

Rev. Howard and his bishop

The friendship of Stanley Howard and Frederic Barker, 1872–1882¹

Nick Colyer

On December 1, 1879, the clergy of the Sydney Diocese of the Church of England presented Frederic Barker with an address to mark the 25th anniversary of his consecration as Bishop:

We, the undersigned Clergy of Your Lordship's Diocese, desire, upon this the 25th Anniversary of your Consecration to the high office which you hold, to give expression to those sentiments of warm attachment and affectionate regard which we entertain towards you; and to record our deep² thankfulness to the Great Head of the Church for having preserved you so long to preside over us.

The address lauded Barker's achievements. It acknowledged that he had established the Church Society, created new dioceses, increased the number of clergy and congregations and introduced synodical government, and it concluded with the prayer that God would continue to prosper his labours. At the end of five pages of illuminated script stood the signature of William M. Cowper, the Bishop's right-hand-man, Dean of the Cathedral and Archdeacon of Sydney. The signatures of 82 clergy followed. The 81st belonged to Stanley Howard.

While Bishop Barker's name has long held a revered place in the memory of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, Rev. Stanley Howard has long been forgotten.³ Howard arrived in Sydney in 1872, sent from England to spend time in a drier climate after being diagnosed with tuberculosis. As a 22 year-old, he had initially imagined a short time of recuperation before returning home, but he ended up spending over 10 of his remaining 11 years in New South

¹ Missing from the library at Moore College is the cassette of an address by Kenneth Cable (the First Moore College Library Lecture), entitled *Bishop Barker and His Clergy*. It is hoped this paper fills something of the gap (though from a reverse perspective) left by that address.

² Mitchell Library, Frederic Barker Family Papers 1832-1882, MLMSS 455, Box 1 Item 8, 'Illuminated address from the clergy of his diocese on the 25th anniversary of his consecration,' 1 Dec 1879.

³ See, e.g., the treatment of Barker in Marcus Loane, *Hewn From The Rock: Origins and traditions of the church in Sydney* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office) 1976; and Donald Robinson 'The Origins of the Anglican Church League' (Second Moore College Library Lecture) 1976.

Wales. Howard attended Moore College and was ordained a deacon and then a priest, serving curacies at Cook's River and Darlinghurst before becoming the first incumbent at Bowral.

The penultimate position of Howard's signature on the clergy's address belies the story of a genuine friendship between Howard and Barker – one which began with the Barkers' care for a young man of ill health, and ended in mutual affection and trust. Howard's friendship with Barker was such that, on the death of Barker's wife Jane in March 1876, Howard stayed with the Bishop to assist him personally and professionally. A short time later Howard accompanied Barker as his chaplain on a tour of North Queensland.

During his first stay of five-and-a-half years in Sydney (June 1872 to January 1878), as well as during his second stay (December 1878 to his death in September 1883) Howard wrote a series of journals which were circulated among his family and friends in England.⁴ They are a trove of information about colonial life in general in the 1870s, but they are of particular interest for understanding the nature of ministry in the Church of England in Sydney. As such, this article will seek to establish the contribution of these journals to the understanding of the episcopate of Bishop Barker. It will argue that Howard's journals reveal an often ignored factor in Barker's effective recruitment of clergy: his ability to forge affectionate friendships with them. The article will begin with a brief historiographical survey of Barker's episcopate. It will then outline the background and evangelical convictions of Stanley Howard. Finally, it will examine, in detail, the nature of his friendship with Bishop Barker.

The Episcopate of Barker in History

Three men have made significant attempts to write histories of Barker's episcopate. The first

⁴ This article will refer to the fully transcribed journals of Stanley Howard, 1872-1878 and 1878-1883, privately provided to the author by Laurel Horton in March 2012. A microfilm version of Stanley Howard's journals are held at the Mitchell Library (MLMSS 1595). His journals from 1872-1878 have been transcribed, edited and published by Laurel Horton, in *Stanley: A young man's colonial experience* (Sydney: Southwood) 2005.

was Barker's friend William M. Cowper, whose memoir, *Episcopate of the Right Reverend Frederic Barker, D.D.* was published in 1888.⁵ The book begins with Barker's birth at Baslow, England in 1808 and follows his life through to his death at San Remo, Italy in 1882. Naturally, though, his time in Sydney takes up the vast bulk of the book. Cowper's aim was to "present such a picture of his work as a Bishop ... as may enable those who read the story to form a just estimate of its nature and character."⁶ The great value of the book is its achievement in pooling together a variety of sources – private journals, public records and personal reminiscences – as well as the intimate knowledge Cowper had of Barker. Yet this closeness also weakens the account, which tends to hagiography.⁷ Even today, it remains the only full-length biography of Barker.

More recently, Marcus Loane included a chapter on Barker's episcopate in his 1976 book *Hewn from the Rock: Origins and Traditions of the Church in Sydney*.⁸ At the time, Loane was ten years into his sixteen year arch-episcopate of the Sydney Diocese, having previously been principal of Moore College. Though Loane's chapter is relatively short, it encapsulates well the received Sydney Anglican view of Barker's episcopate. The chapter aims to show Barker's successful fulfilment of his goal "to establish a strong and enduring foundation for Evangelical faith and worship."⁹ Loane presents a narrative where, following the period of tractarian predominance under Bishop Broughton, Barker builds the diocese into an evangelical stronghold utilising principled pragmatism and a firm strategic vision. Without doubt he sees Barker's primary achievements as being the recruitment and training of evangelical clergy. By Loane's reckoning, among the 98 clergy of Sydney at the end of Barker's episcopate, only six could be definitively labelled high churchmen. Others (Loane

⁵ William M. Cowper, *Episcopate of the Right Reverend Frederic Barker, D.D.* (London: Hatchards) 1888.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ See, e.g., *ibid.* pp. 413-419.

⁸ Loane, *op. cit.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

names three) were “middle of the road in general attitude,” but the vast majority were evangelicals. Thirty six had been trained at Moore College, which Barker had established soon after his arrival.¹⁰

Kenneth Cable, a contemporary of Loane's, wrote about Barker's episcopate a number of times. Cable was a lay Anglican and an academic historian at the University of Sydney. He wrote far more critically of Barker than Cowper or Loane. In 1968, he wrote an article entitled ‘Mrs Barker and Her Diary’ for the journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society.¹¹ The article first traces the journals and letters of Jane Barker's forbears and sister to give detailed backgrounds of both Jane and Frederic. Then it mines the riches of Jane Barker's diaries of 1855-56, which record the thoughts and plans of the Barkers in their first two years in Sydney. While Loane made use of the diary to clarify the Barkers' goals, Cable went deeper, attempting to understand the Barkers as people. For example, in discussing the Barkers' disapproval of balls, Cable attempted to understand how this sprung from their evangelical worldview and temperament. Rather than labelling them ‘wowsers,’ he wrote of their sardonic humour, sense of fun and cheerfulness.¹² At points, however, Cable is far too critical. In discussing the Barkers' attitudes towards the high church party, he wrote, “At the door of these clergymen, whom they did not in the least understand, they laid most of the deficiencies of the colonial Church.”¹³ At this point Cable claims too much – doing little to show that the Barkers' understanding of the high church clergy warranted such an evaluation. What's more, Cable leaves little room for the possibility of the Barkers' views changing, given that Barker's episcopate was to last 27 years, and Jane Barker's extant diaries only cover the first two. He would have done well to heed Iain Murray's hopeful prophecy in his

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 88.

¹¹ Kenneth Cable, ‘Mrs Barker and Her Diary,’ in *Royal Australian Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings*, Vol 54 Part 1 (1968).

¹² Ibid. p. 17.

¹³ Ibid. p. 18.

published edition of Jane Barker's journal: "Had her later journals survived they would undoubtedly have revealed a different perspective."¹⁴

Cable also wrote the entry on Barker in the 1969 edition of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, as well as co-authoring with Stephen Judd *Sydney Anglicans*, a history of the diocese published in 1987.¹⁵ Like Loane's chapter, and, to a lesser extent, Cowper's biography, the focus of these two publications are on Barker's *achievements*. Only briefly do they attempt to describe him more personally: "He was a kindly man who tried hard to restrain an acid humour to which colonial pretensions gave much scope. He was tolerant in personal relations but quite inflexible in public opposition to other schools of churchmanship."¹⁶ They draw attention to Barker's simplicity – in both his mission for the colony and the gospel he preached.¹⁷

When it comes to analysing the history of Barker's episcopate, the treasure in the journals of Stanley Howard is undoubtedly found in what they reveal of Barker's personality. In 'Mrs Barker and Her Dairy,' Cable goes some way in opening up Barker's character. But Jane Barker's diaries only cover the first two years. Howard's letters cover the final eleven years of his episcopate (1872-1882 with a six-month gap in 1878). As such, they are able to reveal something of Barker's personality long after he has given up any illusion of their time in Sydney being temporary. Moreover, there is great value in Howard's perspective. He was, as Judd and Cable put it, one of "Barker's men".¹⁸ Howard was a young English evangelical clergyman and Moore College trained – an answer to the Barkers' prayer in 1855 for

¹⁴ Iain Murray, *Australian Christian Life from 1788* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust) 1988 p. 218. Note that this quote comes in the context of Jane's labelling Sydney life 'banishment'. Nevertheless, the point remains.

¹⁵ Kenneth Cable, 'Barker, Frederic (1808–1882)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/barker-frederic-2934/text4247>, accessed 31 May 2012; Kenneth Cable and Stephen Judd, *Sydney Anglicans* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office) 1987.

¹⁶ Cable, 'Barker, Frederic,' op. cit.

¹⁷ Cable, 'Barker, Frederic,' op. cit; Cable and Judd, op. cit. p. 70.

¹⁸ Cable and Judd, op. cit. p. 74.

“superior men”.¹⁹ Loane, Cable and Judd rightly point to Barker’s establishment of evangelicalism as the norm for Sydney churchmanship as his greatest achievement. But when they do so, they focus on strategic recruitment and the development of institutions like the Church Society and Moore College. What Howard’s journals reveal, however, is that Barker’s personal kindness, humour and wisdom, and his ability to forge affectionate friendships, was just as much a factor.

Stanley Howard: The boy from Warmley

Stanley Howard had a pedigree deeply rooted in evangelicalism. He was born on 11 February 1850, the fourth son of Rev. Thomas Henry Howard and his wife, Maria. He grew up in the vicarage at Warmley, near Bristol in the county of Somerset. Throughout his journals, the mark of his parents’ influence can often be seen. At one point he wrote of his “getting nearer to the God of my father and my mother: and the nearer I get the more I discover of the secret of their practical Christianity.”²⁰ At times of doctrinal confusion or an important decision it was to his father that Howard would turn, eagerly awaiting his wisdom from across the ocean. The influence of his mother was more in her example. In 1872, one year on from her death, he wrote, “When brought face to face with some terrible doubt, fear or temptation, I often look at her photo and wish that my course were run, with as much glory to God and good to my fellow men, as hers was.”²¹

At age 19, Howard moved to St John’s College, Cambridge, to study. While there, he was further shaped in his evangelicalism. His ambition was to enter full-time ministry, and so he began to study the Greek New Testament.²² Not long after his arrival in Sydney in June 1872,

¹⁹ Jane Barker’s Diary, 19 July 1855, published in Murray, op. cit. p. 226.

²⁰ Stanley Howard’s Journals, 13 Sept 1874 (privately held).

²¹ Ibid., 21 Aug 1872.

²² Ibid., 25 Nov 1874.

a doctor opined that it would be “unwise of [him] to entertain the idea of entering the ministry.” Howard, who clearly *had* been entertaining such an idea, then ruminated, “but I am not going to trouble myself about that, for my duty now is to gain health and then I shall be shown the next step.”²³ In particular, Howard was seriously considering the possibility of missionary service in India. In 1874, he told the Church Missionary Society secretary in India, Edward Stuart, about “my hopes at one time of joining their ranks.”²⁴ He was a member of the evangelical Cambridge Missionary Union, and close friends with Professor Charles and Mrs Anna Babington. Professor Babington was a Cambridge botanist and archaeologist, and he and his wife were both active supporters of several evangelical missionary societies.²⁵ When, in November 1871, he suffered five attacks of severe haematemesis, it was at the home of the Babingtons that he stayed for the following six weeks.²⁶ While there, he was declared tubercular, and it was decided that spending some time in Australia would give him the best chance of recovery.

Howard’s evangelicalism was distinguished by a number of features. First, he held to the absolute necessity of conversion of the heart. On the boat to Australia, Howard wrote how he longed for conversions among those on board – he had even brought a number of evangelistic tracts.²⁷ Moreover, he often lamented the lack of “true heart religion,”²⁸ and longed for his churchgoing friends to become “decided Christians.”²⁹ Second, he had a strong sense of God’s sovereign control over all events. This can be especially seen as he grappled with his own illness, considering at great depth what God could be teaching him during this time of

²³ Ibid., 22 June 1872.

²⁴ Ibid., 11 May 1874.

²⁵ George Boulger, ‘Babington, Charles Cardale (DNB01),’ *Wikisource*, The Free Library, [http://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Babington,_Charles_Cardale_\(DNB01\)&oldid=2414711](http://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Babington,_Charles_Cardale_(DNB01)&oldid=2414711)

²⁶ See, e.g. Stanley Howard’s Journals, 25 Nov 1873, 19 Dec 1873, 25 Nov 1874, 25 Nov 1876.

²⁷ Ibid., 17 Mar 1872.

²⁸ Ibid., 21 April 1872.

²⁹ Ibid., 11 July 1873.

“discipline”.³⁰ Third, his practice of a particular form of piety. In the colony Howard was most at home – yet also most prone to reminiscing about home – over family prayer time and hymn-singing.³¹ His desire for holiness also led him to be suspicious of ‘society’ – late night balls and social events – and was himself a teetotaler.³² Finally, Howard objected to other forms of churchmanship. Ritualism and sacramentalism, in particular, earned his ire. As a curate at Darlinghurst, he objected to his rector’s use of the term “altar”, as well as “sacramental hymns”.³³ At one point, when baptising some children during his ministry, he began the service again from the beginning, so that a latecomer wouldn’t be led to believe that the water was more significant than the promises.³⁴

Howard’s friendship with Bishop Barker: A respected father (1872–1874)

There is little doubt that for Stanley Howard the “warm attachment and affectionate regard” for Bishop Barker expressed by the address of the Sydney clergy in 1879 was sincere. Barker became, to Howard, a father figure: one who, at first, was revered and honoured, but later one who was also the object of reciprocal care. While vast oceans and unfamiliar continents separated Howard from the presence of his dearly loved father, his relationship with Barker eased the burden of that distance. It was to Bishop Barker that Howard turned to for advice on his future, and it was to Bishop Barker that Howard looked for an example of lived evangelicalism. While Howard still frequently sent letters to his father seeking wisdom on various issues of life and theology, in many ways Barker came to replace his father as confidant and adviser.

During the early years of Howard’s time in Australia, the Barkers showed him a great deal of

³⁰ Ibid., 30 Mar 1872; 22 Sept 1872.

³¹ See, e.g. *ibid.*, 18 Jan 1875.

³² Ibid., 6 July 1874; 8 Oct 1879.

³³ Ibid., 25 Aug–2 Sept 1876.

³⁴ Ibid., 24 July 1876.

kindness. When Howard arrived in Sydney in mid June 1872, it was the Barkers who first welcomed him into their home. Howard's first contact with Barker had come when he visited the Bishop's Sydney registry. Barker had been expecting him, and insisted on him coming to stay at Bishops court.³⁵ The same expectancy was expressed that afternoon when Howard reached Bishops court in Randwick. Jane Barker immediately set to the task of making Howard feel at home, showing him to a comfortable bedroom with a blazing wood fire in the large fireplace.³⁶ Howard spent the next week staying at Bishops court in Randwick – resting, running errands and having mandarin fights in the estate's orange grove.³⁷ All the while, the Barkers were attentive to the needs resulting from his ill-health. At one point, after a morning roaming the Coogee scrubland, Jane came to Howard “in a business like way,” and commanded him to lie on the sofa until lunch time.³⁸

It is difficult to determine exactly how the Barkers came to be expecting Howard's arrival. It is almost certain that Bishop Perry of Melbourne – with whom Howard had stayed prior to coming to Sydney – would have sent a note or telegram to alert them that he was on the way. But the question of whether Barker was expecting Howard as a potential clergyman is harder to answer. Cable, in his *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry on Howard, wrote that “early in 1872 [Howard] accepted an invitation from Bishop Frederic Barker to move to New South Wales.”³⁹ Yet there is scarce evidence in Howard's journals to support this claim. Indeed Howard's entries throughout 1872 and 1873 are punctuated with the latest developments in his plan to return to England as soon as possible – or even to India as a missionary.⁴⁰ It is clear that, though Howard did have intentions of some form of full-time ministry, his purpose for coming to Australia, at least initially, was purely for the sake of

³⁵ Ibid., 22 June 1872.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Kenneth Cable, ‘Howard, Stanley (1850–1883)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/howard-stanley-3806/text6033>, accessed 31 May 2012.

⁴⁰ Stanley Howard's Journals, 31 Oct 1873.

health.⁴¹ The most likely explanation for the Barkers' expectancy can be put down to the network of English evangelicals of which both the Barkers and Howard were a part. It is unlikely that a well-connected young evangelical like Howard would have come to Sydney without someone alerting the Barkers to his impending arrival. Thus, it is almost certainly correct that Howard and Barker, when they first met in Sydney, were starting their relationship with no prior personal knowledge.

The Barkers' kindness to Howard continued well beyond that first week in their home. Around 20 years earlier, Jane Barker had written in a journal entry how she intended to take the country clergy "under our wing" – and the same consideration was shown to Howard.⁴² She regularly invited him to Bishops court – both to lunch and overnight – as well as inviting him to holiday with them.⁴³ On the day of his ordination as a deacon – one year after his arrival in Sydney – she consoled him, as he felt the absence of his family particularly acutely. She slipped him a note – the first to address him as *Rev. Stanley Howard* – assuring him of her thoughts amidst his "having no relations near to strengthen [his] hands and cheer [his] heart on such an occasion."⁴⁴ When Howard fell ill again in December 1874, Jane Barker's concern for him was evident once more. She came to visit him, asking two Victorian ministers who were staying at Bishops court during a Christmas mission if they could accompany her to see "a young sick friend of hers who was unable to attend the [mission] services."⁴⁵ Earlier, on his 24th birthday, Howard had reflected on the new friendships he was developing in the colony. To him, Jane Barker stood out because of her *kindness*. Though "I took a greater fancy... to Mrs Perry (the Archbishop of Melbourne's wife)," "[n]o one could be more kind to me than Mrs Barker has been."⁴⁶

⁴¹ Ibid., 18 July 1872.

⁴² Cited in Loane, op. cit, p. 73.

⁴³ See, e.g. Stanley Howard's Journals, 6 Dec 1872.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 8 June 1873.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 9 Dec 1874.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 11 Feb 1874.

The kindness shown by Jane Barker during this time was matched by her husband. From the time of his arrival in Sydney, Howard and Frederic Barker frequently wrote to each other.⁴⁷ The main subject of their correspondence was Howard's future – principally the potential for ordained ministry. During the early years of his time in Australia, month-to-month changes in his physical condition closed some doors but opened others. In January 1873, Howard wrote to Barker regarding ordination. In his reply, the Bishop expressed his “decided opinion” that Howard should remain in Australia, and that he would be happy to ordain Howard “in due time.”⁴⁸ While, as others have noted, the recruitment of evangelical clergy was a priority for Barker, Howard's journals show that this was not pursued at all costs.⁴⁹ Barker was well aware of Howard's delicate health, and was accordingly careful in how he would fit Howard into his plans for the diocese. In 1873, while Howard studied at Moore College in Liverpool, Barker determined that Howard should only spend one semester there, on the grounds that he should take up a curacy in an area that would be better for his health.⁵⁰ Later that year, with his health improving, Howard wrote to Barker to inform him of a recent doctor's report and his intention to return to England in February to continue his study at Cambridge.⁵¹ Barker replied that the doctor's report quite justified him going home. He added: “I am very thankful that you are able to do so. I only hope that Cambridge may agree with you, & if not you know where you will find a welcome.”⁵² Due to his health declining once more, things ultimately didn't go as Howard had planned. Nevertheless, Barker's concern for Howard's health is even more impressive, given his priority for bolstering clergy numbers.

Barker's kindness to Howard extended well beyond diocesan arrangements – even arrangements that in themselves were driven by concerns for his health. In 1873, Howard was

⁴⁷ See *ibid.*, 6 Dec 1872, where Howard wrote about the correspondence between the two.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 Jan 1873.

⁴⁹ See, e.g. Cable and Judd, *op. cit.* and Loane *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 Mar 1873; 15 Mar 1873.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 29 Oct 1873.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 4 Nov 1873.

invited to spend Easter at Bishopscourt.⁵³ Howard, who was beginning to feel quite at home at Bishopscourt, where he was now on first-name terms with the Bishop, saw there quite another side of Barker's kindness.⁵⁴ While running an errand for the Bishop, Howard fell from one of his horses, badly damaging the horse's leg. He rode back slowly and crestfallen, wondering what he would say to the Bishop. When Barker returned home for the evening, he immediately came to Howard's room. He arrived, Howard wrote, "with such a kind look of anxiety on his face, and asking if I was hurt. I suppose my looks betrayed my feelings of misery and penitance (sic). He would not hear a word but persisted in his kind enquires after my own safety."⁵⁵ In August 1874, Howard stayed for a week at Bishopscourt to recover from illness. Howard wrote how Barker was "so kind both in great and little things." For instance, he ordered a prescription for Howard and picked it up himself.⁵⁶ Two months later Howard fondly wrote (or didn't write!) of the evenings and mornings he had spent at Bishopscourt:

"Nor must I describe the pleasant evenings, with the dear old Bishop sitting at one side of the drawing-room table perusing some book lately arrived from England, looking up over his spectacles now & then to make a pleasant or sage remark, or both in one as his manner is: and the sweet hymns we all sang together – and then the still sweeter half hour in the same room, just after breakfast over the Bible: all these must be talked of at length when I come home."⁵⁷

Howard's friendship with Bishop Barker: Reciprocal carers (1875–1876)

Before 1875, Howard's relationship with the Barkers very much reflected their difference of age and status. By that time the Bishop was into his late 60s, and, as Cable notes, "his influence in Sydney was at its height."⁵⁸ Though Howard accepted the Barkers' kindness and hospitality, his sense of propriety before the elderly Bishop seemed to prevent any deepening of their relationship. But on a holiday over the Blue Mountains with the Barkers in January 1875, Howard noted a significant change. After staying with them for a few weeks, he wrote:

⁵³ Ibid., 4 April 1873.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 11 April 1873.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 11 April 1873.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 11 Aug 1874.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 12 Oct 1874.

⁵⁸ Cable, 'Barker, Frederic (1808–1882)' op. cit.

“I felt I had never known the Bishop & Mrs Barker until now: and I must say that the more closely I see them, the more I like them.”⁵⁹ Given the time he had spent with the Barkers to this point, this might seem an intriguing comment. But the time he spent with the Barkers on that trip differed from any other time he had spent with them. Immediately prior to that comment, he ruminated on the “country life”: “We can do just as we like in many ways, as we cannot in the usual life at home: and one gets to know people so much better.”⁶⁰ Before that holiday, Howard had only known the Barkers in the midst of their usual day-to-day tasks. His sense of propriety seemed to restrain him from entertaining any sense of intimate friendship with them. Indeed, he had earlier written: “I like [the Briellats] and Mr Baber best of all my friends in Australia – except for perhaps Bishop & Mrs Barker, but I can’t [be] so intimate with them of course.”⁶¹ The Blue Mountains trip melted his inhibitions, enabling the kind of intimacy which had not yet been part of their relationship. There, Howard wrote about the “great fun” it was seeing Barker display his bush skills as he gathered sticks and made a fire. He also wrote of Barker’s delight at the horse lent to him while staying in Bathurst: “The Bishop is as pleased as a boy with a new pony. Every now and then he jumps up and says to me “come along to the stable and see how the horse is getting on.””⁶²

From that Bathurst trip onwards, Howard gave himself to an intimate friendship with the Bishop. There was now a mutuality in their relationship that had previously been absent. This not only allowed Howard to enjoy Barker’s playfulness, but also to reciprocate his kindness. Moreover, it prepared him for the role he would play following the death of Jane Barker fourteen months later. On 21 March, 1876, twelve days after her death, Howard went to Bishops court and stayed there for two months. Then, in July, Howard accompanied Barker as his personal chaplain on an episcopal tour of north Queensland.

⁵⁹ Stanley Howard’s Journal, 22 Jan 1875.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 Jan 1875.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 27 Jan 1873.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 26 Jan 1875.

Jane Barker's death caused deep grief for Frederic Barker, but it also deeply shook Howard. When he first read the news in the morning paper, he rose from the table at St Peter's parsonage, and strolled out into the churchyard to be alone with his thoughts. He recalled the welcome he had been given at Bishops court and the interest and care she had shown him ever since. "O I have lost a friend," he wrote. His thoughts quickly turned to Barker. His concern was for Barker's feelings, how he would cope without her, and his future as Bishop.⁶³ That evening, the Bishop sent a note inviting Howard to be one of the eight pall bearers at the funeral the following day. At the funeral, Howard walked alongside Barker as he carried the coffin. Barker's face was "a sad study, yet on the whole a triumph."⁶⁴ As they later stood at the graveside Barker reciting the Lord's Prayer, Barker's emotions prevented him from going any further than "Thy will be done."⁶⁵ As the graveside service concluded, Barker stood for a moment looking down, before exclaiming, "My beloved! Not there, not there." Then, as he stepped away, he said, "Well! Till the resurrection."⁶⁶

Even though many wondered about the possibility of Barker retiring his episcopate, he carried on.⁶⁷ No doubt a large part of this was the support he received at Bishops court from his friends and family. Shortly after Jane's death, Mrs Moreton, wife of the clergyman at Woolloomooloo, and Eliza Marsden Hassall, granddaughter of Samuel Marsden and daughter of Thomas Hassall, the previous vicar of Cobbitty, spent a short stay at Bishops court.⁶⁸ In September the widow of his brother, Anthony Auriol Barker arrived with her daughter.⁶⁹ But in the intervening months, it was Howard who stayed with the Bishop. While Barker had initially invited Howard to come for a day and "help arrange some papers etc," Alexander Stuart (a member of parliament and mutual friend of Barker and Howard) soon suggested to

⁶³ Ibid., 10 Mar 1876.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 10-18 Mar 1876.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 10 Mar 1876.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 27 Mar 1876, 29 Mar 1876.

⁶⁹ See *ibid.*, 25 Aug - 2 Sept 1876.

Barker that Howard should stay longer at Bishops court.⁷⁰ Stuart thought Howard “circumstantially suited,” since as a curate with no family he could easily leave his parish. Stuart also thought he “had the tact to know when [he] was wanted and when not”.⁷¹

During this time together, Howard was acutely aware of his role. He wrote in one letter of his prayer to be given “such a frame and spirit as shall make one some little comfort to the beloved and revered old man in his awful solitude.”⁷² Howard was there as both a helper and a comfort to Barker. He sorted pamphlets, papers and letters, taking some to be burnt in a fire constructed for the purpose.⁷³ He stamped and addressed letters Barker had written for loved ones back home.⁷⁴ He wrote the account of Jane’s last days for the *Church Record*, which elicited a whispered, “it couldn’t be better, couldn’t be better,” and a squeeze of the hand from an emotional Barker.⁷⁵ Later, as Barker returned to his regular tasks, Howard accompanied him at confirmations. He recorded how he “got thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of folding up the episcopal robes & packing them in the diminutive portmanteau which looks as if it could never hold them all.”⁷⁶

But it was Howard’s companionship which Barker needed most. The two ate meals together – Howard greatly relieved that he didn’t have to sit at the dining table in Jane’s place.⁷⁷ They went on walks around Bishops court and its beautiful seaside surrounds.⁷⁸ They spent evenings together in the drawing room, Barker making the occasional humorous comment: one time comparing Howard’s quiet penmanship with the working of a Wilcox and Gibbs silent sewing machine.⁷⁹ Another time, Howard was there when the housekeeper Mrs Milman brought in

⁷⁰ Ibid., 10-18 Mar 1876, 27 Mar 1876.

⁷¹ Ibid., 27 Mar 1876.

⁷² Ibid., 10-18 Mar 1876.

⁷³ Ibid., 27 Mar 1876.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 30 Mar 1876.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 30 Mar 1876.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 16 May 1876.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 27 Mar 1876.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 29 Mar 1876, 20 April 1876.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 27 Mar 1876.

the recently arrived English letters. Many of them were addressed to Jane, and Barker had the sad task of opening them. Howard, sitting at the same table as the Bishop, reflected, “I think it is a good thing for him to have someone here with him.”⁸⁰

Four months after Jane’s death, Howard accompanied the Bishop as his personal chaplain on a tour of north Queensland. As the Metropolitan, Barker was still responsible for this region, and he intended to generating support for its independence prior to his trip to the 1878 Lambeth Conference.⁸¹ Howard’s journal of the trip is filled with displays of Barker’s kindness and sense of humour. Howard spent much of his time on the ship to Brisbane wracked with seasickness. Reflecting on the voyage, Howard wrote, “I cannot tell you how kind & tender the dear Bishop was. When I came on deck he would fetch me shawls cushions etc & speak such kind words. Father himself could scarcely have done more.”⁸² Barker offered the same care on the return voyage.⁸³ Ashore in north Queensland, Barker “perhaps wisely” advised Howard to no longer ride a horse, but for the sake of his health to ride in the buggy.⁸⁴ On another night he looked after Howard, who was “troubled badly by a fit of coughing.”⁸⁵ Barker also showed his humorous side. After Howard purchased a pair of leggings – “the most clerical looking ones I could get” – he wrote of Barker’s amusement: “The Bishop says I look like a kid legged duck in them.”⁸⁶ Another time, Barker jested that Howard, who claimed not to feel “at all over tired or stiff from the (horse) riding,” was simply too proud to confess being so.⁸⁷ Later in the tour, Howard recorded that Barker was “very much amused” by a “philosophical... [and] slightly ridiculous” argument between a woman and her younger sister, who were looking after the inn where they were staying. The

⁸⁰ Ibid., 29 Mar 1876.

⁸¹ Ibid., 3-11 July 1876.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 16 Aug 1876.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 18 July 1876.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 24 July 1876.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 13 July 1876.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 19 July 1876.

older sister accused the younger of laziness, after she had refused to get up early and make preparations for the guests.⁸⁸

Upon arrival in Brisbane on the return journey both Barker and Howard were greeted by a bundle of condolence letters. The letters were from family and friends in England who had heard of Jane Barker's death, and had been held for them in Brisbane due to their itinerant life in north Queensland. The tour had, according to Howard, abated the heat of the furnace through which Barker was travelling, because of "the absence of all that reminds him of the... departed one." But in opening the letters, "now a fresh blast of heat comes upon him and makes his heart shrivel up again with the heat."⁸⁹ As Barker made his way through the first portion of the letters, Howard wrote "The revered old man came down from his room a while ago looking so sad, as if he had been in the very presence of the dead."⁹⁰ Howard recognised that his role in the face of the "blast" was to "share in the sorrow" knowing that he was "apparently appointed by God to be a comfort to him... at this season."⁹¹

Howard's friendship with Bishop Barker: Trusted allies (1877–1882)

From September 1876 until Barker's death in 1882, Howard and Barker never again shared the intimacy of that six month period following Jane Barker's death. Nevertheless, the depth of their friendship was secure and they still saw each other regularly. A number of factors contributed to the newfound distance. Firstly, and most significantly, Barker now had the intimacy of family. His sister-in-law and her daughter arrived in Sydney in September 1876, staying with Barker for the next six months before accompanying him on a journey to England.⁹² There, in January 1878, Barker married Mary Jane Woods, and the two arrived

⁸⁸ Ibid., 24 July 1876.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 16 Aug 1876.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 25 Aug - 2 Sept 1876.

back in Sydney in October. Secondly, Howard's focus also shifted elsewhere. He became engaged in his busy new curacy at St John's, Darlinghurst, and his brother, Richard Nelson Howard, had arrived in Sydney in September 1876.⁹³ Moreover, early in 1878 Howard, too, sailed to England and was married. Returning to Sydney in December 1878, Howard and his new wife, Marian, soon took up residence in the relatively distant township of Bowral.⁹⁴

Though these factors meant the intimacy of 1876 was never again possible, the deep trust between the two remained. Three days before Barker's departure from Sydney in 1877, Howard dropped in to Bishopscourt for some final words. In the ensuing five minute conversation the two exchanged kind farewells but also talked business.⁹⁵ Howard recorded Barker's instructions: "He told me that I must hold myself in readiness, whenever I get a telegram from him to say that a Bishop is appointed for Nr Q'land, to take a trip over our old ground and stir up the people to pay in their subscription."⁹⁶ Though events didn't unfold as they had envisaged, Howard's role as a trusted emissary of Barker was beginning to emerge. Howard also gave Barker some addresses of friends in England, "which he kindly said he had been going to ask for."⁹⁷

When Howard and Barker did get together during these years, Barker immediately slipped back into comfortable playfulness. When he returned to Sydney on Christmas Eve 1878 Howard and Marian immediately went to stay at Bishopscourt. One evening, as Marian exhibited her wedding dress – "never the picture of ease and comfort" – to the party at Bishopscourt, Barker kindly said, "Well I wish you every happiness in it," before adding quizzically "and *out* of it, too!"⁹⁸ In September 1880, Barker hosted a clergy lunch to conclude the parish-based missions which had occurred during the week. After lunch, as seats

⁹³ Ibid., 6 Sept 1876.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 'Bowral Diaries'

⁹⁵ Ibid., Mar 9-19 1877.

⁹⁶ Ibid., Mar 9-19 1877.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 9-19 Mar 1877.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 6 Jan 1879.

were set out for the open-air evangelistic meeting to be held that evening, Barker was in his element. “The dear Bishop went fussing about as lively as a young curate – “Here Howard,” catching me talking and gave me a playful push, “go and help Henry arrange the seats.””⁹⁹

As it became clear that Barker’s episcopate was coming to a close, Howard also took upon himself the responsibility of ensuring Barker’s legacy. Primarily, this meant securing an evangelical episcopal successor. The early 1880s had seen issues of churchmanship rise to the surface, and Howard was concerned of potential threats to Barker’s evangelicalism. In June 1880, Barker refused to grant a licence to W. K. Brodribb to minister in the diocese on the grounds that he was a member of the tractarian English Church Union, stoking some conflict at the next month’s Synod.¹⁰⁰ But Barker was unwilling to relent. As Barker’s health declined, and then following his death in April 1882, Howard continually reminded his friends of the need to elect an evangelical successor. He was horrified that “[m]any men who are evangelical themselves... seem to think that somehow or other the diocese would get on better with a more “churchy” Bishop.”¹⁰¹ For Howard, the best way to remember Barker would be to ensure an evangelical followed in his chair. Indeed, they were trusted allies until the end.

Conclusion

On the day of Barker’s departure for England in March 1877, a farewell service for Barker was held at St Andrew’s Cathedral in Sydney. Howard attended with his brother, sitting not far from the Bishop’s chair. The occasion was charged with emotion. The reading was the apostle Paul’s tearful farewell to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20. Barker was addressed with admiration by Dean Cowper before giving his own response. For Howard, the intensity of the

⁹⁹ Ibid., 20 Sept 1880.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 2 July 1880.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 11 April 1882.

moment was even greater, as the events of the previous year at Bishopscourt and north Queensland were recalled to mind. Later that evening, Howard wrote:

What the Bishop himself has been to me you know pretty well: and yet you don't know. You hardly can, for you first must be put in my position as a lone youth in a far off land, without kith or kin in this hemisphere (almost): and then you [would] have to go through no end of little kindnesses besides the greater one which I have received at his hand, and from that dear one who has passed away. Right and precious are those memories! How much they have done to light up not only my Australian life but my spiritual life also. If I never see that venerable and beloved face again, which I fully hope to do, it will always live in my heart and memory to the end of earth's journey.¹⁰²

The friendship of Stanley Howard and Frederic Barker began with the Barker's concern for an ill young man who was half a world away from his family and friends. But it grew into far more than that, as Howard came to discover how he, too could become a genuine companion and ministry partner of his Bishop who he deeply revered. The Barker we discover in Howard's journals is kind, playful and wise. Of course Frederic Barker had flaws – though Howard himself was reticent to include them in his journals. Nevertheless, as one of 'Barker's men', we see in Howard's journals a hitherto underestimated factor in the recruitment of evangelical clergy that marked his imprint on the Sydney Diocese: his ability to forge affectionate friendships.

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