evidence given to the select committee on East India affairs in 1852-53 Anglican clergymen complained that the Company had done little or nothing to improve the quality of chaplains who were sent to India. During the debates Wilson suggested that the Company should delegate the task of finding suitable clergymen to ecclesiastical agents who had been selected by the bishop.<sup>173</sup> Thomas Carr, the evangelical Bishop of Madras, suggested that Company chaplains should be educated in oriental languages before they left England. Unsurprisingly, the Company refused Carr's suggestion on the grounds that chaplains were only supposed to minister to Europeans.

In the late 1840s St. Augustine's began to train men for missionary work among the non-white population as well as to British settlers. This change reflected a wider shift in ecclesiastical outlook in the 1840s.<sup>174</sup> For much of the early nineteenth century the Church had been primarily interested in providing settlers with bishops and clergymen. But by the early 1840s prominent figures within the church – such as Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand and Samuel Wilberforce – were calling for the Church to realise its missionary duties. An important register of this change in the Church's outlook was the emphasis which prominent churchmen placed on the importance of 'missionary bishops' who

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<sup>171</sup> Daniel Wilson, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Calcutta, at the visitation, on Friday, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1838* (Calcutta, 1838), p. 18.

<sup>172</sup> British Library, London, Asia, Pacific and African Collections, India Office Records, Bengal Ecclesiastical Letter, E/4/762, September 29, 1834.

<sup>173</sup> *Second Report from the Select Committee with minutes of evidence and appendix*, PP, 1852-53 [627-I], xxxii, p. 320, evidence of Bishop Thomas Carr of Madras.

<sup>174</sup> Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', p. 233.



would move ahead of, rather than follow, European settlement.<sup>175</sup> St. Augustine's appears to have been influenced by this change in the Church's outlook. As early as 1848 the high church *Colonial Church Chronicle* argued that the college should concentrate on educating missionaries to India and particularly 'the heathen of the oriental superstitions'. The periodical argued that the universities could be relied on to provide men to the European population in the colonies.<sup>176</sup> A study of the destination of graduates of St. Augustine's suggests that the college did gradually turn to focus on training missionaries. Among the seventeen students who arrived at the college between 1849 and 1850 six were sent to colonies in British North America, five went to the Australian colonies, four went to Barbados or Bermuda, and only one departed for British Guiana (the destination of one of the students is unknown). The destinations of the twenty-six students who arrived between 1850 and 1856 were more varied and included British Guiana, Madras, Natal, Mauritius, and Labuan (an island off the coast of Borneo).<sup>177</sup> In the early 1850s the college also started to accept men who had been born outside mainland Britain. Of the total forty-two students educated at the college before 1856, nine had been born outside Great Britain. One of these men, Charles Marsden Betts, a former teacher at Hampton grammar school and in Bermuda, was the grandson of Samuel Marsden. This group also included three non-whites.<sup>178</sup> The college made definite steps to attract non-Europeans in 1861 when the southern wing of the college was designated as the 'Foreigner's Building'. Four men from southern Africa were sent to the college that same year by Earl Grey, the secretary of state for the colonies, and Bishop Robert Gray. One of the four died in Shropshire in 1863, but the other three returned to take up missionary work in the Orange Free State and Kaffraria.<sup>179</sup>

This shift in ecclesiastical outlook was also reflected in the men who were selected to go to the Cape Colony after a bishopric was established there in 1847. Between 1848 and 1850 thirty-seven Anglican catechists and clergymen were recruited in Britain and sent to the colony. The new bishop, Robert Gray, took an active role in the selection of clergymen before he left for his new bishopric in 1848. Gray was obliged to find the funds to sponsor these clergymen himself as the SPG had run into financial difficulties and was unwilling to send

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<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>176</sup> 'The Future of St. Augustine's', *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* (August, 1848), pp. 44-46.

<sup>177</sup> Boggis, *History of St. Augustine's*, pp. 312-27.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 190-192.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-94.

additional clergy to the colony. Gray forwarded a circular to the bishops and clergy in England requesting financial aid and applications from individuals who were interested in taking up clerical positions in the colony.<sup>180</sup> Gray also undertook a mammoth fund-raising tour between August and December 1847. Once in the colony Gray handed responsibility for finding suitable clergymen to his brother-in-law, a Dr. Williamson of Sutton Coldfield, and to Edward Coleridge at Eton.<sup>181</sup> The SPG agreed with this arrangement and it merely forwarded any applications to Williamson who then personally interviewed the various candidates.<sup>182</sup>

The men who Gray recruited for South Africa demonstrated how far the aims and objectives of the Anglican Church had changed since the mid-1830s. Gray was specifically interested in recruiting young men who showed evangelical zeal and an enthusiasm for missionary work. Preference was shown for men who were not in orders. Hence the number of Oxbridge graduates among Gray's clerical workforce was low: only six of the thirty-seven individuals sent out had been educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Like the missionaries of other societies these men tended to be individuals from modest backgrounds who had little opportunity of entering orders in England. William Anderson Steabler, a catechist who accompanied Gray on the voyage to the Cape, was a shop assistant who had not attended either a theological training college or a university. Steabler had applied to the SPG as early as 1846 and Gray must have been impressed by his missionary zeal.<sup>183</sup> Gray also accepted an individual called Thomas Earle Welby who had been a Lieutenant of Dragoons in India and a missionary in both India and Canada. Gray's clerical force also included two former Roman Catholic priests, one of whom had been educated at Maynooth, and a converted Jew called Samuel Sandberg who prior to arriving at the Cape in 1849 had been stationed at Tinnevely in southern India. Recruiting enough men still appeared to have been a difficult task. Indeed Gray appears to have been forced to accept men who he otherwise might have preferred to leave at home. An SPG examiner found Sandberg's knowledge of the scriptures deficient and

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<sup>180</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, 'Statement, with respect to the newly-erected dioceses of the Cape of Good Hope', April 26, 1847, ff. 423-25.

<sup>181</sup> For Williamson's role, see *ibid.*, Cape Town, C/AFS/3, ff. 399-440.

<sup>182</sup> The names of fourteen individuals forwarded to Williamson by the SPG can be found in RHL, USPG Archive, X-Series, X-110 'Missionary Applications, List with notes, 1848-52', ff. 1-27.

<sup>183</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, William A. Steabler to G. H. Fagan, September 9, 1846 and October 31, 1846, ff. 399-402.



worried that he would easily adopt the 'sentiments of others without ascertaining the grounds on which they rest'. The examiner did note however that 'we cannot but admire the zeal with which he has sought missionary labours for years'.<sup>184</sup>

The central role which Gray played in the recruitment of clergymen for his diocese was indicative of the control which bishops in both Britain and the colonies exerted over clerical training in the decades after 1840. The diocesan colleges which sprung up in the colonies in this period provided a clerical training which was applied to the needs of particular dioceses. They also gave colonial bishops the opportunity to control the doctrinal and theological education of the students. As we shall see in the final three chapters of this thesis, the kind of education which was provided at these diocesan colleges was not always in keeping with the evangelicalism which prevailed in the Anglican communities in the colonies. Chapters three, four and five explore the tensions between colonial bishops and evangelical communities in more detail.

## **(v) Conclusion**

This chapter has suggested that the study of the recruitment of colonial clergymen can provide a new perspective on the expansion of the Church of England in the first half of the nineteenth century. The evidence presented here supports the view that the aims and objectives of the Church of England in the colonial field did change significantly between 1800 and 1850. In the first years of the nineteenth century the fledgling ecclesiastical establishments in the eastern hemisphere had been little more than extensions of the colonial 'fiscal-military' state. Chaplains were supposed to confine their ministrations to the military, the tiny expatriate population, and marginal groups such as convicts and 'half-castes' whose loyalty to the imperial connexion was suspect. But from the 1820s onwards attempts were made to replace these rather weak and haphazard ecclesiastical establishments with a colonial Church which was modelled on the parochial Church in mainland Britain. An important feature of these schemes – and one which has not received much coverage in the secondary literature – was the recruitment of clergymen. The Ecclesiastical Board was designed to give the colonial and ecclesiastical authorities in Britain greater control over the selection of candidates. Although evidence is patchy, the intention appears to have been to

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<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, Cape Town, C/AFS/3, W. Short to Hawkins, February 10, 1848, f. 139-41.

appoint men who were university-educated and had some experience of clerical work in Britain. As we saw in with the case of Simeon's 'pious chaplains' in Bengal and New South Wales, the line separating state-sponsored 'chaplains' from 'missionaries' was often an indistinct one. In the 1820s, however, the Ecclesiastical Board attempted to recruit men who had clerical experience in England, and hence the differences between missionaries and colonial chaplains became more apparent.<sup>185</sup> Although distinctions between the colonial and the metropolitan Church persisted (colonial service continued to be stigmatised), the creation of the Board and establishment of colonial archdeaconries and bishoprics suggests that churchmen and politicians wanted the imperial Church to resemble as much as possible the Church at home. This attempt to erect a colonial Church which was more closely connected to the mother Church at home continued in the 1840s, when bishoprics and theological colleges were established in the colonial world. This chapter has therefore used an alternative chronology of Anglican Church expansion to the one used by Bayly. While Bayly sees the first decade of the nineteenth century as the apogee of the 'Anglican design', this chapter has argued that it was not until the post-war period that both the colonial and ecclesiastical authorities in Britain made a concerted effort to strengthen the Church overseas.

However, this chapter has also shown how the aims and objectives of the Church were threatened by persistent recruitment problems. Neither the Ecclesiastical Board nor the SPG was capable of finding sufficient numbers of well-qualified clergymen for the colonies. Colonial clergymen expressed considerable dissatisfaction with many of the individuals who were sent out to them. The SPG in particular was incapable of meeting the wishes of those colonial churchmen who wished to see the colonial Church populated by men with high church and Tractarian sympathies. While entry to the East India Company's establishment continued to be dependent on private patronage, the procedures by which the Ecclesiastical Board and the SPG appointed men to the crown colonies opened up considerable opportunities to men who lacked contacts and private patrons. Throughout the early nineteenth century, therefore, there was considerable tension between the aims of politicians and churchmen in Britain

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<sup>185</sup> Although much more work needs to be done in this area, the evidence presented here suggests that colonial clergymen tended to be from a higher social class than their missionary counterparts. Sizars, who were ubiquitous in the early nineteenth century, became rarer as the century progressed. From roughly the 1820s onwards the majority of colonial clergymen tended to be the sons of clergymen or men engaged in the professions. For the backgrounds of missionaries, see Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*.



and the Church's ability to recruit suitable clergy. Later chapters of this thesis will explore the way in which recruitment problems back in Britain led to tensions in the colonies themselves. Colonists and evangelical clergy resented the increasing control which colonial bishops wielded over the recruitment of clergy. The SPG's appointment of both evangelical and high church clergy was also one reason why many of the theological and doctrinal controversies which convulsed the Church in mainland Britain in the 1830s and 1840s also surfaced in the colonies.

This chapter has also drawn attention to the distinctive character of the Church establishment in India. In the first section we noted some of the strong connections between the ecclesiastical establishments in New South Wales and India in the first decades of the century. A significant proportion of the chaplains who served in these colonies were personally known to one another. But from the 1820s onwards differences between the ecclesiastical establishments in the Indian presidencies and the colonies of white settlement became more pronounced. In the 1820s the Church at the Cape and New South Wales was transformed from a military into a civilian institution. By contrast, the Church in India remained tied to the military establishment. Differences in the Church establishment point to the increasingly distinctive position which India occupied in the British Empire as a whole.<sup>186</sup> While the rest of the empire was governed by the Colonial Office, India was ruled by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control (and later by its own government ministry and its own civil service). The ways in which the Indian Church was both comparable and different to the Church in New South Wales and the Cape will be explored in more detail in chapter five.

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<sup>186</sup> On this theme, see John Mackenzie, 'India's Role in the Victorian Concept of Empire', in Franz Ansprenger, Hermann Hiery and Christoph Kampmann (eds), *Imperium/Empire/Reich: Ein Konzept politischer Herrschaft im deutsch-britischen Vergleich. An Anglo-German Comparison of a Concept of Rule* (Munich, 1999), pp. 119-32.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **The establishment and the break-up of the 'confessional state' in the eastern empire, c. 1788-1830**

The previous chapter showed how the Colonial Office and various voluntary organisations made a concerted effort to extend the Anglican parish system across the British world in the 1820s. An Ecclesiastical Board was established to give the ecclesiastical authorities at home control over the disparate colonial churches. New methods for counting the size of Christian denominations in the colonies were also introduced. While the previous chapter focused on the motors back in Britain which drove Church expansion, this chapter shows how this 'Anglican design' was actually implemented in our three case studies.

The previous chapter also pointed to some of the problems which the colonial and ecclesiastical authorities in Britain experienced when they attempted to strengthen the position of the Church in the colonies. As we saw, a key problem was recruiting enough clergymen to take up curacies and incumbencies. The chapter argued that the expansion of the Anglican Church in the first half of the nineteenth century was a more untidy and less clear-cut affair than historians such as Rowan Strong have suggested.<sup>1</sup> This chapter continues this line of analysis, but it focuses on events in the colonies rather than in the metropolis. The chapter again concentrates on the problems which colonial administrators experienced when they attempted to transfer the model of a privileged Church from mainland Britain to the colonies.

The first section of this chapter examines the relationship between the evangelical chaplains who served in New South Wales and Bengal and the military authorities who governed these two areas in the early years of the nineteenth century. Christopher Bayly has argued that the activities of what he terms 'establishment evangelicals' complemented the autocratic and conservative colonial state which emerged in India and other parts of the empire in the early nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The first section of this chapter takes a different approach and points to the moments of conflict and tension between the colonial ecclesiastical establishments and the military authorities. The previous chapter showed how many of the evangelical clergymen selected for the colonies had a

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<sup>1</sup> Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700-1850* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), p. 143.



close though ambivalent relationship with Methodism and dissent. Although the majority of the clergymen who were sent out by the Clapham Sect professed their loyalty to the established constitution, their association with non-Anglican missionaries and dissenters did lead to awkward relations with the military authorities. A close study of the colonial careers of the Anglican chaplains in New South Wales and Bengal can provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the nature of the relationship between the church and the state in the Napoleonic period.

The remainder of the chapter analyses the difficulties which colonial administrators faced when they attempted to privilege the Church in regions where there was a plurality of Christian denominations and non-Christian religions. Where the Anglican community was meagre, or there was already an 'established' church, the Colonial Office did not attempt to privilege the Church of England. Rather, the multi-ethnic and sectarian character of the populations in India, New South Wales and the Cape Colony forced colonial administrators to implement a pragmatic religious policy. Roman Catholic priests were permitted to preach in New South Wales in the first years of the nineteenth century. Similarly, the East India Company maintained and protected Hindu and Muslim religious establishments in Madras and later Bengal. At the Cape the British did not alter the ecclesiastical arrangements which they inherited from the previous Batavian regime (despite the fact that the British did attempt to 'anglicise' other aspects of the political and cultural life of the colony). This chapter therefore examines the extent to which the framework of an alternative colonial religious policy was already largely in place before the Whigs returned to power in 1830.

#### **(i) The evangelical chaplains and the colonial 'fiscal-military' state in Bengal and New South Wales, c. 1788-1813**

We noted in the previous chapter that the peculiar nature of the recruitment process meant that a significant number of evangelical clergymen, many of whom had a close relationship with evangelicals outside the Church of England, were sent to the colonies in the early nineteenth century. In Britain, evangelical clergymen were often viewed with suspicion by more orthodox members of the established Church. Elizabeth Elbourne has shown how the founder members of the Church Missionary Society – an Anglican organisation which was strongly evangelical in character – were frequently harassed by high churchmen who

suspected them of 'enthusiasm' and 'Methodism'.<sup>3</sup> Elbourne notes that the members of the Clapham Sect tried hard to shake off any association with Methodism. The evangelical chaplains were no different. Claudius Buchanan, for instance, was recorded as saying to a Hindu scribe that a Methodist was a 'Christian man in the little isle of Britain, who prayed too much, and was righteous overmuch'.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, this section demonstrates that colonial chaplains in both New South Wales and India – the two chief destinations of Cambridge 'Sims' – were often viewed with the same suspicion as their counterparts in mainland Britain. In particular, the military authorities were suspicious of both the chaplains' involvement in missionary work and their cooperation with evangelicals who were not members of the Church of England.

The majority of the evangelical chaplains who were recruited by the Clapham evangelicals were sent to India. This was partly because in the early nineteenth century the Company took steps to increase the size of its ecclesiastical establishment.<sup>5</sup> Increasing the number of chaplains would placate those evangelicals, such as William Wilberforce, who wanted to see India opened up to missionary activity.<sup>6</sup> However, there were indications in the early 1790s that the East India Company wished to use the Church as a means of inculcating loyalty and patriotism among the communities of Europeans and Christians in India. This awareness of the chaplain's conservative and stabilising role was inspired by concerns that republican and revolutionary sentiments might reach India. Claudius Buchanan recalled that on his appointment as a Company chaplain in 1796, he was told by a Company director, Stephen Lushington, that 'French principle was sapping the foundations of Christianity and of social order [in British India]'. According to Buchanan, Lushington 'earnestly inculcated on me the duty of defending and promoting the principles of the Christian religion

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<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne, 'The foundation of the Church Missionary Society: the Anglican missionary impulse', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 247-64.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, late vice-president of the College of Fort William in Bengal* (Oxford, 1817), p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> Twenty-seven chaplains were sent to India between 1802 and 1812: *Papers relating to Resident Europeans and Police in Bengal, and to Missionaries in India*, Parliamentary Papers, 1812-13 [142], viii, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> For example, at the meeting at India House called to debate Wilberforce's 'pious clause' in May 1793, the Court of Directors refused to support the opening up of India to missionary activity. They did however agree to increase the size of the ecclesiastical establishment, until it was 'commensurate to the several British Protestant Communities in India'. See the clippings from *The Diary or Woodfall's Register*, held in Lambeth Palace Library, London, Fulham Papers, Porteus Papers, vol. 13, ff. 11-12.



by every proper means'.<sup>7</sup> The propagation of Christianity and the strengthening of the Anglican Church could therefore act as an important counter-revolutionary force.

The idea that the Anglican Church could stabilise and strengthen the empire in a period of global crisis is often associated with the career of Richard Wellesley, Governor-General of India between 1798 and 1805. As Bayly has argued, Wellesley's period as governor was characterised by a determination to assert the 'power and dignity of the state, the morality of conquest and British racial superiority'.<sup>8</sup> Wellesley believed that the Anglican Church could play a key role in the reformation of British rule in India: a respectable Church would bring Company officials back within the Anglican fold and give a 'regal' character to British imperial rule.<sup>9</sup> To realise these aims, Wellesley established Fort William College in Calcutta for the training and education of Company civil servants. The students were to be educated in the principles of the Established Church and the two presidency chaplains, Buchanan and David Brown, were appointed as the college's first provosts. Wellesley was satisfied that the establishment of Fort William would allow him to regulate 'the political, moral, and religious principles of all the British establishments in India'.<sup>10</sup> An Anglican education would ensure that the Company servants were professional, respectable, and perhaps most importantly, distanced from the indigenous population.

The evangelical chaplains on the Company's establishment had to reconcile their evangelical sensibilities with their positions as Company servants. Buchanan expressed considerable frustration when he was appointed as a chaplain to the military station at Barrackpore, some sixteen miles from Calcutta.<sup>11</sup> Henry Martyn similarly expected little reward from his military post. 'The sight of these men', he told David Brown, 'recalls the sorrowful remembrance of what I endured on board ship from my disdainful and abandoned countrymen among the military [...] they are "impudent children and stiff-hearted," and will receive, I fear, my ministrations, as all the others have done, with scorn'.<sup>12</sup> Depressed by these prospects, Martyn turned his attention towards

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<sup>7</sup> Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan*, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Christopher Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India*, II:1, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 136-47.

<sup>10</sup> [Claudius Buchanan], *The College of Fort William in Bengal* (London, 1805), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan*, pp. 102-3.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Wilberforce (ed.), *The Journals and Letters of the Rev Henry Martyn, B.D.* (2 vols, London, 1837), vol. 1, pp. 499, 513.



more evangelical concerns such as translating the Bible into Arabic and Persian and establishing schools for Indian children. Martyn also began a gargantuan mission to Arabia and Persia in 1810 but he died in 1812.<sup>13</sup> David Brown played a key role in the production of a series of proposals for missionary work in India which were sent to evangelicals in Britain and which led to Wilberforce's attempt to insert a 'pious clause' in the Company's charter. Thomas Thomason, another of Simeon's protégés, attempted to establish a branch of Simeon's 'London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews' in 1813.<sup>14</sup> Buchanan too was involved in evangelical projects. During a tour of southern India in 1806 and 1807 Buchanan developed plans for incorporating the communities of Syrian Christians into the Anglican Church.<sup>15</sup> Thomason, Martyn, Buchanan, Brown and the layman George Udny were all members of a Church Missionary Society corresponding committee which was established at Calcutta in 1807. These evangelical chaplains believed that the best means of securing British dominance in India was through the gradual conversion of the indigenous population and the creation of a common bond between rulers and ruled.

The close relationship which the evangelical chaplains developed with the Baptist missionaries who arrived in Bengal after 1793 further suggests that their primary concern was to propagate the Gospel among the non-white population. Initially the Company had ignored the arrival of the two Baptist missionaries who arrived in Calcutta in 1793 and one of them, a Northamptonshire cobbler named William Carey, took up a position as the superintendent of the evangelical layman George Udny's indigo factory at Malda. However, the toleration which was shown to the Baptists was threatened following Wellesley's arrival. Four Baptist missionaries arrived in 1799 and were advised by Charles Grant, who was supportive of their mission, to establish themselves in the Danish territory of Serampore, fifteen miles upriver from Calcutta. Wellesley, anxious about French advances in India, famously described Serampore as a refuge for 'adventurers of every nation, jacobins of every description'.<sup>16</sup> Wellesley took steps to restrict the activities of these Baptist missionaries. In 1799 the Bengal government sent Claudius Buchanan a

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<sup>13</sup> Martyn was also involved with the British and Foreign Bible Society: Henry Martyn, *Christian India; or an appeal on behalf of 900,000 Christians in India, who want the Bible* (Calcutta, 1811).

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Thomason, *The Claims of Israel: a sermon preached...for the benefit of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews* (Calcutta, 1813).

<sup>15</sup> Pearson, *Memoirs*, ch. 5

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in E. Daniel Potts, 'The Baptist Missionaries of Serampore and the Government of India, 1792-1813', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 15 (1964), p. 231.



questionnaire which asked him whether the Baptists were infected with Republican sentiments. Baptist missionaries who were found in British territory were threatened with arrest. An ordinance was also passed which strictly forbade any British subjects who did not have licenses from the Court of Directors from settling in India. The government's suspicions were perhaps justified as two of the Baptist missionaries – William Carey and John Fountain – were known to be connected with radical politics back in Britain. Wellesley was particularly concerned about the Baptist's printing activities and feared that they would threaten the security of India by publishing works on political subjects.<sup>17</sup>

Wellesley's hostility towards the Baptist missionaries was short-lived. Three factors lay behind the change in Wellesley's attitude. Firstly, in his reply to the questionnaire, Buchanan assured Wellesley that the Baptists were unlikely to disturb British authority in India. Secondly, a lack of Anglican clergymen forced Wellesley to tolerate the activities of the Baptist missionaries. Finally, Wellesley was prepared to tolerate the activities of any religious individual who could play a role in elevating the morality and spirituality of the European population. Wellesley did however insist that the Baptists should continue to reside outside British territory at Serampore. Here the Baptists established a printing press and opened two boarding schools.<sup>18</sup> The government paid Carey's salary and financed Baptist publications. Wellesley's successor, George Barlow, was similarly supportive of the Baptists and although he was prevented from giving direct aid to the Baptists, he did intimate a desire to see Christianity spread.

The government's toleration of dissent encouraged a degree of inter-denominational cooperation between the evangelical chaplains and the Baptist missionaries. Potts has shown how the members of the Clapham Sect were highly supportive of the Baptist mission and this evangelical assistance was replicated in Bengal.<sup>19</sup> Buchanan worked closely with the Baptists in producing and distributing translations of the Bible. Buchanan told Wellesley that 'we have no Church here and we are glad to make use of any religious Protestant Society to further an object'.<sup>20</sup> The Anglican chaplains also had an important role in the appointment of William Carey to the position of Professor of Bengali at the

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<sup>17</sup> E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and its Missions* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 171-4.

<sup>18</sup> John C. Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman, & Ward, the Serampore Missionaries* (London, 1864), pp. 51-52.

<sup>19</sup> For the relations between the Baptist missionaries and evangelical chaplains in Bengal, see Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, ch. 3.

<sup>20</sup> British Library, London, Manuscripts Department, Wellesley Papers, Add. 37281, Claudius Buchanan to Richard Wellesley, March 15, 1806, f. 174.



College at Fort William. Carey's position at the College gave the Baptists a central role in the education and training of a generation of Company civil servants and also tightened the Baptist's control over the translation and publication of vernacular versions of the New Testament.<sup>21</sup> After his appointment the Baptist mission seems to have grown in confidence and suggestions were made to the home authorities of the Baptist Missionary Society for the expansion of the mission into the interior of Bengal.<sup>22</sup>

The state's relationship with both the Baptist missionaries and the Anglican chaplains became more strained after Wellesley's departure and his replacement by the first earl of Minto in 1807. Under Minto the Company's commitment to the propagation of Christianity became more ambiguous. The crucial factor which lay behind the change in the Company's attitude towards the propagation of Christianity was the mutiny of Company troops at Vellore in June 1806. The initial cause of the mutiny was the implementation of new dress codes which, among other things, forbade the Sepoys from displaying caste marks and wearing earrings. Many Indians believed that the alterations in dress code were part of a wider effort to convert them to Christianity.<sup>23</sup> In the aftermath of the mutiny the Company attempted to distance itself from missionary activity. Two newly-arrived Baptist missionaries were sent home and restrictions were placed on the dissemination of Bibles and religious pamphlets. Another point of conflict emerged in 1807 when the Baptist mission press published a Persian-language pamphlet which described Islam as the 'lying Religion' and described Mohammed as a 'Tyrant'. The government feared that the pamphlet would disturb public order and threaten the security of British India, particularly if it was misinterpreted as a government-sponsored publication. These fears were heightened when a magistrate reported that at their public prayer meetings in Calcutta the Baptists were openly condemning Indian religious practices. In response Minto prohibited public preaching in Calcutta and ordered the removal of the Baptist press from Serampore. For Minto the government had to act in accordance with 'the principle of toleration which the Legislature had prescribed [and] which this Government had uniformly professed and observed'.<sup>24</sup> After receiving appeals from the Danish governor at Serampore Minto's attitude

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<sup>21</sup> Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> Marshman, *Carey, Marshman & Ward*, p. 77.

<sup>23</sup> Penelope Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ: Evangelicals and India, 1788-1833' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1988), p. 119

<sup>24</sup> *Papers relating to Resident Europeans and Police in Bengal*, Parliamentary Papers, 1812-13 [142], viii, copy of a letter from the Governor General in Council, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 2 November 1807', p. 41.



towards the missionaries softened. Rather than demanding the destruction of their press, Minto subsequently ordered that all missionary works should be sent to the government for censorship before publication. On November 2, 1807 Minto sent a despatch to the Court of Directors which recognised that the government was committed to 'the diffusion of the blessing of Christianity', but added that the Company would not tolerate public preaching and direct confrontation with Indian religions.<sup>25</sup> The Company would only permit Christianity to be spread by moderate means, such as through the translation and distribution of the Bible.

The relationship between the Baptist missionaries and the military authorities after the pamphlet affair has been told in length elsewhere so there is no need to provide another narrative of events.<sup>26</sup> But what is significant – and this is only alluded to briefly in the existing literature on the subject – is that the restrictions were also extended to the Anglican chaplains. The military authorities regarded the evangelical chaplains as presenting as great a threat to the established order as dissenting missionaries. After the mutiny, William Elphinstone, the chairman of the Court of Directors and a prominent anti-missionary, wrote a minute on missionaries which advised that the doctrines which Brown and Buchanan had preached from their pulpits 'ought not to be tolerated'.<sup>27</sup> Company directors were also apprehensive about the publication in 1805 of Buchanan's *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India*, as they feared the creation of a more extensive ecclesiastical establishment would give the indigenous population the impression that the government intended to convert India to Christianity.<sup>28</sup> Minto was also uneasy about the influence of the evangelical chaplains. During the Persian pamphlet affair Minto's government issued an order which prohibited the publication of a set of Claudius Buchanan's sermons which contained predictions about the eventual conversion of India. When Buchanan received a notice from Chief Secretary asking him to send his sermons to the government for inspection, he refused to comply. In response Buchanan wrote a memorial to Minto which defended the behaviour of the Baptist mission and attacked the government for

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<sup>25</sup> *Papers relating to Resident Europeans and Police in Bengal, and to Missionaries in India*, Parliamentary Papers, 1812-13 [142], viii, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, ch. 8; Penelope Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ: Evangelicals and India', ch. 5.

<sup>27</sup> BL, Asia Pacific and Africa Collections, Elphinstone Collection, papers of W. E. Elphinstone, MSS. Eur. F89, Box 2c, f. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ', p. 124; Buchanan himself admitted to Wellesley that 'when that volume makes its appearance here (as yet no one knows of it) I apprehend it will prove rather a fiery ordeal to the author': BL, Manuscripts Department, Wellesley Papers, Add. 37284, Buchanan to Wellesley, March 6, 1806, f. 35.

the restrictions which it had placed on the diffusion of Christianity.<sup>29</sup> Buchanan claimed that the Company was obliged by its charter to instruct and reform the indigenous population and argued that this duty did not necessarily interfere with its policy of religious neutrality.<sup>30</sup> Minto did not reply to Buchanan's memorial but instead sent it as part of a despatch to the Court of Directors. Minto's despatch argued that Buchanan's publications were examples of works which 'reviled the religions of our subjects, and distinctly declared a desire to convert them to the Christian faith (sic)'. Minto therefore had no choice but to prohibit the publication of any work which threatened 'the security and tranquillity of this empire'.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the Vellore debates the evangelical chaplains had been supportive of the missionaries. Buchanan's Clapham Sect contacts played a key role in blocking the formation of a stronger anti-missionary movement in Britain after the Vellore mutiny.<sup>32</sup> It was largely because of Edward Parry and Charles Grant at the Board of Control that the Company agreed to reverse its earlier decisions and instead allow the Baptist missionaries to remain in India. The Clapham Sect convinced Dundas and the Court of Directors to send a despatch to India which contained the remark that the Court was 'far from adverse to the introduction of Christianity into India'. Rather than ordering a complete ban on missionaries entering India, the despatch 'passed a high eulogium on the temperate and respectful conduct of the Serampore missionaries' and recommended that they be allowed to continue to produce translations of the Bible and to preach to existing Christians.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, after roughly 1806 tensions between the Anglican chaplains and the Baptist missionaries did become more pronounced. According to Roger Martin these differences were the result of disagreements over the creation of an inter-denominational Calcutta committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1807. The Baptists believed that the proposed committee was really an attempt by the Anglican chaplains to control the production of translations. The Baptists therefore refused to cooperate. Relations between the two groups declined further when the Baptists refused to comply with Buchanan's request that the mission press at Serampore be converted into a college called the 'British Propaganda'. The college would

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<sup>29</sup> The memorial can be found in Buchanan's *An Apology for Promoting Christianity in India* (London, 1813), pp. 62-89.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.82.

<sup>31</sup> *Papers relating to Resident Europeans and Police in Bengal*, PP, [142], viii, Bengal Government to secret committee of the Court of Directors, December 7, 1807, p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ', pp. 127-34; Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, p. 178.

<sup>33</sup> Marshman, Carey, Marshman, & Ward, pp. 126-27.



translate the scriptures into the vernacular but would be supervised by an Anglican clergyman. The distance between the two denominations was apparent when Buchanan established his own Anglican 'Christian Institution' which produced its own Hindu and Persian translations of the Bible without any Baptist input. Although an inter-denominational corresponding committee of the Bible Society was finally established in 1809, disagreements over the translation of the Bible into Bengali led to its abandonment and the creation in 1811 of a separate Anglican organisation: the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. After this point the two denominations separated and pursued alternative means of propagating the gospel: the Anglicans concentrating on providing the indigenous population with Bibles, and the Baptists focusing on translating the scriptures.<sup>34</sup>

As we noted in the previous chapters, the evangelical chaplains in India were close associates of the chaplains in New South Wales. Several were contemporaries at Cambridge.<sup>35</sup> There is evidence that the chaplains maintained these contacts once they arrived in their respective colonies.<sup>36</sup> The chaplains in New South Wales also resembled their counterparts in Bengal in that they too were servants of the 'expanding imperial garrison state'<sup>37</sup> which radiated out from India to other parts of the eastern empire in the early nineteenth century. New South Wales was governed by autocratic military and naval governors for its first decade. The evangelical clergymen who arrived in the colony in this period formed an important part of the convict regime. Richard Johnson, the first chaplain, was instructed by the first naval governors to maintain public morality and inculcate habits of deference and loyalty among the convict population. John Hunter, the third naval governor, passed a regulation which made it mandatory for convicts of all Christian denominations to attend Anglican services. Johnson repeatedly asserted his loyalty to church and state and he accepted his role as a moral policeman. Johnson accepted the position of magistrate under Phillip, and although he considered the position, 'a most unthankful, troublesome office [...] and shd wish much to give up this duty', he added that, 'in my present situation, I

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<sup>34</sup> Roger H. Martin, 'Anglicans and Baptists in Conflict: The Bible Society, Bengal and the Baptizo Controversy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49:2 (1998), pp. 293-317.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Thomason was a contemporary of Samuel Marsden's at Magdalene College and an Elland Scholar: A. T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden: The Great Survivor* (Melbourne, 1977), p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> The chaplains were infrequent correspondents of one another. Claudius Buchanan told John Newton that the New South Wales chaplains 'are making money, but not converts. They intend to return as soon as they can': LPL, Newton Papers, MS 3972, Buchanan to John Newton, October 1, 1798, f. 47.

<sup>37</sup> Christopher Bayly, 'The British and indigenous peoples, 1760-1860: power, perception and identity', in Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern (eds), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850* (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 26.

consider it my indispensable duty'.<sup>38</sup> Johnson balanced his role as a magistrate with his wider interest in the reformation of the convict population. Both he and James Bain, the military chaplain who accompanied the New South Wales Corps to the colony, established schools at Sydney and Parramatta for the education of the convicts.<sup>39</sup>

However, Johnson's interest in the reformation of the convicts led to tense relations with the military authorities.<sup>40</sup> For military governors whose primary concern was to maintain authority and discipline such evangelical objectives threatened the tranquillity of the colony. The first two governors of New South Wales were both suspicious of Johnson's evangelical sympathies and gave his scheme for educating the children of the colony little support. To prevent him from unsettling the convict community the first governor, Arthur Phillip, advised Johnson to restrict his sermons to moral subjects that stressed the necessity of subordination to authority. The military authorities were also suspicious of the close connections which Johnson had with Methodists and dissenters in Yorkshire (his close friend and correspondent, Henry Fricker, was a Baptist and his wife, Mary, was half Baptist and half Methodist).<sup>41</sup> Francis Grose – Phillip's successor as governor – told Dundas that Johnson was 'one of the people called Methodists'. For the military governors, Johnson's evangelical belief in personal salvation and the essential equality of all humans before God's judgement placed him in the same camp as the Methodists. To limit his influence Grose denied Johnson access to condemned prisoners, removed him from the magistrates bench and instead gave the more important tasks to James Bain, the military chaplain.<sup>42</sup> Johnson wrote to a friend in England that Bain was 'greatly caressed by our great ones, & I fancy is not suspected as being a Methodist'.<sup>43</sup>

The relationship between Samuel Marsden – the second clergyman to arrive in the colony – and the military authorities was more complicated. Like

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<sup>38</sup> George Mackaness (ed.), *Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, B.A. First Chaplain of New South Wales* (2 vols, Sydney, 1954), vol. 2, Richard Johnson to Henry Fricker, August 15, 1797, p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> Mitchell Library, Sydney, Society of the Propagation of the Gospel, letters from Bain and Johnston on education, 1789-1799, A3584, Johnson to Rev. William Morice, March 18, 1798, no pagination; Johnson also distributed a tract called *An address to the inhabitants of the colonies established in New South Wales and Norfolk Island* among the convict population.

<sup>40</sup> For Johnson's evangelical mission, see Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, A History: Volume one: The Beginning* (Oxford, 1997), ch. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History. Volume One: The Beginning* (Oxford, 1997), p. 182.

<sup>42</sup> Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, p. 225.

<sup>43</sup> Mackaness (ed.), *Some Letters*, vol. 1, Johnson to Fricker, October 4, 1791, p. 42.



Johnson, Marsden agreed to take the position of magistrate, and he appears to have performed this role with some enthusiasm, earning the nickname 'the flogging parson' through the frequent use which he made of that instrument of discipline. Marsden's relationship with the military authorities was, nevertheless, often difficult. Marsden's relationship with Lachlan Macquarie, governor from 1810 to 1822 was particularly stormy. The disagreement between the two men partly stemmed from the fact that Marsden was strongly opposed to Macquarie's policy of giving significant civil positions to emancipated convicts. In 1810 Marsden refused to act as a commissioner for a turnpike road with two emancipists. Macquarie regarded Marsden's behaviour as insubordination and threatened to report the incident to the authorities at home. This event was merely the first in a series of disagreements between the two men, disagreements which came to a head in 1817 when Macquarie prohibited Marsden from entering Government House except when he was on public duty.<sup>44</sup>

But the disputes between the two men did not merely result from personal differences. Marsden resented Macquarie's attempts to exert a tighter control over public religion in the colony. One of Macquarie's chief aims was to reassert metropolitan authority in a colony which had been disrupted by a coup led by officers of the New South Wales Corps in 1808.<sup>45</sup> Macquarie assumed that the chaplains and the Church would play a key role in reasserting government control in the colony. However, Macquarie harboured suspicions about the evangelical clergy's loyalty to church and state. In October 1814 Macquarie informed Earl Bathurst that Marsden had introduced into his services new versions of the psalms published by the evangelical clergyman William Goode. Macquarie was particularly anxious about the influence of Methodism in colonial society and he considered any innovation in the divine service dangerous. Macquarie told Bathurst that Marsden and his assistants 'are originally of low Rank and not qualified by liberal Educations in the Usual Way [...] and are also much tinctured with Methodistical and other Sectarian Principles, which dispose them to a hasty Adoption of new Systems [...] to the Exclusion of the Old Establishment of the Church of England'.<sup>46</sup> Marsden's involvement with the CMS and particular the LMS (he became an agent and foreign director of the

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<sup>44</sup> Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, provides an account of the disagreements between the two men.

<sup>45</sup> Alan Atkinson, 'The Little Revolution in New South Wales, 1808', *The International History Review*, 12:1 (1990), pp. 65-75.

<sup>46</sup> *Historical Records of Australia.*, series 1 (24 vols, Canberra, 1925), vol. 8, Lachlan Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, October 7, 1814, p. 336-7.

society in 1804),<sup>47</sup> an organisation which was managed by dissenters, no doubt heightened Macquarie's anxieties. Macquarie told Bathurst that Marsden's opinions would give 'such a latitude to Dissent, that I am fully Convinced various Sectaries would spring up in this young and Unschooled Colony' if he was not restrained.<sup>48</sup> Macquarie's prohibited the use of psalms in Churches in the colony, an order which was upheld by Bathurst who advised him to 'enforce a strict adherence to the forms and services which are prescribed by the competent authority'.<sup>49</sup>

At the core of this dispute was a difference of opinion over the status of the Church in the colony. As a military governor Macquarie assumed that the Church was an adjunct of the convict establishment and came under the control of the military authorities. Marsden, by contrast, argued that the Church should be an independent civilian institution which was responsible for providing spiritual instruction to both the civil and convict population. Since his arrival in the colony Marsden had attempted to separate the Church from the control of the military authorities: during his trip to Britain in 1808 he succeeded in having his appointment changed from a military to a civilian position. Macquarie, by contrast, continued to regard the chaplaincy as a military institution and claimed complete authority over the church. Macquarie's attitude towards the Church was clearly displayed in 1817 when he arrested and threatened to court-martial the Rev. Benjamin Vale, after Vale had commandeered an American ship which the government had previously allowed to enter Sydney harbour.<sup>50</sup> Macquarie further angered the Anglican clergy when he passed orders which instructed the colony's clergymen to read government orders during divine service. Richard Cartwright told commissioner Bigge that he read the orders 'with great violence to my own feelings'.<sup>51</sup> When Marsden refused to read an order for settlers to supply the government stores with grain, Macquarie told Marsden that if he resisted again he would 'answer for it at his peril'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Marsden employed LMS missionaries who were either heading out to, or returning from, missionary work in the Pacific. He also corresponded with a LMS missionary in South Africa called Rev. John Campbell, who provided him with information on the state of the missions in the Cape Colony: ML, Marsden Papers, CY A1992, Rev. John Campbell to Samuel Marsden, November 12, 1803, ff. 17-19.

<sup>48</sup> *H.R.A.*, ser. 1, vol. 8, Macquarie to Bathurst, p. 337.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Bathurst to Macquarie, December 2, 1815, p. 637.

<sup>50</sup> Macquarie's actions were subsequently censured by Bathurst. See *H.R.A.*, ser. 1, vol. 9, Bathurst to Macquarie, November 24, 1817, pp. 206-7.

<sup>51</sup> For Richard Cartwright's evidence, see The National Archives, Kew, London, CO 201/127, f. 109.

<sup>52</sup> *H.R.A.*, ser. 1, vol. viii, Macquarie to Bathurst, May 24, p. 256.



Macquarie's arbitrary control over the Church prompted Marsden to call for the creation of a colonial chaplaincy which was independent of the military authorities and under the control of the Bishop of London. In a series of letters to William Howley, the Bishop of London, Marsden described the negative effects which Macquarie's peremptory control had had on the church in New South Wales. Marsden told Howley that,

[...] in a colony so remote, and where the Government has been of so peculiar a nature, sometimes naval, sometimes military, but always absolute, and in the power of one man, the clergy have unavoidably been subject to many insults and degradations, by which the interest of Religion and morality could not help but naturally suffer.

Marsden added that the 'humble remonstrances' of the clergy were 'viewed as Rebellion and their meetings are treated with no more Respect than if they held the most menial Situations'.<sup>53</sup> Marsden was further angered when Macquarie prevented the singing of hymns during divine service. In a second letter to Howley Marsden argued that the governor had no right to interfere in the manner in which divine service was celebrated. Marsden told Howley that 'the Established Clergy should not be cramped, but should be allowed in matters purely indifferent to exercise their own judgment and attach the people by every wise, good and prudent measure to the Establishment'.<sup>54</sup> Marsden called for an investigation into the nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colony. Howley, though sympathetic, replied that the Bishop had neither jurisdiction 'nor legal right to interfere' in what was essentially a military chaplaincy.<sup>55</sup> Despite Marsden's best efforts, the chaplaincy remained tied to the military establishment until the mid-1820s.

This section has shown that although the colonial chaplains were defined as agents of the military state and (in the Australian colonies) the convict establishment, in practice their relationship with the colonial authorities was more ambiguous. The interests of the colonial authorities and the evangelical missionaries rarely converged: while the colonial state assumed that the chaplains' primary duty was to maintain public order and tranquillity, the colonial chaplains balanced their roles as 'moral policemen' with their wider interest in conversion. The awkward position which the evangelicals occupied in

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<sup>53</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Marsden to Bishop William Howley, March 11 1821, f. 739.

<sup>54</sup> ML, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 27, Marsden to the Howley, August 26, 1821, pp. 6466-67.

<sup>55</sup> ML, Marsden Papers, Letters to Samuel Marsden, CY A1992, Howley to Marsden, August 14, 1821, ff. 373-74.

colonial society in this period is illustrated by the career of Claudius Buchanan. Buchanan's pamphlets demonstrate that he was an advocate of the Protestant constitution of church and state and indeed wanted to see it exported to the colonies. His relationship with Richard Wellesley was close and both he and David Brown played prominent roles in Wellesley's drive to raise the morality of the British community in India. Yet Buchanan's association with the Baptists and his involvement in missionary schemes often placed him in an awkward position with the colonial authorities. By way of comparison, the civilian chaplain at the Cape, Robert Jones (who had been educated at St. Edmund's Hall Oxford and St. John's Cambridge, both of which were noted evangelical centres), was also treated with suspicion by the colonial authorities, and particularly by Lord Charles Somerset, the ultra-Tory governor. Jones wrote to the Bishop of London that the 'government seem to oppose all plans of education and improvement, under the broad charge of their favouring Methodism'.<sup>56</sup> There are grounds for arguing that the authorities in both New South Wales and India did not distinguish between the chaplains and the non-Anglican missionaries whose 'enthusiasm' was considered to be a potential threat to the security of the empire.

#### **(ii) The 'Anglican design' in the eastern hemisphere after 1813**

The evidence presented in the preceding section suggests that the state's ability to strengthen the position of Anglican Church in the colonies was seriously inhibited. In India, for instance, Wellesley was obliged to tolerate the activities of the Baptist missionaries largely because there was a need for individuals who could raise the spiritual and moral calibre of the European population. Consequently, non-Anglican missionaries were given considerable latitude to preach and publish in British India in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Although the freedom of missionaries was constrained after Vellore, the mutiny did not lead to the wholesale deportation of non-Anglican missionaries from India.

The situation was similar in New South Wales. The early naval governors were concerned to strengthen the position of the Church and use the chaplains as 'moral policemen'. As in India, the colonial authorities in Australia tolerated the activities of non-Anglican missionaries and permitted them to

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<sup>56</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Robert Jones to Howley, July 22, 1816, f. 365.



establish schools and preaching circuits. In 1798 a group of missionaries from the LMS arrived in the colony after their mission to Tahiti had collapsed. These missionaries included the Congregational minister James Cover, the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion minister William Henry, and the dissenting laymen Rowland Hassall, Francis Oakes and Henry Main. Two of these missionaries, James Cover and Rowland Hassall, were invited by Marsden to act as educators and evangelisers and quickly established itinerating ministries around Parramatta. Hassall and Cover also used private homes and barns as meeting places and Cover started a series of Sunday evening lectures at Parramatta. Hassall and Henry established schools at Kissing Point and Toongabbie and turned to the LMS to provide books and religious materials.<sup>57</sup> Nonconformist schoolteachers were occasionally provided with government salaries. John Harris, an LMS missionary who briefly served as chaplain at Norfolk Island, taught at a government school at Windsor from 1803 to 1808. Harris told the LMS that 'I preach a free gospel & keep almost a free school'.<sup>58</sup> William Pascoe Crook, who arrived in 1803 and assisted Hassall in his itinerating ministry at Kissing Point and Castle Hill, was another schoolmaster paid by the government. Marsden bought Crook a house and employed him at his school at Parramatta in 1804. The lack of Anglican clergymen in the colony forced Governor King to offer Crook the chaplaincy at Port Dalrymple in 1805. In two letters to the LMS committee in Britain in 1804 Crook boasted that his school had three times the number of children than any other school in the colony. Envisioning a more extensive LMS mission in the colony, Crook told the society that 'there is something of an open door here which no man can shut'.<sup>59</sup> Space was also open for the Presbyterian community – led by the exiled Scottish Martyr Thomas Muir – to establish a congregation and chapel at Ebenezer on the Hawkesbury River in 1808.<sup>60</sup> For a brief period in 1803 Roman Catholicism was tolerated in the colony. A Roman Catholic convict priest named James Dixon – who had been transported for his alleged involvement in the 1798 rebellion – was pardoned by the secretary of state and allowed to minister to Catholics at Sydney, Parramatta and along the Hawkesbury.

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<sup>57</sup> V. W. E. Goodin, 'Public Education in New South Wales before 1848', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 36:2 (1950), pp. 88-90.

<sup>58</sup> Harris quoted in Goodin, 'Public education in New South Wales', p. 98.

<sup>59</sup> ML, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 49, William Pascoe Crook to the LMS home committee, undated and March 1, 1804, pp. 219-232.

<sup>60</sup> C. A. White, *The Challenge of the Years: A History of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales* (London, 1951), p. 2.

Therefore, before roughly 1810 the colonial authorities in both New South Wales and India lacked the resources to privilege the Anglican Church. Rowan Strong has intimated that the establishment of the bishopric at Calcutta in 1813 prompted a more vigorous effort on the part of the British government to strengthen the position of the Church in the colonies. In the previous chapter we noted that the 1820s saw the Colonial Office take a closer interest in the recruitment of clergymen. But to what extent was this change in outlook reflected in the colonies themselves? What impact did the expansion of the Anglican Church have on non-Anglicans? Was this a project which received the support of the secular authorities in the colonies? The following section examines the evidence for an 'Anglican design' in India after 1813 and then turns to examine New South Wales and the Cape Colony.

The creation of a bishopric at Calcutta in 1813 was part of the wider evangelical campaign which resulted in the opening up of India to missionary activity and the inclusion in the renewed charter of a 'pious clause' which stated that the Company and Britain had a duty to promote 'the interest and happiness' of the population of India.<sup>61</sup> The 1813 charter appears to have been a key success for the evangelicals and nonconformists who were still not tolerated in Britain. In 1814 both the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society established missions in India, bringing the total number of missionary societies present in India to eight. Recently, however, scholars have questioned the extent to which the 1813 charter heralded a new dawn for missionary activity in India. Penelope Carson argues that the chief beneficiaries of the renewed charter were the high church party of the Church of England.<sup>62</sup> Although William Wilberforce spearheaded the campaign for the establishment of the episcopate, neither he nor the Clapham Sect had any influence in the appointment of the first bishop. Rather, a group of high churchmen known as the 'Hackney Phalanx' succeeded in having one of their number, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton – archdeacon of Huntingdon and an editor of the high church *British Critic* – appointed to the see. The aims of Middleton and the high church party were different to those of the Clapham Sect and the evangelicals. While the latter were interested in conversion and the Christianization of India, high churchmen believed that the Church's first task was to provide spiritual instruction to the

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<sup>61</sup> Fred D. Schneider, 'Parliament, the East India Company, and the Calcutta Bishopric', *Church and State Journal*, 16 (1974), pp. 51-71.

<sup>62</sup> Carson, Penelope, 'The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience: The Ambiguities of Religious Establishment and Toleration, 1698-1833', in Brian Stanley, *Christian Missions and Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, Mi, 2001), pp. 45-70.



European population. The *British Critic* believed that the bishop's first task was to confirm the faith and regulate the morals of the European community.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, in an early charge to his clergy, Middleton stated that their chief duty was to 'reclaim' the military, many of whom, he remarked 'were brought up in the habits of profligacy'.<sup>64</sup> In 1815 he organised the creation of committees of the SPCK in Madras and Calcutta, which were designed to distribute Bibles and other religious books to the European population.<sup>65</sup> Middleton's other main aim was to extend and strengthen the parish system in India. Middleton told his clergy that they should conduct their duties according to the model of the English parish priest. To achieve these aims Middleton impressed on his clergy the need for greater order and regularity in the ecclesiastical establishment.<sup>66</sup> But this section will show that Middleton's attempt to establish a parochial Church in India was frustrated. This was because the Company only gave the Church limited support and because it jealously guarded its right to control its chaplains, which it continued to regard as military chaplains rather than parochial clergy.

Carson and Rowan Strong have argued that the 1813 charter prompted closer relations between the Church and the East India Company.<sup>67</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that the Company was interested in strengthening the Church of England. The Company's support for the Anglican ascendancy can be seen in its treatment of the Church of Scotland establishment in Calcutta. The 1813 renewed charter had provided for the creation of Church of Scotland establishment in India, but it had not explicitly recognised its established status.<sup>68</sup> The Company had no intention of establishing two rival Christian establishments in India. Bishop Middleton was particularly critical of any attempt to create a system of dual establishment. Middleton regarded a Church of Scotland establishment in India as 'needless' and 'mischievous', as, according to him, 'the

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<sup>63</sup> 'The Bishop of Calcutta's primary charge', *British Critic* 7 (February 1817), pp. 125-6.

<sup>64</sup> 'A Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Calcutta, at Calcutta the 7<sup>th</sup> December 1815, at Madras the 11<sup>th</sup> January, and at Bombay the 13<sup>th</sup> June 1816', in Henry Kaye Bonney, *Sermons and Charges, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. With memoirs of his life* (London, 1824), pp. 202-4.

<sup>65</sup> A clergymen in southern India noted that Middleton had recommended that the Madras Committee should 'confine its attention, simply & exclusively, to furnishing of English Bible, Prayer & School Books & Tracts from the Society's Lists to our own people & soldiers in Camps, barracks, Hospitals, &c': Rhodes House Library, Oxford, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, C/IND/GEN (3), Rev. M. Thompson to Archdeacon Loring, January 7, 1819, f. 2.

<sup>66</sup> Bonney, *Sermons and Charges*, pp. 198-201.

<sup>67</sup> Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ', pp. 330-31; Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire*, ch.3.

<sup>68</sup> D. Chambers, 'The Kirk and the Colonies in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, 16 (1975), p. 382.

English and the Scotch in India had hitherto been as one church and one nation'.<sup>69</sup> Company officials apparently shared the view that Britain's overseas colonies were extensions of England. The Company refused to grant funds for the establishment of a Scottish Church which equalled those that had been given to St. John's, the Anglican Church. Consequently, the Church of Scotland minister at Calcutta, James Bryce, was told that the costs of the Scottish Church establishment had to come from the seat rents of the Scots Church.<sup>70</sup> The Company also objected to the erection of a steeple on the Scots church, as this, it reminded Bryce, was a symbol of legal establishment. The validity of marriages performed by Church of Scotland ministers was also not recognised. When Bryce argued that the Scottish Church should receive the same privileges as those granted to the English Church, the governor general told him that as the Church of England was the only denomination within the British territories which was established, 'it ought not to be considered as the standard by which the state and condition of any other religious community, however sanctioned and encouraged by us, ought to be measured'.<sup>71</sup>

The Company's treatment of the Church of Scotland stimulated the formation of a civil rights movement among the Presbyterian community. In 1815 Bryce reminded the Bengal government that by the terms of the 1707 Act of Union and the recent charter renewal, both 'established Churches should have equal claim on the countenance and protection of the state'.<sup>72</sup> The restrictions against Presbyterian marriages, Bryce noted, effectively defined ministers of the Church of Scotland as dissenters. A series of petitions were sent to the House of Commons, the Court of Directors, and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh. The petitions called for a more extensive Scottish Church establishment supported by public funds and for Church of Scotland marriages to be recognised as legal.<sup>73</sup> Bishop Middleton organised his own petition which warned of the confusion that must attend 'the hitherto untried experiment of two

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<sup>69</sup> Robert I. Wilberforce (ed.), *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce* (2 vols, London, 1840), vol. 1, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton to William Wilberforce, June 21, 1816, p. 347.

<sup>70</sup> BL, APAC, India Office Records, F/4/623 Board's Collections 15904, Executive Council to James Bryce, 16 March 1816, f. 90.

<sup>71</sup> BL, APAC, IOR/F/4/1077 Board's Collection 29263, Executive Council to Bryce, 22 August, 1821, f. 48.

<sup>72</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, F/4/474 Board's Collection 11367, Bryce to Executive Council, April 17, 1815, f. 76.

<sup>73</sup> The memorial for a Company allowances to support officers of the Church of Scotland is in IOR/F/4/1078 Board's Collection 29264, f. 5; the petition which demanded the removal of doubts over the validity of marriages performed by Church of Scotland ministers can be found in IOR/F/474 Board's Collection 11366, ff. 15-21.



churches, equally accredited in the same country, and fully recognised by the same law'. For reasons which are unclear, this petition was never sent to Parliament.<sup>74</sup> This campaign did succeed in forcing Parliament to pass an 1818 act which recognised Church of Scotland marriages. Despite these gains, as late as 1831 the Scottish Church at Bombay complained to the Presbytery in Edinburgh that the equal established status of the Church of Scotland was not recognised in India.<sup>75</sup>

At face value, the Company's treatment of the Church of Scotland indicated that it was willing to maintain the Anglican ascendancy in India. The composition of the Company's ecclesiastical establishment also confirmed the privileged position of the Church of England in India. Although the Company did provide funds for Roman Catholic missionaries (who would minister to its Roman Catholic troops), all the chaplains who were maintained by the Company were Anglican.<sup>76</sup> Yet while Anglicanism was always the pre-eminent denominational group in the Company's ecclesiastical establishment, this did not lead to any close relationship between the state and the Anglican Church. Rather, the ecclesiastical establishment was regarded as little more than a department of government.<sup>77</sup> Company officials tended to distance themselves from the bishops and clergy as they were fearful that any close association with religious officials might inflame indigenous public opinion. The Company's maintenance of non-Christian religious establishments also precluded any close relationship between the state and the Anglican Church. Although the Company stated that it was neutral in matters of religion, in reality it was closely involved in the administration of Hindu and Muslim religious institutions and establishments. The British believed that an association with non-Christian religion would legitimate its rule, and so during in the early nineteenth century the Company began to take an active role in the management and maintenance of non-Christian religious institutions. Hindu religious establishments were granted tax exemptions, Company servants collected pilgrim taxes, European officials attended non-Christian ceremonies and festivals and the government took

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<sup>74</sup> Charles Le Bas, *The Life of the Right Reverend Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, Bishop of Calcutta* (2 vols, London, 1831), vol. 1, p. 134.

<sup>75</sup> Chamber, 'The Kirk and the Colonies', p. 383.

<sup>76</sup> Kenneth Ballhatchet, 'The East India Company and Roman Catholic Missionaries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), pp. 273-289.

<sup>77</sup> Ainslee Embree, 'Christianity and the state in India: confrontation and collaboration', in R. W. Davis and R. J. Helmstadter (eds), *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society: Essays in Honor of R. K. Webb* (London, 1992), p. 161.

responsibility for the repair and upkeep of temples and shrines.<sup>78</sup> The Company believed that it was continuing the policy of the pre-colonial regimes which had traditionally secured their power by allying themselves to religious institutions.<sup>79</sup>

While the Company was willing to maintain an Anglican establishment, the dictates of ruling a multi-ethnic empire meant that it shied away from allying itself too closely with the Anglican Church. Anglicanism was therefore merely one of three established religions in India.<sup>80</sup> The Company was also concerned to limit the authority of the bishops in its territories, particularly over the question of the stationing and licensing of chaplains. The Company maintained that the clergy in India were technically military chaplains, liable to be removed at any time by the Governor in council. When the Marquis of Hastings recommended that the Bishop of Calcutta should be given control over the nomination and licensing of Anglican clergy, he was severely reprimanded by the home authorities. The Board of Control in London told Middleton that there could be no 'concurrent jurisdiction' and that he could not nominate or license company chaplains who essentially formed 'part of our military establishment'. When the Bombay presidency questioned the relation between chaplains and military authority in November 1823, the Bengal government replied that chaplains were to be considered as military agents and amenable to court martial.<sup>81</sup> Middleton later complained that he was 'without power, patronage, or the rank of a Bishop in England'.<sup>82</sup>

The Company's control over the stationing of clergymen had serious consequences for the Church of England in India. As the Bishop had no control over the appointment and stationing of chaplains (he could only recommend the appointment of additional chaplains to the Company), the only means by which the bishops of Calcutta could expand the Church in India was through missionary work. As early as February 1817 Middleton had suggested to the archbishop of Canterbury that the Church of England should send missionaries out to India to

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<sup>78</sup> Nancy Gardner Cassels, *Religion and Pilgrim Tax under the Company Raj* (New Delhi, 1987); Geoffrey Oddie, 'The East India Company's religious policy and the controversy over the Temple Cart Processions in Madras 1800-30', *Indo-British Review*, 32 (1996), pp. 31-40; Robert E. Frykenberg, 'Constructions of Hinduism at the Nexus of History and Religion', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23:3 (1993), p. 537.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 36.

<sup>80</sup> Carson, 'The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience', p. 53.

<sup>81</sup> BL, APAC, IOR/F/4/896 Board's Collection 23325, Board of Control to the Indian Government, October 11, 1816, f. 18; *ibid.*, Board of Control to Indian Government, February 18, 1820, f. 24; IOR/F/4/896 Board's Collection 23325, Bengal Government to Bombay Government, November 13, 1823, f. 153

<sup>82</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Middleton to Howley, February 18, 1818, f. 31.



compete with those belonging to the dissenting missionary societies.<sup>83</sup> The methods which Middleton proposed for the conversion of the non-Christian differed markedly from those practiced by the evangelical missionaries. In contrast to the 'pious chaplains' and the dissenting missionaries, who assumed that non-Christians would be converted by direct preaching, Middleton argued that Christianity would only be spread through education. Middleton once wrote that 'when the power of thinking is pretty generally diffused, the cause will be gained'.<sup>84</sup> Middleton also assumed that conversion could best be achieved through example and emulation. He wrote to a friend in India that, 'every church [must have] a spire or tower [...] in the midst of heathens, they should exceed a little the ordinary measure of expense to make religion visible'.<sup>85</sup> Once a parochial Church had been established and Christianity was entrenched among the British population, the apparently impressionable 'natives' would be convinced of the superiority of Christianity. For Middleton, therefore, there was nothing to distinguish between the maintenance of religion amongst Christians and the conversion of the non-Christian population: the latter was merely an extension of the former.<sup>86</sup>

The focus for the Anglican establishment in Bengal in the next decades was to be Bishop's College, a missionary training institution which Middleton established at Howrah near Calcutta in the early 1820s. The College was established from funds which had been raised in Britain by members of the 'Hackney Phalanx' and particularly by Joshua Watson, a London merchant and prominent layman. Diocesan and district committees of the SPG and the SPCK were established across Britain to raise funds for the Church in India.<sup>87</sup> The college was designed to perform a number of functions. Firstly, the principal aim of the college was to train and educate SPG missionaries for work in India. Middleton suggested that the age of the students should be between 12 and 15 and that the SPG should provide sponsorships.<sup>88</sup> For Middleton training young missionaries in India was preferable to sending out clergymen from England as the latter course might prompt the Company to reduce the number of chaplains

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<sup>83</sup> Hans Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850* (London, 1952), p. 81.

<sup>84</sup> Le Bas, *Life of Thomas Fanshaw Middleton*, vol. 1., p. 155.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>86</sup> Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, pp. 92-3.

<sup>87</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/IND, I (5), Joshua Watson to Archbishop Charles Manners-Sutton, March 10, 1818, f. 1B; for the events surrounding the rejuvenation of the SPCK and SPG, see Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, pp. 67-71, 82-85.

<sup>88</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/IND/I (6), Middleton to Anthony Hamilton, July 30, 1821, f. 4C.

on its establishment.<sup>89</sup> The second objective was to educate a class of 'Native and other Christian youth [...] in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters'. According to Middleton, an Indian missionary priesthood would be the 'point and contact' between the Anglican Church and the indigenous population: native Christians would play a crucial role in providing the English education which Middleton considered was a vital means of preparing the way for the gradual conversion of India. Middleton wrote to Hamilton that 'little effect can be produced by preaching, while superstition & extreme ignorance are the prevailing characteristics of the people'.<sup>90</sup> The first step towards the eventual conversion of India was therefore the creation of an ecclesiastical establishment rooted in the soil of India.<sup>91</sup>

Bishop's College was also designed to link missionary work more closely with the Church and establish the SPG as the dominant missionary body in Bengal. In 1819 Middleton told the Bishop of London that the 'only counter-movement' which the Church could make against non-Anglican missionaries was the establishment of an Anglican training college. A college would ensure that the Church's operations in India would be 'carried on upon a larger scale' and given more 'eclat', which, according to Middleton, was 'quite as important a consideration here as in any part of the world'.<sup>92</sup> The College, Middleton wrote later, was 'the best means of bringing the missionaries and all their proceedings completely under the control of the Church'.<sup>93</sup> Although the college was initially dominated by high churchmen (the orthodox high churchman William Hodge Mill was selected as the first principal in 1820),<sup>94</sup> Middleton was willing to admit CMS students to the college, though only on the proviso that those who were ordained afterwards were placed under Episcopal jurisdiction (the CMS committee in Britain was actually prepared for their missionaries to come under the control of the bishopric and in 1821 the committee agreed to donate £1,000

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>90</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/IND/1 (1), Middleton to Hamilton, November 16, 1818, f. 3.

<sup>91</sup> Antony Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India* (Oxford, 1997), p. 76.

<sup>92</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Middleton to Howley, November 27, 1819, f. 100

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, Middleton to Howley, f. 100; *ibid.*, Middleton to Howley, January 21, 1820, f. 111.

<sup>94</sup> Though contrast this with Joshua Watson's comment that the college should not have 'an exclusive air': RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/IND/I (5), Watson to an unnamed correspondent, undated, f. 2.



towards the college).<sup>95</sup> Middleton was aware that if he did not claim control over the CMS missionaries he would exercise little or no control over the Anglican clergy in India. In 1820 Middleton wrote that 'in a few weeks there will be a bishop in India with hardly any clergy and a numerous clergy not acknowledging episcopal jurisdiction'.<sup>96</sup> By ensuring that there existed a 'visible connexion' between the Church Establishment and missionary activity, Middleton argued, the 'people of India' would be more firmly attached to 'our National Establishments' and more loyal to the British Crown.<sup>97</sup>

The creation of Bishop's College was in line with Middleton's wider belief that 'establishment [...] must be, if any thing, as the heart or soul of our religious system'.<sup>98</sup> The establishment of the college would also go some way towards 'anglicising' the Church in India. Lutheran and non-English missionaries employed by the SPCK were replaced by ordained missionaries who used the Prayer Book and adhered to the forms and discipline of the Church of England.<sup>99</sup> But it should be recognised that the college received no aid from the Company and was essentially a voluntary institution. We should therefore be careful not to overstate the strength of the alliance between the colonial authorities and the Calcutta bishopric in this period. The Company's monopoly over the stationing of chaplains meant that Middleton and his successors had almost no control over the expansion of the Church in India. There were therefore effectively two Anglican establishments in India in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first was composed of Company chaplains controlled by the Company. The second was made up of CMS and SPG missionaries controlled by the Bishop of Calcutta. The latter was primarily interested in propagating the gospel among the indigenous community and countering the influence of nonconformist missionaries. Embree has argued that the establishment of the bishopric blurred the differences between the Company chaplains and the missionaries.<sup>100</sup> This section has argued that the contrary was in fact the case: while the episcopacy became associated with the SPG's mission, the lines differentiating the chaplains who were paid by government and the missionaries who were sent out by voluntary societies became clearer. The Company always maintained that its chaplains were government officers.

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<sup>95</sup> Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, p. 99.

<sup>96</sup> Middleton quoted in *ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>97</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/I (1), Middleton to Hamilton, November 16, 1818, f. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Bonney, *Sermons and Charges*, p. 244.

<sup>99</sup> Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, ch. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Embree, 'Christianity and the state in Victorian India', p. 161.

In contrast to India, where the Company distanced itself from the Anglican establishment, in New South Wales the colonial authorities made definite attempts to strengthen the connections between the church and state in the late 1810s and early 1820s. An obvious sign of this shift in ecclesiastical policy was the establishment in the mid-1820s of an archdeaconry and the introduction of a system of clergy reserves modelled on those which had been established in British North America in the 1790s. There had been signs of a change in ecclesiastical policy in New South Wales during the governorship of Lachlan Macquarie (1810-1822). Macquarie revived the Anglican establishment by introducing regulations which instructed all convicts to attend Sunday morning musters. A regulation was passed which called for a stricter observance of the Sabbath among the wider community. The foundations of four new churches were laid and public Charity Schools which offered elementary instruction to the children of poor free settlers were established at Sydney in 1810 and subsequently at Liverpool, Richmond, Wilberforce and Windsor.<sup>101</sup>

Macquarie also took steps to regulate the activities of dissenters. To counter the influence of the non-denominational schools run by the nonconformists Macquarie recommended to the Colonial Office in 1818 that schoolmasters sent to the colony should be members of the established Church and 'Untainted by Methodism and Other Sectarian Opinions'.<sup>102</sup> Non-Anglican preachers and missionaries were also restricted from holding divine services in the colony. In 1810 William Pascoe Crook established an Independent chapel in his schoolroom in Sydney where he administered the Holy Sacrament to a small group of former LMS missionaries. Marsden, resentful of what he regarded as an invasion of his personal right to administer the sacraments, reported Crook to Macquarie.<sup>103</sup> When Crook faced Macquarie he defended himself by saying that 'every person might be allowed to worship God in any manner agreeable to their own consciences so long as they conducted themselves as God's subjects'. Macquarie apparently told Crook that 'that principle will not hold good in all parts of the world'. Crook agreed not to administer the sacraments in his schoolroom but he continued to hold prayer meetings.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Fletcher, 'Religion and Education', p. 83.

<sup>102</sup> *H.R.A.*, ser. 1, vol. 9, Macquarie to Bathurst, May 15, 1818, pp. 776-77.

<sup>103</sup> Samuel Marsden, *A letter, from the Rev. S. Marsden, to William Crook; accompanied with a few observations, published in the Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney, 1835).

<sup>104</sup> ML, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 49, Crook to Rev. S. W. Tracy, June 18, 1813, pp. 328, 339.



To a certain extent these initiatives can be seen as an extension of the attempts which Middleton had made in the 1810s to bring order and regularity to the Church in British India. There is some evidence that suggests that Middleton included New South Wales in his wider project. In a letter to Samuel Marsden in 1820 Middleton commented on the 'want of Ecclesiastical order and discipline in the Colony, which you so feelingly describe' and stated that he had arranged for the Calcutta diocesan committee of the SPCK to send a supply of schoolbooks to the colony.<sup>105</sup> In a letter to the Bishop of London in 1819 Middleton had explained that he had been in contact with both Samuel Marsden and a military officer from New South Wales who was then stationed in Madras about the possibility of establishing a system of 'national schools' in the colony. Marsden had apparently asked Middleton to supply him with schoolbooks and a schoolmaster.<sup>106</sup>

Inevitably, Macquarie's Anglican design did have its limitations. Privately, Macquarie would have preferred to employ only Anglicans as schoolmasters and preachers, but like other colonial governors in this period he was forced to accept the services of any individuals he thought were capable of elevating the morality of the convict community. For example in 1816 Macquarie welcomed the arrival of a group of LMS missionaries from Tahiti. Three members of this party, William Ellis, John Orsmond and Charles Barff, went on to conduct regular services near Parramatta and Ellis established a mission press with Rowland Hassall. Macquarie also grudgingly welcomed missionaries sent out by the Methodist Conference. When Samuel Leigh arrived in the colony as the first Methodist missionary in 1815 Macquarie informed him that 'I had rather you had come from any other society than the Methodist. I profess to be a member of the Church of England, and wish all to be of the same profession, and therefore cannot encourage any parties'.<sup>107</sup> Macquarie still allowed Leigh to stay without a license. Macquarie also welcomed the arrival of three more Methodist missionaries who arrived before 1820: Walter Lawry (arrived 1819), Ralph Mansfield (1820) and Benjamin Carvosso (1820). These missionaries were instructed by the home committee to 'form societies upon the same plan as we do

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<sup>105</sup> ML, Marsden Papers, CY 1992, Middleton to Marsden, September 2, 1820, f. 280.

<sup>106</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Middleton to Howley, November 6, 1819, ff. 92-96; *ibid.*, Marsden to Middleton, May 20, 1819, ff. 97-98.

<sup>107</sup> ML, Bonwick Transcripts, Box 50, Samuel Leigh to the Methodist Missionary Committee, March 2, 1816, pp. 213-14.

in England'.<sup>108</sup> By 1817 Leigh had established a chapel at Windsor, four Sunday schools and a preaching circuit which included Sydney, Kissing Point, the Hawkesbury, Parramatta, Seven Hills, Windsor, Wilberforce, Portland Head, Richmond Hill, Castlereagh, Macquarie Grove, Cabormatta and Liverpool.<sup>109</sup> Five years later three missionaries and four lay exhorters were ministering in three circuits at Sydney, Parramatta and Windsor.<sup>110</sup> An Auxiliary Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society established in 1820 had 159 subscribers by the following year.<sup>111</sup> Macquarie was also willing to support a Methodist proposal for an agricultural establishment for the reformation of the aborigines and he gave his full support to the publication of the 'Australian Magazine' which was proposed by the printer Robert Howe and the Methodist missionaries.<sup>112</sup> As J. D. Bollen has argued, Macquarie regarded the Methodist missionaries as a 'special detachment of the Established Church'. They were therefore welcomed as agents in the campaign for good order and morality.<sup>113</sup>

The boldest attempt to strengthen the Church came after Macquarie resigned as governor in 1822. As we saw in the previous chapter Bathurst was conscious of the need for a more extensive ecclesiastical establishment which was capable of providing spiritual instruction to both the convict and the colony's free population. Following J. T. Bigge's report the Colonial Office implemented plans to establish a more extensive system of education throughout the colony. The system would be modelled on the 'national system' which the National Society had established in mainland Britain since its establishment in 1811. There were dissenting voices. In a letter to the Bishop of London the Rev. Richard Hill complained that 'from the peculiar state of the population of this Colony any thing of an exclusive nature cannot obtain assistance'. Hill added that the introduction of the national system at the public school in Sydney had been responsible for driving large numbers of children into the other schools in the town.<sup>114</sup> Bathurst appears to have ignored such warnings as he instead agreed to adopt Thomas Hobbes Scott's proposals for a land reserve for the endowment of

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<sup>108</sup> Quoted in J. D. Bollen, 'A Time of Small Things - The Methodist Mission in New South Wales, 1815-1836', *The Journal of Religious History*, 7:3 (1973), p. 232.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, Leigh to Methodist Missionary Committee, March 2, 1816, pp. 213-222; *ibid.*, Leigh to the Methodist Missionary Committee, September 9, 1817, p. 285.

<sup>110</sup> ML, Am 123, 'Wesleyan Methodist Preacher's Plan for the Sydney District'.

<sup>111</sup> *First Report of the Wesleyan Auxiliary Missionary Society* (Sydney, 1821).

<sup>112</sup> ML, Bonwick Transcripts Box 51, Macquarie to Benjamin Carvosso, March 12, 1821, pp. 781-82.

<sup>113</sup> Bollen, 'A Time of Small Things', p. 240.

<sup>114</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Richard Hill to Howley, March 6, 1822, f. 746.



the Church. The aim was again to strengthen the parochial system.<sup>115</sup> In addition to his position as King's visitor of schools and director of the Church and Schools Corporation, Scott was appointed as the colony's first archdeacon and given a seat on the colony's new legislative council.<sup>116</sup>

Once in New South Wales Scott devised a comprehensive system of education, ranging from infant, parochial and grammar schools to institutions for the education of Aborigines. Individuals suspected of Methodism were removed from their positions in government schools. In a letter to the Bishop of London Scott explained that he had removed William Walker from his position at the Female Orphan School on the grounds that 'he occupies his time on a Sunday in field preaching & not using any of the forms of the Church of England'.<sup>117</sup> Scott also attempted to force Roman Catholic teachers to adopt the system used in the Anglican National Schools, but this was resisted by the Catholic priest John Joseph Therry who accused Scott of 'inticing' Roman Catholic children into Anglican schools.<sup>118</sup> Despite inaugurating a series of classes for those who wished to teach according to the Madras system, Scott had little success in training a class of schoolmasters from the colonial population and he was forced to employ military officers as teachers.<sup>119</sup> Scott reported to Governor Darling that by the first half of 1826 he was supervising twenty-seven schools with 804 children in regular attendance.<sup>120</sup> The arrival of six more clergymen and the establishment of a branch of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Sydney in 1826 was further evidence that a more aggressive Anglicanism had arrived in the colony.

Like Middleton, Scott aimed to bring greater order and regularity to the Church in the colony. Certainly his arrival curtailed the independence and freedom of the evangelical clergy already resident in the colony. Scott was particularly concerned about what he felt was the frequent departure from the established forms of the Church of England in the evangelical clergy's celebration of divine service. Scott was also dissatisfied with the tendency of the

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<sup>115</sup> TNA, CO 201/157, Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes Scott to Bathurst, March 30, 1824, ff. 170-85.

<sup>116</sup> Scott had taken holy orders on his arrival back in Britain in 1823 and accepted a position as vicar in Whitfield in Northumberland.

<sup>117</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Scott to Howley, January 9, 1826, f. 777.

<sup>118</sup> ML, Letter Book of Thomas Hobbes Scott, A850, Scott to William Poynter, June 29 1825, f. 38.

<sup>119</sup> Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia, 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia* (London, 1962), p. 74.

<sup>120</sup> ML, Letter Book of Thomas Hobbes Scott, A851, Scott to Ralph Darling, September 27, 1827, f. 453.

evangelical clergy to deliver their sermons extempore in a 'violent ranting manner'. One clergyman was told by Scott to confine his 'discourses within reasonable limits dwelling on the moral duties of this life'.<sup>121</sup> Scott took a minute interest in the movements of clergy on Sundays and clergymen were warned about participating in any political meetings.<sup>122</sup> Scott's attempt to limit the influence of the evangelical clergymen appears to have been welcomed by the Colonial Office. Bathurst, for instance, told the under-secretary Wilmot Horton to inform Scott 'that in any ecclesiastical arrangements he may make, he will not give any additional trust or authority to Mr Marsden, who I consider a very turbulent Priest'.<sup>123</sup>

Between 1824 and 1829 the number of clergy in New South Wales increased from eight to fifteen and five new churches were erected. Scott complied with Anthony Hamilton's request for more accurate returns on the size of the Christian denominations in New South Wales and these returns were included in the annual 'blue books' which the colonial government sent to the Colonial Office. While there were signs that Bathurst's Anglican design had been a success in New South Wales, a study of Scott's reports reveal that the position of the Church was not as strong as either Bathurst or Scott may have hoped. In 1826 Scott estimated that only one-tenth of the total population of 10,000 attended Anglican ceremonies in Sydney. At Parramatta the Anglican congregation totalled 900 out of a population of 4,061. Scott estimated the total size of the Anglican congregation in the colony at 4,484, which was less than one-quarter of the total population of the total population of 19,316. Scott was concerned that in 1826, 2,698 children in the colony were receiving no education at all. Scott's attempt to discipline the Church had the reverse effect and threatened the unity of the Anglican clergy in his archdeaconry. There were frequent conflicts between Scott and his clergy. Scott had the greatest trouble with the six clergymen who were sent to him after his arrival. He had had no input into the appointment of these individuals and his authoritarian style quickly offended their evangelical sensibilities.<sup>124</sup> Three of the six – Charles Wilton, Elijah Smith and Joseph Docker – had either resigned their positions by 1830 or

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, Scott to Thomas Reddall, June 20, 1826, f. 267.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, Scott to Thomas Hassall, March 23, 1827, f. 376; *ibid.*, Scott to Reddall, January 29, 1827, f. 355.

<sup>123</sup> ML, Letters of Lord Bathurst, 1824-27, A73, Bathurst to Robert Wilmot-Horton, December 20, 1824, ff. 147-48.

<sup>124</sup> Marcus L. Loane, *Hewn from the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney* (Sydney, 1976), p. 36.



drifted into civil society. In all five clergymen resigned or were suspended during Scott's tenure.

This section has shown that the establishment of a more extensive Church establishment was a less complicated affair in New South Wales than it was in the presidencies of British India. The steps which the British government made to establish a privileged Church establishment in New South Wales can be said to have constituted an 'Anglican design'. In India the promotion of the Anglican Church was hampered by the Company's endowment of non-Christian religious establishments. Yet even in New South Wales, there were indications that the promotion of the Church was not as successful as might have been hoped. The next section examines the efforts which the British made to extend the Anglican Church at the Cape of Good Hope, a colony which was dominated by Dutch Protestants, but which also saw the arrival of British settlers after 1820. A study of the career of the Anglican Church in the Cape Colony further emphasises the limitations of the 'Anglican design'.

### **(iii) Anglican Church expansion at the Cape of Good Hope, c. 1814-30**

One of the aims of recent work on the Cape Colony in the early nineteenth century has been to show how the advent of British hegemony at the Cape transformed the political, economic, social and cultural life of the colony.<sup>125</sup> James Sturgis' 1982 article entitled 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope' was one of the first attempts to examine the impact which the British takeover of the colony in 1814 had on the Dutch inhabitants. Sturgis claims that the 1820s saw the British pursue a policy of systematic 'anglicisation' at the Cape. The legal and educational systems were reformed according to British models and Dutch institutions such as the Burgher Senate, which managed local affairs in Cape Town, were abolished and replaced by the English system of civil commissioners and civil magistrates. The aim was to assimilate the Cape Dutch

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<sup>125</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony', in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London, 2003), pp. 82-95; Jeffery B. Peires, 'The British and the Cape, 1814-1834', in Richard H. Elphick and Hermann B. Giliomee (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Cape Town, 1989), pp. 472-500.

to British institutions and values and make the population more amenable to British rule.<sup>126</sup>

But while the British attempted to reform the legal system, they were more cautious in religious matters. Imposing Anglicanism on the Dutch population was on no-one's agenda in the 1810s and 1820s. The regulations which the Batavian regime had passed which recognised the established status of the Dutch Reformed Church were maintained. The fact that the Colonial Office did not tamper with the ecclesiastical arrangements inherited from the Batavian regime suggests that the 'Anglican design' largely bypassed the Cape. In the early years of British occupation the Anglican presence in the colony was limited to the military chaplains who accompanied the military. Nevertheless, from the mid-1810s onwards there were attempts to establish a more extensive Anglican establishment at the Cape. The colony's first two civilian chaplains – Robert Jones and George Hough – were appointed in 1811 and 1813 respectively. The arrival of some 4,000 British settlers in assisted emigration schemes in the early 1820s also stimulated the Colonial Office to strengthen the position of the Church. This project received considerable support from the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, who in many ways was the classic example of the kind of autocratic military officer who Christopher Bayly argues was such a feature of the British Empire in the period before 1830.<sup>127</sup> Like Wellesley and Macquarie, Somerset assumed that the Anglican Church could play an important role in strengthening the links between the colony and the mother country and countering the spread of republican sentiments. In the early 1820s contemporaries noted that 'there has arisen lately a spirit of intolerance towards sects of a form of worship differing from the English Church'.<sup>128</sup>

In spite of this evidence, this section emphasises the limitations of the Anglican design in Southern Africa. By the terms of the regulations which they inherited from the Batavian regime the British were obliged to tolerate all Christian religions and grant them all equal privileges. The colonial state could therefore do little to prevent dissenting missionaries from settling on the frontier of the colony. Missionaries such as the Congregationalist John Philip became powerful agents in frontier affairs and played a key role in changing the character

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<sup>126</sup> James Sturgis, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Studies*, 11 (1982), pp. 5-32.

<sup>127</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, p. 205.

<sup>128</sup> William Wilberforce Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1822* (facsimile reprint, Cape Town, 1966), p. 66.



of British rule at the Cape.<sup>129</sup> Somerset himself quickly recognised the need for a more pragmatic religious policy. He came to regard the missionaries as a useful means of educating adult slaves and he appointed a number of Calvinistic Scottish Presbyterians as chaplains. These policies ensured that non-Anglicans could expect to win religious freedoms unknown to their counterparts in Britain.

From the outset the colonial authorities in Britain were aware of the need for a Church which would provide spiritual instruction to the increasing numbers of European settlers who arrived in the colony in the 1810s and 1820s. Anthony Hamilton, the colonial chaplain-general, was concerned that British settlers who did not have access to Anglican services would quickly slip into the hands of the dissenters and Roman Catholics.<sup>130</sup> Somerset recommended to the Colonial Office in 1818 that the number of Anglican churches in the colony be increased. In the same year he sent Sir Jahleel Brenton, a naval officer, to survey the south eastern areas of the Cape and to 'consider the best means of bringing about the execution of some plan which might give the Church of England pre-eminence in this Country – not by hostility to other sects, but proof of her superior excellence'.<sup>131</sup> Brenton thought that an extensive Church establishment was 'indispensable' as it would check the 'usual concomitants of new settlements: extortion, rapacity, and dissolute manners'.<sup>132</sup> Somerset also attempted to control the movements of non-Anglican missionaries and preachers. In the first years of his regime Somerset banned all Wesleyan meetings in Cape Town and refused to sanction the appointment of a Wesleyan minister who had been sent out by Bathurst.<sup>133</sup>

As in the Caribbean and India, the Church of England attempted to monopolise the education of the slave and non-Christian population. As early as 1816 the chaplain Robert Jones was recommending the establishment of schools which used the Madras system favoured by the Hackney National Society.<sup>134</sup> By 1824 Hough had established three national schools and two schools for the education of adult slaves in Cape Town. By Hough's own admittance the Church

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<sup>129</sup> R. E. Close, 'Toleration and its Limits in the Late Hanoverian Empire: The Cape Colony: 1795-1828', in Stephen Taylor, Richard Connors and Clyde Jones (eds), *Hanoverian Britain and Empire; Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson* (1998), p. 299-317.

<sup>130</sup> TNA, CO 323/209, Hamilton to W. Hay, February 11, 1828, ff. 231-4.

<sup>131</sup> TNA, CO 48/37, Lord Charles Somerset to Bathurst, December 14, 1818, ff. 268-9; LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Sir Jahleel Brenton to Rev. Lancelot Lee, June 24, 1818, f. 385.

<sup>132</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Brenton to Lee, June 24, 1818, f. 385.

<sup>133</sup> Barnabas Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (London, 1840), p. 78.

<sup>134</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Jones to Howley, May 17, 1816, f. 361; *ibid.*, May 4, 1816, f. 357.

had enjoyed little success in its attempts to reach out to the non-Christian and Dutch population. The three national schools only taught 214 children, and the majority of these were English-born; according to Hough the Dutch were distrustful of all attempts to assimilate them to the Anglican faith.<sup>135</sup>

Although Somerset understood that the Church could never be elevated to the same privileged position which it enjoyed in Britain, he did regard it as a political ally which could be used to neutralise the influence of liberal and republican sentiment in the colony. In 1824 Somerset established an Anglican-run school in Cape Town to counteract the school which the Scottish editors John Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle had established. Somerset regarded the school as a direct threat to the Church of England, believing that the students at Pringle's 'seminary of sedition' were instilled with 'the most disgusting principles of Republicanism'.<sup>136</sup> Somerset believed that his 'first duty' was to uphold the principles of the Established Church and he interpreted all radical political activity as threatening the established order of church and state. For example, when Pringle applied to Somerset to start what would become the reformist *South African Commercial Advertiser*, Somerset sent his application to London with a description of the applicant as 'an arrant dissenter who had scribbled'. The assistance which the Congregational missionary John Philip gave to Fairbairn and Pringle (one of the printing presses used by the *Advertiser* had been supplied by Philip and the LMS) further confirmed the connections between radical politics and dissenting religion in Somerset's mind.<sup>137</sup> Somerset's actions were supported by the senior chaplain, George Hough. In contrast to the 'pious chaplains' in India, Hough was a conservative in politics and an ally of the colonial state.<sup>138</sup> In a letter to the Bishop of London Hough argued that the Church 'lends a well-principled support to all lawful authority, & preserves devout doctrines & uncorrupt morals, without superstition'. By contrast Hough regarded Congregationalism as a 'religious system, which either from bad motives or delusion, threatens to make men fanaticks, to inflame the passions of

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, George Hough to Howley, July 26, 1824, f. 446.

<sup>136</sup> TNA, CO 48/96, Somerset to Bathurst, October 11, 1824, ff. 32, 35.

<sup>137</sup> John Philip was also the chairman of the Distressed Settlers Relief Fund, an organisation which Somerset viewed as a direct challenge to his authority. For Philip's relationship with Somerset, see Andrew Ross, *John Philip (1775-1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen, 1986), pp. 84-9.

<sup>138</sup> Alan F. Hattersley, 'George Hough: Senior Colonial Chaplain, 1817-47', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 12:4 (1958), pp. 143-59.



the people, & thus instigate public discontent & revolt'.<sup>139</sup> Hough thought that 'almost every one of our violent political characters [...] is a Calvinistic Independent', and he told the Bishop of London that the colonial authorities should adopt any 'just & lawful means for checking amongst the English population at the Cape, the arts of disaffection, & the spread of religious enthusiasm'.<sup>140</sup>

But any attempt to raise a conservative Anglican establishment was likely to be still-born, owing to a chronic lack of resources. Indeed, due to the problem of recruiting sufficient numbers of English clergymen, Somerset was forced to recommend to the Colonial Office that vacancies in the Dutch Reformed Church should be filled by ministers of the Church of Scotland.<sup>141</sup> In 1821 George Thom, the first Scottish minister to be appointed to the DRC, was sent to Scotland to recruit ministers for the Cape Colony. By 1828 there were eleven Scottish ministers stationed in the colony. The majority of the ministers who Thom recruited were from the evangelical wing of the pre-Disruption Church of Scotland. These ministers established new parishes and itinerating ministries which, according to A. C. Ross, brought an evangelical vitality to a previously moribund DRC.<sup>142</sup>

Alongside the proliferation of evangelical Presbyterians in the Cape Colony was a growth in the number of dissenting and other non-Anglican ministers and missionaries. Both Goulburn and Bathurst were prepared to allow Roman Catholic ministers to travel to the Cape from a relatively early date.<sup>143</sup> The ecclesiastical return for 1828 lists eighteen dissenting places of worship. The LMS had established a number of missions beyond the colony as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century. Additional missionaries were sent from Britain in 1812 and 1817, but they were prevented from travelling beyond the frontier of the colony. Somerset opposed the 'establishment of a Theocracy entirely independent of the civil government' and feared that the 'English Establishments' beyond the frontier would unsettle colonial rule by providing a refuge for runaway slaves. Nevertheless, Somerset argued that missionaries

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<sup>139</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Hough to Howley, October 12 1824, f. 456.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, Hough to Howley, July 26, 1824, ff. 451, 450.

<sup>141</sup> Sturgis, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope', p. 14.

<sup>142</sup> A. C. Ross, 'The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa: A Product of Disruption?', in Stewart J. Brown and Stephen Fry, (eds) *Scotland in the Age of Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 155.

<sup>143</sup> TNA, CO 325/40, Colonial Office memorandum dated September 26, 1844, Henry Goulburn to Poynter, June 3, 1817, f. 94.



would be tolerated within the colonial frontiers and he actually welcomed the arrival of Philip, who he believed, would regulate those missionaries who considered ‘themselves to be independent of colonial law & control’.<sup>144</sup> Unlike his counterparts in Bengal, who had a fairly ambiguous relationship with missionary work, Somerset gave his full support to missionary activity within the colony. Somerset told Bathurst that the government would support every effort to introduce Christianity amongst the ‘heathen’ and slaves, as the first aim had to be to make Christianity – broadly defined – the dominant religion in the colony.<sup>145</sup> The more tolerant attitude can be seen in Somerset’s relaxation of the restrictions on the movements of Methodists in the colony. Barnabas Shaw, the minister who Somerset had refused permission to settle in Cape Town, was subsequently allowed to preach in the interior.<sup>146</sup> In 1819 Somerset sanctioned the establishment of a Wesleyan chapel in Cape Town. One should be careful of overestimating the extent to which the colonial government tolerated religious dissent. The information which Philip and the LMS missionaries relayed back to Britain of the government’s mishandling of settler depredations against the Xhosa was a cause of extreme concern to Somerset. Somerset also regarded Philip as the ring-leader of the radical opposition which greeted him on his return to the colony in 1821.<sup>147</sup> Nevertheless, the state’s toleration of non-Anglican ministers opened up space for dissenting missionaries to play an important role in frontier politics.<sup>148</sup>

The employment of Scottish ministers and the freedom which the colonial government granted to dissenting missionaries raises the question of the British government’s commitment to the Anglican design at the Cape. George Hough was appalled that the British government granted aid to dissenters and told the Bishop of London to warn Bathurst against ‘dealing out [...] any additional indulgences in power to the Independent Ministers in the Colony’.<sup>149</sup> The Colonial Office gave little support to the Anglican Church in South Africa. A letter from Alexander Hamilton at the SPG to the Colonial Office in May 1822 reveals that Goulburn had intended that one-seventh of the land of each parish in

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<sup>144</sup> TNA, CO 48/33, Somerset to Bathurst, January 23, 1817, ff. 40-41.

<sup>145</sup> TNA, CO 48/39, Somerset to Bathurst, June 30, 1819, ff. 130-32.

<sup>146</sup> Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, p. 257.

<sup>147</sup> Andrew Ross, *John Philip*, p. 88.

<sup>148</sup> Close, ‘Toleration and its Limits’, p. 314.

<sup>149</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, Hough to Howley, October 12, 1824, f. 456.



the colony should be reserved for the support of the Church of England.<sup>150</sup> Nothing seems to have resulted from this scheme. The British government's failure to send Anglican ministers with the parties of British and Irish settlers who arrived in the colony after 1820 suggests that the Colonial Office never intended to establish an extensive Anglican Church in the colony. The Colonial Office allowed each of the seventy-nine parties of settlers to take with them ministers of any religious denomination. The ministers would then be granted financial support by the colonial government. In the event only two parties – Parker's from Cork and Willson's from London – selected Anglican ministers.<sup>151</sup> The lack of government support for the Church was also evidenced by the colonial government's failure to subsidise the building of an Anglican church in Cape Town until 1827.

The weak links between church and state at the Cape also opened up considerable opportunities for non-Anglicans to take positions as senior civil servants. A Roman Catholic named Christopher Bird, the former military secretary to the Duke of York, was deputy secretary and then secretary to the government at the Cape between 1807 and 1824.<sup>152</sup> William Parker, leader of one of the parties of settlers who arrived in the Cape in the early 1820s and a militant defender of the Protestant Constitution, sent a petition to the House of Lords which warned that the toleration of Roman Catholicism in the colonies was likely to lead to the emancipation of Catholics in Britain itself.<sup>153</sup> Parker's was however a lone voice and Bird appears to have enjoyed a surprisingly close relationship with Somerset.

The British government's refusal to make special endowments to the Anglican Church meant that the initiative for the establishment of churches had to come from the colonists themselves. In the mid-1820s the SPG received applications from the settlers at Port Elizabeth, Bathurst and Cape Town

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<sup>150</sup> University of York Library, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/1, Hamilton to Wilmot-Horton, May 18, 1822, f. 99.

<sup>151</sup> For a list of the parties, see E. Morse Jones, *Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa: Part I up to 1826* (Cape Town, 1971), pp. 7-15.

<sup>152</sup> A. F. Hattersley, 'Bird, Christopher Chapman', *Dictionary of South African Biography*, (6 vols Cape Town, 1968), vol. 1, p. 76.

<sup>153</sup> LPL, Fulham Papers, Howley Papers, vol. 1, 'Petition of William Parker to the House of Lords', ff. 429-33. See also Parker's *The Jesuits Unmasked, being an illustration of the existing evils of Popery in a Protestant Government, exemplified in letters from the Cape of Good Hope, etc* (London, 1823), and his *Proofs of the Delusion of His Majesty's Representative at the Cape of Good Hope and of the iniquity of the public officers acting under His Excellency's Orders, etc* (Cork, 1826).

requesting financial aid for the erection of Anglican churches.<sup>154</sup> In October 1827 the inhabitants of Cape Town petitioned Governor Bourke requesting him to sanction the establishment of an Anglican Church in the town. At a public meeting held later that month it was agreed that a church would be erected on the principle that the government would provide half of the building costs and the public would cover the other half. When the amount raised through public subscriptions fell short of the total needed, the inhabitants agreed to raise the fund by establishing a joint-stock company with a capital of £6,250 in 250 shares worth £250 each.<sup>155</sup> Shares could be purchased by persons who did not reside in the colony and by non-Christians.<sup>156</sup> St. George's Church in Cape Town was the first of a series of churches built in the 1820s and 1830s which had their property secured by individual ordinances passed by the Cape government. These ordinances granted complete control over the property and management of the church to the churchwardens and shareholders of the various churches.

The contribution which colonists at the Cape made to the establishment of churches demonstrates that Anglican expansion in this period was not driven exclusively by the colonial authorities in London. In addition to raising funds for church extension there is some evidence that colonial communities also made efforts to select their own clergymen. As we noted earlier, the parties of settlers who left Britain for the Cape in the late 1810s were allowed to select their own clergymen to accompany them to the colony (William Boardman and Francis McClelland were the two Anglican clergymen who accompanied the 1820 settlers). Colonial involvement in the appointment of clergy continued during the 1820s (and, as we shall see in chapter four, during the 1830s and 1840s as well). William Carlisle, a curate in Staffordshire who was appointed chaplain to Grahamstown in 1828, was a relative of John Carlisle, who led a party of settlers in 1820.<sup>157</sup> Although no records relating to William's appointment remain, it is likely that John had a part to play in the Board's decision to select his relative. The role which the laity played in raising funds and selecting clergymen, coupled with the government's grant of ecclesiastical power to church shareholders, began a tradition of voluntarism and lay involvement in Church government at

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<sup>154</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/1, John Chabaud to Rev. Dr. Baines, 26 May 1826, f. 124; *ibid.*, John Bell (secretary to the government) to the Colonial Office, 28 June 1828, f. 201; *ibid.*, Fearon Fallows (chairman of committee of Church at Cape Town) to the SPG, 27 Feb 1828, f. 207.

<sup>155</sup> Marian George, 'John Bardwell Ebdon: his business and political career at the Cape, 1804-1849', *Archives Yearbook for the South African History*, 49:1 (1986), pp. 54-55.

<sup>156</sup> Hattersley, 'George Hough', p. 154.

<sup>157</sup> Morse Jones, *Roll of British Settlers in South Africa*, p. 99.



the Cape. All of these churches were effectively independent organisations which owed no allegiance to any higher ecclesiastical power. As we shall see in chapter four, this brand of ‘congregational democracy’ would present a strong challenge to Robert Gray when he arrived as the first bishop of Cape Town in 1848. The individuals who subscribed towards the erection of churches at the Cape regarded the churches which they had established as public institutions, and they therefore resented any attempt by the episcopate to claim authority over what had been erected voluntarily by the community.

The lack of any superior ecclesiastical government at the Cape was of concern to the Bishops of Calcutta who passed through the colony en route to their bishopric. Bishop Turner, who visited the colony in 1829, was appalled by the state of the Church and sent a report to the SPG which called on the society to consider ways of strengthening the Church in the colony. Turner asked Hamilton at the SPG whether,

[...] this rising Colony shall be engrafted on our Church Establishment delivering support from and imparting strength to our ancient ecclesiastical institution; or whether it shall be left to be torn to pieces by schism and heresy and left [...] in the hands not of the Scotch Presbyterian or the Dutch Reformed Church but under the chilling rule of [...] Latitudinarians.<sup>158</sup>

Despite Turner’s warning neither the SPG nor the colonial authorities took any steps to promote the Church of England in Southern Africa until the 1840s. Before 1830 the SPG sent only one missionary to the Cape (an Irish clergyman named William Wright). The Colonial Office was also not prepared to expend resources on establishing a minority Anglican establishment at the Cape. In February 1830 Turner suggested to George Murray – Bathurst’s successor as secretary of state – that if one-third of the population of a district applied for a chaplain, the Cape government should grant £800 towards the erection of a church and the support of a minister. Murray rejected the proposal on the grounds that the state could not adopt any measure that would increase the public expenditure. Later that year the Colonial Office also refused to include the Cape within the newly expanded Calcutta diocese.<sup>159</sup>

This section has contrasted the relatively bold attempts which the colonial authorities made to privilege the Church in New South Wales (and to a

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<sup>158</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/IND/I (1), Bishop Turner to Hamilton, November 9, 1829, f. 25C.

<sup>159</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/MSS/INDIA I (1), Sir George Murray to Turner, February 9, 1830, f. 25D; *ibid.*, Murray to Turner, October 1830, f. 25F

lesser extent India), with the limited aid which the authorities gave to the Church at the Cape. There were nevertheless some notable similarities between the Church at the Cape and in India and New South Wales. As in the latter two areas, the Church in South Africa initially existed as an arm of the military establishment. Like in New South Wales, the process by which the Church was transformed from an appendage of the military to an independent civilian institution was gradual and slow. Four of the eleven clergymen who served at the Cape before 1830 were military chaplains. Like in the two other areas, there was an attempt to establish a Church which was closely allied to the state. George Hough was in many ways typical of the kind of clergyman who the Colonial Office wished to send out to the colonies. Although the tone of Somerset's administration was reminiscent of that of Wellesley's in India and Macquarie's in New South Wales, the Anglican Church at the Cape never occupied the privileged position which it did in these two areas. While on the one hand the church was linked to the state, it was the Dutch Reformed Church which was recognised as the established church. The assimilation of the Cape Dutch rested on the introduction of the English language and English institutions and legal forms rather than the creation of a privileged Anglican Church establishment (though the appointment of Scottish Presbyterians as ministers can be seen as an attempt to anglicise the DRC).<sup>160</sup> Indeed, one can argue that the Cape government's religious policies had more in common with the cautious policies which the British implemented in the Mediterranean than Macquarie's more pro-Anglican approach in New South Wales. The British recognised the Roman Catholic status of Malta and the Ionian Islands and maintained only a skeleton Anglican establishment in both colonies.<sup>161</sup> It was not until the 1840s and the creation of the Bishops' Fund that the Cape was incorporated in wider schemes for Anglican Church expansion.

#### **(iv) The limitations of the Anglican design and the development of the colonial public in the 1820s**

The preceding sections have pointed to the limitations of British government's attempts to bolster the Church in the colonies in the 1820s. The British made only limited attempts to promote the Anglican Church in those colonies where

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<sup>160</sup> Sturgis, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope', pp. 14-15.

<sup>161</sup> Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 199-200.



the expatriate community formed a minority of the population. This final section argues that the strength and depth of the 'Anglican design' in New South Wales can also be overstated. The often pragmatic nature of the Colonial Office's religious policy must be recognised. Although both Bathurst and Goulburn were firm supporters of the Church of England and the established constitution of church and state, both recognised that the sectarian diversity of the empire demanded a flexible religious policy which recognised the claims of sizeable communities of non-Anglicans. In Lower Canada the British government attempted to conciliate the Roman Catholic population by recognising the territorial title of the Roman Catholic bishop and inviting him to sit on the legislative council. When the Anglican bishop objected to these measures, Goulburn reminded him that it was the government's duty to provide spiritual instruction to all British subjects.<sup>162</sup> This section shows that similar attempts were made to pacify the Roman Catholics in New South Wales, who, according to the 1828 census, numbered 11,236 out of a total population of 35,598.<sup>163</sup> At the same time as the Colonial Office was taking steps to strengthen the Church in New South Wales, Bathurst was preparing to provide the Roman Catholic community with priests and funds for the erection of a Catholic church in Sydney.

This section also considers the role which pressure from the colonists themselves played in forcing the Colonial Office to temper its pro-Anglican religious policy in the 1820s. Pressure came from two principal sources. The first group was the Roman Catholic population, which from the mid-1810s onwards began to form itself into a coherent pressure-group which was led by transported lawyers and priests. The second group was the wider reform community. This reform movement was primarily interested in constitutional reform (and in particular securing to the colony trial by jury and a representative house of assembly), but it was also committed to challenging institutions, such as the Church and School Corporation, which monopolised resources for the benefit of exclusive factions. This section concludes by assessing the role which these groups played in the British government's decision to abolish the Church and Schools Corporation in 1829, only three years after its institution.

At the outset it should be noted that toleration of Roman Catholicism had a long history in New South Wales. In the first years of the nineteenth century Governor King permitted the establishment of a government-funded Catholic

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<sup>162</sup> Brian Jenkins, *Henry Goulburn 1784-1856: A Political Biography* (Liverpool, 1996), p. 120.

<sup>163</sup> TNA, CO 206/69, f. 79.

school in Sydney and allowed a priest named James Dixon to minister to the Roman Catholic communities in the colony, a policy which was sharply criticised by Samuel Marsden. In a pamphlet written after the Castle Hill uprising (a revolt of Irish convicts which Marsden claimed was inspired by Roman Catholic priests) Marsden argued that Roman Catholics should both be denied the mass and forced to attend protestant ceremonies.<sup>164</sup> Despite Marsden's protests, Dixon was permitted to remain in the colony and he continued to practice privately as a priest until he obtained permission to return to Ireland in 1808.<sup>165</sup> Dixon's private ministry was continued by James Harold, a former United Irishman. The government's toleration of these priests has led James Waldersee to argue that there was no official discrimination of Roman Catholics; the government was instead prepared to tolerate Catholicism as it provided a means of tranquilising a potentially subversive population.<sup>166</sup> Waldersee criticises those historians who point to Governor Macquarie's treatment of an Irish priest named Jeremiah O'Flynn as evidence that the colonial authorities did wish to limit Catholic influence in the colony. O'Flynn, who had experience of missionary work in the West Indies, was recommended to Bathurst by the Irish Catholic Association in Rome. Bathurst however refused to appoint O'Flynn to the colony on the grounds that he lacked sufficient education. In spite of Bathurst's refusal O'Flynn travelled to New South Wales and told Macquarie that he had permission from Bathurst to act as a priest in the colony. Macquarie was prepared to allow O'Flynn to reside in the colony until confirmation had been received from London on the grounds that he refrained from exercising any priestly functions. When Macquarie discovered that O'Flynn had performed baptisms and held mass in private homes he branded him 'meddling, ignorant, [and] dangerous'. O'Flynn was removed from the colony in May 1818.<sup>167</sup> Waldersee has posited that O'Flynn was deported because he did not have the proper sanction of the government, rather than because he was a Roman Catholic.

Even if one accepts that Macquarie's treatment of O'Flynn was part of a wider attempt to 'protestantise' the Roman Catholic population, it was a policy

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<sup>164</sup> Marsden hoped that through indoctrination 'N.S. Wales would soon become a protestant Country' and that the Protestant and Catholic sections of the community would 'become one People': ML, Samuel Marsden – essays concerning New South Wales, 1807-18, CY 369, 'A few observations on the toleration of the Catholic religion in New South Wales', ff. 8, 15, 21.

<sup>165</sup> Vivienne Parsons, 'Dixon, James (1758 - 1840)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Melbourne, 1966), vol. 1, p.309.

<sup>166</sup> James Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Sydney, 1974).

<sup>167</sup> Documents relating to O'Flynn can be found in TNA, CO 201/90, ff. 90-105.



which was soon abandoned. In August 1819 Bathurst agreed to send two Roman Catholic priests to the colony, Philip Conolly and John Joseph Therry. Pressure from Catholics both in the colony itself and in metropolitan Britain played an important part in convincing Bathurst to make these appointments. Since the mid-1810s a small group of Roman Catholics had campaigned for the appointment of government-funded priests. The most prominent member of this group was Michael Hayes, a former convict who had been granted a conditional pardon in 1803. Hayes was ideally placed to promote the interests of Roman Catholicism in Australia as his brother was the representative of the Irish Catholic Association in Rome. It was not until the O'Flynn episode that a coherent Roman Catholic interest group emerged in the colony. In the aftermath of the affair the colonial government received petitions from Irish soldiers in the 48<sup>th</sup> regiment and from 400 Roman Catholics free settlers which demanded the reinstatement of O'Flynn.<sup>168</sup> In February 1820 the Roman Catholic community again petitioned the Colonial Office for three Irish Roman Catholic priests. The petitioners argued that they wanted 'no more than to participate in religious Liberty, which our Protestant Colonists so happily and freely enjoy'.<sup>169</sup> Steps were also taken in Europe to extend the Catholic Church to the colony. In 1818 Edward Bede Slater, the Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, was appointed Bishop of Ruspa with jurisdiction over Mauritius, Madagascar, the Cape and the Australian colonies. It was Slater who travelled to Ireland to recruit both Therry and Conolly.<sup>170</sup>

Andrew Porter has noted that the grants which the government made to non-Anglicans religions created a sense of entitlement among these groups and prompted them to demand further concessions.<sup>171</sup> This was certainly true of the Roman Catholic community in New South Wales. Almost as soon as he arrived in the colony Therry began to challenge the Anglican monopoly over religious and educational provision. Therry's primary aim was to provide Roman Catholics with an alternative Church to the dominant Anglican one. He was also interested in providing Catholic children with schools where they would be instructed in the Catholic bible and catechism (any children who did not attend

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<sup>168</sup> The two petitions can be found in TNA, CO 201/93, pp. 217-22.

<sup>169</sup> 'Petition of the Roman Catholic inhabitants, February 12, 1820', TNA, CO 201/99, f. 16

<sup>170</sup> C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, vol. I: From Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie* (Melbourne, 1962), p. 348.

<sup>171</sup> Andrew Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. 3: The nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 227.



Roman Catholic schools were placed in an orphan school where they were baptised according to the rites of the Church of England). In 1821 work began on a Catholic chapel in Sydney and in January 1825 a 'Catholic School Committee' was established to oversee the creation of Catholic schools in the Parramatta district. Therry received considerable support from the colonial authorities – both in the colony itself and in Britain – for these schemes. Henry Goulburn was sympathetic to Therry's aims and Governor Brisbane was also willing to pay a sum equal to that raised through voluntary donations towards the projected chapel. Bathurst also recommended the sending out of additional priests in 1825.<sup>172</sup> Both of these men appear to have supported Catholicism for political reasons. Therry was also successful in forcing the colonial government to reconsider the regulations which prohibited Catholic priests from solemnising marriages between individuals from different denominations. In 1826 Goderich informed Governor Darling that Therry had official sanction to marry Protestants as well as Catholics.<sup>173</sup> Generally, however, the Roman Catholic community did not attempt to challenge the more overt disabilities and distinctions which effected the Catholic population.<sup>174</sup>

The gains which Roman Catholics made in the early 1820s stimulated the Presbyterian community to make similar demands. Presbyterian claims for government support were coordinated by John Dunmore Lang, who had arrived as the colony's first Presbyterian minister in 1823. Initially, Lang did not receive any support from the government and he was forced to hold divine services in a schoolroom which the Presbyterians shared with the Roman Catholics. Governor Brisbane, though a member of the Church of Scotland himself, had initially refused to grant Lang a salary from government. Brisbane was aware of the repercussions which endowing non-Anglican denominations could have: he explained to a correspondent that he had refused Lang's request because he would 'soon have the Jews down upon him for a Synagogue'.<sup>175</sup> In 1826 twenty-seven Presbyterians at Portland Head followed up the petition which Sydney

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<sup>172</sup> C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia, volume II: New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1822-1838* (Melbourne, 1968), p. 33.

<sup>173</sup> *H.R.A.*, ser. 1, vol. 12, 'Executive Council Minute No. 16', July 8, 1826, p. 547.

<sup>174</sup> By the terms of Macquarie's instructions to Conolly and Therry Catholic priests could solemnise marriages, but they could not marry individuals from the other Christian denominations. Catholic priests were also forbidden from proselytising and could only accept voluntary converts. Any meeting of five or more Roman Catholics which did not have the prior consent of government was also prohibited: TNA, CO 201/90, Macquarie to Philip Conolly and John Joseph Therry, October 14, 1820, ff. 104-6. As in England, Catholics in New South Wales could not hold government offices.

<sup>175</sup> Clark, *History of Australia, vol. II*, p. 31.



Presbyterians had sent to Governor Brisbane two years earlier with a petition calling for a salary for their minister, John McGarvie. While Bathurst refused to comply with this request, Lang continued to pressure the colonial authorities to remove the distinctions and disabilities which the Presbyterian community laboured under. For Lang, the Presbyterian community was forced to submit to an Episcopal domination which their fore-fathers had thrown off in the seventeenth century. Lang argued that the Presbyterian community should benefit from the funds which the British government provided for the support of the Church of England. Lang used the state of the Church of Scotland in other parts of the empire to give his arguments greater purchase. For instance, in the letter which he sent to Darling in support of the Portland Head petition, Lang pointed out that in Demerara the colonial government had supported the Scottish congregation by granting them funds equal to the amount which had been raised through voluntary contributions.<sup>176</sup> Similarly, in an attempt to have the legal doubts hanging over Presbyterian marriages removed, Lang argued that New South Wales came under the terms of the 1818 Indian Marriages Act, which parliament had passed in response to pressure from the Presbyterian community in Calcutta.

The other major challenge to the Anglican ascendancy came from the independent political public which had begun to emerge in Sydney. Peter Marshall has shown how the late 1810s and 1820s saw the emergence of political ‘publics’ across the English-speaking world. The spread of radical and liberal ideologies was partly a result of an increase in private settlement in colonies which had formerly been little more than military garrisons (this was particularly true in the eastern hemisphere; the ending of the Company’s monopoly in 1813 stimulated an expansion of the private expatriate community in India).<sup>177</sup> The aims of these reform movements were essentially moderate: reforms demanded were freedom to trade, full civil and constitutional liberties and a free press. The first stirring of a ‘public consciousness’ in New South Wales can be traced to a

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<sup>176</sup> *H.R.A.*, ser. 1, vol. 12, John Dunmore Lang to Darling, July 27, 1826, p. 561.

<sup>177</sup> For the colonial ‘public’ in this period, see Peter J. Marshall, ‘The whites of British India, 1780-1830: A failed colonial society?’, *The International History Review*, 12:1 (1990), pp. 26-44; *idem.*, ‘The White Town of Calcutta Under the Rule of the East India Company’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 34:2 (2000), pp. 307-331; Stanley Trapido, ‘From Paternalism to Liberalism: The Cape Colony, 1800-1834’, *The International History Review*, 12:1 (1990), pp. 76-104; Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa, 1820-2000* (Oxford, 2006), ch. 1. For a discussion of the contemporary usage of concepts such as the ‘public’ and the ‘middle class’, see Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995).



petition which was sent to the Prince Regent by a committee of free settlers in February 1819. Although the petitioners demanded the extension of trial by jury to the colony, the majority of the demands in the petition were focused on removing the restrictions on trade in the colony, in particular the regulations which prevented any ship weighing more than 150 tonnes from travelling between Britain and the colony. The petition was signed by 1,260 colonists.<sup>178</sup> The movement for constitutional reform gathered pace in the early 1820s. In January 1821 a meeting of emancipists demanded that those who had attained their freedom either through expiration of their sentences or pardons should enjoy the civil rights possessed by free citizens.<sup>179</sup> By the mid-1820s politics in the colony had come to be dominated by two factions, the 'exclusives' and the 'emancipists'. While the latter advocated the extension of full civil rights to freed convicts, the former wished to see the colony dominated by a landed aristocracy. The emancipist faction was supported by Sydney's burgeoning independent press. In 1824 the *Australian* was established by the lawyers William Charles Wentworth and Robert Wardell, and 1826 saw the appearance of the *Monitor*, a newspaper edited by E. S. Hall, a former Anglican lay missionary. Wentworth's aim was to secure to the inhabitants of New South Wales the rights of 'freeborn Englishmen' and the two principles of the British constitution, trial by jury and taxation by representation. To these demands he added a nominated legislative council and an assembly which was elected by small property franchise. As their demands were couched in the constitutional rhetoric of the rights of the 'freeborn Englishman' the reform movement was sufficiently broad to include both merchants who had come free to the colony and emancipists.<sup>180</sup> A public meeting held in Sydney in January 1827 resulted in a petition to the King which demanded trial by jury and a house of assembly with at least one hundred

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<sup>178</sup> Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. I, p. 322-23.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>180</sup> T.H. Irving, *The Southern Tree of Liberty: The Democratic Movement in New South Wales before 1856* (Sydney, 2006), p. 17. Individual Anglican clergymen were involved in the constitutional reform movement. Henry Fulton, the transported Irish Anglican clergyman, sat on the committee which drew up the 1821 emancipist petition: Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. I, p. 357. Archdeacon Scott told the Rev. Thomas Reddall to 'abstain from all "political principles"' in his sermons. Reddall was also warned about attending the reform meeting in January 1827: ML, Letter Book of Thomas Hobbes Scott, A851, Scott to Reddall, January 29, 1827, ff. 355-61. William Wright, the first SPG clergyman at the Cape, was similarly accused of taking part in political discussions and associating with 'persons ill-affected with the Church', accusations which he attempted to deny: UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/1, William Wright to Hamilton, undated, f. 119. Despite these examples, the majority of Anglican clergymen distanced themselves from the reform movements.



members. In 1825 the *Australian* proclaimed that the old penal settlement had been replaced a colony inhabited by a 'British public'.<sup>181</sup>

Although the chief demands of European reformers in Calcutta, Cape Town and New South Wales was for the introduction of trial by jury and taxation by representation, it is important to recognise the important place which religious issues occupied in the reform programme. Religious freedom and full toleration for non-Anglican Christian denominations were staple demands of political reformers in the colonies.<sup>182</sup> The *South African Commercial Advertiser*, the premier 'liberal' newspaper at the Cape argued:

Let us do away with all narrow-minded party prejudices, combinations and colonies; and cordially unite our efforts in promoting great and good objects [...]. Let us forget the paltry prejudices of Sect, party and birthplace, and estimate the minor distinction of Whig and Tory – Episcopalian and Presbyterian – European and African – according to their importance.<sup>183</sup>

The press in Calcutta was similarly hostile to religious establishments and the discriminatory religious constitution found in mainland Britain.<sup>184</sup> In New South Wales, 'liberal' editors opposed any attempt to recreate the metropolitan 'Protestant Constitution' in the colonial setting. The prominent newspaper editors Wardell and Wentworth were both freethinkers and frequently criticised the Church of England and the government's pro-Anglican policy in the columns of their *Australian*. In 1827 the *Australian* remarked that 'we wish to see all Sects protected, and all people left to worship their maker in their own way'.<sup>185</sup> The *Australian* opposed the Anglican ascendancy on the grounds that its control of one-seventh of Crown land deprived the poorer settlers of land and retarded the economic growth of the colony.<sup>186</sup> Rather than inculcate loyalty to the imperial connection, the Corporation was an agent of disunity. In August 1827 the *Australian* noted that to call the Anglican Church in New South Wales a 'National Church is an abuse of words, and a misapplication of terms. Here we have and can have no National Church; and it is therefore wickedness to make a specific appropriation to any one sect'.<sup>187</sup> The paper levelled particular criticism at Thomas Hobbes Scott, who was denounced as an associate of the conservative

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<sup>181</sup> *Australian*, October 20, 1825; Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. II, p. 59.

<sup>182</sup> Marshall, 'The Whites of British India', p. 34.

<sup>183</sup> *South African Commercial Advertiser*, March 17, 1824.

<sup>184</sup> For example, see the *Bengal Hurkaru's* support for the Roman Catholic Peers Bill, December 4, 1822.

<sup>185</sup> *Australian*, December 29, 1825.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, January 10, 1827.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, August 8, 1827.



and Tory elements in colonial society. Scott also received the odium of the *Monitor* after he had its editor, the Anglican evangelical E. S. Hall, removed from his pew in St. James' Church in Sydney. The Archdeacon's position on the executive council further hardened the liberal view that the Church was allied to conservative elements in the colony who wished to maintain the status quo. Scott responded by accusing the press of holding 'the Government and the Established Religion to every species of low and vulgar obloquy & contempt'.<sup>188</sup> Scott alleged that the Sydney editors were allied to an 'Evangelical party' that, according to him, enjoyed considerable influence at the Colonial Office.<sup>189</sup>

There are grounds for arguing that the Roman Catholic interest group which emerged in the mid-1810s was an aspect of this wider colonial reform movement. While Therry distanced himself from politics,<sup>190</sup> the campaign for the extension of civil liberties to Roman Catholics was gradually subsumed into the constitutional reform movement. Prominent reformers gave their support to the Roman Catholic community. Protestants played a prominent role in a public meeting in June 1820 which agreed to raise funds towards the support of a proposed Catholic chapel in Sydney.<sup>191</sup> Among those who subscribed to the chapel were individuals such as William Browne, J. T. Campbell, John Harris, John Jamison, Thomas McVitie, James Mileham, John Oxley, John Piper, and D'Arcy Wentworth, all of whom had signed either the 1819 petition or the 1821 emancipist petition. Non-Catholics also played a prominent role in the agitation which developed after Therry was removed from his position as chaplain in 1827. Darling had harboured suspicions of Therry's motives for some time and he presumed that the priest was the leader of the oppositional movement. When the *Australian* published an address in which Therry advocated the establishment of a Catholic School Society and entertained his 'qualified respect' of the Anglican clergy, Darling seized the chance to remove Therry from his position as government chaplain. Darling's treatment of Therry was the catalyst for the creation of a popular movement for the extension of civil rights to Roman Catholics, a movement which was initially led by Protestants who formed a 'Protestant Committee for the Relief of Catholics' in 1830 (the formation of the

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<sup>188</sup> ML, Extracts from the records of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1808-1833, As 143/4, Scott to Hamilton, February 24, 1829, no pagination.

<sup>189</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/4, Scott to Hamilton, March 23, 1827, f. 30.

<sup>190</sup> Despite the fact that Darling and the colonial government believed that Therry and the Methodist missionary William Walker were prominent members of the oppositional party: John Eddy, *Britain and the Australian Colonies, 1818-1831: The Technique of Government* (Oxford, 1969), p. 279.

<sup>191</sup> *Sydney Gazette*, July 1, 1821.



committee was linked to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation bill, which was extended to New South Wales in January 1830). In March 1830 the committee organised a petition which demanded the reinstatement of Therry as priest (the petition eventually received 1,400 signatures). Constitutional reformers featured prominently: all but five of the individuals who requisitioned Governor Darling in January 1827 for a reform meeting in Sydney signed the petition.<sup>192</sup>

How can we account for the support which Protestant reformers gave to Roman Catholicism? Firstly, religious liberty was regarded as a basic constitutional right. Secondly, reformers in Sydney were interested in building a broad-based and inclusive reform movement, one which contrasted with the closed and aristocratic (and largely Anglican) world of the exclusive faction. The list of twenty-one men who requisitioned Governor Darling in January 1827 for permission to hold a public meeting on January 1827 included the names of four Presbyterians and two Methodists. One can speculate that by supporting the claims of Roman Catholics, constitutional reformers were able to broaden their support and give their demands a more universal appeal. It is instructive to compare the development of petitioning communities in Sydney with those in metropolitan Britain. In his study of petitioning communities in Liverpool, Joshua Civin has shown how self-interested opponents of the East India Company's monopoly often gave their support to humanitarian and philanthropic campaigns, such as the opposition to sati and the Company's connection with Hindu idolatry. Civin suggests that merchants did this for essentially self-interested motives: piggy-backing on the popularity of humanitarian campaigns was one means by which merchants and anti-monopolists could give their own demands greater purchase and appeal.<sup>193</sup> Reformers in Sydney may have been similarly self-interested. By advocating the civil rights of non-Anglicans reformers could demonstrate their wider commitment to civil and constitutional liberties. What is important to note is that religious toleration was a demand which received support from across the political spectrum in the colony. Exclusives such as James Macarthur, a wealthy merchant and member of the executive council, signed the petition in support of Therry. The support which

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<sup>192</sup> The names of those individuals who signed the petition are printed in Eris M. O'Brien, *Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry, founder of the Catholic Church in Australia* (Sydney, 1922), pp. 361-69.

<sup>193</sup> Joshua Civin, 'Slaves, sati and sugar: constructing imperial identity through Liverpool petition struggles', in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850* (Manchester, 2003), pp. 197, 201.

Protestants gave the movement for Catholic rights indicates that unlike in Nova Scotia or Upper Canada, Anglican elites in New South Wales did not form themselves into an exclusive 'Family Compact' which jealously guarded the Anglican ascendancy.<sup>194</sup>

The interest which reformers showed towards the plight of the Roman Catholic community shows how intertwined the question of religious liberty had become in the whole question of constitutional reform.<sup>195</sup> The reform movement portrayed the Church of England and the system of clergy reserves as vestiges of the old unreformed order which the colonists liked to think they had left behind in Britain. Archdeacon Scott's authoritarian style of ecclesiastical rule was regarded as the natural support of Governor Darling's oppressive regime: indeed Scott had been one of the chief supporters of the press censorship which Darling introduced in 1827. The opposition which the reform movement showed to Scott and the Church did bear fruit. The Colonial Office decided to suspend the Church and School Corporation in May 1829, just over three years after it had been instituted in March 1826. But the Colonial Office's decision to suspend the Corporation can not be explained simply by the pressure from the colonial community. Scholars have suggested that the example of growing discontent in British North America, where a similar project had been introduced, was crucial in forcing men like James Stephen – who had previously supported a privileged Anglican Church – to recognise that it was impossible to erect an established Church in the colonies. Changes in the political climate in Britain – notably the passing of Catholic emancipation – also demonstrated that Anglican privileges could not be maintained overseas when they were being reformed or abandoned in mainland Britain itself.<sup>196</sup>

While pressure from colonists may not have been the principal reason why the Corporation was dissolved, colonial opinion did influence the system which the colonial authorities chose to put in its place. A public meeting held in Sydney in July 1833 produced a petition which called for the colonial revenue to be divided amongst the Christian sects according to the size of their congregation.<sup>197</sup> The petition appears to have exerted a profound influence on Governor Bourke, an Anglo-Irish Whig who became governor of the colony in

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<sup>194</sup> For the point that the link between Anglicanism and political conservatism that pertained in Upper Canada did not apply in New South Wales, see John Manning Ward, *James Macarthur: Colonial Conservative, 1798-1867* (Sydney, 1981), ch. 10.

<sup>195</sup> Porter, 'Religion, Missionary enthusiasm, and Empire', p. 227.

<sup>196</sup> Austin, *Australian Education*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>197</sup> A printed copy of the petition is enclosed in TNA, CO 201/238, Governor Richard Bourke to Edward Stanley, March 3, 1834, f. 335.



1831. The demands of the Sydney petitioners formed the basis of the alternative ecclesiastical arrangements which Bourke proposed to Edward Stanley, the secretary of state for the colonies, in a September 1833 despatch. In the despatch Bourke noted that 'it will be impossible to establish a dominant and endowed Church without much hostility' in a community made up of 'huge bodies of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland'. 'The inclination of these colonists, which keeps pace with the spirit of the age', Bourke added, 'is decidedly averse to such an institution'.<sup>198</sup> Any future means of supporting religion would have to take into account the sectarian diversity of the colony. Bourke recommended that the arrangement by which only the Anglican Church received support from the state should be replaced by a new system in which state aid was granted to any Christian denomination which possessed a congregation of at least one hundred persons.

Bourke's suggestions were accepted by the new secretary of state for the colonies, Baron Glenelg. A Canningite and the son of Charles Grant, Glenelg was an enthusiastic evangelical and liberal Anglican who was opposed to the establishment of a privileged National Church in areas where the Anglican population formed only a minority of the total population (though as we shall see in chapter five he had less hesitation about establishing Anglican bishoprics in India). Glenelg told Bourke that in communities 'comprising great numbers of Presbyterians and Roman-catholics, as well as members of the Church of England, it is evident that the attempt to select any one Church as the exclusive object of public endowment [...] would not long be tolerated'.<sup>199</sup> In July 1836 the Church Act was passed and an entirely new relationship between the state and the churches introduced. The Act stipulated that the clergy would be granted stipends worth £100 or £200, depending on the size of their congregation. The state would also grant money to build churches or minister's houses if the congregation subscribed up to £300 in voluntary donations. Alongside this reform in ecclesiastical arrangements Bourke recommended the introduction of a system of national education which provided a general system of religious instruction which was to appeal to Anglicans, dissenters and Roman Catholics alike.

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<sup>198</sup> *Despatches to Australian Colonies, relating to the Enlargement of the means of Religious Instruction and Public Worship*, Parliamentary Papers, 1837 [112], xliii, Bourke to Stanley, September 30, 1833, p. 4.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, Lord Glenelg to Governor Bourke, November 30, 1835, p. 15.



The suspension of the Church and Schools Corporation signalled the end of the attempt to transfer the model of the established Church from Britain to the colonies. But as this section has shown, Bathurst's 'Anglican design' had begun to unravel even before the Corporation was suspended. Pressure from Roman Catholics on the periphery of the empire had forced the Colonial Office to modify its ecclesiastical policy and give considerable support to non-Anglican communities. There is an interesting comparison to be made here between the opposition which the Roman Catholic community in New South Wales mounted to the imperial 'Anglican design', and the resistance which Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association organised against the 'Protestant Crusade' in Ireland in this period.<sup>200</sup> Prominent figures in the Catholic community in New South Wales such as the lawyers Roger Therry and John H. Plunkett had previously been involved in the Catholic Association in Ireland. The contribution which these men made to the campaign for Catholic civil rights in New South Wales was in many ways an extension of the role they had played in similar campaigns in Ireland.<sup>201</sup>

It should be emphasised that imperial ecclesiastical policy in this period was neither inflexible nor dogmatic. Both Bathurst and Goulburn – the chief architects of the 'design' – were aware of the need to adapt to changing circumstances. Maintaining the tranquillity and harmony in the colonies overrode any broader commitment to the established Church. The moderate aid which Bathurst gave to the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians in the colonies (which contrasted with the hostile stance which he took towards the introduction of Catholic emancipation in mainland Britain),<sup>202</sup> anticipated the changes in

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<sup>200</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'The New Reformation Movement in the Church of Ireland, 1801-29', in Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller (eds), *Piety and Power 1760-1960: Essays in honour of Emmet Larkin* (Belfast, 2000), pp. 180-208.

<sup>201</sup> For Plunkett, see John N. Molony, *An Architect of Freedom: John Hubert Plunkett in New South Wales 1832-1869* (Canberra, 1973); for Therry, see Roger Therry, *Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in New South Wales and Victoria* (London, 1863), and *idem.*, *A letter to the Right Hon. George Canning on the present state of the Catholic Question* (London, 1826).

<sup>202</sup> For much of his career Bathurst was opposed to emancipation. But here again Bathurst's attitude altered as circumstances changed. When Catholic emancipation was announced in the Commons on February 5, 1829, Bathurst spoke in favour of the motion, angering Whigs and ultra-Tories who accused him of 'unprincipled expediency'. What role colonial affairs had on Bathurst's change of attitude is a question that future research might answer. For Bathurst's attitude to emancipation, see Neville Thompson, *Earl Bathurst and the British Empire 1762-1834* (Barnsley, 1999), esp. p. 239. Goulburn was similarly more receptive to Catholic claims overseas than he was of them closer to home. It was Goulburn's Protestantism and his commitment to supporting the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland which had got him the job of chief secretary to Ireland under Richard Wellesley in 1821: Jenkins, *Henry Goulburn*, p. 131.



imperial ecclesiastical policy which were introduced by the Whigs in the early 1830s.

#### **(v) Conclusion**

This chapter has presented an alternative picture of Anglican Church expansion in the eastern empire to that provided by recent accounts. Recent work by Rowan Strong has reasserted Christopher Bayly's argument that the early nineteenth century saw an attempt by the British government to strengthen the Anglican Church in the colonies and to revive the links between the Church and the state. This chapter has shown how there is considerable evidence to support this view, but it has also suggested that it was not until the post-war period that a truly global Anglican design was implemented by the British government. Before 1815 the expansion of the Church – at least in the eastern empire – had been driven by non-state voluntary bodies such as the Clapham Sect. By contrast, in the years between the establishment of the Calcutta bishopric and the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board in 1824, the Colonial Office under Bathurst made a deliberate attempt to remodel ecclesiastical arrangements in the colonies. Wherever possible, the task of providing religious and educational instruction to colonial populations was entrusted to the Church of England. The establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board and the introduction of new methods of counting Christian attendance in the colonies, suggests that this 'design' was planned from the centre.

However, this chapter has also pointed to the limitations of Bathurst's design. Firstly, the relationship between colonial chaplains and the military authorities who governed many parts of the eastern empire was more complicated than Bayly's brief survey suggests. The Cape offered a rare example of a colony where the clerical workforce was strongly allied to the conservative colonial government. Elsewhere evangelical chaplains frequently clashed with military governors. Secondly, the Anglican design was considerably weaker wherever Anglicans formed a minority of the population. Bayly recognises that in areas such as the Cape and the Mediterranean the British were cautious in religious matters and made no attempt to assimilate non-British populations to Anglicanism. But the links between church and state were also relatively weak in India, Bayly's test-case. Company chaplains lamented the weak position of the



Church of England in India in the late 1820s.<sup>203</sup> In colonies where there was a multiplicity of religious groups, the British preferred to ally themselves to the existing ecclesiastical structures: in India, as we have seen, the Company subsidised non-Christian religious establishments. At the Cape, the governor became the effective head of the Dutch Reformed Church and claimed full powers to nominate and station its chaplains.<sup>204</sup> But what is important to recognise is how quickly this pro-Anglican religious policy was abandoned or modified in those parts of the empire where the task of strengthening the Church was apparently less problematic, such as in New South Wales. In the past, historians have tended to argue that the return to power of the Whigs in 1830-31 heralded a decisive shift in colonial ecclesiastical policy.<sup>205</sup> While it is clear that the Whigs can take the credit for disestablishing the Church of England in the colonies, this chapter has shown that the Whig reforms may have in fact been continuations of policies introduced by the Colonial Office in the 1820s.

The following three chapters focus on how the Church of England responded to the changes in imperial ecclesiastical policy introduced by the incoming Whig government in the early 1830s. As we noted in the introduction to the thesis, a series of organisations and voluntary groups in Britain made a renewed effort in this period to strengthen the position of the Church in the colonies. The Colonial Bishops' Fund was established and steps were taken to increase the number of clergymen in the colonies. Much of the impetus for the expansion of the Church in this period was provided by the Oxford Movement and the 'diocesan revival' back in metropolitan Britain. The following three chapters draw attention to how this 'second' Anglican design worked in our three colonies. While the Churches in New South Wales and the Cape in this period were strongly influenced by the high church revival, it is important not to overstate the Tractarian or high church contribution to colonial Church expansion in this period. Chapter five reiterates the point that the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment in India remained strongly evangelical in character. The final three

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<sup>203</sup> Henry Shepherd, *Cursory remarks on the inefficiency of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of India, under the present system; and on the expediency of appointing a second Bishop to the eastward of the Cape* (London, 1827); Daniel Corrie, the archdeacon at Calcutta, told his sister that 'the spirit which is abroad in England, is also spreading here. Many are not only disposed to favour dissent, but to discourage the Church': G. E. Corrie and Henry Corrie, *Memoirs of the Right Rev. Daniel Corrie, compiled chiefly from his own letters and journals, by his brothers* (London, 1847), p. 516.

<sup>204</sup> Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa: An Account of the History and Development of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London, 1963), p. 10.

<sup>205</sup> Peter Burroughs, 'Lord Howick and the Colonial Church Establishment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25 (1974), pp. 381-405.



chapters of this thesis also draw attention to the way in which this second Anglican design stimulated a series of disagreements and tensions in the colonial Churches. In all three of our case studies Anglican laymen argued that the creation of bishoprics had actually limited the opportunities which were open to them to participate in the government of the Church. The following chapters show that from the 1830s onwards the laity across the eastern empire demanded the decentralisation of colonial ecclesiastical authority and the introduction of a more democratic and regulated form of Church government.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The expansion of the Anglican Church and lay reform movements in New South Wales, c. 1836-1853**

In the previous chapter we traced the series of events which led to the abolition of the Church and Schools Corporation in New South Wales in 1833. The 1836 Church Act removed the Church of England from its privileged position and offered equal state aid to each of the four main Christian denominations. Anglican clergymen initially reacted with horror at this radical reform. William Grant Broughton, Scott's successor as archdeacon, regarded the Act as an instance of 'that breaking down of the fences of the constitution which is evidently going on, and upon a system too, in all the Colonies'.<sup>1</sup> Broughton initially rejected Glenelg's offer of the newly-established Australian bishopric as he believed that to accept the position would give the impression that he supported Bourke's Act.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the Anglican Church quickly adapted to these constitutional changes and indeed it profited greatly from the Church Act. A bishopric was established in New South Wales in 1836 and Broughton, formerly archdeacon, became its first incumbent (the appointment had in fact been organised during Peel's short lived Tory ministry of 1834-35). As the largest denomination in the colony the Anglican stood to gain most from the new state aid arrangements. The number of Anglican clergy in Broughton's diocese dramatically increased: in 1830 there were only fourteen clergy in the colony; by 1841 there were forty-three.

The first section of this chapter traces the attempts which Broughton made to strengthen the position of the Church of England in the colony in the period after 1836. The chapter situates the attempts which Broughton made to bolster the Anglican Church within the wider context of the efforts which metropolitan churchmen were making to extend the Church in urban areas and improve the efficiency and 'reach' of ecclesiastical institutions. The 'revival' of the Church of England in mainland Britain in the 1830s is usually associated with the work of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The key aims of the Commission were to extend the parish system to the new industrial and urban areas and to

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<sup>1</sup> Moore Theological College Library, Sydney, Broughton Papers, misc., William Grant Broughton to Joshua Watson, September 14, 1839, no pagination.

<sup>2</sup> *Despatches to Australian Colonies, relating to the Enlargement of the Means of Religious Instruction and Public Worship*, Parliamentary Papers, 1837 [112], xliii, Broughton to Baron Glenelg, December 3, 1835, p. 55.



rationalise the internal administration of the Church.<sup>3</sup> In recent years work by Arthur Burns has broadened our understanding of the revival and shifted our attention away from national bodies such as the Commission and focused attention on local initiatives which were designed to reinvigorate a series of diocesan structures which had fallen out of use in the eighteenth century. Through this 'diocesan revival' the church redefined itself as a popular institution which was capable of competing with dissent and reaching out to the urban population.<sup>4</sup> Burns portrays this diocesan revival as a metropolitan affair. This is an oversight, as there is enough evidence to suggest that the 'diocesan revival' was also relevant in the colonies. Chapter one used the example of the recruitment of colonial clergymen to show how the revival influenced churchmen in the colonies. Similarly, the Colonial Bishops' Fund was both an aspect of the campaign for 'more bishops and more dioceses' and an attempt to transfer the diocesan model to the colonies. The first section of this chapter shows that Broughton introduced many of the institutions and practices which his orthodox counterparts had been responsible for reviving and recreating in mainland Britain.

While the Church Act gave Broughton the opportunity to strengthen the position of the Church of England in his new diocese, it represented something of a mixed blessing for the Anglican laity. We noted in the previous chapter that the 1820s saw the emergence of an organised Anglican laity in many parts of the empire. Opportunities for the laity to participate in the Church in the chaplaincy period in New South Wales were however limited: it was not until the Church of England Temporalities Bill was passed in 1837 that the laity could exercise any control over the local affairs of the parish churches. By the terms of the Act parish property was conveyed to trustees who were elected for life by the seatholders. The Act also stipulated that the affairs of each church would be managed by three churchwardens, one of which was elected by the minister, one by the seatholders and one by the trustees.<sup>5</sup> The more active role which the laity played in Church administration was counterbalanced by the increasingly centralised nature of ecclesiastical authority in the diocese. The separation of church and state left the Church in the colony without any recognisable form of

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<sup>3</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-46* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 198-217.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c. 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> For the text of the Act, see *Copies of Extracts of Correspondence and Documents showing the Progress of Measures taken for the Advancement of Religion in Australia*, PP, 1840 [243], xxxiii, pp. 9-14.

government and considerably enhanced the power of the episcopate. Broughton controlled not only the distribution of state aid but also the licensing of all clergymen in the diocese. There was no higher authority which could prevent Broughton from arbitrarily removing clergymen from their positions. Meanwhile, the laity was effectively excluded from any involvement in Church governance at the diocesan level.

In the period between 1836 and the late 1840s the laity in New South Wales began to demand a reform of these anomalies. The chapter's second section traces the development of a lay reform movement in New South Wales in the late 1840s and early 1850s. This lay movement was committed to preventing the further consolidation of episcopal power in the colony. The final section shows how Broughton and the other Australian bishops themselves recognised the need for a more regulated form of colonial Church government. Broughton and the other Australian bishops agreed that the best means of resolving the problems surrounding colonial Church government was to establish diocesan synods in which the clergy could meet and regulate the affairs of the Church in each colony. The attempt to revive synodical government in the colonies occurred at the same time as churchmen in Britain were calling for the revival of both the convocations of York and Canterbury and the establishment of diocesan and provincial synods.<sup>6</sup> The final section of this chapter compares these colonial and metropolitan campaigns. This section points out that there were strong connections between the metropolitan and colonial revivalists, but their motivations did differ. While the revival of convocation and the creation of diocesan assemblies in Britain was largely a response to the reforms of the late 1820s and 1830s (which convinced many churchmen that Parliament could not claim to represent the Church), it was the problems relating to ecclesiastical discipline which were of prime concern in the colonies. Another difference was that the establishment of diocesan synods occurred earlier in the colonies than it did in Britain. Considerable opposition had been mounted in Britain to the creation of colonial synods in the early 1850s, primarily from conservative members of parliament and evangelicals who feared that it would lead to the separation of the colonial Church from the 'mother' Church. Yet the campaign

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<sup>6</sup> The convocations of York and Canterbury continued to meet but they had exercised no effective power since the Reformation. The campaign for diocesan assemblies was a related, though distinct, movement to the revival of convocation. For the latter, see D. A. Jennings, *The Revival of the Convocation of York, 1837-1861 (Borthwick Paper no. 47)* (York, 1975). For the establishment of diocesan assemblies, see Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, ch. 9.



for colonial synods profited greatly by the coming to power of Palmerston's liberal ministry in 1855. Whereas Sir John Pakington – the Conservative secretary of state for the colonies in the 14<sup>th</sup> Earl Derby's ministry – had opposed the introduction of colonial synods, William Molesworth and Henry Labouchere – successive secretaries of state for the colonies under Palmerston – were both in favour of independent colonial Churches. The concern which these men showed towards colonial Church government was an extension of their long-running interest in colonial self-government and the rights of colonists.<sup>7</sup> In the mid-1850s Labouchere succeeded in securing the royal assent to a series of colonial bills which gave the colonial Churches the right to meet in synod. Synods were subsequently established in British North America and in South Australia and Victoria in the mid-1850s. By contrast, the attempt to establish diocesan assemblies in Britain continued to attract opposition from evangelicals, and it was not until the 1860s that such assemblies became a common feature of the metropolitan Church.<sup>8</sup>

Another important difference between the colonial and metropolitan campaigns was that the synods which were established in the colonies contained a much stronger lay element than their counterparts in Britain. Burns has noted how the issue of lay representation remained a source of controversy throughout the later 1850s.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, the synods which were held in South Australia and Victoria from 1855 onwards were composed of bishops, clergy and elected representatives of the laity. Bruce Kaye argues that the inclusion of a strong lay element in the Australian synods was a reflection of the democratic temper of these colonies. The campaign for a democratic form of Church government was therefore tied to the wider movement for colonial self-government.<sup>10</sup> The final section of this chapter examines the extent to which Kaye's argument can also be applied to New South Wales. While in South Australia and Victoria the bishops and laity came to an agreement over the composition of the synods, in New South Wales the issue of lay representation was a source of conflict between Broughton and the laity. In contrast to Broughton, who believed that the laity should meet in a separate convention to the bishops and clergy, prominent lay

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<sup>7</sup> G. F. R. Barker, 'Labouchere, Henry, Baron Taunton (1798-1869)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 200 ), vol. 32, p. 162; Peter Burroughs, 'Molesworth, Sir William, eighth baronet (1810-1855)', *ODNB*, vol. 38, p. 534.

<sup>8</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, pp. 250-59.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>10</sup> Bruce N. Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods in Australia and the 1850 Bishops' Conference', *The Journal of Religious History*, 27:2 (2003), p. 195.



men argued that the laity should be included in a single chamber. The early 1850s saw the creation of a 'Church of England Constitutional Defence Association' in New South Wales which was committed to preventing the establishment of synods in which the clergy enjoyed precedence over the laity. It is significant that at approximately the same time as the lay community was taking steps to oppose Broughton's synod the political public in New South Wales were mobilising to resist the introduction of a constitution which would have established a second chamber with a hereditary aristocracy (or 'Bunyip Aristocracy' as it was termed by radicals).<sup>11</sup> This final section situates the opposition which was mounted to Broughton's proposed synod within this wider political context and explores the links between ecclesiastical and constitutional reform. The chapter attempts to show how the aim of church reformers in the colony – a synod in which power was distributed among the three orders of clergy, bishops and laity – correlated with the demands which political reformers were making for a more democratic constitution.

#### **(i) The expansion of the Christian churches after 1836 and the high church revival**

Non-Anglicans responded enthusiastically to the passage of the Church Act. The Presbytery of New South Wales greeted the act with 'unmingled feelings of gratitude and joy'. The Act was also welcomed by those denominations who traditionally renounced any connection with the state. Baptists in Sydney and Independents at South Head both sent applications for state aid to the colonial government.<sup>12</sup> The Church Act opened the door for non-Anglican denominations to build on the gains that they had made since the suspension of the Corporation in 1829. Attendance at Wesleyan societies was 278 in 1833. By 1842 there were twelve Methodist ministers in the colony and attendance at the ten societies in the colony had increased to 1,529.<sup>13</sup> The Roman Catholic Church was one of the

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<sup>11</sup> Ged Martin, *Bunyip Aristocracy: The New South Wales Constitution Debate of 1853 and Hereditary Institutions in the British Colonies* (Sydney, 1986). The 'bunyip' was a mythological monster that was believed to have lived in swamps in the interior of Australia.

<sup>12</sup> John Barrett, *That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia 1835-1850* (Melbourne, 1966), p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> Mitchell Library, Sydney, Methodist Missionary Society District Minutes M121-124, 1822-1855, Meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, September 15, 1842, no pagination.



main beneficiaries of the change in ecclesiastical policy. Within months of the passage of the Act a Catholic Australasian Society was formed in Sydney to fund the completion of St Mary's Church in Sydney and to organise further subscriptions in support of Catholic ministers.<sup>14</sup> William Bernard Ullathorne, the vicar-general, travelled to England in 1837 to raise funds for the Church and recruit additional priests.<sup>15</sup> Before 1836 there was only been nine Roman Catholic clergy in the colony; by 1840 there were 21 clergy and nine completed places of worship.<sup>16</sup>

The Church Act also encouraged non-Anglicans to demand the removal of the remaining vestiges of the Anglican ascendancy in the colony. Anglican privilege continued to be symbolised by Broughton's position on the executive council – he was the only head of a denomination to enjoy such a position (in 1843 Broughton was offered a position on the newly reformed legislative council, but he declined). The years after 1836 saw the consolidation of Roman Catholic and Presbyterian political pressure-groups which were committed to blocking any attempt to re-establish the Church of England. The Catholic pressure-group was led by Ullathorne and W. A. Duncan, a Scottish Catholic, political radical and editor of the *Australian Chronicle*. The newspaper quickly gained a reputation as a watchdog of Catholic civil rights. Arguing that the government was still run by an Anglican clique, Duncan publicised anything which he thought demonstrated a residual Anglican design at government house: examples included the £2000 salary that was granted to Bishop Broughton and the government's refusal to endow £500 for the extension of St Mary's galleries.<sup>17</sup> Duncan also played a key role in the meeting held in Sydney in September 1841 which called for Broughton to be removed from both the executive and legislative councils. There were important connections between this Roman Catholic pressure group and radical politics in Sydney. Catholics such as W. A. Duncan, J. K. Heydon and Edward Hawksley featured prominently in the wave of radical activity which hit Sydney in the period after the introduction of the 1840 Masters and Servants Bill.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Australian*, July 15, 1836.

<sup>15</sup> William B. Ullathorne, *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* (London, 1838).

<sup>16</sup> TNA, CO 206/81, f. 523

<sup>17</sup> *Australian Chronicle*, November 22, 1839; July 14, 1840; Catholic claims were effectively articulated in William Bernard Ullathorne's *A Reply to Judge Burton, of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, on the 'State of Religion' in the colony* (Sydney, 1840).

<sup>18</sup> Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851* (Melbourne, 1965), p. 108.



The Presbyterian community were similarly alive to any attempt to re-impose the Anglican ascendancy. John Dunmore Lang's *Colonial Observer* held that 'if Romish assumption is intolerable, Protestant or Episcopalian assumption is still more so'.<sup>19</sup> Presbyterians in the Australian colonies asserted that no one Church had the right to claim a privileged established status. A Tasmanian schoolmaster named James Thomson argued that the Anglican Church could not legally claim established status outside of England as the statute law which recognised Anglicanism as the established religion in England did not extend to the colonies. Thomson argued that 'there is in no colony an Established Church, in the strict sense of the word. There has been a favoured Church, or an exclusive system existing as to the Church, but there is no Established Church'.<sup>20</sup> Any denomination, therefore, had the right to establish itself in the colonies and demand support from the state. This argument led Presbyterians to support the Roman Catholic community's efforts to establish an archbishopric in New South Wales in 1843. Broughton, by contrast, opposed the archbishopric on the grounds that it violated the terms of the oath of supremacy, which dictated that it was the duty of the British state to prevent foreign prelates from claiming any spiritual authority or jurisdiction within territories already claimed by the crown and governed by an Anglican bishop.<sup>21</sup> Lang, who was normally a bitter critic of Catholicism, took the opposing view and defended the right of the Catholics to claim episcopal office in Australia. Lang wrote in the *Observer* that the Catholics 'civil and religious liberties as British subjects [...] we shall always esteem it our bounded duty to advocate and contend for, precisely as if they were our own'.<sup>22</sup>

The Church Act also encouraged other groups, which were excluded from the terms of the act, to demand the civil and religious rights which the followers of the other denominations enjoyed. In 1845 the Jewish community in the colony petitioned the legislative council for annual stipend for the rabbi. As Naomi Turner has shown, the Jews based their claim to state aid on the basis of their rights as citizens and on the assumption that the Church Act recognised the equality of each denomination. Although there was considerable support both within the legislative council and in the public press for the extension of state aid

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<sup>19</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>20</sup> James Thomson, *Remarks on the Status of the Presbyterian Church in the British Colonies* (Hobart, 1835), p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> *Letters Patent constituting Episcopal Sees in Australia, and appointing Right Rev. W.D. Broughton Bishop of Sydney*, PP, 1850 [174], xxxvii, Broughton to Lord Stanley, March 27, 1843, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in D. W. A. Baker, *Days of Wrath: A Life of John Dunmore Lang* (Melbourne, 1985), p. 193.



to the Jewish community, the Colonial Office refused to make a special grant to a non-Christian denomination and the matter was dropped. It was not until the mid-1850s that the Jews were granted a stipend for their rabbi.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to the leaders of other denominations of Christians, the Anglican hierarchy in New South Wales was initially hostile to the Church Act. For Broughton the Act violated the sacred compact between church and state. Broughton's response was typical of the high church reaction to the liberal Anglican reforms of the early 1830s.<sup>24</sup> Opposition also came from a small group of Anglican laymen. In 1839 a group of prominent Anglicans laymen which included Judge W. W. Burton, the colonial secretary Alexander McLeay, and the merchants James Bowman and William Macpherson, drew up a petition to the Queen which called for the reestablishment of the Church and Schools Corporation. The petition was circulated among the principle members of the exclusive faction for signature, but the fact that it was never sent to the colonial authorities in Britain suggests that it received little or no support. James Macarthur, an Anglican Tory and an exclusive in politics, refused to sign the petition, arguing that 'such a mode of providing for the Church is not only impolitic in other respects, but detrimental to the cause of Religion'.<sup>25</sup>

While Broughton was concerned about the opportunities which the Act granted to Roman Catholicism and dissent, like these other denominations the Anglican Church moved quickly to reap the rewards offered by the new system of state aid. State aid would allow Broughton to increase the number of Anglican churches in the colony and extend the reach of his Church. Before 1836 only ten Anglican churches had been constructed in New South Wales. Between 1837 and 1841 Broughton oversaw the construction of eight churches, the foundation of fifteen more, and the erection of twelve parsonages.<sup>26</sup> As the Anglican Church could claim the greatest number of adherents, it is unsurprising that the Anglican Church was the chief beneficiary of the Church Act. Broughton informed his

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<sup>23</sup> Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare? State Aid in New South Wales 1836-1862* (Canberra, 1972), pp. 71-5, 131-32.

<sup>24</sup> G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), p. 75.

<sup>25</sup> ML, Macarthur Papers: Church of England 1839-1909, vol. 99, A2995, James Macarthur to William Cowper, July 25, 1839, no pagination. See W. W. Burton's *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales* (London, 1840) for the conservative Anglican position. For the argument that the defence of a privileged Anglican establishment formed no part of conservative thinking in New South Wales, see Alan Atkinson, 'Time, Place and Paternalism: Early Conservative Thinking in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23:90 (1988), pp. 1-18.

<sup>26</sup> Barrett, *That Better Country*, p. 42.

friend Edward Coleridge that forty subscriptions had been started in the colony in 1836 and 1837 for the establishment of churches.<sup>27</sup>

Broughton's attempts to develop the Church in Australia took place at the same time as the metropolitan 'diocesan revival' gathered pace. In some respects Broughton's efforts should be regarded as a continuation of this phenomenon. In Britain, the diocesan revival focused on the regeneration and extension of a series of ecclesiastical institutions, societies and practices which had fallen out of use in the eighteenth century. Greater emphasis was placed on the visitation and the roles of archdeacons and rural deans. Diocesan societies were established to promote missionary causes and to coordinate church-building schemes.<sup>28</sup> Although Burns is careful to argue that a wide-range of churchmen from across the party spectrum participated in the revival, it was orthodox high churchmen who featured prominently. Broughton was closely associated with many of the leading lights of the diocesan reform movement (it was to churchmen such as Hugh Rose, John Lonsdale, and John Hume Spry who Broughton turned to when he called for clergymen in 1836)<sup>29</sup> and he moved to implement many of the reforms which the orthodox high party had sponsored in Britain. Broughton established a church-building project and encouraged local administrative structures. One of his first acts was to establish a local Diocesan Committee of the SPG and the SPCK which was designed to supervise the collection of funds for church extension. Other diocesan societies established during Broughton's tenure were the Church of England Lay Association, established in 1844, and the series of 'Parochial Associations' which were established in the 1840s.<sup>30</sup> Like similar organisations in Britain these societies allowed a degree of lay participation in Church affairs and went some way towards encouraging a sense of community among Anglicans.

In addition to implementing reforms which were in line with those which his counterparts were introducing back in Britain, Broughton was keenly aware of the need for initiatives which were tailored to the peculiar circumstances of the colony. When it became apparent that many areas were incapable of raising enough funds to support their own ministers, Broughton suggested to Alexander Campbell, the secretary of the SPG, that the society make a special grant for the

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<sup>27</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/3, Broughton to Coleridge, October 19, 1837, no pagination.

<sup>28</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*; Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland 1801-46* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 74-76, 242.

<sup>29</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/1, Broughton to Coleridge, July 26, 1836, no pagination.

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Church of England Lay Association, for New South Wales for the years 1844 and 1845* (Sydney, 1846).



support of itinerant ministers in four remote areas.<sup>31</sup> The peculiar circumstances of the colony meant that there were significant differences between the colonial and metropolitan brands of 'diocesan reform'. For example, in New South Wales we do not see the same reinvigoration of the positions such as the rural dean or the archdeaconate as occurred in Britain in this period.<sup>32</sup> The fact that Broughton had to engineer the majority of reforms himself perhaps explains the piecemeal and limited nature of the many of the innovations which he implemented. Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that Broughton's energy, coupled with the establishment of diocesan societies and the general expansion of the Anglican Church in the late 1830s and 1840s, contributed to an enhanced 'diocesan consciousness' in the colony from roughly 1836.<sup>33</sup>

As we saw in chapter one, the attempts which Broughton made to improve the quality of the clergy in his diocese paralleled similar developments in England in this period. According to Burns a central aspect of the diocesan revival was the drive for improved professional standards among the clergy.<sup>34</sup> Broughton had initially relied on a network of prominent orthodox high churchmen in Britain to find him suitable clergymen. Broughton specifically requested men who had been educated at one of the ancient universities and who had preferably been influenced by the Oxford Movement. We also noted in chapter one that the networks which were responsible for finding suitable clergymen struggled to find men who fitted these specifications. Initially, Broughton counteracted these problems by placing high churchmen in important positions close to his diocesan headquarters in Sydney.<sup>35</sup> In the early 1840s Broughton called for the establishment of theological seminaries in which clergymen would be given an effective religious education. In the late 1840s

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<sup>31</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/2, Broughton to Alexander Campbell, April 3, 1841, f. 50; Broughton had recommended the establishment of a 'circuits' – presumably modelled on the Methodist example – as early as 1830. See William Grant Broughton, *A Charge, delivered to the clergy of the archdeaconry of New South Wales, at the primary visitation, holden at Sydney, in the Church of St. James, on Thursday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, 1829* (Sydney, 1830), p. 17. The way in which the Church modelled itself on Methodist examples is suggested in Rev. William B. Clarke's comment that he had adopted in his parish 'extemporaneous preaching from a sense of its efficacy; for before me there had been some Wesleyan preachers amongst them & they had acquired such a taste for "common talking" that they could not put up with "a book"'. See C/AUS/SYD/1, William Branwhite Clarke to Ernest Hawkins, August 31, 1840, f. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, chs 2 and 3.

<sup>33</sup> The phrase 'diocesan consciousness' is used by Burns to describe the sense of communality among Anglicans which the creation of diocesan societies helped to nurture: *ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151-56.

<sup>35</sup> Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, 1987), pp. 35, 50.



Broughton established his own theological college at St. James' parsonage in Sydney. The college allowed Broughton to exercise a more direct control over the supervision and training of clergymen in his diocese. The teachers and lecturers at the college were all strongly influenced by Tractarianism,<sup>36</sup> and there are grounds for suggesting that the college, like St. Augustine's, was part of a wider design to strengthen the position of the high church party in the colonies. While Broughton clearly intended for his college to be a high church institution – after all, one of the reasons why it had been established was to prevent the arrival of evangelical clergymen sent out by the SPG – we should not overestimate its exclusiveness. Although Broughton's college produced two clergymen of definite Tractarian sympathies – Charles Priddle and George Gregory – it also produced evangelicals such as William Macquarie Cowper and James Hassall, both of whom were the sons of evangelical clergymen.<sup>37</sup>

The success of this colonial 'diocesan revival' was dependent on the Church's ability to enlist the support of the laity in pastoral work and in raising funds for church extension.<sup>38</sup> Like his counterparts in England, Broughton was aware of the need to involve the laity in church extension and in the administration of the church. The diocesan committee which Broughton established in 1836 was deliberately set up to encourage lay men to participate in the administration and extension of the church.<sup>39</sup> In 1839 Broughton informed Coleridge of his wish to include a handful of representatives of the 'higher class of tradesmen' within this body.<sup>40</sup> Increasingly, however, the laity in New South Wales grew intolerant of the limited opportunities which were available for them to participate in the government of the church. Historians of the nineteenth-century Church have argued that the diocesan revival and the centralisation of Church administration in Britain in the 1830s reduced the scope of lay involvement in Church government. Institutions such as the vestry, which in the early nineteenth century were democratic arenas charged with a number of ecclesiastical and social duties, slowly lost these powers to the archdeacons, rural

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<sup>36</sup> The Tractarian lecturers at St. James' and Lyndhurst were Robert Allwood, J. C. Grylls, William H. Walsh and Robert Knox Sconce.

<sup>37</sup> Marcus L. Loane, *Hewn from the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney* (Sydney, 1976), p. 55.

<sup>38</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 118.

<sup>39</sup> Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, p. 38.

<sup>40</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/7, Broughton to Coleridge, October 14, 1839, no pagination.



deans and the revived diocesan bodies.<sup>41</sup> In New South Wales, opportunities for lay involvement in church governance were even more circumscribed. The 1837 Church of England Temporalities Act, which established a system of churchwardens at each church, only gave the individual congregations the opportunity to manage their own local affairs. The diocesan committee also gave the laity little opportunity to participate in the administration of the church. The weak position of the laymen on the committee was demonstrated in 1843, when Broughton forced the resignation from the committee of some members who had dared to support Captain M. C. O'Connell, a liberal Anglican and associate of Daniel O'Connell (they were not related – the former was the grandson of William Bligh), at the first elections to the legislative council. Broughton complained that the actions of these members proved that 'the plague-spot of liberality' had infected the Church in the colony.<sup>42</sup>

In the late 1830s the Anglican laity in New South Wales began to demand a greater share in the administration of the Church at the diocesan level. For many laymen Broughton's attempts to establish diocesan societies and lay committees did not go far enough. Laymen objected to the increasing centralisation of ecclesiastical authority in the diocese: the clergy did not have any claim to the property of their incumbency and Broughton had the right, though he rarely wielded it, to remove clergymen from their positions. The absence of any ecclesiastical courts in the colonies meant that the power of disciplining clergy devolved entirely on Broughton himself. Laymen also objected to the periodic attempts which Broughton made to enhance his already considerable powers. In 1837 Broughton wrote to Glenelg at the Colonial Office demanding that the civil authorities should exercise no jurisdiction over the colony's clergy.<sup>43</sup> While on the one hand Broughton consistently emphasised the power and authority of the bishopric and the clergy, he made no attempt to integrate the laity within the government of the Church.<sup>44</sup> From the mid-1830s opposition to Broughton's bishopric became more strident and coordinated. The following two sections of this chapter trace the development of this lay movement in more detail.

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<sup>41</sup> Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 206.

<sup>42</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/18, Broughton to Coleridge, January 14, 1843, no pagination.

<sup>43</sup> Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Bruce N. Kaye, 'The Laity in Church Government According to Bishop Broughton', *Journal of Religious History*, 20:1 (1996), pp. 78-92.



The movement for reform of church government peaked in the years after 1848. In those years the Church of England in the colony was facing a crisis: in 1848 two Tractarian clergymen seceded from the church and a year later Broughton was strongly criticised for suspending two Irish clergymen who had disagreed with him over financial affairs.<sup>45</sup> These events provoked the laity to make demands for a more regulated and constitutional form of episcopacy. It is significant that the 'crisis' in the Church of England coincided with a wider crisis in colonial society and indeed in the British Empire more generally. Recent work on the empire in 1848 has shown how the majority of Britain's overseas possessions experienced riots, revolts, campaigns of civil disobedience or movements demanding constitutional and political reform. New South Wales was no different. News that the British government intended to resume transportation sparked anti-transportation agitation in both New South Wales and the Cape Colony, which in turn prompted further demands for constitutional reform.<sup>46</sup> The remainder of this chapter attempts to answer a number of questions. Firstly, to what extent can the emergence of a vocal Anglican laity in the late 1840s be seen as part of this wider political ferment? Secondly, what links were there between the movement for Church reform and the wider constitutional reform movement? Finally, what overlap was there – both in terms of personnel and political agenda – between the movements for ecclesiastical and secular reform?

## **(ii) Opposition to Broughton's bishopric and the Anglican laity, c. 1836-48**

As we noted in the previous section, the 1836 Church Act and the 1837 Church of England Temporalities Act dramatically increased the opportunities which were available to lay men to participate in the administration of the church. According to the terms of the Church Act the extension of the Church was dependent on the funds which were provided by the wider Anglican community. As Brian Fletcher has noted, the increasingly visible role which the laity played in church-building was an important aspect in the development of free society in New South Wales.<sup>47</sup> The bulk of the funds were subscribed by public servants, merchants, pastoralists and members of the urban middle classes, though some

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<sup>45</sup> Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>46</sup> Miles Taylor, 'The 1848 Revolutions and the British Empire', *Past and Present*, 166 (2000), pp. 146-180.

<sup>47</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society in New South Wales', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 86:2 (2000), p. 108.



support was provided by the squatters (rural landowners) and the colonial upper class.<sup>48</sup> For these groups providing money towards the erection of churches was an important part of their civic duties.<sup>49</sup> The increasing visibility of the laity was reflected in the appearance of a religious press. In the years after 1836 four Church of England periodicals were started in Sydney: the *Church Standard*, *Sydney Standard and Colonial Advocate*, *Sydney Record*, and the high church *Southern Queen*.<sup>50</sup>

The late 1830s also saw the emergence of a more hard-line evangelicalism. Modern scholarship has warned us against exaggerating party divisions in the pre-Tractarian period. As Burns notes, the titles 'orthodox' and 'evangelical' are somewhat artificial terms which can not possibly describe the extremely complex and fluid situation in the Church of England in the period before 1830.<sup>51</sup> Nockles has also warned against overstating the differences between 'evangelical' and 'orthodox' churchmen in the pre-Tractarian period. Nockles notes that 'the pre-Tractarian era [...] appears to exemplify a Church that was characterised by relative internal harmony in spite of some latent theological differences'.<sup>52</sup> The Tractarian movement did however sharpen the identity of a distinct Evangelical party within the Church. The term 'Low Churchman' – which had been rarely used before 1833 and indeed was a title which evangelicals resented – started to be used to describe evangelicals who displayed particular antagonism towards episcopacy.<sup>53</sup> While Tractarians tended to attach importance to the role of the priest and the catholicity of the Church, Low Churchmen emphasised the necessity of personal devotion and the

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<sup>48</sup> Barrett, *That Better Country*, pp. 66-71; though we should not overestimate the laity's willingness to provide funds towards church extension. Several clergymen noted that the laity in the interior were often slow in subscribing funds. William B. Clarke noted that 'the voluntary system might succeed partially in three of four places – not more. The country clergy would inevitably starve': RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/1, Clarke to Hawkins, July 12, 1844, f. 37. Kenneth Cable has noted that the colonial laity was often reluctant to 'break with the custom of the Homeland and supplement clerical stipends by voluntary contributions': Kenneth Cable, 'Some Anglican Clergy of the 1840s', *Descent* 4:2 (1969), pp. 48-9. While this chapter accepts that in certain areas voluntary subscriptions were meagre, in the more settled areas the practice was more successful and it did contribute to the creation of a more confident colonial laity.

<sup>49</sup> Fletcher, 'Christianity and free society in New South Wales', p. 105.

<sup>50</sup> Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, p. 214, n. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 21; Nockles, *Oxford Movement in Context*, p. 25-32; Brown, *National Churches*, pp. 51-62.

<sup>52</sup> Peter Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: the "Orthodox" - some problems of definition and identity', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 348.

<sup>53</sup> Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church', p. 348; Peter Toon, *Evangelical Theology 1833-1856: A Response to Tractarianism* (London, 1979), pp. 208-9.

individual's right to interpret the Bible. Low Churchmen also disagreed with the Tractarians over the relationship between the church and state. Tractarians argued that the Church's attachment to the state had been a burden rather than a benefit. By contrast, evangelicals celebrated the link as the great achievement of the Reformation and saw in it the means by which the laity was represented in the government of the Church.<sup>54</sup>

Evidence that the divisions between church parties had begun to harden in New South Wales began to emerge in the late 1830s. Within a year of his appointment to the bishopric Broughton complained to Joshua Watson about the evangelical sentiments of the laity and clergy in the country districts. Broughton worried that the evangelical culture of these areas might 'lead men into the extreme of hostility to the Church'.<sup>55</sup> The *Sydney Standard and Colonial Advocate*, established in January 1839 by George William Robertson, quickly emerged as a representative of Low Church opinion in the colony. The *Standard* began life with a crown and mitre on its letterhead and a prospectus that informed its readers that 'we are conscientiously attached to the Church of England, and as such, can never [...] separate the Church from the State'. The paper denounced the Church Act as a violation of the English Constitution and was perhaps the only newspaper in the colony which supported the 1839 attempt to re-establish the Corporation.<sup>56</sup> The temper of the paper however quickly changed. In May 1839 the paper began to publish condemnations of Tractarians or 'Puseyites'. 'There can be no doubt whatever', the *Standard* told its readers, 'that Protestant Popery is even more injurious to the cause of spiritual religion, than Popery itself'. To check the further spread of Puseyism in New South Wales, Robertson advocated the establishment of a colonial branch of the metropolitan 'Reformation Society', an organisation which had been established in the 1820s to convert the Irish peasantry to Protestantism, but which later concentrated its attentions on purging both Britain and the Church of England of papal and Tractarian error.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Gerald Parsons, 'Reform, Revival and Realignment: The Experience of Victorian Anglicanism', in Gerald Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain: Volume I, Traditions* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 32-34; for Tractarianism in Australia, see B. Porter (ed.), *Colonial Tractarians: The Oxford Movement in Australia* (Melbourne, 1989).

<sup>55</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, misc., Broughton to Joshua Watson, June 18, 1837, no pagination.

<sup>56</sup> *Sydney Standard and Colonial Advocate*, January 1, 1839.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, May 27, 1839. For the Reformation Society, see John Wolfe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 36-61.



In the late 1830s letters from correspondents began to appear in Protestant newspapers accusing Broughton of being a devoted follower of the Oxford divines.<sup>58</sup> How far these accusations were justified is debatable. Like many orthodox high church men Broughton was strongly influenced by early Tractarian ideas about apostolic authority. Broughton wrote to Coleridge explaining the 'great benefit which my own perceptions of many important truths and my general habits of thinking have derived from familiarity with their [the Tractarian's] writings'.<sup>59</sup> Although Broughton was sympathetic towards Tractarianism and the movement helped to sharpen his ideas about the spiritual independence of the Church, he was foremost an orthodox high churchman. Indeed, Broughton did occasionally resist the introduction of Tractarian innovations in his diocese. In 1843 he ordered one of his clergymen, the Reverend Sparling, to remove a stone altar which he had erected in his church and replace it with a table in accordance with the 82<sup>nd</sup> Canon.<sup>60</sup> There was also nothing particularly devious about Broughton's decision to introduce the offertory to divine service. Low Churchmen argued that the resurrection of this outmoded practice (which traditionally had been used to raise alms for the poor) was evidence of Broughton's Tractarianism.<sup>61</sup> For Broughton, the introduction of a collection for the support of churches was a necessary means of raising funds for the extension of the Church.<sup>62</sup> Broughton was also militantly opposed to the catholicising elements in Tractarian teaching. For instance, Broughton regarded Hurrell Froude's *Remains* as 'an act of positive high-treason against the Church of England'.<sup>63</sup>

In spite of the evidence to the contrary, Low Churchmen believed that Broughton was in league with those high churchmen and Tractarians who wished to 'un-Protestantise' the Church of England. In spite of Broughton's apparent opposition, innovations associated with the Tractarians were introduced to the churches in the Sydney diocese in the early 1840s. In 1845, William Horatio Walsh, a close lieutenant of Broughton's, attracted criticisms when he started to preach in a white surplice. Walsh's actions drew the criticism of Low Churchmen

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<sup>58</sup> *The Colonist*, August 18, 1838, letter, 'A Liberal Protestant'.

<sup>59</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/24, Broughton to Coleridge, September 29, 1843, no pagination.

<sup>60</sup> ML, Papers of H. T. Stiles, 1832-1856 ML A269, Rev. Robert Allwood to Rev. Henry Tarlton Stiles, June 17, 1843, f. 68.

<sup>61</sup> *Atlas*, December 20, 1845.

<sup>62</sup> William Grant Broughton, *A Letter to Henry Osborne of Marshall Mount, Illawarra on the propriety and necessity of collections at the offertory, by the Bishop of Sydney* (Sydney, 1848).

<sup>63</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/34, Broughton to Coleridge, July 10, 1844, no pagination.

in the press. 'A Churchman' alleged that Walsh had told his congregation 'that by the imposition of a Bishop's hands, those that officiate at the Altar are invested with supernatural purity, power, and authority'. The correspondent claimed that Walsh's denigration of the individual's right to interpret the Scriptures paved 'the way for the return of all the ignorance, superstition, religious rancour, persecution and misery of the middle ages'.<sup>64</sup> Objections were also raised to the use of music at Walsh's Church, Christ Church St. Laurence. 'A Churchman' argued that 'if the hearts of men are to be beneficially operated upon, they must be reached not through the senses by mere sounds, be they never so harmonious, nor by pious frauds or jiggles, but through the intellectual faculties, by sound reasoning'.<sup>65</sup> In March 1846 Walsh was presented with an address from his parishioners which called on him to end the use of music during lent and the singing of psalms during the Good Friday services.<sup>66</sup> Four months previously in December 1845 a group of Anglicans styling themselves 'Members of the Church of England' wrote to the *Atlas* stating that the 'sayings and doings at Christ Church and elsewhere, prove that they are not the Churches of Christ; but, are churches, handed over, together with ministers and congregations to the abominations of the Church of Rome'. The group demanded that all services be read from a reading desk by a minister in a gown. Sermons, too, should be read from the pulpit rather than from the altar.<sup>67</sup>

Although the introduction of features such as raised altars, stained glass, and prominent crosses was of concern, the real issue which worried the laity was the nature of ecclesiastical authority in the diocese. The Church Act had increased this power as it granted to the heads of the denominations authority over the distribution of finances and the granting of stipends to clergy. Correspondents in the press frequently expressed dissatisfaction that the clergy could be removed at any time by the Bishop. In 1839 the *Standard* expressed the concerns of Low Churchmen when it wrote that 'at present New South Wales is one large parish, of which the bishop is rector, and his clergymen mere dependent curates'.<sup>68</sup> 'Concio ad Clerum' noted that 'if the Bishop be further allowed to nominate to every church [...] he must almost of necessity become gradually addicted to nepotism, prelatical pride, and worldly ambition'.<sup>69</sup> Low

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<sup>64</sup> *Atlas*, September 20, 1845, article 'Puseyism' by 'A Churchman', p. 514.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, October 11, 1845.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4, 1846.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, December 27, 1845.

<sup>68</sup> *Sydney Standard*, July 1, 1839.

<sup>69</sup> *Atlas*, April 5, 1845.



Churchmen pointed to the limited opportunities which the laity had to participate in church government as evidence that Broughton wished to raise the power of the bishopric at the expense of the laity. Certainly many of the societies and associations which Broughton established were effectively barred to Low Churchmen. For instance in 1846 the Diocesan Committee of the SPG and SPCK included five solicitors or barristers, five merchants or businessmen, and one journalist. The secretaries of the society were the staunch high church clergymen Robert Allwood and Thomas Bodenham. The high church character of the committee appears to have impacted on its ability to collect funds for church extension. In 1846 only seventy-seven individuals subscribed to the committee and these were mostly individuals from the same mercantile and legal community that furnished the members who sat on the committee.<sup>70</sup> One member on the St James' congregation told his clergyman that he would refuse to subscribe to the committee until 'the teaching of the Bishop and clergy conform to the literal and grammatical sense of the Articles'.<sup>71</sup>

Another society which was effectively closed to evangelicals was the Church of England Lay Association, which Broughton established in 1844. The association was intended as a means collecting voluntary subscriptions which would then be used to subsidise the funds provided by the state. In the same way as the Diocesan Committee was composed primarily of solicitors and merchants, the committee of the Lay Association was dominated by such high church laymen as James Norton (a conservative solicitor and protectionist), Charles Lowe and Michael Metcalfe (Metcalfe was a churchwarden at Walsh's Christ Church). The *Atlas* immediately denounced the Association as an attempt by the Bishop to enhance his own power and argued that the association could not be termed 'lay' at all as there had been no public meeting to elect the committee or the president. The vehemently anti-Tractarian *Sentinel* declared that the Association was devoted to the 'dissemination of those doctrines of clerical ascendancy, sacramental sufficiency, and patristical authority' that were denied by the Reformation.<sup>72</sup> The *Atlas* exaggerated when it claimed that Walsh was the only clergyman present at the foundation of the society and was later forced to acknowledge that a cross section of the clerical force of the colony was present. An analysis of the annual list of subscribers for the years 1845 and 1846 also

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<sup>70</sup> *Annual reports of the Australian Diocesan Committee of the societies for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge, for the years 1845 and 1846* (Sydney, 1846).

<sup>71</sup> *Atlas*, July 18, 1846.

<sup>72</sup> *Sentinel*, March 12, 1845.

shows that the *Atlas* may have over-estimated the extent to which only the colony's conservative elite subscribed to the society. Urban merchants such as Charles Appleton of Sydney and the bootmakers Gabriel Bertleson and William Bennett were prominent subscribers.<sup>73</sup> Reports of the Association's proceedings after 1846 have not survived so no accurate information remains on the level of subsequent support. However it is clear that the Lay Association did not provide enough funds for the support of the Anglican Church in the colony. In 1847 Robert Knox Sconce was obliged to ask for donations from the British public to complete St. Andrew's cathedral in Sydney.<sup>74</sup> The Sydney merchant Robert Campbell wrote to Ernest Hawkins at the SPG informing him that 'but for the aid you have given to the cause of the Church of Christ in this Colony, we should have been in a pitiable state'. Campbell claimed that 'there is still much to do here – not because the mass of people are poor – but because they are comparatively rich [...] notwithstanding all that is done the mass will not give'.<sup>75</sup>

To what extent did this general dissatisfaction with Broughton's bishopric develop into an organised oppositional movement? During the 1840s the attack on Broughton and the Tractarian clergy was led by the reformist lawyer Robert Lowe and his *Atlas* newspaper.<sup>76</sup> Drawing its support from wealthy landowners and squatters, the *Atlas* advocated the establishment of a national system of education, a local legislature and fixity of tenure for squatters. Although Broughton had resigned from the legislative council in 1843, squatters were concerned that the Bishop still held considerable political power. This group claimed that Broughton had forced Governor Gipps to include in the land bill which he sent to Edward Stanley at the Colonial Office in 1844 a clause which granted one-sixth of the land in the colony to the support of public worship. This clause, coupled with Broughton's concern for the spiritual instruction for the settlers beyond the settled districts, placed the Bishop in direct opposition with those landowners who wanted to see this land thrown open to public auction. From its creation in November 1844 the *Atlas* argued that Broughton's sympathy for the Tractarian teachings was indicative of his broader

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<sup>73</sup> *Report of the Church of England Lay Association, for New South Wales* (Sydney, 1846), pp. 93-96.

<sup>74</sup> RHL, USPG Archive, C/AUS/SYD/1, Robert Knox Sconce to Ernest Hawkins, May 18, 1847, f. 20.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, C/AUS/6, Robert Campbell to Hawkins, October 1, 1847, f. 18.

<sup>76</sup> Lowe was the author of the anti-Tractarian pamphlet, *The Articles Construed By Themselves [in reply to no. 90 of the 'Tracts for the Times* (Oxford, 1841); for Lowe, see James Winter, *Robert Lowe* (Toronto, 1976). Lowe's colonial career has been studied by Ruth Knight: *Illiberal Liberal: Robert Lowe in New South Wales, 1842-1850* (Melbourne, 1966).



interest in reinforcing the political and ecclesiastical authority of episcopacy.<sup>77</sup> The paper was opposed to the system of state aid because it granted to the Bishop the power of distributing funds granted by the state, which in turn gave him an autocratic power over the clergy in his benefice. 'For so long as this large majority of our entire population are virtually deprived of their *religious* liberty' the paper argued, 'it is absurd to expect that we shall ever be able to work out our civil and *political* liberty, as citizens and subjects'.<sup>78</sup>

As an elected member of the legislative council Lowe advocated the introduction of general education, a wider franchise, and a reduction in the authority possessed by the Anglican bishop. For Lowe, the power which Broughton enjoyed over his clergy was a vestige of the old autocratic order which had apparently been dismantled after the appointment of a part-elected legislature in 1842. Lowe's *Atlas* noted that 'there exists within this Colony a power at the disposal of a single man far greater than is consistent with the efficient working of the representative system'. The only way to free the clergy from the 'yoke' of Episcopal tyranny, the paper argued, was if control of Church property was taken out of the hands of the bishops and instead delegated to individual clergymen.<sup>79</sup> In 1846 Lowe attempted to bring forward a Church of England Clergyman's Benefices Bill which aimed to grant the clergy a freehold in their benefices. For Lowe the bill would have freed the clergy from their dependence on the bishop and encouraged a closer relationship between the clergy and the laity.<sup>80</sup> Broughton opposed the bill at its second reading, arguing that the civil authorities had no right to legislate for the church now that the Church had been separated from the state. In the event Lowe's bill was rejected by a legislative council which was unwilling to pass legislation which affected only one denomination (as it believed to do so would have given the impression that the Church of England was still an established or privileged denomination).<sup>81</sup>

Save for Lowe's attempts to limit Broughton's control over the clergy, no sustained movement against the bishopric emerged until the late 1840s. In 1848, however, signs of a more coordinated opposition to the bishopric emerged in the country districts around Liverpool and Parramatta, an area which had remained evangelical since the days of Samuel Marsden. Broughton's clergy received a hostile reception when they arrived in these communities. At

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<sup>77</sup> Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, p. 80.

<sup>78</sup> *Atlas*, May 17, 1845.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, May 17, 1845.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, September 26, 1846; Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, p. 176.

<sup>81</sup> Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, pp. 102-3.

Liverpool in 1845 the Rev. John Duffus was accused of 'enforcing the rubric', the 'churching of women', and baptising children during services.<sup>82</sup> A more serious disagreement developed at Parramatta in 1848 when the Rev. Bobart introduced innovations to the divine service at St John's, Samuel Marsden's old church. At a meeting held on Easter Monday the churchwardens and pew renters resolved not to give any salaries to the lay officers of the church until Bobart had agreed to abide by Canon 91 and appoint a clerk to the parish.<sup>83</sup> At Parramatta's other church, All Saints, the churchwarden William Woolls led the opposition to the Reverend Francis Cameron's attempt to preach in a surplice and collect the offertory during divine service. Woolls was a staunch evangelical who had been involved in the King's School and had written a tract celebrating the life of Marsden.<sup>84</sup> In May 1848 Woolls told the All Saints churchwardens that 'it is now quite evident that the Bishop is encouraging the Clergy to preach in the surplice & to make collections at the offertory' and expected that the issue would result in schism.<sup>85</sup> Woolls organised a meeting of pew renters on May 16 at which two resolutions were passed. The first asked Broughton to prohibit the practice of preaching in a surplice and the second called for an end to the collection of the offertory both on days when there was no communion and on festival days.<sup>86</sup>

In his reply to these resolutions Broughton explained that he had no authority to interfere in the manner in which divine service was celebrated. Broughton also denied the churchwarden's charge that the reading of the offertory on festival days was a Catholic practice.<sup>87</sup> While Woolls and the All Saints congregation failed to force Broughton to prohibit Tractarian alterations, they did succeed in forcing Cameron to discontinue the use of the surplice. The success was only fleeting as Cameron's successor, the Rev. Gore, continued the practice and the churchwardens were obliged to hold further protest meetings in

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<sup>82</sup> *Atlas*, November 22, 1845, letter 'To the Right Reverend Father in God, William Grant, Australia'; *ibid.*, December 6, 1845.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, April 22, 1848.

<sup>84</sup> William Woolls, *A Short Account of the Character and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, formerly Principal Chaplain of the Church of England, New South Wales* (Parramatta, 1844); for Woolls, see Lionel Gilbert, *William Woolls, 1814-1893: "A Most Useful Colonist"* (Canberra, 1985).

<sup>85</sup> Sydney Diocesan Archives, Sydney, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, Parramatta North, All Saints, Correspondence, Churchwarden's Treasurer, 1848-1851, [1980/3/58], William Woolls to an unnamed correspondent, May 10, 1848, no pagination.

<sup>86</sup> No copy of the petition survives in the Sydney Diocesan Archives. The content of the petition can however be judged by Broughton's reply to the petitioners. See SDA, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, Parramatta North, All Saints, Correspondence, Churchwarden's Treasurer, 1848-1851, 1980/3/58, Broughton to the Churchwardens of All Saints Church, May 29, 1848, no pagination.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*



June and August 1849. Broughton rejected the churchwarden's demand that the offertory be discontinued with the argument that 'the Church of England cannot be permanently supported in this Diocese, without the universal introduction of an Offertory collection on Sundays and other Holydays when there is no Communion'. The churchwardens responded by threatening to send a petition to Canterbury and absenting themselves from the congregation.<sup>88</sup>

Despite these stirrings, it was not until two of Broughton's clergy – Robert Knox Sconce and Thomas Makinson – converted to Roman Catholicism in February 1848 that the opposition to Broughton truly gathered pace. Both men were committed Tractarians. Sconce had been attacked by members of his congregation for publishing a tract in which he emphasised the importance of tradition in the Church and downplayed the necessity of private judgment.<sup>89</sup> For the liberal press, Sconce and Makinson's conversion was confirmation that Tractarianism led inexorably to Roman Catholicism. Broughton was accused of maintaining Sconce in his position despite knowing that he entertained Roman Catholic sentiments.<sup>90</sup> Although Broughton received some support from the clergy in Sydney, the conversion of Sconce and Mackinson ignited the opposition of the country clergy who had traditionally distanced themselves from Tractarian teachings. Many of these clergymen performed itinerant ministries in outlying areas and were to some extent independent of the Bishop. As early as 1846 one of these clergymen, William Branwhite Clarke, the incumbent at Campbelltown, refused to have his name included in the petition which the clergy organised in opposition to Robert Lowe's Freehold Benefice Bill.<sup>91</sup> The differences between Sydney and country clergy became more apparent during the conversion crisis. James Walker (an Oxford graduate and the former rector at Raddington in Somerset), the incumbent at Liverpool, refused to have his name added to an address in support of the bishop from the clergy.<sup>92</sup> Walker told Clarke that rather than purging the Church of Roman Catholic elements, the conversion crisis had only demonstrated the hypocrisy of the Tractarian clergy in Sydney:

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Broughton to churchwardens of All Saints Church, July 27, 1849; *ibid.*, 'Memorial of Churchwardens of All Saints Church', dated June 23, 1849. There is no record in the Diocesan Archives that the petition was ever sent; a brief discussion of these events can be found in Patricia Dorsch, *The History of All Saint's Church Parramatta* (Northmead: NSW, 1979).

<sup>89</sup> *Atlas*, November 8, 1845.

<sup>90</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 26, 1848, letter of 'A layman of the Anglican Church'.

<sup>91</sup> ML, Clarke Family Papers, MSS. 139/18, Clarke to Archdeacon William Cowper, September 14, 1846, ff. 69-70.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Rev. James Walker to Cowper, February 29, 1848, f. 85.

Some of the evident Puseyites fancy, weakly enough, that they have wiped off all the former stain by the address and declaration, pointing to your signature and that of others, as getting a stamp upon the soundness of their doctrine. I was told yesterday that they are beginning to denounce Puseyism on the Steamer and in the Streets, as well as the pulpit, to the no small amusement of those, who know them well.<sup>93</sup>

While Clarke preferred to keep a low profile, Walker emerged as a vocal opponent of the Bishop. In a series of meetings with other country clergy, Walker attempted to organise the drawing up of an address to counter the circular which Archdeacon Cowper had sent around the colony for signature by the clergy. Walker told Clarke that he was supported by G. E. Turner, James Hassall and Stack, as well as the incumbents of Hunter's Hill, Cook's River and Campbelltown. However Walker received little support from other country clergy such as Sparling and George Vidal – both of whom chose to sign the circular in support of the bishop – and Walker's hopes of a counter-address came to nothing.<sup>94</sup>

In addition to the evangelical country clergy, Broughton was opposed by two Irish clergymen, Peter Teulon Beamish and Thomas Cusack Russell, who had both arrived in the colony in 1847. As we saw in chapter one, Broughton and other orthodox high churchmen had specifically requested English clergymen who had been educated at the ancient universities. Irish clergymen, by contrast, represented a potential threat to the Anglo-centric imperial vision held by many of the high churchmen who were associated with the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund. As early as 1847 both Beamish and Russell had criticised the Tractarian tenor of the teaching provided at St James' college. Broughton clearly regarded these men as threats to his authority and in May 1849 he refused to appoint Beamish to the position of chaplain to the gaol in Sydney. Smarting from this rebuttal, Beamish sent the Archdeacon a letter critical of the Bishop's handling of the Sconce and Makinson affair. Contrasting the Bishop's harsh treatment of him with the leniency with which Sconce had been handled, Beamish claimed that the Bishop had permitted Sconce to continue teaching in the college after he had published a pamphlet and delivered sermons which were 'utterly at variance with the doctrines of the Church'. Claiming that Broughton identified himself 'with that party whose avowed object it is to unProtestantize our Church', Beamish

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, Walker to Clarke, March 3, 1848.

<sup>94</sup> A discussion of these events is also provided in Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia* (London, 1962), chs 12 and 13.



concluded his letter with the wish that the Church would be freed from an autocracy which not only 'divides the clergy into sycophants and opposers' but which sought 'to crush evangelical truth'. Less than a week later, Russell, incensed by the way in which Beamish had been treated, was rumoured to have announced on a Sydney omnibus that he wished that the colonies would receive no more 'Popish Bishops like Dr. Broughton'.<sup>95</sup> Broughton responded to this criticism by suspending both Beamish and Russell and refusing their ordination. Russell was hauled before a consistorial court which threw out his accusation that Tractarian teaching had been given at St. James'.<sup>96</sup>

Broughton's rough handling of Russell raised questions about the legality of the Bishop's court, particularly after seven members of Russell's congregation who attended the court sessions claimed that Russell had not been allowed to speak in his own defence.<sup>97</sup> In a speech in the legislative council Robert Lowe claimed that the Bishop's consistorial court was 'not recognised by the principles of English law' and called for a thorough investigation into the basis of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colony.<sup>98</sup> Just as significantly, the Bishop's refusal to ordain Beamish and Russell and his handling of the conversions of Sconce and Mackinson led to renewed calls from Anglican laymen for the reform of Church government. In the immediate aftermath of the conversion crisis letters appeared in the *Atlas* from lay Anglicans calling for an increase in lay involvement in the Church. The correspondent 'Reformer' anxiously wrote that 'some remedy must be resorted to by the congregations, and that instantly for self-preservation'. Arguments concerning the need for the laity to elect their own ministers which had been circulating in the evangelical press since the late 1830s came to the fore once more. 'Shandy' advocated the formation of a provisional committee of the laity and called for churchwardens to withhold support from clergymen who implemented Tractarian changes. 'A Pew-holder' argued that the laity's right to elect churchwardens already gave them a voice in church government and he urged fellow Anglicans to elect only wardens of 'honesty and character' who were opposed to Tractarianism. Several correspondents made the point that the Bishop's authority rested on his control of

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<sup>95</sup> For the letters of Beamish and Russell, see the correspondence printed in *the Sydney Morning Herald*, June 5, 1849.

<sup>96</sup> This paragraph follows the discussion of the Beamish-Russell affair provided in Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, pp. 105-106, and Loane, *Hewn from the Rock*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>97</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 26, 1849.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Lowe, *The Speech of Robert Lowe, Esquire, Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales...on the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, 1849* (Sydney, 1849).



the grants made by the government for public religion. 'A practical man' urged the laity to 'exert its native strength in pulling down schedule C [the £30,000 which the imperial government stipulated should be paid for from the colonial treasury for ecclesiastical purposes] of the Constitutional Act, and leave the church as it ought to be, dependent on the people or on the colonial legislature'.<sup>99</sup> Other members of the lay community predicted that the Bishop's actions were likely to bring about a disruption in the Church of England which was comparable to that which had rocked the Church of Scotland in 1843.<sup>100</sup>

Broughton's handling of Beamish and Russell provoked William Woolls, the churchwarden at All Saints, to publish two pamphlets in 1849 which outlined a comprehensive plan for lay involvement in Church government. For Woolls the financial crisis which faced the Anglican Church opened the door for the laity to claim a greater role in Church government. Woolls recognised that the Anglican Church could not survive on the limited funds supplied by the state aid system. Woolls recommended substituting the system by which congregations supported their own ministers through voluntary contributions with the establishment of a central Church committee, two-thirds of which would be elected and one-third nominated by the bishop. A council founded on this basis would reclaim for the laity those 'privileges which they enjoyed in the Primitive Church' and nullify that 'deeply laid system, the end and object of which', Woolls claimed, was 'to unprotestantize the Church of England'.<sup>101</sup> In the second pamphlet Woolls advocated a system by which the laity would assist in the election of bishops, in much the same way as the political public elected their representatives in the legislative assembly.<sup>102</sup>

Woolls' pamphlets reflected the increasing importance which Anglicans attached to voluntarism in religion. It was this growing preference for voluntarism which prompted Anglicans to make demands for a more central role in the administration of the Church. After all, it was they who subscribed the funds which supported the Church and the clergy. Woolls' pamphlets articulated an argument which was not dissimilar from the familiar idea of 'no taxation without representation'. It should be noted that Broughton himself encouraged voluntary subscriptions. In an early charge he had noted that it was 'every

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<sup>99</sup> *Atlas*, February 26; March 4; March 18; March 11 1848.

<sup>100</sup> RHL, C/AUS/SYD/1, P. Friell to Hawkins, October 27, 1847, f. 19.

<sup>101</sup> William Woolls, *A Tract for the Times, Addressed to the Laity of New South Wales* (Parramatta, 1849), pp. 17, 22.

<sup>102</sup> William Woolls, *Postscript to the Tract for the Times, Addressed to the Laity of New South Wales* (Parramatta, 1849), p. 28.



Christian's duty to contribute [...] to maintain the institutions of the visible Church'.<sup>103</sup> But while the laity believed that because they subscribed the funds towards church extension they should be given a more constructive role in church government, Broughton believed that the laity's contribution to church government should be limited to temporal issues.<sup>104</sup> The following section shows that these differing conceptions of the role of the laity would be crucial in the 1850s when Broughton and the laity clashed over the issue of synods.

Michael Roe has shown how this movement towards voluntarism and independence in the Anglican community was related to similar trends in other Protestant denominations.<sup>105</sup> From the late 1830s a faction – led by John Dunmore Lang – had emerged in the Presbyterian community in New South Wales which rejected state interference in ecclesiastical matters and which sought to break all connexions with the Church of Scotland. Lang made an early attempt to break away from the Church of Scotland in 1838, but it was not until 1842 that he totally renounced all state aid.<sup>106</sup> After a series of lectures which Lang gave at the Sydney College in 1842 on the benefits of voluntarism, members of Lang's congregation convened a meeting and decided to support their minister entirely through voluntary subscriptions. In 1846 four Presbyterian ministers responded to the 'Disruption' in the Church of Scotland back home and established the Synod of Eastern Australian. Like their Free Church counterparts in Scotland the Synod renounced state aid.<sup>107</sup>

Generally speaking, Anglicans did not demand a total separation of the colonial Church from the Church in England. Individuals such as Woolls wanted to see the introduction of a form of colonial church government which included the lay element, but which maintained the connection between the colonial Church and the mother Church. Indeed, the royal supremacy and the connection with the Church in England were regarded as protection from autocratic colonial

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<sup>103</sup> William Grant Broughton, *A charge delivered to the clergy of New South Wales, in the diocese of Australia, at the visitation held in the church of St. James, Sydney, on Wednesday October the 6<sup>th</sup>, 1841* (Sydney, 1841), p. 6.

<sup>104</sup> Kaye, 'The Laity in Church Government According to Bishop Broughton', pp. 78-92.

<sup>105</sup> Roe, *The Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia*, p. 133.

<sup>106</sup> For Lang's opposition to the principle of religious establishments and concurrent endowment, see his *New Zealand in 1839; or, four letters to Earl Durham on the colonization of that island, and on the present condition of its native inhabitants* (London, 1839).

<sup>107</sup> William McIntyre, *Narrative of the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales* (West Maitland, 1859); for a general discussion of the disruption in the colonial context, see Barbara C. Murison, 'The disruption and the colonies of Scottish settlement', in Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (eds), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 135-50.

bishops. Nevertheless, there were occasional attempts to establish a Free Church of England which was entirely independent of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>108</sup> As early as October 1847 'Old John Bradford' argued that the establishment of a Free Church was the only means of casting off 'a prelatie government with all its nauseating earthly titles'. The correspondent added, 'we want religion and not mummary – godliness and not lawn sleeves or costly mitres'.<sup>109</sup> In July 1849 an advertisement appeared in the *Herald* from Singleton Rochfort, a schoolteacher, for the establishment of Free Church. Rochfort addressed himself principally to Irish Protestants and claimed to defend 'Genuine Protestantism', the Reformation and the 'few evangelical pastors' remaining in the colony.<sup>110</sup> P. Friell, a relative of the Rev. Woodward, noted that a group of the colonial clergy were prepared to establish a Free Church modelled on the Scottish example.<sup>111</sup>

Despite the increasing confidence of the laity, no structured movement emerged which was specifically committed to demanding a reform of church government. Throughout the 1840s the establishment of a number of evangelical societies was mooted, but nothing came of any of these ventures.<sup>112</sup> One can only speculate that the majority of the public were more concerned with political issues than Church affairs. Indeed, as the next section will show, it was the Australian bishops, and not the laity, who made the first attempts to institute a new church constitution. Broughton was himself keenly aware that the arbitrary power possessed by the bishops was a source of considerable dissatisfaction. By the late 1840s Broughton had come to recognise that the only way of resolving the ambiguities surrounding the nature of episcopal authority in the colonies was to establish a new form of church government which was entirely independent of the Church in England. For Broughton and the other Australian bishops, the problem of church governance in the colonies could be resolved by the introduction of diocesan synods, composed of the bishop, the clergy and the laity. However, unlike the other Australian bishops, Broughton was determined that synods would be dominated by the bishops and the clergy. It was not until Broughton announced plans for the establishment of a synod in which the role of

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<sup>108</sup> The attempt to establish an evangelical Free Church in New South Wales can be contrasted with the 'Free Church of England' which some high churchmen in Britain considered establishing in the aftermath of the Gorham Judgement in 1850: Machin, *Politics and the Churches*, p. 207.

<sup>109</sup> *Atlas*, October 23, 1847.

<sup>110</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 28, 1849.

<sup>111</sup> RHL, C/AUS/SYD/1, Friell to Hawkins, October 27, 1847, f. 19.

<sup>112</sup> For examples, see the mooted 'Protestant Union' in the *Atlas*, February 7, 1846; and the 'Australian Church Society' suggested in *ibid.*, March 18, 1848



the laity was restricted, that a genuine opposition movement emerged among the laity. The final section of this chapter turns to examine the emergence of this lay opposition in the early 1850s.

### **(iii) The revival of convocation in Britain and the Empire in the 1850s**

The expansion of the Church of England and the separation of church and state raised questions about how the colonial Churches were to be governed. As E. D. Daw has pointed out, the constitution of the Church of England made no real provision for extension overseas; therefore, during the 1840s questions were raised about whether English ecclesiastical law extended to the colonies.<sup>113</sup> This decade was marked by a series of disagreements between colonial churchmen and the colonial authorities. For example, in Tasmania in the mid-1840s Bishop Nixon and Governor Eardley-Wilmot clashed over the question of whether the ecclesiastical or secular authority could claim jurisdiction over the chaplains on the convict establishment. Like Middleton in Calcutta before him, Nixon opposed the creation of a body of clergy outside his jurisdiction.<sup>114</sup> Nixon's plans to establish a consistorial court were similarly frustrated. Eardley-Wilmot blocked the proposed court on the grounds that it did not follow the model of ecclesiastical courts in England. The Colonial Office also received petitions from the Congregational, Presbyterian and Baptist churches which opposed the creation of the court which had authority to summon them as witnesses.<sup>115</sup> Bowing to the pressure of these colonial groups, the Colonial Office accepted the advice of the Crown lawyers and prohibited Nixon's court.

For many colonial churchmen, the answer to these problems lay in the establishment of a form of government by synods which included the clergy, bishops and representatives of the laity. During the 1850s colonial bishops across the British Empire made attempts to establish diocesan synods. Broughton was at the forefront of this movement. Broughton argued that by allowing the papacy to

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<sup>113</sup> E. D. Daw, 'Church and state in the Empire: The Conference of Australian Bishops 1850', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 5:3 (1976), pp. 251-69; *idem.*, *Church and State in the Empire: The Evolution of Imperial Policy, 1846-1856* (Canberra, 1977).

<sup>114</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, ch. 11.

<sup>115</sup> *Correspondence and Papers relating to Cases in which Bishops in Australian Colonies attempted to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Clergy, and to the formation of Ecclesiastical Courts in Australian Dioceses*, PP, 1850 [175], xxxvii, Governor John Eardley-Wilmot to Lord Stanley, March 10, 1846, pp. 26-28. The petitions are printed at pp. 40-51.

establish a Roman Catholic hierarchy in Australia in 1843, the British government had renounced the terms of the Reformation settlement and effectively stated that the Royal Supremacy and English ecclesiastical law did not extend to the colonies. The way was therefore open for the colonial Church to adopt its own form of independent Church government. As early as 1848 Broughton announced plans for a conference of Australasian bishops at which issues relating to the government of the colonial churches would be discussed.<sup>116</sup> The Australasian bishops finally met in Sydney in October 1850. What is important to recognise is that the attempt to establish diocesan synods was a global phenomenon: the establishment of diocesan synods occurred at the same time as churchmen in metropolitan Britain were taking steps to revive the convocations of York and Canterbury as independent legislatures for the Church.<sup>117</sup> This period also saw the creation of the Society for the Revival of Convocation in Britain in 1851 and the calling of the first synod at Exeter in May 1851. As yet no attempt has been made to compare the campaigns for the revival of convocation in Britain with the contemporaneous movement for synodical government in the colonies. This section shows how the colonial campaign was both related to, and also distinct from, the metropolitan movement. The section also compares the opposition which laymen in New South Wales mounted to Broughton's proposed synods with the criticisms which evangelicals in Britain levelled at the Exeter synod. While on the one hand the reaction of the colonial and metropolitan laity was comparable, this section shows that in New South Wales the campaign for a democratic form of Church governance became subsumed in the wider constitutional reform movement.

The ecclesiastical historian D. A. Jennings has argued that the campaign for the revival of convocation in Britain was prompted by the constitutional reforms of the period between 1828 and the mid-1830s, a period which began with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and which culminated in the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission.<sup>118</sup> These reforms prompted the publication of series of pamphlets which called for the creation of some form of independent Church government.<sup>119</sup> Jennings also notes the way in which the campaign for the revival of convocation was stimulated by the series of

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<sup>116</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, 1/72, Broughton to Coleridge, July 4, 1848, no pagination.

<sup>117</sup> Jennings, *The Revival of the Convocation of York, 1837-1861*.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>119</sup> For the revivalist movement before 1848, see James Bradby Sweet, *A Memoir of the late Henry Hoare, Esq., M.A., with a narrative of the Church movements with which he was connected from 1848 to 1865, and more particularly of the revival of convocation* (London, 1869), ch. 2.



ecclesiastical scandals which rocked the Church of England in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The first of these events was the infamous 'Gorham judgement' of March 1850. The Gorham controversy resulted from Henry Phillpotts' (the Bishop of Exeter) refusal to institute an evangelical clergyman called George Gorham to an incumbency in his Exeter diocese. Phillpotts justified his refusal on the grounds that Gorham held heretical views on the efficacy of baptismal regeneration.<sup>120</sup> This dispute gained national notoriety when Gorham took his case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the supreme tribunal in ecclesiastical matters. The Privy Council, which was made up of laymen, found in favour of Gorham on March 9, 1850. High churchmen were appalled by what they saw as an unwarranted interference by the state and a predominantly lay committee in matters which should have been the preserve of the Church. High church opposition to Lord John Russell's Whig government intensified later in 1850, when the papacy announced plans to establish a Roman Catholic hierarchy (formed of one archbishop and seven bishops) in Britain. To counter this threat Russell introduced a bill (later known as the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill) which stipulated that any non-Anglican cleric who assumed any territorial title which duplicated those held by Anglican bishops would be fined and their endowments forfeited to the Crown. High churchmen opposed this draconian measure as they feared that by enlisting the aid of government the Church of England's own independence would be circumscribed.<sup>121</sup> Both the Gorham judgement and the 'papal aggression' spurred the demand for an independent Church government and the revival of convocation. Advocates of revival established a series of Church Unions, of which the London-based Metropolitan Church Union was the most important. Late in 1850 the banker Henry Hoare and a series of other high churchmen established the Society for the Revival of Convocation.<sup>122</sup>

There is evidence to suggest that the Australasian bishops' decision to meet in conference in October 1850 was prompted by these metropolitan events. Historians have noted that in the months before and after the judgement high churchmen turned to the colonial bishops to pronounce on the issues surrounding

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<sup>120</sup> The disagreement between Gorham and Phillpotts revolved around the differing views which the two men had on the necessity of baptism for spiritual regeneration. Phillpotts took the typical high church line and argued that baptism confirmed that the individual had experienced spiritual regeneration. For Gorham, a Low Churchman, baptism was merely a symbol of spiritual regeneration. Regeneration was instead conditional on the individual subsequently demonstrating that he or she was qualified to receive God's grace.

<sup>121</sup> Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain*, p. 220.

<sup>122</sup> Sweet, *A Memoir of the late Henry Hoare*.

the Gorham affair.<sup>123</sup> William E. Gladstone, who was out of office at that time, sent a letter through the Reverend C. J. Abraham to the Australian bishops asking them to meet to discuss the Gorham Judgement.<sup>124</sup> To facilitate this meeting, Gladstone also attempted to introduce a private members' bill to the Commons in May 1850 which would have allowed the colonial Bishops to assemble together and lay down rules for their own internal government.<sup>125</sup> There is evidence to suggest that it was the Gorham judgement which prompted Gladstone to introduce this bill: his diary records that in early 1850 he was writing about the Gorham judgement and the Colonial Church Bill simultaneously.<sup>126</sup> Broughton himself agreed that the conference could act as a response to the judgement. In a letter to Gladstone Broughton agreed that the colonial bishops – who enjoyed a greater freedom of action than their metropolitan counterparts – could meet and pass judgement on the question of baptismal regeneration and the state's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs. Broughton noted in the letter that,

[t]he decision of the Judicial Committee and the degree to which it might and must affect the character and interests of the Church of England (including its Colonial branches) had formed the subject of earnest and painful consideration with me and those with whom I am accustomed to take counsel here, even before I became acquainted with your sentiments and apprehensions.

Both Gladstone and Broughton reasoned that the colonial Church would lead the high church party's reaction to the Gorham affair. Indeed in the same letter to Gladstone Broughton invited his high church colleagues in Britain to 'look to the Colonial Churches' for guidance.<sup>127</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that the colonial movement did indeed encourage the development of the campaign for the revival of convocation in mainland Britain. Prominent figures in the metropolitan movement kept in close contact with the progress of the colonial synods.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Daw, 'Church and state in the Empire', p. 255.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>125</sup> In the event, Gladstone's bill was defeated in the House of Commons by 289 votes.

<sup>126</sup> For example, see the diary entry for January 13, 1850, where Gladstone notes that he wrote on both the Colonial Church Bill and Gorham, which he regarded as 'a crisis in the Church of England': M. R. D. Foot and H. C. G. Matthew (eds), *The Gladstone Diaries, with Cabinet Minutes and Prime-Ministerial Correspondence* (14 vols, Oxford, 1968-1994), vol. 5, p. 178.

<sup>127</sup> British Library, London, Manuscripts Department, Gladstone Papers, Add. 44369, Broughton to William E. Gladstone, July 13, 1850, f. 333.

<sup>128</sup> BL, Gladstone Papers, Add. 44372, Bishop Henry Phillpotts to Gladstone, June 20, 1852, f. 294; Hoare's biographer points to some of the connections between the colonial and metropolitan campaigns: Sweet, *A Memoir of the late Henry Hoare*, pp. 274-77, 310-11, 319-20, 354-55.



Yet while there is some evidence that the Sydney meeting was convened as a protest to the Gorham Judgement (baptismal regeneration was one of the key issues discussed at the meeting), it is clear that the prime reason why the Australasian bishops met was to resolve the problems of ecclesiastical authority and discipline that had plagued the Church in the Australian colonies since 1836.<sup>129</sup> The conference was therefore much more than simply a response to the Gorham judgement. Arthur Burns has made a similar point in his discussion of the synod which Henry Phillpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, held in his diocese in mid-1851. Burns argues that the synod was not simply a 'partisan theological rally' called to assert the independence and autonomy of the Church. Instead the synod was a 'genuine representative meeting' which debated a wide variety of subjects relating to the Exeter diocese. The synod was therefore an 'amplification' of the clerical meetings which had been held at a more local level in the proceeding decades.<sup>130</sup> Bruce Kaye has similarly argued that the ideological and theological dimension of the October 1850 conference can be overstated.<sup>131</sup>

Despite the fact that all the bishops who attended the meeting<sup>132</sup> agreed that the Church in Australia had to adopt a new system of church governance, there was very little agreement on what form the synod should take. Broughton argued that the laity could not be admitted to church conventions on the same terms as the clergy and the bishops. For Broughton the laity would have to meet in a separate convention and would only be allowed to pass judgement on issues relating to the temporalities of the Church. Broughton's comments reflected his inability to envisage a positive role for the laity in the affairs of the Church. While Broughton recognised the need for some form of lay participation in church governance, he believed that the laity's role in the church did not extend much further than providing funds for the support of ministers and managing the temporalities of the church.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, in the diary which he kept of the proceedings of the 1850 conference the Bishop of Melbourne reported Broughton as saying that no responsible laity existed in the frontier areas of the Australian colonies. For Broughton, the convict and bush population could not be considered as members of the church and therefore had to be excluded from the

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<sup>129</sup> Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods in Australia', p. 181.

<sup>130</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, pp. 223-232.

<sup>131</sup> Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods in Australia', p. 194.

<sup>132</sup> The bishops were Broughton of Sydney, Charles Perry of Melbourne, Augustus Short of Adelaide, William Tyrell of Newcastle, Francis Nixon of Tasmania, and George Selwyn of New Zealand.

<sup>133</sup> Kaye, 'The Laity in Church Government', pp. 78-92.

government of the church.<sup>134</sup> Broughton's views were supported by Bishop Nixon of Tasmania. Nixon believed that the laity should be prevented from participating in church governance as the penal status of his colony meant that laymen were scarce. These views were not shared by all the bishops at the conference. Bishop Perry of Melbourne, the only evangelical in attendance, believed that the Church was not simply defined by the clergy. Perry argued that the laity should be given full representation at any synod.<sup>135</sup> Augustus Short of Adelaide similarly took the opposing view to Broughton and argued that the laity and the clergy should meet in the same convention. William Tyrell of Newcastle argued that synods established in the Australian colonies should follow the model of the synods held in the American Church and include both the clergy and the laity. In spite of these disagreements the minutes of the conference record that the bishops did agree that a synod would resolve the problem of church government. However, it is clear from the statements on lay representation given in the minutes that Broughton was the dominant member of the meeting. The minutes stated that the laity would meet in a separate convention to the synod and would only decide on temporalities.<sup>136</sup>

The publication of the minutes of the October meeting sparked considerable opposition from the lay communities in each of the Australian colonies. Laymen were incensed that the bishops had met without their consent and passed judgements without any reference to the clergy or the laity. Opposition meetings were held in Hobart, South Australia and Adelaide. The question of lay representation in Church government proved to be the most divisive issue. The meetings at Hobart and Adelaide stated that it was the right of the lay members of the Church to vote and propose measures alongside the clergy.<sup>137</sup> The meeting in Adelaide also objected to the bishops' declaration on the Gorham controversy and the baptismal regeneration issue. The meeting stated that the bishops' pronouncement threatened the individual's freedom of conscience and narrowed the membership of the Church of England.<sup>138</sup> Significantly there was little opposition in Perry's Melbourne diocese. Perry had consistently advocated the inclusion of the clergy and laity in church governance

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<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>135</sup> A. de Q. Robin, 'Bishop Perry and Lay Representation in Colonial Synods', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 15 (1964), pp. 51-9.

<sup>136</sup> Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods', pp. 181-85.

<sup>137</sup> *An Account of the Proceedings of the Laity of the Church of England in South Australia, occasioned by the publication of certain minutes of a meeting held at Sydney by the Australasian Bishops in October 1850* (Adelaide, 1851).

<sup>138</sup> Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods', p. 188.



and against the wishes of Bishop Broughton he organised a meeting of his clergy and fifty laymen in late June 1851 to discuss the issue. The meeting agreed to the establishment of a synod formed of both clergy and laity and presided over by a bishop.<sup>139</sup> The situation in Adelaide was also quickly resolved. Bishop Short, who had supported the idea of a single convention of clergy and laity at the October meeting, was receptive to the arguments of the South Australian Church Society, the organisation which led the protest in Adelaide against the bishops' meeting. In both Victoria and South Australia legislation was passed in 1855 which permitted the holding of synods which were composed of one house, in which the bishop, clergy and elected representatives of the laity could meet and discuss issues relating to the diocese.

Of all the Australian colonies it was New South Wales which saw the most bitter opposition to the bishop's meeting, largely because it was Broughton who had pressed for synods with only a restricted lay membership. However, an organised movement against the Broughton's plans for a new church constitution did not develop in New South Wales until mid-1852. In March 1852 Broughton sent a circular to each of his clergymen asking them to assemble their churchwardens and pew-holders for a discussion of the question of church government. Broughton also distributed a prospective petition which outlined his plans for a new church constitution which separated the clergy and laity into separate synods and conventions. In the petition Broughton intimated that the laity would only have authority to discuss matters connected with the temporalities of the Church. During the subsequent meetings considerable support was evinced for the establishment of ecclesiastical synods. The majority of lay churchwardens and pew-renters concurred with the bishop that the colonial Church should claim a degree of independence. For instance, at the two church meetings held in Parramatta William Woolls stated that the formation of synods would establish a form of Church government and end the period of arbitrary Episcopal rule. An ecclesiastical court located in the colony, Woolls argued, would provide the colonists with a court of appeal and remove the need to send appeals and petitions to Canterbury. Woolls pointed to the example of the

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<sup>139</sup> Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Durham, Papers of Henry George, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Grey, GR/B115/3/15, 'Minutes of a conference of the clergy and laity...in the colony of Victoria...held at Melbourne from June 24<sup>th</sup> to July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1851'; A. de Q. Robin, *Charles Perry Bishop of Melbourne: The Challenge of a Colonial Episcopate, 1847-76* (University of Western Australia Press, 1967), p. 77.

primitive church – in which he claimed the laity sat on all councils – as a model fit for replication in the colonies.<sup>140</sup>

Despite the general approbation shown towards the introduction of a new Church constitution, the majority of meetings refused to support the synod which Broughton intended to establish. The opposition to Broughton's scheme revolved around the question of representation in the proposed synods. Even before the meetings were held Richard Sadleir, an Irish evangelical schoolteacher and churchwarden at Liverpool, took the opportunity to circulate an address which carried an outline petition to the lay members of the Church. The address called on the laity to reject the bishops' proposal for separate clerical synods and lay conventions. Although Sadleir thought it 'desirable that some better organization of our ecclesiastical constitution or polity be established', he argued that splitting the clergy and laity into separate factions was contrary to the spirit of the 39 Articles and the 'tenour and language of our Liturgy, which everywhere recognises that the clergy and laity as indivisibly assembled in communion with each other'. Sadleir predicted that the lay convention would become another Lay Association – packed with high church laymen and in the pocket of the bishop.<sup>141</sup>

The issue of representation was raised at the majority of the meetings held to discuss the proposed petition. At Camden the laity asserted that as the terms of the 39 Articles defined the Church as 'the whole body of persons, laity as well as clergy', the laity held 'similar and equal rights, privileges, and powers with the clergy'. The meeting recommended that the establishment of a single convention of clergy and laity modelled on the American system.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, the meetings held at Cook's River, Balmain, Goulburn, and Liverpool called for the establishment of a single convention in which the laity were permitted to deliberate on all issues connected to the welfare of the Church. At Balmain the members of the meeting resolved that the establishment of 'synods of clergy' which excluded the laity threatened the 'right of private judgement' which all members of the Church possessed.<sup>143</sup> Significantly, the only meeting which expressed any support for the Bishop's petition was the one held at Rev. Walsh's old parish church, Christ Church St Laurence. Michael Metcalfe, the high churchman who sat on the committees of both the Lay Association and the Diocesan Committee, supported Broughton's plan of separating the laity and the

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<sup>140</sup> SDA, Sydney, Parramatta North, All Saints – Correspondence, Churchwarden's Treasurer, 1848-1851, [1980/3/59], Woolls to Statham, March 19, 1852, no pagination.

<sup>141</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 27, 1852.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, April, 3, 1852

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, April 10, 1852.



clergy. When the barrister Alfred Stephen suggested that the laity and clergy should sit together in one convention, his amendment was defeated.<sup>144</sup>

Evangelical clergymen shared the laity's concerns over the formation of synods which did not include the laity on an equal basis. Disagreement between Broughton and his clergy over the question of synodical government flared up at a meeting of the clergy held on April 14. The meeting had been convened to draft a petition to the Queen which requested royal sanction for the formation of clerical synods and lay conventions in the colony. The evangelical clergymen who attended the meeting refused to sign the petition as they claimed that the clergy had no right to deliberate on church affairs without the consent of the laity. The veteran evangelical clergyman Thomas Hassall recommended the convening of a new meeting which included a delegation of the clergy. Defending himself from the accusation that he had deliberately excluded the laity from the deliberation over the constitution, Broughton claimed that meetings of the laity were technically synods, and therefore prohibited. Although Hassall was supported by nine other clergymen – among them the evangelicals William Cowper, James Walker, John Elder, and George King – the bishop had enough allies at the meeting to ensure that the motion was defeated by nine votes. The speeches of these evangelical clergymen show that they were as concerned as their lay counterparts about the degree of power which synodical government granted to the bishop. The Rev. Steele – another Irish clergyman – argued that the Bishop's veto reduced the lay branch of the assembly to the status of a 'mere registry office for registering the wishes of other persons'. Broughton refused to dispense with the veto. In a letter to Joshua Watson Broughton argued that dispensing with the veto would have resulted in the 'unprotestantizing' or 'presbyterianizing' of the Church. Broughton told Joshua Watson that he was opposed by two groups of clergymen. The first aimed at 'getting up an agitation for giving a virtual Supremacy to the laity and for obliterating all distinction between them and the clergy', and the second he described as an 'Irish party' which he claimed had little motive but to frustrate his own wishes.<sup>145</sup> Despite the opposition of these evangelical factions, Broughton secured the support which he needed and the petition was sent to England.<sup>146</sup> Woolls argued that the Broughton's refusal to recognise the statements of the opposition meetings was a grim sign that the synod would not be a democratic affair. 'If the resolutions of

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, April 3, 1852.

<sup>145</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers misc., Broughton to Watson, April 30, 1852, no pagination.

<sup>146</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 April 1852.



the different meetings are unworthy of consideration', Woolls told a fellow churchwarden, 'what treatment may Lay Delegates expect from the Czar & autocrat of the Church of Australia?'<sup>147</sup>

Following the meeting of the clergy the laity held their own protest meetings on the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> of May. At the second of these meetings the barrister John Darvall introduced a draft counter-petition which presented the laity's objections to the form of synodical government which Broughton wished to establish. At these meetings a series of laymen argued that the Bishop intended to transfer supreme jurisdiction over ecclesiastical matters from the Queen and hand it to the bishops or heads of colonial churches, thereby removing the lay voice from church government. The bookseller and radical politician W. R. Piddington argued that any attempt to vest supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the clergy or a 'House of Bishops' threatened the 'true principles of the Protestant Church' which were 'coeval with the Reformation'. Evangelicals such as Piddington interpreted the movement for synodical government as a Tractarian plot to establish a 'clerical ascendancy' in the colony founded on the notion of the divine right of Bishops. Sadleir made an important point when he stated that the real reason why Broughton had proposed the establishment of the synod was because he wished to prevent a repeat of the Gorham judgement in New South Wales. Sadleir noted that 'Gorham's case had cut the Bishops to the quick; and they were afraid lest the same principles which had been asserted in that case should find their way here'. The creation of an independent synod, Sadleir argued, would give the Bishop himself the power to decide on disciplinary matters in his diocese and remove the need for clergymen and laymen to appeal to Britain and the Queen for the redress of their grievances.<sup>148</sup> The laity violently opposed any attempt to separate the colonial Church from the metropolitan Church of England as they recognised in the Queen's supremacy their own court of appeal. 'Ernest', writing in the liberal *Empire* two days after the first lay meeting, stated, 'let us never, by word or deed, yield our assent to the dissolution of our connection with the See of Canterbury, nor to, the abrogation of the supremacy of the Crown, the grand safeguard of the rights of the laity of the Church of England'.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> SDA, Sydney, Parramatta North, All Saints – Correspondence, Churchwarden's Treasurer, 1848-1851, [1980/3/59], Woolls to Edward Statham, April 17, 1852, no pagination.

<sup>148</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May, 1852.

<sup>149</sup> *Empire*, May 7, 1852.



The counter-petition which was circulated after these meetings eventually received 2,000 signatures. No record remains of those who signed the petition, but we can gauge some sense of the degree of support for the counter-petition from the letters which the local agents sent to the Rev. George King, the secretary of the committee. There was almost no support for the Bishop among congregations who had previously clashed with Broughton over the question of Tractarian innovations in divine service. Edward Statham, a churchwarden at All Saints Parramatta, told King that not a single member of the congregation signed the Bishop's petition.<sup>150</sup> Likewise, at Liverpool the Bishop's petition received only two signatures. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the chief opposition to the petition seems to have come from the satellite towns around Sydney rather than Sydney itself. The petition was finally forwarded to the governor for transmission to the Queen and the Houses of Parliament in August 1852.

The resistance which was mounted to Broughton's proposed synod was comparable to the opposition which Henry Phillpotts encountered when he called a synod in his diocese in May 1851. In Britain, as in New South Wales, the key issue was the nature of representation in the synod. Like their counterparts in New South Wales, critics of Phillpotts' synod argued that it was a veiled attempt to enhance the power of the clergy and the bishops. Like the Sydney meeting in October 1850, the laity was not present at the Exeter synod (it was instead comprised of the bishop, archdeacons, rural deans, episcopal chaplains and two clergy from each rural deanery).<sup>151</sup> The bishop's possession of a veto over the declarations of the synod was a key issue at both Exeter and New South Wales. Despite the fact that the theological aspect of the synod was muted, opponents argued that it represented an attempt to transform the diocese into a high church enclave. Critics of the Exeter synod argued that the synod was established as a means of excluding evangelicals such as Gorham from the Church.<sup>152</sup> As we noted earlier, this was an argument which was frequently made by opponents of the synod in New South Wales. One of the main reasons why the laity in New South Wales vigorously defended their right to debate the spiritual affairs of the Church was because they were fearful that Broughton might follow Phillpotts' example and refuse to appoint any clergyman who held theological views which were contrary to his own.

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<sup>150</sup> ML, Church of England Constitution, A2110, B. Clayton to Rev. George King, June 29, 1852, f. 197; *ibid.*, Statham to King, May 17, 1852, f. 120.

<sup>151</sup> Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 226.

<sup>152</sup> For the opposition to the Exeter synod, see *ibid.*, pp. 228-30.



But while there are strong similarities between the colonial and metropolitan campaigns, the campaign against synods in New South Wales did have distinctive features. For instance, Henry Parkes' *Empire* – a prominent radical newspaper which first appeared in 1850 – concentrated on the constitutional questions raised by the introduction of synods in the colonies. Parkes, a former member of the Birmingham Political Union and a Chartist, had come to prominence both through his involvement in the election of Robert Lowe to the legislation council in 1848 and the anti-convict demonstrations of 1849. Parkes believed that the movement for synodical government was intended 'to magnify the pretensions of the hierarchy'. He was also concerned that the bill which Gladstone attempted to introduce in parliament in May 1850 would threaten the religious liberty of the other non-Anglican denominations. The *Empire* informed its readers that as the Church of England was an independent and voluntary denomination the imperial legislature had no authority to interfere in the Church's internal governance. If the imperial legislature interfered in the affairs of one denomination, then the others had the right to claim similar legislation. Therefore, Gladstone's Colonial Church bill (he introduced a revised version of the 1850 bill in 1852) – which the paper argued was really Broughton's idea – was really an attempt to re-establish the Church of England in the colony. The bill would 'lay a train for ecclesiastical domination in the colonies, and to give to one Church a Parliamentary character, which all others must continue to want'.<sup>153</sup> For Parkes, Gladstone's bill was an indication of a wider desire on the part of the imperial parliament to interfere in colonial matters.

The *Empire's* opposition to the proposed synods also indicated the extent to which the campaign against the introduction of synods had started to become subsumed in the wider movement for constitutional reform. For Parkes, colonial Church governance was a model for colonial government generally: in the same way as the Church in the colony was independent of external interference, the colony itself should have full control over its own local affairs. In a recent article Bruce Kaye has explored this idea and argued that the campaign for a more democratic diocesan synod was closely linked to the wider social movements which were pushing the Australian colonies towards democratic reform.<sup>154</sup> Certainly, the movement for lay representation in the Church did coincide with the emergence of a more sustained movement for constitutional reform in Sydney. The immediate catalyst for the democratic reform movement was the

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<sup>153</sup> *Empire*, August 27, 1852.

<sup>154</sup> Kaye, 'The Strange Birth of Anglican Synods', p. 195.



election of Robert Lowe as a member for Sydney in 1848 (an event which signalled a decisive victory for radicals in the city), which in turn led to the establishment of the radical Constitutional Association (which campaigned for an extended franchise and the redistribution of the electoral districts).<sup>155</sup> The mobilisation of the Sydney public in the years after 1848 was further stimulated by the anti-transportation agitation, which began in June 1849 and which resulted in the creation of the Association for Preventing the Revival of Transportation in August 1850. The organisation partnered urban middle class professionals, who were worried about the economic disadvantages of convictism, with radical workingmen. While Kaye has suggested a link between the introduction of synods and wider constitutional reform, he does not investigate these in any detail. So what were the links between the quickening pace of oppositional politics at mid-century and the Church reform movement?

Before we attempt to answer this question it is important to recognise that the lay movement never generated the same level of interest as the anti-transportation agitation. For instance, the 2,000 individuals who signed the lay counter-petition should be contrasted with the 36,589 persons who Charles Cowper claimed signed the twenty-eight petitions which were presented to the legislative council opposing the resumption of transportation in September 1850.<sup>156</sup> Only forty individuals attended the meeting at St. Andrew's Church on April 1, and twenty were present at the meeting at St. Philip's.<sup>157</sup> The low attendance is perhaps not surprising; after all, the issues involved in the synod question only concerned Anglicans. Wider participation in the movement was also restricted by the fact that only churchwardens and pew-renters were invited to attend the meetings held throughout May 1852. Some of the local agents of the counter-petition complained about the apathy of the populace. L. W. Whitaker of Richmond could only accumulate thirty-three signatures and he complained to King that 'there is a manifest indifference shewn by many parties on the subject'.<sup>158</sup>

In contrast to the anti-transportation movement, which attracted support from across the social spectrum, the campaign for a more democratic form of Church governance was dominated by prosperous professionals, urban merchants

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<sup>155</sup> T. H. Irving, *The Southern Tree of Liberty: The Democratic Movement in New South Wales before 1856* (Sydney, 2006), p. 183.

<sup>156</sup> *Further Correspondence on the Subject of Convict Discipline and Transportation*, PP, 1851 [1361], xlv, Charles Cowper to the colonial secretary, October 22, 1850, p. 192.

<sup>157</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 1, 1852.

<sup>158</sup> ML, Church of England Constitution, A2110, L. W. Whitaker to King, June 21, 1852, ff. 187-88.



and landowners. Nearly all of the twenty-five men who sat on the committee of the 'Church of England Constitutional Defence Association' (which was established after the lay meetings in April and May 1852) were prominent businessmen, merchants and lawyers. The landowning interest was represented by the conservative but broad-church James Macarthur and his younger brother William. Nine of the twenty-five were either members of the legislative council or became members subsequently. No members of the working-class radical movement sat on the committee. Yet despite the exclusive nature of the committee, several of its members had been involved in the anti-transportation agitation. W. R. Piddington, a prominent Sydney bookseller who stood as a radical candidate in the city council elections in November 1851, had been also involved in the anti-transportation movement and was a close associate of Parkes. Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, a prominent Sydney businessman and merchant, was another committee member who has been involved in the anti-transportation agitation.<sup>159</sup> Other anti-transportationists in the movement were Robert Tooth, a merchant and brewer, the solicitor George K. Holden, and Robert Campbell, the radical member for Sydney (although Campbell was not actually a member of the committee, he did speak against the bishop at the meeting held in Trinity Church). Several of the committee were also involved in the constitutional reform movement. Members of the committee who spoke at constitutional reform meetings between 1846 and 1855 included the lawyer and leading liberal J. B. Darvall, the solicitors Robert E. Johnson and W. E. Pennington, the pastoralist Thomas Holt, and the aforementioned Mort and Piddington.<sup>160</sup>

The links between the movements for constitutional and ecclesiastical reform can also be seen in the language which the members of the committee used during the Church reform meetings in early 1852. We have already noted that the laity based their defence of their right to sit in convocation through their reading of scripture, English ecclesiastical law, and the example of the Primitive Church. But laymen also objected to the Bishop's synod on the grounds that it was undemocratic and threatened the sacred constitutional rights of the independent citizen or 'freeborn Englishman'. J. B. Darvall, the chairman of the May 18 meeting, used the constitutional rhetoric of 'no taxation without representation' to point out the injustice of a situation in which the laity supported their ministers through voluntary contributions but were denied a voice

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<sup>159</sup> Irving, *The Southern Tree of Liberty*, p.190.

<sup>160</sup> A list of speakers at meetings on constitutional reform and anti-transportation can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 261-64.



in church government. Richard Sadleir likewise used a secular constitutional rhetoric to oppose Broughton's vision of church government. Sadleir argued that Broughton's refusal to permit the laity to participate with the clergy in the April 14 meeting was an effective denial of the laity's 'right of appeal of which every Englishman is justly proud'. By excluding the laity, Broughton had effectively denied the right of all Englishmen to petition the monarch. Sadleir added that the laity had to oppose the Bishop's attempt to claim 'absolute power and dominion over the minds and consciences of men', as 'where religious domination was usurped, temporal tyranny soon followed'. Both Sadleir and Darvall argued that Broughton's attempt to dominate the laity resembled the situation in mainland Europe, where, according to Sadleir, 'political despotism and priestly tyranny' had combined 'to crush the liberties of mankind'.<sup>161</sup> Throughout the debate the Bishop's possession of a veto was denounced as contrary to the spirit of the English system of representation.

A link can be made between the establishment of the Constitutional Defence Association and the wider opposition which emerged in 1852 to the draft constitution which recommended the establishment of a second chamber modelled on the metropolitan House of Lords. The proposed upper house was supported by W. C. Wentworth (whose earlier radicalism had waned in middle-age) and other prominent squatters and landowners who were fearful of creeping democracy. However, several of the members of the Constitutional Defence Association were prominent critics of this proposed 'Bunyip Aristocracy'. Darvall, Piddington and Thomas Holt all opposed Wentworth's attempt to introduce a nominated upper house in 1853. Wentworth's plans for a closed body resembled the attempt which Broughton had made to establish a synod in which the bishop possessed a veto over the decisions of the synod. Men such as Darvall and Piddington wished to see the democratisation of both church and secular government (though neither favoured universal male suffrage and indeed both wanted to delay the introduction of responsible or party government to New South Wales).<sup>162</sup>

The opposition to the revival of convocation continued after Broughton's death in 1853 and the appointment of his successor, the evangelical Frederick Barker. In the mid-1850s the laity made further demands for a more prominent role in the government of the church. When Barker established a Sydney Church

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<sup>161</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 19, 1852.

<sup>162</sup> T. H. Irving, 'The Idea of Responsible Self-Government in New South Wales before 1856', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 11:42 (1964), p. 200.

Society – a network of societies under central control which accumulated funds for Church extension – he was pilloried by lay men who claimed that the society strengthened the authority of the bishop. Barker made another attempt to introduce a synod in 1858, but like Broughton he encountered stiff resistance from laymen who objected to the bishop's veto. A bill, which would have paved the way for the introduction a synod, was introduced to the legislative council, but it was heavily criticised by the non-Anglicans who protested that such legislation would threaten religious equality and establish the Anglican Church as the state denomination. Barker made another attempt to introduce the bill in 1861, but it was again withdrawn when the diocese of Newcastle objected to the inclusion of a clause which granted the bishop the right of veto in spiritual matters.<sup>163</sup> It was not until 1866 that a bill was finally passed in the New South Wales parliament that the Church was finally given a new constitution.

Before concluding, it should be noted that by the early 1850s the movement for a more democratic form of church government gradually became subsumed in the wider movement for the abolition of state aid to religion. In June 1856 the 'Society for the Abolition of all State Support for Religion' was established in Sydney. Although the society was principally composed of Congregationalists and other non-Anglicans, its chairman was the radical politician Robert Campbell, who had played a notable role in the opposition to Broughton's synod. As Naomi Turner has shown, the movement towards voluntarism in religion received considerable backing from Anglicans who wanted to see the bishop's powers restricted. Since the 1840s Anglican laymen had recognised that the bishop's autocratic powers were linked to the control which he wielded over the distribution of the funds which the state granted to the Church. During the mid-1850s, however, the links between the movement for the reform of church government and the abolition of state aid became more apparent. Turner notes that during the meetings held in 1858 to protest against the proposed synod, several speakers argued that the bishop's powers could only be regulated once the system of state aid had been abolished.<sup>164</sup> In this way the campaign for a 'constitutional' episcopacy and the abolition of state aid merged. State aid was abolished in 1862, but by then the majority of the Australian bishops and either acknowledged that it could no longer continue or had, like

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<sup>163</sup> Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, p. 185.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.



Barker, instituted plans for a Church Society which would facilitate the collection of voluntary subscriptions for the support of the Church.<sup>165</sup>

#### (iv) Conclusion

This chapter has traced the development of a lay reform movement which appeared after the 1836 Church Act and which remained a distinctive feature of the political culture of New South Wales throughout the 1840s and 1850s. This chapter has shown how the Church Act not only opened up space for the laity to take a more active role in the administration of the Church, but that it also stimulated lay men to demand a more democratic form of Church government. The Anglican laity could reasonably argue that as they provided the bulk of the funds for Church extension, they had a right to participate in the government of the Church at a diocesan level. This chapter has also pointed to some of the ways in which the laity's demand for a more constitutional episcopacy was intertwined with the wider movement for constitutional reform. The role which liberals such as J. B. Darvall played in opposing the introduction of a nominated upper house in the colony was comparable to the attempts which they made to resist the establishment of a synod in which power was centralised and the role of the laity restricted.

The opposition which was mounted to Broughton in the early 1850s demonstrated the extent to which the Church was still regarded as an ally of the conservative and aristocratic forces in the colony. The role which Broughton played in the introduction of a controversial land bill in 1844 strengthened the impression that the Church was allied to those conservative and autocratic forces, both in the colony and back in Britain, which wanted to deny the colony its independence and self-government.<sup>166</sup> Broughton's ambivalent relationship with Tractarianism and his proposed synod was, for many liberal-minded politicians and laymen, confirmation that the Church was out of step with the democratic spirits which were ascendant in colonial society. Broughton was frequently depicted as 'Papal' or 'un-English': for instance, at the lay meeting in May 1852 Broughton was described as an 'Episcopal Napoleon'.<sup>167</sup> The following chapter turns to examine the experience of the Anglican Church in the Cape Colony

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>166</sup> Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare?*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>167</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 16, 1852.

across the same period. This chapter shows that at points in the first half of the nineteenth century the Church in South Africa, like its counterpart in New South Wales, was portrayed as an ally of conservative forces in colonial society. The following chapter shows that at the Cape, as in New South Wales, this accusation partly stemmed from contemporary fears about creeping Tractarianism.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### **Ecclesiastical and constitutional reform politics at the Cape of Good Hope, c. 1830-1856**

In chapter two we noted that the Cape of Good Hope was largely bypassed by the 'Anglican design' which Bathurst and the Colonial Office introduced in the 1810s and 1820s. Although attempts were made to establish Anglican churches and schools, the amount of aid which was given to the Church in South Africa paled in comparison to the considerable support which its counterparts in New South Wales and British North America received from the state. Both the Colonial Office and the Cape government agreed that any interference with the ecclesiastical arrangements introduced by the Batavian regime was likely to engender hostility to British rule. One of the implications of this was that the Dutch Reformed Church was left as the established Church in the colony. By contrast English colonists in Cape Town had to wait until 1829 for construction to begin on the first Anglican Church in the town. It was also not until 1847 that an Anglican see was established in the colony. The following year Robert Gray arrived as the Cape's first Anglican bishop.

Chapter two showed that much of the momentum for Church expansion came from the periphery of empire and the settlers themselves. The Anglican laity at the Cape provided funds for the erection of churches and sent memorials to both the colonial government and voluntary missionary societies (such as the SPG) requesting clergy and financial aid. This chapter continues this line of analysis and traces the steady growth of the Anglican laity in the 1830s and 1840s. We noted in the previous chapter that the 1830s saw the emergence of an active lay community in New South Wales. Lay participation in Church government was however challenged by Bishop Broughton. By contrast, the absence of a bishopric at the Cape gave the laity there a disproportionate amount of control over the management of the Church. The churches which were established at the Cape before 1847 were endowed with peculiar individual constitutions that bore little comparison with any ecclesiastical arrangement found in Britain. Each church was built by funds partly supplied by shareholders who also claimed the right to elect churchwardens. The whole property of the

church was controlled by these shareholders. Later critics derided this system as 'Erastian Congregationalism'.<sup>1</sup>

For the modern scholar this tradition of lay involvement in the Church may have had a wider significance. The first section of this chapter examines the contribution which this emergent Anglican public made to the expansion of the public sphere and the colonial 'public' at the Cape in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the past two decades scholars of South African history have examined the ways in which the establishment of a variety of associations, clubs and public institutions contributed to the expansion of European civil society at the Cape of Good Hope from the 1820s onwards. The creation of this public sphere was part of the process by which the colony was transformed from an outpost of the Napoleonic military empire to one of the key nodes in the mercantile and free trade empire which emerged after 1830.<sup>2</sup> This chapter seeks to contribute to this literature by showing how the establishment of churches played a significant role in the development of petitioning communities among the British colonists who settled in the colony in the early 1820s. Another important issue to consider is whether this tradition of lay participation in Church governance had any wider significance in a colony which did not enjoy a representative assembly, and where trial by jury and the freedom of the press had been only recently introduced.

A study of the expansion of the Anglican lay community can also help to uncover the important contribution which the Anglo-Indian community at the Cape made to public life at the Cape in the 1830s and 1840s. From the mid-1820s this Anglo-Indian community was concentrated in the area around Wynberg near Cape Town. Anglo-Indians, the majority of whom were military officers and Company officials convalescing at the Cape for medical reasons, made an important contribution to the expansion of the Church in the colony. Anglo-Indians built Trinity Church in Cape Town and established a number of voluntary organisations, educational ventures and Bible classes. Despite the fact that this community was closely integrated with the British community at the Cape and

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<sup>1</sup> Augustus T. Wirgman, *The History of the English Church and People of South Africa* (London, 1898), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa, 1820-2000* (Oxford, 2006), ch. 1; Kirsten McKenzie has pointed to a 'globalising culture of respectability' that spread 'throughout the British Empire' in the 1820s and 1830s: Kirsten McKenzie, 'Of Convicts and Capitalists: Honour and Colonial Commerce in 1830s Cape Town and Sydney', *Australasian Historical Studies*, 118 (2002), p. 199. See also Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge, 1999).



made an important contribution to European society in the colony, their activities have not been explored in any depth by historians. This is perhaps surprising given the current interest which scholars have shown in uncovering material and ideological networks which connected communities on the periphery of empire.<sup>3</sup>

The second half of the chapter turns to examine the place which religious issues occupied in the reform debates which surfaced at the Cape from the mid-1820s onwards. Chapter two showed how the issue of religious toleration occupied a central place in the constitutional reform movement which emerged in Sydney in the mid-1820s. Like New South Wales, the Cape in the mid-1820s was home to a reform movement which demanded the introduction of the key principles of the British constitution: notably trial by jury, a free press, and a representative assembly. Like their counterparts in New South Wales, 'liberal' reformers at the Cape advocated the removal of all religious disabilities and the toleration of all Christian sects.<sup>4</sup> Yet in contrast to its counterpart in New South Wales, religious issues rarely featured in the reform movement at the Cape. By the terms of the regulations which they inherited from the previous Batavian regime the British were obliged to tolerate all Christian religions and grant them all equal privileges. The absence of any Anglican ascendancy at the Cape meant that the reform movement there had little reason to comment on ecclesiastical affairs. Reformers instead concentrated on winning familiar constitutional freedoms.<sup>5</sup>

While ecclesiastical affairs may have received little coverage in colonial press in the 1820s and early 1830s, this chapter shows that this was not the case in the late 1840s. The establishment of a bishopric at the Cape in 1847 and the arrival of Robert Gray a year later disrupted both Cape society and the religious equality which had been enshrined in the Cape constitution since the Batavian

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<sup>3</sup> An exception is R. R. Langham-Carter, 'The "Indians" in Cape Town', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 35:4 (1981), pp. 143-50; see also J. Arkin, "John Company" at the Cape: a history of the agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on the study of the Cape of Good Hope factory records', *Archives Yearbook for South African History*, 23:2 (1960), pp. 177-344; Nigel Worden, *et al.*, *Cape Town: the Making of a City. An Illustrated Social History* (Claremont, 1998), pp. 96-7. More recent works which have investigated the links between the humanitarians and missionaries in India and the Cape Colony include Andrew Bank, 'Liberals and their Enemies: Racial Ideology at the Cape of Good Hope, 1820-1850' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1995), ch. 3; and to a lesser extent, Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> The first privately-owned Cape newspaper, the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, did not advocate the rights of any particular denomination but instead claimed to represent a broad-based colonial public which included both Dutch slave-owners and British immigrants: Stanley Trapido, 'From Paternalism to Liberalism: the Cape Colony, 1800-1834', *The International History Review*, 12:1 (1990), pp. 95-97.

<sup>5</sup> Trapido, 'From Paternalism to Liberalism', pp. 92-94.

regime. News that the bishop would be granted a special travel allowance sparked fears that the British government intended to establish the Church of England in the colony. Colonists from a variety of denominations forwarded petitions to the colonial government which demanded that these allowances be rescinded. Part two of this chapter situates the establishment of the bishopric and the resulting petitioning campaign in the context of the anti-transportation agitation which erupted at the Cape in 1848 and 1849. The anti-transportation agitation later became subsumed in the wider movement for constitutional reform, a campaign which culminated in the grant of self-governance in 1853.<sup>6</sup> Although studies of the constitutional reform movement and the anti-transportation campaign abound, there has as yet been little attempt to analyse the impact which the establishment of the Anglican episcopate had on the development of Cape politics at mid-century.<sup>7</sup> This chapter attempts to fill this lacuna in the existing literature.

The final section of the chapter examines the attempts which Gray made to establish a system of synodical government in his diocese in the early 1850s. The diocesan synod which Gray proposed was reminiscent of the synods held at Exeter and the Australian colonies in the early 1850s. This section compares the opposition which was mounted to synods in New South Wales and the Cape Colony. This section also shows how in both New South Wales and the Cape there were significant connections between the campaign against the introduction of synodical government and the movement for self-government. Not only was there considerable overlap in the personnel who were involved in political and religious reform, the ecclesiastical reform movement also borrowed much of the constitutional rhetoric deployed by political reformers. In the same way as the colonial middle class worried that the pre-reform Legislative Council did not represent their interests, evangelical laymen were concerned that a synod would

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<sup>6</sup> Miles Taylor, 'The 1848 Revolutions and the British Empire', *Past and Present*, 166 (2000), p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Existing accounts of political reform at the Cape at mid-century rarely draw any links between ecclesiastical and political reform. See Digby Warren, 'Class Rivalry and Cape Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Reappraisal of the Kirk Thesis', *South African Historical Journal*, 24 (1991), pp. 112-127; Basil A. Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854* (Cape Town, 1981); Digby Warren's *Merchants, Commissioners and Wardmasters: Municipal and Colonial Politics in Cape Town, 1840-1854* (Cape Town, 1992) does occasionally refer to the role which religion played in elite politics in Cape Town, but the study does not analyse in any depth the ways in which the establishment of the bishopric shaped the reform movement. The only systematic study of the transportation agitation also makes only occasional references to the relationship between the rise of political dissent and the establishment of the bishopric: Alan F. Hattersley, *The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity: Resistance to Transportation in South Africa and Australia, 1848-53* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965).



only represent the high church party and would disenfranchise the evangelical members of the Church.

**(i) The expansion of the Anglican Church at the Cape prior to the establishment of the Anglican episcopate**

We noted in chapter two that the mid-1820s saw the first attempts by settlers at the Cape to organise voluntary subscriptions for the erection of Anglican churches. Unable to raise all the required money by themselves, the congregations at Cape Town, Bathurst and Port Elizabeth forwarded memorials to the SPG asking for financial aid. The government showed moderate interest in Church extension at the Cape and provided some money towards the erection of churches at each of these three places. For example the church at Port Elizabeth was erected through voluntary subscriptions and two grants from the Colonial Office and the SPG worth £300. The Bishop of Calcutta also provided £100. In addition to this aid the Colonial Office organised for chaplains to be appointed to Grahamstown and Bathurst and instructed Anthony Hamilton's Ecclesiastical Board to find suitable clergymen for these positions.<sup>8</sup>

One should not mistake the limited aid which the colonial authorities granted to these three congregations as evidence of any ambition on the Colonial Office's part to establish a privileged Church establishment at the Cape. We have already noted that the liberal Anglican Whigs who came to power in the early 1830s were primarily interested in establishing a pluralist state which encompassed all the Christian denominations.<sup>9</sup> When a number of British settlers (which included the judge William W. Burton, who would go on to become a prominent Anglican layman in New South Wales) informed the Cape government of their intention to establish an Anglican 'King's College' in Cape Town, they were told that no aid could be granted to the college from the colonial treasury.<sup>10</sup> Settlers and chaplains resented the limited help which both the Colonial Office and the SPG gave to the Anglican Church in South Africa. In a letter to the SPG in early 1832 the Rev. Edward Burrow explained that 'if it be

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<sup>8</sup> University of York, African Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/1, W. Hay to Anthony Hamilton, June 3, 1828, ff. 197-98.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion, and Reform, 1830-1841* (Oxford, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham Papers, Blomfield Papers, volume 66, Governor Cole to Rev. E. J. Burrow, January 4, 1832, f. 155.

seriously intended to preserve this colony to the British flag' then bolder steps would have to be taken to reinforce the position of the Church of England in the colony. Burrow's letter explained the full extent of the damage which the government's neglect had done to the position of the Church in the colony. English settlers were forced to attend Dutch services and the Wesleyans had increased the size of the congregations in many stations, which Burrow claimed 'would never have been collected had there been an English Clergyman on the spot'. Burrow added that the 'Independents are daily encroaching on our congregation & it is impossible for Mr Hough, single handed, to do all that is necessary to prevent secession'.<sup>11</sup> In April 1832 the chaplain, churchwardens, and other inhabitants of Port Elizabeth sent memorials to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London which protested against the lack of interest which the Church at home had shown to the Church in the colony. The thirty-five individuals who signed the memorial called for the appointment of a bishop and for steps to be taken to ensure that each community of settlers in the colony had access to a clergyman.<sup>12</sup>

Responsibility for extending the Church in the colony was largely left to the colonists and chaplains themselves. Private settlers continued to play a key role in recruiting Anglican clergymen for the colony. Thomas Philipps, a notable settler who had led one of the immigration parties in 1820, was partly responsible for convincing George Booth, the perpetual curate at Atherstone in Warwickshire, to apply to the Colonial Office for a position as a chaplain to Fort Beaufort (Philipps' connection with Booth was through the latter's brother, who had emigrated to the Cape in the early 1820s).<sup>13</sup> Booth's application to the Colonial Office was refused.<sup>14</sup> Following this rebuff Philipps turned his attention to the SPG. In October 1838 a meeting of the Albany District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (established in 1835) sent a memorial to the SPG and the SPCK requesting two grants worth £300 for the establishment of a church at Fort Beaufort.<sup>15</sup> The meeting of the inhabitants

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<sup>11</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Burrow to Hamilton, January 19, 1832, f. 11.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Memorial of the Chaplain, Church managers and other inhabitants of Port Elizabeth to Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Bishop of London', April 25, 1832, ff. 35-37.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Cape Town, C/AFS/5, Thomas Philipps to Rev. George Booth, July 5, 1836, ff. 27-29.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Booth to an unnamed correspondent, October 8, 1836, f. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Rev. John Heavyside to secretary of the SPG, December 12, 1838, ff. 35-37.



encouraged Booth to apply to the SPG in April 1839. The society accepted him as a missionary to Fort Beaufort and granted him a £100 salary.

The letters which Booth wrote to the SPG from Fort Beaufort before his premature death in 1843 capture the weak position of the Anglican Church in the colony prior to the arrival of Bishop Gray. Seemingly unaware that in the colonies sectarian diversity demanded a degree of pragmatism in ecclesiastical affairs, Booth wrote that 'it is impossible to fathom the conduct of some towards clerical matters. Some latent principles seem to have placed in the shade all the points that should have become prominent.'<sup>16</sup> Booth's letters reveal the extent to which the Church of England was very much the minority denomination in military and frontier stations. Methodism thrived in military barracks and it is no surprise that at Fort Beaufort the Wesleyans made particular gains.<sup>17</sup> According to Booth's letters it appears that ten members of Booth's congregation attempted to amalgamate the Anglican and Wesleyan churches and build one chapel in which both Wesleyan and Anglican ministers would preach and administer divine service.<sup>18</sup> As a firm adherent of the established forms and discipline of the Church of England Booth refused to preach in the Wesleyan chapel and instead laboured to establish a Church independent of the Methodist congregation. While Booth was unwilling to make any concessions to dissent, he was aware that the Anglican Church would have to learn from the Wesleyans' success if it was not to be anything more than merely a minority sect. For instance, Booth recognised that in contrast to the restrictions which were placed on the movements of the Anglican clergy (as civil servants attached to the military state Anglican clergymen were not allowed any more than 48 hours absence-without-leave), the Wesleyan preachers operated in considerable freedom and were highly mobile. The diffuse structure of the Methodist church was peculiarly suited to scattered populations such as in the Albany area of the eastern Cape and in parts of New South Wales. Lamenting that in contrast with the Wesleyans there was a lack of 'union & communication' between the scattered Anglican clergymen, Booth recommended that the chaplains adopt the system of itinerating practiced by the Wesleyan lay preachers and missionaries.<sup>19</sup>

Anglican laymen and clergymen at the periphery of empire applied to any society in Britain which was prepared to provide funds or clergymen for the

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Booth to Ernest Hawkins, February 15, 1842, f. 78.

<sup>17</sup> David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (Yale University Press, 2005), p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/5, Booth to Hawkins, November 26, 1841, f. 69.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Booth to Hawkins, May 31, 1841, f. 53.



colonial Churches. The SPG received the bulk of the colonists' applications. Throughout the early 1840s the chaplain at Grahamstown, John Heavyside (who had had a career as an SPG missionary in Madras before arriving in the colony) had provided the SPG and the Bishop of London with anxious letters requesting immediate support and detailing the considerable gains which both dissent and Roman Catholicism had made in and around Grahamstown.<sup>20</sup> In 1842 the society agreed to send three clergymen to the colony on the grounds that the remainder of the minister's stipend could be made up by either the local residents or the colonial government. The Cape government initially refused and it was left to prominent settlers such as Richard Southey to organise a series of public meetings at which inhabitants themselves pledged to support the SPG missionaries. It was not until December 1844 that the colonial government agreed to pay £100 towards the salary of the three clergymen and to provide one-fifth of the cost of a church.<sup>21</sup> Three clergymen – William Long, E. I. Smith and Philip W. Copeman – arrived in 1845 and 1846 and took up situations at Graaf Reinet, George and Uitenhage respectively.

English settlers at the Cape also relied on evangelical societies such as the Colonial Church Society for support. Although the society was primarily interested in sending clergymen to the Canadas and Australia, in the early 1840s it extended its activities to the Cape. In February 1840 a memorial signed by a Mr. Trotter asked the society for financial support to liquidate the debt incurred in building the church at Wynberg. In the same year the society received a memorial from the inhabitants of the George district asking for the society to provide them with a clergyman. These memorials seem to have been instrumental in convincing the society to extend their operations to the Cape, and in 1841 an agent – a Mr. Saffery – was instructed to make a report on the religious needs of the colony. Saffery reported that the inhabitants of the districts of Mancazana, Kowie and Winterburg had organised a subscription for the support of any clergymen which the society could send out.<sup>22</sup> In 1841 and 1842 the society sent to the colony one ordained minister, the Rev. Herbert Beaver (a graduate of Queen's College Oxford) and two catechists, John Boon and James Inglis. The society also supported another catechist named Hewitson who was already

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<sup>20</sup> For example, see *ibid.*, Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Heavyside to Bishop Charles Blomfield, 23 February, 1843, ff. 75-81.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, John Montagu (secretary to the colonial government) to Richard Southey, December 6, 1844, ff. 177-79.

<sup>22</sup> Guildhall Library, London, Manuscripts Department, 'Annual reports of the Colonial Church Society, 1838-47', MS 15,718/3, *Fifth Report of the Colonial Church Society* (London, 1841), p. 44.



resident in the colony and had been previously employed by the CMS. While Beaver held divine services at three different stations in the eastern Cape, Inglis established himself at Uitenhage and Boon opened five schools in the area around Cuylerville. The inhabitants of Grahamstown recognised that the CCS had been more active than the SPG in supplying the colony with clergy and a celebratory meeting was held at St. George's in the town on Beaver's arrival in February 1842. At this meeting the sum of nine pounds, thirteen shillings and six pence was collected for the society, and an auxiliary association, the 'Albany Colonial Church Association', was formed. Its committee included the Anglican clergymen John Heavyside and James Barrow and prominent Grahamstown merchants and political leaders such as Thomas Philipps, Charles Maynard, Howson E. Rutherford and John Carlisle.<sup>23</sup> A corresponding committee was also established at Cape Town in June 1841. The committee's first report stated that the CCS was the only society 'ready and able to occupy the field', and the only one which could prevent the colony from falling 'victims to Papal influence and intrigue'.<sup>24</sup>

Relations between the clergymen sent out by the Colonial Church Society and the SPG were not always harmonious. Herbert Beaver offended the SPG missionary George Booth when he began ministering in Booth's Fort Beaufort station. Booth was particularly angered when Beaver preached in the Wesleyan chapel to the troops stationed at the settlement. After Booth complained to the SPG the Colonial Church Society was obliged to write to the SPG assuring them that Beaver had been appointed to a different station and that he had been asked to administer divine service at Fort Beaufort by a commanding officer.<sup>25</sup> Even Heavyside, who had initially been one of the warmest supporters of the society, grew increasingly intolerant of the activities of the CCS clergymen. Heavyside admitted to the SPG that he had availed himself 'in the first instance of the agency of that Society under the persuasion that the Propagation Society would certainly do nothing for us'. Although Heavyside claimed that he had 'never fully approved of the principles of the C. C. Soc. especially as regards church unity & discipline', he admitted that he 'considered it better than Dissent or Wesleyanism and was glad to obtain reinforcement from any quarter'. Heavyside claimed that he had 'not had much acquaintance with

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<sup>23</sup> *The Cape Frontier Times*, February 24, 1842.

<sup>24</sup> GL, 'Annual reports of the Colonial Church Society, 1838-47', MS 15,718/3, *The Sixth Annual Report of the Colonial Church Society* (London, 1843), p. 32.

<sup>25</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/3, E. S. Cotton to Alexander Campbell, June 22, 1842, ff. 93-4.

Clergymen of the high or low Evangelical school and supposed that in working they would not markedly differ from others', but following his correspondence with Beaver his attitude towards evangelical religion hardened. Heavyside welcomed the news that a bishop was to be appointed to the Cape and he assured the SPG that he looked forward to establishing a district committee of the society.<sup>26</sup>

During the 1840s the Colonial Church Society continued to strengthen its position in the colony. The society's influence in the colony was strengthened when one of its vice-presidents, Peregrine Maitland – who had previously been lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada (1818-28) and commander-in-chief of the British forces at Madras – was appointed governor (Maitland brought out with him his brother, Brownlow, who was also a member of the Colonial Church Society). Maitland was representative of the cadre of aristocratic and military governors who featured prominently in the post-Napoleonic era empire. In both Upper Canada and Madras Maitland had been a proponent of Anglican privileges. For instance, as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada Maitland had supported the maintenance of exclusive Anglican clergy reserves. He had also resigned his position in Madras in opposition to the government's association with non-Christian religious festivals.<sup>27</sup> Maitland's arrival at the Cape in 1844 initiated a change in the colonial government's ecclesiastical policy. Funds were provided for an additional two clergymen at Cape Town and George and the responsibility for selecting suitable candidates was entrusted to the Colonial Church Society.<sup>28</sup> The society selected an Irish Protestant, Robert G. Lamb, who had previously been a curate at Dunkerrin in Ireland. Lamb's arrival increased the number of catechists and clergymen supported by the society in the colony to six.

East India Company civil servants and military officers made a considerable contribution to the corresponding committees of the Church Society which were established at the Cape. Since the early nineteenth century Company officials were visible members of Cape society. Indeed one East India Company chaplain en route to India described Cape Town as a 'quiet semi-dutch, semi-

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Heavyside to the secretary of the SPG, August 1, 1847, f. 148.

<sup>27</sup> John Benyon, 'Maitland, Sir Peregrine (1777-1854)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004), vol. 36, p. 229.

<sup>28</sup> GL, Manuscripts Department, 'Annual reports of the Colonial Church Society, 1838-47', MS 15,718/3, *The Ninth Annual Report of the Colonial Church Society* (London, 1845), p. 40.



Indian place, full of recruiting Indians'.<sup>29</sup> Historians have noted the significant contribution which Company servants and Anglo-Indians made to the development of civil society at the Cape. However, there has been no systematic study of the contribution which Anglo-Indians made to the strong Anglican Evangelical culture which developed at places such as Wynberg and Simon's Town. The Cape's evangelical Anglo-Indian culture revolved around William Wilberforce Bird, a cousin of William Wilberforce and the uncle of Robert Bird Sumner, the evangelical archbishop of Canterbury. Bird arrived at the Cape in 1807 as prize agent of slaves (in which post he played an active role in the emancipation of slaves who were intercepted by the navy) and would go on to become a prominent merchant and colonial secretary. Wilberforce Bird's connection with India stemmed from the marriage of one of his daughters to a former Indian cavalry officer named Hare (in all, two of Bird's daughters married Company employees and one son – also named William Wilberforce Bird – became deputy governor of Bengal and was briefly governor-general of India).<sup>30</sup> Throughout the 1820s and 1830s these two families appear to have been at the centre of an Anglo-Indian evangelical network at Wynberg and Cape Town. During a tour made of the colony in 1835-6 an East India Company captain named John Fawcett remarked on the role which Company officers had made in establishing a series of Sunday Schools and Temperance societies in the Wynberg area. Company convalescents cooperated actively with the London Missionary Society and Wesleyan missionaries, particularly in temperance ventures.<sup>31</sup> Anglo-Indians provided money for the erection of churches at the Cape and were involved in the creation of the evangelical Wynberg and Rondebosch Christian Instruction Society in 1842.<sup>32</sup> In the early 1840s the leadership of the Anglo-Indian evangelical community passed to the Irishman Richard Stewart Dobbs, a Company officer who had been involved in evangelical campaigns in Southern India and had retired to the Cape for health reasons.<sup>33</sup> Throughout 1840 and 1841 Dobbs conducted Bible classes and preached in Cape

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<sup>29</sup> British Library, London, Asia, Pacifica and Africa Collections, India Office Records, Manuscript Journal of Edward Whitehead, MSS Eur C667, no pagination.

<sup>30</sup> 'Bird, William Wilberforce, 1758-1836', *Dictionary of South African Biography* (6 vols, Cape Town, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 77-78.

<sup>31</sup> John Fawcett, *Account of an Eighteen Months' Residence at the Cape of Good Hope, in 1835-6* (Cape Town, 1836).

<sup>32</sup> R. R. Langham-Carter, 'The "Indians" in Cape Town', p. 145.

<sup>33</sup> Dobbs signed the 1836 petition which objected to the association between the East India Company and Hindu and Muslim religious establishments. For the text of the petition and the list of signatures, see *Memorial of European Population of Madras to Governor, August 1836, relative to religious ceremonies of Natives*, Parliamentary Papers, 1837 [357], xliii, p. 4.



Town and at a number of stations on a circuit which included Simonstown, Rondebosch and Wynberg. Like his predecessors Dobbs cooperated with non-Anglican Protestants and preached in a Wesleyan chapel.<sup>34</sup> Dobbs and the other Anglo-Indians in the western Cape were closely connected to the Colonial Church Society. Eleven of the forty-two subscribers of the Cape Town corresponding committee of the Church Society were East India Company officers or civil servants.<sup>35</sup> The Church Society also agreed to provide support to a deacon called Thomas Blair (a former Captain in the Company's service who was married to one of Hare's daughters), who Dobbs and his colleagues had recommended to them in 1841. The existence of this community at the Cape suggests that a strong evangelical culture radiated out from India to other parts of the eastern empire in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The most notable contribution which the Anglo-Indian community made to Church life at the Cape was the establishment of Trinity Church in Cape Town in 1846. The Church was one of the nine new Anglican churches built in the colony between 1829 and 1846.<sup>36</sup> As already noted, each one of these churches was built by money raised through the sale of shares. Shareholders did not necessarily have to be in communion with the Church of England and also did not have to reside in the colony. In the case of St. George's Church in Cape Town the shareholders initially held the right to elect the churchwardens and vestry, but in the case of other churches this right was held by every male inhabitant of the parish who claimed to be a member of the Church of England. The constitutions which were granted to the individual churches often placed the incumbent in a weak position vis-à-vis his congregation. In this regard the Cape Indians do appear to have been drawing on their experiences in India, where, as we shall see in the following chapter, the laity played a prominent role in the establishment of both churches and a series of Bible societies and auxiliary missionary societies. Chapter five shows how the laity in India resisted any attempt by the higher ecclesiastical authorities to take control of what they considered to be independent public institutions.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> R. S. Dobbs, *Reminiscences of Life in Mysore, South Africa, and Burmah* (Dublin, 1882), p. 150.

<sup>35</sup> GL, Manuscripts Department, 'Annual reports of the Colonial Church Society, 1838-47', MS 15,718/3, *The Seventh Annual Report of the Colonial Church Society* (London, 1843).

<sup>36</sup> H. Lowther Clarke, *Constitutional Church Government in the Dominions Beyond the Seas and in other parts of the Anglican Communion* (London, 1924), p. 320.

<sup>37</sup> This is a theme which is explored in Hans Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850* (London, 1952).



This tradition of lay activism also emerged at the Cape. The most dramatic disagreement between an incumbent and his parishioners over the terms of an ordinance occurred in 1841 between Heavyside and the congregation of St. George's Church at Grahamstown. A minority of the congregation interpreted the church's ordinance (Ordinance 2 of 1835) as stating that the congregation had the right to elect a chairman at church meetings. When this minority – which included the landholder Frederick Carlisle and the magistrate Martin West – attempted to vote Heavyside to the chair of a meeting in the vestry room in April 1841, Heavyside refused and left the room, arguing that as incumbent it was his right to take the chair at all church meetings.<sup>38</sup> The meeting continued without Heavyside and a vestry was elected. In the following weeks considerable criticism was directed at the individuals who had forced the incumbent from the meeting and a number of letters appeared which supported Heavyside.<sup>39</sup> At a subsequent meeting of the congregation it was resolved that a memorial be sent to the governor requesting that the ordinance be re-written so as to state that in all future church meetings the chairman should be a clergyman. Governor Napier, however, argued that the actions of the first meeting were entirely legal and refused to amend the ordinance.<sup>40</sup> Heavyside cooled the situation when he took the conciliatory step of recognising the vestry elected at the first meeting, but the events clearly demonstrated the extent of lay authority in ecclesiastical affairs in the colony.

So what contribution did the expansion of the Church in the colony make to the gradual emergence of an active political public at the Cape in the period between 1820 and 1850? As noted in the introduction, historians of Cape politics have downplayed the role which religion played in the development of political publics. One exception is Basil Le Cordeur, who in his classic account of the rise of separatist politics in the eastern Cape notes the contribution which Methodism made to the political mobilisation of eastern settlers. While he is careful to argue that Methodism was essentially a conservative political force, Le Cordeur suggests that in frontier areas such as Albany the Methodist church provided ordinary settlers with their first opportunity to participate in an institution or movement.<sup>41</sup> Participation in the life of a church could therefore represent something of an apprenticeship for involvement in a political movement such as

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<sup>38</sup> *Cape Frontier Times*, April 28, 1841.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, May 6, 1841, letter of 'A Parishioner'.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, May 19, 1841.

<sup>41</sup> Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism*, p. 78.

the 'separatist' campaign for an independent eastern legislative authority. Le Cordeur spends little time investigating the ways in which the expansion of the Church of England may have similarly provided Anglican settlers with a corporate political identity. This is in spite of the fact that some of the principal players in the early separatist movement, such as the 1820s settler Thomas Philipps, were involved in the campaign for Church extension in the 1830s and 1840s. It is significant that the role which individual British settlers played in the establishment of Anglican churches could often be the precursor for a career in public affairs. Richard Southey played a central role in pushing the SPG and the colonial government to provide funds for a clergyman at Graaff-Reinet (after a career as a military officer and as a farmer Southey became secretary to the high commission under Sir Harry Smith in 1847 and later governor in the 1870s).<sup>42</sup> The public meetings and petitions which called for the establishment of Anglican churches were an important component in the development of civic and public life in these frontier communities. It is reasonable to speculate that through their involvement in Church extension schemes, colonists gained experience of producing petitions, organising committees and holding public meetings, skills which would be used again to demand political and constitutional reform. Establishing Anglican churches was therefore part of a wider training in political technique. It is also reasonable to speculate that the campaign for the erection of churches can be viewed as part of a wider effort by colonists in the eastern areas to wrest concessions from the colonial authorities and assert their rights and privileges – an effort which culminated in the appointment of a lieutenant-governorship at the Eastern Cape in 1836.<sup>43</sup> Having said this, one can overstate the extent to which participation in church government provided an apprenticeship in political affairs: colonists had been organising meetings and drafting petitions on political subjects well before the advent of the campaign for the extension of the Anglican Church. For example, as early as 1823 Philipps and 170 other British settlers in the eastern districts forwarded a petition to the secretary of state for the colonies which criticised Governor Somerset's frontier policy.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Southey to the civil commissioner of Graaf Reinet, 21 Feb 1843, f. 359; C/AFS/5, Southey to the civil commissioner, Graaf Reinet, 21 Feb 1844, ff. 159-66; T. R. H. Davenport, 'Southey, Sir Richard (1808-1901)', *ODNB*, vol. 51, pp. 693-94.

<sup>43</sup> Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism*, p. 286.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.



A more difficult question to answer is whether the unique form of Church government found at the Cape had any wider political significance. The closed and autocratic nature of the legislative council (only five elected members sat on the council) contrasted with the democratic nature of ecclesiastical government, where each church was managed by representatives of the members and shareholders. There is no evidence, however, that colonists drew an analogy with this system of Church government when they called for a reform of the political system. Rather than overstate the political significance of this form of Church governance, we should regard these unique churches as part of the wider associational culture which gave colonial males the opportunity to assert their political and public worth.<sup>45</sup>

The next section studies the reactions of various groups in Cape society to the establishment of the bishopric in 1847. Opposition to the bishopric came from a number of sources. Non-Anglicans suspected that the creation of the bishopric was part of an invidious attempt by the colonial authorities to consolidate the position of the executive. The evangelical and Anglo-Indian community were concerned that the creation of the bishopric would interrupt the tradition of lay participation in Church government which had developed since the early 1820s. The general aim of the next section is to show how religious issues did form an important strand in the political debates which convulsed the colony in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

## **(ii) The creation of the Anglican episcopate and the transformation of the ecclesiastical establishment**

The Cape Colony was one of the seven regions which the members of the Colonial Bishops' Fund highlighted as in immediate need of a bishopric.<sup>46</sup> Since the early 1830s colonists had been sending memorials to various authorities in Britain asking for the creation of an Anglican episcopate at the Cape. The earliest call for a bishopric at the Cape appears to have been the memorial sent by the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth to the archbishops of York and

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<sup>45</sup> McKenzie, *Of Convicts and Capitalists*, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> Ernest Hawkins, *Documents Relative to the Erection and Endowment of Additional Bishoprics in the Colonies* (London, 1855), p. 15.



Canterbury in 1832.<sup>47</sup> Colonists also studied the progress of the Bishoprics' Fund and in May 1842 the laity of Grahamstown sent a memorial to the Fund outlining their needs.<sup>48</sup> The colonial government, by contrast, was perennially concerned about any addition to the colonial estimates and was hostile to the establishment of a bishopric. Brownlow Maitland told Rev. Heavyside that 'there is scarcely any interest felt here on the subject and perhaps some good might be done just now by taking measures to reduce the number of Clergy in the Colony'.<sup>49</sup> The colonial government also opposed any further addition to the funds set aside for ecclesiastical provision. When the Legislative Council discussed the possibility of increasing the stipends granted to the Anglican ministers at Rondebosch and Wynberg, John Montagu, the colonial secretary, opposed any increase in the ecclesiastical grants on the grounds that 'the period was not far distant when churches of all denominations will have to depend on their own resources'.<sup>50</sup> Like its counterpart in New South Wales, the Cape government increasingly tried to shift the burden of supporting the ecclesiastical establishment onto the colonists. The government provided £100 towards a minister's stipend and expected the remainder to be provided by the inhabitants themselves.<sup>51</sup> With the Cape government increasingly committed to the voluntary principle the initiative for the establishment of a bishopric therefore had to come from Britain. It was not until the heiress Angela Burdett-Coutts (Francis Burdett's daughter) made an endowment of £17,500 that the Fund was able to finalise plans for bishoprics at the Cape and Adelaide. Ernest Hawkins, secretary of the fund, was asked by the archbishop of Canterbury to find suitable candidates for the new sees and in January 1847 he approached Robert Gray, the vicar of Stockton since 1845, with the offer of becoming the first Bishop of Cape Town. Gray initially refused the offer on the grounds that he felt he lacked the qualifications for a bishopric in which 'the foundations of everything have yet to be laid' and where 'every form

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<sup>47</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, 'Memorial of the Chaplain, Church managers and other inhabitants of Port Elizabeth to Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Bishop of London', April 25, 1832, ff. 35-37.

<sup>48</sup> *Cape Frontier Times*, May 2, 1842.

<sup>49</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Brownlow Maitland to Heavyside, May 16, 1844, f. 121.

<sup>50</sup> *Cape Town Mail*, October 27, 1846.

<sup>51</sup> *Petitions to the Queen, and Representations to the Secretary of State, on Colonial Church Legislation, or the Management of the Affairs of the Church in the Colonies since 1845*, Parliamentary Papers, 1852 [355], xxxii, Montagu to Bishop Robert Gray, February 13, 1849, p. 34.



of religious error is rampant'.<sup>52</sup> Following a direct appeal from the archbishop Gray relented and accepted the position in March 1847.

Like Broughton, Gray was an orthodox high churchman who, though sympathetic to the aims of the Tractarianism, recoiled from its Catholic elements. Unlike Broughton, Gray appears to have had no desire to mould his diocese according to Tractarian ideas. Indeed, Gray was hesitant about employing men who had come into close contact with the Oxford Movement. For example, Gray was reluctant to employ Ebenezer Wilshere, a former SPG missionary in India who had been in close contact with Pusey while he was an undergraduate at Oxford. In a letter to the individual who had brought Wilshere to his notice, Gray wrote,

[t]hough I believe certain persons apply the term Tractarian to some of the student members of our church, and therefore think little of it; yet I own when you seem to think there may be some fault to find with Mr Wilshere's views, I should hesitate to accept of him, especially as my diocese is in a very unsatisfactory condition as far as the church is concerned; and one really unsound man might do us incalculable mischief.<sup>53</sup>

Gray nevertheless shared Broughton's dislike and distrust of evangelical clergy. William Long, who arrived in 1845 (and who had in fact welcomed the arrival of the bishop) was described by Gray as a 'shallow & ill informed, & very low', and Phillip Copeman was dismissed as a 'miserable creature' and 'thoroughly latitudinarian'.<sup>54</sup> Gray was particularly critical of those clergymen and catechists who had been sent out by the Colonial Church Society.<sup>55</sup> Before he left for the colony Gray was approached by the society and offered the position of the vice-president of the Cape Town corresponding committee. Gray refused the offer.<sup>56</sup> Within a few days of his arrival in Cape Town Gray was sending letters to Hawkins and Dr. Williamson (his brother-in-law and agent in England) which

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Charles N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of Africa*, (2 vols, London, 1876), vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>53</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, Gray to an unnamed correspondent, August 14, 1847, ff. 419-21.

<sup>54</sup> UYL, African Archives of USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/3, Gray to Hawkins, August 9, 1849, f. 362.

<sup>55</sup> William Grant Broughton was similarly critical of evangelical clergymen sent out by this society. In a letter to Edward Coleridge Broughton wrote that if the Colonial Church Society 'go upon the principle of requiring from every one whom they send out to preach, a declaration of uncompromising hostility to every thing which has ever been said, done, or proposed by the Tractarian orders, my sense of duty would not permit me to license their clergy in this Diocese', Moore Theological College Library, Broughton Papers, 1/44, William Grant Broughton to Edward Coleridge, November 5, 1844, no pagination.

<sup>56</sup> GL, General Committee Minute Book, 1850-55 MS 15673, Gray to the Colonial Church Society, August 7, 1847, f. 497.



strongly criticised Robert Lamb, the Irish protestant clergymen who the society had recommended to the Colonial Office in 1845. Gray stated that Lamb had 'introduced a book of hymns into St. George's, which gave great offence to the more sober churchmen, and last Sunday he stuck a public notice on the Cathedral door, of the usual monthly prayer-meeting in the church schools'.<sup>57</sup> Gray also noted that Lamb had taken 'a very wild line spouting Mr. Molineux's of Norwich anti-Bap.[tismal] Reg.[eneration] tracts from the pulpit of the cathedral and declaiming for a couple of hours'. Gray added that the Baptismal Regeneration controversy seemed to be 'raging amongst all parties' at the Cape.<sup>58</sup> This evidence shows that the issues which would come to disturb the Church in metropolitan Britain in this period (we noted in the previous chapter that the baptismal regeneration issue was at the centre of the Gorham affair) were also relevant in the colonial context. In an attempt to prevent any future schism in his diocese, Gray asked Williamson to find him a suitable curate who could replace Lamb, who he considered to be 'quite useless'.<sup>59</sup>

The arrival of the bishop had a negative effect on the Colonial Church Society's operations in the colony and indeed by 1850 the corresponding committee in Cape Town had broken up. The relationship between the home committee and the society's clergymen also appears to have steadily worsened to the extent that two of the society's agents – Thomas Blair and James Boon – left the society. Boon fell out with the society when he attempted to establish a school without the society's sanction. Blair was angered when the society suggested that he resign his position as secretary to the new corresponding committee which was formed in 1852 (George Greig, the former editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser* had been despatched to the colony by the society in 1851 to re-establish the committee).<sup>60</sup> Gray recognised that these disagreements presented him with the opportunity to bring a group of clergymen who had previously been beyond his control under episcopal authority. Gray represented Blair and Boon's cases to the society and provided both men with financial aid. Both effectively became responsible to the Bishop. The relationship between the bishop and the Colonial Church Society disintegrated entirely when the society established a new corresponding committee in Cape Town in

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<sup>57</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 162.

<sup>58</sup> UYL, African Archives of USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Gray to Hawkins, February 18, 1848, ff. 448-49.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Gray to Hawkins, March 20, 1848, f. 452.

<sup>60</sup> GL, MS 15673, Colonial Church Society General Committee Minute Book, 1850-55, f. 28.



February 1852. Gray believed that the committee interfered with his ecclesiastical jurisdiction and argued that the society had no right to send diocese lay agents to his diocese who exercised a 'quasi-ministry'. In a memorial to the archbishop of Canterbury Gray argued that the society had 'without any previous communication with me constituted a body in my Diocese with undefined powers for the conduct of Ecclesiastical matters'.<sup>61</sup>

Gray's arrival not only interrupted the relative freedom which evangelicals such as Lamb had enjoyed before 1847. It also disrupted the unique system of Church government which had developed at the Cape since the late 1820s. As ordinary Gray assumed that all Church property in the diocese should come under his authority. Gray labelled the cathedral as a 'joint-stock affair' and was horrified that 'jews and atheists' were among the shareholders. Gray argued that he could not hope to establish a united Church in the colony unless the system of ordinance churches was completely abolished. The task of transferring Church property to the bishop meant that Gray came into conflict with the evangelical and Anglo-Indian laity who had established Trinity Church in Cape Town. Gray was from the outset wary of the Anglo-Indian evangelical community. According to Gray, Wynberg was a focus of what he described as 'Indianism', which was presumably a term for extreme evangelicalism. Gray wrote that 'it is very rare to find a real Churchman among' the Company officers and claimed that 'they are frequently Plymouth Brethren'.<sup>62</sup> In Cape Town Gray was outraged to hear 'a long extempore prayer from an Indian layman who had turned the Church into a conventicle'.<sup>63</sup> Gray had some trouble claiming jurisdiction over Trinity Church, as according to him some of the 'Indian' congregation were 'kicking against' any Episcopal intrusion.<sup>64</sup> All this led Gray to regret that 'people here are more Independent than at home – more wilful, head-strong, and more unwilling to submit to restraint. They have all the notions of free churches.' At the same time as Broughton in New South Wales was harbouring fears that the Church in his diocese would be 'presbyterianised', Gray

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 498.

<sup>62</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 249. In 1841 Bishop Daniel Wilson had noted that a community of Plymouth Brethren had appeared in Calcutta. The available evidence gives little sense of the strength of the connections between the Calcutta and Cape Town communities. See Rhodes House Library, Oxford, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archive, C. MSS. INDIA I. (3), Bishop Daniel Wilson to Alexander Campbell, May 7, 1841, f. 15D; *ibid.*, Wilson to Campbell, May 11, 1841, f. 15E.

<sup>63</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/2, Gray to Hawkins, March 20, 1848, f. 452.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, Gray to Hawkins, April 10, 1848, ff. 463-64.



was predicting that if the Church ordinances were allowed to continue then 'we shall see now & then, the same sort of thing going on, as has occurred in several instances in Scotland'.<sup>65</sup>

Save for the brief disagreement with the Trinity laity, Gray had little difficulty transferring the church property in Cape Town to the see. However, as in New South Wales, opposition to episcopal encroachment was more evident in areas outside the colonial capital. Nathaniel Merriman, the first archdeacon of Grahamstown, faced a difficult task when he tried to reform the system of church government in the churches in the eastern districts. In many of these churches any individual who defined themselves as a 'churchman' was entitled to vote at vestry and churchwarden elections. These rather vague qualifications meant that in the churches in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth individuals who were not bona-fide members of the Church of England could not only own a pew and a share in the church property but could also vote in church affairs. Following a meeting of a committee which had been formed to raise the funds for the establishment of a new church at Port Elizabeth in January 1849, Merriman complained that 'the miserable pew system had cankered the Church here to the heart's core'. He added that 'anything addressed to them [the committee] which was not founded on this system seemed like a foreign language in their ears'.<sup>66</sup> Like Gray, Merriman was motivated by a desire to infuse the Church at the Cape with a greater sense of missionary purpose. For Merriman the shareholding system tainted the spiritual strength of the church and infused 'a spirit of property in God's House'.<sup>67</sup>

The extent to which the members of the independent congregations wished to defend their churches from the encroachment of what was regarded as an alien ecclesiastical power is demonstrated by the opposition which Merriman encountered when he attempted to introduce changes in the celebration of divine service. We noted earlier that in England Gray was reluctant to employ a clergyman who displayed Tractarian tendencies, but once in the colony both he and Merriman encouraged changes associated with the Oxford Movement. Merriman was particularly desirous of altering St. George's Church in Grahamstown whose simplistic interior did not conform to his Tractarian vision. Merriman complained that 'the area of it [St. George's] is filled with pews, and

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, C/AFS/3, Gray to Hawkins, August 9, 1849, ff. 360-61.

<sup>66</sup> D. H. Varney and H. M. Matthew (eds), *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N. J. Merriman 1848-1855* (Cape Town, 1957), p. 18.

<sup>67</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Grahamstown, C/AFS/5, Merriman to Hawkins, February 25, 1849, f. 300.



the reading pew is too high and is turned towards the congregation with the back to the altar'.<sup>68</sup> Despite Gray's assurance to Williamson that 'we do not hear much about *isms* here',<sup>69</sup> it is clear that the attempt to introduce Tractarian invocations generated a good deal of opposition. When in November 1849 Merriman and Heavyside attempted to introduce a 'very handsome altar cloth' to the chancel and a set of communion plate and silver, the churchwardens objected and Merriman was forced to have them removed. Merriman was also criticised when he attempted to preach in a surplice in St. George's. The vestry of the church politely addressed Merriman that it was 'not their wish to dictate to him in the discharge of his duties in any matter that are in accordance with the rules of the Church of England', but they did insist that he continue to preach in the accustomed black academic gown.<sup>70</sup> Merriman noted that one of the vestrymen, a Scot 'who has never communicated with the church at all', threatened to remove himself to another denomination if Merriman continued to introduce innovations to divine service.<sup>71</sup> The disagreement between Merriman and the congregation cooled and Merriman appears to have continued to wear his high church garments as in late February he wrote to Hawkins explaining that 'I have lived here a month wearing nothing but a cassock & yet I have not been stoned to death for a Puseyite'.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, Port Elizabeth remained a hot-bed of oppositional sentiment: Gray noted that the people there 'require a strong man, for there is a large amount of republicanism among them. It is our weakest point'.<sup>73</sup>

While the establishment of the bishopric was a cause for concern for the evangelical clergy and laity, it generated little excitement among the wider colonial community. The *South African Commercial Advertiser* assured its readers that the establishment of the bishopric would in no way affect 'the liberties of the Colonists in a religious point of view, nor interfere, in the slightest degree, with the rights and immunities of the various Churches'.<sup>74</sup> Increasingly, however, dissenters and proponents of the voluntary system came to see the establishment of the bishopric as a threat to their religious liberties. The creation of an extended Church establishment at the Cape was viewed as part of a wider

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<sup>68</sup> Varney and Matthew (eds), *Cape Journals*, p. 21.

<sup>69</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Gray*, vol. 1, p. 247.

<sup>70</sup> *Cape Frontier Times*, April 17, 1849.

<sup>71</sup> Varney and Matthew (eds), *Cape Journals*, p. 27.

<sup>72</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Grahamstown, C/AFS/5, Merriman to Hawkins, February 25, 1849, f. 295.

<sup>73</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Gray*, vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>74</sup> *South African Commercial Advertiser*, February 26, 1848.



attempt to expand the powers of the executive and to privilege the Church of England at the expense of the other denominations. The opposition which greeted the establishment of the bishopric at the Cape was comparable to the controversy which ensued when Lord John Russell attempted to establish a bishopric at Manchester in 1847. The Bill for the erection of the additional bishopric was opposed by radicals who claimed that it was a misuse of Church funds and by dissenters who opposed any increase in the number of bishops sitting in the House of Lords. In the event, Russell succeeded in getting the bill passed through parliament, though only on the proviso that the number of bishops in the Lords would not be increased.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, radicals and dissenters were still disappointed that Russell – who had been sympathetic to their claims while out of office – should have moved so quickly to support the claims of the Church of England. The establishment of the Cape bishopric, though not a state venture, was denounced in similar terms by dissenters and voluntaries at Cape Town who assumed that this was the first manifestation of a wider pro-Anglican government policy.

Opposition to the bishopric was generated by the news that the colonial government intended to grant to the Episcopalian Church special travel allowances. The majority of correspondents in the press opposed these grants as they impinged on the religious liberty of non-Anglicans and represented a backward step in the movement towards voluntarism. A petition, signed by two-hundred inhabitants of Cape Town, was sent to Governor Smith opposing the grants. Smith also received petitions from the Congregationalists in Cape Town and the Grahamstown Baptists. The Baptist petition argued that the public funds were common property and any attempt to ‘bestow grants and endowment from those funds to any religious sects or sects, is a violation of justice and an infringement of religious liberty’.<sup>76</sup> Several correspondents in the press detected in the travel allowance grants an invidious attempt to establish the Church of England and reassert imperial authority. ‘A Dissenter’ wrote that ‘it is the desire and aim of Government to elevate the Church of England above all the other Churches of the Colony – to make *it* the Established Church here – and to increase by all means the power of the Lord Bishop’. Another correspondent urged the readers of the *Cape Town Mail* to oppose the grants ‘if you do not wish

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<sup>75</sup> G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 150-51, 182.

<sup>76</sup> *Petitions to the Queen, and Representations to the Secretary of State, on Colonial Church Legislation*, PP, pp. 18, 32.



to see the Lord Bishop of Cape Town in the Executive Council, - and yourselves priest-ridden!'.<sup>77</sup> The language of these petitions was reminiscent of the petitions which the non-Anglican congregations in Tasmania sent to the Colonial Office in 1846 protesting against the establishment of Bishop Nixon's consistorial court.<sup>78</sup> Buoyed by the gains which they had made since the 1820s and 1830s, non-Anglicans across the British Empire opposed anything which could be construed as an attempt to re-impose the Anglican ascendancy.

Yet despite this opposition, the Legislative Council, which was predominantly composed of Anglican and elite merchants, approved the grants to the Anglican establishment in July 1848. The legislative council's sanctioning of the ecclesiastical grants led colonists to suspect that a compact existed between the Church hierarchy and the colonial government. This was a view held, tacitly at least, by the members of the municipality of Cape Town when they petitioned against the ecclesiastical grants in June 1848. This body had been established in 1839 with responsibility for local government, but it quickly gained a reputation as the nerve-centre of popular politics in the city. The municipal commissioners were primarily Dutch and German middle class merchants whose religious allegiances lay with the Lutheran, Dutch Reformed and non-conformist churches. In the period between 1848 and 1854 only 12% of the commissioners were Anglicans. Both Tony Kirk and Digby Warren have argued persuasively that the municipal commissioners represented a distinct social group to the elite merchants who sat on the Legislative Council. Throughout the 1840s, but particularly after 1848, the commissioners of the municipality were engaged in a relentless campaign to reform the political structure of the colony and to limit the political authority of a legislative council, which was increasingly viewed as the partner of a despotic colonial government.<sup>79</sup> This campaign culminated in the grant of a constitution in 1853 that conformed with the draft constitutions which the municipal commissioners had prepared in 1848 and 1850. For the commissioners the council's decision to approve the ecclesiastical grants was confirmation that the council only represented the interests of a narrow section of society and could not claim to represent public opinion. At a meeting in June 1848 to discuss the ecclesiastical grants the commissioners argued that the Episcopal Church had been 'privileged to a greater extent' than any other

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<sup>77</sup> *Cape Town Mail*, June 17, 1848 and June 10, 1848.

<sup>78</sup> *Correspondence and Papers relating to Cases in which Bishops in Australian Colonies attempted to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Clergy, and to the formation of Ecclesiastical Courts in Australian Dioceses*, PP, 1850 [175], xxxvii, pp. 40-51.

<sup>79</sup> Warren, *Merchants, Commissioners and Wardmasters*, ch. 6.



denomination. The meeting resolved that the grants were the 'prelude to the introduction of a more extensive system of English Episcopalian Church government, arrogating a claim of superiority and ascendancy over all other religious sects'.<sup>80</sup> The commissioners further argued that the grants were unnecessary as the colony's Episcopalian inhabitants held all the 'principal situations in the Civil, Judicial, Customs, and other Government departments' and were perfectly capable of supporting the Church through their own voluntary contributions. In a letter to Earl Grey at the Colonial Office J. P. Denyssen, the secretary to the municipality, went further and argued that there was a definite alliance between the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment and the colonial government. Denyssen argued that 'from the influence which the Episcopalian Church exercises over the Colonial Government of this colony, the greatest injustice will ultimately be committed upon the members of other communities'.<sup>81</sup>

It is unclear to what extent colonists at the Cape believed that the Church of England was allied to those members of the government who wished to frustrate constitutional and political reform. Howson E. Rutherfoord, an evangelical merchant who had been connected with the Anglo-Indian community at Wynberg believed that a 'High Church party' existed in the colony which was composed of the old elite merchants, the governor, and the colonial officials.<sup>82</sup> The Cape press was aware that a close relationship existed between Montagu, the conservative colonial secretary, and Bishop Gray. It was common knowledge that Montagu employed on his staff a man named Davidson, who in addition to being the Bishop's registrar was also the editor of the conservative and high church *Cape Monitor* newspaper, which throughout the constitutional debates rigidly supported the position of the government and the legislative council.<sup>83</sup> The *Cape Frontier Times* had no doubt that an alliance existed between the Church establishment and the colonial government. It later stated that the clergy received Montagu's 'favours' and 'ministered to his political objects'.<sup>84</sup> Certainly at the height of the anti-convict crisis the clergy were criticised for not taking a more active part in the protest movement. A correspondent in the *Cape Frontier Times* called 'A Spur' asked the clergy to commit themselves to the memorial against

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<sup>80</sup> *Petitions to the Queen, and Representations to the Secretary of State, on Colonial Church Legislation*, PP, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>82</sup> Warren, *Merchants, Commissioners and Wardmasters*, p. 128.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>84</sup> *Cape Frontier Times*, December 21, 1852.



the introduction of convicts and warned them that 'your conduct in this matter will decide whether the tone of your minds is as high as it ought to be, or not'.<sup>85</sup> Gray himself thought he detected a strong anti-Church spirit in the utterances of the individuals on the anti-transportation and constitutional reform platforms. Gray complained in 1849 that,

[...] the same spirit so prevalent in Europe is rampant here – indeed the state of this Colony makes me very uncomfortable. It is thoroughly leavened with the self-willed democratic element, resisting all authority and restraint. This may all take an anti-Church line, and be a serious hindrance to our work. They feel indeed already that we have no sympathy with it [the anti-convict agitation], and hate us for it.<sup>86</sup>

Gray's decision to organise a petition from the clergy which supported the objectives of the Anti-Convict Association went some way towards dampening this opposition. While the bishop's reasons for opposing the creation of a penal settlement at the Cape were starkly different from those of the Association, it did at least indicate that he and his clergy were not entirely out of step with the democratic spirit ascendant in the colony.

The criticisms which were hurled at Gray and the Church during the transportation episode were similar to those which Broughton had to endure during the transportation agitation in New South Wales. Like their counterparts at the Cape, the clergy in New South Wales were represented as allies of the conservative elements in the colony who had attempted to block any reform of the electoral system and the legislative assembly. Radical working class papers charged that the clergy's refusal to take part in the anti-transportation movement was evidence that an alliance existed between the Church and the squatters (large landowners).<sup>87</sup> As was the case at the Cape, the charge that the Australian clergy were opposed to the aims of the anti-transportation movement was unfounded. This can be seen in the support which some of the Australian bishops gave to the anti-transportationists. The Bishop of Newcastle and his clergy signed a petition against the renewal of transportation in May, 1849.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, in May 1851 the clergy and bishop of Tasmania sent a petition to Canterbury which supported the aims of the Australasian League for the Abolition of Transportation (an

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, May 8, 1849.

<sup>86</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 245.

<sup>87</sup> Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare? State Aid in New South Wales 1836-62* (Canberra, 1972), p. 122.

<sup>88</sup> *Correspondence on Convict Discipline and Transportation*, PP, 1850 [1153], xlv, Gilbert Wright to Governor Fitzroy, May 30, 1849, p. 20



organisation which subsumed the former Association in April 1851).<sup>89</sup> Broughton, by contrast, though sympathetic to the League's aims, deliberately disassociated himself from the anti-transportation movement. For instance, in 1852 Broughton refused to allow the League to hold a meeting in a schoolhouse.<sup>90</sup> By failing to involve the Church more closely in the agitation, both Gray and Broughton unwittingly presented the clergy as conservatives, out of step with the democratic forces agitating for constitutional reform.

Although contemporaries were suspicious of the relationship between Montagu, Smith and Gray, a study of the evidence reveals that there was no tight alliance between the Church and the Cape government. Although he was on good terms with Governor Smith, Gray admitted privately that Smith 'does not understand Church or Education questions. [...] His great temptation is to compromise truth in the warmth of his heart, and desire to meet the wishes of all and agree with all'.<sup>91</sup> Gray was appalled when Earl Grey at the Colonial Office instructed the Cape government to place all religious denominations on the same footing. A particularly staunch opponent of the Anglican ascendancy was the attorney-general, William Porter, an Ulster liberal (his brother-in-law was the owner of the *Northern Whig*, a Belfast paper which supported Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform) who had been raised as a 'New Light' Presbyterian, a group which traditionally held liberal views on religion and politics.<sup>92</sup> Porter is perhaps best known as the author of the colour-blind franchise which was introduced in the early 1850s, but in the late 1840s he was also involved in attempts to extend the principle of religious equality to non-Christians. In 1849 Porter drew up a bill which suggested that all religious bodies – which would theoretically encompass Muslims and Jews – would receive state aid. Gray described the bill as 'the most awful document I have ever seen', but he successfully convinced both Governor Smith and Montagu to reject it. In his letters to Ernest Hawkins at the SPG Gray frequently referred to Porter as an

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<sup>89</sup> *Correspondence on Convict Discipline and Transportation*, PP, 1851 [265], xl, 'Petition of the Bishop, Archdeacons, and Clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland in Tasmania', dated May 14, 1851, p. 114; Charles Cowper, the chairman of the League, noted that clergy did attend a meeting of the League held in Sydney in April 1852. See *Correspondence on Convict Discipline and Transportation*, PP, 1852-53 [257], lxxxii, Charles Cowper to the colonial secretary, April 17, 1852, p. 111.

<sup>90</sup> *Correspondence on Convict Discipline and Transportation*, PP, 1852 [1517], xli, Broughton to a deputation of Australasian League, April 30, 1852, p. 104; Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851* (Melbourne, 1965), p. 18.

<sup>91</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup> John Leslie McCracken, *New Light at the Cape of Good Hope: William Porter: the father of Cape liberalism* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 19-21.



‘Asian’,<sup>93</sup> which – interestingly – indicates that Gray associated latitudinarianism with both the evangelical Anglo-Indians who were resident in the colony and the East India Company officials who supported endowments to Hindu religious institutions (there is no record that Porter ever actually visited India).

The rejection of Porter’s bill was a notable success for Gray. Nevertheless, the colonial government refused to make any additional special grants to the Church of England. The Anglican Church continued to be regarded as simply another sect which was entitled to a share of the aid granted to other denominations.<sup>94</sup> Like Broughton in New South Wales, Gray increasingly recognised that little support could be expected from the colonial government. In January 1849 the bishop held a ‘synod’ of his clergy to discuss the possibility of applying to the government for an act which would repeal the various ordinances which the government had passed for each of the colony’s Anglican churches. The meeting resolved that the colonial government had no right to legislate for the internal affairs of the Church of England and refused to apply for an ordinance. Merriman noted in his diary that Church legislation would place the Church under a ‘yoke’ and demonstrate its own ‘incompetence’.<sup>95</sup> Gray recognised that there was no certainty that a representative government filled with non-Anglican members would vote any ecclesiastical grants to the Anglican Church. Gray told a meeting at St. George’s at Grahamstown in October 1848 that the Church in South Africa would have to follow the example of the early Church and ‘make its way in the world through its own innate powers’. Like Broughton and the other Australasian bishops, Gray was aware that the withdrawal of state support necessitated the adoption of a synodical form of church government.<sup>96</sup>

This section has examined the negative reactions which the establishment of an Anglican episcopate drew forth from a variety of groups in Cape society. The Anglo-Indians who had been such an important component in the evangelical life of Cape Town and Wynberg before the late 1840s resented the bishop’s attempts to transfer Church property to the see and the introduction of Tractarian innovations in divine service. Opposition to the episcopate was

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<sup>93</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/3, Gray to Hawkins, August 9, 1849, f. 361.

<sup>94</sup> *Petitions to the Queen, and Representations to the Secretary of State, on Colonial Church Legislation*, PP, Montagu to Gray, February 13, 1849, p. 34; C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 216.

<sup>95</sup> Varney and Matthew (eds), *Cape Journals*, p. 16.

<sup>96</sup> Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa: An Account of the History and Development of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London, 1963), p. 49.



particularly evident at the Eastern Cape. For example, the opposition which was raised against 'Puseyite' innovations at Port Elizabeth caused Merriman to describe the town as the 'Plymouth of South Africa'.<sup>97</sup> Independent congregations who wished to maintain their connection with the mother Church and the legislature confronted an episcopate which increasingly sought to protect itself from the interference of the state and the Church hierarchy back home. The establishment of the episcopate also drew criticisms from dissenters and non-Anglicans who feared that it was the start of a wider effort to buttress the authority of the beleaguered colonial government and the legislative council.

It is of course possible to argue that the creation of an Anglican hierarchy had a minimal impact on the course of Cape politics in the late 1840s. After all, despite the obviously close relationship between the bishop and prominent colonial officials, public criticism of the Anglican Church in this period was minimal – thanks in large part to Gray's success in shielding the Anglican Church from serious criticism during the transportation crisis. However, public criticism of the Anglican Church grew in importance in the early 1850s following Gray's attempt to reform the constitution of the Church at the Cape. The opposition to the introduction of synods was not a peculiarly ecclesiastical issue, detached from the wider political and constitutional debates which culminated in the grant of self-government in 1853. To demonstrate the extent to which religious and political reform were mutually reinforcing, the following section draws attention to the reaction of the Cape public to the Colonial Church Bill which William E. Gladstone attempted to pass through parliament in 1852. The purpose of the bill was to grant the colonial Churches a measure of control over their own internal affairs, and was therefore in accordance with Gladstone's general belief that the colonies should be granted self-government. The bill was effectively an attempt to legalise provincial and diocesan synods in the colonies.<sup>98</sup> The majority of Anglican churchmen in the colony initially welcomed the bills as they were supportive of any attempt to establish in the colonies representative institutions which were independent from the higher authorities in

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<sup>97</sup> UYL, African Archives of the USPG (microfilm), Cape Town, C/AFS/6, Merriman to Hawkins, August 2, 1852, ff. 317-18.

<sup>98</sup> Gladstone's biographers have spent little time studying his involvement with the colonial Churches. His Colonial Churches bills are only briefly mentioned in Richard Shannon, *Gladstone, volume I 1809-1865* (Chapel Hill, 1984), pp. 266, 275. The bills are studied in more detail in H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809-1898* (Oxford, 1999), p. 74. For the most expansive study of Gladstone's colonial ecclesiastical policy, see Susan Farnsworth, *The Evolution of British Imperial Policy during the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Peelite Contribution, 1846-1874* (London, 1992).



Britain. However, lay support for the bills fell away once it emerged that the role which the laity would play in the new synods would be confined to discussing questions relating to temporal issues. Significantly, the arguments which were deployed against synods borrowed heavily from the constitutional rhetoric used by political reformers. While the opposition to Gladstone's bills was a peculiarly Anglican issue and only attracted a small portion of the colonial public, it is clear that a significant proportion of the individuals who were involved in the anti-transportation and constitutional questions took part in these ecclesiastical debates.

### **(iii) Reactions to the 1852 Colonial Church Bill and the introduction of synodical government, 1852-56.**

As we noted earlier, the movement for synodical government was not confined to the Australian colonies. Like his Australian counterparts, Bishop Gray recognised that the colonial Church had to have its own means of adapting the liturgy and discipline of the Church to suit colonial circumstances. Months before the meeting of Australian bishops at Sydney in October 1850 Gray had informed friends in Britain of his plans to hold a synod in his diocese. Like the Australian bishops, Gray believed that government by synods could resolve the problems which confronted the Church in the colonies. Gray's interest in synods stemmed from his belief that convocation offered the only means by which the Church in both the Cape Colony and in Britain could resist the encroachment of an imperial government which included individuals who were not ordained members of the Anglican Church.<sup>99</sup>

Gray's first synod was held in November 1851 and was composed entirely of clergy. Predictably, the synod was criticised by evangelicals. Two evangelical clergymen attended the synod but refused to vote on any proceedings and one congregation refused to take any part whatsoever in a synod composed entirely of clergy.<sup>100</sup> Gray's decision to travel to England in 1851 assuaged what might have been a more serious disagreement. The conflict was renewed after Gladstone made a second attempt in the spring of 1852 to pass legislation in parliament which would have legalised colonial synods. Gladstone argued that his bill was merely an attempt to extend to the colonial Church the freedom and

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<sup>99</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, pp. 311-14.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40; Hinchliff, *Anglican Church in South Africa*, p. 51.

equality which the other Christian denominations in the colonies enjoyed. Gladstone told the Commons that his bill was based on the principle that the colonies should be left 'to the uncontrolled management of their own local affairs, whether it be for ecclesiastical or for civil purposes'.<sup>101</sup> Gladstone denied that his motivation for putting forward the bill was to give an impetus to attempts to revive convocation in Britain. Rather than being a Tractarian-inspired protest against the Gorham judgment, the bill was an attempt to redress a real colonial grievance. Gladstone told the Commons,

Do not let us be deterred from doing that which is just to the Colonies, and acceptable to the Colonial people, and demanded by them, because we may be told that we shall be some day called upon to do the same in England as we have done in the colonies. Depend upon it, that what is just when applied to the colonies, can never be made a precedent or apology for doing injustice in England.

Gladstone added that, 'no doubt can at present exist as to the opinion of the bishops, the clergy, and the laity of the colonies' on the need for the establishment of colonial synods.<sup>102</sup>

Gladstone was right about the attitude of the colonial bishops and the majority of the colonial clergy to his bill: Gray circulated the text of Gladstone's bill across his diocese and organised a petition in support of the bill which contained the names of eight clergymen and twenty-one laymen.<sup>103</sup> Gladstone's bill however provoked considerable controversy among both the evangelical laity and non-Anglicans across the empire. Non-Anglicans claimed that parliament had no right to pass legislation which would affect a single denomination. To do so, they claimed, would have been to re-establish the Anglican Church as the one state Church.<sup>104</sup> The Anglican laity did not harbour such fears about re-establishment; rather, they were concerned that synods would consolidate episcopal power rather than limit it. Unsurprisingly, the opposition to Gladstone's bill and the introduction of synodical government coalesced around the evangelical clergymen who had arrived in the colony prior to 1847. Significantly the first opposition meeting was held in October 1852 at Robert Lamb's Trinity Church in Cape Town, which since the mid-1840s had been a hot-bed of evangelical and Anglo-Indian sentiment.

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<sup>101</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, cxx (April 28, 1852), col. 1265.

<sup>102</sup> *PD*, cxx (April 28, 1852), col. 1268.

<sup>103</sup> *Cape Frontier Times*, October 26, 1852.

<sup>104</sup> The Presbyterian position was laid out in a pamphlet entitled, *The Equal Legal Status of the all the Churches in the Australian Colonies* (Hobart, 1851).



The campaign against synodical government at the Cape was comparable in both form and content to similar movements in the empire and in mainland Britain. In Britain and the colonies the opposition to synods was led by evangelical clergy and laity and concentrated on the question of lay representation. Unlike Broughton and Phillpotts, Gray was concerned that any synod in his diocese would have to include a strong lay element. Gray acknowledged that the consent of the laity was necessary before any of the synod's enactments could be regarded as legal, in the same way as the sanction of parliament was necessary before Church reforms could be passed in Britain. Gray did however argue that the laity should be restricted to discussing and voting on issues relating purely to the temporalities of the Church. Only the bishop and the clergy would have the authority to debate matters pertaining to faith and doctrine.<sup>105</sup> Following Lamb's speech at the Trinity Church meeting, the congregation drafted a petition to the Bishop which argued that synodical government was unwarranted as the evangelical public were denied an adequate representation in the synods. The petition went on to argue that the bill had to be resisted because it was likely to give a spur to the opponents of the Gorham Judgement back in Britain who wished to revive convocation.<sup>106</sup>

The allusion to Gorham was important: like their counterparts at Exeter and Sydney, evangelicals at the Cape viewed Gladstone's bill and the introduction of convocation as aspects of a wider high church protest against the Privy Council's decision to uphold Gorham's appeal. At the meeting held at Trinity, Lamb argued that rather than providing a neutral arena in which evangelical and high churchmen could meet and discuss on equal terms, synods established on such principles would actually elevate the power of the bishop, as, after all, the bishop had personally selected the vast majority of the clergy in the diocese. The establishment of a synod would make it possible for any bishop to withdraw the licenses from clergymen who held alternative views on matters such as baptismal regeneration. At a meeting of the clergy and laity convened in late October 1852, a number of evangelicals argued that the synod would allow the bishop to alter at will the canons of the church and introduce Tractarian forms and ceremonies. At the meeting the Reverend Hoets – a Dutchman who had taken Anglican orders and who was connected with Lamb and the CCS – argued that the object of the promoters of the bill was to increase the authority of bishops and to 'enable them to carry into effect many of things in the rubric

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<sup>105</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 336.

<sup>106</sup> *Cape Town Mail*, November 2, 1852.

which have been wisely allowed to fall into disuse'. Clergymen who opposed the introduction of such forms and ceremonies would be disciplined and denied their licenses. One speaker noted that with the establishment of synods the individual clergyman lost his right of appeal to Canterbury. There was therefore nothing to stop a repeat of the Gorham controversy at the Cape of Good Hope. In a direct allusion to the Gorham case, Hoets warned that while Gray's character could not be doubted, 'we may have a man like the Bishop of Exeter over us to-morrow'.<sup>107</sup>

There were a number of connections between the opposition which was mounted to Gladstone's bill and the political reform movement which gathered pace after the anti-transportation agitation. Not only was there a considerable overlap in the personnel who were involved in the two movements, but it is also clear that the campaigns for political and ecclesiastical reform were expressed in the same constitutional language. The establishment of a synod with minimal lay representation had wider significance in a society dominated by the question of constitutional politics. Correspondents contrasted the system of representation which the Bishop intended to establish in his synods and the reformed civil constitution which was demanded by the majority of colonists. While liberal reformers in the colony wished to limit the power which the exclusive faction of elite merchants and colonial officials wielded in the legislative council, Gray was represented as trying to reverse this trend and attempting to consolidate the position of the Bishop and clergy at the expense of laity. In the same way that the legislative council did not fairly represent the colony's merchant middle class, evangelicals such as Lamb worried that the evangelical party would be excluded from the synods. 'A Churchman' wrote that Gladstone's bill would benefit an 'ambitious and dominant hierarchy, whose power will be infinitely increased when the contemplated aristocratic element is sufficiently developed to aid and abet its design of fettering the consciences and restricting the opinions of all who differ from it'.<sup>108</sup> At a particularly militant meeting held at Port Elizabeth, a Mr. Broadway (a member of the corresponding committee of the CCS since 1846) commented that a system of convocation based on the bishop's proposals 'would be almost as great a farce as the Legislative Council which now exists in this land'. Broadway noted that 'if the bishop had the nomination, he would doubtless select men who would support his own views', which would result in the evangelical element being swamped.<sup>109</sup> The *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*, which

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, October 30, 1852.

<sup>108</sup> *South African Commercial Advertiser*, October 30, 1852.

<sup>109</sup> *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*, October 14, 1852.



initially welcomed the introduction of synods, later rejected the system proposed by the bishop and argued that the laity had a just claim to an authoritative voice in both ecclesiastical and civil government. Significantly, the paper noted that the proposed system of synodical representation was analogous to the existing system of representation in the legislative council. In both the cases the minority – whether that was the laity or the elected members of the council – was inevitably swamped by the votes of either the clergy or bishop or the nominated members. ‘No class or body of men’, the paper warned, ‘not elected by the public voice, and not controlled by public opinion, is so armed against the lust of power as to be trusted with absolute rule’.<sup>110</sup> The restoration of the power and privileges of priests over the laity was therefore compared to the authority which the nominated members of the legislative council enjoyed over their elected counterparts.

The above examples suggest that contemporaries did not distinguish between ecclesiastical and civil forms of government. The link which contemporaries drew between these different forms of government is suggested by the fact that reformers often turned to the church to provide constitutional models to be tested in the secular realm. For example, during the height of the debate over synods the liberal *Cape Town Mail* ran a series of editorials which eulogised the system of representation practiced in the synods of the Dutch Reformed Church. While the bishop’s synods would be packed with clergymen who had been selected by him and shared his doctrinal and theological beliefs, in the synods of the Dutch Reformed Church all the representatives were elected by independent congregations. The *Mail* noted that the Episcopalian ‘synod may thus become a mere means of withdrawing responsibility from the Bishop, at least in the public mind, for acts which would be no less his own, when done by his “Synod,” than they now would be if done under the powers given him by the Letters Patent’.<sup>111</sup> Therefore, in contrast to Episcopalian synods, which merely bolstered the authority of the Anglican bishop, the synods of the Dutch Church were democratic bodies which could legitimately claim to represent all the members of the church in the colony. The *Mail* went as far as to argue that the new Cape constitution should be modelled on the basis of the constitution of the Dutch Reformed Church. As the Dutch Reformed Church was the ‘national church of the inhabitants of the Cape’, the paper argued, ‘its principles cannot

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<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, October 28, 1852.

<sup>111</sup> *Cape Town Mail*, November 2, 1852.

fail to be, as much as any principles of church government may be so, an index to the general political feelings and wishes of the colonists'.<sup>112</sup>

The opposition which was mounted in both the Cape and in Britain resulted in the defeat of Gladstone's bill. While the inhabitants of the Cape concentrated on the issue of lay representation, opponents of the Bill in parliament dwelt on the disruptive impact which synodical government would have on Church politics both in the empire and in Britain itself. In the Commons Sir John Pakington, the secretary of state for the colonies, refused to support the bill as he claimed that it 'would place the Church of England in the colonies in a state of dominance which it has never yet possessed anywhere'. Although Pakington admitted that the colonists were entitled to a degree of self-government in ecclesiastical affairs, he was unwilling to sponsor any bill which threatened to fragment the Church of England into a series of independent churches, each with its own power to establish its own separate canons, discipline and regulations.<sup>113</sup> The bill received considerable support from Peelite conservatives such as Charles Adderley (a proponent of colonial self-government and a contributor to the Church of England colony at Canterbury in New Zealand) and W. P. Wood, but it was the opposition of church and state Tories such as Robert H. Inglis which decided the fate of the bill. After reiterating the objections raised by Pakington, Inglis told the Commons that the reforms suggested in the bill would one day have to be applied in Britain. According to *Hansard*, Inglis told the house that,

[...] he looked upon the measure as the first of a series of measures tending to separate the Church of the Colonies from the Church of the Parent State, and leading far towards the conclusion that the functions of the Church and State in the mother country ought also be severed.<sup>114</sup>

A further attempt was made to secure the legality of colonial synods in the summer of 1853. Although he had originally opposed Gladstone's bills (largely because he believed that it would dissolve the connection between the colonial and metropolitan Churches), the evangelical archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner, was convinced by a group of colonial bishops who assembled in London to present a bill in parliament which would have provided the colonial church with a measure of autonomy. This bill, like Gladstone's before it, was rejected in

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, October 19, 1852.

<sup>113</sup> *Parl. Debs.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, cxxi, (May 19, 1852), col. 749.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 773.



the Commons. The nonconformist members argued that the bill was an attempt to grant the Church of England established status in the colonies.<sup>115</sup>

For evangelicals the defeat of these two bills did little to check the march of Tractarianism. In 1854 a portion of the congregation at St. Mary's Church in Port Elizabeth responded to the introduction of Tractarian innovations in divine service by seceding from the Church of England and establishing their own church. The members of the congregation contacted the Colonial Church Society asking for support to appoint an evangelical clergyman in England called Vaughan whom they had previously selected. The society, although strongly sympathetic to the congregation's position, was aware that they could not appoint a clergyman without the bishop's license, and so refused to appoint Vaughan.<sup>116</sup> During the mid-1850s Low Churchmen took steps to keep the British public informed of the dangerous advances which Tractarianism had made at the Cape. Robert Lamb told a meeting of the Colonial Church Society held at Liverpool in June 1854 that 'a leaven of principles, inconsistent with the purity of Evangelical truth [...] was insidiously working in the colony'.<sup>117</sup> Following this public performance Lamb and Gray engaged in a heated correspondence which was tracked in the pages of the evangelical *Record*.<sup>118</sup> On his return to the Cape in the summer of 1855 the evangelical clergy and laity attempted to hold a meeting at Cape Town's Trinity Church to discuss the correspondence between Lamb and the bishop. The meeting was invaded by three of the Bishop's clergy who claimed that the clergy had no right to meet for the purpose of questioning the bishop's conduct. The meeting quickly turned ugly and had to be broken up by the police.<sup>119</sup> In August Lamb was hauled in front of a consistorial court by the Bishop and warned of his future conduct.

Throughout the Lamb episode Gray was depicted as the last remnant of the autocratic order which had been existed prior to the grant of self-government in 1853. Like Broughton in New South Wales, Gray was coupled with the forces of conservatism and reaction. A close link was drawn between Tractarianism, which emphasised both church authority and the divine right of bishops, and

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<sup>115</sup> Ross Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872: A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia* (London, 1962), p. 196.

<sup>116</sup> GL, General Committee Minute Book, 1850-55, MS 15673, f. 791.

<sup>117</sup> Lamb warned his audience that Tractarian pamphlets were in circulation throughout the colony. He drew particular attention to the damage caused in the colony by a Tractarian version of *Pilgrim's Progress* which had replaced the 'Giant Pope' with the 'Giant Mahomet'.

<sup>118</sup> *Record*, March 5, 1855.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, July 25, 1855.



political absolutism. The *South African Commercial Advertiser* warned that while the inhabitants of the Cape had successfully curbed the power of the over-mighty executive, little had been done to restrain ecclesiastical autocracy. Unlike in Britain, where the Queen's supremacy ensured that the laity was represented in parliament, the separation of church and state at the Cape left the laity with no means of appealing against the bishop's authority (though in fact the Church had never been connected with the state at the Cape). The civil power therefore had no means of restraining the power of the ecclesiastical courts. The *Advertiser* warned that if religious liberty was 'weakened, injured, or subdued, all our privileges as British subjects will gradually disappear'. The editorial described the links between religious and civil liberty and concluded that 'where the mind is not free, where the conscience is enthralled, there is no freedom; spiritual tyranny puts on the galling chains, and civil tyranny has been called in to rivet and fix them'.<sup>120</sup> Other correspondents made the point that the bishop's treatment of Lamb was an infringement of the civil and religious liberty of the subject. 'A Protestant' told the readers of the *Advertiser* that 'if the people of this colony have any regard for their own political liberty, which can not be disassociated from religious toleration, they will surely not permit so flagrant an infringement of both without a solemn protest'.<sup>121</sup>

Fears about the nature of ecclesiastical power in the colony reappeared the following year when it emerged that the recently-appointed Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown had suspended Philip Walker Copeman (another clergyman who had arrived before 1847) from his position at Uitenhage after the latter had refused to implement Tractarian alterations in his Church. In a petition which he sent to the Cape parliament Copeman argued that the Bishop had no right to remove him from his position as he was a government officer who had been appointed prior to the establishment of the see. When the case was referred to the House of Assembly the evangelical members argued that the colonial government had the right to protect clergymen who were paid by the colonial treasury. Both Gray and Armstrong argued that the parliament had no right to inquire into what they considered to be a purely ecclesiastical question. When the parliament asked Gray to appear to give evidence, the bishop refused, arguing that to do so would be to sacrifice 'the liberties and independence of the

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<sup>120</sup> Quoted in C. W. Reade, *A Report of the Proceedings in the case of the Bishop of Cape Town versus the Revd R. G. Lamb, B.A., with articles from the press and letters from correspondents* (Cape Town, 1855), pp. 103, 105.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.



Church'.<sup>122</sup> The members of the assembly took a different view of the situation. A Mr. Tancred noted that the treatment of Copeman was 'not an ecclesiastical question' but rather 'a question of the revival of the tyranny of the Spanish Inquisition'. 'Were we then in this country just emerged from civil oppression', Tancred argued, 'to tolerate such a revival of arbitrary power, as this which enabled one man utterly to destroy another by his spiritual authority?'<sup>123</sup> Aware that it had to be seen to assert the authority of the civil power over the ecclesiastical, the assembly found in favour of Copeman and agreed to pay his stipend while he continued to perform divine services.

These conflicts between Gray and the evangelical clergy was confirmation, if confirmation was needed, that the Church at the Cape had to find its own means of managing its own affairs. In late 1856 Gray renewed his attempt to call a convention in his diocese. Gray was encouraged by the Victoria legislature's decision to pass a Church act (which had been drawn up at an Anglican meeting in Melbourne in 1854) in November 1854 which enabled the members of the Church to meet in synod. Changes in the political situation in Britain gave encouragement to the advocates of synodical government. Support came from Palmerston's liberals and particularly from the radical William Molesworth and Henry Labouchere. So far we have seen that the impetus for the establishment of colonial synods came primarily (though not exclusively) from orthodox high churchmen and Tractarians. Yet the role which Molesworth and Labouchere played in the establishment of colonial synods demonstrates that it was a campaign which could attract support from a variety of sources. Labouchere, and Molesworth in particular, had been involved in colonial issues since the 1820s and throughout this period had advocated the need for colonial self-government (Molesworth had been involved in a series of systematic colonisation schemes in Australia and New Zealand in the 1830s).<sup>124</sup> These men viewed synods as the ecclesiastical counterpart of responsible self-government. Labouchere believed that the colonial Church should be separated from the Church in England and left 'in the position of all the other religious bodies, free to adopt the course which the Church in the United States has done, namely, to

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<sup>122</sup> C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, p. 402

<sup>123</sup> Philip Walker Copeman, *Colonial Chaplains and the Bishops. An Account of the Case of the Rev. P. W. Copeman, M.A., versus the late Dr. Armstrong, Bishop of Graham's Town, and the Bishop of Cape Town, as reported by the colonial press* (1857), p. 12.

<sup>124</sup> Peter Burroughs, 'Molesworth, Sir William, eighth baronet (1810-1855)', *ODNB*, vol. 38, p. 534.

manage their own affairs as they themselves think best'.<sup>125</sup> Molesworth went as far as to argue that the colonial synods should be given the power to elect their own bishops.<sup>126</sup> While Molesworth died before he could engineer any change, it was Labouchere who succeeded in securing the royal assent to the Victoria bill. Royal assent was later granted to a similar act passed in Canada in the spring of 1856.<sup>127</sup>

Buoyed by these successes, Gray informed his clergy and laity in November 1856 that a diocesan convention would meet in the New Year. The text of the circular which announced the meeting of the synod indicates that Gray envisaged his synod as a genuine attempt to resolve administrative problems in his diocese. There is little evidence to suggest that evangelical fears that the synod would consolidate the position of the high church party were justified. Gray argued that the synod was a necessary means of curtailing the autocratic and arbitrary power of the bishop. The programme of the synod also gave little indication of any ulterior motive on Gray's behalf. The subjects of debate covered, among other items, the possibility of placing clergymen in the position of incumbents, the reform of the system by which clergy were appointed and maintained, an inquiry into the tenure of Church property, and the mission work of the diocese.<sup>128</sup> Like Phillpotts' 1851 synod at Exeter, Gray's convention was intended first and foremost as an exercise in diocesan management.<sup>129</sup>

The careful wording of the circular did little to assuage those evangelicals who held that synods were part of an invidious Tractarian attempt to elevate episcopal authority. The arguments which were advanced against Gladstone's bill were given another airing in 1856. Gray's synod was represented as a high church court designed merely to discipline intractable evangelical ministers. 'An Attached Member' argued that the 'whilst the declared object [of the bishops] is, to get rid of a power that presses too heavily upon them', the veto which the bishop claimed over all declarations made by the synod indicated that the convention would not be an independent body.<sup>130</sup> Another correspondent put forward thirteen objections to the establishment of synods and reached the

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<sup>125</sup> The National Archives, Kew, London, CO 885/2/20, Henry Labouchere confidential memorandum, December 7, 1855, p. 2.

<sup>126</sup> CO 885/2/21, Sir William Molesworth to Herman Merivale, August 31, 1855, p. 1.

<sup>127</sup> Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp. 208-9.

<sup>128</sup> The text of Gray's circular is printed in C. N. Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, vol. 1, pp. 410-17.

<sup>129</sup> Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c. 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 225-27.

<sup>130</sup> *South African Commercial Advertiser*, December 4, 1856.



conclusion that conventions were 'calculated to prostrate all freedom of thought, action, and conscience'.<sup>131</sup> The principal opposition to the revival of convocation came from the lawyer Frederick Surtees. In a series of letters to Gray, Surtees argued that the establishment of any Church convention in South Africa which claimed the right of passing regulations or altering the canons of the Church was illegal. Surtees also argued that the establishment of synods was evidence of a creeping despotism in the Anglican Church in the empire. The decision of the Australian bishops to pronounce on the issue of baptismal regeneration at their conference in October 1850 indicated that evangelicals would not receive a fair hearing at the new conventions.<sup>132</sup> Surtees added that any attempt by the colonial legislature to acknowledge the proceedings of the bishop's synod would privilege the status of the Episcopalian Church and therefore challenge the basis of religious equality in the colony.

Surtees' arguments were voiced at the parish meetings which were held to elect lay delegates for the synod. Seven parishes refused to participate and did not send delegates to the synod.<sup>133</sup> The majority of the opponents of the synod expressed views which were similar to those articulated by Mr. Holden, a churchwarden at Trinity in Cape Town. Holden argued that if the church-going public agreed to the establishment of a synod, they would 'resign a portion of that religious freedom which was acquired at the glorious Reformation', and subject themselves 'to a spiritual rule, from which there would be no appeal, or way of escape, but by secession'.<sup>134</sup> In general the arguments which were raised to synodical government at the Cape were the same as those which the opponents of convocation had used against the 1851 Exeter synod. In the colonial context, however, particular emphasis was placed on the threat which synods presented to the royal supremacy. The establishment of synods with legislative powers in the colonies would effectively announce the separation of the colonial Church from the Church in England. Opponents of the synod had no intention of renouncing their right of appeal to Canterbury. The petition which was sent against Gray's synod expressed these arguments. The petition's third resolution stated that the

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1856.

<sup>132</sup> Frederick R. Surtees, *Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Capetown and F.R. Surtees, Esq, on the subject of the introduction of synodical action, comprising a lay element (in the absence of authority from the imperial parliament), into the diocese of Capetown* (Cape Town, 1857), pp. 14-15.

<sup>133</sup> The churches which refused to participate were Trinity Church Cape Town, St. John's Cape Town, St. Peter's Mowbray, St. Paul's Rondebosch, St. John's Wynberg, Paarl (where only five people attended), and Swellendam.

<sup>134</sup> Surtees, *Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Capetown and F.R. Surtees*, p. 60.

synod would 'impugn the Supremacy of the Crown, and therefore be open to the imputation of derogating from that respect and allegiance to Her Majesty, Her Crown, and Dignity, which it is the duty of the subject to render abroad as well as at home'.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, while the laity in New South Wales broadly welcomed the introduction of synods, their counterparts in the Cape Colony were far more negative. Lamb argued that the majority of laymen would have preferred to have left 'things as they were' rather than see the introduction of a synod which was dominated by the bishop. Indeed, several speakers at the lay meetings in 1856 were opposed to the introduction of synods. Howson Rutherfoord, a prominent evangelical, noted that he was 'one of those who do not wish to go beyond England, for a reference to the general practice in matters ecclesiastical or civil.' He added that he 'never expected to be referred to Australia for the purity of her religious enactments'.<sup>136</sup> So in contrast to New South Wales, where there was some support for democratic synods, in the Cape Colony there was little expectation that such convocations could ever be free from episcopal domination.

Like its counterpart in New South Wales, the movement against synods at the Cape only attracted Anglicans from the professional and merchant sectors of the community. The 136 individuals who signed the petition included churchwardens, civil servants and prominent British merchants – such as John B. Ebden, John Stein, H. E. Rutherfoord and W. G. Anderson – who had dominated the public and political life of the colony since the early 1820s (Ebden and Stein had both been unofficial members of the legislative council prior to the convict crisis of 1848). Also prominent in the list of petitioners was the engineer G. W. Pilkington, the builder Thomas Inglesby and the merchant Jonathan Barry. Several clerks also attended, but the bulk of the petitioners were prominent figures in Cape Town society.<sup>137</sup> In the past this group of elite merchants have been portrayed by historians as a closed community who jealously guarded their economic and political privileges and established close links with Montagu and the colonial government. This interpretation ignores the important role which individuals such as Ebden played in the Anti-Convict Association and in the campaign for a legislative council which was based on a low-franchise qualification. Although an Anglican, Ebden had resisted any attempt to impose

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<sup>135</sup> A printed copy of the petition was sent to the Colonial Office and can be found in TNA, CO 48/380, ff. 240–41.

<sup>136</sup> Surtees, *Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Capetown and F.R. Surtees*, p. 65.

<sup>137</sup> The backgrounds of the petitioners can be found in the *Cape of Good Hope Almanac* (Cape Town, 1856).



an Anglican establishment on the colonists, and in 1848 he voted against the special travel grants to the Episcopal Church.<sup>138</sup> Other individuals who signed the petition opposing Gray's synod had had experience in the anti-convict agitation. Rutherfoord, a prominent evangelical who was also a director of the LMS, had played a key role in reform politics since the early 1820s, when he had been president of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers. Like Ebdon, Rutherfoord was a prime mover in the anti-convict agitation.<sup>139</sup> Both men however represented the moderate wing of the movement: both resigned when the Association announced plans in September 1849 to proscribe all intercourse with the executive government and to prevent any aid from being sent to the convicts on board the *Neptune*, the convict vessel at the centre of the furore.<sup>140</sup>

The involvement of these prominent figures in Church reform was therefore an extension of the role which they played in the wider debates about constitutional reform and the introduction of responsible self-government. Both the Church reform movement and the campaign for self-government should be seen as part of single campaign to rid the colony of autocratic and centralised government. A synod in which the clergy were nominated by the bishop was the mirror-image of the closed legislative council, in which the votes of the five nominated members were always swamped by the votes of the official members. When compared with the anti-transportation agitation the campaign against the bishop's synod appears to have been a relatively minor affair. Nevertheless, the campaign for a more democratic form of church governance should be regarded as a significant strand in the wider democratic movement.

#### (iv) Conclusion

The career of the Church of England in South Africa after 1856 has been told at length elsewhere.<sup>141</sup> Gray ignored the pressure which was mounted against him in late 1856 and convened his synod early in 1857. The synod which met passed resolutions on questions relating to parochial organisation and church courts, but it did little to resolve the problem of Episcopal authority in South Africa. The

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<sup>138</sup> See the council debates on ecclesiastical debates included in *Petitions to the Queen, and Representations to the Secretary of State, on Colonial Church Legislation*, PP, H. G. Smith to Grey, July 29, 1848, pp. 33-38. Ebdon's comments are given on page 37.

<sup>139</sup> R. R. Langham-Carter, 'Rutherfoord, Howson Edwards', *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 3, p. 729.

<sup>140</sup> Hattersley, *Convict Crisis*, p. 59.

<sup>141</sup> Hinchliff, *Anglican Church in South Africa*, esp, chs 4 and 5.

imprecise nature of ecclesiastical authority was demonstrated when Gray attempted to discipline William Long – one of the recalcitrant evangelical clergymen who refused to attend the Bishop's synods – before his diocesan court. Although he refused to recognise the court Long was suspended for three months and then removed from his benefice entirely. Although the Supreme Court in Cape Town backed the bishop and argued that Long had willingly submitted to his jurisdiction, Long took his case to the Judicial Court of the Privy Council, which decided to reinstate him to his benefice and ruled that Gray neither had the right to convoke a synod or force his clergy to attend it. Gray could not prevent individuals like Long, who distrusted synods, from appealing to the courts in England, on the grounds that they owed their allegiance not to the bishop, but to the Queen and the Church of England.<sup>142</sup> The artificiality of colonial Church self-government would again be revealed in 1863, when Bishop Colenso of Natal was found guilty of heresy by an ecclesiastical court convened by Gray. Colenso denied the authority of the court and, like Long, appealed to Canterbury and Parliament. The Privy Council stated that bishops such as Gray had no jurisdiction in colonies which possessed legislatures. Gray could therefore claim no legal jurisdiction over Colenso.<sup>143</sup> Not until the Lambeth Conference of 1867 appointed a special committee to consider colonial Church government did Gray receive the backing which he needed to establish a provincial synod and declare his diocese independent.<sup>144</sup>

This chapter has shown how there was a Church component in the political and constitutional debates which convulsed the Cape Colony in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The campaign which started in 1848 against the special endowment of the Anglican Church can be seen as an aspect of the quickening pace of oppositional politics which occurred in the colony in the late 1840s. The timing of the establishment of the bishopric was in some senses unfortunate: the bishopric, like the *Neptune* (the convict ship whose arrival at Cape Town in September 1849 sparked the anti-convict agitation), was regarded as a British imposition and a reminder of the colony's continued subservience to Britain. Throughout the convict crisis, the Church of England was depicted, somewhat unfairly, as an ally of the conservative legislative council. Robert Gray, despite

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<sup>142</sup> William Long, *Report of the case of W. Long versus the Bishop of Cape Town, in the supreme court of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1861); *idem.*, *The case of Long v. Bishop of Cape Town, embracing the opinions of the Judges of the Colonial Court, hitherto unpublished, together with the decision of the Privy Council: and preliminary observations by the editor* (London, 1866).

<sup>143</sup> Hinchliff, *Anglican Church in South Africa*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.



being a firm opponent of constitutional reform, proved to be particularly adept at distancing both himself and the Church from the transportation and constitutional quarrels that dominated the colony in the years between 1848 and 1853. Nevertheless, Gray and the Anglican Church did not emerge from this political ferment entirely unscathed. His attempt to follow the Australian Bishop's example and introduce synodical government into his diocese dragged the Church into political and constitutional debates. The final section of the chapter showed how the campaign for a more democratic form of Church government paralleled the wider movement for responsible self-government. As in New South Wales in the same period, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that at the Cape demands for a democratic church constitution and responsible self-government did intertwine.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **Vestry politics, the colonial public, and the struggle for religious toleration in Bengal and Madras, 1830-1850**

The last two chapters noted that the attempt to transfer the established Church from Britain to New South Wales and the Cape was a resounding failure. Colonists in both areas scrutinised Anglican claims and resisted anything which could be construed as an attempt to re-establish the Church of England. Chapter two showed that the attempt to erect a privileged Anglican Church in India similarly floundered. While the Company did grant the Church and the newly-established bishopric certain privileges, state-sponsorship of Anglicanism sat awkwardly with the Company's wider policy of neutrality and non-interference in religion. By the terms of Regulation III – introduced as part of the 'permanent settlement' of 1793 by Lord Cornwallis – the British guaranteed the inhabitants of India the 'free exercise of their religion'.<sup>1</sup> But as this chapter shows, the size of the Anglican establishment in India steadily increased throughout the nineteenth century. In contrast to our other two case studies, the Church of England continued to enjoy a privileged status in India. Although the Company did support a small number of Roman Catholic missionaries, its ecclesiastical establishment was overwhelmingly Anglican.<sup>2</sup> The privileged position of the Anglican Church was underscored by the Company's decision to reduce the endowment to Hindu and Muslim religious establishments, a decision which threatened to make Anglicanism the state religion in India.<sup>3</sup> This chapter explores the factors which drove the expansion of the Anglican establishment in India and examines the way in which the privileged status of the Church of England informed wider political reform debates among both the Indian and European community.

The expansion of the Church of England in India in the nineteenth century was partly linked to changes in the British state's imperial policy in India. Imperial scholars have long noted the way in which British rule in India was transformed in the late 1820s and 1830s through the pressure of evangelical

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<sup>1</sup> Ainslie T. Embree, 'Christianity and the state in Victorian India: confrontation and collaboration', in R. W. Davis and R. J. Helmstadter (eds.), *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society: Essays in Honour of R. K. Webb* (London, 1992), p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Ballhatchet, 'The East India Company and Roman Catholic Missionaries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), pp. 273-289.

<sup>3</sup> Embree, 'Christianity and the state in Victorian India', p. 160.



and utilitarian thought.<sup>4</sup> In this period the British government took steps to dissociate the Company from non-Christian religions. This was in contrast to the first decades of the nineteenth century, when the British had attempted to enhance its power and political legitimacy by taking over the management and protection of a variety of Hindu and Muslim temples, shrines and other religious institutions. This consolidation of state control over Hindu and Muslim religious establishments was enshrined in two regulations, the first passed in Bengal in 1810 and the second in Madras in 1817. These regulations stated that the superintendence of all grants and land endowed to temples and mosques would subsequently be vested in a Board of Revenue and a Board of Commissioners.<sup>5</sup> During the 1830s, however, pressure from evangelicals in both India and Britain forced the Board of Control to issue despatches which ordered the complete dissociation of the British government from any involvement in non-Christian establishments. This retreat from state support for non-Christian religion coincided with the attempt to introduce a system of popular education in India based on English-language teaching.<sup>6</sup> This new direction in education policy in India was associated with the evangelical Company official Charles E. Trevelyan, and his future brother-in-law, Thomas Babington Macaulay, the legal advisor to the Supreme Council. Both Macaulay and Trevelyan believed that English-language education would liberate India from the thralldom of outdated Orientalist knowledge and guide her towards a western modernity.<sup>7</sup> English-language education was attractive to Trevelyan in particular because he believed that it would encourage Indians to abandon their false religions and convert to Christianity.<sup>8</sup> The state itself had no intention of introducing a state-sponsored system of national education, but instead gave its backing to missionary schools and other private institutions. Lord William Bentinck, the reformist governor general between 1828 and 1835, also called for the abolition of state-grants to

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<sup>4</sup> Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (London, 1959).

<sup>5</sup> Robert E. Frykenberg, 'Constructions of Hinduism at the Nexus of History and Religion', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23:3 (1993), p. 537.

<sup>6</sup> Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (eds.), *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Richmond, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Edward Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London, 1838).

<sup>8</sup> Trevelyan told Lord William Bentinck, the governor-general, that the 'abolition of the exclusive privileges which the Persian language has in the courts and affairs of court will form the crowning stroke which will shake Hinduism and Mahomedanism to their centre and firmly establish our language, our learning and ultimately our religion in India': C. H. Philips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India 1828-1835* (2 vols, Oxford, 1977), vol. 2, Charles E. Trevelyan to Lord William Bentinck, April 9, 1834, p. 1239.



non-Christian educational institutions such as Sanskrit colleges and madrasas.<sup>9</sup> As Nandini Chatterjee has pointed out, the withdrawal of state funding for non-Christian institutions and the introduction of English-language education signalled the end of the old system of concurrent endowment and indicated that in future only Christian establishments would receive state patronage.<sup>10</sup>

At first glance it is hard to see an Anglican component in the utilitarian and evangelical project which was implemented in the late 1820s and 1830s.<sup>11</sup> The Christianity which Trevelyan and the other leading lights in the Indian government wished to see propagated was not exclusively Anglican.<sup>12</sup> For instance, Lord William Bentinck – whose sympathies were with inter-denominational societies such as the British and Foreign Bible Society rather than exclusively Anglican organisations – told the evangelical Baron Glenelg (President of the Board of Control between 1830 and 1834 and the son of the elder Charles Grant) that '[i]t is Christianity, the whole Christian Church whose cause in this heathen country we are to cherish'.<sup>13</sup> Anglican Churchmen in India also lamented that the Church received little support from the Company servants. Bishop Turner complained that these servants got 'their philosophy from Jeremy Bentham, their politics from the Westminster Review, and their religion nowhere'.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the changes in imperial policy outlined above occurred at the same time as the Anglican establishment in India was strengthened. The renewed Company's charter, which was introduced in 1833, included clauses which provided for the creation of two additional bishoprics in India. A further eighty-six chaplains arrived in Bengal from Britain in the period between 1830

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<sup>9</sup> M. M. Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities* (Chittagong, 1965), pp. 60-61.

<sup>10</sup> Nandini Chatterjee, 'State, Christianity and the public sphere in India, 1830-1950' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2007), p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Gauri Viswanathan has drawn a link between the anglicising reforms which were introduced in India in the 1830s and the legislation which was passed in the late 1820s to include religious minorities into the British constitution. Both, she claims, were intended to assimilate potential 'others' and to create 'a nation of good Englishmen' both in Britain and in India. See Gauri Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 6-7.

<sup>12</sup> Trevelyan told Bentinck that 'with regard to the public I should suggest that merely the practical part of the [education] scheme should be presented to them in which [...] all parties, whether they be Church of England, Dissenters, Deists, Mahomedans or Hindus, will cordially agree': Philips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India*, vol. 2, Trevelyan to Bentinck, April 9, 1834, p. 1239.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Charles Grant, March 10, 1833, p. 1029.

<sup>14</sup> The National Archives, Kew, Edward Law, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Ellenborough Papers, PRO 30/12/20/4, J. M. Turner to the Earl of Ellenborough, January 25, 1830, f. 34.



and 1850.<sup>15</sup> The expansion of the Anglican Church was largely the work of Glenelg. Unlike Bentinck and Trevelyan, Grant believed that the Christianisation of India should be guided by the Church of England. Grant's arguments mirrored those of the evangelicals who had pressured parliament in 1813 to open up India to missionary traffic and to create a bishopric in Calcutta.<sup>16</sup> Glenelg's views were supported by a small number of evangelicals in the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors of the East India Company. A notable example is John Poynder who, in a series of debates at India House during the renewal of the charter in 1832-33, argued that the Church of England should be given an inside running in the reformation of India.<sup>17</sup> It was largely because of Glenelg that the expansion of the Church of England in India in the 1830s became subsumed in the wider effort to Christianise India.

This chapter examines the depth of the opposition to the privileged Anglican establishment in India in the first half of the nineteenth century. A recent study has suggested that the Indian ecclesiastical establishment – which made provision for a small number of Roman Catholic missionaries and Church of Scotland ministers – represented 'the creation of an official state-sanctioned Christian ecumenism, which worked best in the colonies'.<sup>18</sup> This interpretation underestimates the considerable opposition which nonconformists, Roman Catholics and reform-minded Europeans in Calcutta mounted to the expansion of the ecclesiastical establishment in the 1830s. These groups argued that the Company's maintenance of an exclusive ecclesiastical establishment contravened the Company's wider policy of religious neutrality and non-interference. This chapter also examines the contribution which demands for religious liberty and the reduction of the Anglican establishment made to the reform movement which emerged in the European community in Calcutta in this period. Peter Marshall has shown how the late 1810s and early 1820s saw the emergence of a political 'public' in the white presidency towns. Of course we should be wary of treating

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<sup>15</sup> British Library, London, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, Mss. Eur D847, 'The Chaplains of the East India Company' by S. J. McNally.

<sup>16</sup> Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India; both as a means of perpetuating the Christian religion among our own countrymen; and as a foundation for the ultimate civilisation of the natives* (London, 1805); *idem.*, *Colonial ecclesiastical establishment: being a brief view of the state of the colonies of Great Britain, and of her Asiatic empire, in respect to religious instruction... To which is added, a brief sketch of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India* (London, 1813).

<sup>17</sup> 'Debate at East India House' (December 22, 1832), *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia* 7, (January-April, 1832), pp. 53-60.

<sup>18</sup> Chatterjee, 'State, Christianity and the public sphere in India', pp.79-80.

the white community in India in monolithic terms. The British in India can not be referred to as a single community: Marshall points out that the military and 'unofficial' community often kept apart from each other and each had their own reform agendas.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, from the early 1820s onwards it is possible to point to the existence of a reform 'public' in the presidencies towns which, both in terms of agenda and personnel, was comparable to those 'publics' which surfaced in Sydney and Cape Town in the same period. The core demands of this Anglo-Indian public were again a free press, trial by jury and the removal of trade monopolies.<sup>20</sup> The previous two chapters noted that the issue of Anglican establishment was, at points, an important strand in these colonial reform movements. This chapter acknowledges that it would be churlish to expect the issue of Anglican establishment to have featured as prominently in political discourse in India as it did in New South Wales in the 1820s and the Cape Colony in 1848. The relatively small size of the non-Anglican population and the relative freedom which the Company granted to non-Anglican missionaries meant that the issue received only infrequent coverage. Nevertheless, this chapter does show that the campaign for religious liberty was one of the key themes in the wider civil rights movement in India.

This chapter also seeks to show how questions relating to religious toleration and religious liberty played a crucial role in the formation of a politicised 'Hindu public' from the 1820s onwards. Since the publication of Kopf's *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* in the early 1970s, scholars have explored the emergence of this 'Hindu public' in the period after 1820.<sup>21</sup> Christopher Bayly and Lata Mani, for instance, have noted how a pre-existing Indian 'public' utilised 'European' forms of public meetings, petitions and the public journal from the 1820s onwards.<sup>22</sup> Historians such as Robert Frykenberg have argued that changes in the Indian government's religious policy in the 1840s was one of the reasons behind the emergence of a more politicised Hindu and Muslim public in the 1840s and 1850s. Frykenberg has highlighted the way in which the introduction of legislation on the status of Christian converts in the 1840s stimulated the formation of petitioning communities among

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<sup>19</sup> Peter Marshall, 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A Failed Colonial Society?', *The International History Review*, xii (1990), p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Marshall, 'The Whites of British India', pp. 30-34.

<sup>21</sup> David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835* (Berkeley, 1969).

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1999), ch. 5; Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley, 1998), ch. 2.



the Indian population in Madras and Calcutta in the 1840s.<sup>23</sup> Other scholars have drawn a direct link between the anti-conversion agitation of the 1840s and the formation of political organisations such as the British India Society in the early 1850s.<sup>24</sup> The final section of this chapter seeks to build on this work by showing that the issue of religious liberty had been a central strand in the politicisation of the Indian public since at least the mid-1820s. It also attempts to situate the Indian public's opposition to British religious policy in a broader imperial perspective. In contrast to the existing literature on this subject, this chapter shows how the claims of these movements paralleled the demands made by non-Anglicans and Christian dissenters in other parts of the empire for freedom of worship and religious toleration.

A discussion of the politicisation of the Indian public in the second quarter of the nineteenth century requires us to broaden our analysis to incorporate Madras as well as Calcutta. Madras was the focal point for anti-missionary agitation in the 1840s: both the opposition to the introduction of Bible in government schools and the agitation against the British government's introduction of new inheritance laws originated in southern India and then spread to Calcutta. Therefore, while this chapter is primarily interested in events in Calcutta and Bengal, it is important to recognise the connections which existed between reform movements in the different presidencies.

Finally, this chapter traces the expansion of the Anglican laity in Calcutta in the late 1810s and early 1820s. When compared to our other two case studies, there appears to have been only a minimal lay presence in India in the first half of the nineteenth century. The military character of the Church establishment in India meant that opportunities for the laity to participate in the affairs of the Church were limited. Nevertheless, evidence of an emergent lay public can be found in the late 1810s and early 1820s. A vestry had been established at St. John's Church in Calcutta since 1787. Lay Anglicans also began to put pressure on the colonial authorities in the 1820s to increase the size of the ecclesiastical establishment and to erect additional churches.<sup>25</sup> The first section of this chapter

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<sup>23</sup> Robert E. Frykenberg, 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India during the late Company period: Questions concerning Hindu-Christian Encounters with special reference to Tinnevely', in C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright (eds.), *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernisation, c. 1830-1850* (London, 1976).

<sup>24</sup> S. R. Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress* (Delhi, 1971).

<sup>25</sup> See the petition which the European inhabitants in Bengal sent to the Court of Directors in August, 1824, printed in *Minutes of Evidence taken before the select committee of the affairs of the East India Company with appendix and index [I, Public]*,



evaluates the contribution made by the rise of the laity to the expansion of the European public sphere in Calcutta in the first half of the nineteenth century. Like the preceding chapters, this section examines the way in which questions relating to the status of the Church and the Anglican laity became subsumed in the wider political reform movement. More specifically, this section concentrates on a debate which occurred in 1819 (and which resurfaced in 1835) over the status of the vestry at St. John's Church in Calcutta. When in 1819 the supreme government attempted to claim jurisdiction over the property of St. John's Church, the vestry and the wider Calcutta public mobilised in opposition. Ostensibly the debate revolved around the right of the European inhabitants to annually elect churchwardens and other church functionaries. The following section examines the wider significance of the vestry affair. In particular, it shows how the vestry debates and the subsequent public meetings provided the European inhabitants with the opportunity to debate some of the issues which would dominate subsequent discussion about the rights of expatriates in India.

#### **(i) Vestry politics and the emergence of the colonial public, 1819-1835**

Recent scholarship on British India has argued that Company rule in the early nineteenth century did not extend much further than securing a financial base for its 'garrison state' and protecting unstable frontiers. As Douglas Peers has argued, the majority of colonial officials who served in India prior to 1858 assumed that British rule in India rested on military force. Colonial officials were happy for the military to claim the majority of the state's financial resources, as it was the military that not only provided security but also displayed to the Indian population the legitimacy of British authority.<sup>26</sup> The military ethos of Anglo-Indian society was also apparent in civilian life. Institutions which would have been regarded as part of civil life in Britain took on a military character in India. For example, the primary duty of the Company's ecclesiastical establishment was to provide spiritual instruction to the European troops. While the Anglican clergymen in Calcutta were designated as 'civilian' chaplains, those who were stationed outside the presidency town were military chaplains controlled by the

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Parliamentary Papers, 1831-32 [735-I], ix, Appendix (P.), Papers relating to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, pp. 800-1.

<sup>26</sup> Douglas M. Peers, *From Mars to Mammon: Colonial Armies and the Garrison State in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (London, 1995).



military authorities. An 1830 report confirmed that the Church's primary duty in India was to provide spiritual instruction to the troops. The ecclesiastical return revealed that the Anglican clergy in Bengal served 44 churches and ministered to 10,221 military personnel. By contrast, the Company's chaplains only ministered to 2,701 civilians.<sup>27</sup>

The Company also exercised a despotic control over the European community which resided in India. Arbitrary government over Europeans was justified on the grounds that there was nothing in India which resembled a European 'public'. Indian officials such as John Malcolm argued that the rights of British subjects were of secondary importance to the primary task of maintaining British power. Malcolm pointed out that while the 'English part of the population is, perhaps, as respectable a community as any in the world [...] they are not what an Englishman would designate as a public'.<sup>28</sup> The civilian community was treated as an extension of the military. Public meetings were prohibited in 1807 and press censorship was introduced in 1799 and again in 1823. Europeans were not allowed to hold property, could not carry personal arms and had to apply for a passport if they wished to travel beyond the outskirts of Calcutta. Their licenses to reside in India could also be removed at the Company's discretion. John Adam, the temporary governor-general of India who introduced press censorship in 1823, argued whatever 'public' there was in India was made up of Company servants, military men, merchants and 'a lower class of men'. Adam spoke for many old India hands when he argued that '[i]t is a mockery to dignify such a community with the name of a public, and to claim for it the political privileges and functions of the great and independent body of the People of England'.<sup>29</sup> Thomas Munro, governor of Madras, defended the press regulations on the grounds that '[t]here is no public in India to be guided and instructed by a Free Press'.<sup>30</sup>

The Company controlled the level of European immigration through a system of licenses and the threat of deportation. However, the regulations which prohibited the entry of Europeans to India were modified in the 1813 charter. Those who had been denied entry to India by the Court of Directors could now appeal to the Board of Control. These alterations, coupled with the removal of

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<sup>27</sup> *Minutes of Evidence taken before the select committee of the affairs of the East India Company, with appendix and index [I, Public]*, PP, 1831-32 [735-I], ix, p. 828.

<sup>28</sup> John Malcolm, *The Political History of India* (2 vols, London, 1823), vol. 2, p. 143.

<sup>29</sup> Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, India Office Records, Bengal Public Consultations, P/10/55, Minute of Mr. Adam, August 14, 1822.

<sup>30</sup> John Marriott and Bhaskar Mukhopadhyay (eds.), *Britain in India, 1765-1905* (6 vols, London, 2006), vol. 4, Thomas Munro, *Liberty of the Press in India* (1822), p. 100.



the Company's monopoly and changes in the British-Indian economy, stimulated immigration from Britain to India. 1,253 licenses to go to India were granted in the period between 1814 and 1833 (this figure excluded females).<sup>31</sup> The bulk of the new arrivals were private merchants and missionaries. Their arrival contributed to the expansion in the size of the 'nonofficial' community of lawyers, planters, surgeons and merchants in India (though the majority of British inhabitants of India continued to be 'officials' who were either in the military or in the Company's service). The relaxation of the controls over the entry of Europeans to British India in 1813 is thought to have been one of the factors which stimulated the growth of public and political activity in Calcutta.<sup>32</sup> In the post-1815 period the white community in Calcutta met to raise funds for the support of Waterloo veterans and established a series of voluntary societies for philanthropic and charitable purposes.<sup>33</sup> The number of independent newspapers in Bengal also rapidly multiplied in the years after 1815. In 1814 there was only one European newspaper in Bengal. By 1830 there were thirty-one European and eight Indian publications.<sup>34</sup>

The British community in India used a political language which resembled that used by their counterparts in Britain. Europeans in Calcutta self-consciously described themselves as a deliberative 'public'. 'Public opinion' was lauded in India as much as it was in Britain as the omnipotent moral tribunal and the supreme arbiter of the political process.<sup>35</sup> The 'official' community was as politically active as the 'non-official' community.<sup>36</sup> Company officials and private merchants alike called for the introduction of an accountable and open form of government in India. When the Marquis of Hastings abolished the press censorship in Madras in 1818, the European community in Madras prepared an address which read 'the reign of peace is restored – security and justice established, and a gradual system of improvement introduced into every department, conducive to the happiness of society'. One contributor to the

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<sup>31</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of East India Company with a General Appendix and Index*, PP, 1831-32 [734], viii, General Appendix, pp. 268-71.

<sup>32</sup> Marshall, 'The Whites of British India', p. 31.

<sup>33</sup> *Calcutta Waterloo Fund: list and account of subscriptions realized & remitted, from December 1815 to January 1818 inclusive* (Calcutta, 1818); Charles Lushington, *The History, Design and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its vicinity* (Calcutta, 1824).

<sup>34</sup> *Statement of Number of Periodical Publications and Printing Presses in India, 1814-30*, PP, 1831-32 [37], xxxi, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> On this theme, see Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>36</sup> Marshall, 'The Whites of British India', p. 30.



address believed that 'there is a public that hath judged and will judge; that hath condemned and will condemn [...] that hath been feared and will be feared'.<sup>37</sup>

In spite of these confident utterances there were only a limited number of channels through which public opinion in India could be transmitted. Even after Hastings repealed the 1799 regulations the press in India was not technically free: the government still scrutinised every newspaper and any editor who was considered guilty of publishing material that created 'alarm or suspicion amongst the native population' was liable to have his license withdrawn.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, public meetings were closely regulated by the government and before any meeting could be held permission had to be received from the town sheriff. The town's corporation was hardly an independent body as its members were elected by the Governor and the Council.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the only officially-sanctioned public body in Calcutta which was elected by the inhabitants themselves was the general vestry of St. John's Church. The vestry had been established when the church had been founded in 1787. By the terms of the church's constitution all the European inhabitants of Calcutta could vote in the election of churchwardens and other functionaries.

Despite the fact that churchwardens were supposed to only hold their positions for a year, elections to the vestry were held only infrequently. In many cases the members of the vestry simply re-elected themselves. This situation was challenged in 1818 when a group of Anglican laymen called for an open election. The three members of the select vestry – Rev. Daniel Corrie, Rev. Joseph Parsons and George Crittenden – argued that the right of election was not in the hands of the inhabitants and refused to hold any elections. When the vestry later referred the issue to the Indian government the Governor-General came down on the side of Corrie and the select vestry. In his minute the Marquis of Hastings argued that 'as Calcutta is not a regular parish, the British Laws, concerning parochial arrangements, are inapplicable in the present case'.<sup>40</sup> Hastings allowed the members of the select vestry to remain in their positions and stated that the right of election should remain in their hands until alternative instructions were received from the Court of Directors.<sup>41</sup> When the Anglican community held

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<sup>37</sup> Leicester Stanhope, *Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India* (London, 1823), pp. 26, 30.

<sup>38</sup> Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press: A History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India* (London, 1940), p. 74.

<sup>39</sup> Peter J. Marshall, 'The White Town of Calcutta Under the Rule of the East India Company', *Modern Asian Studies*, 34:2 (2000), pp. 320-21.

<sup>40</sup> *Calcutta Journal*, May 14, 1819.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*



elections for the vestry at Easter 1819, the select vestry refused to allow the two individuals elected – the brothers R. C. Plowden and Trevor Plowden – to enter the vestry. Corrie and the other members of the vestry claimed that they were merely acting in accordance with the wishes of the government.<sup>42</sup> In response, the Plowden brothers argued that the vestrymen had broken the terms of the 1787 constitution which stated that the members of the vestry were the representatives of the wider Calcutta public. In a letter to Corrie which was subsequently published in the *Calcutta Journal*, the Plowdens argued that ‘you cannot suppose, whatsoever be the immediate decisions of authorities here, or authorities at home, that a growing and enlightened community such as this will long submit to the domination of any little oligarchy like your self’.<sup>43</sup> When Corrie again refused to allow the Plowdens to take their positions in the vestry, the latter took their case to the wider public. A large meeting of some 400 inhabitants of Calcutta was held in late September 1819.

The subsequent meeting was rather grandiosely described in the press as ‘one of the most numerous and respectable of any that the memory of man recollects to have seen assembled in Calcutta’.<sup>44</sup> By its actions the Indian government had implied that neither a British ‘public’ nor an English vestry existed in Calcutta. The white inhabitants of India, by contrast, argued that English law and English privileges did extend to the colonies: Calcutta was a parish and the inhabitants had a right to elect the members of the vestry and the trustees of the public funds. The meeting organised for a petition to be sent to the supreme government which called for the return to regular public elections. The petition eventually received 181 signatures.<sup>45</sup>

On the other side of the debate the supporters of the select vestry argued that the church was not the property of the public but rather belonged to the government. While the opponents of the select vestry argued that the election of churchwardens to St. John’s should follow English precedents, the supporters of

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<sup>42</sup> Corrie was a staunch defender of the government and an opponent of European reformers in Calcutta. For instance, Corrie claimed that the collapse of several Calcutta merchant houses in 1833 was retribution for the actions of the *Bengal Hurkaru* and other Calcutta newspapers which, according to him, had vilified the Company and ‘run down the Government’: G. E. Corrie and Henry Corrie, *Memoirs of the Right Rev. Daniel Corrie, compiled chiefly from his own letters and journals, by his brothers* (London, 1847), p. 516.

<sup>43</sup> *Calcutta Journal*, May 14, 1819.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, September 30, 1819.

<sup>45</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, Bengal Ecclesiastical Proceedings, P/173/37, Consultation no. 6, ‘Address of certain inhabitants of Calcutta claiming to have a vote in General vestry at the election of Church officers for St John’s under the 1<sup>st</sup> article of the regulation commonly called Lord Cornwallis’ and dated 20<sup>th</sup> June 1787’, no pagination.



the vestry reiterated the point made by the government: that the regulations for electing vestry representatives in England were not applicable in Calcutta as the town was not a parish. Captain Lockett pointed out that in England only those who paid church rates could elect churchwardens; as no-one in Calcutta paid such rates, only the governor-general – who was supreme head of the Church establishment – could elect the members of the vestry.<sup>46</sup> Fifty-nine individuals signed the counter-petition which supported the actions of the select vestry. The Bengal government took little notice of the original petition and it informed the meeting that until it had received confirmation from the Court of Directors the select vestry should continue to administer the church's affairs.

The petitions which were sent to the Court of Directors did not clarify the relationship between the vestry and the colonial state. No response to the issue was received from London and the status of the vestry remained undefined until the mid-1830s, when Daniel Wilson, the fifth Bishop of Calcutta (the preceding three had died in swift succession), attempted to bring the property of St. John's Church under the control of the bishopric. Although Wilson can be described as an evangelical, he defies easy categorisation, as shown by the importance he attached to the apostolic succession and the need for order and hierarchy in the Church.<sup>47</sup> He was also suspicious of lay involvement in Church government. In one charge to his clergy Wilson said that 'lay government in spiritual matters tends ultimately to hamper ministers in the discharge of their duties, to lower their doctrine and spirit, and insensibly to make them creatures of the people'.<sup>48</sup> Wilson viewed the independent vestry as a threat to his episcopal authority. Yet relations between the vestry and the bishopric had been strained long before Wilson arrived in India. The first bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, had been effectively excluded from any involvement in the management of St. John's. During the 1819 debates Middleton had argued that the attempt to reintroduce the 1787 constitution was really an attempt 'to exclude the Highest Ecclesiastical Functionary from all concern in what is called the "Church administration" of the principal Church in his Diocese' (the 1787 constitution had been passed when there was no bishopric at Calcutta and

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> For Wilson's place in pre-Tractarian party spectrum, Peter Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: the "Orthodox" – some problems of definition and identity, in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 348.

<sup>48</sup> Wilson quoted in the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, June 8, 1839.

therefore did not hand any powers to the episcopacy).<sup>49</sup> Middleton had pressed Hastings to pass an order which would have granted the bishop complete authority over the management of the Church. This order was never passed and the bishops who followed Middleton were all excluded from the cathedral and could claim no authority over its management.

Like Middleton, Wilson claimed full authority over the concerns of the church, and like his predecessor he called on the Bengal government to define the relationship between the vestry and the bishopric.<sup>50</sup> In June 1835 the Bengal government informed the vestry that they intended to transfer jurisdiction over the Church's affairs from the vestry to the bishopric.<sup>51</sup> Wilson intended to replace the existing vestry with one which was composed of nine individuals, with four being elected and five being clerics who were chosen by himself. The vestry opposed this manoeuvre as a blatant attempt to deprive the vestry of 'even a semblance of independence'.<sup>52</sup> The vestry objected to this encroachment on two grounds. Firstly, they took their stand on English precedents and argued that in England the bishop had no right to interfere in the temporal affairs of an individual church. Secondly, the vestry branded the government's actions illegal: the supreme government, they claimed, had no right to remodel the 1787 constitution without the consent of the Supreme Court.<sup>53</sup> When the Bengal government informed the vestry that they were ready to embody the Bishop's proposals in a resolution, the entire vestry resigned. The vestry argued that the bishop's proposals would 'destroy every vestige of independence in future, and consequently to neutralise its utility, and render it a passive instrument in the hands of the bishop [...]'.<sup>54</sup>

Encapsulated in the vestry affair were many of the issues which dominated discussions about the position of the British 'public' in India in the first half of the nineteenth century. At stake was the question of how far a public institution which had been established by voluntary contributions could claim to be independent of both the state and the higher ecclesiastical authorities. A second issue was whether Company servants could legitimately hold office in

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<sup>49</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, Bengal Ecclesiastical Proceedings, P/173/37, Consultation no. 5, Bishop Middleton to the Marquis of Hastings, October 18, 1819, no pagination.

<sup>50</sup> Josiah Bateman, *The Life of the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, with extracts from his journals and correspondence* (2 vols, London, 1860), vol. 2, pp. 22-23.

<sup>51</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, Bengal Ecclesiastical Proceedings, P/173/54, Consultation no. 4, Bengal Government to G. A. Bushby, June 24, 1835.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Consultation no. 1, Select vestry of St. John's Church to Bushby, July 29, 1835.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Consultation no. 2, Select vestry to Bushby, September 28, 1835.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*



public bodies alongside their official duties. Finally, there was the much larger question of how far the Church of England in India was an independent body or merely an adjunct of the military state. For the Anglican laity, St. John's Church was an independent institution as it had been erected through public subscription. These arguments were voiced at a specially convened meeting on October 13, 1835. At this meeting the vestry's case was represented by the lawyers Longueville Clarke and Thomas E. M. Turton, both prominent public figures. During the meeting Turton argued that the church was the property of the population of Calcutta and reiterated the point that every European inhabitant of the town had a right to vote in vestry elections. The government's attempt to transfer the property of the church to the bishopric was for Turton a 'gratuitous assumption of power'. Clarke likewise stressed that the government had no legal right to interfere in the affairs of the church and the vestry. Rather, the constitution of the vestry could only be altered if the government secured the consent of the legislative council and the Supreme Court. Reporting on the meeting, the pro-reform *Bengal Hurkaru* advocated an 'open election of an independent constituency'.<sup>55</sup>

By contrast, the Company defined the Church as a government department and not as an independent body. The members of the vestry were regarded by the government as civil servants and agents of the state rather than as trustees of public property. It is significant that at the height of the vestry quarrel the Bengal government wrote to the vestry criticising the behaviour of the five Company servants who sat on the vestry. In the letter Charles Metcalfe, the acting governor-general, warned these servants about their future behaviour and reminded them that even when they sat on the vestry they were still subject to the authority of the government.<sup>56</sup> Metcalfe's warning raised the question of the independence of Company servants. Correspondents in the press argued that servants of the Company should enjoy the same freedom of action as their nonofficial counterparts. While 'S' argued that that Company employees were 'no mere puppets to which an illiberal government may pull the strings', the *Hurkaru* stressed that servants had the 'right to express their dissent from authority in matters in which their immediate official duties are not concerned'.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, October 13, 1835.

<sup>56</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, Bengal Ecclesiastical Proceedings, P/173/54, Consultation no. 2, Bushby to the select vestry, Sept 30, 1835.

<sup>57</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, October 14 and 16, 1835.

By contrast, the Company argued that its servants remained agents of the state when they sat on the vestry.

The vestry petition was the first in a series of petitions which the inhabitants of Calcutta sent to the colonial authorities in Britain and India. In the years after the vestry agitation in 1819, the inhabitants of Calcutta met to discuss the opening up of steam communication between Britain and India, the equalisation of sugar duties between the East and West Indies, the opening up of the China trade (during which the issue of European colonisation was debated),<sup>58</sup> and to demand a revocation of the Stamp Act (an act which would have allowed the Indian government to tax official and nonofficial publications). A pamphlet published in the aftermath of the Stamp Act captured the heightened sense of political activism in Calcutta in the later 1820s. The pamphlet announced that ‘a shadow of a public has started into life – it moves and thinks for itself – it is become a remonstrating and petitioning body, conscious of its rights, calmly bent upon attaining them [...]’.<sup>59</sup> So to what extent can the vestry affair be regarded as an important moment in the emergence of an assertive and independent European ‘public’ in Calcutta?

A way of approaching this question is to explore the extent to which the vestry agitation was part of the European community’s growing desire for a more accountable and representative form of civil government. Demands for such an elected assembly surfaced in the late 1820s. At a meeting held in December 1829 (which met ostensibly to discuss the possibility of opening up China to private trade), the Calcutta lawyer Theodore Dickens proposed the introduction of a legislative assembly.<sup>60</sup> In the wake of the renewal of the Company’s Charter in 1833 and the Reform Act – neither of which gave to India any form of representative government – the European community made further demands for a legislative assembly which included members who were elected by the inhabitants. At a public meeting held in 1835, Turton pointed out that there ‘is not a petty colony in the West Indies – there is not a convict colony belonging to his Majesty – which does not have some semblance of representation’.<sup>61</sup> It is,

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<sup>58</sup> *Report of the Proceedings at a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, 15<sup>th</sup> December 1829* (Calcutta, 1829), p. 2.

<sup>59</sup> *An Appeal to England Against the New Indian Stamp Act; with some Observations on the Condition of British Subjects in Calcutta, under the government of the East India Company* (London, 1828), p. xiii.

<sup>60</sup> *Report of the Proceedings at a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1829*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>61</sup> *Report of the Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, held at the town hall, on the 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1835* (Calcutta, 1835), p. 21.



however, difficult to judge whether there was any link between these demands and the earlier vestry agitation. Certainly, issues relating to the right of the 'freeborn Englishmen' to elect their own representatives surfaced throughout the vestry debates. At the meetings held in 1819 and 1835 spokespersons for the Calcutta community commented on the right of subscribers to elect their own representatives. Supporters of an elected vestry asserted that because the public had provided the funds for the construction of the church, they had also had the right to elect representatives to manage these funds. When they requested permission to hold the meeting, the Plowden brothers stated that,

[...] if any right is more clearly, and generally admitted, than another, in all Parochial Municipal Bodies, or in private associations, and congregations, it is, that of the Constituent body, should have (sic) in some shape or other the means of lawfully and constitutionally assembling to express their sentiments, or take measures for the common good.<sup>62</sup>

Similarly, one speaker at the 1819 meeting noted that the meeting had as its aim the 'redemption of the franchise of the many, from the usurpation of the few'. The *Calcutta Journal*, edited by the liberal James Silk Buckingham, voiced similar sentiments. The paper asked 'whether individuals, however respectable, should hold great public Trusts without being responsible to the public for the due administration of them'.<sup>63</sup>

In the British context, Kathleen Wilson has suggested that the establishment of associations, clubs and societies had important political implications. For Wilson, clubs and societies provided the forums and arenas in which a vibrant 'extra-parliamentary' political consciousness was nurtured and articulated. The internal structure of institutions such as voluntary hospitals 'embodied the principles of accountability being agitated for in the political realm'.<sup>64</sup> It is questionable whether the inhabitants of Calcutta drew similar analogies between the structure of the vestry and the kind of accountable and open form of government which they wished to see introduced. Certainly the internal structure of the vestry was 'open', 'accountable' and 'participatory'. Vestrymen were elected to their posts on the understanding that they would then

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<sup>62</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, Bengal Ecclesiastical Proceedings, P/173/37, Consultation no. 3, R. C. Plowden and Trevor Plowden to Charles Lushington, June 24 1819, no pagination.

<sup>63</sup> *Calcutta Journal*, December 17, 1819.

<sup>64</sup> Kathleen Wilson, 'Urban Culture and Political Activism in Hanoverian Britain: The Example of Voluntary Hospitals', in Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), p. 180.

represent the wishes of the inhabitants of the town. While the vestry was a symbol of the kind of open form of government which a significant proportion of the inhabitants of Calcutta wished to see introduced into the civil government, there is no evidence to suggest that contemporaries made any direct link between the corrupted vestry and the despotic colonial government. There is also no concrete evidence that the vestry agitation led seamlessly to demands for a more open and participatory form of civil government. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the agitation surrounding the vestry was a reflection of the growing political awareness of the European community in Calcutta. It might also be suggested that the vestry agitation provided the inhabitants of the town with the opportunity to articulate ideas about representation which would be of relevance in the later 1820s. The vestry agitation may also have provided the European inhabitants of Calcutta with a preliminary training in the organisation of public meetings and the drawing up of petitions.

The links between the vestry agitation and the wider constitutional reform movement can be more clearly shown if we turn to study the personnel who were involved in the two campaigns. 30 of the 181 individuals who signed the vestry petition in 1819 later signed the 1827 petition against the Stamp Act.<sup>65</sup> The names of eleven of the individuals who signed the 1819 petition also appear among the names of the requisitionists who applied to the Bengal government for permission to hold meetings to discuss trial by jury and to oppose the Lords' rejection of the Reform Bill in 1832. The vestry affair was also one of the first public issues covered by James Silk Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*. Buckingham would become one of the most prominent advocates of the European community in Calcutta before he was deported in 1824 for infringing the press regulations. Longueville Clarke and Thomas Turton – the lawyers who represented the vestry in 1835 – both played prominent roles in the Stamp Act agitation and both signed the petition which was sent to the Governor-General in February 1835 calling for the abolition of the press censorship.<sup>66</sup> Turton would also go on to play a prominent role in the opposition which was mounted to the 'Black Act' – which threatened to make European settlers in the interior of India subject to Indian judicial officers – in the late 1830s.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> For the Stamp Act petition and the list of signatures, see the *Bengal Hurkaru*, May 24, 1827.

<sup>66</sup> For the text of the press petition, see Barns, *The Indian Press*, pp. 199-203.

<sup>67</sup> For Turton's role in the Black Act debates, see the *Report of a Public Meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, 24<sup>th</sup> November 1838* (London, 1839).



The vestry agitation may also have been an example of the general antipathy towards episcopacy which Hans Cnattingius has suggested was deep-seated in the Anglo-Indian community.<sup>68</sup> During the vestry debates in 1835 a number of correspondents in the press noted that the Indian bishops were attempting to claim powers which were not held by bishops in Britain.<sup>69</sup> There is evidence to suggest that, like their counterparts in South Africa and Australia, the British communities in Calcutta and Madras resisted any attempt by the Indian bishops to consolidate their power and authority. This antagonism towards the bishopric can be clearly seen in the disagreements between the Calcutta bishops and the corresponding committees of the SPG and CMS which occurred in the three decades after 1820. A corresponding committee of the CMS was established at Calcutta in 1807 and Diocesan Committees of the SPG were created at Calcutta in 1825, Ceylon in 1825 and Madras in 1826. Like their counterparts on the vestry, the members of the corresponding committees in India sought to maintain their independence from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. While the CMS in Britain was prepared to place its missionaries under the control of the bishop, the members of the CMS residing in India were less conciliatory.<sup>70</sup> The corresponding committees insisted that they should retain the right of licensing, stationing and transferring all of its missionaries. By contrast, successive bishops wished to see the power of licensing and stationing Anglican missionaries transferred to the see. Initially it was the clerical members of the corresponding committees who sought to maintain the independence of the committees. Given the central role which he had played in the vestry affair, it is perhaps surprising that Corrie should have played a particularly prominent part in defending the CMS corresponding committee in Calcutta from the encroachment of Bishop Middleton. Increasingly, however, it was the Anglo-Indian laity – which was notably evangelical in temper – who spearheaded the campaign against the encroachment of episcopal rule. In 1823 a group of CMS laymen proposed to establish a CMS Association in Calcutta which was separate from the corresponding committee, which tended to be dominated by clergymen. The Association was established to raise funds for CMS schools in North India and to give the laity a voice in the administration in the society's affairs.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Hans Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1698-1850* (London, 1952), pp. 119, 181.

<sup>69</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, October 8, 1835.

<sup>70</sup> Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, chs 4 and 6.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

The latent antagonism between the CMS and the Calcutta bishopric surfaced at the inaugural meeting of this auxiliary society in December 1823. At the meeting Bishop Heber announced that he intended to claim full control over the licensing of all CMS missionaries who arrived in India. While the clergy and missionaries who were present supported the motion, the majority of lay members objected to any Episcopal interference in the licensing and stationing of CMS missionaries.<sup>72</sup> For the laity the Bishop's control over CMS missionaries represented an attempt by the ecclesiastical hierarchy to constrain the sovereignty of an independent missionary body. The opposition of the laity was however circumvented by the clergy, who agreed to sanction the bishop's proposals in a committee. Although Heber won the right to license CMS missionaries, question-marks still hung over which authority had responsibility for the stationing and transference of missionaries. This question would continue to dominate the relationship between the bishopric and the CMS in India during Daniel Wilson's time as Bishop of Calcutta in the 1830s.

Bishop Wilson made a renewed effort in the 1830s to secure to the see the right of appointing and licensing all Anglican missionaries who arrived in India. Again, while the home committee was willing for its missions to be placed under episcopal jurisdiction, the corresponding committee in India was resistant. Several prominent civil servants and private citizens served on these committees: the CMS corresponding committee in Calcutta included Ross D. Mangles, the secretary to the Bengal government in the revenue department, and Charles Trevelyan, secretary to the Sudder board of revenue and a contributor to Macaulay's 1835 education minute. When Wilson told the Madras committee in 1834 that he wished to receive monthly reports on the society's missionaries, the committee refused to comply.<sup>73</sup> The committee in Calcutta also refused to recognise the bishop's right to control the licensing and stationing of its missionaries. In 1838 a serious disagreement developed between the corresponding committee and Wilson over the stationing of a missionary named Norbury. When the corresponding committee attempted to station Norbury at Burdwan, Wilson angrily retorted that no committee had any authority to govern the movements of spiritual persons without first consulting with the bishop. Norbury later refused to comply with the committee's orders and was instead

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<sup>72</sup> Rhodes House Library, USPG Archive, C/MSS/IND/I (9i), William Hodge Mill to Anthony Hamilton, September 14, 1824, f. 13; A. Heber, *The Life of Reginald Heber, D.D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta, by his widow* (2 vols, London, 1830), vol. 2, p. 175.

<sup>73</sup> Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, p. 173-74.



licensed by Wilson to work in Calcutta. The committee described Wilson's actions as a direct violation of their rights as the 'custodians' and 'trustees of the interests of a great public Institution'.<sup>74</sup> When the parent committee in London upheld Wilson's actions, the entire committee resigned.

To a certain extent the issues involved in the committee affair were comparable to those which had emerged during the furore over the vestry. At the root of the disagreement between the Calcutta bishops and the Anglican laity was a difference of opinion over the status of the corresponding committee. In contrast to Wilson, who regarded the committee as an ecclesiastical institution over which he could legitimately claim jurisdiction, the members of the committee regarded themselves as the trustees of a public organisation who had been elected by the subscribers to represent their interests. In this context the actions of the bishop appeared autocratic. Frederick Wybrow, the secretary to the corresponding committee, told the parent committee that he 'opposed in principle' the act of 'surrendering the independent judgement of an elective body of evangelical and pious men, to an Episcopal person, whoever he might be, well knowing the way in which many have been and constantly are raised to the Episcopal dignity'.<sup>75</sup> Wybrow objected to handing over the management of a voluntary and public organisation to an individual who had been appointed by the 'worldly men' who sat in the Court of Directors in London. Wybrow told Lord Chichester, the president of the CMS, that it was 'Christian wisdom to quit up to Episcopacy (so abused) nothing that an elective body of Evangelical and pious men can rightfully retain'.<sup>76</sup> So while on the one hand the corresponding committee was represented as the embodiment of accountability, the bishop was portrayed as an autocrat with unregulated powers.

Both the vestry and the corresponding committee affairs were aspects of a wider lay campaign for a 'constitutional' episcopacy in India. In the preceding chapters we noted that in the Cape Colony and New South Wales this campaign resulted in the creation of a lay petitioning public which opposed both Gray's and Broughton's attempts to introduce diocesan synods. Nothing comparable to these movements emerged in India in this period. Nevertheless, the evidence presented here does suggest that, like their counterparts in South Africa and the Australian

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<sup>74</sup> University of Birmingham, Birmingham, Special Collections, Church Missionary Society Archive, Records of the North India Mission, Original Papers, C I 1/O 327, Calcutta corresponding committee to William Jowett and Dandeson Coates, June 28, 1838, f. 31.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Frederick Wybrow to Coates, May 30, 1839, f. 14.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Wybrow to Lord Chichester, May 31, 1839, f. 37.

colonies, the laity in India wished to see the power of colonial bishops curbed and regulated. Indeed, the opposition which the community of evangelical Anglo-Indians in Cape Town and Wynberg mounted to Bishop Gray suggests that India may have been the source of a particular strain of militant evangelicalism in this period. There are clear parallels between the opposition which the corresponding committee and the vestry mounted to Bishop Wilson and the resistance which Bishop Gray encountered in Cape Town. In both instances the laity argued that the property of the church was in the hands of the subscribers, and that no external authority – such as the government or the bishop – had a right to claim any control over the affairs of the Church.

The campaign for a more regulated episcopacy can be regarded as another thread in the reform debates which gathered pace in Calcutta from the late 1810s onwards. Cnattingius overlooked the wider significance of the corresponding committee affair: while he noted that lay members of the committee made demands for an episcopacy which was regulated in the same way as Governor-General was regulated by the legislative council,<sup>77</sup> he did not appreciate the ways in which the campaign for a ‘constitutional episcopacy’ was part of the wider ‘liberal’ reform programme. Both the campaign for a representative vestry elected by the inhabitants and the campaign for a corresponding committee which enjoyed a measure of independence from the episcopate merged with the wider movement for a free press, wider civil liberties, trial by jury and a legislative council which included members of the European community. Therefore, although no lay movement emerged in India which was comparable to those found in the Cape Colony and the other Australian colonies in the late 1840s and early 1850s, the issue of lay representation can be seen to have made a significant contribution to the wider constitutional reform movement in India.

## **(ii) The attempt to establish a parochial Church in India**

The vestry affair is also a reminder of the way in which much of the pressure for the establishment of a parochial Church in the colonies came from the colonists themselves. Throughout the 1820s lay Anglicans in India put pressure on the colonial authorities to increase the size of the ecclesiastical establishment and to

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.



erect additional churches.<sup>78</sup> But the European community was not the only group which sought to establish ecclesiastical institutions that enjoyed a measure of independence from the colonial government. Pressure also came from the Anglican establishment and Daniel Wilson himself. We noted earlier that Wilson can be described as an evangelical, but this did not mean that he was antithetical to Church order. Indeed Wilson was typical of the large group of evangelicals who emphasised the need for church order and a valid ministry.<sup>79</sup> Like his predecessors, Wilson wished to see the military chaplaincy replaced by a more permanent parochial Church. For instance, in 1838 Wilson told his clergy that the replacement of the chaplaincy with a 'permanent body of Clergy, with their cures, their parochial limits, their glebes, their parsonage houses, their endowments, their Churchwardens and Overseers', had been 'an object of [his] ardent solicitude'.<sup>80</sup>

Like his counterparts in Australia and the Cape Colony, Wilson implemented a series of innovations which were intended to bring greater order and regularity to the Church establishment in India. Wilson established a series of clerical meetings which he designated 'semi-official synods'. The first meeting or 'synod' was held in January 1833 and afterwards synods were held regularly every month for the remainder of his bishopric. These meetings were attended by twenty to twenty-five of the Company's clergy, and matters pertaining to the diocese were discussed. It is plausible that like the various diocesan societies which were established in Britain in this period, Wilson's clerical meetings helped to assert the 'communitarian identity' of the diocese.<sup>81</sup> Other aspects of the metropolitan 'diocesan revival' were also introduced by Wilson in the 1830s. In 1834 Wilson embarked on his first mammoth visitation which took him as far as Singapore and Ceylon, and included visits to missionaries connected to all the principle missionary societies.<sup>82</sup> Wilson also

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<sup>78</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, Bengal Ecclesiastical Proceedings, P/173/40, consultation no. 1, 'Application from Mr. R. Grant and other residents at Cawnpore for the erection of a Church', March 26, 1821.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Nockles notes that the majority of evangelicals in the early nineteenth century emphasised the importance of episcopal order: Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England', p. 348.

<sup>80</sup> Daniel Wilson, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Calcutta, at the visitation, on Friday, July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1838* (Calcutta, 1838), pp. 19-20.

<sup>81</sup> Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999), ch. 5; Josiah Bateman – Wilson's nephew and biographer – commented that as a result of the meetings 'the clergy knew each other better, and the movements of the diocese were more closely understood': Bateman, *The Life of Daniel Wilson*, vol. 1, p. 333.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, ch. 13.

established voluntary societies for the support of the church which resembled those that had been established in Britain. Wilson introduced a Church-Building Fund in 1834 and an Additional Clergy Society in April 1841. He himself admitted that the latter was modelled on the Additional Curates Society and the Pastoral Aid societies in Britain.<sup>83</sup> Significantly, all church property established by the Fund was vested in the church hierarchy rather than in the state.<sup>84</sup> The Church in India, like its counterpart in New South Wales and the Cape, was slowly moving towards voluntarism.

Wilson's attempt to establish an independent ecclesiastical establishment was however frustrated by the anomalous position of the Company chaplains. Unlike in New South Wales, where the archdeacon and then the bishop controlled the stationing of clergy, the licensing and stationing of Anglican chaplains in India was controlled by the Company. As we saw in chapter two, the home authorities jealously guarded their right to nominate and station Anglican chaplains in India. Wilson attempted to challenge this ruling when he insisted that the bishop should have complete control over the spiritual affairs of the clergy. The supreme government ignored Wilson's argument and continued to claim full authority over all persons in its employ. The disagreement flared up again in early 1833 when the government issued orders through the government gazettes relating to the activities of chaplains attached to military stations. Wilson told Bentinck that the government's actions interfered with the authority granted to him by his letters patent. In response, Bentinck argued that chaplains were first and foremost civil officers who were subject to the authority of the civil, rather than ecclesiastical, power. Bentinck pointed out to Wilson that clergymen in India were not incumbents of parishes and therefore did not possess the rights of incumbents in England:

Within the Maratha ditch you may consider yourself as in England: the city of Calcutta, to be divided into parishes, select vestries to hold their mild sway, and the minister to be the minister of his church, and of his burial ground, and ecclesiastical law to be in full force, as in the good parishes of Islington, or Marylebone. But, out of Calcutta, I apprehend, a very different state of things prevails. A military station is a not a parish. The chaplains on the establishment are appointed principally for the service of the military. They were till lately called military chaplains.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 190.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1. pp. 359-63.

<sup>85</sup> Philips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Bentinck*, vol. 2, Bentinck to Daniel Wilson, May 1, 1834, pp. 1263-64; a discussion of this affair can be found in Bateman, *The Life of Daniel Wilson*, I, pp. 366-76.



The Company maintained control over its chaplains throughout its period of rule. In 1844 the Court of Directors stated that the Company's chaplains were neither incumbents of parishes or military chaplains. Rather, the chaplains 'resemble[d] military and naval chaplains, liable to be removed from place to place at the discretion of the Government'.<sup>86</sup> As we noted in chapter one, the Indian bishops made a number of attempts to reform the system by which chaplains were recruited and nominated, but all these proposals were blocked by the Company. While the Church in the Cape Colony and New South Wales had become an autonomous civil institution by the 1820s, in India the ecclesiastical establishment remained an adjunct of the fiscal-military state.

### **(iii) Opposition to the additional bishoprics and movements for religious equality in Bengal, c. 1836-1850**

The previous section highlighted the links between the campaign for a 'constitutional episcopacy' and the wider reform movement. This section examines the prominent position which demands for religious liberty occupied in the reform movement which emerged in the European community in India from the 1820s onwards. We noted in the previous two chapters that demands for religious liberty were important aspects of the civil rights movements in both the Cape Colony and New South Wales. It is significant that in both areas these demands were voiced in periods of heightened political activism, for example in New South Wales in the 1820s and early 1840s, and in the Cape Colony in 1848. The nature of the relationship which existed between the Church and state in India in the nineteenth century suggests that the historian is unlikely to find a similar level of activism in India. As we have noted, Church and state in India were never woven together to the extent that they were in mainland Britain. The Company's endowment of non-Christian religions ensured that there were three 'established' religions in India: Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The 1813 charter, which relaxed the restrictions on the entry of non-Anglican missionaries to India, also went some way towards pacifying the dissenting community, both in India and Britain. Nevertheless, this section will show that demands for religious liberty and toleration were frequently voiced in India and did form part of the wider civil rights movement. Dissenters and Roman Catholics demanded

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<sup>86</sup> Quoted in Bateman, *The Life of Daniel Wilson*, vol. 1, p. 367.

full religious toleration and the appointment of sectarian and Catholic Company chaplains. Demands for a diminution of the ecclesiastical establishment were also made by constitutional reformers. This section will show how from the mid-1830s onwards the 'liberal' press in Calcutta began to make calls for the 'disestablishment' of the Anglican Church.

Although Company officials would have denied that the Church of England was an established Church in India, it is nevertheless clear that it enjoyed a privileged position under Company rule. The vast bulk of the Company's expenditure on ecclesiastical objects went towards the support of Anglican clergy and the upkeep of Anglican establishments. Small allowances were made to the Church of Scotland – which had been engaged in a long battle with the Company before its equal established status was recognised – and Roman Catholic missionaries. The Company frequently received petitions from Roman Catholic soldiers for English-speaking priests and it usually responded favourably to these requests<sup>87</sup> (the Company's employment of Catholic priests mirrored the practice in the British army, where from the Napoleonic wars onwards *ad hoc* payments were made to Roman Catholic priests who ministered to Irish troops).<sup>88</sup> While the Company was prepared to give limited grants to Roman Catholic missionaries it was unwilling to extend similar concession to nonconformist missionaries. Dissenting missionaries were not allowed to minister to the troops and dissenting literature was prohibited in many military cantonments. Nonconformist missionaries were also prevented from celebrating marriages and burying the dead in public burial grounds. The establishment of additional bishoprics at Bombay and Madras in the mid-1830s further strengthened the Anglican ascendancy. The 1838 return on ecclesiastical expenditure illustrates the ascendant position of the Anglican Church in India. The return stated that the maintenance of the Anglican establishment in Bengal cost the Company 4,37,672 rupees. By contrast the Company expended merely 23,422 rupees on the Church of Scotland establishment and 8,070 on allowances to Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Ballhatchet, 'The East India Company and Roman Catholic Missionaries', pp. 273-88.

<sup>88</sup> Keith Edghill, 'Dangerous Doctrines! The Battle for Anglican Supremacy in the British Army, 1810-1865', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 80 (2002), pp. 39-40.

<sup>89</sup> *A Return of the Number of Persons on the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Church of England, and of the Presbyterian Church, and other religious Denominations, maintained by Grant of Public Money in each of the Colonies and in the Territories of the East India Company*, PP, 1839 [124], xli, p. 2.



Resistance to the expansion of the Anglican establishment in the 1830s came from a number of sources. Firstly, the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London was overwhelmingly opposed to the creation of additional bishoprics. The directors and proprietors advanced a number of arguments in opposition to the proposed sees. Joseph Hume, the radical proprietor and M.P., noted that the bishoprics were part of a wider attempt to convert the inhabitants of India to Christianity, and predicted that their establishment would 'alarm their prejudices and jealousies'. Other speakers opposed the bishoprics on the grounds that it was part of a general attempt to 'Anglicanise' the Company establishment. Charles Forbes noted that the Church of Scotland 'had as good a right to have an efficient number of her clergy in India, and in the British possessions generally, as the church of England had'.<sup>90</sup> Other proprietors drew a link between the proposed bishoprics and the Anglican character of the education which was provided at the Company's training facility, Haileybury College. A proprietor named Gilchrist noted that it 'was an extreme hardship that a young man who had been brought up in the strict principles of the Presbyterian religion, or who had been reared amongst the Wesleyan Methodists, should, if he had an opportunity of procuring a writership, be obliged to go to Haileybury'. Thomas Lewin (the father of Harriet Grote, the philosophic radical and wife of George Grote) opposed the bishoprics on the grounds that it threatened to establish a dominant religion in India. Lewin noted that while the British government was reducing the size of the Anglican establishment in Ireland, it was threatening to extend it in India. Lewin noted that 'as the land and not the individual was taxed for the support of the Protestant church in Ireland, the injustice of maintaining a religion to which the majority of the people were opposed, was not so glaring in the case of Ireland as it would be in India'.<sup>91</sup> The Court's hostility to the proposed bishoprics was part of their general opposition to a renewed charter which promised to centralise the government of India. The directors were particularly opposed to the parts of the renewed charter which enhanced the powers of the Governor-General and blocked the Court's right of vetoing Crown nominations to the governorship. Despite widespread opposition, however, the Court failed to prevent the introduction of these measures and the creation of the additional bishoprics. The Court's failure to block the establishment of the

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<sup>90</sup> 'Debate in East India House' (December 22, 1832), *Asiatic Journal* 7, (January-April, 1832), pp. 60, 62.

<sup>91</sup> 'Debate at East India House' (July 31, 1833), *Asiatic Journal* 12, (September-December 1833), pp. 122-30.

additional bishoprics was further evidence that its independence from the Board of Control had significantly diminished.<sup>92</sup>

Opposition to the proposed bishoprics also came from Roman Catholics in both India and Britain. During the charter renewal debates in 1833 Daniel O'Connell criticised the clauses which provided for the additional bishoprics. O'Connell argued that the establishment of episcopates at Madras and Bombay would create a dominant, but minority, church in India. According to O'Connell, India had only 20,000 Protestant Christians as compared to nearly half-a-million Roman Catholics.<sup>93</sup> While O'Connell merely called for additional Roman Catholics chaplains, other Irish and radical MPs were more critical. Richard Lalor Sheil, an Irish MP and one of O'Connell's lieutenants, argued that it was unjust to make the Roman Catholics in India pay for a privileged ecclesiastical establishment. The parallels with the situation in Ireland were clear. Sheil commented that 'all the evils of the Irish Church Establishment were to be sown in India, and would produce the same results'.<sup>94</sup> The radical MPs Joseph Hume and Charles Buller took the argument a step further: for them it was unjust to make the non-Christian population pay for the maintenance of any Christian establishment in India, whether it was Roman Catholic, Anglican or Presbyterian.<sup>95</sup> This pressure did prompt the authorities in India to increase the salaries of Roman Catholic missionaries who served the troops to fifty rupees a month. Roman Catholic missionaries were still however not regarded as government officials.<sup>96</sup>

When the renewed charter failed to institute a Roman Catholic ecclesiastical establishment, Roman Catholics in Madras petitioned parliament for an English-speaking Catholic priesthood.<sup>97</sup> Calls for the creation of a Catholic establishment resurfaced during the debates surrounding the renewal of the Company charter in 1852-53. The Roman Catholics who were interviewed by the Board reiterated O'Connell's demand for an enlarged Roman Catholic establishment. These individuals presented a catalogue of Roman Catholic grievances.<sup>98</sup> Roman Catholics complained about the lack of English speaking

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<sup>92</sup> C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834* (Manchester, 1940), pp. 276-98.

<sup>93</sup> *P.D.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., xix (July 19, 1833), col. 1019.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1024.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 1926-28.

<sup>96</sup> Ballhatchet, 'The East India Company and Roman Catholic Missionaries', pp. 280-88.

<sup>97</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, 90 (1835), June 4, p. 318.

<sup>98</sup> *Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix*, PP, 1852-53 [897],



priests and having to send their children to schools and asylums which were superintended by Protestant chaplains. T. S. Cahill, a member of the Company's medical department, wished to see 'all religious distinctions abolished in the army' and argued that the Company 'should extend quite the same amount of justice and liberality to the Jewish, the Mahomedan, and the Hindu soldiers'. Cahill told the select committee that the Company should provide for the moral and religious instruction of all its servants and not just Anglicans.<sup>99</sup> A similar point was made by the Catholic 'chaplains' whose petition was presented to the select committee in June 1853. The petition made three core demands: firstly, that priests would be appointed to each station with Roman Catholic troops; secondly, that these priests would be paid exactly half of the salary of Protestant chaplains (Protestant chaplains had to support families and so were necessarily paid more); and thirdly, that equal allowances for the support of churches and burial grounds should be paid to all the Christian denominations.<sup>100</sup> However, as in 1833, the renewed charter did not include any provision for a Roman Catholic establishment. Rather, the charter only increased the salaries of Roman Catholic priests and bishops.<sup>101</sup>

Despite the fact that Glenelg and his evangelical supporters believed that the European community in India required additional bishoprics, reformers in Calcutta were opposed to any increase in the size of the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment. At a meeting held in January 1835 to discuss the renewed charter, Thomas Turton raised the issue of the proposed additional bishoprics, and argued that it was unjust for the British government to establish Anglican bishoprics which were supported by funds raised from the indigenous population. The resulting petition – which was sent to parliament – included, among other points, a demand for the reduction of the Anglican establishment and the removal of the proposed bishoprics.<sup>102</sup> Fears that the Company intended to erect a colonial version of the metropolitan 'confessional state' in India also emerged during the vestry debates in 1835. The *Calcutta Courier* argued that 'such a confederacy is always ominous to public liberty: but in this part of His Majesty's dominions, it is more; it is at once dangerous and preposterous, because there is, nor ought to

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xxix, evidence of Joseph Kennedy, W. J. Whelan, Rev. W. Strickland and I. Persico, August 1, 1853, pp. 102-28.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, evidence of T. S. Cahill, August 1, 1853, p. 105.

<sup>100</sup> *Fourth Report from the Select Committee with Proceedings Minutes of Evidence and Appendix*, PP, 1852-53 [692], xxviii, pp. 242-47.

<sup>101</sup> Ballhatchet, 'The East India Company and Roman Catholic Missionaries', p. 287.

<sup>102</sup> *Report of the Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, held at the town hall, on the 5<sup>th</sup> January 1835*, pp. 21-24.

be, any state religion'. The paper saw 'in the present case, an attempt to obtain for the Church of England a hold upon the soil, – a patrimony, of which it can call itself the independent proprietor'.<sup>103</sup> The *Hurkaru* predicted that the Bishop would soon be admitted to the legislative council.<sup>104</sup>

The nonconformist community in India also demanded full religious toleration and the removal of any disabilities. Demands were periodically made for nonconformist military chaplains. The *Friend of India*, for example, argued that 'it is of great moment [...] that in every cantonment there should be a place where religion is taught free as a light in Heaven'. The paper noted that while aid had been granted to the Roman Catholics, nonconformist worship had 'been esteemed much the same way as military insubordination'.<sup>105</sup> The Company was unlikely to accede to this request: throughout the period between 1810 and 1865 the British army attempted to maintain the supremacy of the established Church and refused to employ dissenting chaplains. As late as the 1850s the army estimates defined Wesleyans as Anglicans and Congregationalists as Presbyterians.<sup>106</sup>

The principal nonconformist grievances were the laws which prohibited dissenting ministers from celebrating marriages and holding funerals. Even though they were barred from celebrating marriages, dissenting missionaries and laymen frequently performed illegal marriage services. In 1833 Bishop Wilson pointed out to the Governor-General the depth of the problem and called for legislation which explicitly barred all but ministers of the Church of England and Scotland from holding marriage ceremonies.<sup>107</sup> The 1836 English Marriage Act – which granted nonconformist and Catholic ministers the right to act as registrars – prompted the nonconformist community in India to demand a change in the marriage law. A group of dissenters in Calcutta led by Thomas Boaz, a LMS missionary who also edited the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, petitioned the legislative council for the legalisation of marriages conducted by nonconformist ministers.<sup>108</sup> Wilson claimed that the prayer of the petition went much further than the English Marriage Act as it called for marriages solemnised by nonconformist missionaries and laymen to be recognised. Wilson warned the legislative council that 'all the principles of the English Reformation, all the

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<sup>103</sup> *Calcutta Courier*, October 3, 1835.

<sup>104</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, October 8, 1835.

<sup>105</sup> *Friend of India*, January 8 and October 8, 1835.

<sup>106</sup> Edghill, 'Dangerous Doctrines!', p. 43.

<sup>107</sup> BL, APAC, IOR, F/4/1535 Board's Collections 60923, Bishop Wilson to the Governor-General, August 21, 1833, ff. 5-15.

<sup>108</sup> F/4/1836 Board's Collections 76364, 'Memorial to legislative council', ff. 7-10.



indelible character of the Christian priesthood [...] will be carried away and laid prostrate' if the prayer of the petition passed into law.<sup>109</sup>

In the wake of Wilson's objections the Bengal government referred the question of dissenting marriages to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control in London. For reasons which are not entirely clear, neither the Court nor the Board replied to the Bengal government's request. The status of nonconformist marriages therefore remained undefined until the LMS and the Baptists in North India petitioned parliament in 1848 for the removal of all legal doubts concerning dissenting marriages.<sup>110</sup> Thomas Boaz travelled to Britain and presented the petition to Charles Lushington, the former Company servant and radical MP for Westminster. Boaz also took legal advice from Lushington's brother, Stephen, a former reform MP and judge.<sup>111</sup> Charles Lushington presented the petition to the House of Commons and acted as the parliamentary agent for the nonconformist community in India. Lushington kept the issue of the Indian marriage law before the Commons, but it was not until the Marquess of Breadalbane presented another petition – this time from the Free Church of Scotland – to the Lords in 1851 that John Cam Hobhouse, the president of the Board of Control, agreed to introduce a bill which would legalise marriages performed by all protestant ministers in India.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, the Indian Marriage Act which received Royal Assent in 1851 made it legal for laymen as well as ministers to solemnise marriages.

For non-Anglicans, Company proprietors, and reform-minded Anglo-Indians the expansion of the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment appeared to contravene the Company's stated policy of non-interference in religion, and particularly Regulation III of 1793, by which the Company was obliged to maintain and support the religion of the non-Christian inhabitants of India. More specifically, these groups believed that the establishment of the bishoprics was evidence that the Company, which had previously distanced itself from the missionary project, was now complicit in the campaign to convert India to Christianity. Glenelg's actions during his period as President of the Board of

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<sup>109</sup> F/4/1836 Board's Collections 76365, Bishop Wilson to an unnamed correspondent, f. 29.

<sup>110</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 103 (1847-48), February 11, p. 208.

<sup>111</sup> *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, May 6, 1848, 'The Marriage Question in India'; Stephen Lushington was active in the campaign for the extension of full civil and political rights to dissenters. See S. M. Waddams, *Law, Politics, and the Church of England: The Career of Stephen Lushington, 1782-1873* (Cambridge, 1992).

<sup>112</sup> *P.D.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser. cxvi (May 14, 1851), cols. 935-37. During the Disruption Breadalbane had been the outstanding lay supporter of the non-intrusion cause.

Control tended to confirm this view. In early 1833 Glenelg forced the Court of Directors to agree to send a despatch to the Indian governments which instructed them to dissociate the Indian government from non-Christian religious institutions. Glenelg attempted to distinguish between 'toleration' (by which he meant protection of non-Christian religions), and the active support which the Company gave idolatrous ceremonies. For instance, he noted in the despatch that 'the principles of toleration do not require that we should promote the growth and popularity of superstitions'.<sup>113</sup>

Glenelg's proposals received strong backing from evangelicals in both Britain and India. Since the early nineteenth century evangelicals had opposed the Company's connection with non-Christian religions. In the 1810s and 1820s Christian missionaries contrasted the state's protection of non-Christian religious establishments with the restrictions which it placed on missionary activity. As Penelope Carson has pointed out, missionaries could reasonably argue that the state's sponsorship of non-Christian establishments contravened its policy of religious neutrality and in fact discriminated against Christians.<sup>114</sup> During the 1830s a petitioning campaign was started in both Britain and India which attempted to force the Indian government to divorce itself from non-Christian religious establishments. The evangelical campaign against the government sponsorship of 'idolatry' was a continuation of the efforts which evangelicals had made in the early nineteenth century to open India to missionary traffic and to outlaw sati.<sup>115</sup> The campaign was begun in 1836 when evangelicals in Madras sent an anti-idolatry petition to the Indian government (the petition was signed by 203 individuals, the majority of whom were either military officers or Protestant missionaries). The petitioners denied that they wished to violate the 'liberty of conscience so fully and justly accorded to the Mahomedan and Heathen'. Rather, the petitioners claimed that their 'sole object and wish is to see the true principles of religious toleration declared in the instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors, [...] practically and universally enforced'. In the letter which accompanied the petition to the governor, Daniel Corrie, the Bishop of Madras,

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<sup>113</sup> A copy despatch no. 3 of 1833 can be found in *Memorial of European Population of Madras to Governor, August 1836, relative to religious ceremonies of Natives*, PP, 1837 [357], xliii, pp. 6-15.

<sup>114</sup> Penelope Carson, 'The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience: The Ambiguities of Religious Establishment and Toleration, 1698-1833', in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, Mi, 2001), p. 66.

<sup>115</sup> Clare Midgley, 'Female emancipation in an imperial frame: English women and the campaign against sati (widow-burning) in India, 1813-1830', *Women's History Review*, 9:1 (2000), pp. 95-121; Mani, *Contentious Traditions*.



hoped that the 'same toleration and exemptions, which have been long granted to their Heathen and Mahomedan fellow-subjects may be extended to the Christian members of this Presidency'.<sup>116</sup> Evangelicals in Britain mobilised in support of the Madras petitioners. An 'Anti-Idolatry Connexion League' was formed in the late 1830s. Between 1837 and 1841, the House of Commons received 394 petitions from across the British Isles which called for an end to the Company's involvement in 'idolatrous' practices.<sup>117</sup> The evangelical campaign scored a major success when the Indian government agreed to abolish all British involvement in the collection and administration of the pilgrim tax (a tax which was collected from pilgrims who were travelling to attend the temple at Jagannath in southern India. The proceeds were then used to maintain the temple). Thereafter despatches were forwarded to India in 1841, 1843, and again in 1844 which called variously for the abolition of the pilgrim tax, the prevention of European troops attending native ceremonies and the end of all interference in temples. Indian historians have noted that the laws abolishing the pilgrim tax did not immediately end the connection between the British government and non-Christian religious institutions. Rather, the task of separating the state from indigenous religions was a slow and long-drawn out process.<sup>118</sup>

While an older literature argued that the decision to dissociate the government from non-Christian religions was in line with the policy of religious neutrality, more recent work has shown how this change in policy was evidence that British religious policy in India took an evangelical turn in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>119</sup> This change of policy was begun by Trevelyan, Macaulay and Bentinck

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<sup>116</sup> *Memorial of European Population of Madras to Governor, August 1836, relative to religious ceremonies of Natives*, PP, 1837 [357], xliii, p. 3; *A memorial to the Governor in Council of Fort St George, praying for equal religious toleration to all subjects of the state* (Madras, 1836).

<sup>117</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, xc-xvic, pp. 1837-1841.

<sup>118</sup> While they managed to extricate themselves from any direct bureaucratic control, the British could not entirely separate themselves from the affairs of the various temples. British courts, for example, were still involved in the settlement of religious disputes and conflicts over temple endowments. Evangelicals continued to send petitions to the authorities in Britain and India in the 1850s which demanded a complete separation between the state and non-Christian religions. Embree, 'Christianity and the state in Victorian India', pp. 160-61; Arjun Appadurai, *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case* (Cambridge, 1981); *Correspondence between Governor General of India and Court of Directors on Abolition of Pilgrim Taxes*, PP, 1840 [628], xxxvii; *First Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; together with Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*, PP, 1852-53 [426], xxvii, Appendix No. 7, p. 436. The Religious Endowments Act of 1863 left the control of religious institutions in the hands of trustees: Chatterjee, 'State, Christianity and the public sphere in India', ch. 2.

<sup>119</sup> For the point that the abolition of the tax was in line with the policy of religious neutrality, see Cassels, *Religion and the Pilgrim Tax*; for the opposing view, see Chatterjee, 'State, Christianity and the public sphere in India', pp. 77-8.

in the 1830s and then continued in the 1840s and 1850s by a new generation of reformist governor-generals, of whom Lord Dalhousie was perhaps the most famous. As governor-general (1847-56) Dalhousie introduced a series of reforms which were intended both to consolidate British rule and to 'modernise' India. The latter meant ridding India of the last vestiges of the 'revolting' practices of banditry, sati and infanticide.<sup>120</sup> Dalhousie claimed that his actions did not contravene the policy of religious neutrality. Indeed in 1854 he stated that 'during my administration I have carefully followed the traditional policy, which has been handed down to the Government of India, for its observance in all matters into which there enters a religious element'.<sup>121</sup> In contrast to the Indian government, which argued that these reforms were in accordance with the 'traditional' religious policy, both the Court of Directors and a large section of the white community in India believed that by dissociating itself from 'idolatry' the Indian government had contravened the avowed policy of religious neutrality. The cautious earl of Auckland, governor-general of India from 1836 to 1842, opposed the evangelical lobby and told Corrie that he saw 'extreme inconvenience in the public agitation of questions upon which the religious feelings of the inhabitants of this empire may be excited'.<sup>122</sup> The Court of Directors was similarly opposed to any change in religious policy. In October 1837 they warned the supreme government against taking any steps which would associate the Company with the evangelical project. Tensions between the Board and the Directors again flared up in 1838 when the former sent a dispatch to India instructing the government of India to separate itself from non-Christian institutions. In an address to the Board the directors disclaimed 'all responsibility for the instructions as they are at present framed which the Court have been directed to send out to India'.<sup>123</sup>

The 'liberal' community in Calcutta opposed the withdrawal of state support for Hindu and Muslim religious institutions on the grounds that it threatened to make Anglicanism the established religion in India. Commentators in Calcutta pointed out that once the Company terminated its endowment of Hindu establishments the bulk of the population would be forced to contribute funds towards the support of a minority Anglican ascendancy. A correspondent

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<sup>120</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870* (Princeton, 1964), p. 27.

<sup>121</sup> Dalhousie quoted in Suresh Chandra Ghosh, 'The Utilitarianism of Dalhousie and the Material Improvement of India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 12:1 (1978), p. 106.

<sup>122</sup> Cassels, *Religion and the Pilgrim Tax*, p. 113.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.



in the *Hurkaru* called 'Moderator' branded the evangelical petitioners hypocrites as they apparently had 'no conscientious scruples about the compulsory taxation of these same Pagans for the support of the Dignatories and stipendiaries of a religion they repudiate'.<sup>124</sup> The *Hurkaru* doubted 'if the government can stand justified in denying all aid to the religious ministers and institutions of the people, while they are taxed for a costly hierarchy of the Christian Church. As we have often remarked, the support of such a Church out of general revenues cannot be defended on any principle of justice.'<sup>125</sup> While evangelicals wanted the Company to recognise that it was a 'Christian' rather than 'Hindu' state and had an obligation to spread Christianity among the 'heathen', Calcutta liberals refused to accept that the state in India had any conscience whatsoever. In response to the evangelical argument, the *Hurkaru* stormed:

We conceive that nothing less than downright intolerance, and at least negative persecution, are desired by some of those who are so continually harping upon that epithet "Christian", as applied to our government in this country. We have already shown that the government neither is nor can be a quasi Government "Christian", be the religion of the members of the executive until a majority of the people are Christians – a consummation certainly to be wished, indeed, but are present very remote, we fear.<sup>126</sup>

These were accusations which the evangelical lobby attempted to deny. Daniel Corrie noted that 'some of the Calcutta newspapers accuse the memorialists of asking for more toleration than they are willing to grant to others'. Corrie told Auckland that 'if there be any other ceremony of our religion in which natives are required to attend (though I know not of any), let compulsory attendance be forbidden'.<sup>127</sup> Later evangelical writers celebrated Corrie for seeking 'for all religions full liberty of conscience, and on the part of Government universal toleration'.<sup>128</sup> But for Calcutta liberals the 'disestablishment' of Hindu and Muslim religious institutions threatened to recreate in India the situation in Ireland. The *Hurkaru*, which considered the 'the Protestant Church of Ireland an abuse',<sup>129</sup> noted that the situations of the Anglican clergy in India and in Ireland were very similar:

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<sup>124</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, November 12, 1836.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, September 26, 1835.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, June 8, 1839.

<sup>127</sup> Corrie quoted in John William Kaye, *Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative* (London, 1859), p. 424.

<sup>128</sup> Kaye, *Christianity in India*, p. 424.

<sup>129</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, June 1, 1839.

They live amongst and upon a population hostile to their creed, who can see no good reason why they should be taxed to support other men's priests. The example is a dangerous one; should the Irish Papists succeed in driving out the apostolic preachers of the true religion, or at least in reducing them to the apostolic position of poverty, why should not the Hindoos, patient as they are, try the same course?<sup>130</sup>

Therefore, as in New South Wales and the Cape Colony, opposition to privileged minority establishments formed an important strand in the reform debates which occurred in Bengal in the 1820s and 1830s. Indeed, this section has shown how the establishment question was perhaps more relevant to European reformers in India than it was to their counterparts in the Australian colonies or the Cape Colony: unlike in these latter two colonies, the Church in India emerged from the 'Age of Reform' unscathed and continued to exist as a privileged establishment. What is perhaps surprising is that the issue of the Anglican establishment was rarely mentioned by reformers among the Hindu and Muslim communities in this period. Although there is little evidence to suggest that Indians were particularly opposed to the growth of the Anglican establishment, it is clear that Hindus and Muslims did put pressure on the British government to abide by their policy of religious neutrality. The final pages of this chapter shows how Indians appropriated the political languages used by missionaries and the British government and used them to advance their own interests. This final section shows that the issue of religious liberty was an important strand in the mobilisation of the Hindu and Muslim public from the 1820s onwards.

#### **(iv) The Indian 'public' in Madras and Calcutta and religious neutrality**

Historians have noted the way in which the emergence of a European 'public' in the presidency towns in the 1820s coincided with the rise of an organised and political Hindu public in the same period. Christopher Bayly has shown how the pre-colonial Indian public sphere quickly adapted itself to the growth of the European public in the 1820s and indeed utilised 'European forms' such as the press and the petition.<sup>131</sup> Historians have also noted the ways in which Bengali and European reformers did meet side-by-side on the same platform and campaign for the introduction of freedom of the press, English-language

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, July 15, 1836.

<sup>131</sup> Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 374.



education and trial by jury.<sup>132</sup> But while prominent Hindus and Muslims did join Europeans in a number of political campaigns,<sup>133</sup> there were signs in the 1820s that the Indian communities in the presidency towns had begun to move away from the European community and to pursue their own reform agendas.<sup>134</sup> For instance, in 1826 the Indian inhabitants of Calcutta organised a petition addressed to parliament which objected to the Jury Act of 1826. The act stated that only Christians could serve on grand juries and in cases involving Christians the petty jury would also be exclusively Christian. The petition, which was signed by 128 Hindus and 116 Muslims, argued that by introducing the act the Company had violated the terms of the 'compact' by which it was bound to 'protect the natives of India, in the full enjoyment of their laws, customs, and religion'. The petition's thirteenth resolution made the important point that the act could only be explained by a desire to convert them to Christianity: the Company had effectively stated that 'the road to European privileges and distinctions, and an equality with the governing class, can only be reached by a profession of the religion of the greater part of Europe'.<sup>135</sup> This campaign (which was successful – Glenelg passed a bill through parliament in August 1832 which repealed discriminatory provisions and made Indians eligible as JPs) should be likened to the efforts mounted in the 1820s by non-Anglicans in other parts of the empire in defence of their civil and religious rights.

The jury petition demonstrates that Hindus and Muslims were as vociferous as their European counterparts in their opposition to anything which could be construed as a deviation from the government's professed policy of religious neutrality. In 1836, 8,312 Muslims and Hindus in Calcutta sent a petition to the governor-general opposing Macaulay's proposed plan to abolish the Madrasa and Sanskrit schools. Again, the petitioners claimed that the real aim behind the proposal was to convert Muslims to Christianity.<sup>136</sup> The sheer scale of this petitioning activity demonstrates that religious issues played a key role in the

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<sup>132</sup> Marshall, 'The Whites of British India', p. 37; Zastoupil and Moir, 'Introduction' in Zastoupil and Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*, pp. 13-19.

<sup>133</sup> Rammohun Roy joined with Europeans in opposing the press censorship and organised a petition calling for press freedom: see Marriott and Mukhopadhyay (eds), *Britain in India*, vol. 4, Raja Ramohun Roy, 'Memorial to the Supreme Court', pp. 110-16; Also see Dwarkanath Tagore's contributions to the meeting held to debate the renewed charter: *Report of the meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta, held at Town Hall, on the 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1835*, p. 13.

<sup>134</sup> Marshall, 'The Whites of British India', p. 40.

<sup>135</sup> A. F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change 1818-1835* (Leiden, 1965), p. 182.

<sup>136</sup> Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change*, pp. 159-61. The text of the petition is printed on pp. 187-90.

formation of political 'publics' in India. Robert Frykenberg's work on education and anti-missionary activity in southern India supports this interpretation. Frykenberg shows how the radicalisation of the Hindu and Muslim population in the presidency towns in the 1840s was linked to the belief that the Company had departed from its policy of religious neutrality.<sup>137</sup> In support of this accusation Indians pointed to the introduction of an inheritance law – which interfered with existing Hindu laws – and the proposed introduction of the Bible in government-funded schools in Madras. The inheritance law was the Caste (Disabilities) Removal Act (or *Lex Loci* Act) which had been introduced by Dalhousie in 1850. The law stated that no individual would be denied any rights which they already possessed if they converted to Christianity (according to existing Hindu inheritance law Christian converts forfeited their right to inherit family property). For many Indians, this law represented a veiled attempt to encourage conversion to Christianity. Drafts of this proposed act had been proposed at various points throughout the 1840s and had generated opposition among the Indian community. News of the proposed act emerged at approximately the same time as the Madras government – whose governor at this time was the eighth Marquess of Tweeddale, a Church of Scotland evangelical – announced their intention to introduce the Bible into some classes in state-sponsored schools. In March 1846 the government had also announced its intention to hold the first public examinations for entry into the civil service. Despite being the first examinations ever held which were open to Indians, they were boycotted by the Hindu community when it emerged that the Council of Education intended to include questions on Christianity in the examination.<sup>138</sup>

Frykenberg notes that these reforms galvanised a widespread opposition movement amongst the Indian community, first in Madras, and then in other parts of India. On October 7, 1846, conservative Hindus met at Pachaiyappa's Hall in Madras and drafted a petition to the Court of Directors which was eventually signed by 12,000 inhabitants of the town. The committee stated that universal religious toleration was an illusion if the Hindus and Muslims were prevented from attaining higher civil offices on account of their religion and beliefs. The committee reminded the Court of Directors that the 87<sup>th</sup> section of the Company's charter stated that no 'native' was to be denied holding a position

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<sup>137</sup> Frykenberg, 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India during the late Company period', p. 210.

<sup>138</sup> Frykenberg, 'Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under the Company Raj', *The American Historical Review*, 91:1 (1986), pp. 55-59.



in the Company's administration by 'reason only of his Religion, Place of Birth, Descent, [or] Colour'.<sup>139</sup> The petition stated that Tweeddale's attempt to introduce the bible into state schools was 'tantamount to a proclamation, that the State will afford the Hindus no means of instruction, unless they will submit to be Christianised and renounce their own religion, the free exercise of which has been repeatedly guaranteed to them by the British government'.<sup>140</sup> The opposition movement spread to Calcutta in 1847, where in November, 652 'heads of families' – from both liberal and conservative backgrounds – signed a petition which rejected the proposed inheritance act and the introduction of the bible in government schools.<sup>141</sup> The introduction of the *Lex Loci* Act in 1850 provoked another round of petitions and public meetings which were described as 'monster meetings' at the time (perhaps a reference to the 'monster' repeal meetings held contemporaneously in Ireland?).<sup>142</sup> The publication of the draft act in January 1850 prompted 14,000 Hindus in Calcutta to sign a petition in opposition to the governor-general. Another petition, organised after the act had passed, was signed by 5,900 Muslims and Hindus and was forwarded to the Houses of Parliament under the care of a European member of the Calcutta Supreme Court, J. F. Leith.<sup>143</sup>

The debates over the introduction of the *Lex Loci* Act demonstrate that different groups in India interpreted religious 'toleration' and 'neutrality' in starkly different ways. Christian missionaries regarded the act as the 'liberty of conscience act' and believed that the introduction of the act was in accordance with the state's policy of religious toleration. The pro-missionary *Calcutta Christian Advocate* claimed that the act was 'in harmony with those great principles of religious liberty of which our country is proud – justly proud. It is righteously legislating not for the Hindoo, the Mahammedan, or the Christian, but for the man. For Hindoos to wish to keep up the old system of civil and religious disabilities, is to oppose not only Christian principle but moral principle.'<sup>144</sup> Dalhousie, who was responsible for the act, likewise argued that the act was not a departure from the state's wider religious policy. Both the missionaries and Dalhousie argued that there were points at which the state was justified in departing from its policy of religious neutrality. Dalhousie noted that,

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<sup>139</sup> *Proceedings at the Public Meeting of the Hindu Community, held in the rooms of Patcheapah's Institution, on Wednesday the 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1846* (Madras, 1846), p. 2.

<sup>140</sup> *Proceedings at the Public Meeting*, p. 15.

<sup>141</sup> Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities*, p. 65.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>144</sup> *Calcutta Christian Advocate*, December 22, 1849, 'The Draft Act', p. 600.

[w]e do preserve to Hindus their religion and their laws in the mass. We never pledged ourselves to maintain both intact; and after having twenty years ago, interfered directly to prohibit suttee, I have not been disposed to yield to clamour (such as it was), or to abstain from interdicting what was an unjust penalty in Hindus who receive the gospel, while the interdiction is no hardship on Hindus themselves. I wish that the Government should abstain from proselytising, because I believe they would impede at present, not promote, its advance; but abstaining from proselytising and permitting the continuance of grave affliction of injuries on those who become proselytes are two very different things.<sup>145</sup>

In 1854, when Dalhousie recommended government grants-in-aid for missionary schools, he commented that 'we carry the principle of neutrality too far; that even in a political point of view, we err in ignoring so completely as we do the agency of ministers of our own true faith in extending education among the people'.<sup>146</sup> While Dalhousie and the missionaries argued that the act was in accordance with religious toleration, Hindus and Muslims believed that the law represented a thinly-veiled attempt to promote the objectives of the missionaries. Opponents claimed that the British government had violated its pledge to maintain the 'rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people'.<sup>147</sup> Although the bulk of the European press celebrated the introduction of the *Lex Loci* Act, there were Europeans who were opposed to it. For instance the *Englishman*, a liberal newspaper whose opposition to the act was grounded in the belief that the government of India was not a Christian government, argued that *Lex Loci* 'puts an end to all delusion as to the impartiality of this government where matters of religion are concerned'. The paper pointed out that the same government which had abolished the Hindu laws of inheritance had also 'imposed upon the Hindoo and Musselman population of India, the maintenance of the Anglican Church'.<sup>148</sup> Again, reform-minded Europeans in Calcutta were concerned that the state's religious policy would result in Anglicanism becoming the state religion.

In chapter three and four we noted how, in both New South Wales and the Cape, the campaign for religious toleration served as a prelude to the movements for constitutional reform which emerged in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Robert Frykenberg and S. R. Mehrotra have similarly shown how the anti-missionary agitation of the 1840s radicalised the Indian public and led to the

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<sup>145</sup> Dalhousie letter dated April 16, 1850 quoted in J. G. A. Baird (ed.), *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie* (London, 1910), p. 118.

<sup>146</sup> *Copies of correspondence with the Indian government, showing the progress of the measures adopted for carrying out the education despatch of 19 July 1854*, PP, 1857-58 [72], xlii, p. 416; Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt*, p. 29.

<sup>147</sup> *Bengal Hurkaru*, June 26, 1845, letter from 'An Anti-Lex Loci Memorialist'.

<sup>148</sup> *Englishman*, April 15, 1850.



creation of a series of political 'Native Associations' in each of the presidencies in the early 1850s (the society in Calcutta was known as the British Indian Association).<sup>149</sup> These organisations were composed almost exclusively of Indians and were established so as to coincide with the renewal of the Company's charter in 1853. Frykenberg has noted that the same conservative Hindus and Muslims who had been active during the agitation surrounding the *Lex Loci* Act were also well-represented in these political organisations.<sup>150</sup> These associations modelled themselves on the organisations which had been established in the white settlement colonies and which in this period were calling for the introduction of representative self-government. The demands which were made by the 'Native Associations' were comparable to the demands of constitutional reformers in South Africa and the Australian colonies. Though they did not call for an end to British supremacy, the Associations did demand the establishment of legislative councils for each presidency which would be composed of elected Europeans and Indians. The petition which the Calcutta British Indian Association sent to parliament in 1852 specifically argued that such an Indian legislature should be modelled on the constitutions which had been proposed for the white settlement colonies.<sup>151</sup>

Significantly, both the Madras and Calcutta petitions included resolutions which called on the Company to discontinue its association with the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment in India. The Calcutta petition, for example, noted that the resolutions of the 1833 charter which provided for the creation of two additional bishoprics were 'out of place among the arrangements for the government of British India'. The petition continued:

That government is for a mixed community, the members of which are of various and opposite sects, and the majority is composed of Hindoos and Mahomedans. It is therefore manifestly inexpedient that the Government should make any connection with the appointment of the ministers of any religion. All sects should accordingly be left to support the ministers of their respective religions in the manner they deem most suitable.

While the petitioners did not object to the state's appointment of chaplains for European regiments, they did oppose the government's payment of bishops and

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<sup>149</sup> Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*, pp. 55-68.

<sup>150</sup> Frykenberg, 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India during the late Company period', p. 210.

<sup>151</sup> *Petition to Parliament from the members of the British Indian Association, and other native inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency, relative to the East India Company's Charter* (Calcutta, 1852), p. 15.

other 'highly paid functionaries'.<sup>152</sup> This resolution points to the popularity of the concepts of religious neutrality and non-interference among the Indian population.<sup>153</sup> But it should also be noted that the resolutions of the Indian associations were remarkably similar to the demands which voluntarists in other parts of the British Empire were advancing in this period. In the previous two chapters we noted that constitutional reformers in both the Cape and New South Wales assumed that self-government would have to be accompanied by the abolition of all state aid to religion. In New South Wales state aid to religion was commonly seen as an imperial imposition: it was the British government, and not the local legislative council, which designated that a portion of the colonial treasury should be set aside for the support of religious establishments. Advocates of colonial self-government therefore tended to be firm opponents of state churches. The evidence presented here suggests that like their counterparts in the white settler colonies, Indian reformers assumed that state Churches were incompatible with colonial self-government. The major difference between these regions was that unlike in New South Wales and the Cape, the Anglican Church continued to exist as a privileged establishment.

#### (v) Conclusion

Imperial historians have traditionally emphasised the differences between the 'Indian Empire' and the wider 'British' Empire: India was ruled by different principles and by different institutions to the settlement colonies.<sup>154</sup> By the 1840s it was clear that it was only a matter of time before self-government was granted to the colonies of white settlement. By contrast, more autocratic and conservative measures were being introduced to govern India and the other 'non-white' colonies. In the post-revolt period the great liberal project of the 1830s and 1840s was gradually abandoned. Colonial rule in India in the period after 1857 instead came to be underpinned by the language of racial difference.<sup>155</sup>

The notion that India was a separate entity from the rest of the British Empire can also be seen in terms of the role which the Church of England played

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<sup>152</sup> *Petition to Parliament from the members of the British Indian Association*, p. 46.

<sup>153</sup> Chatterjee, 'State, Christianity and the public sphere in India', p. 8.

<sup>154</sup> John Mackenzie, 'India's Role in the Victorian Concept of Empire', in Franz Ansprenger, Hermann Hiery and Christoph Kampmann (eds), *Imperium/Empire/Reich: Ein Konzept politischer Herrschaft im deutsch-britischen Vergleich. An Anglo-German Comparison of a Concept of Rule* (Munich, 1999), pp. 119-32.

<sup>155</sup> Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, pp. 52-59.



in the Company's empire. In the early nineteenth century the expansion of the Church in India was linked to the wider 'Anglican design': the creation of the bishopric in Calcutta in 1813 was the signal for the expansion of the Church hierarchy to other areas of the empire in the post-1815 period. But in the decades after 1830 the careers of the Church in India and in other parts of the empire diverged. While the Anglican Churches in New South Wales and British North America lost their privileged status, the Church of England in India continued to be the pre-eminent ecclesiastical establishment. Queen Victoria's 1858 proclamation stated that the British would 'disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects', but it did nothing to diminish the size of the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment.<sup>156</sup> The Anglican Church remained 'established' even after the Church of Ireland had been disestablished in 1869 (despite the fact that several of the governor-generals were non-Anglicans: Dalhousie, was a member of the Church of Scotland, and Lord Ripon, who was governor-general in the early 1880s, was a Roman Catholic).<sup>157</sup>

This chapter has argued that in contrast to New South Wales and the Cape, the expansion of the Church in India was part of an evangelical agenda. The chapter has shown how the Indian Church establishment largely escaped the high church revival which spilled out from Britain to the empire in the 1830s and 1840s. There are several possible reasons for this. The continuing presence of evangelicals such as Glenelg at the Board of Control ensured that evangelicals such as Daniel Wilson, Thomas Carr and Thomas Dealtry were appointed to Indian bishoprics. Chapter one noted that even after Simeon's death Cambridge continued to supply a significant proportion of Company's chaplains (though it must be said that more work needs to be done on the backgrounds of the rank-and-file chaplains before we can firmly attach the label 'evangelical' to the Indian establishments). The evangelical character of the Indian bishops meant that Tractarianism was not as prominent in India as it was in our other two case studies. Daniel Wilson's sustained attacks on Tractarianism in the later 1830s made him the hero of the Low Church community in New South Wales.<sup>158</sup> In 1841 Wilson stated explicitly that he would refuse to ordain missionaries who he

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<sup>156</sup> Embree, 'Christianity and the state in Victorian India', p. 151.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-62.

<sup>158</sup> Correspondents in the *Atlas* responded positively to the speech which Wilson gave against Tractarianism in England in 1845. For examples, see the *Atlas*, December 22, 1845, letter by 'Members of the Church of England'; January 10, 1846, 'Puseyism in Australia' by 'W.'; March 11, 1848, letter of 'Brazo'. For Wilson's hostility to Tractarianism, see Ian D. L. Clark, 'The Tractarian Movement in the Anglican Church in India in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', *Indian Church History Review*, 11:3 (1977), pp. 182-203.



suspected of holding Tractarian views.<sup>159</sup> Wilson's uncompromising attitude towards Tractarianism placed him in an awkward position with the SPG. A disagreement broke out between Wilson and the society over the appointment of a Tractarian named Professor Street to Bishop's College in the late 1830s (Street had been recommended to the SPG by J. H. Newman).<sup>160</sup> Wilson's attitude towards the Tractarians also brought forth condemnation from William Grant Broughton; relations between the two men do not seem to have improved until the mid-1840s, when Broughton's own attitude towards the Oxford Movement had hardened.<sup>161</sup> Wilson's rigid anti-Tractarian stance therefore appears to have been one reason why there was only limited Indian involvement in schemes such as the Colonial Bishops' Fund and the opposition to the Gorham Judgement. Nevertheless, Wilson was not entirely resistant to ideas emanating from the other colonies. We noted in the first section that Wilson implemented in his diocese many of the reforms which Broughton introduced in New South Wales. Wilson was also supportive of the attempt to revive convocation in the colonies. He thought the minutes of the October 1850 meeting contained 'good speaking, good feeling, and good resolutions'. However, Wilson thought that the Court of Directors would block any attempt to hold synods in India.<sup>162</sup> Other, lesser ranking, churchmen in India similarly called for the introduction of some kind of convocation.<sup>163</sup>

While there were differences between the Anglican experience in India and in other parts of the empire, these should not deflect us from recognising the important similarities between our three case studies. This chapter has pointed to some of the similarities between the laity in India and in other parts of the empire. Like their counterparts in New South Wales and the Cape, the laity in India was suspicious of episcopal authority. This chapter has also shown how all three of our case studies saw movements for civil and religious liberty. Certainly the campaign against the Anglican ascendancy was considerably weaker in British India than it was in other parts of the empire. The Hindu reform

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<sup>159</sup> RHL, USPG Archives, C. MSS. INDIA I (3), Bishop Daniel Wilson to Alexander Campbell, October 12, 1841, f. 15L.

<sup>160</sup> For the Street controversy, see Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, pp. 209-11.

<sup>161</sup> Moore Theological College Library, Sydney, Broughton Papers, 1/12, William Grant Broughton to Edward Coleridge, December 4, 1841, no pagination. Evidence that the two men's relationship had improved by the mid-1840s can be found in a letter which Wilson wrote to Broughton in February 1846. Wilson told Broughton that he 'rejoiced in your Protest of March 1843 – it must do immense good – it was a master-stroke'. Sydney Diocesan Archives, [1994/12/31], Wilson to Broughton, February 2, 1846, f. 6.

<sup>162</sup> Bateman, *The Life of Daniel Wilson*, vol. 2, p. 333.

<sup>163</sup> Edward Whitehead made this point in his *Sketch of the Established Church in India, its recent growth, its present state and prospects* (London, 1848), p. 81.



movements only intermittently mentioned the existence of the Anglican establishment and certainly did not make any definite comparisons with the situation in Ireland. Criticism of the exclusive Anglican establishment was instead left to the liberal European community in Calcutta. The relatively weak opposition which was mounted to the established Church was one perhaps one reason why the Anglican Church remained 'established' in India. Nevertheless, this chapter has pointed to the similarities between the constitutional reform movement which emerged in Calcutta in the 1820s and 1830s and those in Sydney and Cape Town. Like their counterparts in these areas, reformers in Calcutta displayed an antagonism to religious establishments, an antagonism which could lead them to advocate the endowment of non-Christian religious establishments. Finally, this chapter has suggested that in India, as in other parts of the empire, constitutional and ecclesiastical reform intertwined.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the ways in which the Church of England in three colonies in the eastern empire was transformed during the course of the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapters one and two argued that the 1810s and the early 1820s represented a significant watershed for the Church in each of our three case studies. In New South Wales and the Cape Colony in this period the military ecclesiastical establishment – a product of the colonial fiscal military state – was steadily dismantled and the foundations of a civilian Church were laid. Chaplains who held civilian rather than military appointments began to be sent to the colonies. To a certain extent the foundation of this parochial Church had been laid in New South Wales in the late eighteenth century (the colony was divided into parishes in the 1790s). But what is striking is the extent to which the parish structure was extended in the 1820s. These changes in the status of the colonial Church were not merely the result of policies implemented by the colonial authorities in Britain. Later chapters of the thesis showed how the colonial Anglican laity played an important part in the creation of a parochial Church which resembled the English model. This thesis has suggested that the emergence of the laity should be seen as a part of the wider expansion of the colonial public sphere, a process which occurred in all three of our case studies in the 1820s.

The second half of the thesis drew attention to a series of tensions which existed in the colonial Churches in the period after 1830. The Church in all three of our case studies saw conflict between colonial bishops and the evangelical laity. This thesis argued that Church debates formed a significant strand in the reform debates which emerged in all of our case studies in the period before 1850. Chapters three and four argued that the campaigns for a more democratic form of Church government which emerged in Sydney and Cape Town in the early 1850s were part of the wider movement for constitutional reform. In New South Wales, for example, there were significant links between the anti-transportation agitation, the constitutional reform movement, and the ‘Church of England Constitutional Defence Association’ which blocked Broughton’s proposed synod. There was also a Church component in the constitutional debates at the Cape Colony. The opposition which was mounted to Bishop Gray from 1849 onwards can be treated as part of the general political ferment which occurred at the Cape at mid-century. In both New South Wales and the Cape Colony, the proposed synods were coupled with oligarchic legislative councils,



or, as was the case in New South Wales, nominated upper houses. While no such movement emerged in India (largely because Wilson did not make any attempt to introduce a synod), the same issues surfaced about the role of the laity in the Church and the power of the episcopacy. Chapter five showed how there were links between the laity's attempts to maintain the independence of the vestry at St. John's and the reform movement which demanded the introduction of a legislative assembly with non-official members. So while on the one hand the Church in the Empire did attempt to reform itself and claim its independence from the state, in the minds of many colonists the Church continued to be associated with the autocratic and conservative 'fiscal-military' state which had dominated the empire in the period before 1830.

One of the aims of this thesis has been to draw attention to the connections and links between the Churches in the disparate colonies in the eastern empire. The structure of the thesis prevented us from exploring the nature of these connections in any depth, and so it is worth examining these in more detail. In a recent work Christopher Bayly has highlighted the ways in which the major Christian and non-Christian religions expanded across the globe during the course of the nineteenth century. Rather than leading to the fragmentation of these religions, expansion resulted in the creation of more coherent and organised worldwide religions. Authority in the major world churches also became more bureaucratised and centralised.<sup>1</sup> The findings of this thesis lend support to some of Bayly's arguments. Firstly, this thesis has shown that despite the fact that the individual colonial churches achieved a measure of independence in this period, there were still strong links between Anglican communities overseas. The establishment of diocesan synods in both Britain and the colonies did not herald the fragmentation of the Church of England; rather, colonial bishops displayed signs that they wished to build a system of inter-connected colonial synods. Broughton, for instance, recommended 'the establishment of one uniform system of Synodical action throughout the whole [world]'. Such a 'phalanx', Broughton added, 'might successfully resist the Roman religion'.<sup>2</sup> The strength of the connections between the various colonial churches was underlined when six

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 325-65.

<sup>2</sup> Moore Theological College Library, Sydney, Broughton Papers, 1/87, William Grant Broughton to Edward Coleridge, March 19, 1852, no pagination.

colonial bishops met to discuss the issue of colonial ecclesiastical authority at the Curzon Street chapel in London in January 1853.<sup>3</sup>

But this thesis has also shown that these links between the colonial Churches originated long before the 1850s. Chapter two noted alluded to the fragile network which connected the evangelical clergymen in India and the Australian colonies. Samuel Marsden was a key node in this transoceanic evangelical network: he corresponded with LMS missionaries in Cape Town,<sup>4</sup> successive bishops in Calcutta,<sup>5</sup> the 'pious chaplains' in India,<sup>6</sup> chaplains in Mauritius,<sup>7</sup> and provincial evangelicals in northern England. Examples can be found of other individuals who connected the religious communities in disparate colonies. In 1821, Captain Frank Irvine, an East India Company officer, arrived in New South Wales from Calcutta with plans to establish a School Book Society modelled on a similar institution which had been established in Bengal. Significantly, Irvine believed that the society should distribute books which would contain 'a British and Imperial spirit' and which would 'check the rise of sentiments of local feeling and narrow patriotism hostile to the integrity of the Empire'.<sup>8</sup> Irvine played a key role in the establishment of a CMS corresponding committee in Sydney in 1821. Chapter four also pointed to the links between evangelical communities in both India and the Cape Colony. The nature of the transportation links between these two areas insured that the Cape was frequently visited by clergy and bishops en route to India. While colonial clergymen tended to remain in one colony for a long period of time, there are some examples of ministers who held positions in different colonies in this period. John Heavyside, Ebenezer Wilshire and T. A. Blair are three examples of Anglican clergymen who served at the Cape who had previous careers as missionaries in India. Thomas Atkins had a particularly peripatetic career: in 1836 Atkins – a Congregationalist – was appointed to serve as a convict chaplain at Norfolk Island. Thereafter he held posts as a chaplain at Lower Hawkesbury River in New South Wales, as a LMS missionary in Bengal, as a curate to the archdeacon

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<sup>3</sup> G. P. Shaw, *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton 1788-1853: Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic* (Melbourne, 1978), p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell Library, Sydney, Marsden Papers CY A1992, Rev John Campbell to Samuel Marsden, November 12, 1803, ff. 17-19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Bishop Middleton to Marsden, September 2, 1820, ff. 280-82; *ibid.*, Bishop Wilson to Marsden, August 18, 1834, ff. 556-57.

<sup>6</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, London, Newton Papers MS 3972, Claudius Buchanan to John Newton, October 1, 1798, f. 47.

<sup>7</sup> ML, Marsden Papers CY A1992, Rev. D. Tyerman to Marsden, April 25, 1828, f. 475.

<sup>8</sup> The National Archives, London, CO 201/127, Captain Frank Irvine to John Thomas Bigge, May 24, 1821, f. 267.



of Calcutta, and finally as a chaplain to the European Female Orphan Asylum in Calcutta. He returned via Cape Town to Britain in 1847, where he established himself as a curate at Salford.<sup>9</sup>

These links between churchmen in the colonies helped to weaken the uniqueness and parochialism of the various Church establishments. Issues which might have seemed to have been only relevant in a particular locality resonated in other colonies. Colonial bishops were well attuned to events in other colonies and kept a close eye on the efforts which their counterparts elsewhere were making to introduce new societies and projects. The rudimentary contacts which existed between the different colonies ensured that models of Church government which were worked out in one context were exported to other colonies. As has been made clear in the preceding chapters, the campaign for a democratic form of Church government was a global phenomenon. Bishop Gray in Cape Town kept in close touch with the October 1850 conference in Sydney and the subsequent introduction of synods in South Australia and Victoria. Gray noted that the 'Australian Synod has been to me almost the only cheering Church matter that has occurred for some time'.<sup>10</sup> Daniel Wilson was also supportive of the October 1850 conference. Opponents of the proposed synods were also careful to keep abreast of events in the Australian colonies. Frederick Surtees, the lawyer who led the movement against the proposed synod at Cape Town, used the resolutions of the October conference as an argument against the introduction of synods. Surtees noted that the Australian bishops had resolved at their October 1850 meeting to exclude from the Church any clergyman who concurred in the decision of the Gorham case. For Surtees this was further evidence of the increasingly autocratic nature of the colonial episcopate.<sup>11</sup> However, there is little evidence of any close relationship between the lay movements which emerged in Sydney and Cape Town in the early 1850s. Indeed, it may be unreasonable to expect any close link between the two movements. In his study of the anti-transportation agitation, Hattersley notes that the Australian colonies in this

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<sup>9</sup> For Atkins' career, see Thomas Atkins, *Wanderings of a Clerical Ulysses, described in a narrative of ten years' residence in Tasmania and New South Wales; at Norfolk Island and Moreton Bay; in Calcutta, Madras, and Cape Town* (Greenwich, 1859). The text is a diatribe against colonial bishops. For Atkins' career in England, see his *The Heroism of the Clerical Ulysses; or, six arrows shot from the bow of Ulysses at the mercenary and lustful suitors for ecclesiastical preferment* (Manchester, 1857).

<sup>10</sup> Charles Gray (ed.), *Life of Robert Gray Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of Africa*, (2 vols, London, 1876), vol. 1, p. 340.

<sup>11</sup> Frederick R. Surtees, *Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Capetown and F.R. Surtees, Esq...on the subject of the introduction of synodical action, comprising a lay element (in the absence of authority from the imperial parliament), into the diocese of Capetown* (Cape Town, 1857), p. 14.

period remained fairly regional in outlook. Although prominent figures in each colony followed events elsewhere and had some personal contacts with other colonies (J. B. Ebdon, the prominent Cape merchants and anti-convict politician, had a son at Sydney), there were few material links between the two movements. The inter-colonial 'Australian League for the Abolition of Transportation', for instance, focused entirely on preventing the resumption of transportation in the Australian colonies.<sup>12</sup>

Other denominations built similar inter-colonial links. Alexander J. Jardine, the Scottish librarian at the Cape Town Library, claimed that the establishment of a Presbyterian Church at Sydney had prompted the Presbyterian community in the Cape Colony to propose plans for a similar establishment in that colony. The resulting Church was built with the help of donations from India.<sup>13</sup> The heads of the Church of Scotland in the two colonies were also close contact: the Rev. James Adamson at Cape Town informed John Dunmore Lang in Sydney that,

I have long been impressed with the necessity of drawing all our establishments into closer union & should like to know if any measures you can venture for that purpose. It were well I think if we of the oriental world were to make a united explication to the General Assembly to procure a new authorised edition of our standards: the Confession, Directory &c.

Lang's connections with the Church of Scotland ministers in India are suggested in Adamson's comment to Lang that 'you and your Indian brethren' should take the lead in petitioning the General Assembly.<sup>14</sup> Nonconformists in Parramatta also kept in close contact with the Baptist missionaries in Serampore in Bengal during the early years of the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> William Carey, the Serampore Baptist also wished to strengthen these transoceanic links; in 1806 he suggested to the BMS home committee that a general association of the various

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<sup>12</sup> Alan F. Hattersley, *The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity: Resistance to Transportation in South Africa and Australia, 1848-53* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), ch. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Jardine wrote that copies of Lang's pamphlet on the establishment of the Scottish church at Sydney arrived in Cape Town in a box which contained a number of books ordered by individuals at the Cape. The pamphlets had been included 'by the foresight of the book-seller'. This points to the often fragile nature of colonial 'networks' in this period: A. J. Jardine, *A Fragment of Church History at the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1827), p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> ML, John Dunmore Lang Papers, Letters to Lang, A2226, James Adamson to John Dunmore Lang, October 12, 1832, ff. 56-8; on this theme, see also George Morgan, *Remarks on the State of the Scottish Church, Cape Town, in reply to a letter which appeared in the "Calcutta Free Churchman"* (Cape Town, 1846).

<sup>15</sup> ML, Rowland Hassall Papers, A859, William Carey to Rowland Hassall, November 4, 1806, ff. 153-55; *ibid.*, Hassall to the Serampore missionaries, May 6, 1807, ff. 161-163.



denominations of Christians should be held at the Cape of Good Hope every ten years.<sup>16</sup>

While on the one hand these connections could diminish the sense of distance between these communities, an important theme running through this thesis has been the increasing uniqueness of the Church in the Indian presidencies. This was not always the case: we noted in chapters one and two that missionaries and clergymen in India had established links with their counterparts in New South Wales in the early nineteenth century. There is some evidence that the Calcutta bishops built on these links and attempted to exercise a closer control over the Church in the Australian colonies. Bishop Middleton kept Samuel Marsden informed of the steps that he was taking to reform the Church establishment in India, and he made some effort to provide Marsden with schoolbooks and schoolmasters.<sup>17</sup> But these connections between the two areas appear to have receded in importance in the 1830s and 1840s. As we noted in the conclusion of the previous chapter, India was largely bypassed by the high revival which influenced the Church in our other two colonies. One reason why the church establishments in India retained such a strong evangelical character before 1850 was because the bishoprics had been established prior to the creation of the Colonial Bishops' Fund. Also, the evangelical Charles Grant (Baron Glenelg) was responsible for appointing evangelicals to the Calcutta bishopric and the newly formed sees at Madras and Bombay. Contemporaries occasionally commented on the distinctiveness of the Anglican Church in India. A correspondent in the high church *Colonial Church Chronicle* noted that 'the Church of England in India was 'practically little better than one of a number of religious sects, differing from the others chiefly in this, - that its practice is totally inconsistent with its written laws'.<sup>18</sup> In the same way as India was governed by its own civil service and government, it also had a distinctive ecclesiastical establishment and, as we saw in chapter one, its methods of recruiting Company chaplains were also unique.

This thesis has also highlighted the strong links which existed between the Church in mainland Britain and the colonies. Chapter one showed how the first half of the nineteenth century saw the creation or revival of a number of organisations which were responsible for sending clergymen out to the colonies.

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<sup>16</sup> E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and its Missions* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> ML, Marsden Papers, A1992, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton to Marsden, September 2, 1820, f. 280.

<sup>18</sup> *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal*, vol. 3 (April 1850), p. 396.

In the eighteenth century the task of sending clergymen to the North American colonies had fallen on the SPG and the Bishop of London. Although we know little about the mechanics of colonial recruitment in the eighteenth century, the evidence presented here suggests that the task of selecting clergymen was one which engaged the energies of a larger number of individuals and institutions in the nineteenth than in the eighteenth century. Under the guidance of Joshua Watson and the other members of the Hackney Phalanx the SPG was revived in the late 1810s. During the 1820s and 1830s the society turned its attention to sending schoolmasters and missionaries to the eastern colonies. The increasing interest which the metropolitan Church took in the colonial Church can be seen in the proliferation of the number of auxiliary committees of the SPG in the early nineteenth century: between 1819 and 1834, 157 diocesan and district committees had been established in provincial England.<sup>19</sup> Heightened Church interest in the colonies was also reflected in the creation of the Colonial Bishops' Fund in 1841. The creation of these organisations ensured that the global expansion of the Church continued to be directed from Britain. The correspondence which colonial bishops and clergy sent to these metropolitan organisations also strengthened the bonds between the Church in Britain and the colonies. Edward Coleridge remarked on these networks when he told Angela Burdett-Coutts, the wealthy benefactress who had helped to endow a number of new sees, that 'by the aid of Books, letters, Prints, &co, and above all, active friendship with those above [colonial bishops], I am able almost to live as much at the antipodes as in England'. He added, 'my constant hope and prayer is, that some day or another the true God will be worshipped with one heart & one voice, and in one form from England to New Zealand and from N.Z. to England again'.<sup>20</sup>

From the 1830s onwards Anglican churchmen began to recognise the important contribution which Church expansion overseas could have on strengthening the beleaguered Church at home. Overseas expansion could reinvigorate the Church at home and give the Church as a whole a greater sense of mission. William Grant Broughton for one recognised that the Church stood a better chance of asserting its spiritual independence and corporate identity in colonial dioceses than it did in Britain, where the Church was subject to a

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<sup>19</sup> For a list of the diocesan and district committees, see *The Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel... 1834-35* (London, 1835), pp. 14-83.

<sup>20</sup> LPL, Burdett-Coutts Papers, MS. 1384, Edward Coleridge to Angela Burdett-Coutts, March 21, 1846, f. 8.



latitudinarian state. As early as 1836 Broughton told his friend Joshua Watson that, 'I really think we might at the present moment bring our half of the Colony to such [high church] principles: and when the battle is lost in your part of the world, as even steadfast Molesworth [John Edward Nassau Molesworth, the high church vicar at St. Paul's Canterbury] appeared to apprehend it almost was, we shall be able to resume the contest here with some hope of a successful issue'.<sup>21</sup> The Church's response to liberal Anglican politics could therefore be launched from colonial dioceses.<sup>22</sup> Optimism in the potential of the colonial churches was common among Tractarians and orthodox high churchmen who were sympathetic to the early ideas of the Oxford Movement. High churchmen like Broughton and Tractarians such as Pusey believed that the colonies offered the best opportunity of establishing a spiritually-pure church which was independent of the state.<sup>23</sup> The colonies were the sites in which bishops could realise their full episcopal authority: the separation of church and state freed colonial bishops like Broughton and Gray from the control of the legislature and handed them considerable authority over the clergy in their dioceses.

The connections between the ecclesiastical establishments overseas and the Church at home should make us more attentive to the centrifugal forces in the Church of England in the nineteenth century. Modern ecclesiastical historians have spent little time exploring the ways in which the Church in Britain was informed by debates and issues emanating from the colonies. Historians of British ecclesiastical history have, instead, produced works which have largely isolated the history of the Church of England *in* England from the Church overseas.<sup>24</sup> But a study of Church debates in the late 1840s and early 1850s suggests that drawing arbitrary distinctions between the 'national' and 'colonial' churches might be an unprofitable exercise. In the aftermath of the Gorham affair many metropolitan churchmen assumed that the Church's reaction would be

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<sup>21</sup> MTCL, Broughton Papers, misc., Broughton to Joshua Watson, June 18, 1836, no pagination.

<sup>22</sup> J. D. Bollen, 'English Christianity and the Australian Colonies, 1788-1860', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28:1 (1977), pp. 380-81.

<sup>23</sup> Ruth Teale, 'Dr. Pusey and the Church Overseas', in Perry Butler (ed.), *Pusey Rediscovered* (London, 1983), pp. 194-95.

<sup>24</sup> This is in contrast to historians of British politics, some of whom have begun to explore the ways in which the colonial issues intersected with reform debates back in Britain: see Miles Taylor, 'Empire and parliamentary reform: the 1832 Reform Act revisited', in Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (eds), *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 295-311; Catherine Hall, 'The Rule of Difference: Gender, Class and Empire in the Making of the 1832 Reform Act', in Ida Bloom *et al.* (eds), *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 107-35.

launched from the colonies. William E. Gladstone, for instance, turned to the Australian bishops to provide the metropolitan Church with guidance on the Gorham Judgement. Gladstone contacted the Bishop of New Zealand instructing him to hold a meeting of the Australian bishops at which they would pronounce on the Gorham case. The Australian bishops would then send a deputation to Britain which would then lead the Church's response at home.<sup>25</sup> It is also significant that it was in the post-Gorham period that Gladstone introduced his various Colonial Church bills. Like Broughton, Gladstone assumed that the Anglican Church could realise its true mission in the colonial world.<sup>26</sup> This was a view shared by other churchmen in this period. A correspondent in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* noted that if synods were introduced overseas, then the colonial Churches 'would continue to lean on the Mother Country, and she herself, in the end, might gain by copying the institutions of her children'.<sup>27</sup> The prominent position which the colonial Church occupied in the post-Gorham debates can also be seen in the conference of Australian bishops at Sydney in October 1850. Chapter three noted that the Australian meeting was the Church's first demonstration against the Gorham judgement. As Gladstone had intended, the issue of baptismal regeneration was discussed and pronounced on at the meeting. The chapter also noted some of the connections between the colonial campaign and metropolitan movement for diocesan synods and the revival of convocation. Henry Hoare's biographer notes that Hoare's (one of the founder members of the Society for the Revival of Convocation) ideas about lay representation in diocesan synods were strongly influenced by Bishop Broughton, who he met in England in late 1852.<sup>28</sup> Whether the meeting of the Australian bishops had any influence on the Bishop of Exeter's decision to hold a synod in his diocese in 1851 is a question which future research must answer.<sup>29</sup> What must be reemphasised is that the debates which were occurring in the colonies in this period over church governance were not mere footnotes to the more important story of Church reform back in Britain. Rather, the evidence

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<sup>25</sup> A brief account of these discussions is provided in E. D. Daw, 'Church and state in the Empire: The Conference of Australian Bishops 1850', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 5:3 (1976), p. 258.

<sup>26</sup> H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone: 1809-1898* (Oxford, 1999), p. 74.

<sup>27</sup> *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. II (February 1849), p. 304.

<sup>28</sup> James Bradby Sweet, *A Memoir of the late Henry Hoare, Esq., M.A., with a narrative of the Church movements with which he was connected from 1848 to 1865, and more particularly of the revival of convocation* (London, 1869), pp. 354-55.

<sup>29</sup> A recent account of the revival of convocation in Britain makes no mention of the colonial aspect: Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c.1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 216-33.



presented here suggests that the debates which surfaced during the period known as the 'crisis' of the Church of England occurred over a much broader geographical area than historians have previously given credit. The challenge therefore is to integrate these colonial and metropolitan debates.

The evidence presented above, albeit somewhat scanty, suggests that many contemporaries possessed a sharp sense of the connections between Britain and the colonies, and indeed of the ways in which ecclesiastical reform at 'home' was often driven by colonial precedents. Broughton in particular had a keen sense of the ways in which colonial precedents drove reform back in Britain, but he recognised that this was not necessarily always a force for good. For instance, Broughton told Coleridge that if bishops were removed from the legislative and executive councils in the colonies, 'the effect will gradually be felt in the Councils of England itself'.<sup>30</sup> Later, in 1849, Broughton, commenting on the drift of ecclesiastical policy in the colony, wrote:

My persuasion, founded upon many years of observation, is this, that steps of this kind are always ventured upon first in some remote quarter [...] and if not opposed there, are afterwards with more confidence repeated in England. As instances of this I may refer to the question of General Education upon the system of the British and Foreign School Society which was attempted here in 1834: long before it was taken up by the Government at home; the public endowment of Romish priests, which I apprehend may soon be tried elsewhere; the admission of their prelates to assume territorial titles; as Sydney, Adelaide, etc., and within a few weeks, Melbourne.<sup>31</sup>

While there is no room here to provide a systematic study of this huge issue, it is worth pointing out some of the ways in which colonial affairs did impinge on reform debates in Britain.<sup>32</sup>

For instance, this thesis has drawn attention to a number of individuals whose time in the colonies served as an apprenticeship for careers as radicals or

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<sup>30</sup> MTCL, Sydney, Broughton Papers, Broughton to Coleridge, 1/17, February 17, 1842, no pagination.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 1/74, Broughton to Coleridge, January 15, 1849, no pagination.

<sup>32</sup> This approach complements the growing volume of scholarship which has sought to blur the boundaries between the 'colony' and the 'metropole'. For works which take this approach, see Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', in Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 1-56; Antoinette Burton, 'Who Needs the Nation?: Interrogating "British" History', in Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of Empire: A Reader: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 137-53; Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (New York, 2006); Antoinette Burton, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation* (London, 2003).

reformers in Britain. Recent work by Frederick Rosen and Miles Taylor has highlighted the important role which India played in nurturing a generation of 'liberal' reformers who would go on to play prominent roles as reformers in Britain. British rule in India provided the context in which men such as Leicester Stanhope and Edward Blaquiére (both of whom would play prominent roles in the struggle for Greek independence in the early 1820s) developed their ideas about the necessity of 'liberal' reforms such as a free press and national education.<sup>33</sup> This thesis has introduced two other characters who served time in India before returning to England and embarking on careers as ecclesiastical reformers: Ross Mangles and Charles Lushington. Mangles had been a prominent figure on the corresponding committee of the CMS in Calcutta. In the late 1830s he and the other members of the committee opposed Bishop Wilson's attempt to claim jurisdiction over the licensing and stationing of CMS missionaries. Mangles continued to advocate the rights of the laity following his return to England in 1839. He wrote to his friend Macvey Napier, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, that there was an 'utter want', of 'any religious public' in England. Mangles attributed this to the 'manner in which the clergy, who are in reality only the ministers or staff of the Church, have assumed [...] to be the Church itself, to the practical exclusion of the whole body of the laity from any participation in self government'.<sup>34</sup> Mangles' interest in the question of Church government in Britain can be linked to his experiences on the committee of the CMS in Calcutta: as in Britain, the laity in India was effectively excluded from any role in the administration of the Church. In addition to advocating the rights of the Anglican laity, Mangles, a Whig, also emerged as a representative of the rights of dissenters and a firm opponent of the minority Anglican establishment in Ireland.<sup>35</sup> Charles Lushington, who became MP for Westminster on his return to England, was similarly a representative of dissenters and an opponent of all

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<sup>33</sup> Frederick Rosen, *Bentham, Byron and Greece: Constitutionalism, Nationalism, and Early Liberal Political Thought* (Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 148, 296-7; Miles Taylor, 'Joseph Hume and the reformation of India, 1819-33', in G. Burgess and M. Festenstein (eds), *Radicalism in English Political Thought, 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 285-308. One might also add the name of Thomas Perronet Thompson to this list. A radical M.P. and an early contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, Thompson had previously served with the military in Bombay. For Thompson, see Michael J. Turner, *Independent Radicalism in Early Victorian Britain* (Westport, Conn., 2004).

<sup>34</sup> British Library, London, Manuscripts Department, Macvey Napier Papers, Add. MS 34622, Ross Mangles to Macvey Napier, October 4, 1841.

<sup>35</sup> See Mangles' *Christian Reasons of a Member of the Church of England for Being a Reformer* (London, 1840).



religious privileges.<sup>36</sup> During his official career in India Lushington had been a vocal supporter of the autocratic government which had introduced the press censorship in 1824,<sup>37</sup> but during his parliamentary career he advocated suffrage extension, triennial parliaments and vote by ballot. He also lent his support to an 1836 bill which called for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords,<sup>38</sup> and he advocated the removal of the Canadian bishops from their positions in the legislative councils.<sup>39</sup> It is not entirely clear what contribution Lushington's experiences in India had on his later career as a 'radical' politician. Lushington played little role in the reform movements which emerged in Calcutta in the 1820s (indeed he signed the counter-petition which defended the actions of the vestrymen who had ignored the results of the 1819 vestry election). However, during the evidence which he gave to the select committee on the Company's charter in 1833, Lushington stated that he was opposed to both the extension of the Anglican establishment and the proposed additional bishoprics. He argued that it was not incumbent on the state to provide for the spiritual wants of a religious minority, as was the Anglican community in India.<sup>40</sup> This piece of evidence suggests that Lushington's antipathy to privileged religious establishments (like Mangles he objected to the privileged Irish Church) may have been linked to his experiences in India, where a minority Church was supported by funds from the public treasury.

The presence of individuals such as Mangles and Lushington in the House of Commons helped to ensure that ecclesiastical affairs and debates occurring in the colonial world did to some extent impinge on debates in Britain. There is evidence that suggests that reformers in Britain did turn to the colonies for precedents of changes which they wished to see implemented in Britain.<sup>41</sup> It

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<sup>36</sup> Charles Lushington, *A remonstrance addressed to the Bishop of London, on the sanction given in his last charge to the calumnies against Dissenters, contained in certain letters, signed L.S.E.* (London, 1835); *idem.*, *Dilemmas of a Churchman, arising from the discordant doctrine and political practices of the Clergy of the Establishment* (London, 1838).

<sup>37</sup> He wrote a defence of John Adam, the acting governor-general who had deported James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, from India in 1824: Charles Lushington, *A short notice of the official career and private character of the late John Adam Esq.* (Calcutta, 1825).

<sup>38</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, xxxii, (April 26, 1836), col. 320.

<sup>39</sup> *P.D.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., liv (May 29, 1840), cols. 753-54.

<sup>40</sup> *Minutes of Evidence taken before the select committee of the affairs of the East India Company, with appendix and index [I, Public]*, Parliamentary Papers, 1831/2 [735-I], ix, pp. 106, 118.

<sup>41</sup> For instance, educational reformers saw in the multi-denominational La Martiniere school in Calcutta a model which was fit for replication in Britain. See J. P. Shuttleworth, *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England* (London, 1839). A denunciation of this pamphlet was written by Josiah Bateman, Bishop Wilson's nephew:

was the activities of these men which Broughton perhaps had in mind when he commented that, 'every encroachment upon the spiritual rights and character of the Church of England which shall have been connived at, and so encouraged, if not legalised, within the Colonies, will sooner or later be transplanted from there to England itself'.<sup>42</sup> In the event, however, the threat to the metropolitan Church came not from evangelicals who were sympathetic to nonconformist claims, such as Lushington and Mangles, but from the papacy. We noted in chapter three that Broughton had vigorously opposed the creation of a Roman Catholic see at New South Wales in 1843, an event which he declaimed (not entirely accurately) as the 'the first instance, since the Reformation, of the Pope's having established a Metropolitan See within the realm of England'.<sup>43</sup> As Broughton had predicted, the establishment of a Roman Catholic see in New South Wales encouraged the papacy to erect a Catholic hierarchy in mainland Britain. The papacy announced plans for an archbishop of Westminster and seven bishops in October 1847. Throughout 1847 Lord John Russell's government had shown some interest in opening up negotiations with the papacy; indeed, the conciliatory attitude of the British government was one reason why Rome pressed ahead with its plans and announced the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 (the announcement was published in *The Times* in October). With one eye on the political gains which could be made by a timely concession to anti-Catholic sentiment, Russell published his famous 'Durham Letter' just after Bonfire Night 1850. The letter defined the limits of toleration and stated that any papal intrusion had to be resisted. In December Russell moved to introduce a bill in parliament which would fine any cleric outside the Church of England who assumed any territorial title which duplicated those held by Anglican bishops.<sup>44</sup>

The subsequent debate over the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill demonstrates that contemporaries were aware of the connections between the domestic polity and the wider empire. In the Commons the chief opposition to the bill came from Irish and English Catholic members, and a small number of radicals, liberal Irish

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Josiah Bateman, *La Martiniere: A reply to certain statements respecting the Bishop of Calcutta, contained in a work entitled "Recent measures for the promotion of education in England"* (London, 1839).

<sup>42</sup> Broughton quoted in F. T. Whittington, *William Grant Broughton, Bishop of Australia: With Some Account of the Earliest Australian Clergy* (Sydney, 1936), p. 197.

<sup>43</sup> Broughton quoted in Whittington, *William Grant Broughton*, p. 193.

<sup>44</sup> For a description of the events leading up to the introduction of the bill, see G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 210-18.



and Peelites.<sup>45</sup> The opponents of the act claimed that the bill was a retrograde step in the movement for religious and civil liberty.<sup>46</sup> Radicals such as Joseph Hume, who had hoped to see the day 'when the last remnant of intolerance would have been consigned to ignominious rejection', were appalled to see the introduction of new forms of persecution.<sup>47</sup> Much of the debate revolved around Ireland: Irish members claimed that if the terms of the bill were extended to Ireland, it would, according to one MP, 'raise the fell spirit of religious hatred which had almost subsided in Ireland'.<sup>48</sup> Yet while many of the opponents of the bill concentrated on its effects in Britain, there were individuals who opposed the bill on the grounds that it contravened the policy Russell's government had adopted in both the colonies and Ireland. E. B. Roche, an Irish MP and one of the first to speak against the bill, argued that the bill was wholly unnecessary, as it failed to take into account the established nature of the Roman Catholic Church in both Ireland and the empire. Roche pointed out the British government had permitted the erection of a Roman Catholic see in New South Wales in 1843.<sup>49</sup> Roche argued that the movement for civil and religious liberty, which had been tested in the colonial context, should be allowed to continue in mainland Britain itself. Other opponents of the bill used the example of the government's colonial policy to attack the bill. Milner Gibson argued that 'if it were their duty to prevent the episcopal organisation of the Roman Catholics in the united kingdom, why was it not equally their duty to prevent this episcopal organisation in Australia and in our colonies of British North America?' Gibson argued that if the bill was passed, logically it should be applied to all Britain's possessions. 'If what was termed Papal aggression were to be resisted', he argued, 'surely it was equally to be resisted in the Colonies as in the united kingdom itself'.<sup>50</sup>

Supporters of the bill were also quick to realise the colonial dimensions of the debate. For Broughton the 'papal aggression' was directly linked to the earlier events in New South Wales.<sup>51</sup> Commentators in Britain made a similar point. In a series of articles written in the *Morning Chronicle* and finally published in pamphlet form, Dudley Perceval – the son of Spencer Perceval, the

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<sup>45</sup> Machin, *Politics and the Churches*, p. 223.

<sup>46</sup> See John Arthur Roebuck's opposition to the bill, *P.D.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., cxiv (February 7, 1851), col. 223.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, cxiv (February 12, 1851), col. 490.

<sup>48</sup> See Keogh's speech, *ibid.*, col. 475.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, cxiv (February 7, 1851), cols. 232-33.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, cxiv (February 14, 1851), col. 676.

<sup>51</sup> The Diocesan Committee in Sydney sent a memorial to Britain opposing the intrusion: Rhodes House Library, Oxford, USPG Archive, D17 Australian Letters, 1850-59, Sydney Diocesan Council to Ernest Hawkins, March 14, 1851, f. 20.

assassinated Prime Minister, and a devout evangelical – argued that the religious policy pursued by the British government in the colonies had directly encouraged the recent intrusion by the Papacy. Perceval noted that in November 1847 the colonial secretary, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Grey, had sent a circular to the colonial governors which instructed them to recognise the rank and precedence of all Roman Catholic prelates in the colonies. By this act, Grey had compromised the principles of the Oath of Supremacy and directly encouraged the papacy to step up its efforts to plant a hierarchy in mainland Britain.<sup>52</sup> The Tory *Quarterly Review* similarly argued that the Papal intrusion was the natural result of ill-judged reform overseas. The periodical supported Perceval's contention that the November 1847 circular was one in a series of concessions which had led inexorably to the papal aggression.<sup>53</sup>

Approaching the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill from an imperial perspective is important for a number of reasons. On the one hand, it shows the distance between the metropole and the colony: a government which had implemented religious toleration abroad was still willing to bow to anti-Catholic sentiment and introduce a measure which was regarded as a retrograde step in the movement for religious liberty. But on the other hand, the debate over the bill shows how issues which could seem to have only a parochial or local relevance did in fact have a much broader importance. The debate also suggests that we should avoid drawing arbitrary distinctions between 'national' and 'colonial' histories. While the evidence presented in this final section is by no means conclusive, it does show how the Gorham affair and the papal intrusion were events which had an importance which stretched far beyond mainland Britain. The debate also demonstrates that ecclesiastical debates occurring in the colonies were not mere sideshows to the more important issue of Church reform in Britain. One of the aims of this thesis has been to show that contemporaries possessed a more global outlook than historians have perhaps given credit. The connections between these three colonies, while rudimentary, were strong enough to ensure that debates and issues which were important in one region quickly surfaced in other colonies. The evidence presented in this final section shows that colonies which were geographically remote from Britain nevertheless played a more important role in

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<sup>52</sup> Dudley Perceval, *The Queen's Ministers Responsible for the Pope's New Hierarchy* (London, 1851).

<sup>53</sup> 'The Ministers and the Pope', *Quarterly Review*, 88 (1850-1), pp. 247-69; 'Ministerial Measures', *QR*, 82 (1847-48), pp. 294-5. The notion that the advance of Roman Catholicism in Britain was driven by colonial precedents was not new. See [John Cumming], 'Statistics of Popery in Great Britain and the Colonies', *Fraser's Magazine*, 19 (1839).



metropolitan political and ecclesiastical debates than has hitherto been recognised.

## Abbreviations

APAC	Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections (British Library)
BL	British Library
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CCS	Colonial Church Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
GL	Guildhall Library, London
IOR	India Office Records (British Library)
LMS	London Missionary Society
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney
MTCL	Moore Theological College Library, Sydney
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PD	Hansard's Parliamentary Debates
RHA	Ridley Hall Archives, Cambridge
RHL	Rhodes House Library, Oxford
SDA	Sydney Diocesan Archives
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
UYL	University of York Library



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