

The Unexpected Chaplain: Henry Fulton and Early Colonial Evangelicalism

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The history of the Early Colonial period of Sydney has, at its heart, the Chaplains who served and strived for Christ amongst the people of the city. And rightly so. The dozen or so men who over a thirty year period left England and came to this remote outpost of the empire played a key part in shaping the overall life of Sydney and its immediate environs.

It is in this milieu that the story of Henry Fulton needs to be told. In many ways Fulton was relatively unremarkable amongst the Chaplains of the colony. He did not rise to high office, nor did he pioneer inland and overseas mission work. The majority of his ministry was spent in a rural backwater, well and truly separate from the importance and power of the inner-city churches. As such, Fulton gives us an insight into the more ordinary life, distinct from those of the city-centric ministers Samuel Marsden and William Cowper.

And yet at the same time Fulton was a most unique early minister of the gospel in New South Wales. He was more highly educated than many of his fellow Chaplains. He came to the position with an acute understanding of politics, due to his involvement in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. His work in New South Wales was relatively wide-ranging, being engaged in parish work across multiple centres. Perhaps most significantly of all, Fulton fell into Colonial chaplaincy rather unexpectedly, arriving at Sydney Cove as a convict at a time when only one other man, Marsden, was employed in church work. These factors undoubtedly led to Fulton beating a relatively atypical path in his colonial ministry, seeing him come into conflict multiple times with both Governors and also senior clergy.

It is to our collective shame, then, that Fulton is generally left out of histories of the early colonial church in New South Wales. Judd and Cable's *Sydney Anglicans* makes scant mention of him, erroneously asserting that 'Fulton ministered chiefly at Norfolk Island' and briefly noting his suspension from duties by the Johnston rebel government.¹ The autobiography of William Macquarie Cowper covers the time period of his father, but although most of the other colonial chaplains are discussed, he fails completely to mention Fulton.²

This paper aims to fill this notable void in our understanding of both the history of evangelicalism in New South Wales and the history of the Sydney colony in general. Following Fulton's life chronologically, it will chart the key events in both his formation and his influence on life in the colony. It will also draw out from Fulton's experience a picture of what ordinary life was like for a minister of the gospel working in these circumstances.

Beginnings: An Irish Evangelical Rebel

Fulton's beginnings are frustratingly shady. One researcher, Marjorie Quarton, in the course of writing a historical fiction based on Fulton's Irish years reached the conclusion that his name had deliberately been expunged from the record, presumably by a family ashamed at their criminal son.³ Even his date and place of birth is in question, Cable listing it as 1761, based presumably on his burial record,⁴ while the Convict Registers of the *Minerva* show him being 34 years old in 1799, suggesting a birth date closer to 1765.⁵ Fulton first turns up on

¹ Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans : a History of the Diocese* (Sydney: AIO, 1987), 5–6.

² William Macquarie Cowper, *The Autobiography and Reminiscences of William Macquarie Cowper, Dean of Sydney* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1902).

³ Marjorie Quarton, *Renegade* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1991), 308–9.

⁴ 'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Burial Register 1826-1875', 1989/032, Sydney Diocesan Archives; K. J. Cable, 'Fulton, Henry (1761–1840)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1966).

⁵ 'NRS 1151: List of Convicts: "Minerva", "Speedy", "Royal Admiral", "Minorca", "Canada", "Nile".', Item 4/3999, State Archives NSW.

the historical record enrolling as a Pensioner at Trinity College Dublin on the 1st of March 1788.⁶ Quarton wisely notes that although Fulton would go on to be an ordained Minister, this does not mean that his time at Trinity was spent studying theology, and indeed, there is no record of Henry having formally studied divinity.⁷ A catalogue of his personal library, although now lost,⁸ was once extant, and the brief references to it by later commentators indicate that it contained a substantial number of mathematical and legal works, giving a strong indication that Fulton's study was undertaken in those areas.⁹ Nevertheless, he graduated with a B.A. in 1792, his university career undoubtedly forming the backbone of Fulton's love of education and learning, something we see carried over strongly into his ministry years in the colony.

Sometime after his graduation from university Fulton was ordained into the Church of Ireland by Bishop William Knox (contra Cable, who suggests Bishop Barnard).¹⁰ We do not know where Fulton's first ministry position was undertaken, despite the speculations of both Quarton and Cable. His first confirmed ministry was as Curate of the Kilmore Union and Vicar of Monsea, both in County Tipperary, which Fulton took up in September 1796.¹¹ Later in 1797 he had moved, being named as one of twenty-seven key evangelical clergy in the nearby Silvermines region.¹²

Fulton's time in Ireland saw him get married and start a family. Ann Walker was the daughter

⁶ Cable, 'Fulton, Henry (1761–1840)'.

⁷ Quarton, *Renegade*, 308.

⁸ Thanks a lot, State Library of NSW.

⁹ Cable, 'Fulton, Henry (1761–1840)'; Quarton, *Renegade*, 308.

¹⁰ Cable, 'Fulton, Henry (1761–1840)'; Acheson, 'Dictionary of Evangelical Biography'; Quarton, *Renegade*, 308. Had Barnard been involved in Fulton's entry into vocational Church it must have happened within 18 months of his graduation from Trinity and been a rather rushed process, for Barnard translated to a different diocese in September 1794. Since this would leave little time for any specifically theological study to be undertaken by Henry in preparation for his ministry, it is preferable to see Knox as having ordained Fulton. This also explains the highly supportive relationship between Knox and Fulton which emerged in the coming years. It would seem that Knox knew Fulton before September 1794 and was keen to see him involved in ministry, perhaps impressed by his scholarship, and as such ordained him soon after became Bishop.

¹¹ Acheson, 'Dictionary of Evangelical Biography'.

¹² Acheson, 'Dictionary of Evangelical Biography'.

of James Walker, a prominent clergyman in the aforementioned Silvermines area.¹³ Henry's marriage to Ann was undertaken in 1795, and by February 1798 two children had joined them, James and Jane.

Fulton's conduct in these different parts of Killaloe Diocese gives us an insight into his ministry practices. The judge in his later trial, Sir William Osborne, commented in a letter to the influential Lord Claremont that 'disregarding the Sacred Duties of his Function, he [Fulton] turned that Influence he once had gained from an apparent Shyness of Demeanor bordering on Methodism....'¹⁴ Fulton, evidently, had touched a raw nerve in conservative Ireland by his ministry practices, being loose on ecclesiastical strictness. This is not to say, however, that Fulton was lazy. Despite saying of Fulton that 'I cannot conceive a more Compleat Wolf in Sheep's clothing', Osborne's letter also cannot help but note that '[Fulton] wormed himself into the Confidence of a Gentleman of the most respected in the County by the apparent Sanctity of his Manners, undertook the tuition of his Son and the defence of his House...', and that 'he used to go on Foot, with the Affectation of Humility, to visit the Parishioners.'¹⁵ It is telling that even this judge, so adamant that Fulton was guilty that he commented 'Mr Fulton is one of the last Men I would turn loose amongst the People', was forced to concede that Fulton has been a careful and thoughtful Pastor of his flock, humbly visiting them on foot, being involved in the life of the local landlord's household, even going so far as to organise the defence of the landlord's estate should it be attacked! For all his supposed abandonment of the 'Sacred Duties of his Function', it would seem that Fulton remained a dutiful minister of the Gospel, even if it meant he looked more like a Methodist in his practice. We also see Fulton's interest in education shining through, taking on the

¹³ Joseph Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt: General of the Irish Rebels in 1798* (H. Colburn, 1838), 28–29.

¹⁴ Cited in Quarton, *Renegade*, 201. According to Quarton, this letter was found deep in the archives of Dublin Castle. Without any way of accessing this document, I am having to assume that she has quoted from it accurately.

¹⁵ Quarton, *Renegade*, 201–2.

education of the local landlord's son.

The part of Fulton's Irish ministry with the greatest long-term impact, however, was not to be his commitment to certain ministry practices, but rather his connection with the 'United Irishman' cause, without which he would never have exercised his ministry in New South Wales. Fulton, along with a neighbouring Roman Catholic priest named William O'Mara, was caught administering the 'Defender's Oath' to local men, an outlawed practice because of its links to the Rebel cause.¹⁶

It is impossible to know precisely how Fulton became caught up in this movement, or even what his motivations were in doing so. One of the leading generals of the rebels, Joseph Holt, found himself sharing a cabin with Fulton on his journey to Sydney, and even he was thoroughly puzzled as to why Fulton would have involved himself in the rebellion.¹⁷ In his opinion, a man such as Fulton had absolutely no reason to want to be involved in an illegal revolt, given that there was no potential for personal gain or revenge.¹⁸ Given this, it seems likely that his motivation stemmed from his role as Minister in the local community. That is, in the course of involving himself in the lives of the people under his care, Fulton must have seen the suffering of the Irish people under the British, and so was convinced that the United Irishman cause was worthy of his personal support, in spite of the obvious risks it brought. If this was indeed the reason for Fulton's involvement in the Irish rebellion of 1798, it was not to be the last time that he identified with his people in such a personal way – this character trait would go on to have a big impact on his ministry in New South Wales.

In August 1799 Henry Fulton was found by the Tipperary court to be guilty of sedition and

¹⁶ Ruan O'Donnell, 'Desperate and Diabolical: Defenders and United Irishmen in Early NSW', Cited 30 May 2013, Online: <http://members.pcug.org.au/~ppmay/defenders.htm>; Quarton, *Renegade*, 309.

¹⁷ Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, 29–30.

¹⁸ Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, 32.

sentenced to life transportation.¹⁹ This conviction saw him loaded onto the convict transport ship *Minerva* on the 26th of February,²⁰ yet it would be six more months before the boat finally left Cork bound for Sydney, being delayed by conviction appeals and rough weather.²¹ Ann Fulton and her two young children joined Henry as free travellers on the voyage,²² James and Jane being described as ‘two of the finest I ever saw in my life, they are sweet representatives of innocence’ in a testimony to the stability of the Fulton family.²³

The family’s journey to New South Wales was to be a relatively pleasant one by the standards of the day. Travelling alongside 193 convicts and 89 free men and women,²⁴ the Fultons were afforded a cabin together for the long journey,²⁵ and spent most of their time fraternizing with the military officers who were bound for the New South Wales Corps. The leader of this company was William Cox, travelling along with his wife and children.²⁶ Little did both families know that this would be the start of a long-running friendship, with two of the Cox boys going on to become key landowners in Fulton’s parish and even being named as ‘my friends’ and executors of his will.²⁷

Blessed with a wise captain, the ship took the gentler route via Rio de Janeiro instead of the Cape of Good Hope.²⁸ And even with an early failed attempt by some convicts to overthrow the ship’s guard, in which Fulton had no involvement, minimal loss of life was sustained on

¹⁹ ‘NRS 1151: List of Convicts: “Minerva”, “Speedy”, “Royal Admiral”, “Minorca”, “Canada”, “Nile”.’ It is important to note that, according to the extant records, the rebellious Reverend did not surrender for self-transportation. Some confusion opened up over this question later on in his life, when the issue of his guilt was raised in connection with his proposed appointment as a Crown-sanctioned Chaplain. The “Convict Indent” on which Fulton appears, though, clearly delineates those who self-surrendered and those who were convicted of political crimes, and Fulton is firmly in the latter camp. .

²⁰ J.W. Price, ‘MSS AJCP M1574: A Journal of Voyage from Ireland to Sydney Cove, Port Jackson, New South Wales, Kept on Board the *Minerva*’, Journal, trans by. William Taylor, January 1799, 6.

²¹ Price, ‘Journal of Voyage’, 44.

²² Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, 30.

²³ Price, ‘Journal of Voyage’, 47.

²⁴ Price, ‘Journal of Voyage’, 52.

²⁵ Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, 33.

²⁶ Price, ‘Journal of Voyage’, 46.

²⁷ Henry Fulton, ‘Last Will and Testament of Henry Fulton’, May 6, 1840, Probate 1-1218, NSW State Archives.

²⁸ Price, ‘Journal of Voyage’, 8.

the nearly five month voyage.²⁹ This was in deep contrast with the *Atlas*, similarly carrying Irish rebels to Sydney, which had one death for every 2.7 convicts aboard.³⁰ As the only Protestant clergyman aboard Fulton stepped up to perform funeral rites for one deceased convict on the 18th of October,³¹ and also baptized the newborn son of Joseph Holt on the 19th of July.³² Fulton had clearly conducted himself in an upright and helpful manner during the journey, for upon the *Minerva's* arrival in Sydney Cove on the 12th of January 1800 Fulton was singled out to Governor Hunter by the ship's surgeon J.W. Price as a man of good behaviour who should be allowed to leave the ship earlier than the other convicts. This led to him and his family coming ashore on Thursday the 16th of January 1800.³³ The Fulton's Australian journey had begun.

The Period of Uncertainty: Hawkesbury, Norfolk, Sydney and London

The colony Fulton found himself in upon stepping ashore in Sydney Cove was at a turning point. A greater knowledge of the local soil and climate had led to successive successful harvests in the preceding years, making the terrible famines of the 1790s a thing of the past and bringing with it increased security.³⁴ Over those years a definite power shift had begun to take place, with certain members of the NSW Corps using their position to control the trade of grain and other goods, shoring up their power somewhat independently of the official government. Demographically, too, a shift was beginning to occur, to which the arrival of the *Minerva* directly contributed. That is, the number of Irish convicts in the colony was becoming a substantial minority, making up over one-fifth of all the convicts in the colony.³⁵

²⁹ Price, 'Journal of Voyage', 63.

³⁰ Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868* (Library of Australian History, 2004), 182–3, 276.

³¹ Price, 'Journal of Voyage', 69.

³² Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, 42.

³³ Price, 'Journal of Voyage', 111.

³⁴ A. T. (Alexander Turnbull) Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden : The Great Survivor* (2nd ed.; Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 43.

³⁵ Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, 70.

By 1804 these convicts and their families made up one-fifth of the total population!³⁶ Since a good number of these had been involved in leading the United Irishman rebellion, it is understandable that the arrival of these Irish convicts set many in the colony on edge, fearful that rebellion, rather than being snuffed out, would now simply spread to the antipodes.³⁷

On the religious front, things were not healthy. Rev. Samuel Johnston as the first Chaplain was still Principal Chaplain in early 1800, having been joined in the work by Samuel Marsden as Assistant Chaplain in March of 1794.³⁸ However, Johnston was fast tiring of the difficulties that faced a colonial chaplain, especially the constant struggles with the successive governors and the trials of balancing pastoral and farming work. Longing for the ‘green pastures’ of England, he left Sydney in October of 1800, leaving the more resilient Marsden as the sole Church of England minister in the entire colony.³⁹

‘The Reverend Mr Fulton will perform divine service once every six weeks at the Hawkesbury, where he will Baptise, and perform other duties of a Clergyman.’⁴⁰ So decreed the newly appointed Governor King on the 26th of October 1800. Less than a year after his arrival in the colony, Fulton had been given ministerial work, and by the 7th of December he had begun to preach in the ‘Green Hills’ area.⁴¹ The fact that Fulton’s ministry was restricted to the Hawkesbury region makes it clear that his appointment was not meant as a replacement for the just-departed Johnston, which would have necessitated Fulton taking up work in either Sydney Cove or Parramatta. Rather, it instead points to a recognition by King that the outlying settlement of Hawkesbury was in need of leadership/ministry, and that the growing Irish population in that area would respond well to a fellow Irishman working amongst them.

³⁶ Kate White, *Dharug and Dungaree: The History of Penrith and St Marys to 1860* (North Melbourne: Hargreen Publishing, 1988), 73.

³⁷ Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, 72.

³⁸ Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, 30.

³⁹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 3–4.

⁴⁰ ‘Colonial Secretary’s Papers: Special Bundles’, 1825 1794, 32, NRS 898, NSW State Archives.

⁴¹ Frank Murcot Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales: King, 1803 1804, 1805* (vol. 5; Lansdown Slattery & Co., 1897), 259.

This arrangement was not to last long, however, as Fulton was soon in March 1801 to be sent to Norfolk Island, to ‘perform the duties of a clergyman until another can be sent from England.’⁴² The language used here indicates that King still considered using Fulton as a temporary measure borne out of desperation. That said, the Governor did consider Fulton to be highly competent, commenting that in his short time in the colony Fulton had ‘conducted himself with great propriety and in a most exemplary manner’ and that, as such, King had conditionally pardoned him before sending him to Norfolk.⁴³ The role given to Fulton was not to be an easy one, for as King notes, he had previously been promised that a Rev. Mr Haddock had been appointed as Chaplain to the Island, but that Haddock had neglected to ever leave England, not exactly being enthusiastic about heading to a place as isolated as Norfolk.⁴⁴

Fulton later admitted to feeling negatively about this commission. It would have been difficult for him to leave the Hawkesbury community where he and his family had settled, to go to a place he later described as ‘a very disagreeable place for a person who has a growing up family.’⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Fulton was only conditionally emancipated and needed to continue to impress Governor King, leaving him little choice but to go, and on the 10th of June we have the earliest record of Fulton’s ministry on the Island, a brief note in a rudimentary Burial Register.⁴⁶ Although the records are damaged, they show that Fulton was busy in his time on Norfolk, with an average of 30 baptisms,⁴⁷ 20 marriages⁴⁸ and 10 burials

⁴² Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 467.

⁴³ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 719.

⁴⁴ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 467.

⁴⁵ Henry Fulton, ‘Copy of a Letter Received by Elizabeth Bligh from Henry Fulton’ (Sydney, 1809), CY3007, Mitchell Library.

⁴⁶ ‘Sydney St Philip’s Church of England - Norfolk Island Burial Register, 1801-1805’, SAG 90, Mitchell Library.

⁴⁷ ‘Sydney St Philip’s Church of England - Marriage Register 1789-1809’, SAG 90, Mitchell Library.

⁴⁸ ‘Sydney St Philip’s Church of England - Norfolk Island Marriage Register, 1801-1806’, SAG 90, Mitchell Library.

per year.⁴⁹ This time was also tinged with sadness, with the harshness of life on this remote convict outstation leading to the death of Jane Fulton, Henry's four year old daughter, later memorialized in the Old Sydney Burial Ground alongside James, their earlier deceased son.⁵⁰

Ultimately, Fulton's conduct as Acting Chaplain impressed King, who as a result in March 1802 proposed to London that Fulton be paid half of the stipend which had been set aside for the Norfolk Island clergyman,⁵¹ which was agreed to in late August 1802.⁵² King's view of Fulton had risen again by May 1803, describing him as 'exemplary', leading to Fulton being paid the full £96 annual stipend.⁵³ Although no doubt thankfully received by the Fulton family, this and the entire Norfolk Island ministry highlights an attitude towards Fulton which enveloped this phase of his ministry – that of his being considered a second-rate minister. In a report to London in February 1807 now-Governor Bligh was full of praise for Fulton, 'a good, moral man, becoming his situation.' And yet, even in the midst of this praise, he casts doubt on whether Fulton will be allowed to continue his work once a replacement clergyman can be found.⁵⁴ As a pardoned convict Fulton struggled to win the absolute support of his superiors, both civil and religious.

Governor Bligh and Marsden would have happily left Fulton to toil away on Norfolk Island, were it not for Marsden's keen desire to return to England in 1806 to enjoy a furlough, spruik his proposed mission to New Zealand and also express his support of Bligh and his reforms, which had been proving unpopular.⁵⁵ He was also wary of the fast-changing political landscape in Sydney, and did not wish to be caught up in any overthrow of the government.

⁴⁹ 'Norfolk Island Burial Register'.

⁵⁰ William Freame, 'By the Way the Floods of 67', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* (NSW, July 25, 1930).

⁵¹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 720.

⁵² Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 828.

⁵³ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 116.

⁵⁴ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 5, 251.

⁵⁵ Samuel Marsden, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838* (ed by. John Rawson Elder; Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie and A.H. Reed, 1932), 41.

And so Fulton was unconditionally pardoned on the 8th of February 1806,⁵⁶ recalled to Sydney to be Acting Chaplain,⁵⁷ making it to Port Jackson on the 7th of May.⁵⁸ When it turned out that Fulton would be able to return to Sydney sooner than planned, Marsden commented:

‘I considered this circumstance a highly favourable dispensation of Providence towards myself at that time, being aware that a great political storm was fast gathering in which, if I remained, I could not well avoid being involved.’⁵⁹

Fulton, then, was left alone to bear the brunt of the religious response to the looming political crisis, at the same time feeling vulnerable that, as only Acting Chaplain with no firm appointment, he was liable to being usurped at any time. This prompted him to write to his longstanding friend Bishop Knox seeking his favour in applying to the Archbishop of Canterbury for a permanent and properly paid appointment.⁶⁰ Such an appointment was not forthcoming, however, despite a favourable reference being given by Knox to the Archbishop a year later, praising Fulton’s ‘exemplary conduct’ and ‘zealousness in the discharge of his duties’ as a clergyman in Ireland.⁶¹

In the meantime, Fulton’s life had become even more complicated. From his arrival in Sydney in May 1806 through to Marsden’s departure in February 1807 the two men had worked alongside each other.⁶² Although neither commented on this arrangement, we can assume a certain level of discomfort, especially from Marsden, who had developed a resentment of emancipated convicts like Fulton, especially those who were Irish.⁶³ Something of this tension between the two men can be seen in Fulton’s 1809 letter to Mrs Bligh in London, where he had railed against Marsden for his earlier failure to condemn the treachery

⁵⁶ ‘Copies of Conditional Pardons Registered’, 16, 4/4486, Reel 800, NSW State Archives.

⁵⁷ Frank Murcot Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales: King and Bligh, 1806, 1807, 1808* (vol. 6; Lansdown Slattery & Co., 1898), 21.

⁵⁸ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 80.

⁵⁹ Marsden, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838*, 60.

⁶⁰ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 277.

⁶¹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 276–7.

⁶² Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, 111.

⁶³ Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, 79–80, 121.

against Bligh, for forcing Fulton to work on Norfolk Island, and for reneging on an arrangement to share his stipend with Fulton while in England.⁶⁴ Marsden, for his part, saw Fulton as being a second-rate citizen because of his convict past,⁶⁵ and must have resented leaving his colonial churches in the hands of this emancipated Irishman.

Once Marsden left Sydney, Fulton was incredibly busy, conducting services at both St John's Parramatta and St Philip's Sydney. Sunday gatherings aside, the role of Chaplain required Fulton to be taking the vast majority of weddings, baptisms and burials in the colony, which, when spread out over two sites 25km apart, must have quickly taken up Fulton's entire week. This was made more difficult by the fact that Fulton had purchased a horse from Marsden for this purpose which, in his disgruntled opinion, was 'unfit for riding or drawing'.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Fulton was able to officiate at 56 weddings in 1807 at Parramatta,⁶⁷ on one occasion conducting six in a single day, and across the same period conducting 39 weddings at Sydney.⁶⁸

This busyness was brought to an abrupt halt on the 30th of January 1808, with Fulton's suspension from discharging the office of Chaplain in the colony.⁶⁹ Evidently Fulton's Irish experience had not scared him away from involving himself in political disputes, for the cause of this suspension was his opposition to the so-called Rum Rebellion. This rebellion against the incumbent Governor Bligh was motivated by Bligh's efforts to shift power away from the officers of the NSW Corps by way of trade restrictions. It was hoped by Bligh and his supporters that this would finally allow the emancipated settlers of the Hawkesbury region to prosper, rather than continue to be oppressed for the financial gain of a core group

⁶⁴ Fulton, 'Copy of a Letter Received by Elizabeth Bligh from Henry Fulton'.

⁶⁵ Marsden to Cooke, quoted in Fulton, 'Copy of a Letter Received by Elizabeth Bligh from Henry Fulton'.

⁶⁶ Fulton, 'Copy of a Letter Received by Elizabeth Bligh from Henry Fulton'.

⁶⁷ 'Parramatta St John's Church of England - Marriage Register 1790-1838', 56-70, SAG 55, Mitchell Library.

⁶⁸ 'St Philips Marriage Register'.

⁶⁹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 458.

of officers.⁷⁰

Fulton, like in the 1798 Irish Rebellion, would no doubt have been better served personally through this 1808 Rebellion if he had simply kept his head down and not involved himself. As it was, however, Fulton chose to involve himself deeply, siding defiantly with the Bligh government. He was in attendance at Government House when the soldiers came to arrest Bligh, and personally held the door closed to bar them access.⁷¹ He wrote in support of Bligh, upholding the Governor's good character and intentions,⁷² and acted as a representative for the exiled Bligh.⁷³ The price of this support was initially house arrest,⁷⁴ followed by the aforementioned suspension from office, the 'silencing of a most sound divine' as Rowland Hassall described it to the London Missionary Society.⁷⁵ This soon proved damaging to the religious devotion of the colony, with the churches being neglected and Sabbath devotion ignored,⁷⁶ despite services being taken by various laypeople.⁷⁷ Fulton for his part acted as a personal chaplain to the Bligh family during this period,⁷⁸ despite the rebels insistence that he desist from all clerical functions,⁷⁹ and he was forced to go into 'considerable debt' to purchase a house for his family, despite uncertainty over whether he would continue to be paid as Chaplain.⁸⁰

In a letter to Viscount Castlereagh on the 20th of July 1808 Fulton revealed his motivation in supporting Bligh, arguing that Bligh's reforms were bringing genuine relief to the embattled

⁷⁰ George Johnston, *A Charge of Mutiny: The Court-Martial of Lieutenant Colonel George Johnston for Deposing Governor William Bligh in the Rebellion of 26 January 1808* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988), XIV.

⁷¹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 558; Johnston, *A Charge of Mutiny*, 106; Holt, *Memoirs of Joseph Holt*, 301.

⁷² Henry Fulton, 'Letter from Fulton to Bligh', May 18, 1808, CY179, Mitchell Library.

⁷³ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 713.

⁷⁴ Johnston, *A Charge of Mutiny*, 106; Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 603.

⁷⁵ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 708.

⁷⁶ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 708.

⁷⁷ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 666.

⁷⁸ Frank Murcot Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales: Bligh and Macquarie, 1809, 1810, 1811* (vol. 7; Lansdown Slattery & Co., 1901), 12.

⁷⁹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 172.

⁸⁰ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 32.

and debt-ridden settlers of the Hawkesbury region.⁸¹ It would seem likely, then, that Fulton's months spent in the Hawkesbury area upon first arriving in the Colony had given him a particular burden for the mainly Irish settlers there, and that this was a key contributing factor in his support for Bligh, even though it brought with it significant personal costs. Fulton was a Minister not afraid of 'putting his neck on the line' when it came to defending the fair treatment of people in his care.

Governor Macquarie, upon arriving in Sydney to end the rebellion, wasted no time in correcting the injustices and mismanagements of the previous regime. On the 8th of January 1810, at 12 noon, Fulton was officially reinstated to his role as Assistant Chaplain.⁸² Macquarie was firm that attending church services was to be encouraged, making the Chaplain's work once again aligned with the wishes of the Governor.⁸³

Despite his reinstatement, however, Fulton's position was still in doubt, not because of incompetence, but because of Marsden's success. Marsden had in England managed to find two men willing to come work as Assistant Chaplains in the colony, William Cowper and Robert Cartwright. Cowper arrived first, reaching Sydney in August 1809, and had begun working as Assistant Chaplain under the rebel government.⁸⁴ While Marsden, Cowper and Cartwright had all been Crown appointments, Fulton's position remained that given to him by Governor King.⁸⁵ As such, when Macquarie ordered that Fulton and other officials be reinstated, there was confusion as to his position, with Cowper immediately enquiring to the Governor as to what role he envisaged Fulton to play in the colony.⁸⁶ Marsden, for his part,

⁸¹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 696.

⁸² Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 266.

⁸³ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 337.

⁸⁴ Peter Bolt, *William Cowper (1778-1858) : The Indispensable Parson : The Life and Influence of Australia's First Parish Clergyman* (Studies in Australian Colonial History; Camperdown, N.S.W.: Bolt Publishing Services, 2009), 11.

⁸⁵ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 465.

⁸⁶ William Cowper, 'Cowper to Macquarie R.e. Fulton's Resumption of Clerical Duties', January 4, 1810, NRS 897, Item 4/1723, NSW State Archives.

felt that in Cowper and Cartwright he had finally found men to help ease ‘the burden he had so long borne alone’, clearly not considering a man like Fulton to be of any *real* benefit to the work.⁸⁷

The issue of Fulton’s position was eventually resolved by his return to England. Bligh had requested that he and several others accompany him to London to testify at the trial of the rebels, and as a holder of a civil office Fulton was obliged to acquiesce.⁸⁸ His family remained in Sydney, being supported via the public stores by Macquarie. Fulton’s testimony at the trial and the fact that he had given great support to Bligh during the rebellion saw him come into favour, and on the 31st May 1811 he was given a Crown Commission to return as an Assistant Chaplain to the settlements in New South Wales.⁸⁹ Macquarie’s initial appointment for Fulton under this new commissioning, given on 9th May 1812, was for him to remain in Sydney,⁹⁰ which meant working alongside Cowper at St Philip’s.⁹¹

Stability and Progress: Castlereagh

It was not until June 1814 that Fulton was at last granted a permanent place to do ministry, being sent to ‘perform all the clerical duties in the two Districts of Castlereagh and Richmond: preaching every Sunday in each district, when his health and the weather permits’.⁹² The Castlereagh region had previously been a part of Cartwright’s massive Hawkesbury parish, encompassing Windsor, Wilberforce, Pitt Town, Richmond and Castlereagh. This area was far too large for one clergyman, and so Cartwright was more than

⁸⁷ Marsden, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838*, 43.

⁸⁸ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 6, 547; Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 336–7.

⁸⁹ Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales* 7, 539.

⁹⁰ ‘Colonial Secretary’s Papers: Special Bundles’, 254.

⁹¹ ‘Sydney, 26 December 1812’, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, December 26, 1812.

⁹² ‘Government and General Orders, 18 June 1814’, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, June 18, 1814.

happy to carve off Richmond and Castlereagh as a separate area under Fulton.⁹³

Having invested a large sum of money into the Castlereagh Glebe Building,⁹⁴ Macquarie's plan was for the local settlers to contribute towards a school building that would also double as a church, as was the norm for the outlying towns at the time.⁹⁵ Fulton took the lead on this, arranging a meeting at the Glebe House where he gathered funds from both local and Sydney subscribers to ensure that this building was built swiftly.⁹⁶

With arrangements for a schoolhouse well underway, Fulton next moved to establish a school. We have seen that Fulton's own education was strong and that in his early years he availed himself of opportunities to teach. Now, finding himself in an outlying part of New South Wales devoid of any kind of educational facility, Fulton decided to complement his pastoral work by establishing the 'Castlereagh Classical Academy'. This school, which began in the Glebe House, was

'for the accommodation of a few young Gentlemen not exceeding twelve; wherein are taught the Latin and Greek classics, French and English grammatically, Writing, and such Parts of the Mathematics, both in Theory and Practice, as may suit the Taste of the Scholar, according as he may be intended for Commercial, Military or Naval Pursuits.'⁹⁷

His fees were set at £50, not including books and bedding, giving a clear indication that Fulton was clearly hoping to provide a first-class education, not so much for poorer local children, but for prosperous young men from across the colony.

Castlereagh Classical Academy was the first secondary school in the colony,⁹⁸ and has been

⁹³ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 132 Citing Bonwick Transcript, Box 24, pp.5275-6.

⁹⁴ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 131.

⁹⁵ *Historical Records of Australia, June 1813-December 1815* (vol. 8; The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1916), 154.

⁹⁶ 'Public Advertisement, District of Castlereagh', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, June 18, 1814.

⁹⁷ Henry Fulton, 'Advertisement, 2 July 1814', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, July 2, 1814.

⁹⁸ J.D. Partridge, 'The History of Public Education in the Penrith Area to 1900 (with Special Emphasis on the

viewed as being on par with the better secondary schools in England.⁹⁹ A review in the *Sydney Gazette* commented that ‘The Castlereagh Academy sufficiently demonstrates the capacity of the reverend gentleman who rules it; the learned languages and the sciences are there taught in the first style of perfection,’¹⁰⁰ while Macquarie commented to Marsden that the Academy ‘provides for the high Attainment of learning’.¹⁰¹ Kate White notes, having seen the now-lost inventory of Fulton’s library, that the scholars had access to one of the most full and varied libraries in the colony, containing:

‘Latin, Greek and Hebrew bibles, Cook’s *Voyages*, Locke’s *Essays on Human Understanding*, Virgil, evangelical magazines, the *History of Greenland*, Cicero’s Orations, Calvin’s Life, Goldsmith’s *England*, the *Life of Charles XII*, Roman History (5 vols), Aristotle’s *Ethics*, Tacitus (3 vols), St Augustine’s *Confessions*, Soame’s *History of the Reformation*, Oteaheiti Testaments, *Letters of Clement XIV*, a *New Zealand Grammar*, A *Portuguese Grammar*, A *Spanish Grammar*, Jamison’s *School Dictionary*, Foxe’s *Martyrs*, *Psalms in Latin*, and Wesley’s *Hymns*.’¹⁰²

Fulton’s interests were evidently diverse, covering various areas of history, politics, language, philosophy and, if Cable and Quarton are also to be believed, mathematics and law,¹⁰³ making him well equipped to lead the way in secondary education in New South Wales.

We have Charles Thompson to thank for a description of life at Fulton’s Academy. Thompson was one of the school’s most successful students, a testimony to Fulton’s skill as a teacher, going on from Castlereagh to be Australia’s first native-born poet. In his poems, dedicated to his ‘muse, tutor, father and friend’ Fulton, we learn that the scholars were encouraged to enjoy free time playing in the bush and by the river. He also notes with fondness the way the Headmaster would encourage the Christian faith amongst his pupils, requiring Sunday church

Period 1865-1900)’ (University of Sydney, 1972), 31.

⁹⁹ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 132.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Sydney, 25 November 1820’, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, November 25, 1820.

¹⁰¹ *Historical Records of Australia, January 1816-December 1818* (vol. 9; The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917), 780–81.

¹⁰² White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 132.

¹⁰³ Cable, ‘Fulton, Henry (1761–1840)’; Quarton, *Renegade*, 308.

attendance. In describing Fulton as pastor, he wrote:

‘The pastor's sacred tongue diffuses round
The Gospel truths with holy precepts crown'd;
For him bright hands prepare, in realms above,
A wreath of glory and a crown of love!
For, pious in himself, his lips impart
Those conscious truths that live within his heart;
Cheerful in life, and to his calling true,
He knows the Word by books and practice too!’¹⁰⁴

Toby Ryan, attending the school in the early 1820s, relates that Fulton taught the older boys, while an assistant named Fraser took the younger years. He also notes that the pupils were involved in growing fruits and vegetables, and that the majority boarded on-site, some returning home on the weekends.¹⁰⁵

The Academy's success under Fulton is seen in the men it produced. We have already mentioned Charles Thompson who, along with his more substantial poems from later in his life, also published a surprisingly sophisticated piece of prose, ‘Ode VII: To Spring’, written when he was only twelve and under Fulton's tutelage.¹⁰⁶ Fulton's son, John Walker Fulton, launched a journal in 1828 filled with scholarly articles.¹⁰⁷ Toby Ryan spent only one year at the school, yet emerged an articulate and educated man, capable of writing his memoirs.¹⁰⁸ Clearly a Fulton education was both academically rigorous and yet also prompted an enthusiasm for knowledge.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Thompson, *Wild Notes: From the Lyre of a Native Minstrel* (Sydney: Albion Press, 1826).

¹⁰⁵ James T. (Toby) Ryan, *Reminiscences of Australia* (South Penrith, N.S.W: Nepean Family History Society, 1982), 30–31.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, *Wild Notes: From the Lyre of a Native Minstrel*.

¹⁰⁷ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 133.

¹⁰⁸ Ryan, *Reminiscences of Australia*; White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 136.

By 1825, though, Fulton's school was to close.¹⁰⁹ This was brought about, not by a lack of enrolments but because Fulton could no longer cope with the many other demands being a Chaplain placed on him. From his coming to Castlereagh in 1814 Fulton had also been the Chaplain for Richmond, necessitating a 19km trip at least once a week to take services there, more if funerals or weddings were called for. In 1815 this Richmond work involved 4 burials and 7 weddings, but by 1820 population growth had seen this climb to 17 burials and 6 weddings for the year, along with 24 baptisms.¹¹⁰ At the same time the work at Castlereagh was becoming steadily busier, reaching 23 baptisms, 21 weddings and 6 funerals for the year 1822.¹¹¹ Thankfully for Fulton a new group of Chaplains arrived from England in the mid-1820s, allowing him to hand over the Richmond side of the work to John Cross from September 1825.¹¹² However, with Castlereagh and Emu Ford being the main point of access for the growing western regions of NSW, Fulton's work remained as busy as ever, taking an ever increasing number of baptisms, funerals and weddings for people living all around the Nepean region as well as those from the Blue Mountains and beyond.¹¹³

Fulton's preaching of 1813 had been described by a visiting retired missionary as being of a 'cold though often eloquent manner'.¹¹⁴ We have but one extant sermon of Fulton's, from towards the end of his life in November 1838 by which to judge his manner of regular preaching.¹¹⁵ Given at Castlereagh and Penrith on the occasion of a colony-wide day of 'fasting, humiliation and prayer to Almighty God to avert the punishments which our sins

¹⁰⁹ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 135.

¹¹⁰ 'Richmond St Peter's Church of England - Baptism Register 1814-1968', SAG 148, Mitchell Library;
'Richmond St Peter's Church of England - Marriage Register 1815-1869', SAG 148, Mitchell Library;
'Richmond St Peter's Church of England - Burial Register 1814-1874', SAG 148, Mitchell Library.

¹¹¹ 'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Baptism Register 1816-17, 1820-24', CY627, Mitchell Library;
'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Marriage Register 1815-1825', CY627, Mitchell Library;
'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Burial Register 1818-1825', CY627, Mitchell Library.

¹¹² 'St Peter's Richmond Burial Register'.

¹¹³ 'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Marriage Register 1826-1856', 1989/032/E3B-1, Sydney Diocesan Archives; 'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Burial Register 1826-1875'; 'Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Baptism Register 1826-1875', 1989/032, Sydney Diocesan Archives.

¹¹⁴ W.P Crook to Tracy, London Missionary Society. Cited in Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden*, 147.

¹¹⁵ Henry Fulton, 'A Sermon, Preached at Castlereagh and Penrith, on Friday the 2nd Day of November 1838.' (Executors of the late Robert Howe), DSM/042/P25, Mitchell Library.

deserved’,¹¹⁶ it reveals that Fulton’s style clearly improved as the years went on. In this latter sermon Fulton works hard to gain a hearing and to help his audience feel interested in what he has to say, referring pointedly to the present drought in the colony. It feels like the work of an accomplished rhetorician, employing repetition and assonance and collective pronouns to ensure the message is heard. In his use of the Bible Fulton is careful to note the gap between the original audience of Amos and his own hearers, and yet this is no exegetical sermon, with the text being addressed only for a comparatively short time, with exhortations driven by the general doctrines of judgement and the sufficiency of Christ alone for salvation. Fulton was convinced that the judgments of the Old Testament give us a clear insight into God’s attitude towards sinners and that physical suffering is a mercy from God to highlight his coming judgement.¹¹⁷ The hope held out, though, is explicitly eschatological: ‘The whole world is but as dust in the balance to that soul who has the everlasting God for his portion, Heaven for his home, and an exceeding and eternal weight of glory for his inheritance.’¹¹⁸

In amongst this regular Parish work came a host of other responsibilities, some unavoidable, others self-imposed. In September 1819 a Prison Farm had been established on the alluvial plains of Emu, just south-west of Castlereagh on the opposite bank of the Nepean.¹¹⁹ Fulton was by default the chaplain to the soldiers and convicts of this outpost, and under Macquarie’s General Order all convicts were required to attend church services, leading to Fulton often preaching at a makeshift chapel in Emu Plains or at the courthouse in Penrith.¹²⁰ After Norfolk Island Fulton was no stranger to working amongst convicts under terrible conditions, and yet it cannot have been easy to have returned to seeing people living under

¹¹⁶ Fulton, ‘Sermon at Castlereagh and Penrith’, 1.

¹¹⁷ Fulton, ‘Sermon at Castlereagh and Penrith’, 5.

¹¹⁸ Fulton, ‘Sermon at Castlereagh and Penrith’, 14.

¹¹⁹ *Historical Records of Australia, January 1819-December 1822* (vol. 10; The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917), 279.

¹²⁰ *Historical Records of Australia, January 1816-December 1818*, 522–3.

such notoriously squalid and immoral conditions.¹²¹ That said, when Fulton had a chance in 1822 to address an inquiry into conditions at Emu, especially regarding allegations of widespread prostitution, Fulton's testimony was that he had seen no such immorality,¹²² running against the grain of a multitude of other testimonies.¹²³ Either the Pastor was blissfully unaware of what was taking place, or his roles as Minister and also overseeing Magistrate were beginning to conflict.

Fulton had from October 1815 taken on the role of 'Justice of the Peace in the Township of Castlereagh and in the District of Evan, both in the County of Cumberland and in the Territory of New South Wales'.¹²⁴ This had been a controversial appointment, for many in the colony were wary of Macquarie's policy of allowing former convicts to be admitted to the bench.¹²⁵ In 1821 he was progressed a step higher, becoming a colony-wide Magistrate, the only clergyman to hold the position at the time.¹²⁶ For his part Fulton rose to these roles, with dozens of extant documents showing the way he dutifully and energetically paid attention to the different judicial and civil responsibilities that came his way. At one point in his zeal Fulton even acted as though he outranked Sir John Jamison, prompting Jamison to seek clarification on which of the two men had higher jurisdiction in the District of Evan, a battle Jamison inevitably won despite the fact that Fulton chaired the Penrith magistrates until 1827.¹²⁷

This elevation in public stature led to Fulton taking on the role of advocate for a number of

¹²¹ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 163–67.

¹²² *Historical Records of Australia, January 1823–November 1825* (vol. 11; The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917), 829.

¹²³ White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 160–62.

¹²⁴ 'NRS 1394: Oaths and Recognizances, 1791–1818', NSW State Archives; 'Colonial Secretary's Papers: Special Bundles', . pt. 1015.

¹²⁵ *Historical Records of Australia, January 1816–December 1818*, XI.

¹²⁶ 'Government and General Orders, 3 February 1821', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, February 3, 1821.

¹²⁷ John Jamison, 'Jamison to Colonial Secretary', January 23, 1822, NRS 937, Item 4/3504A, Page 351–2, State Archives NSW; White, *Dharug and Dungaree*, 177.

causes in the growing colony. Foremost of these was the need for aid for struggling settlers in the Hawkesbury-Nepean region. Aware of their plight, Fulton joined other prominent men from the area in appealing to the Governor for assistance to be brought.¹²⁸ Macquarie was sympathetic, and the resulting wider public appeal brought in enough money for six months worth of aid.¹²⁹ Fulton was also active in campaigning for the rights of emancipated colonists to be maintained at a time when some were calling for their freedoms to be wound back.¹³⁰ In this he was no doubt more personally motivated, being an emancipated colonist himself, and one holding significant amounts of land and cattle in the colony granted to him by a succession of favourable Governors.¹³¹

Along with these civil causes, as a well-educated clergyman Fulton increasingly involved himself in wider church concerns in Sydney and beyond, even taking centre stage on occasion. Most prominent of these was the debate in the early 1830s over public support for Roman Catholic churches. Fulton's was the main Protestant voice to be heard, even above that of Archdeacon Broughton, driven by his publication of three short books attacking the idea of the Roman church being a true Christian church.¹³² His argument is driven largely from an understanding of ecclesiastical history, and goes into great depth on questions of church practice and doctrinal precedents, seeking to show that Roman Catholicism is nothing but idolatrous. Aware that he is likely to be labeled a persecutor, Fulton is careful to point out

¹²⁸ 'Government and General Orders, 28 June 1817', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (NSW, June 28, 1817).

¹²⁹ 'Subscriptions Paid into the Bank', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (NSW, November 22, 1817).

¹³⁰ 'General Meeting of the Emancipated Colonists', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, January 27, 1821.

¹³¹ 'Register of Land Grants', NRS 898, NSW State Archives Volume 1, Grant 477; Volume 2, Grant 1151; Volume 3, Grant 253; Volume 3, Grant 266.

¹³² Henry Fulton, *Reasons Why Protestants Think the Worship of the Church of Rome an Idolatrous Worship; to Which Are Added Some Allusions, in Answer to the Observations in the Australian Newspaper of 2nd November 1832. Some Observations in the Sydney Monitor Are Also Noticed.* (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1833); H Fulton, *Strictures Upon a Letter Lately Written by Roger Thierry, Esquire, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, in New South Wales, to Edward Blount, Esq. M.P.* (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1833); Henry Fulton, *A Letter to the Rev. W. B. Ullathorne: In Answer to a Few Words to the Rev. Henry Fulton and His Readers* (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1833).

that to not promote a religion is not the same as persecuting it. It would seem that, unlike some clergy, Fulton was genuinely not motivated by a desire to maintain the privileged status quo of the Church of England in Sydney. Rather, ‘if I am persuaded that any religion will lead them to eternal misery, and yet teach them that religion, or employ others to teach them, or contribute in any way to propagate that religion or confirm people in it, I would consider myself an inhuman brute.’¹³³

In 1838 Fulton was to conduct 20 weddings, 45 baptisms and 29 burials in Castlereagh.¹³⁴ With the opening of St Stephen’s Penrith in 1839, for which Fulton took responsibility, the load was simply too much for an ageing and now widowed minister. As the Register entries go on Fulton’s signature gets increasingly shaky, until his last record, a baptism on the 8th of November 1840. He died on the 17th of November 1840, at Castlereagh, aged 79 years.

Fulton’s involvement in the history of Sydney, and especially its religious life, is significant. It was he who through his actions gave a clear Christian response to the Rum Rebellion. It was he who pioneered the use of a superior education to further both the colony and the gospel by way of education and polemical writings. Looking at Fulton allows us to note some of the biases of the other early colonial clergy, shying away from supporting somebody who was not one of their own, not sent by the English evangelicals. It also enables us to see the humanity of these men, struggling under massive workloads, navigating the difficult path between religious and civil duties. While it is certainly possible to tell the religious history of Sydney without reference to Fulton, the story loses so much colour and nuance without him in it.

¹³³ Fulton, *Reasons Why Protestants Think the Worship of the Church of Rome an Idolatrous Worship; to Which Are Added Some Allusions, in Answer to the Observations in the Australian Newspaper of 2nd November 1832. Some Observations in the Sydney Monitor Are Also Noticed.*, 30.

¹³⁴ ‘Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Marriage Register 1826-1856’; ‘Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Baptism Register 1826-1875’; ‘Castlereagh Christ Church of England - Burial Register 1826-1875’.

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