Francis Bertie Boyce wore many hats throughout the 87 years of his life. Chief amongst them and the longest worn was that of Church of England clergyman. After graduating in 1868 from Moore Theological College, Liverpool, Boyce served in ordained ministry in the Bathurst and Sydney Dioceses for the next 63 years. These years saw Boyce engaged in parish life in the Bathurst Diocese, pioneering mission work along the Darling River, and urban ministry in Pyrmont and Redfern. Yet the other hats which adorned Boyce’s life feature prominently across the 63 years. Boyce was a social reformer, who campaigning on the issues of his day which he understood as great scourges of society: alcoholism, aged-poverty, inner-city slums are to name but a few. On these issues, particularly after taking occupancy of the Rectory of St Paul’s Redfern, Boyce was famous for his letter writing campaigns in the local newspapers and the friendship he enjoyed with politicians of differing persuasions. His involvement in the temperance movement in particular brought him into contact with the leading citizens of NSW of his day, and provided a platform from which he could campaign for slum-clearance and the

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1 Francis Bertie Boyce, *Our Church on the River Darling: A Reminiscence* (Sydney: Madgwick & Sons, 1910).

aged-pension. So closely was Boyce associated with the fight against intemperance that he earned the moniker ‘Father of Prohibition’. Yet Boyce’s work on this front was not disconnected from his parochial duties. He considered alcoholism the cause of most afflictions to the body and soul of his parishioners: ‘Drink is the right-hand of sin and the sire of countless woes.’ Boyce’s involvement sprung from his pastoral concern for a farmer in 1871. Just over a decade later Boyce had returned to Sydney, and had united the various temperance movements under one banner, guided by Boyce for the following four decades.

As NSW transitioned from Crown Colony to a state within the Commonwealth of Australia, it was Boyce who was often at the forefront of social reform. However, despite the high regard he was held in throughout his life, historians have, with one exception, paid scant attention to Boyce. Where he does appear, he is portrayed as a puritanical wowser, a humanitarian hero, or a social evangelist who sought to make men moral by act of parliament. Yet Boyce modelled his activism upon England’s evangelical social reformers like Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury. This was nowhere more evident than in what Boyce described as ‘the great cause’, the campaign to banish intemperance from

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4 Mrs Jamieson Williams and Mrs Andrew Holiday, *Golden Records: Pathfinders of Woman’s Christian Temperance Union of N.S.W.* (Sydney: John Sands, 1926), 103.
7 Boyce, *Fourscore Years and Seven*, 48.
8 See Wittycombe, ‘Fitting Ambition to Service’, 95-119.
NSW. He was neither a radical socialist, nor a middle class elitist. Instead ‘the great cause’ was an expression of Boyce’s evangelical faith, formed particularly through his parish experiences. We shall examine the nature of Boyce’s temperance work in two stages. Firstly, we explore the historiographical assessment of Boyce. Secondly, we turn to Boyce’s own evangelical convictions which shaped ‘the great cause’. To begin with, Boyce modelled his activism on the leading evangelicals of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, we investigate this evangelical conviction in Boyce’s sermons and leaflets. Finally, we provide a case study of Boyce’s evangelical convictions in politics of NSW prior to the state referendum in 1916.

Throughout his life Boyce was held in high esteem for his religious and moral leadership. His portrait was painted by Julian Ashton in 1917 and hung in the N.S.W. Art Gallery as a gift of the N.S.W. Alliance for the Suppression of Intemperance, whilst the highest peak cross by the Great Western Highway was named in Boyce’s honour. Upon his death it was remarked that Boyce was ‘an ardent patriot’, earned in no small part due to his establishment of the British Empire League in Australia in 1901, which brought about the proclamation of Empire Day four years later and led to Boyce being known as ‘the father of Empire Day in Australia’. On his passing Archbishop Wright described Boyce as the grand old man of the Sydney Diocese who’s ‘great work in the cause of temperance was a splendid example of his capabilities’, whilst the chairman of the Congregational Union Rev. W. Marsh lamented ‘the loss of such a champion of righteousness and truth’.

10 Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 153.
12 Sydney Morning Herald, 28 May 1931, 10.
13 S.M.H., 28 May 1931, 10.
The lauding of Boyce’s life is understandable. For 60 years Boyce was involved in campaigns for either prohibition or Local-Option, ministering to those affected by alcohol abuse and reporting on its existence. In 1882 Boyce founded the N.S.W. Alliance (originally as the Local-Option League), and for 24 years occupied either the office of President or Secretary of the Alliance. His efforts were tireless. Yet when it comes to recent accounts of Boyce, historians have not necessarily held Boyce in the same esteem as his contemporaries. For church historians, Boyce often appears as a lone figure in Australian Anglicanism campaigning on what was normally a Nonconformist platform. For Judd and Cable, the grand old man of Sydney Anglicanism was a ‘self-appointed spokesmen’ during the episcopacy of Smith, which lacked any coherent social policy. In this policy silence, Boyce’s involvement with the temperance campaign is seen in terms of class issues. In one singular reference to social reform, commenting on the apprehension of Boyce’s colleagues to support the temperance movement, Judd and Cable note that they were uneasy with the temperance crusade taking the form of a rescue mission ‘from class and condition which were focused on the material here and now rather than the spiritual.’ Likewise Lawton interpreted Boyce as being trapped in his social caste. On Lawton’s reading, Boyce comes across as a skilled tactician, a pragmatist driven by his realised eschatology. In Lawton’s assessment of Sydney Anglicanism, Boyce’s eschatology is not only juxtaposed with, but serves as a foil to the eschatology of the other leading evangelicals at the turn of the century, Nathaniel Jones and Mervyn Archdall. On

17 Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 149.
18 Lawton, *The Better Time To Be*, 77.
this reading, Jones and Archdall were other-world focused, with an emphasis on holiness.\textsuperscript{19} In contrast, Boyce preached a message of utopia now, where Redfern would be converted into an Eden, ‘where men and women could love and work with dignity.’\textsuperscript{20} Whilst Lawton finds this to be an enviable dream, it is shrouded too heavily in classism, with salvation being from ‘class and condition’.\textsuperscript{21}

A slightly different take on Boyce emerges in the work of Robert Withycombe, who provides the only exclusive historical study of the archdeacon. Boyce was definitely a product of his time, which understood material prosperity and social advancement to be a blessing of God’s bounty.\textsuperscript{22} Yet the Boyce we find in Withycombe is different from Lawton’s caricature of the clerical reformer who witnessed the destitution of their parishioners but retreated to the relative gentility of rectory.\textsuperscript{23} In Withycombe's assessment, Boyce was a Christian reformer. ‘He responded to human needs as they were pressed upon him. He cared for the poor, but would not have called himself a Socialist.’\textsuperscript{24} In this his churchmanship was in keeping with the evangelicalism of 19th century Protestantism. His leadership in the temperance movement may have been, as Judd and Cable suggest, acquiesced to rather than supported – though there were notable exceptions to this, such as the involvement of Boyce’s parochial neighbour R.B.S Hammond. Yet his leadership on this front was in keeping with the aims and moral suasion of evangelicals around the world.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{19} Latwon, \textit{The Better Time To Be}, 72-75.
\textsuperscript{20} Lawton, \textit{The Better Time To Be}, 200.
\textsuperscript{21} Lawton, \textit{The Better Time To Be}, 203.
\textsuperscript{22} Withycombe, ‘Fitting Ambition to Service’, 113. cf. Lawton, \textit{The Better Time To Be}, 77.
\textsuperscript{23} Lawton, \textit{The Better Time To Be}, 196-197.
\textsuperscript{24} Withycombe, ‘Fitting Ambition to Service’, 116.
Outside the official works of church history, historians have lightly touched upon Boyce role and self-understanding of the temperance movement. The first published history of Australian temperance by Gar Dillon offers a sympathetic account of Boyce. Partially written for the centenary of the Temperance Alliance, Boyce appears as the ‘illustrious son’ in ‘Dillon’s golden saga at the heart of the fight for humanity and sobriety in New South Wales’.26 Whilst diligently weaving together a hundred years’ worth of committee minutes, referenda results, speeches, and lectures, Boyce is never critically examined, but held up as the Alliance’s illustrious founder. In contrast, Keith Dunstan portrays temperance activists, of whom Boyce was the king, as wowsers.27 Indeed in 1913 we find Boyce revelling in the term as an antithetical to boozer.28 However, while Boyce’s appearance in Wowsers is fleeting, Dunstan’s account of temperance reformers is predisposed to read them as kill-joys.29 This flat presentation of the archdeacon is carried over in a more recent history of alcohol in Australia, in which Boyce is at one point wrongly designated as an Anglican archbishop.30 Here Boyce is a vendor of grandiose, exaggerated claims of proportion of abstainers in Australia.31 In contrast, Lawton indicted Boyce of inflating the total number of alcoholics in the colonies.32

Nevertheless there have been exceptions to this trait. Bollen’s work on the church at the turn of the 20th century sought to provide a counterpoint to an established reading of

26 Gar Dillon, A Delusion of the Australian Culture, 13, 74.
29 Dunstan, Wowsers, xi-xii.
31 Fitzgerald and Jordan, Under the Influence, 173.
32 Lawton, The Better Time To Be, 191-196.
NSW Protestantism as being in decline in the late 19th century. His contribution is concentrated upon the response of Protestants in New South Wales to social issues during the depression of the 1890s and the subsequent unrest. It provides useful background information on the wider social and religious life of New South Wales. Historian D. H. Bollen argues that temperance became the definitive Protestant reform issue after 1900. Developments in NSW politics after Federation witnessed a closer alignment between the Temperance Alliance, Protestantism generally, and the Liberal Party under Joseph Carruthers, whereas the breweries and alehouses formed an alliance with the catholic dominated Labour Party. This is disputed by Phillips, who argues that temperance was a major program of Protestantism in the Anglo-Saxon world prior to 1900. Without denying the political and sectarian developments of the 1900s, Phillips argues that temperance was a platform of a wider Protestant social reform program from at least 1880 onwards. Usefully, Phillips sets the scene for the temperance movement against the background of an intense offensive against religious belief and involvement in politics. The Protestant campaign for temperance led by Boyce was driven the belief that intemperance was the cause behind all other social ills: cure alcoholism and you will cure poverty and crime. According to Phillips’ thesis, the failure of the Protestant churches to defend the Christian norm in Australia stems from the temperance campaign siloing the churches from a serious engagement with other social issues.

35 Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 151.
is a noted exception to this, Phillips argues that it inhibited the empathy of the churches for the working class, and in turn isolated the working class from the churches. Whereas Bollen concluded that the turn of the century witnessed a close cooperation between the churches and Australian society that was only ruptured following the Great War, Phillips concludes that the movement from moral suasion to political action on issues such as temperance in the 1880s led to a greater divergence between the church and society.\textsuperscript{40}

Whatever the case, Boyce was part of what historians have interpreted as a movement focused on reforming the social and cultural values of society. Speaking on the efforts of this movement to influence gambling practices, O’Hara describes it as a campaign of the ‘Protestant urban middle classes’ at the zenith of their political and economic control dominance in NSW.\textsuperscript{41} As a movement it grew in response in the late 19th century in response to what was seen as unnecessary poverty. Whilst Christian philanthropy and benevolence had striven to aid the deserving poor, those reduced by misfortune and social factors beyond their control, there was a growing alarm at the increase of the undeserving poor. Indeed most poverty was seen as unnecessary, caused by gambling, prostitution, and alcoholism.\textsuperscript{42} Since at least the time of Bishop Barker, of these three cardinal sins intemperance was seen as the leading cause of poverty in Australia.\textsuperscript{43}

The historiography in the years following Boyce’s death has tossed and turned over the successes and failures, the puritanical or humanitarian nature of temperance movement.

\textsuperscript{40} Bollen, \textit{Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales}, 177, 180; Phillips, \textit{Defending “A Christian Country”}, 144-147, 268-269.
\textsuperscript{42} Phillips, \textit{Defending “A Christian Country”}, 143-144.
Yet as we turn to Boyce’s own convictions expressed in his speeches and pamphlets, a consistent theme emerges: Boyce was an evangelical. In 1909, in connection with the election of John Wright to the see of Sydney, Boyce formed the Anglican Church League.\(^{44}\) It was formed, according to Robinson, in an attempt to unify the evangelicals and prevent their marginalisation. Boyce was a churchman in the true sense of the word. At Orange he defended the continuation of state aid to denominational schools.\(^ {45}\) Later in Sydney he questioned the nature of synodical government governance.\(^{46}\) It was at Sydney that Boyce was first elected a canon of St Andrew’s Cathedral, and appointed archdeacon following Wright’s installation. A member of the Royal Historical Society, Boyce’s historiography looked to the heritage passed down from Richard Johnson, Thomas Moore, and even Augustine of Canterbury. \(^ {47}\) Whilst his history writing was in part a feature of his patriotism, it also reflected pride in the inheritance of low-church evangelicalism.

What it is to be evangelical is a contested term. The widely used Bebbington-Quadrilateral was originally offered by Bebbington as a descriptive rather than normative definition.\(^{48}\) These facets represent a ‘consistent pattern of convictions and attitudes’

\(^{44}\) D.W.B. Robinson, *The Origins of the Anglican Church League* (Moore Theological College Library Lecture: 1976), 24-25; Boyce, *Fourscore Years and Seven*, 144-150.
\(^{48}\) Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 2-17.
maintained since the 1730’s.\textsuperscript{49} The most immediate aspect of the Bebbington-Quadrilateral to Boyce is that of activism, the expression of the gospel in effort. Whereas activism largely refers to ministry and mission, Bebbington acknowledges that activism ‘spilled over beyond simple gospel work’ into political crusades and social reform.\textsuperscript{50} In Boyce’s words, ‘Christ cared for the bodies of men, as well as their souls.’\textsuperscript{51} Yet the great cause was not just driven by social reform, but biblical command. That is, in Bebbington’s terms, biblicism. Whilst we might question the exegesis (much as Boyce’s contemporary Montgomery did), the temperance movement was righteous for Boyce because it followed the logic of Scripture.\textsuperscript{52} ‘To have alcohol as a common beverage I contend...is clearly contrary to the teaching of God's word.’\textsuperscript{53} In pamphlet and pulpit Boyce invoked his biblical duty to teach against intemperance.

Standing in the pulpit of St. Andrew’s Cathedral, Sydney, on 8th August, 1892, Boyce proceeded to preach from Romans 14:21 on the open sore afflicting the crown colony of New South Wales. A mere ten years earlier Boyce had united the disparate temperance movements under the banner of the Temperance Alliance. Now he stood preaching to the Church of England’s Temperance Society annual service, exhorting for the work to continue. It was an age whose calendar of saints celebrated Wilberforce, Shaftesbury, Chisholm, Fry, and Nightingale, and Boyce certainly made use of their examples in

\textsuperscript{50} Bebbington, \textit{Evangelicalism in Modern Britain}, 12.
\textsuperscript{52} cf. R. W. P. Montgomery, \textit{Does the Bible prohibit the use of wine?: an answer to Archdeacon Boyce and the prohibitionists} (Sydney: Citizens' Rights and Liquor Reform Association 1919).
fighting ‘the good fight’. Only through imitation of the ‘valiant heroes of the anti-slave trade agitation would drunkenness be overcome. Boyce wrote,

One of the great battles for humanity was over the abolition of slavery. The trade in the flesh and blood of men and women had its attendant horrors. The struggle was long and severe; victory only came through the devotion, self-sacrifice, and enthusiasm of those who worked for the freedom of every slave on British soil. The struggle is now a matter of history, and the monument is the freedom and betterment of millions of human beings.

The analogy was completed through quotation of American abolitionist and temperance campaigner, Rev. Joseph Cook: the liquor traffic was more destructive each year than slavery had been. Without questioning the veracity of that statement, Boyce argues that in the preceding year four people each day died from intemperance, whilst 20,323 people were charged for crimes related to drunkenness. Upon these statistics, alcohol was estimated to account for two thirds of poverty in the colony at the time. On this basis Boyce again drew a connection between temperance and the abolition of slavery:

54 Withycombe, ‘Fitting Ambition to Service’, 95; cf. Boyce, The Case for No-License, 86, where Boyce also models himself on American abolitionists.
56 Boyce, The open sore of New South Wales, 2.
58 Boyce, The open sore of New South Wales, 3.
Livingstone spoke of slavery in Africa as the open sore of the world, and may not I, in view of all this, speak of intemperance as the great open sore of New South Wales.\textsuperscript{59}

Boyce consciously saw himself following in the footsteps of the emancipators and earlier generations of evangelical social reformers. Moreover the struggle against the ‘open sore of New South Wales’ was no mere reform for Boyce, but a holy war. This is evident as we trace Boyce’s convictions through his work in the temperance movement. The disparate temperance lobby groups Boyce had united under the banner of the Temperance Alliance a decade earlier – the Church of England Temperance Society, along with the other denominational temperance movements, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, the Good Templars, the Rechabites – each were not mere lobby groups, but regiments in an army doing battle against ‘the devil’s greatest friend’.\textsuperscript{60} With victory after victory across the English speaking world for the regiments of temperance, these regiments were fighting with the assistance of the presence of the Lord of Hosts. Therefore, Boyce argued, men and women were to offer up there very selves for this war against alcohol, trusting in the God of battles, fighting until ‘suffering humanity is emancipated from the thraldom of strong drink.’\textsuperscript{61}

The battle motif was not uniquely deployed by Boyce in the sermon. At the end of his preface to a history of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union of N.S.W. (W.C.T.U)

\textsuperscript{59} Boyce, \textit{The open sore of New South Wales}, 4.
\textsuperscript{60} Boyce, \textit{The open sore of New South Wales}, 6.
\textsuperscript{61} Boyce, \textit{The open sore of New South Wales}, 8.
Boyce quoted Milton’s epitaph ‘Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.’

These victories were the result of a holy war, a sustained campaign against ‘the right hand of sin and the sire of countless woes’, and the trinity of evil: intemperance, impurity, and gambling.

The same epitaph introduced The Drink Problem in Australia, a large, tendentious work simultaneously published in Sydney and London, and acclaimed overseas. At 324 pages, The Drink Problem in Australia outlined ad nauseam the impact of alcohol on society as having an adverse effect by creating more crime, decreasing general sanity, depreciating the family, and leading to greater and greater poverty. Whilst calling for continued moral suasion, Boyce issued the charge for political action.

Likewise, the annually published The Drink Bills of New South Wales meticulously examined the destination of money spent in the colony on alcohol. Composed in part of letters to the editor Boyce sent to the Sydney Morning Herald, the anecdotes and statistics formed a platform on which Boyce and the Temperance Alliance were able to prosecute their politics. Boyce concluded that some £4,102,160 was spent in 1897 on alcohol, a figure which had climbed to £4,473,114 by 1903. Whilst this was an overall drop on the amount spent per capita each year, Boyce noted that the situation was complicated by monopoly exercised by the breweries over the public houses. Some 90% of hotels in Sydney were contractually obliged to purchase beer, spirits etc. from one brewery or another, leaving them at the mercy of the brewer’s pricing.

Against such practices, the campaign of the alliance was two-fold: to clear the slums of Sydney; and the

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64 Francis Bertie Boyce, *The Drink Problem in Australia; or the Plagues of Alcohol and the Remedies* (London: National Temperance League Publication Depot, 1893), 1.
implementation of Local-Option.\textsuperscript{68} The steady supply of alcohol and an overabundance of public houses were seen as creating the social conditions which led to the existence of Sydney’s slums in Redfern/Surry Hills, Pyrmont, and The Rocks, whilst Local-Option was understood as an advancement for democracy, with each electorate being given control over the number of licences in their local area. As Boyce saw it, he was at war with alcohol, and he had no plans for making peace.\textsuperscript{69} The Temperance Alliance was engaged in battle, and the statistics and letters – sometimes numbering a 1000 each year to newspapers and politicians – Boyce produced each year were the armament at their disposal. According to Withycombe,

[B]y letters and pamphlets, sermons and speeches, [Boyce] built up pressure and opinion for reform...his shrewd grasp of political forces in faction and then party politics won him the respect of politicians.\textsuperscript{70}

The demand for a referendum for Local-Option became central to Boyce’s campaign towards the end of the colonial period. The delay from Parliament whilst the issue of federation was finalised was seen as deliberate obstruction by the politicians; their shoulders bore the misery of the colony, reasoned Boyce.\textsuperscript{71} It was the sin of apathy in the face of so much evil, which had forestalled local efforts to deal with the alcohol trade.\textsuperscript{72} At the beginning of the decade Boyce had exhorted the Church to move pass their indifference on intemperance.\textsuperscript{73} The emerging challenge to the state to act represents

\textsuperscript{68} Boyce, \textit{The Drink Bill of New South Wales}, 4.  
\textsuperscript{69} Boyce, \textit{The Drink Bills of New South Wales}, 28.  
\textsuperscript{70} Withycombe, ‘Fitting Ambition to Service’, 107.  
\textsuperscript{71} Boyce, \textit{The Drink Bills of New South Wales}, 28.  
\textsuperscript{72} Boyce, \textit{The Drink Bills of New South Wales}, 29.  
\textsuperscript{73} Boyce, \textit{The open sore of New South Wales}, 7.
Boyce’s view of government in general. Governmental indifference left especially the poor and the elderly dependent on the fleeting whims of charity. The state ‘took no more interest in [the people’s] welfare than a herd of animals displays towards its old or incapacitated members.’\textsuperscript{74} His campaigns for slum clearance and the introduction of the pension for the aged and inform were in some measure an instrument to goad the state into action. Yet Boyce did not see this as a straight handing over to the state the relief work which had traditionally been the purview of the churches. Preaching at St Paul’s Redfern just after the introduction of the pensions into NSW, Boyce described the expected £60,000 p.a. cost of the pension as ‘a Christian contribution to suffering humanity.’\textsuperscript{75} Whilst not be outlaid by the church per se, the Christian nation had come to the aid of those in need. This was Boyce’s parish ministry shaping his activism.

The evangelical basis for Boyce’s activism is seen clearly in involvement with NSW politics between the formation of the Temperance Alliance in 1882 and state referendum on early closing in 1916. One strand of historical perspective on this period argues that members of the middle class like Boyce become entrenched in sectarianism between Catholics and Protestants that was played out in the emergence of Labour and Liberal partisanship. Boyce stands out against the sectarian politics of his time; his expression of the gospel in effort was directed towards the good ordering of society. The Temperance Alliance was formed to protect Parkes’ Licensing Act of 1882 which gave ratepayers in municipalities the right of veto over new licenses.\textsuperscript{76} The ‘ultimate victory of a radical nature’ turned the Temperance Alliance into a powerful lobby at election time.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{74} Boyce, \textit{Fourscore Years and Seven}, 99.
\textsuperscript{75} Boyce, \textit{Fourscore Years and Seven}, 108.
\textsuperscript{76} Bollen, \textit{Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales}, 70.
\textsuperscript{77} Boyce, \textit{The Drink Problem in Australia}, 30.
Alliance endorsed candidates across the political spectrum that supported Local-Option, which was seen to be a democratic right of ratepayers. Whilst Cable aligns Boyce with the emerging Liberals in NSW, one of the politicians Boyce built a strong relationship with was James McGowen. Member for the seat of Redfern, McGowen would become the first Labour Premier of NSW in 1910. He was also a parishioner and Sunday School teacher at St Paul’s. McGowan was one of many Protestant members of the Labour Party from the inner city who supported the temperance movement.

This only changed following Federation, which removed the two major obstacles to the temperance cause in the 19th century: the NSW Parliament was freed from further deliberation on the question of federation; meanwhile, George Reid, who had blocked temperance reform in the 1890’s, moved from state to commonwealth politics. All was not guaranteed however; some parliamentarians took exception to Boyce’s use of hyperbole in his campaign. The significant change came with the election of Joseph Carruthers and the Liberal Reform Party in 1904. Carruthers promised in his election campaign measures providing for Local-Option. Whilst the Alliance favoured a state wide poll on prohibition, Boyce acquiesced to Carruthers promise for each electorate to decide. Under Boyce, the Alliance campaigned in 78 out of the 90 possible seats, resulting not only in a Liberal Reform victory, but the coalescence of ideas between Protestants and the Liberal Reform Party in NSW. This was also the first election in

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78 Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 50.
80 Sunday Times, 11 August, 1901.
81 S.M.H., 28 June 1904, 6.
82 Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 154.
83 See Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 155-177.
NSW in which women were enfranchised. It was the finest gem in the W.C.T.U. crown according to Boyce, a vindication of suffering experience by women at the hand of alcohol. For Boyce the recognition afforded to women via voting rights befitted the contribution of women to the country, particularly in their righteous war against the ‘powerful and entrenched’ foes of the evil trinity which blemished their dearly beloved Australia.

The resulting Liquor Amendment Act 1905 expanded Parkes 1882 legislation to all enrolled adults. What followed were three state-wide Local-Option polls, in 1907, 1910, and 1913. Given the option of prohibition, reduction of licenses, or the status quo, voters time and again reduced the number of licences without resorting to prohibition. By 1913 410 had been reduced. It was a victory for the people in Boyce’s words, ‘Parliament gave the democratic and direct vote to the people’. Likewise on the campaign trail for the 1907 poll, Boyce roused supporters of temperance to continue the ‘crusade for No-Licence’ against the wealth and power of the breweries and hotels. The 1905 legislation as removed the barricades around the ‘public-houses... that prevented a free and reasoning people from closing any, but any and all are subject to their will.’

However, Bollen argued that these early No-Licence elections roused the interests of the hotels and breweries, who forged an alliance with non-Protestant groups in the Labour Party. Federation had reframed state politics, forcing the Free-Trade and Protectionist

87 Boyce, Shall I Vote for No-Licence?, 15.
88 Francis Bertie Boyce, Shall I Vote for No-Licence? (Sydney: The New South Wales Alliance, 1907), 3.
parties into union as an anti-Labour parties such as the Liberal Reform Party and the Progressive Party. It has been argued that this reframing devolved the anti-Labour parties into anti-Catholic parties. 89 Judith Brett has noted in her history of Australian Liberalism that the various iterations of Liberalism have been founded upon Protestant ‘virtues’ and where ‘the affinity between the Labor Party (ALP) and Roman Catholicism has long been recognised.’ 90 Indeed, the Methodist, a denominational journal edited by Carruthers’ brother, warned that in forthcoming elections ‘the same combination of Labour, Liquor and Romanism will have to be faced.’ 91 This appears to have been felt generally in the lead up to the 1910 election, in which McGowen led Labour to victory over the Liberal Reform Party. Cardinal Moran reportedly rejoiced in the defeat of the Catholic Church’s enemies. 92 Despite these sentiments, Murphy’s assesses that ‘the Labour Party between 1890 and 1910 was predominantly a Protestant party’. 93 Whereas in 1904 the euphoria of Carruthers’ election promise locked the temperance vote for the Liberals, by the 1910 election Boyce was insistent that the Local-Option was non-partisan. 94 Matters became strained after McGowen was succeeded as Labour Leader by William Holman in 1913. Holman had led the opposition to the Local-Option in Parliament since 1905, and attempted to persuade McGowen to make Local-Option opposition a Labour campaign issue in the 1907 and 1910 elections. 95 Nevertheless in his autobiography Boyce never attacks Holman, even on sectarian grounds. In spite of the sectarianism in the air, neither the Labour Party nor Catholicism was identified with intemperance by Boyce. During the

89 Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 164-166.
91 The Methodist, 22 December 1906.
92 Piggin, Evangelical Christianity in Australia, 56.
94 cf. Bollen, Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 170.
95 Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 156-157.
1913 Local-Option campaign, Boyce called on men and women of all backgrounds to unite together:

Men and women are federated under the one flag to settle the Drink problem only, and, rising above sect and party, war together against the public-house, believing that question to be wonderfully great.96

Later in the same piece, Boyce went to length to argue that there was a natural sympathy between the Labour movement and temperance. In reference to New Zealand’s Local-Option elections of 1911, Boyce quoted senior British Labour figures Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden as being supportive of the measure. MacDonald wrote: ‘if we are to have healthy minds, independent spirit, and democratic enthusiasm, the licensed interest must be deprived of the powers which it can so easily acquire over both the individual and the State.’97

Boyce’s disassociation between the temperance movement and sectarian partisanship in NSW is observable in the introduction of 6pm closing time in 1916. The early closure of hotels had been a policy item of the Temperance Alliance since at least 1911, which sought to bring public houses in line with the closing time of shops.98 But the reform to limit hotel trading hours fell into abeyance until the Great War. Initially, the issue was raised in Parliament by Thomas Brown, a Labour member, who presented a petition of

97 Boyce, *The Case for No-License*, 82.
98 Boyce, *Fourscore Years and Seven*, 159; *S.M.H.*, 22 July 1911, 11; *Watchman*, 5 October 1911, 5; *S.M.H.*, 5 October 1911, 7.
143,000 signatures.\textsuperscript{99} When Parliament became deadlocked on restricting trading to 6pm or 9pm, it was again another Labour member, McGowen, who convinced the Labour Party caucus to allow the issue to be decided by referendum.\textsuperscript{100} Voters were to decide on a closing hour of 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, or 11pm; the Alliance pursued a 6pm closure. Boyce argued in a speech delivered days before the vote that a 6pm closure would not only bring NSW into line with Australia’s allies in the war effort, but firstly guard against the dangers of drunkenness, domestic violence, and larceny; and secondly increase health and life expectancy; and thirdly introduce a common closing time for all businesses.\textsuperscript{101} Despite the opposition to 6pm closing from Labour Premier Holman, NSW voted overwhelmingly for a 6pm closure. The early closing received 138,090 more votes than all the other options combined. It was ‘the greatest victory’ of the temperance movement.\textsuperscript{102} It was a victory which for Boyce, only foreshadowed a future introduction of prohibition as the cure for intemperance and associated social ills.\textsuperscript{103} Yet it was a victory achieved without restoring to the sectarianism which coloured the early 20th century. Of more relevance nature of sectarianism which ruptured Australian politics during the war was not the state referendum in June 1916, but the national plebiscites regarding conscription in October 1916 and December 1917.

The conclusion of Archdeacon Boyce’s ministry at Redfern in 1930 was accompanied by the conclusion of Boyce’s autobiography. On the final page, Boyce self-reflectively

\textsuperscript{99} S.M.H., 8 September 1915, 12.  
\textsuperscript{100} Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 161.  
\textsuperscript{101} S.M.H., 7 June 1916, 12; cf. South Coast Times and Wollongong Argus, 9 June 1916, 5; and The Australian Worker, 25 May 1916, 22.  
\textsuperscript{102} Boyce, ‘Preface’, vi.  
\textsuperscript{103} Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 165.
described his ‘great cause’ as his ‘life work’. It was a work which was carried out with the hope of ennobling the life of Sydney and NSW, looking forward to the day when prohibition would be finally introduced to NSW. One wonders how Boyce would have approached the repudiation of large segments of his life work with the extension of closing time in 1954. From this vantage point it is easy to conclude that misunderstood the power of legislation to reorder human desires. Having passed the leadership of the Temperance Alliance to his mentee, Hammond, Boyce assumed that the people would not abandon the alcohol reforms ‘once they had tasted its benefits’. It is perhaps a measure of both men’s competency and proficiency that it was only after the death of both that early closing was turned back. Undoubtedly, it is a measure of the strength of Boyce’s commitment to his churchmanship. Whether it was the farmer in Rockley, or the factory worker in Strawberry Hills, Boyce was driven by a pastoral concern for his parishioners. He claimed to preach temperance reform in his pulpit as much as he campaigned for it in the press, and his contribution to social reform was drawn from his parish work. Lawton’s and Phillips’ critique of Sydney Anglican clergy of Boyce’s time caricatures them as being socially out of touch with their parishioners, withdrawn into the sanctuary of the rectory away from the reality of life in the parish: wowsers. In this portrait, the temperance movement is explained as a sociological reaction by the middle class towards the working class out of fear of societal breakdown. However, Boyce, and those who came after him, challenge Lawton’s assumption. Whereas Lawton

104 Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 166.
105 Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, vi.
107 Boyce, Fourscore Years and Seven, 84-85.
argues that temperance blindsided clergy to other issues, what we find in Boyce is an integrated response to poverty. Boyce never condemned the poor, but preached against their enslavement to the drink. Like other evangelicals of his time, Boyce understood intemperance to be the root problem behind all social ills. But this led to advocacy rather than silence on other issues such as slums and pensions. Boyce knew the people he ministered to: he was a social reformer because he was a parish minister. Most likely this is what enabled Boyce to work with politicians across the Labour-Liberal divide, and guarded ‘the great cause’ against the sectarianism prevalent in his time.

The central issue with Lawton’s thesis is the conviction that eschatology is the perspective to understand Boyce and his contemporaries. Yet eschatology, whether realised or not, barely features in Boyce’s writings. Instead we find the notion that in a nation of Christians, the state has the responsibility to carry out Christian relief to its citizens. It was an evangelical conviction, modelled not only on his forebears, but the conviction that the church exists to benefit society – to uplift and ennoble the nation. The label of wowser has hung heavy around the temperance movement for the past century. From the 21st century it is hard to understand how this issue could have been so lively in NSW politics, let alone how five of the fourteen state referendums since Federation in NSW could have concerned temperance. Yet ‘the great cause’ was part of Boyce’s faithful presence in a nation he saw wrecked by intemperance. This activism was a hallmark of evangelical religion in the English-speaking world, spoken of by Boyce’s hero Wilberforce as ‘practical Christianity’, which expressed the gospel in effort.109 It was the fruit of those

109 William Wilberforce, *A practical view: of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes in this country contrasted with real Christianity* (London: SCM, 1958 [1797]).
whose hearts were being reordered. Such is the nature of Boyce’s ‘great cause’, which sought to bring the liberty of the Christian gospel to bear on those enthralled by drunkenness.110 Even in the political realm, where Boyce had at his disposal sectarian terms to caricature his opposition, he consistently strove above such sectarianism, aiming instead at the good ordering of society. Whilst the wowser and humanitarian labels might easily stick to Boyce, he was, above all else, a minister of the gospel.

110 Boyce, The Case for No-License, 86.
MOFFITT: Boyce’s campaign to abolish alcohol in New South Wales

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