INTEGRITY

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Edited by Dr Colin Bale & Dr Mark Thompson

Students in their fourth year of the Bachelor of Divinity degree at Moore Theological College have the opportunity to research and write a 6 000 word essay in Church History on some aspect of evangelicalism in Australia or Britain (post-1600). The excellent quality of some of these essays has encouraged the Church History Department to seek a way to share the fruits of the research and writing of these students with a broader audience. This is the reason for the launch of this new journal *Integrity*.

The journal seeks not only to provide access to some of these quality essays, and thus commend the work of the contributors, but also to acknowledge that undergraduate research and writing can make a valuable contribution to the field. It is hoped the journal will stimulate current and future students to continue with research after they leave the College. Readers should keep in mind that these are undergraduate essays, often written by students who have not been extensively schooled in historical research method. Nevertheless, the editors believe that the essays selected for each issue will display scholarship and perception that will benefit those who read them.

Note about the Title

The journal title *Integrity* was chosen by the editors because of the term's association with Thomas Moore, whose bequest of his estate was the means for the establishment of Moore College in 1856. Thomas Moore was a successful businessman, ship builder, Government official, the owner of significant agricultural land and a generous Protestant layman in colonial Sydney. In 1804 he began building a boat, a schooner, at Sydney Cove. He named the vessel *Integrity.* Governor King sailed to the Sydney Heads on *Integrity's* maiden voyage in February 1805 and reported that 'both in salt sailing, working, and her appearance under way, this handsome vessel answers every expectation'.[1] It is hoped that the journal is the means of displaying similar excellence in student writing.

[1] Recounted in Peter G. Bolt's book, *A Portrait in his Actions: Thomas Moore of Liverpool (1762-1840)* (Camperdown, N.S.W.: Bolt Publishing, 2010), p. 216.

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Donald Robinson and the Imperfect Unity of *An Australian Prayer Book (1978)*[2]

Andrew Judd

An Australian Prayer Book (AAPB) 'is Donald Robinson's book *par excellance*. And he shares that proprietorship with Gilbert Sinden of Adelaide'.[3] This, the opinion of fellow commissioner Edwin Judge, is only barely an overstatement. Robinson was one of only three men to see the commission through from 1962 to 1978, and its minutes reveal he was extremely active in its meetings.[4] Together with Evan Burge and Gilbert Sinden, much of the drafting of the final prayer book is indeed Robinson's work.[5]

Yet it was not through quantity of work that Robinson left his imprint on AAPB. Rather, it was through two of Robinson's defining personal characteristics. First, his idiosyncratic scholarship, his logical approach to words, and his grasp of liturgical history propelled the commission down an inevitably evangelical course. Second, his intellectual generosity and principled churchmanship nurtured a spirit of trust and cooperation. This often enabled true agreement, and not just compromise, to be reached with those who did not share his evangelical convictions. AAPB is, because of Robinson, an imperfect unity, but one truly attempted. It is the closest Australian Anglicans would ever come to finding 'a common ground behind divergences of tradition'.[6]

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[2] My sincere thanks to Professor Edwin Judge, Rt Rev Donald Robinson, Marie Robinson, Dr Louise Trott, Kim Robinson, Rev Peter Robinson, Associate Professor Stuart Piggin, Dr Stephen Judd, Rev Dr Bill Lawton, Professor Barry Spurr, Rev Dr John Bunyan and Rev Dr Colin Bale. Any errors or omissions are my own.

[3] Edwin Judge, 'Personal Interview', May 11, 2012.

[4] See e.g. 'Minutes of the Standing Liturgical Commission' (Trinity College, Melbourne, June 2, 1969), Box 3, Folder 1, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.

[5] See Appendix 4.

[6] John Grindrod, 'Preface', in *An Australian Prayer Book for Use Together with the Book of Common Prayer, 1662* (Sydney: Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia, 1978), 13.

1960-1962: The liturgical movement

The 1960s saw a flurry of Prayer Book revisions, from South Africa to America.[7] Robinson was dismayed at how many such revisions, like the Canadian prayer book of 1959, could be glossed by Anglo-catholics to re-introduce pre-reformation elements, and he was determined not to allow such compromises here.[8] Whether Australian dioceses could ever agree on a new prayer book was an open question. The 'Red Book Case' brought against Bishop Arnold Wylde of Bathurst in 1948 had poisoned relations between Anglo-catholics and Sydney evangelicals, stifling liturgical cooperation for the next two decades.[9] Even in 1968, T. P. Grundy feared that 'there is in the Anglican Church of Australia no widespread interest in or concern for liturgical revision at the present time.'[10]

But Grundy had misread the climate. *The Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) no longer satisfied either evangelicals or Anglo-catholics. Every diocese except Sydney was using local deviations, ostensibly authorised by the Bishop.[11] There was a 'widespread laxity' in use of BCP.[12] Its language was widely recognised as obsolete.[13] Broughton Knox longed for a modern 'terse' English without any overtones of religiosity.[14] Even Marcus Loane, who loved its early modern English, nevertheless conceded there was growing unfamiliarity with it.[15] Modern English translations of the Bible had begun to appear, and (with the possible

[7] Colin Buchanan, *An Evangelical Among The Anglican Liturgists* (London: SPCK, 2009); Colin O. Buchanan, ed., 'Anglican Eucharistic Liturgy 1968-75', in *Further Australian Liturgies* (Nottingham: Grove, 1975), 315–352; Colin O. Buchanan, *Anglican Worship Today* (London: Collins, 1980).
[8] D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Holy Communion: Is the 1662 Order Adequate?', *Australian Church Record*, July 19, 1963, 6.
[9] Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 137; Charles Sherlock, 'The Anglican Church of Australia', in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 325.
[10] T. P. Grundy, 'Letter to unidentified recipient(s)', December 2, 1968, Box 3 Folder 1, Donald Robinson's Personal Files, Moore College Archives.
[11] R. Gordon Arthur, 'Letter to Broughton Knox', December 5, 1962, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[12] D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Church of England in Australia', in *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 298.
[13] Evan Burge, *Proclaim and Celebrate* (Sydney and Melbourne: Anglican Information Offices, 1973), 3; Anglican News Service, 'Revised Prayer Book Services', *The Anglican*, January 13, 1966.
[14] Broughton Knox, 'Letter to Donald Robinson, including questionnaire', undated, File 11, Box 6, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[15] Marcus Loane, 'Letter to the Bishop of Grafton', circa 1965, Folder 7, Prayer Book Commission Gilbulla 1965, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.

exception of Queensland) Australian interest in liturgical reform was also growing.

Robinson still savours 1662 today.[16] Yet even as the Prayer Book Commission began its work he expressed three concerns. First, he agreed that its language was now obtuse. His own love of superannuated language was eclipsed by his evangelical concern for 'a style which will sustain the worship and devotion of the faithful throughout their lives'.[17]

Second, he argued that the theology of the 1552 service had been 'clouded' by some minor additions in 1662 which he wanted to see removed. Connected with this, Robinson wanted to reiterate what he believed to be the existing law on vestments.

Third, the changing pattern of Sunday worship had made BCP's five offices an anachronism: the same congregation was not present for the whole day. This meant most people would receive *either* Holy Communion *or* Morning Prayer, and only some of the appointed lectionary readings for the day.[18] Robinson wanted these elements combined into 'one basic' Sunday service. This was a direct application of his ecclesiology, which made the 'fellowship' of the gathering central to all ministry. The service 'is not a liturgy to be performed, but something for the gathering to do.'[19] Thus 'the implications of this divided congregation for the meaning of church membership are serious', approaching the 'schismata' anticipated by Paul in 1 Corinthians.[20] For the same reason, baptisms should be restored to their place in the gathering.[21] Robinson also wanted a more priestly role for the congregation, and insisted that parishioners have input into hymns and alternative orders of

[16] See D. W. B. Robinson, *What is Liturgy? An Address Given to Members of the New South Wales Branch of The Prayer Book Society* (Sydney: Prayer Book Society in Australia (NSW Branch), 2001).
[17] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision' (Paper presented to General Synod Prayer Book Commission, March 1963), Box 6, File 11, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives, 2.
[18] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 3.
[19] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Liturgical Patterns of Worship' (1971), in *Selected Works* (ed. Mark D. Thompson and Peter G. Bolt; vol. 1; Sydney: Australian Church Record, 2008), 323.
[20] D. W. B. Robinson, 'What Need Changing in the Book of Common Prayer: Paper Read at First Meeting' (Prayer Book Commission, April 26, 1963), Box 6, File 3, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[21] Ibid.; D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Church of England in Australia', in *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 303.

service.[22] Such congregational participation, however, would not extend to *ex tempore* prayer.[23]

The Prayer Book Commission (1962-1966)

Australian liturgical reform began in earnest with the creation of a Prayer Book Commission by the First General Synod (1962). Its 32 members were appointed by the diocesan bishops, with 10 appointed by the NSW metropolitan. From NSW it included Chairman Robert Gordon Arthur (the Bishop of Grafton), Donald W. B. Robinson (Vice Principal of Moore College), Marcus L. Loane (Archbishop of Sydney), D. Broughton Knox (Principal of Moore College), and T. Philip Grundy (Bathurst). Other members included Secretary A. W. Harris, Felix R. Arnott (Archbishop of Brisbane), John R. Bleby (Archdeacon from Adelaide), John N. Falkingham (Dean of Newcastle Cathedral), Alfred C. Holland (Perth) and R. L. Sharwood.[24] The commission's first meeting was at Gilbulla, NSW, in April 1963.

On 1 January 1962 the Constitution of the Church of England in Australia had come into force.[25] It was no secret that both Knox and Robinson had opposed the Constitution. Breward interprets this as 'a sign that Evangelicals still deeply distrusted Anglo-Catholics.'[26] Yet the new Constitution provided the legal mechanism for work to begin towards a new Australian liturgy. Crucially, it established an important and immovable principle: nothing the commission produced could contradict the principles of doctrine and worship embodied in 1662 Book of Common Prayer and the 39 Articles of Religion (together the 'authorized

[22] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 2.
[23] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Liturgical Patterns of Worship', 323.
[24] 'History of Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle', May 10, 2012, Online: http://www.newcastlecathedral.org.au/history.html; *Diocese of Sydney: Year Book 1966* (Sydney: William Andrews Printing, 1966);
[25] Stephen Judd and Kenneth John Cable, *Sydney Anglicans* (Sydney: AIO, 1987).
[26] Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 137.

standard of worship and doctrine in this Church').[27] In effect, Australia was stuck with 1662's theology in a way that England was not.[28] Uniformity, and not comprehensiveness, was enshrined in the Constitution, and 1662 was ('at least on paper') the instrument of 'fellowship and mutual recognition'.[29] Where agreement could not be reached, the drafters could refer back to the theology of 1662; where the interpretation of 1662 was itself controversial (for example, the words of distribution) they would be required to fall back on 1662's exact words.[30]

This strongly favoured the evangelicals. 1662 had removed the elevation of the host, and its memorial prayer anticipated a reality already present in the context of fellowship.[31] Unlike the ambiguous 1549 form, the 1552 eucharist (preserved in 1662) placed the *anamnesis* right before the actual communion. Robinson regarded the 1662/1552 order as less liable to being re-read by Anglo-Catholics as a sacrificial rite.[32]

Robinson had not supported the Constitution, but he embraced this constitutional principle sedulously. This was not merely because it favoured his position: Robinson exhibited this same legal positivism regarding the 1977 Canon to Authorise AAPB.[33] Furthermore, the principle of uniformity – '*common* prayer' – pervades his writing as much as his actual committee work.[34] Any revision 'must commend itself to the synod of *every diocese*'.[35] This meant working together with all his Anglican brethren, however difficult their disagreements.

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[27] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 1.
[28] *Constitution of the Church of England in Australia, 1962*, ch. 2 section 4; Charles Sherlock, 'The Anglican Church of Australia', in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 326.
[29] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 1.
[30] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to John Bunyan' (Sydney, December 15, 1966), Box 3, Folder 1, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[31] D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Holy Communion: Is the 1662 Order Adequate?', *Australian Church Record*, July 19, 1963, 2.
[32] Ibid., 6.
[33] See, e.g. Marcus Loane, 'Letter to Donald Robinson', July 26, 1977, Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977 [1993/054/018], Sydney Diocesan Archives.
[34] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Liturgical Patterns of Worship', in *Selected Works* (ed. Mark D. Thompson and Peter G. Bolt; vol. 1; Sydney: Australian Church Record, 2008), 330; D. W. B. Robinson, *What is Liturgy? An Address Given to Members of the New South Wales Branch of The Prayer Book Society* (Sydney: Prayer Book Society in Australia (NSW Branch), 2001), 17.
[35] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision' (Paper presented to General Synod Prayer Book Commission, March 1963), Bishop Robinson's Papers, in the MTC Archives, 1. Emphasis his.

Robinson supported only limited alternatives for ministers to choose within the service: he did not want AAPB to turn into a 'parson's handbook'.[36] In 1963 he could dream of an entirely revised liturgy faithful to the Anglican confession – 'my private fancy is that I could make the Book more scriptural' – but he suspected that only a conservative revision of 1662 would please his 'dissenting brethren'.[37] Occasionally, this meant sidelining a controversial issue: for example, they removed the rubric requiring priests to stand on the east of the altar, and left the '*Agnus Dei*' and the '*Benedictus qui venit*' to be decided under the general discretion for appropriate hymns (moves anticipated by Robinson as early as 1963).[38]

This churchmanship did not sit apart from his ecclesiology. On the contrary, it:

> proceeds from our commitment to one another within the fellowship of our denomination, and not, as it were, descending from above; and if difficulties arise in the use of the Prayer Book, we must resolve them in the light of our commitment to each other. To extend the principle of 1 Corinthians 11, we should 'wait for one another' in Prayer Book revision, if we wish to maintain mutual confidence in our association.[39]

Robinson's concern for unity within his denomination was, in his mind at least, a direct application of the NT 'fellowship' principle.

The first commission's primary task was to prompt the trialling of new liturgies and gather feedback from across Australia. Its report to the 1966 General Synod included two draft liturgies for experimentation, and others were produced and disseminated by the commission. Three years later, Arthur and Falkingham would report back to General Synod the country's assessment of these rites: 'A Liturgy for Africa' was widely rejected, while 'A Modern Liturgy' (AML) was well liked but received many contradictory criticisms of its theology and wordiness. A liturgy developed within an ACT Parish and the Communion service of English Series II both received consideration and influenced the final draft. This feedback led to

[36] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 2. C.f. Evan Burge, *Proclaim and Celebrate* (Sydney and Melbourne: Anglican Information Offices, 1973), 4.
[37] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 1.
[38] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 2.
[39] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Liturgical Patterns of Worship', in *Selected Works* (ed. Mark D. Thompson and Peter G. Bolt; vol. 1; Sydney: Australian Church Record, 2008), 323.

'Service of Holy Communion for Australia (1969)' which was also delivered to General Synod.

In a period where liturgical reform could make secular news, such experimentation was sensational.[40] In the spirit of experimentation, Robinson had floated a new version of the Lord's prayer which tried to reflect modern NT scholarship into a more accurate, if idiosyncratic, translation. Memorable lines included 'Our bread of the morrow give us today'. The result was a public outcry. *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Australian* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* all seized upon Robinson personally – 'The Canon who rewrote the Lord's prayer' – with front page headlines, cartoons and interviews with the woman on the street: 'It is not right that religious words should be changed' said Mrs Pico of Darlinghurst Road.[41]

This first commission had a limited brief, but found even that task 'hard, exacting, at times frustrating.' It was a liturgical, and not a doctrinal, commission, and as yet there was no way of dealing with doctrinal roadblocks underlying the rubrics for baptism and communion discipline.[42] Furthermore, due to its size, the commission met only twice, with its final meeting in October 1965.[43] This meant the work was carried out largely by a small drafting committee consisting of Gordon Arthur, Felix Arnott, Donald Robinson and A. W. Harris, all of whom were from NSW except Arnott.[44] Much of the drafting was done by Donald Robinson.[45]

Executive decisions were inevitably made and, fed by the latent distrust towards evangelicals

[40] Ward Powers, 'The Prayer Book Goes Modern', *Sun Herald*, March 12, 1967.
[41] 'Leave the Lord's Prayer Alone: Man in the Street Doesn't Want Change', *The Sun*, Page 1, September 14, 1966; 'Sticks Out Like Granny's Teeth: Why I Rewrote Lord's Prayer', *The Sun*, Page 1, September 15, 1966; 'Anglican Lord's Prayer: Protests on New Version', *Daily Telegraph*, September 15, 1966; 'Lord's Prayer', *Daily Telegraph*, September 16, 1966; 'Lively Prayer Debate Expected', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, September 15, 1966; 'Cartoon', *The Australian*, Page 8, September 16, 1966; 'Why the Canon Rewrote Prayer', *The Australian*, September 15, 1966.
[42] Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision', 2.
[43] See Liturgical Commission Files, in Donald Robinson's Papers, Box 3 Folder 1, Moore College Archives.
[44] 'Minutes of Meetings of the Drafting Committee of the Standing Liturgical Commission', 1965 1963, File 1, Box 6, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[45] E. M. Webber, 'Letter', circa 1966, Folder 8, Drafting Commission '66, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.

following the Red Book Case, suspicion grew. In May-June 1966 Archdeacon John Bleby (a commission member who made a modest contribution to the prayers and OT readings[46]) wrote a series of angry letters, complaining that the marriage impediments rubric had been changed without consultation:[47]

> There is a real danger that the whole work of the Commission may be ruined by what the Drafting Committee has done. In many ways the Drafting Committee seems to have exceeded its authority and to have had but scant regard for opinions expressed by the Commission as a whole.[48]

Robinson attempted to explain that he had done this work in good faith and, in fairness, had indeed sent the drafts to Adelaide but received no response.[49] This succeeded in improving the tone of Bleby's complaint.[50] But it did not remove the suspicion attached to Robinson as a Sydney Anglican, and colleague of the Red Book Case's star witness, Broughton Knox. Once the experimental liturgies were released, Bleby joined Queensland in an attack on AML, which was almost certainly written by Robinson and had been included in the 1966 report for discussion.[51] Queensland had little patience for liturgical reform anyway, and reacted strongly against this 'Moore College Rite'. They were 'filled with horror at Sydney Diocese's root and branch revision' – despite being provided with a copy during the drafting process and having raised neither 'criticism nor comment.'[52]

In April 1967 Bleby echoed these criticisms, but this time in public. He wrote to *The Anglican* criticising AML for breaking with the principle of 1662 in that it was slanted towards a particular view of the eucharist.[53] Such an argument had been made in March by

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[46] Liturgical Commission Files, in Donald Robinson's Papers, Box 3 Folder 1, Moore College Archives.
[47] John R. Bleby, 'Letter to Ven. A Harris', June 28, 1966, Folder 8, Drafting Commission '66, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives; John R. Bleby, 'Letter to Donald Robinson', June 14, 1966, Folder 8, Drafting Commission '66, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[48] John R. Bleby, 'Letter', May 30, 1966.
[49] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to Ven J. R. Bleby', June 2, 1966, Folder 8, Drafting Commission '66, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[50] John R. Bleby, 'Letter to Donald Robinson', June 14, 1966, Folder 8, Drafting Commission '66, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[51] '"A Modern Liturgy" Found Defective', *The Anglican*, June 22, 1967. See also H. W. Griffiths, 'Letter to the Editor: Prayer Book Revision', *The Anglican*, September 22, 1966.
[52] The Registrar, 'Letter to the Rt Rev Bishop of Grafton', July 28, 1966, Box 6, File 12 "Correspondence," Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives. 'The Registrar' is probably Falkingham, but the carbon copy omits his name.
[53] John R. Bleby, 'Letter to the Editor: A Modern Liturgy', *The Anglican*, April 20, 1967.

Rev. E Randall (also from Adelaide), and Robinson had already written a defensive letter in reply, arguing that AML reflected the doctrine of the Anglican church and not a particularly Zwinglian position.[54] Robinson expressed his 'disappointment' to Bishop Arthur at the attitude taken publicly by Bleby and the Bishop of Adelaide, particularly the impression given that AML 'was entirely the work of a small group of like minded people'.[55] The commission was too large to get anything done, but attempts to delegate the work to subcommittees had raised suspicion of conspiracy by a 'Sydney-Melbourne Axis'.[56] This atmosphere of distrust caused some to doubt the viability of the whole project:

> I think it is becoming very clear that there is little possibility of agreement about a revised Liturgy for the Church in Australia at this stage. What I am afraid of is that there may be a division of the Church along party lines before the possibility of such agreement can be further explored.[57]

Nevertheless, in that same month Bishop Arthur, the recipient of this letter, addressed General Synod with a message of cautious hope. As Chairman of the commission, he named the frustrations and recognised that '[d]ivergences in things liturgical in the Australian Church run deep and are sometimes a serious hindrance to the fellowship and work of the Church'. Yet he also reported that:

> we have experienced a remarkable openness to one another. We have seen our various traditional positions in new perspectives. We have become more clearly aware of our unity in Christ and in his mission to the world of our time. We are confident that the task of revising the Prayer Book can be carried forward, provided that we proceed "with patience, forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."[58]

His hope would be rewarded.

The Standing Liturgical Commission (1966-1978)

[54] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to the Editor of The Anglican', March 27, 1967. See also Robert Gordon Arthur, 'Canada Not Ignored: Prayer Book Revision - Letter to the Editor in reply to Archdeacon Twigg', *The Anglican*, October 20, 1966.
[55] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to the Bishop of Grafton', May 22, 1967.
[56] Secretary of the Liturgical Commission, 'Letter to the Rt Rev Bishop of Adelaide', June 6, 1966, Box 6, File 12 "Correspondence," Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[57] The Registrar, 'Letter to the Rt Rev Bishop of Grafton', July 28, 1966, Box 6, File 12 "Correspondence," Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[58] R. G. Arthur, 'Report', in *Prayer Book Revision in Australia: Report of the Prayer Book Commission to General Synod 1966* (Sydney: Standing Committee of the General Synod, 1966), xviii.

At the General Synod of 1966 a new commission was established, with fewer members and more money to combat the first commission's 'great frustration'.[59] A change in constituency almost certainly helped too. Even in 1965 doubts had been raised over what Bleby could contribute,[60] and by 1973 he was gone, along with T. Philip Grundy**,** Felix Arnott, R. L. Sharwood, I. W. Shevill and T. B. McCall (who died). They were replaced by the moderate Anglo-Catholic Evan L. Burge (classics lecturer at ANU, later warden of Trinity College, Melbourne),[61] Edwin A. Judge (from 1969 professor at Macquarie University), I. George (Dean of Brisbane), L. E. W. Renfrey, D. B. Warner and Brother Gilbert Sinden. By 1977, J. B. R. Grindrod (Bishop of Rockhampton and Chairman), Canon L. F. Bartlett (Rector of St Michael's, Vaucluse), A. C. Holland (Assistant Bishop of Perth), and D. A. Garnsey had also joined. David Frost, not a member, assisted with the Psalms.[62] The committee met four times before the next General Synod, often for days at a time.[63]

Like the first commission, this group was a 'microcosm' of the different traditions within Australian Anglicanism.[64] Yet Robinson would soon report that, unlike the first commission, 'Easier communications have, with other causes, brought about a remarkable degree of mutual understanding and friendliness.'[65] This emboldened the commission to contemplate a new challenge: creating a whole new prayer book for Australia. Bishop Arthur hinted at this as a possibility in his 1966 report.[66] But the commission's brief was only ever to consult,

[59] Falkingham, moving resolution 19/69; Report of the Standing Liturgical Commission to General Synod 1969. Both in *Proceedings of the Third General Synod 1969* (Church of England in Australia, 1969).
[60] 'Letter to Bishop of Grafton RE: proposed liturgical commission', November 1, 1965, Box 6, File 12 "Correspondence," Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.
[61] See Evan L. Burge, *Eucharist and Sacrifice: The Austin James Lecture 1975* (Melbourne: Ecumenical Liturgical Centre, 1975).
[62] Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 176.
[63] November 1966, February 1967, November 1967 and June 1969.
[64] John Grindrod, 'An Introduction to An Australian Prayer Book', in *When We Meet for Worship* (ed. Gilbert Sinden; Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1978), 22.
[65] D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Church of England in Australia', in *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 300.
[66] *Prayer Book Revision in Australia: Report of the Prayer Book Commission to General Synod 1966* (Sydney: Standing Committee of the General Synod, 1966), xvii.

advise and continue drafting new experimental liturgies.[67] Judge recalls how the idea of making a whole new book came about:

> Donald suddenly actually said to us, the ten of us sitting around the table, he said something like 'we should write a whole new book'. It was his idea. It was like a bombshell. We were getting nowhere, we were sick to death of variations and revisions and floundering and so on, and inertia was settling in on the commission and really frustration as to what it was all about. And he simply said ... like a voice from Mt Sinai: "We must write a book" ... Nobody had thought of that. So on the one hand, it was a truly creative moment, and nobody had told us to write a book, so we were naughty in a way, we took it upon ourselves... we were going to spring a surprise on our church![68]

That surprise proved not unwelcome, and the General Synod of May 1971 gave the commission permission to refocus its attention on producing a new book.[69] Bishop Grindrod later observed that producing a *book*, and not merely a continuing stream of revised services, ensured a period of stability, and forced all parties to reach agreement on one book of *common* prayer for Australia.[70]

Judge describes the second commission as characterised by a 'sacrificial commitment' to 'our principle of agreement – we had to agree' (rather than merely compromise):

> I had never in academic life experienced anything so intense in an intellectual sense as the life of that commission, constrained by very high ideals of integrity of course, to the sources and that kind of thing, and to each other's view, and this beautiful commitment actually to reach true agreement on every detail.[71]

Consequently, votes were never taken, and the evangelicals did not 'sit there backing each other up as if it were a debating society.'[72]

This is not to say that agreement came easily. Much of the commission's energy was spent on the communion service. The strategy was to develop two services. The first was a conservative revision of 1662, so that those dissatisfied with the new style would not be

[67] See Resolution 2/66, General Synod of the Church of England in Australia (1966).
[68] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[69] Resolution 10/73, *Proceedings of the Fifth General Synod (1977)* (Sydney: Standing Committee of the General Synod, 1978), 231.
[70] John Grindrod, 'An Introduction to An Australian Prayer Book', in *When We Meet for Worship* (ed. Gilbert Sinden; Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1978), 19.
[71] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[72] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.

forced back to an unchanged BCP.[73] The second order was a radical revision in the line of AML. Neither rite would be included simply to satisfy the evangelicals or the anglo-catholics:[74] the 'closer equipoise of evangelical and catholic sections' in Australia meant 'Only variations which had the goodwill of both sections were included.'[75]

Particularly difficult was the issue of oblations. Robinson wrote to John Bunyan in 1966, explaining the absence of any oblation of the consecrated elements to God in AML. While he recognised 'how sincerely this concept is held by many', he considered it 'unrealistic to think that here in Australia such a feature will be accepted by the church as a whole', as 'No evangelical will touch this concept.' He was right: during the extensive consultation process of 1977 Broughton Knox objected to the line 'may we who have reached out our hands to receive your gifts' as it could be seen as referring to the bread and wine mentioned moments before.[76]

The solution reached by the commission – that of retaining the offertory under the heading 'Thanksgiving' but making it refer only to the congregation's alms and oblations to the poor and not to the elements – is unique within the Anglican world.[77] It came about by a combination of the strict 1662 principle, and Robinson's idiosyncratic logical style.

'When we found that agreement was not possible, our procedure was to fall back on 1662 or its equivalent.'[78] But what was to stop the battle ground relocating to a debate over the proper interpretation *of 1662*? Surely this could become simply another matter of interpretation over

[73] D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Church of England in Australia', in *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 300.
[74] C.f. Barry Spurr, 'An Australian Prayer Book', in *No Alternative: The Prayer Book Controversy* (ed. David Martin and Peter Mullen; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 165.
[75] D. W. B. Robinson, 'The Church of England in Australia', in *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 300-301.
[76] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Handwritten notes from the Provincial consultation on An Australia Prayer Book at St John's Parramatta', July 28, 1977, Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977, Sydney Diocesan Archives.
[77] Colin Buchanan, *An Evangelical Among The Anglican Liturgists* (London: SPCK, 2009), 143.
[78] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to John Bunyan' (Sydney, December 15, 1966), Box 3, Folder 1, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives.

which evangelicals and anglo-catholics would divide along familiar lines? Remarkably, it seems that anglo-catholics were convinced by Robinson's reading of 1662:

> My Anglo-Catholic friends have told me that, while "a modern liturgy" does not express all that they would like to express in the service of the sacrament, *they find it acceptable, and in general accordance with the doctrine of 1662*.[79]

It is testament to the integrity of the anglo-catholics on the commission that they conceded this point, even though it meant losing elements of the eucharistic service very dear to them.[80] It was also a product of Robinson's formidable intellectual presence on the commission. The anglo-catholic Evan Burge (draftsman of AAPB's second order communion) had been convinced by Robinson's 'cogently argued case' that 'offertory' in the Prayer Book's Elizabethan English referred to the *offertoru* (a form of words, not an action), though he continued to hold that there was more going on in the mass than Robinson, and the Constitution, would allow.[81]

Edwin Judge tells how in one meeting Robinson pointed to the offertory in BCP:

> We humbly beseech thee most mercifully [**to accept our alms and oblations, and*] to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty.[82]

On the side of the page is some fine print: '**If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words be left out unsaid'.* With his characteristic logical positivism, Robinson drew the unavoidable conclusion: if oblations refers to the bread and the wine (as anglo-catholic practice assumed), then how can BCP possibly make provision for their absence – *from a Communion service*? Judge reports that the committee was 'incredulous', but it was there in

[79] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to John Bunyan' (Sydney, December 15, 1966), Box 3, Folder 1, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives. Emphasis mine.
[80] C.f. *A Prayer Book for Australia*, which, in theory bound by the same principle, nevertheless allows the 'offertory' to take place regardless of the presence of alms or other offerings, leaving the bread and wine as the only possible oblations: *A Prayer Book for Australia* (Alexandria: Broughton Books, 1995), 106.
[81] Evan L. Burge, *Eucharist and Sacrifice: The Austin James Lecture 1975* (Melbourne: Ecumenical Liturgical Centre, 1975), 4; Citing D. W. B. Robinson, 'Eucharist And Offertory: The Anglican Tradition' in *The Churchman* 75 (1961), pp 31-40.
[82] *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England together with the Psalter or Psalms of David pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches and the form or manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons* (Standard Edition, 2004.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1662), 244.

'black and white' so 'there was no way it could be wiggled out of, just that people hadn't noticed it before'.[83]

Robinson could thus rule out the 'comprehensive' view of the prayer book: 'I am not prepared to admit, as a simple proposition, that "one principle of the Church of England was that its liturgy was capable, within certain limits, of diverse interpretation."'[84] BCP did have *a* theology – an *evangelical* theology – and the 1662 principle combined with Robinson's detailed historical, liturgical and linguistic knowledge left little room for alternative doctrines. He was a formidable exegete, whether of Greek or Elizabethan English. Judge reflects, 'I think a lot of [people] ended up frightened by him ... I suspect a lot of people felt intimidated, really, by the clarity.'[85]

Alongside the BCP principle was another principle: that of going back to Scripture. This enabled the commission to move beyond BCP even on controversial issues. In 1970, Robinson wrote to the Church Record about prayers for the dead, arguing the evangelical case against 'my friend and colleague Dr Sharwood', a fellow member of the commission.[86] While the more anglo-catholic 1549 prayer book included extensive prayers for the departed, 1662 had all but eliminated them:

> 1549: We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace; and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world.[87]
>
> 1662: [We bless] thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be

[83] Edwin Judge, 'Personal Interview', May 11, 2012.
[84] D. W. B. Robinson, 'A Comment on Archbishop Rayner's Privately Circulated Paper on Prayer Book Revision and the Ruling Principles of the Constitution', May 1967, Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977, Sydney Diocesan Archives.
[85] Edwin Judge, 'Personal Interview', May 11, 2012.
[86] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Canon Robinson on Australia '69', *Australian Church Record*, April 16, 1970.
[87] BCP 1549, in Edward Cardwell, *The Two Books of Common Prayer Set Forth By Authority of Parliament in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth* (Oxford: University Press, 1852), 296. See also the ancient English Liturgy according to the use of sarum in John Henry Blunt, *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer Being a Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England* (London: Rivingtons, 1876), 200-201.

> partakers of thy heavenly kingdom.

The bare 1662 formula left many, including some on the commission, dissatisfied. But equally Robinson recognised that 'there was no chance of their inclusion in any future Prayer Book in Australia'.[88] Sydney had removed such prayers from the trial version of 'A Liturgy for Africa'.[89] The wording of a previous Australian draft liturgy – 'and in faith and trust we leave in your keeping N.' – had satisfied anglo-catholics but evangelicals had objected.[90] Something more than the 1662 principle was required:

> Donald came up with the answer. This is one of his personal contributions. It was his solution that we go back to Scripture, the scriptural doctrine of resurrection, and write in something that is yet to happen to the departed: that is, at the last day they will be raised.[91]

The result was a development beyond 1662, but in a different direction to 1549:

> THANKSGIVING FOR THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED.
>
> *We give thanks for* the life and work of …
>
> We praise you, Lord God, for your faithful servants in every age, and we pray that we, with all who have died in the faith of Christ, may be brought to a joyful resurrection and the fulfilment of your eternal kingdom.[92]

Judge may be overstating it to say that 'This was a total solution to an age old little battle ground'.[93] It was certainly not a unique solution (the Scottish prayer book has a similar formula). Yet it does demonstrate a willingness to embrace Scripture as a unifying force, taking conflicts in a new direction.

This creative approach to old disagreements seems to have been aided by the fact that, unlike the first commission, they had enough time face-to-face to develop pastoral relationships with one another. This is not to say that negotiations were always easy. In 1973, the commission had still not reached a decision on including the ten commandments in the communion

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[88] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Letter to John Bunyan' (Sydney, December 15, 1966), Box 3, Folder 1, Donald Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives. Emphasis mine.
[89] *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 303 – note apparatus.
[90] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Church of England in Australia', in *Further Australian Liturgies* (ed. Colin O. Buchanan; Nottingham: Grove, 1975), 320-336.
[91] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[92] AAPB, 141.
[93] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.

service.[94] Judge was pushing for their inclusion, but Arnott was horrified at the appearance of legalism. Tempers flared. Arnott packed his bags and left the room, telling the group he had had enough. 'The saintly Bishop Arthur rose up from his chair and went out into his corridor where Felix had his bags. And we all sat transfixed at the horror.' But moments later, having convinced Arnott to stay, Bishop Arthur re-emerged:

> With a look of infinite sadness on his face, and the faintest suggestion of a grin, [Arthur] said, "well, at least we can say we're the only part of the Anglican communion to keep the ten commandments."[95]

Time together in the same room allowed brotherly affection, and even friendship to grow between these men from very different traditions. Indeed through the liturgical commission Robinson developed a lasting friendship with his co-author, Brother Gilbert Sinden of Adelaide, a member of the Anglican Society of the Sacred Mission and part of the 'catholic tradition of churchmanship'.[96] A complete contrast to the careful exegete from Newtown, Sinden thought 'Words by themselves are no longer regarded as an adequate medium of communication.'[97] For Sinden, Christ is in the elements 'as the climax of his active presence in the gathered faithful', which is in an undefined way 'more than a *sign*'.[98] While he had much respect for Robinson's linguistic arguments, it is clear from his commentary on AAPB that he did not share all his conclusions on the communion service: he was, for instance, perfectly happy to reserve the sacrament.[99] AAPB's adoption of the three year Catholic lectionary is probably Sinden's touch.[100]

The degree of trust, cooperation and friendship between Sinden and Robinson was remarkable, given they were from such 'different geographical, spiritual, and theological

[94] Evan Burge, *Proclaim and Celebrate* (Sydney and Melbourne: Anglican Information Offices, 1973), 15.
[95] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[96] Gilbert Sinden, *When We Meet for Worship* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1978), 7.
[97] Ibid., 7.
[98] Ibid., 78.
[99] See Ibid., 79-93.
[100] Charles Sherlock, 'The Anglican Church of Australia', in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 325..

places.'[101] Sinden would later recall how strange their relationship appeared to others, retelling more than once the story of an exchange during a meeting at Moore College. After a particularly heated debate between Robinson and Sinden, the committee took a break. Robinson and Sinden got up and left the room – sharing a joke between themselves. Sinden looked back to see Lionel Renfrey, mouth open, staring at disbelief that two men who disagreed over so much could moments later be laughing together over morning tea.[102]

Robinson's generosity of spirit never contradicted his fierce intellectual force. But it enabled him to get along well with those with whom he had fundamental disagreements. Judge recalls an incident when Robinson sang the thanksgiving in St Andrew's Cathedral, as a gesture of spiritual generosity towards the anglo-catholic bishops present. For Judge this is 'one of the hallmarks of the quality of Donald Robinson.'[103] This quality diffused the toxic distrust lingering after the Red Book Case, and became a catalyst for the true agreement across the theological spectrum experienced by the second commission.

An Australian Prayer Book (1977-1995)

Marcus Loane anticipated a 'major debate' at General Synod over AAPB.[104] Legal questions raised on the eve of the new book by Bleby led to a flurry of judicial opinions,[105] and fed Loane's suspicion that Bleby was 'lending himself to a group of General Synod members who will oppose the Prayer Book on any ground they can command.'[106] Each page had to be approved by the General Synod in committee. Some expected a difficult debate. But

[101] Ibid.
[102] Peter Robinson, 'Email to the author', May 23, 2012.
[103] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[104] Marcus Loane, 'Letter to Donald Robinson 26 July 1977', July 26, 1977, Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977, Sydney Diocesan Archives [1993/53/21].
[105] See D. W. B. Robinson, 'Personal Papers - 1977 Canon to authorize An Australian Prayer Book AAPB', [1993/53/21], Sydney Diocesan Archives.
[106] Marcus Loane, 'Letter to Donald Robinson', July 26, 1977, Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977 [1993/53/21], Sydney Diocesan Archives.

Robinson broke the tension:

> We had the books open … [Bishop] Donald Cameron must have said starting on page five, the contents page, … 'is there any motion here?' Donald Robinson at once jumped up, also a bishop, and said 'yes, but not on that page, something earlier.'
>
> 'Oh,' said Donald Cameron, turning to the copyright page, 'is it something wrong with that?'
>
> 'No, no, no, *no, earlier* than that,' said Donald Robinson.
>
> 'The *title page*? You want to change the *title page*?'
>
> 'No' he said 'earlier than that!'
>
> 'What? the picture? You don't like the *picture*?!'
>
> 'No,' he said, 'I like the picture, I want to get rid of the *Spike*!'[107]

Many present had not noticed the caption to the first line drawing, identifying the plant as 'Acacia Oxycedrus Spike Wattle'.[108] 'Spike' was, at the time, a derogatory term for an anglo-catholic. The whole synod 'burst into a tremendous uproar of laughter' at Robinson's deliberate mocking of 'the mere name calling which so often poisons these things ... it just broke the tension'.[109]

In the end, AAPB was approved by General Synod with only one vote against, apparently by a member of the commission.[110] Who cast this vote is not recorded, but it is possible that it was Lionel Renfrey who represented Adelaide that year at General Synod, and resigned from the commission in January 1977. Perhaps the intellectual assent demanded by Robinson's commanding presence on the commission left some of those with deep anglo-catholic conviction quietly unhappy: unable to challenge Robinson in that didactic environment, but bound by conscience to lodge a silent protest.

Furthermore, for all the high ideals of agreement and truly *common* prayer, the 1978 Book carries within its pages a prolepsis of the disunity which would shape the 1995 revision: 'a

[107] Judge, 'Personal Interview'. See Appendix 3.
[108] The caption was added to the draft on the 29th of August 1977: Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977 [1993/53/21], Sydney Diocesan Archives.
[109] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[110] Colin O. Buchanan, *Latest Anglican Liturgies 1976-1984* (Alcuin Club Collections; London: SPCK, 1985), 208.

little stab in the back occurred'.[111] Towards the end of the Roman eucharistic prayer is the *sanctus.* A translation appears in full in the 1549 BCP:

> Holy, holy, holy, Lorde God of Hostes:
> heaven and earth are full of thy glory:
> Hosanna, in the highest.
> *Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lorde:*
> *Glory to thee, O lorde in the highest.*[112]

The last two lines (the *Benedictus qui venit,* shown here in italics) were dropped from the 1552 and 1662 editions, presumably as it shifts unhelpful attention to the consecrated elements as evidence of the Lord's parousia. For anglo-catholics these lines became essential to a true understanding of the eucharist; for evangelicals, their absence a non-negotiable mark of orthodoxy.

Robinson thought the 'Hosanna in the highest' line a 'retrograde' inclusion, but apparently agreed to its retention.[113] On page 146 of AAPB, the thanksgiving appears in traditional 1662 form, without the two lines.[114] Yet the prayers do not continue until the next page, leaving a gap of about two lines; ostensibly it is a pagination issue, so that the next prayer is not split awkwardly over two pages. Yet curiously, this two line gap after the *Sanctus* also appears on pages 160, 163, 165 and 169, where pagination is not relevant. Someone, at the editing stage, appears to have deliberately introduced a two line gap after 'Hosanna in the highest'. Anglo-catholic parishes in Sydney have been known to use a stamp or a sticker in this place to restore the 1549 words, and theology, to the service.

Judge, citing the ninth commandment, refused to speculate on who introduced this typographical betrayal of the principle of agreement. Yet the candidates are few. General Synod established a separate committee 'to work with the printer in setting up the type,

[111] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[112] BCP 1549.
[113] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Submission to Liturgical Commission Executive on Common Forms', February 20, 1976, Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977, Sydney Diocesan Archives.
[114] See Appendix 2.

layout, etc.', and there were only two members: Executive Editor Gilbert Sinden and Editor David Garnsey.[115] We can only assume that, in the end, the principle of agreement and mutual sacrifice was eclipsed by theological conviction.

Nevertheless, the first copies of AAPB became available on 5 April 1978, and Buchanan reports that the book, on the whole, passed 'uncontroversially' into use. AAPB became the first prayer book in the Anglican communion to use 'you' instead of 'thou'.[116] Criticisms have been levelled at the book on several grounds: that it lacks the liturgical and poetic merit of Cranmer's masterpiece; that it lacks a distinctively post-British identity; that the commission's focus was too much on doctrinally sensitive parts (communion, confirmation and marriage) to the neglect of other parts.[117] It has also been argued that AAPB helped to ensure the demise of anglo-catholicism within Australia, bringing back uniformity to worship (and with that uniformity, the evangelical doctrine of 1662).[118] This may be an overstatement, but certainly its strong evangelical flavour was unique within worldwide liturgical reform.

Conclusion: Robinson's theology and churchmanship

The apparent contradiction between Donald Robinson the NT scholar and Donald Robinson the Bishop is well rehearsed. His work on the liturgical commission, beginning as it did while he was at Moore College and ending while he was Bishop of Parramatta, is an illuminating window into the reality of this apparent contradiction. In his analysis of AAPB, Sherlock speculates on the liturgical impact of Knox's distinctive view of the church and divine revelation, and Robinson's teaching that the NT church 'properly exists only in "the

[115] 'Project '77', Bishop of Parramatta Correspondence - Liturgical Commission 1974-1977, Sydney Anglican Diocesan Archives.
[116] Charles Sherlock, 'The Anglican Church of Australia', in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 324.
[117] 'A preface sensitized' *AJL* 6 (1997) 25, cited in Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford History of the Christian Church; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 373.
[118] David Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic Tradition in Australian Anglicanism', in *Re-visioning Australian Colonial Christianity* (ed. Mark Hutchinson and Edmund Campion; New Essays in the Australian Christian Experience; Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994), 210.

heavenlies" … and is visible only when believers "assemble" (that is, are "churched") for "meeting"':

> The outcome is an 'exclusive' congregationalism, in which any level of 'church' beyond the congregation is seen as merely administrative, as is the bishop's office. Services are understood to be 'meetings' for 'fellowship' (teaching and encouragement), leading to a wide spread abandonment of Prayer Books, lectionary, and robes.[119]

He concedes that all these were 'trends resisted strongly by Archbishop Donald Robinson', yet the implication is that Robinson could not turn back the logical tide that his theology had brought in. His conservative churchmanship and radical theology remained at odds.

Yet a closer look at Robinson's liturgical work has told a different story. Robinson was bound by a sincere concern for principles: constitutionalism, common prayer and, above all, love for those brothers with whom he fundamentally disagreed. These principles made AAPB possible, and gave it its ultimate shape. Crucially, these principles were a direct application of his NT observations. Sherlock's reading is confused by his conflation of Robinson with a very different churchman into the 'Knox-Robinson View of the Church'. Judge recalls: 'he [Donald] would get so angry actually with the phrase the Knox-Robinson view of the church. "There wasn't any such thing," he said.'[120] Whereas, in Judge's estimation at least, Knox 'was so firmly against denominations, and he was debunking everything that is conventionally meant by church', Robinson 'was not a debunker … you don't sing the liturgy in the cathedral [if you are a debunker].'[121]

In his presidential speech, Marcus Loane predicted that the Fifth General Synod 'may prove to be the most critical and significant ever to have been held in Australia'; while Loane was a self-confessed traditionalist and always hoped that BCP would remain in use, his grand hopes for the new AAPB was that the church may 'go forward with good hope and patience until

[119] Charles Sherlock, 'The Anglican Church of Australia', in *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 327.
[120] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.
[121] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.

COMMON PRAYER is restored to our congregations.'[122] This echoed T.P. Grundy's hopes, nine years earlier:

> We cannot, of course, hope that liturgical revision will settle the arguments but we can hope that it will help to unite Anglicans rather than divide them. Liturgical revision aims to find new ways of expressing our common faith in terms with which at least most of us can agree.[123]

AAPB is both a memorial to these high ideals, and to the gritty reality of church politics. Robinson's strengths, and his corresponding frailties, are inscribed in its very pages. His ability to love and trust those on the other side of the liturgical table allowed AAPB to be a truly creative document, which could be embraced by people from multifarious theological perspectives. This scholarly power and grasp of the subject matter was recognised when the Australian College of Theology awarded him an honorary Doctorate of Theology in 1978.[124] The evangelical liturgist Colin Buchanan identifies AAPB as one of only two liturgies worldwide which show 'more than merely defensive involvement of evangelicals', embracing modern language while preserving 1662's theology of the atonement and eucharist against patterns emerging in catholic revisions.[125] The constitution Robinson never wanted tied *AAPB* to the 'principles of doctrine and worship' laid down in BCP and the *39 Articles,* but Robinson himself was responsible for convincing his anglo-catholic friends that those principles were *evangelical* principles.

Yet both these strengths also carried weaknesses with them, leaving their impression in the final book. Robinson's intellect could command the commission's assent and even respect, but it could not erase heartfelt anglo-catholic ideas. Some were almost certainly intimidated by him.[126] There was dissent, but it was the quiet dissent of those who knew they could not

[122] *Proceedings of the Fifth General Synod (1977)* (Sydney: Standing Committee of the General Synod, 1978).
[123] T. P. Grundy, *We Do as He Commanded: An Introduction to "Australia 1969"* (Melbourne: General Board of Religious Education, 1969), 20.
[124] 'Master List of Graduates' (Australian College of Theology, Accessed 2012).
[125] 'General Trends', in Colin O. Buchanan, ed., *Modern Anglican Liturgies 1958-1968* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), ch. 5; Colin O. Buchanan, ed., 'Anglican Euchristic Liturgy 1968-75', in *Further Australian Liturgies* (Nottingham: Grove, 1975), 15.
[126] Judge, 'Personal Interview'.

win the argument, seen in Burge's letter to the editor, and the silent vote against 'Donald Robinson's book' at General Synod. And with Robinson's idealism – his principled churchmanship and intellectual generosity – came the tendency perhaps to entrust himself too quickly to men, assuming that they too shared his principles. Even as he caricatured the distrustful evangelical, rooting out 'spikes' from the illustrations, someone was sneaking a 'spikey bit' right under his nose in the guise of innocent pagination.

AAPB is not quite the 'testament to disunity' which Spurr claims.[127] But its imperfections hint at the future for liturgical reform in this country: an apathy towards *common* prayer, a loosening of constitutional principle, and the spawning of comprehensive liturgies to suit every liturgical fancy. Robinson had anticipated, perhaps naively, that the 'trial use' of AAPB over 10-15 years would culminate in a single definitive revision of BCP, one which would be uniformly observed throughout Australia.[128] In fact, AAPB would prove to be Australia's final glimpse of uniform worship. AAPB was indeed to be an 'instrument of fellowship', as Robinson hoped.[129] But it was, and could only be, an imperfect and temporary one.

[127] Barry Spurr, 'An Australian Prayer Book', in *No Alternative: The Prayer Book Controversy* (ed. David Martin and Peter Mullen; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 163.
[128] D. W. B. Robinson, *What is Liturgy? An Address Given to Members of the New South Wales Branch of The Prayer Book Society* (Sydney: Prayer Book Society in Australia (NSW Branch), 2001), 18.
[129] D. W. B. Robinson, 'Principles Which Should Govern Prayer Book Revision' (Paper presented to General Synod Prayer Book Commission, March 1963), Bishop Robinson's Papers, Moore College Archives, 1.

Appendix 1: Public interest in liturgical reform

LARGEST AFTERNOON PAPER SALE IN N.S.W.

stay clean PERMALOSE terylene shirts by METRO

LOTTERY PRIZES

THE SUN

"FOR AUSTRALIA"

18,641. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1966. Phone 2 0944. Price 5c.

HUTTON'S SAUSAGES ARE BEST!

• Lottery, Special No. 1395, P. 44. • TV, P. 69. • Finance, P. 70. • CITY FORECAST: Mainly fine.

LAW-BREAKING A LUXURY!

ASKIN MAY BOOST ALL FINES

PREMIER, Mr Askin, strongly hinted today that the State Government may increase fines for all law-breaking offences.

He spoke of "other jurisdictions of the law" when questioned on the Government's plan to increase traffic and parking fines.

The Premier said he thought there was a general feeling in the community that fines should be brought up to date with current money values.

"That is not only for repeated parking offences by erring motorists, but also in other jurisdictions," he added.

MR ASKIN

"They no longer serve as a deterrent.

"This is the main purpose of

"At the same time, they help bring in revenue lost by the drought.

"A good case may be made out for aiding on offenders to help make up lost revenue, rather than law-abiding motorists."

Mr Morris has revealed that the Government plans to introduce the higher traffic fine schedule before Christmas.

The $4 fine for illegal parking is almost certain to be lifted to $8.

The Government may introduce sendstyle fines for illegal parking.

BY XMAS

This would mean that a motorist could be fined $8 for illegally parking for the first hour, and $8 for each additional hour.

'STICKS OUT LIKE GRANNY'S TEETH'

Why I rewrote Lord's Prayer

THE traditional 1662 version of the Lord's Prayer "stuck out like Granny's teeth" in a modern language liturgy.

Canon D. W. B. Robinson, Vice-Principal of Moore Theological College, said this today.

Canon Robinson is the man who drafted the controversial "radical" version included in the Church of England Prayer-book Commission's report on experimental forms of modern worship.

He today described his new Lord's Prayer as "a fill-in."

"I don't think it is an important an issue as it has been made out to be," he said.

"It is only a starting point."

Canon Robinson is a member of the Prayerbook Commission.

Translation

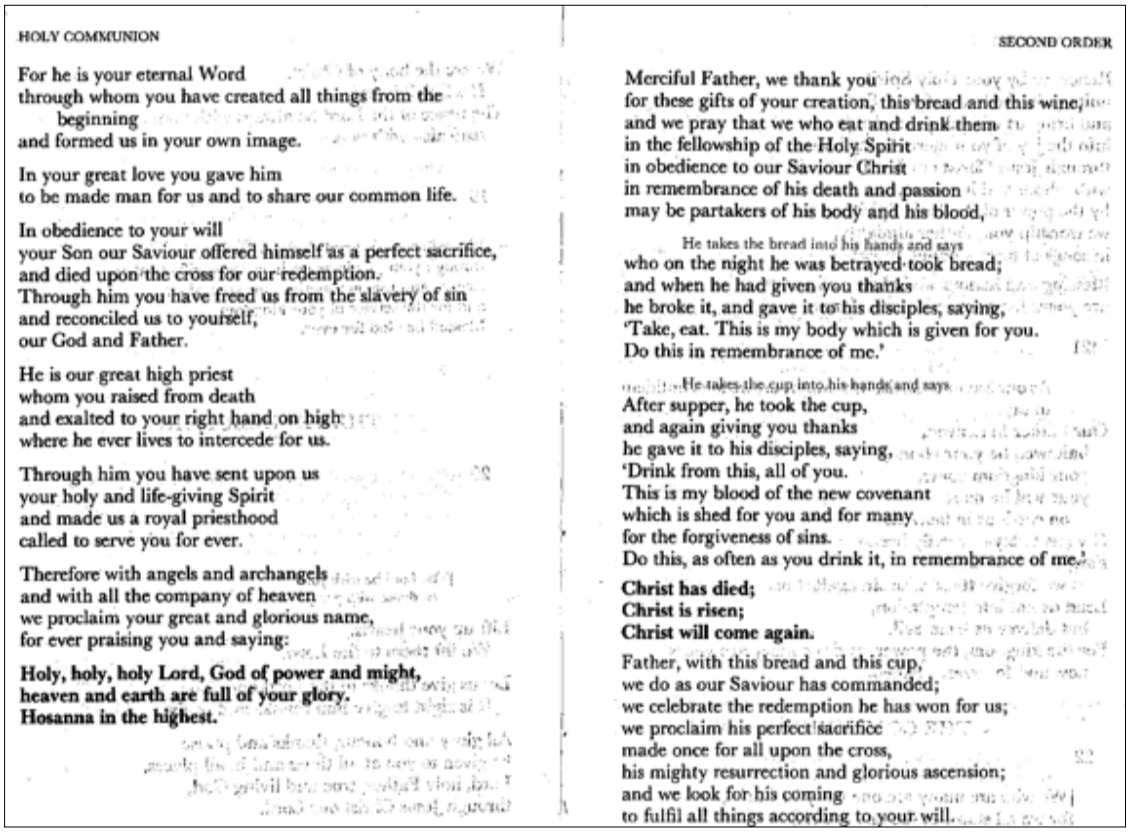
He said he drafted the new

CANON ROBINSON

"Parishioners could get permis-

The Sun, 5 September 1966, p.1 (with picture of Canon Robinson)

Appendix 2: The Sanctus in AAPB



HOLY COMMUNION

For he is your eternal Word
through whom you have created all things from the beginning
and formed us in your own image.

In your great love you gave him
to be made man for us and to share our common life.

In obedience to your will
your Son our Saviour offered himself as a perfect sacrifice,
and died upon the cross for our redemption.
Through him you have freed us from the slavery of sin
and reconciled us to yourself,
our God and Father.

He is our great high priest
whom you raised from death
and exalted to your right hand on high
where he ever lives to intercede for us.

Through him you have sent upon us
your holy and life-giving Spirit
and made us a royal priesthood
called to serve you for ever.

Therefore with angels and archangels
and with all the company of heaven
we proclaim your great and glorious name,
for ever praising you and saying:

Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.

SECOND ORDER

Merciful Father, we thank you
for these gifts of your creation, this bread and this wine;
and we pray that we who eat and drink them
in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit
in obedience to our Saviour Christ
in remembrance of his death and passion
may be partakers of his body and his blood,

He takes the bread into his hands and says

who on the night he was betrayed took bread;
and when he had given you thanks
he broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying,
'Take, eat. This is my body which is given for you.
Do this in remembrance of me.'

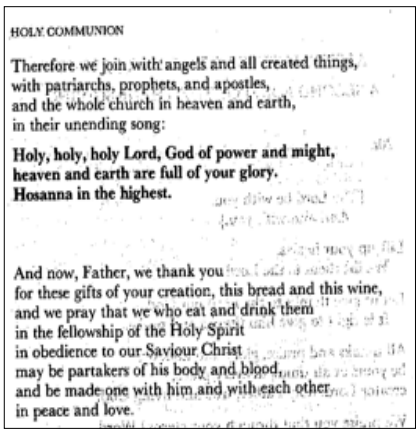
He takes the cup into his hands and says

After supper, he took the cup,
and again giving you thanks
he gave it to his disciples, saying,
'Drink from this, all of you.
This is my blood of the new covenant
which is shed for you and for many
for the forgiveness of sins.
Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.'

Christ has died;
Christ is risen;
Christ will come again.

Father, with this bread and this cup,
we do as our Saviour has commanded;
we celebrate the redemption he has won for us;
we proclaim his perfect sacrifice
made once for all upon the cross,
his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension;
and we look for his coming
to fulfil all things according to your will.

AAPB, pp.146-147.



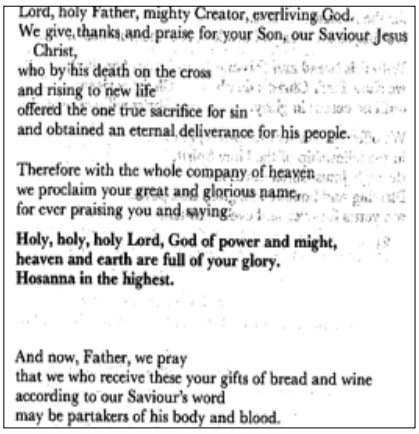
HOLY COMMUNION

Therefore we join with angels and all created things,
with patriarchs, prophets, and apostles,
and the whole church in heaven and earth,
in their unending song:

Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.

And now, Father, we thank you
for these gifts of your creation, this bread and this wine,
and we pray that we who eat and drink them
in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit
in obedience to our Saviour Christ
may be partakers of his body and blood,
and be made one with him and with each other,
in peace and love.

AAPB, p. 160.



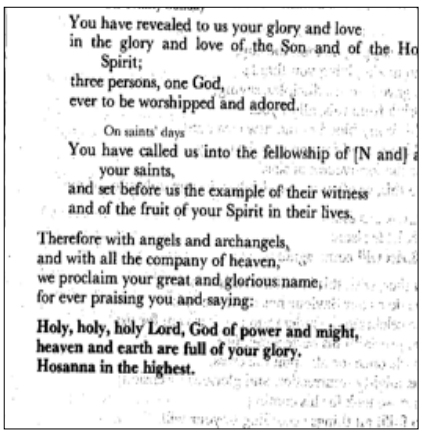
Lord, holy Father, mighty Creator, everliving God.
We give thanks and praise for your Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ,
who by his death on the cross
and rising to new life
offered the one true sacrifice for sin
and obtained an eternal deliverance for his people.

Therefore with the whole company of heaven
we proclaim your great and glorious name,
for ever praising you and saying:

Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.

And now, Father, we pray
that we who receive these your gifts of bread and wine
according to our Saviour's word
may be partakers of his body and blood.

AAPB, p. 165



You have revealed to us your glory and love
in the glory and love of the Son and of the Ho Spirit;
three persons, one God,
ever to be worshipped and adored.

On saints' days

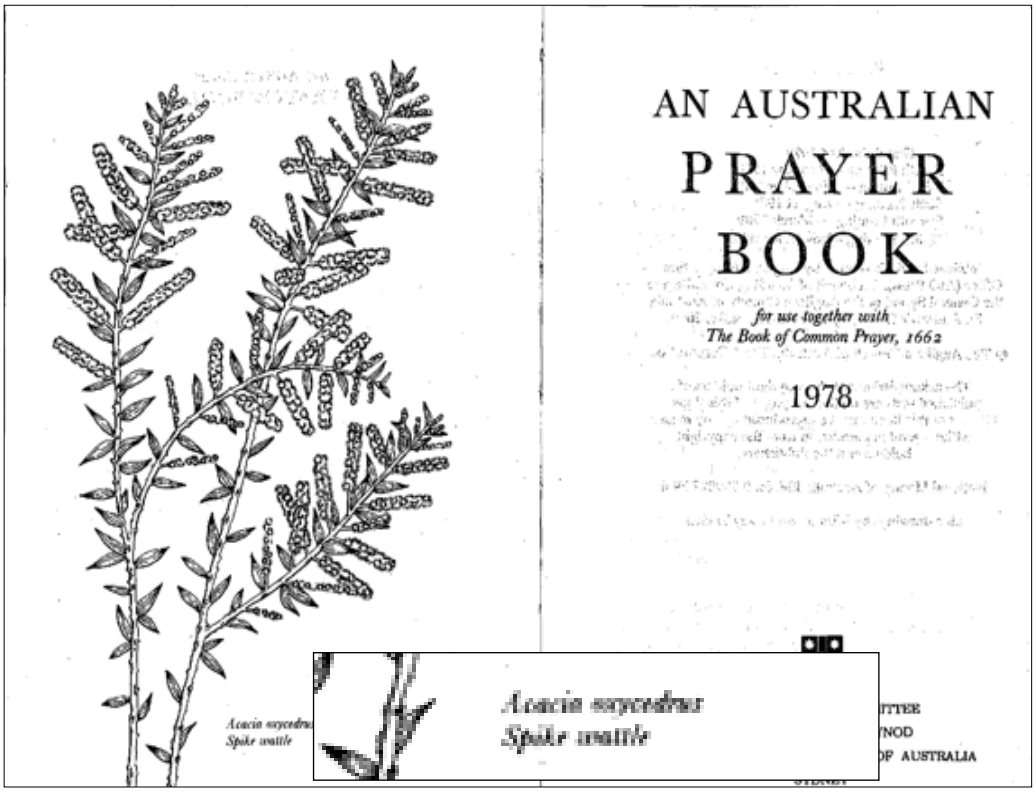
You have called us into the fellowship of [N and] your saints,
and set before us the example of their witness
and of the fruit of your Spirit in their lives.

Therefore with angels and archangels,
and with all the company of heaven,
we proclaim your great and glorious name,
for ever praising you and saying:

Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.

AAPB, p.169

Appendix 3: 'Spike' Wattle



AAPB, pp. 2-3

Appendix 4: Primary drafting responsibilities for AAPB

Donald Robinson	Baptism, First Order (with Sydney Panel) Catechism
Donald Robinson and Gilbert Sinden	Morning and Evening Prayer, First Form The Litany Holy Communion, First Order Confirmation, First Form Marriage, First Form One Year Series BCP Style Collects
Gilbert Sinden	Morning and Evening Prayer, Second Form* Prayer at the End of the Day* Three Year Series* Calendar* Baptism, Second Order Confirmation, Second Form Funeral Services (with George)* Daily Services Readings* Sundays and Movable Feasts
Evan Burge	Holy Communion, Second Order Psalms, additional material (with Sinden)

* = with the help of a regional sub committee

This information compiled from Gilbert Sinden, *When We Meet for Worship* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1978), pp.313-314.

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Rev. Howard and his bishop
The friendship of Stanley Howard and Frederic Barker, 1872–1882[1]

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 deep thankfulness to the Great Head of the Church for having preserved you so long to preside over us.[2]

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

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[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
[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 teetotaller.[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 Bishopscourt.[35] The same expectancy was expressed that afternoon when Howard reached Bishopscourt 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 Bishopscourt 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 Bishopscourt – 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 Bishopscourt 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 Bishopscourt 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 Bishopscourt 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 Bishopscourt 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 Bishopscourt.[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 Bishopscourt.[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 Bishopscourt 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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Was the Friendly Mission to the Aboriginal people of Van Dieman's Land in the 1830s an Evangelical Enterprise?

Duncan Andrews

The 'Friendly Mission' of the 1830s was the successful but ill-fated attempt to relocate, without physical coercion, the indigenous tribes of Van Diemen's Land to Flinders Island. It came as the culmination of a complex and volatile series of events, and precipitated the tragic death of almost all aboriginal Tasmanians within 50 years. After giving an outline of the events of the Friendly Mission, this essay will explore the issue of its connection to evangelicalism. Using both a genealogical and a theological definition of 'evangelical', it will be found that the main actors involved in the Mission, most notably its leader George Augustus Robinson, were, or at least presented themselves as, motivated by evangelical concerns. However, when placed in its broader historical context, it will be argued that the Mission cannot be seen as evangelical in a fundamental sense. In the light of the domestic socio-political events out of which the Mission emerged, including the ongoing conflict between the settlers and indigenous peoples and the role played by the government in establishing and funding the Mission, it is apparent that political concerns were the real motivator. This is reinforced by a comparison of the Friendly Mission with international evangelical activist movements, specifically abolitionism. Despite Robinson's characterisation of the Mission as an extension of evangelical abolitionism, he failed to account for key differences. These differences meant that, while evangelicalism certainly played an important part in the discourse surrounding the Mission, it was not the Mission's primary concern. The Mission ultimately served, not the cause of the Christian gospel, but the cause of (British) social cohesion and stability in a new and volatile colonial outpost.

Historical Antecedents of the Friendly Mission

The story of European contact with the indigenous peoples of Van Diemen's Land began with the contact of Dutch navigator Abel Tasman in 1642. While Tasman in his brief visit did not come into direct contact with any Aboriginal people, he heard 'the sound of people on the shore', and 'observed smoke in several places'.[1] There continued to be sporadic contact with European navigators, the first direct interaction occurring on a French expedition in 1772. However, the early explorers 'were fugitive visitors who remained only long enough for the replenishment of their ships' supplies of water and, perhaps, to make some natural observations'.[2] The key moment for our purposes, which eventually led to the Friendly Mission, was the establishment of a settlement in Van Diemen's Land by the British government in 1803.

Faced with large numbers of convicts being sent to mainland Australia in the fifteen years following the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788, 'it became apparent to the authorities that an extension of the settlement to Van Diemen's Land was desirable'.[3] Also driven by the 'fear of being forestalled by the French in the planting of a colony', the British established a penal settlement on the banks of the Derwent River on 12 September 1803.[4]

From the beginning of the British settlement, relations with the indigenous population involved conflict. The Captain leading the new settlement was given specific instructions by Lord Hobart, Secretary for the Colonies, to 'endeavour, by every means in your power, to open an intercourse with the Natives, and to conciliate their good-will, enjoining all parties under your government to live in amity and kindness with them'.[5] It did not take long,

[1] From Tasman's journals; cited in James Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians; or, The Black War of Van Diemen's Land* (Facsim. ed.; (Australiana facsimile editions; Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1969 [1870]), 2.
[2] Clive Turnbull, *Black War : the Extermination of the Tasmanian Aborigines* (Melbourne: F.W.Cheshire, 1948), 5.
[3] Turnbull, *Black War*, 16.
[4] Turnbull, *Black War*, 17.
[5] Bonwick, *Last of the Tasmanians*, 30–31.

however, for these instructions to be forgotten. Early in 1804, 'the unfortunate event took place that ushers in the sad story of the "Black War"'.[6] This 'unfortunate event' was the first serious conflict between British settlers and a group of about 300 Aboriginal people, in which '[t]he kindest that can be said is that Moore', the Lieutenant in charge, 'frightened by the numbers, ordered his soldiers to open fire on a peaceful band of Aborigines, which included women and children as well as men'.[7]

It was not until the 1820s, however, with 'the inflow of capital, free immigrants and convicts', that the conflict escalated rapidly, reaching its peak in 1830 and becoming known as the 'Black War'. As the British population and resources increased, so did their use and possession of the land, 'resulting in the loss of Aboriginal hunting grounds and thus their means of living'.[8] This encroachment onto Aboriginal land was accompanied by violence towards Aboriginal people. Writing in 1819, before the escalation of violence but prefiguring it, Lieutenant-Governor Sorrel issued a proclamation in which he addressed the settler-indigenous conflict. While many settlers considered 'the Natives as a Hostile People', Sorrel highlighted the injuries done to them 'by the White People', that 'in many former Instances, cruelties have been perpetrated to Humanity and disgraceful to the British character, while few attempts can be traced on the Part of the Colonists to conciliate the Native People'. He went on to talk of the 'Outrages of Miscreants' who 'wantonly fire at and kill the Men and […] pursue the Women'.[9] The violence of the 1820s was, therefore, not a new phenomenon but rather a continuation and exacerbation of a volatile relationship already in place since the formation of the colony. As Plomley states, the 'barbarity of the convict servants, of the shepherds and stockkeepers, of the police and the military, […] was always in the

[6] Bonwick, *Last of the Tasmanians*, 32.
[7] N. J. B. (Norman James Brian) Plomley, ed., *Friendly Mission : the Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829-1834* (Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1966), 22.
[8] Henry Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People* (New ed.; Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin, 2004), 4.
[9] Cited in Turnbull, *Black War*, 57.

background'.[10].

George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony from 1824-1837, made several attempts to establish peace in Van Diemen's Land. In his first proclamation regarding the Aborigines dated June 23 1824, Arthur declared that it was both his duty and disposition 'to support and encourage all measures which may tend to conciliate and civilize the Natives of the island, and to forbid and prevent, and, when perpetrated, to punish, any ill-treatment towards them'.[11] The attacks from both sides continued, however, with Aboriginal retaliation attacks increasing in severity. Arthur's concern now shifted towards the protection of settler lives, and he responded to Aboriginal attacks by organising civilian 'roving parties', usually consisting of 'a constable and some trusted convicts' to capture Aboriginal 'transgressors' and stop the violence.[12] The parties failed, however, and Arthur put in place perhaps his most infamous policy, the 'Black Line', in 1830. Roving parties combined to form a single line to sweep across the whole island, forcing the Aboriginal tribes onto the Forestier Peninsula where they could be easily contained. It was a 'ludicrous' operation in which 'one man and a boy were captured',[13] an 'expensive failure' that saw 175 Europeans and probably many more Aborigines killed in the conflict.[14]

The failure of force to establish peace made Arthur, and the settler population he was trying to manage, look for other means, and paved the way for the surprisingly effective contribution of George Augustus Robinson. Arthur, apparently still desiring a peaceful solution even while sending out the roving parties, issued a notice in the *Hobart Town Gazette* on 7 March 1829, advertising for 'a steady person of good character' who would

[10] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 26.
[11] Turnbull, *Black War*, 65.
[12] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 30.
[13] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 31.
[14] Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People*, 4.

'[effect] an intercourse with this unfortunate race and reside upon Brune Island'.[15] Robinson, a builder by trade who had emigrated to Hobart in 1824, applied for the position and was appointed on 21 March.

The Friendly Mission

Over the next five years Robinson devoted himself to what he called his 'Friendly Mission'. He stayed on Bruny Island throughout 1829, learning the indigenous language, administering the provisions sent by Arthur for the Aborigines' use, and ordering life on the Island around non-violent, but decidedly European, principles. The four years after that were spent travelling around mainland Tasmania with a group of Aborigines from the Bruny settlement, in an effort to 'conciliate' the native tribes. In 1831 the 'Aborigines Committee' reported on Robinson's work, stating that he achieved great success in his objectives, 'viz., the opening of an amicable intercourse and friendly communication with the whole of the black population of this island'. They also reported Robinson's claim that 'several of the most hostile class have put themselves under his protection', with the result that he felt 'confident of the possibility of effecting the voluntary removal of the entire black population, […] holding out the protection of the government'.[16] The Islands of Bass Strait were deemed a suitable place for the relocation, with Flinders Island eventually being decided on.

Whether through his determination, coincidence, the Aborigines' exhaustion following the Black War, or a confluence of these and other factors, Robinson's optimism turned out to be accurate. Within four years he had made contact with each tribe on the Island, and convinced the all those Aborigines not yet killed in the Black War to come 'under his protection' at the camp 'Wybalenna' on Flinders Island. Despite this apparently positive outcome, demographic

[15] Turnbull, *Black War*, 100.
[16] Turnbull, *Black War*, 126.

data tells a darker tale. There is evidence of 'a decline from perhaps 1500 indigenous Tasmanians at the beginning of the Black War in 1824, to about 350 in 1831'. [17] This decline was not stopped once on Flinders Island either. Decimated by disease, isolated from their homeland, and forced to adopt a way of life foreign to their cultural outlook, the Aborigines on Flinders Island dwindled in numbers until the station was closed in 1847, followed by the death of Trugernanner in 1876, 'regarded at the time as 'the last of her race'.'[18]

From its inception, Robinson's Friendly Mission was couched in Christian rhetoric, and linked with evangelical activist concerns. This raises the question of the relationship between evangelicalism and the Mission: was it an evangelical movement? Before examining Robinson's own answer to that question, we will outline a brief definitional framework to use as a point of comparison.

Evangelicalism: Historical Connections, Theological Distinctives

The first measure we will use to analyse the relationship between evangelicalism and the Friendly Mission is that of historical connection. Can we locate the main protagonists of the Mission in the historical stream of evangelicalism, beginning with the British revivals of the 1730s and American Great Awakenings of the 1740s and led by characters such as John Wesley, George Whitfield and Jonathan Edwards?

The second, and more decisive, measure will be a theological one. Did the Mission have theological motivations that aligned with distinctively evangelical concerns? Bebbington's work in identifying evangelicalism's theological distinctives has been widely followed, and

[17] Henry Reynolds, *An Indelible Stain? : the Question of Genocide in Australia's History* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 2001), 71.
[18] Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People*, 5. This claim has since been overturned – while Trugernanner (also known as Truganini) was the last 'full blood' indigenous Tasmanian, a 'community of Aboriginal women and renegade Europeans' had established itself in the Bass Straight islands, their descendants continuing through to today (Reynolds, *Fate of a Free People*, 4).

will be used here; not as an exhaustive list but a useful analytical tool. In his book *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, Bebbington argues that

> there are four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion: *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.[19]

These four theological convictions will be used to assess the connection between evangelicalism and the Friendly Mission. Before proceeding, though, it is necessary to expand on the second conviction, activism. For Bebbington, evangelical theology leads to activity, and this activity is in the first instance directed towards the proclamation of the gospel. However, 'activism often spilled over' into other work, as seen in Lord Shaftesbury's efforts to improve public health, Wilberforce's campaign against the slave trade, and a 'host of voluntary societies' that 'embodied the philanthropic urge'.[20] The significance of this qualification becomes apparent when turning to the work of George Augustus Robinson. Robinson demonstrably had a 'philanthropic urge'; but was it grounded in these other distinctively evangelical theological commitments?

The Friendly Mission and Evangelicalism: G. A. Robinson

The issue of the connection between evangelicalism and the Friendly Mission is a common feature of the historical commentary. Most discussion centres around the evangelical motivations and character of Robinson, the Mission's central figure, and not on the Mission as an entity in itself. Writing in 1832, the naturalist and Quaker missionary James Backhouse described Robinson as 'a benevolent individual, professing to be actuated by a sense of religious duty', describing the Mission as Robinson's 'mission of mercy'.[21]

[19] D. W. (David William) Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain : a History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2–3.
[20] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 12.
[21] James Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 80.

Modern scholarship has on the whole been more ambiguous. Keith Windschuttle, following Vivienne Ray-Ellis,[22] characterises Robinson as a cheat and liar who founded 'a long tradition of those who have made a lot of money out of the Aboriginal predicament while watching their charges die before their eyes'.[23] On the opposite end of the spectrum, Lyndall Ryan sees Robinson as 'a man ahead of his time, a champion of the Aborigines and one of the most significant figures in nineteenth-century colonial history'.[24] Henry Reynolds, acknowledging the complexity and changeable nature of Robinson's character, gives a sympathetic but ultimately critical account. While Robinson began his work with the genuine evangelical concern that 'all human beings were […] 'of one blood', made in the image of God and all alike capable of salvation', as the Friendly Mission proceeded 'the immigrant overcame the missionary, and prosperity became more enticing than piety'.[25]

This lack of historical consensus regarding Robinson's character and motivations indicates something of the complexity involved in historical reconstruction of a character at the centre of one of the most controversial and tragic period in Australian history. This confusion is largely due to a conflict between Robinson's self-confessed evangelical humanitarian motivations and the terrible end point of his Mission, the dispossession and death of almost all Tasmanian aborigines – a decidedly non-humanitarian outcome. It is hard to hold these two together; and so opinion tends either towards a denial of the former, such that Robinson's motivations are seen as tainted, or else towards a view of Robinson as a tragic figure, well intentioned but ultimately too naive or too foolish to achieve his evangelical goals.

We will approach Robinson's journals with this ambiguity in mind. However, granted the speculative nature of inferring internal motivations to Robinson, this essay will seek to

[22] Vivienne Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson : Protector of Aborigines* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne Univ. Press, 1988), 82.
[23] Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (Sydney: Macleay, 2002), 201.
[24] Lyndall Ryan, 'Historians, Friendly Mission and the Contest for Robinson and Trukanini', in *Reading Robinson : Companion Essays to Friendly Mission* (ed. Anna Johnston and Mitchell Rolls; Hobart: Quintus Publishing, 2008), 159.
[25] Reynolds, 'George Augustus Robinson in Van Diemen's Land: Race, Status and Religion', 163, 168.

analyse his journals for what he wanted to communicate about his intentions. This may or may not be an accurate indication of his actual motivations; but it is an attainable and less speculative goal. Did Robinson seek to communicate a connection to evangelicalism in connection to the Friendly Mission? Did he understand, or at least did he want others to believe he understood, the Mission as an evangelical movement?

Before looking at Robinson's journals for his own views, we will briefly outline his historical connection to evangelicalism. Little is known about Robinson's early life. Born in 1788, probably in London, he was the youngest son of a 'lower-middle-class home' and as such few definite records of his family exist.[26] What is apparent is that in England he became a builder, his father's trade. The earliest mention of Christian activity is found in some notes from the period soon after his marriage to Maria Amelia Evens in 1814, which contain 'some vague references to religious activities'.[27] In 1823-4 Robinson emigrated to Tasmania, 'hoping to secure a more comfortable social niche for himself and his large family'.[28] Journals from his voyage show him as a 'serious-minded and religious' man who 'liked thoughtful conversation but took part with pleasure in quiet conviviality'.[29]

Records for Robinson's religious activities are more numerous for the period after his arrival in Hobart on 20 January 1824. They reveal him as an active Methodist, who on arrival 'became a prominent member of many Christian and charitable bodies including the Bethel Union and the Bible Society'.[30] He was also involved in visiting prisoners in the jail to give religious counsel.[31] Through this brief overview, it is apparent that Robinson's personal history had a clear genealogical connection to evangelicalism, both through the Methodist

[26] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 12.
[27] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 12.
[28] Cassandra Pybus, 'A Self-Made Man', in *Reading Robinson : Companion Essays to Friendly Mission* (ed. Anna Johnston and Mitchell Rolls; Hobart: Quintus Publishing, 2008), 102.
[29] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 13.
[30] John Harris, 'Robinson, George Augustus', ed. Brian Dickey, *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), 324.
[31] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 14.

movement and evangelical para-church organisations such as the Bethel Union, a mission to sea-farers. Given Methodism's focus on holiness and itinerant ministry and its tendency toward non-conformity,[32] it may be that Robinson's early involvement gave him both the moral vision and the self-confidence to undertake his Mission despite a broader indifference and even opposition to the indigenous Tasmanians.

The question of Robinson's theological connection to evangelicalism is more complex, but more decisive for our purposes. So long as a merely genealogical link is established there remains the possibility that Robinson was acting not out of theological conviction but according to the conventions of his Methodist cultural background.

What, then can we learn of Robinson's theological outlook from his journals, and how tightly can we draw a connection between it and evangelical theology? Using Bebbington's four distinctives, we will see that at each point Robinson does align with evangelicalism. His theology is unsophisticated, and he is stronger on some points than others. However, Robinson was not theologically trained, nor was he ever an official 'missionary'. He was a lay person with historical attachment to evangelicalism who presented himself as driven by evangelical concerns, albeit with a naïve apprehension of what those concerns were and an often unconscious, and as we will see unfortunate, commingling of them with social and political agendas.

Conversionism

At first glance conversion does not seem to have been a prominent feature of Robinson's agenda. In a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, 15 April 1829, Robinson outlined the plan for his Friendly Mission. His object was 'the amelioration of the aborigines of Van Diemen's

[32] While Methodism originally existed alongside the Church of England, by 1795 it had 'for most purposes become a new Dissenting denomination'. Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism : the Age of Edwards Whitefield and the Wesleys* ((A history of evangelicalism); Nottingham: Inter-Varsity, 2004), 193.

Land', to be achieved by two means: civilisation and instruction in the principles of Christianity. This instruction was to be undertaken '1st by public worship' and '2nd by public schools'.[33] From the outset of the Mission, then, a potential weakness regarding its evangelicalism becomes apparent. Rather than a proclamation of the gospel and a call to enter into its reality, Robinson sought 'instruction in Christian principles'. This focus on education rather than conversion is a legitimate concern. However, the situation needs to be more carefully nuanced.

As we read Robinson's journals, a clear desire for conversion is apparent. While on his second expedition, Robinson wrote that the Aborigines 'are my brethren by creation […] and would to God I could call them brethren by redemption'.[34]

On Bruny Island Robinson reflected on the advice he was given by one of 'the host of advisors at the commencement of [his] labours'. This person advised that if Robinson had to think of Christianity, it should be 'one pound of Christianity to three pounds of civilisation'. Robinson replied, 'I would ask this theorist where is the opportunity of dealing out the prescribed quantity as within the short space of ten weeks, four immortal souls have been launched into eternity from this establishment'.[35] At this early point in Robinson's Mission, the need for conversion, given the immediacy of death, outweighed the need for civilisation.

However, despite this priority, Robinson could never conceive of conversion entirely loosed from 'civilisation'. Just over a month later he wrote of his hope in Aboriginal human nature 'now beginning to emerge from that torpid state of ignorance and barbarism in which it has so long slumbered', and 'becoming susceptible of those civilized qualities which all tribes

[33] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 57.
[34] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 310.
[35] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 65.

and nations must attain to, even to their very acme'.[36] Robinson's conception of conversion was inextricably tied up with a modernist eschatology of progress that saw the 'acme' of all cultures, not as gathered around the throne of the Lamb in all their cultural diversity,[37] but as attaining to 'civilised qualities'. As such, while he desired conversion he saw this as only possible through 'civilisation', or at least as going hand in hand with it.

This is indicated by a journal entry from 8 August 1829 in which he speaks of 'the improvement which a life spent in social intercourse with rational creatures' (i.e. the British population of Hobart) 'has accomplished on the rough image of a poor aborigine'. Robinson hoped 'by a course of proper discipline' to teach the aborigines 'to imbibe those impressions which through the assistance of Almighty God will ultimately lead to their general conversion'.[38]

Again in a later entry Robinson writes 'neither count I my life dear could I but win the souls of these aborigines to God'. However, a few sentences later he expresses this hope in terms of 'the savage tribes of this colony' experiencing 'the blessings of civilization', after which they may 'be finally instructed in the will and precepts of their divine Creator'.[39]

Robinson's journals then indicate that he was not unconcerned with conversion, but rather that he saw education and civilisation as necessary correlates, and even preconditions, of conversion. His conception of the change conversion brings was of a cognitive assent to Christian propositions, rather than a more fully-orbed cognitive-existential change signaling a radical life reorientation. As we will expand on later, it is probable that this reduced scope of the nature of conversion was a function of the Mission's political goal of social order, and meant Robinson's concern was to 'europeanise' first, and to (hopefully) convert later. Setting

[36] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 72.
[37] C.f. Revelation 7:9
[38] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 75–6.
[39] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 98–99.

up churches and schools to 'educate' the indigenous Tasmanians was a tangible and quantifiable measure, and contributed to the ideal of British social harmony. Calling the indigenous tribes to find their true identity in Christ through faith in him, giving them space to work out how that will impact their own culture, is a much less measurable goal, and less useful in terms of colonial stability. However, despite these concerns, it is apparent that, while wrongly ordered behind cultural assimilation and Westernised education, Robinson did in fact communicate a desire that the Friendly Mission would lead to conversion. In this he demonstrates he understood his Mission as an evangelical one.

Activism

As we have seen, Robinson's theological commitments led him to a desire for conversion amongst the Aboriginal people. However, in line with the second evangelical distinctive, activism, this desire found expression in action. His journals record him constantly seeking to convince his indigenous guides to adopt Christianity, both through many informal camp-fire conversations and through formal church-service sermons. These sermons, more prevalent in the early period of the Mission when Robinson was in the fixed location of Bruny Island, include efforts of cultural accommodation, such as one attempt to preach in the Aboriginal language.[40]

His informal conversations are more prominent, as would be expected, during his expeditions. These conversations often centred around the issue of creation, as for example in Robinson's entry on 12 July 1831: 'Tonight I explained to the natives the Creation – of God, of the Flood, &c – which I had frequently done when an opportunity afforded'.[41] Again in a later discussion with the Aboriginal chief Mannalargenna and others, Robinson records 'I explained to them the being of a God, how man was created, the fall, Christ coming to save

[40] 31 May 1839. Cited in Plomley, *Friendly Mission,* 63.
[41] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 409.

man; and if they believe not they will not be saved. […] I told them one God made black and white man.'[42] Robinson, then, both held a conversionist theology and put that into practice in his evangelistic activism.

However, the mention of one God making black and white in the last paragraph leads to the primary feature of Robinson's activism. As we saw earlier, evangelical activism 'often spilled over' to include a broader scope than verbal evangelism. For Robinson, his activism principally took shape in the form of advocacy for the physical wellbeing of the indigenous Tasmanians. This advocacy was driven by the conflict between this belief in the equality of all people under God and the cruel treatment given to the Aborigines by the settlers. Reynolds has noted that 'Robinson probably had more first-hand experience of the impact of settler violence than any other European'.[43] Robinson himself, in a draft of an unpublished memoir written at the end of his life, reflected that his 'mind had become early and deeply impressed with the deplorable state and condition of the aboriginal inhabitants', and that he was anxious to know 'whether anything could be done for their moral, religious and material improvement'. While public opinion saw the Aborigines as 'a bare remove from the brutes', Robinson asserted that 'even brutes were accessible to kindness; how much more man, made after the express image of God'.[44]

Even on the most cynical reading of his journals, the facts of the case – including his confessed belief in equality against the vast sway of public opinion, his willingness to give up social comfort and journey through harsh terrain away from his family for the best part of four years, and his desire (even if misguided) to do something to abate the extermination of the indigenous people in the Black War – set Robinson apart from his culture as a humanitarian activist. If he was only concerned with riches and fame, 'he could have

[42] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 436.
[43] Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1998), 31.
[44] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 52.

achieved them more quickly and in far greater safety and security by continuing to practice his trade as a builder in the rapidly developing town of Hobart'.[45] Robinson, then, displayed both a belief in the necessity of conversion, and an activism expressed in both evangelism and advocacy.

Biblicism

The third evangelical distinctive – Biblicism – is also apparent in Robinson's journals. He speaks of the 'bright and infallible doctrines of scripture',[46] and although not explicitly referenced very often, biblical language, imagery and concepts occur throughout his journals. The biblical concept of the equality of humanity by virtue of their creation in God's image is a direct reference to Genesis 1-2 and as we have seen was a touchstone of Robinson's Mission. He also at key points uses biblical allusions to explain his mission, for example writing of the need 'to put our talents to interest so that when we are called upon to give an account of their appropriation we may be found good and faithful servants', alluding to the parable of the talents in Matthew 25.

Another prominent biblical concept that has expression throughout the journals is the sovereignty of God. Faced with the Aboriginal death rate on Bruny Island, Robinson writes 'my mind is uplifted to that Omnipotent Being who directs and governs all things here below'. He finds comfort in the thought that 'what is just and that all things work together for the common good', alluding to Romans 8:28.[47] Later in his expeditions this same passage becomes a source of comfort to Robinson when he is told by his aboriginal guides that he would be speared by the particular tribe they were searching for, writing 'my trust is in God

[45] Ryan, 'Historians, Friendly Mission and the Contest for Robinson and Trukanini', 148.
[46] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 104.
[47] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 85.

who worketh all things for good'.[48]

Linked to this conception of God's sovereignty, Robinson's journals also record his prayers to God for help, often couched in biblical phrases. For example, quoting 1 Cor 15:58 he writes, 'I pray to a triune Jehovah that I may continue steadfast, immovable in the work of the Lord, for as much as we know that our labour is not in vain in the Lord'.[49] The Bible, then, formed a core element of Robinson's self-understanding and the discourse surrounding his Friendly Mission.

Crucicentrism

It is the fourth evangelical distinctive, crucicentrism, that is the least evident in Robinson's understanding of his mission. It is, however, discernible. Reflecting on the death of 'Joe', an indigenous resident of Bruny Island, Robinson writes, 'Would to God he had died in the faith of Jesus Christ'. Later in the same entry he refers to Jesus as 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world'.[50] Robinson speaks several times of Christ as 'the great redeemer of the world',[51] claiming that 'nothing but regeneration itself and the all saving grace of Emmanuel applied to the Holy Spirit can effectually redeem'.[52] As we have already seen in his attempts to preach to the Aboriginal people, he spoke of 'Christ coming to save man'.[53]

Of interest in this connection is that talk of Christ and redemption is heavily weighted towards the start of his journals, disappearing altogether from the time of his third expedition to the North-Western tribes in 1832. From this point, his Christian discourse revolves much more around his hope in God's providence and thankfulness for what he saw as God's

[48] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 319.
[49] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 99.
[50] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 64.
[51] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 90. C.f. pp. 104, 113.
[52] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 104.
[53] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 436.

intervention when things went well for him: his statement, 'providence is good to me. Grant I may be successful!' is representative.[54] This loss of focus on the cross may correlate with what has been noted as Robinson's 'moral decline'.[55] However, it is nevertheless possible to assert that at least in the beginning of his work Robinson saw the atoning work of Christ as an important part of his message and therefore of the Friendly Mission.

From his journals, it is clear therefore that George Augustus Robinson, the key character involved in the Friendly Mission, wanted to communicate that his Mission was an evangelical one. He confessed a belief in the necessity for conversion. His Mission was for him the embodiment of his evangelical activism, surrounded by biblical discourse and including, at least at the beginning, a stress on the redeeming work of Christ.

The question remains, however, as to the accuracy of Robinson's presentation of his Mission as evangelical. To help us assess this we will need to look more closely at the connections between the Friendly Mission and its contexts, both locally and internationally.

The Friendly Mission in context

We have already outlined the historical context of the Mission in terms of the Tasmanian Black War, and in this no further comment needs to be made. What is crucial is the connection between the two.

As outlined, Robinson's Mission came not as a purely humanitarian movement but as a government initiative, occasioned by the increasingly violent and socially disruptive conflict between settlers and indigenous Tasmanians. As James Boyce argues, it 'has largely been overlooked that Robinson was an employee of the colonial government, reporting directly to

[54] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 774.
[55] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 619.

the Lieutenant Governor, and that the monumental decision taken […] to remove every Tasmanian Aborigine, […] was ultimately a political and a local one'. The removal of an entire indigenous people, even from remote and unsettled areas 'was hardly standard evangelical […] fare'.[56]

Despite Robinson's presentation of the Mission as evangelical, this crucial factor – that the Mission was fundamentally a solution to a socio-political crisis rather than positively motivated by evangelical activism – meant that from its inception it served a political goal; and no amount of evangelical rhetoric could change that. Robinson's arguably sincere evangelicalism may have served to endear his Mission to Governor Arthur, himself a 'committed and pious Christian' and 'sympathetic to humanitarian causes'. However, Arthur himself was 'progressively trapped between implacably contradictory objectives'. On the one hand he faced the 'overriding imperative of colonial governance', running the colony such that the increasing numbers of settlers were able to be financially prosperous and physically secure 'on lands wrested from Aboriginal people'. On the other hand, his humanitarianism meant he was committed to protect the Aboriginal people from the forced dispossession of their land by the settlers and the violence that dispossession brought. Arthur, then, 'grasped at Robinson's Friendly Mission as a middle way'. [57] Robinson's Mission was for Arthur a way to both satisfy his conscience and keep the settlers happy.

Seen in this light, the Friendly Mission, as a government-backed and funded venture viewed by Arthur as the answer to his 'contradictory objectives', fundamentally served a political end despite Robinson's presentation of it as evangelical.

This assessment is confirmed by a comparison of the Mission with the international

[56] James Boyce, 'Robinson's Journals', *History Australia* 7/1 (December 21, 2010): 21.1.
[57] All quotes in this paragraph from Alan Lester, 'George Augustus Robinson and Imperial Networks', in *Reading Robinson : Companion Essays to Friendly Mission* (ed. Anna Johnston and Mitchell Rolls; Hobart: Quintus Publishing, 2008), 32–33.

evangelical abolitionist movement. Commenting on the treatment of Aborigines by sealers in the Bass Straits, Robinson famously wrote 'Surely this is the African slave trade in miniature, and the voice of reason as well as humanity calls for its abolition'.[58] Robinson not only saw his Mission as evangelical, but specifically as an extension of the evangelical abolitionist movement of the late 18th and early 19th Centuries. However, read in the light of the historical context we have outlined, key differences emerge that make this connection untenable.

The British evangelical abolitionist movement, personified in Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect, engaged in a long-term and costly conflict against slavery in the British Empire. Like Robinson, although arguably with greater apprehension, Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect held to a biblically shaped, crucicentric, conversionist and socially activist evangelicalism.[59] However, a critical distinction was that, whereas Robinson's Mission served the colonial government's agenda of social order, Wilberforce's abolitionism was the cause of significant inconvenience to the government and ruling elite. Wilberforce was dealing with a long established practice that was a source of considerable income for the Empire, and many thought to abolish it was 'risking the nation's economy'.[60] He faced opposition from the ruling elite, including those with plantation interests who used fear of French encroachment to argue against abolition: 'any regulation of the British slave trade would only put British-owned slaves – and money – into the hands of French slavers'.[61] Wilberforce's abolitionism, driven by his evangelical activism, put him in stark opposition to vast and powerful sections of the British political and economic leadership.

As we have seen, however, Robinson's Mission in contrast *served* the agendas of the political and economic leadership. It brought an end to the hostilities that were causing economic and

[58] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 91.
[59] See Stephen Tomkins, *The Clapham Sect : How Wilberforce's Circle Transformed Britain* (Oxford: Lion, 2010), 46–7.
[60] Eric Metaxas, *Amazing Grace : William Wilberforce and the Heroic Campaign to End Slavery* (New York, NY: HarperSanFrancisco, 2007), 119.
[61] Metaxas, *Amazing Grace*, 125.

human loss for the settlers. It separated the warring parties without needing to come to a mediated agreement, and as such did not inconvenience the settlers but rather was a great boon for them. As shown in his protracted efforts to receive compensation after his final expedition in 1835, it was thought by the Colonial Secretary that the value of Robinson's work was in proportion to the relief he brought to 'the ruinous effects produced upon the lives and property of the settlers by the aboriginal natives'.[62]

It is not accurate, then, to view the Friendly Mission as an extension of evangelical abolitionism. Its close ties to governmental agendas meant that, instead of calling the government and the powerful settler population to uphold the human dignity of the aboriginal people regardless of the cost to their wallets, their property or their convenience, it rather enabled them to profit financially, keep their property, and not have the inconvenience of negotiating their claims on the land with its first inhabitants.

Concluding Reflections

George Augustus Robinson is a character 'about whom historians will forever argue. Was he a hero or a villain, the saviour of the Aboriginal remnant or their betrayer?'[63] Regardless of his internal motivations, this essay has argued that he presented his Friendly Mission as an evangelical 'mission of mercy'. However, there does not seem to be a necessary reason to adopt a hermeneutic of suspicion regarding the correspondence between his confessed and actual motives. Robinson himself arguably understood the Mission, at least at its inception, to be motivated by a biblically based, crucicentric activism that sought both the conversion and the physical wellbeing of Tasmania's indigenous population.

[62] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 962.
[63] John Harris, *One Blood : 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity : a Story of Hope* (2nd ed.; Sydney: Albatross Books, 1994), 95.

The relationship between socio-political forces and the Mission, as outlined above, meant that while Robinson believed the Mission to be evangelical, it was in fact political. Robinson embodies an evangelical activism assured in its own divine approval. He stated his firm belief that the Mission was from God, that 'God is with me, and that the cause is his'.[64] This certainty that what he was doing was God's work gave Robinson a confidence bordering on arrogance, exemplified in his claim that 'Providence had certainly crowned my labours with abundant success' such that 'with me the motto *veni, vidi, vici* was applicable'.[65] Robinson's uncritical attributing of his Mission to God's will blinded him from seeing the more fundamental, non-evangelical forces driving the Mission, and therefore inhibited his capacity to, like Wilberforce, confront the dominant culture with the claims of the gospel. Instead, Robinson's Mission helped to maintain the dominant culture's status quo, with the added 'benefit' that humanitarian consciences were assuaged.

This raises the broader issue of evangelicalism and the capacity for self-deception, an issue as urgent today as in the 1830s. The story of the Friendly Mission highlights the way in which it is possible to engage in activities that are genuinely motivated by evangelical concerns and yet form part of a larger non-evangelical agenda. In terms of indigenous relations in Australia,

> 'humanitarian evangelical networks [have] justified assimilation or integration on white terms, embodied ethnocentric assumptions of cultural superiority and, in their twentieth-century afterlife, underpinned traumatic 'welfare' interventions such as the forced fostering of Aboriginal and 'mixed race' children'.[66]

This capacity to participate in and legitimate non-evangelical agendas under sincere evangelical motives serves as a warning to evangelicals in all spheres, not just in relation to indigenous history. The Friendly Mission highlights the danger of the highly motivated, well intentioned evangelical who considers their work the work of God but who has failed to

[64] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 414.
[65] Plomley, *Friendly Mission*, 805.
[66] Lester, 'George Augustus Robinson and Imperial Networks', 42.

reckon with the broader cultural and political agendas they may unconsciously be advancing. However, that warning should also encourage a more thorough and critical evangelical engagement with cultural power structures; and in doing so encourage an embodiment of the subversive gospel call to love regardless of cost and in spite of opposition. It is through this kind of politically engaged and culturally critical pursuit of Christ-like love that today's evangelicals, in contrast to Robinson, may recapture something of Wilberforce's vision and transformative evangelical activism.

The Friendly Mission to the indigenous peoples of Van Diemen's Land was surrounded by evangelical rhetoric, and was communicated as an evangelical mission by its key protagonist George Augustus Robinson. Robinson's evangelical Methodist heritage, and the theological framework indicated throughout his journals, suggest that this outward communication had an inward correspondence, such that he genuinely believed himself doing an evangelical work, although it is unlikely we will ever be certain of his internal motivations. However, despite Robinson's evangelical outlook, the social and political context of the Mission, principally the tension created by the Black War and the consequent crisis for Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, meant that Robinson's Mission ultimately served a political end. In contrast to the evangelical abolitionism which Robinson located himself within, the Mission's advocacy for the wellbeing of the indigenous Tasmanians did not take the form of political and cultural critique but rather of a 'middle way' which ended up confirming and stabilizing the pre-exisiting social order. It is therefore apparent that the Friendly Mission was not in any fundamental sense an evangelical Mission.

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A historical overview of Australian religious sectarianism accompanied by a survey of factors contributing to its dissolution

Stephen Blyth

A somewhat healed wound exists in Australia's socio-religious past. This wound, known broadly as sectarianism, stemmed from an intense and deep seeded rivalry between those who identified (as belonging to) a Protestant strand of religion and those who identified as Roman Catholic. It would be no shock to today's young Australian that differences in religious belief and practice can and do result in forms of intolerance, division an even violence. Such expressions of difference have been seen recently in Australia across religious boundaries with the increasing Muslim presence. The 2009 proposal of a Muslim School resulting in headlines such as 'Islamic School divides Western Sydney' typifies such division.[1] Yet today's average young Australian lives somewhat unaware of the fact that 'many Australians alive today have personal memories of sectarianism'.[2] This heated rivalry within Australia, which viewed itself as a 'Christian Nation',[3] seems to have cooled, the question is – Why?

Australian social commentator Hugh Mackay aptly summarises this progression of Australia's society from inter-Christian sectarianism to other-religion wariness. "The (19)40s and 50s were a time of great sectarian tension between Protestants and Catholics, with strong anti-catholic prejudice especially evident in corporate life, conservative politics and the

[1] 'Islamic school divides western Sydney suburb', *DailyTelegraph*, Cited 16 Apr 2012, Online: http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/islamic-school-divides-western-sydney-suburb/story-e6freuy9-1225736019134.
[2] Benjamin Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs: Aspects of Australian Sectarianism 1945-1981* (Acorn Press, Limited, 2008), 6.
[3] For a helpful discussion of the reasons for Australia being called a Christian Nation see Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland, and Robert Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia* (CUP Archive, 1995), 142.

'establishment'. Today, it's Muslims who make us nervous."[4] Similarly, Catholic historian Michael Hogan writes, "the rivalry which permeated colonial politics in the second half of the nineteenth century and survived well into the twentieth century…those divisions and the heat they generated seem a life-time away… They are the stuff of history for young Australians".[5] It will be the purpose of this paper to give a brief historical overview of Australian religious sectarianism before surveying factors in Australia's past that have contributed to this rivalry becoming 'the stuff of history'.

What was sectarianism?

So, firstly, what was sectarianism and how far reaching was it? Jeff Kildea highlights the difficulty in defining the term 'sectarianism' when he suggests that sectarianism is a term in Australian history 'pregnant with meaning which dictionary definitions fail to capture'.[6] Broadly speaking sectarianism refers to the hostility between different churches or 'sects', which then manifests itself in wider society. Sectarianism is not simply a reference to different theological doctrines and practice, but rather to the phenomenon of how those differences form the underlying basis of social intolerance, antagonism and hostility in the wider society. Hogan names 'class rivalries, marriage taboos, political influence, and alliances within secular organisations' as several of the many ways that sectarianism spawns into societal prejudices.[7] Hogan defines Sectarianism as "the religious divisions in society according to denominational boundaries - divisions which have a significant impact on society as a whole".[8] Adopting this definition we will now seek to establish a brief overview of the impact of sectarianism in Australia's past.

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[4] Hugh Mackay, *Advance Australia ... Where: How we've changed, why we've changed, and what will happen next* (Hachette Australia, 2007), 145.
[5] Michael Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', *The Journal of Religious History* 13/1 (June 1984): 83.
[6] Jeff Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric: Sectarianism in Australia 1910 -1925* (Citadel Books, 2002), ii.
[7] Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 84.
[8] Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 85.

How far reaching was sectarianism in Australia?

Catholic historian Patrick O'Farrell aptly states the general consensus among Australian religious historians that "Australian sectarianism was derived from the legacy of 16th century events".[9] That is, Australian Sectarianism is historically rooted in the divisive events between England and Ireland; primarily the two foundational events of this nationalistic division were the Protestant Reformation and the English conquest of Ireland. This understanding shows us that chronologically sectarianism reaches back to the very beginning of the Australian colony. The penal colony was not only a prison but an embodiment of three hundred year old nationalistic tensions. Edwards comments that the major cleavage in colonial society "existed between the Irish Catholic community and mainstream British Protestant society – this was the basic sectarian divide".[10]

The Catholic minority, who comprised roughly 25 per cent of the convict population, were, until 1819, denied religious freedom. Specifically they were denied freedom of worship, education in their faith, sacramental marriage or the consolation of their sick and dying by priestly ministry. Instead they were compelled to attend the Establishments' English Evangelical Anglican services.[11] During this time, two significant events occurred, notably the failed Irish Conspiracy of 1800[12] and the Armed Rebellion at Vinegar Hill in 1804. Both were forcibly put down by the colonial government. Hogan argues that it is not what really happened in these first 30 years in the colony that matters but rather the 'perceptions of later

[9] Patrick James O'Farrell, 'Double Jeopardy - Catholic and Irish', *Humanities Research Journal Series* XII/1 (2005): 9. See also Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 62. Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Penguin Books, 1987), 27–29.
[10] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 62.
[11] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 24-26.
[12] The Irish Conspiracy consisted of a plan to overturn the government by putting Governor King to Death and confining Governor Hunter. The rebels were to meet at and take Parramatta and then before day light take the Barracks at Sydney. The rebels were well armed with pikes and were to be joined by soldiers who it was planned would take the guns to South Head and other places of security. See Arthur Aikin, *The Annual Review, and History of Literature* (Printed for T.N. Longman and O. Rees, 1805).

generations, accurate or not' that fuelled later sectarianism.[13] The Establishment's desire for a social order led to the decision to allow Catholics freedom to worship, with the appointment of Fathers Therry and Conolly in 1819. 'Authority saw religion as a force supporting and encouraging social order, and clergy as moral policemen, in a sensitive prison situation'.[14]

Throughout the expansionist era (1820-1920)[15] sectarianism grew, becoming a significant point of social conflict and division. Massam recounts how 'tribal' organisations were formed in order to promote and protect their tribe. In her opinion "The 1919 foundation of the Knights of the Southern Cross was understood by Catholics to be a necessary protection against non-catholic, especially Masonic, prejudice in employment as it was almost a matter of course that for some jobs: 'No Catholics need apply'."[16] She continues "Catholics saw themselves as a separate group in Australian society. In a pattern of mutual suspicion and guarded interaction the two groups sought to preserve their identities, especially by providing sectarian activities for young people. Catholic and Protestant children went to separate schools, joined separate clubs to pursue sporting or cultural interests."[17] Massam highlights how sectarian divisions, formed from institutional doctrines and fuelled by tribal organisations, influenced areas of society such as employment, education and family units.

Massam's brief summary gives us glimpse of the wide ranging influence Sectarianism had on Australian Society, highlighting for us the key topics that must be addressed via their history before any opinions on sectarian resolution can be put forward. We will proceed by addressing the subjects of institutional difference and their subsequent tribal/political organisations, before examining the everyday lives of Australians via the interrelated subjects of education, employment and marriage.

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[13] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 27.
[14] O'Farrell, 'Double Jeopardy - Catholic and Irish', 10.
[15] Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820-1920* (Melbourne University Press, 1980).
[16] Katharine Massam, *Sacred threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia, 1922-1962* (UNSW Press, 1996), 35.
[17] Massam, *Sacred Threads*, 34.

Institutional sectarianism: Not strictly anti-Catholic

While the primary institutional cause of sectarianism lay between Protestants and Catholics, Benjamin Edwards broadens our sectarian scope slightly when he writes "for the most part, the story of sectarianism in Australian history is one of rivalry and suspicion between the Protestant churches, including the Church of England, and the Catholic Church, yet it is important to note that historically this was not the only sectarian cleavage in Australian society".[18]

The main sectarian rivalry - the Protestant/Catholic divide - finds its historical beginnings in two key battles from previous centuries.

Firstly, the 16th Century Protestant Reformation divided Christendom into two broad camps: those who supported the authority and doctrines of the papacy and the Roman Catholic Church, and those who supported independent national state churches and the Bible-oriented teachings of the Reformers. The Protestant Reformation was later seen as a historical high point recounted by Protestants looking to gain a following in the name of 'truth'.

Secondly, the English conquest of Ireland in 1534 was indelibly marked in the memory for Irish nationalists, since as a result England dispossessed the Catholic Irish of their land and imposed an English government with its Protestant religion. As Edward Campion says, "The conquest of Ireland had made them a landless people … the Protestant proprietors of Ireland kept the Catholic Irish as helots in their own country. When they came to Australia they carried this history with them and passed it onto their children".[19] O'Farrell notes the influence that this historical event had in the Protestant camp, saying "very importantly for subsequent history, English propaganda sought to morally vindicate this invasion with an

[18] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 64.
[19] Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics* (Viking, 1987), 6.

ideology of justifiable colonial subjection. So the Irish became, forever after, seditious Catholic barbarians, sub-human anthropoids, violent, dirty, ignorant, on whom it was a necessary duty to impose English rule, civilisation and religion".[20] These two 16th century events came to be historical landmarks that fuelled sectarian debates.

However, Edwards, building on the work of Hogan and Thompson, argues that while a common cause of anti-Catholicism was found amongst Protestant churches these differences were not completely insurmountable as may have been suggested by O'Farrell. Rather, "non-conformist Protestants also found common cause with Catholics in challenging Anglican pretensions to Establishment or ascendency in the colony".[21] Known as the 'Dissenters' back in England these groups, which included Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists and Quakers, banded with the Catholics in refusing to accept the Church of England's doctrine or its status as the Established church.

An example of non-conformist (or perhaps better non-Anglican Protestants) finding a common ground with Catholics is seen in the reaction to 1825 British Government's Church and Schools Corporation implemented under the newly ordained Archdeacon Scott. This corporation, (set up to reinforce the position of the Church of England by giving it priority in funding for religious and educational purposes), ordered the Governor to vest one-seventh of the Crown lands "for the maintenance and support of the clergy and the established Church of England... and the maintenance and support of schools and schoolmasters in connection with the established church." [22] This scheme favoured the Anglican Church so strongly that it soon aroused antagonism from other denominations.

Father J.J. Therry typifies the nature of Roman Catholic opposition by his reaction written in

[20] O'Farrell, 'Double Jeopardy - Catholic and Irish', 9.
[21] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 64; Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 83; Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 30–47; Roger C. Thompson, *Religion in Australia: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 11.
[22] Albert Gordon Austin (ed), *Select Documents in Australian Education* (I. Pitman., 1963), chap. 1.

1825: "From the document which has been recently published, it may be inferred that public provision is to be made for protestant parochial schools exclusively, and that, the children of the Catholic poor are to be either excluded from the salutary benefits of education or compelled or enticed to abandon the truly venerable religion of their ancestors according to the past or present system of the orphan school establishment in the colony".[23]

Such opposition was likewise forthcoming from Presbyterian Rev. Dr. John Dunmore Lang in an 1830 letter addressed to Lord Goderich, the then former English Prime minister:

> In short the Church and School Corporation of New South Wales instead of proving a benefit either to the Government or to the Episcopal Church as its projectors unfortunately persuaded His Majesty's Government it certainly would has lain as a dead weight on the colony for the last five years repressing emigration, discouraging improvement, secularizing the Episcopal clergy and thereby lowering the standard of morals and religion throughout the territory.[24]

In 1836 a decisive piece of legislation was enacted, the *Church Act*, whereby the Church of England lost its legal privileges in the colony of New South Wales. Hogan sums up the act stating, "if government funds are available to any religious denomination, then they should be available to all on some basis of equality. The state should have no favourites in the matters of religion".[25] Drafted by the reformist Attorney-General John Plunkett, and enacted by Governor Richard Bourke, this act established legal equality for Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians and later extended to Methodists.

Unfortunately, the institutional equality achieved formally by the 'Church Act' did not limit sectarianism. The influx of Irish Catholic immigrants, fleeing the Irish famine of the 1840s, prompted Lang to resurrect the old sectarian divide of anti-Irishism with his 1841 pamphlet *The Question of Questions: Is This Colony to be Transformed into a Province of Popedom?* This enduring question expressed a fear and suspicion of potential Irish Catholic threats to the

[23] Father J.J. Therry to Editor of The Sydney Gazette. 14th June, 1825 from Eris O'Brien, *Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry* (Angus & Robertson, 1922), 75.
[24] John Dunmore Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales: Both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony* (Cochrane and M'Crone, 1834), 362.
[25] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 39.

future composition and character of Australian society; the suspicion subsequently led to sectarian arguments dominating much political discussion. This prompts us to consider the influence of sectarianism in the political sphere where in 1843 "sectarian tensions swiftly surfaced".[26]

Political sectarianism: Its Tribal Affiliations and World War One

Examining the 1843 colonial elections highlights the degree to which sectarianism became ingrained in Australia's history, specifically within the political arena. The 1843 election started when Colonel O'Connell, a liberal Protestant, surprisingly attracted so much Catholic support that his campaign 'against his wish or intention took on the appearance of a Celtic crusade'.[27] In light of a Protestant gaining Catholic support, Catholic barrister Roger Therry announced his candidature arguing that the Catholic Community was entitled to at least one representative in order to promote its interests and guard it from misrepresentation.[28] On hearing that Therry had put his nomination forward Protestant Charles Cowper decided to stand in order 'to stop a Papist from being elected'.[29] Therry's response to Cowper, insisting that he 'wanted to keep Catholics in the position of Slaves',[30] further fanned the flames of political sectarianism resulting in a rioting attack on the Wesleyan chapel in Windsor.

Regarding this situation, O'Farrell comments 'the pattern of sectarian confrontation was

[26] Patrick James O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History* (Nelson, 1977), 57.
[27] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, 57.
[28] *Australasian Chronicle*, 16th Jan 1843 quoted in J. M O'brien, 'Sectarianism in the New South Wales Elections of 1843 and 1856*', *Journal of Religious History* 9/1 (June 1, 1976): 74, Cited 18 Apr 2012.
[29] *Australasian Chronicle, 4th March 1843*. Quoted in O'brien, 'Sectarianism in the New South Wales Elections of 1843 and 1856*', 75.
[30] This quote, in my opinion, may be wrongly attributed in O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, 57. I could find no Primary document to support O'Farrell's assertion here, rather it seems that these are the words of the similarly named J. J Therry's then Bishop Polding who in a letter to John O'Sullivan wrote on the *"tyrannies" of the aristocracy, stating of the Catholics that their "children grow up with all the degraded propensity of slave-holders"* cited somewhat misleadingly in O'Brien, *Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry*, 332. Though these words may not belong to Roger Therry they nonetheless illustrate the sectarian feeling of the time.

firmly established in 1843, with thereafter, St Patricks Day and 12th of July (Orange Day)[31] becoming high points on the sectarian calendar'.[32] Hogan illustrates how political sectarianism from the 1840s - 1880s was largely fuelled by 'religious newspapers stirring up the fires.' [33] These 'party publications' became the voice of numerous 'tribal' organisations that existed during this period and beyond. Protestant organisations such as the Loyal Orange Lodge (which first met in Australia in 1845) and the Royal Black Preceptory mobilised anti-Catholic tirades through their affiliated publications, most notably the *Protestant Standard.* Commenting on the *Protestant Standard,* Hogan writes 'there is only one thing that gives this paper a purpose: it is anti-Catholic'.[34] The Catholics' response through the '*Freeman's Journal'* was 'not particularly anti-protestant; it was strongly defensive of Catholic interests and concerns'.[35]

The intensity of sectarianism peaked during this time with the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh by an Irishman named O'Farrell in 1868. A riot broke out in Melbourne, whereby Orangemen fired shots on the Catholic Irish, wounding four and resulting in the death of a young boy. This event prompted the rapid growth of the Orange Movement with membership doubling by the year's end.[36] Hogan comments, 'this battle defined political factions for the next twenty years'.[37]

With the turn of the century and the advent of World War 1 these political factions grew in intensity. The political aspirations of Ireland concerning 'Home Rule', resulting in the failed

[31] Orange Day - (also called 'the Twelfth' or 'Orangemen's Day') is a yearly Protestant celebration held on 12 July. It originated in Ireland during the 18th century. It celebrates the Glorious Revolution (1688) and victory of Protestant King William of Orange over Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne (1690).
[32] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, 57.
[33] Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 103.
[34] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 107.
[35] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 109.
[36] In 1868 the Orange movement grew to 2000 members. In 1869 there were 2500 members in 28 lodges, in 1876 19000 in 130 lodges, and a peak was reached with 25000 members in 1882, in NSW alone.
Patrick James O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the Present* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 103.
[37] Hogan, *The sectarian strand*, 104.

'1916 Easter Uprising',[38] provided 'new fuel to ignite the smouldering coals of anti-Catholicism into a roaring blaze',[39] but it was the question of loyalty to the War that brought sectarian tensions to new heights.

Protestant denominations heavily supported Australia's involvement in the First World War.[40] "Australian churchmen, particularly Anglicans, were imbued with a theology of war and Empire, and which enjoined on the British nation the responsibility of protecting the weak, by force if necessary. This was the British version of the 'just war'."[41] An article from *The Baptist Recorder* highlights the threefold involvement of protestant clergy. They delivered casualty telegrams to next-of-kin, joined politicians in recruitment drives fighting 'for God and humanity in the name of righteousness and truth',[42] and were enlisted as AIF chaplains.

The question of Catholic loyalty was raised with the campaign against conscription by the involvement of Melbourne Catholic Archbishop Mannix. The Archbishop, who had been silent during the first plebiscite in Oct 1916, actively campaigned against conscription because the government's proposal did not exempt teaching brothers and seminarians. Santamaria writes, 'Dr Mannix chose to fight, not on the issue of the morality of conscription – he didn't oppose conscription when Australia itself was threatened during the Japanese war – but on the issue of the limits of Australian participation in a war …This issue coalesced the ancient emotion of Irish nationalism and the burgeoning realisation of Australia's national identity.'[43]

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[38] **Home Rule** was the ill-defined term representing the demands of Irish Constitutional Nationalists who wanted more say in how Ireland was governed – freeing them from the rule of London.

The Easter Rising (1916) was the plan of the 'Irish Republican Brotherhood's Military Council' to forcibly self impose Home Rule whilst the British Military was significantly engaged elsewhere with the battles of WWI.

John Cannon, *A Dictionary of British History* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 350.

[39] Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 133.

[40] See especially pages 318-321 of John A. Moses, 'Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The "Prussian Menace," Conscription, and National Solidarity', *Journal of Religious History* 25/3 (October 2001): 306.

[41] S. Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.84.

[42] Michael Petras, 'Baptists and Society: Twentieth Century Australian Baptists in Retrospect', *The Baptist Recorder* (July 2000): 9.

[43] Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria, *Archbishop Mannix: his contribution to the art of public leadership in Australia*

This is by no means all that could be said about the infiltration of sectarianism into Australian politics. Judith Brett notes the respective alliances of Australian Liberalism are founded on Protestant 'virtues' and where 'the affinity between the Labor Party (ALP) and Roman Catholicism has long been recognised.'[44] Brett's view is in need of slight clarification as Murphy has shown that 'the Labor Party between 1890 and 1910 was predominantly a Protestant party. The increasing Catholic support for the Labor party between 1910 and 1914 was due, firstly, to obvious socio-economic links and secondly, (in the period of Protestant attempts to force bible reading into all state schools which about half the Catholic children still attended), to Labor opposition to this and the lesser feeling of Protestant sectarianism which pervaded the Labor party.'[45] Whatever one makes of these allegiances, political sectarianism must be understood in light of its relation to education to which we will now turn.

Education

The long running battles over state aid for religious schools are critical when it comes to understanding Australian sectarianism. Australia's first church building, erected in 1793 by Rev. Richard Johnson, the colony's first Chaplain, served the dual purpose of church and school for some five years.[46] The majority of schools established in the infant colony were started by Anglican clergymen and supported by small grants from religious bodies and missionary societies.[47] These schools, Colonial Secretary Earl Bathurst declared, were 'the

(Melbourne University Press, 1978), 26.

[44] Judith Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class: From Alfred Deakin to John Howard* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40.

[45] D. J Murphy, 'Religion, Race and Conscription in World War I', *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 20/2 (August 1, 1974): 155, Cited 19 Apr 2012.

[46] Neil K. Macintosh and St. John's Church, Parramatta, New South Wales, *The Reverend Richard Johnson: First to Preach the Gospel in Parramatta Town 1788-1800* (Pilgrim International for and, 1975), Id.

[47] Partridge, Percy H, *Society, Schools, and Progress in Australia* (Pergamon Press, 1968), ii.

best for imparting in the minds of local children the principles of the Established Church'.[48]

The public generally supported the denominational system; however, there was continued criticism for its lack of efficiency, particularly from a Legislative Council Select Committee established in 1844 under the chairmanship of Robert Lowe. In the towns there were often a number of denominational schools competing for students while in some country areas no schools existed at all. The Select Committee recommended that non-sectarian schools be established. In 1847 a dual system of schools came into operation whereby the responsibility for education in New South Wales was now shared between Church and State.[49]

Conflict escalated between the Government and Catholic Church in 1879 when Sydney's new Catholic Archbishop Vaughan launched an attack on the state schools of NSW. He denounced them as "seed-plots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness" and declared that they were "the most effective instruments…for squeezing very gradually and almost imperceptibly the Catholic faith out of a Catholic people."[50] This attack caused an outburst of furious Protestant indignation.[51] The Parkes government responded with its *Public Instruction Act*, passed in early 1880, which made primary education nominally compulsory, cheap and widespread, and abolished all state aid to denominational schools.[52] Judd and Cable note that 'religion was not the loser. The Act retained all the existing provisions for its teaching in government schools – general religious instruction (heavily protestant) and special religious education by visiting clergy.'[53]

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[48] Ian R Wilkinson, Brian J Caldwell, R J W Selleck, Jessica Harris, Pam Dettman, *A History of State Aid to Non-government Schools in Australia*, 2006, 3, Cited 19 Apr 2012, Online: http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/school_education/publications_resources/profiles/history_state_aid_nongovt_schools.htm.

[49] Ronald A. Manzer, *Educational Regimes and Anglo-American Democracy* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), 32–33.

[50] Quoted in A. G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education* (Sir Isaac Pitman, 1961), 209–210.

[51] Stephen Judd, Kenneth J. Cable, and Anglican Information Office (Sydney N.S.W.), *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Anglican Information Office, 1987), 105.

[52] Philip Gavin Griffiths, 'The making of White Australia: Ruling class agendas, 1876-1888', Thesis (PhD) (2007), 241, Cited 17 Apr 2012, Online: https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/47107.

[53] Judd, Cable, and N.S.W.), *Sydney Anglicans*, 105.

In 1885 the Catholic Church, under the new leadership of Cardinal Moran, reacted emphatically when the Australian Council of Bishops "laid down that parents who, without cause or permission, sent their children to a state school were denied absolution in the confessional".[54] This denial of sacraments certainly secured Catholic loyalty thus helped preserve Catholic identity, yet it negatively enforced Catholicism as a distinct sub-culture in the Australian community. Despite this negativity, Parkes set a unifying tone in his speech which moved the *Public Instruction Act,* appealing to an Australian rather than sectarian identity.

> Surely the Catholic religion … cannot be a thing, the teaching of which renders it necessary to separate the Catholic children from the other children of the country. They must mix in after years, and be associated with each other in all the duties of everyday life. Let them be workers, traders, men of competent means; let them go anywhere they may, into whatever groove of society they come—they must mix with persons entertaining other opinions … let us remember that we are above everything else free citizens of a free commonwealth. Whether we are Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen, or whether we are the sons of some foreign land, over and above every other consideration we ought to be Australians.[55]

Susan Ryan AO recognises the significant contribution of Henry Parkes' education reforms as a vital influence over the creation of Section 116 of Australia's constitution. Section 116 prevents the establishment of any religion, retaining a separation between church and state whilst condemning religious discrimination. This Section, Ryan claims, 'should be recognised as contributing greatly to the capacity for social harmony in the newly created democratic nation'.[56]

Despite the egalitarian headway that Parkes may have made, education proved to be a sectarian fighting ground for years to come. Edward's illuminating first chapter, 'Sectarianism in Personal Memory',[57] comprised of diverse interviews of Australians born between 1919 and 1959, consistently shows the subjects of marriage, employment and

[54] Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 65.
[55] NSWPD, Vol 1, pp274-5. Quoted in: Griffiths, 'The Making of White Australia', 243.
[56] Susan Ryan, 'Priority Public: The Supreme Legacy of Henry Parkes' (Commemorative dinner May 2001, May 2001), Cited 20 Apr 2012, Online: http://www.parkesfoundation.org.au/Projects_ryan.htm.
[57] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 6–41.

schooling as the key areas of sectarian experience. Some quotes from these interviews helpfully illustrate these schoolyard experiences:

> They were on their side of the fence and we were on ours, that's where you stayed….we used to talk about the Catholics in derogatory terms and call them 'cattleticks' and 'left footers'…on the way home from school we used to fight them all the time.
>
> Edward Glover — Anglican, born 1943

> It was more because the friends that we went to school were the ones we mixed with…it wasn't by setting out to do so, but that's the way that your friendships were more or less channelled. So I didn't have any close friends that were publics.
>
> David Gibson — Catholic, born 1943

Regarding Glover's quote, Edwards comments that 'to a large extent for Glover and his friends, finding solidarity in their sectarian identity was an important aspect of forging their own group identity'.[58] We will return to this notion of 'identity' when we propose some thoughts as to the resolution of sectarianism. But first we will explore see this theme in regards to the subject of employment.

Employment

Robert Wilson, born in Sydney in 1930, recalls being told 'over a beer one night': 'look you'll never get anywhere in this company because you're a Catholic and we're all Freemasons'. [59] Wilson heeded this advice and sought employment elsewhere. This personal recollection draws our attention to the existence of groups, such as the Freemasons, formed along sectarian lines, which self-confessedly 'provided a certain amount of help to one another with jobs'.[60] Hogan writes of Freemasonry's ability 'to provide a network of people who could serve as useful contacts in trade and government, and who could assist in furthering the employment and promotion opportunities of its members'. He also specifies

[58] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 7.
[59] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 10.
[60] 'The Practical Side of Freemasonary', *NSW Freemason* 31, 1935, p19. Quoted in James Franklin, 'Catholics Versus Masons', *Journal of Australian Catholic Historical Society* 20 (1999): 10.

that, unlike the Orange Lodge, which in the 1920s 'had their last period of strength and were being taken over by the Masonic movement among members of the WASP establishment', its primary purpose was not anti-catholic.[61]

In reaction to the prominence and influence of the Masons, the Catholics formed a group called the Knights of the Southern Cross in 1919 with the full support of Archbishop Kelly. Like the Masons, the Knights maintained a discipline of secrecy and membership invitation and in a similar way they achieved a network of contacts in strategic positions, especially in some public service departments in the states and Commonwealth.[62]

The extent of sectarian bias in employment during this period is near impossible to gauge. Since the 1870s there had been occasional advertisements for positions for which 'Catholics need not apply'. It was quite customary for applicants to be asked their religious affiliation as part of the interview procedure for public service positions. Jupp *et al* have shown that high levels of unemployment, particularly during the depressions of the 1890's and 1930's, led employees to find job security via sectarian networks. 'As long as there was persistent unemployment in Australia between the wars, employers could retain more power over the workforce than was consistent with genuine harmony.'[63] In one sense, the significance of employee discrimination did not lay so much in the truth or falsity of such claims. Much more important for political and social consequences is whether people actually believed the allegations.

Much sectarian polemic was perpetuated via a number of print media publications, which were both Protestant and Catholic affiliated. The Protestant Defence Association (formed in 1901) was associated with both *The Rock* and *The Watchman*. *The Rock* (1945-1995), one of

[61] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 198.
[62] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 200.
[63] James Jupp, J. P. Nieuwenhuysen, and Emma Dawson, *Social Cohesion in Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13.

the more dramatic though fringe publications; it frequently agitated against Catholicism by reporting alleged sex scandals involving priests and nuns as well as ridiculing Catholic theology.[64] Catholic organisations such as Catholic Federations and The Knights of the Southern Cross, sought to defend the Catholic faith through their official publication *The Catholic Weekly* (launched in 1942).

Although Hogan notes the continuance of a sectarian bias in employment lingering at least into the 1970s,[65] Franklin notes that 'since the 1960s, better relations have prevailed, mainly because Catholic theology has itself adopted a more tolerant view of other religions'.[66] Here, Franklin is likely referring to the doctrinal changes stemming from Vatican II which had great influence not only in the area of employment but specifically within the arena of marriage to which we will now turn.

Marriage

Since the earliest colonial days Catholics sought to preserve their identity by not entering into 'mixed marriages'; Catholics married Catholics not Protestants. Such was the case that, in penal times, before the importation of Catholic Priests, many Catholics chose to live in de-facto relationships rather than be married by a Protestant chaplain.[67] The matter of mixed marriages came to a head at the insistence of Bishop Murray of Maitland. Murray considered mixed marriages so scandalous that he refused to allow them in his diocese. After observing couples going to Sydney to have their marriages recognised, (which he interpreted as a threat to his Episcopal authority and the laws of the church), he sought to have Bishop Polding rule

[64] See Appendix A for examples of 'The Rock's' Anti-catholic propaganda.
[65] As late as 1976 the Coombs Royal Commission into Australian Government Administration, obviously reluctant to mention the sectarian issue, had to point out under a heading *'Birds of a Feather in Foreign Affairs',* a strong old-school-tie bias in recruiting from Protestant GPS schools and under representing Catholics. See Hogan, *The sectarian strand*, 200.
[66] Franklin, 'Catholics Versus Masons', 8.
[67] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 117.

against mixed marriages. [68]

At the 2nd Australian Provincial Council in 1869 Murray and other Irish bishops succeeded in regulating against mixed marriages. The council decreed that 'with regard to mixed marriages … they are strictly forbidden by the ancient law of the Church, which the Popes have always inculcated ... We reprobate such marriages … [and] feel bound to admonish all Priests to adhere to this doctrine, and that they do not cease to set forth the evils arising from marriages of this kind …[which can proceed only with a written dispensation from the Ordinary and] are to be celebrated outside the Church and without any sacred ceremony.'[69] In 1907 the Papal encyclical *Ne Temere* exacerbated this issue. *Ne Temere* required non-Catholic spouses to agree to educate and raise their children as Roman Catholics. In some cases it was also expected that the spouse convert to Catholicism before marrying, to ensure compliance.

The issue of mixed marriage was not a one sided affair. In 1875 Anglican Bishop Barker, when opening the Protestant Hall in Sydney, warned his audience against marriages of Protestants to Catholics. His message met much approval by the audience.[70] The government intervened with the *Marriage Amendment Bill* (1923). The Bill prohibited Catholics from asserting that couples recognised as legally married by the State – but not by the Catholic Church – were 'not truly husband and wife' or that 'the children of such marriages were illegitimate'. [71]

Several telling accounts describing the impact that the mixed marriage debate had on Australian society have been recorded by the personal interviews conducted by Siobhan McHugh. McHugh has recorded personal testimonies of people who 'married out' in the

[68] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, 202–203.
[69] Peter Wilkinson, 'Catholic Synods in Australia, 1844-2011', December 2011, 4. Cited 24 May 2012, Online: http://theswag.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2011-10/onlineextras/SynodsOfTheCatholicChurchInAustralia_Final.pdf.
[70] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 117.
[71] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 67.

period from the 1920s to the 1970s. These accounts tell of people who were disinherited from their families, how grandchildren were ridiculed, and how, somewhat childishly, family members were literally 'cut out' of family photos. Children of mixed marriages were particularly hurt and damaged by sectarian tensions with numerous testimonies relaying how they were pressured to convert the errant parent. One lady spoke of her trauma at age seven when told by her nun at school 'your mother is going to go straight hell'.[72]

McHugh writes 'by the mid 1960's, things were changing'.[73] In 1966 Pope Paul VI revoked the much -loathed rule that a mixed marriage couple could not marry at the main altar in a Catholic Church, the non-Catholic party was no longer required to commit in writing to having the children brought up Catholic and the clergyman of the other faith was permitted to participate in the wedding service. Ask anyone under fifty what a mixed marriage in Australia is today and they'll talk about Greeks marrying Italians, or a Christian marrying a Muslim. These changes in Australia's social atmosphere alert us to the fact that much religious sectarianism has now dissipated.

Key factors contributing to the resolution of religious sectarianism in Australia

We cannot declare religious sectarianism completely dead in Australia today. It is still very much in the 'remembered past' as we have seen in the aforementioned interviews. It also continues to appear in new ways such as with the wider public response to the new Islamic school opening in Western Sydney. What we can say, however, is that the traditional sectarian bitterness between 'Irish Catholics' and 'English Protestants' has largely dissipated. The remainder of this paper therefore will examine some of the key factors that have influenced

[72] Siobhan McHugh, 'Marrying Out - Catholic-Protestant Unions in Australia, 1920's-70s' (presented at the International Conference Negotiating the Sacred V: Governing the Family, Monash University, Victoria, 2008), Online: http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=creartspapers.
[73] McHugh, 'Marrying Out - Catholic-Protestant Unions in Australia, 1920's-70s', 8.

Australian institutions and values since the 1960s. These factors that have led to far reaching social change rendering much of traditional sectarianism redundant.

The early '60s started positively for Australian churches, continuing the modest religious boom that had begun the previous decade.[74] Hilliard writes that in the early '60s 'churches were confident with their special role of moral leadership in the community'.[75] Evangelicals saw a revival after the '59 Billy Graham Crusade; Protestant ecumenists were encouraged by the first national conference of Australian churches attended by 430 delegates in Feb 1960.[76] Roman Catholics were themselves submitting papers to be considered at the upcoming Ecumenical Council to be held in Rome at the end of 1962.[77] The religious future seemed bright by all accounts.

Yet the 1960s saw unprecedented social change leading to what has been popularised as 'the Religious Crisis of the 1960s'.[78] The Sixties saw the majority of households acquire television sets which began re-shaping people's long held perceptions of the world. Personal incomes rose, leading to the purchase of motor-cars thus producing a breakdown in like-minded parochial communities. Higher education increased with seven new universities. Western society began to reject the 'supernaturalism' of classical Christianity, as evidenced by the popularity of books such as John Robinson's *Honest to God*[79] and Harvey Cox' *The Secular*

[74] David Hilliard writes 'Since the mid 1950's in every denomination all measurable indices of religious life – church membership, Sunday School enrolments, the number of new congregations, church income and enrolments in theological colleges – had gone steadily upwards.' David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960's: The Experience of Australian Churches', *The Journal of Religious History* 21/1 (February 1997): 211.
[75] Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960's: The Experience of Australian Churches', 211.
[76] David M. Taylor, ed., *We were brought together: Report of the National Conference of Australian Churches held at Melbourne University* (Sydney, 1960).
[77] William Ryder, '"The Australian Bishops" Proposals for Vatican II', *Australasian Catholic Record* 65/1 (1998).
[78] Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960's: The Experience of Australian Churches'; George William Potter, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: The Methodist Experience in South Australia* (Flinders University of S. Aust., 1991); Callum G. Brown and Michael Snape, *Secularisation in the Christian World* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010).
[79] Hilliard records that *Honest to God* 'caught public imagination, selling 15000 copies in the first fortnight'. From a private interview with Rev Dr Ian Grimmett in Brisbane, 6 May 1963, he quotes that in one Methodist residential college in the University of Queensland 'virtually every student was talking about it'. Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960's: The Experience of Australian Churches', 212.

City[80]. These and other sociological changes led journalist Graham Williams to write in 1965 that the Church had lost its relevance in modern Australia:

> It [the church] must go into the world and, if necessary, die in its present form in order to gain new life and new meaning for people.[81]

This decade of secularisation led to a continued decline in church attendance and religious belief (the percentage of people confessing belief in God dropped from 87% in 1969 to 61% in 1993 to 48% in 2010).[82]

It is tempting to conclude that the decline in religious belief has opened the way to a new 'tolerant' society. As some Australia's secularists argue, '*Religions are now the major source of global strife and instability. Whatever consoling and charitable benefits religions may provide, these are now far outweighed by the dangers and costs'.*[83] Yet Donald Horne's apt summary of the mood in the '60s in his bestselling 1964 snapshot of Australian public life, *The Lucky Country,* points us in a more helpful direction:

> Churches no longer matter very much to most Australians. In whispers of immortality there are concepts of a fair go: hell has been abolished as unfair to the underdogs. If there is a happy eternal life it's for everyone. Belief in salvationary role of Christ is no longer strong and the concept of evil is un-Australian: one must look for the good in people…The essential beliefs of Australians are essentially humanist and those parts of Christianity that fit this belief are maintained… in fact, to many Australians religion becomes important only when it stops them from doing something they want to do.[84]

Horne, along with Hogan, suggest that the correlation between decline in religious belief and declining sectarianism is not as straight forward as the secular party might like to imply.[85] Hogan writes, 'sectarianism gained much of its strength from people loosely attached [to denominations] rather than strongly committed believers'.[86] These 'loosely attached' people

[80] Alister E. McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea: The Protestant Revolution--a History from the Sixteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (HarperCollins, 2008), 399.
[81] *Australian*, 19 February 1965
[82] Philip Hughes et al., *Shaping Australia's Spirituality: A Review of Christian Ministry in the Australian Context* (Mosaic Press, 2010), 48–49.
[83] John Perkins, 'Creating a Better Australia: Reinventing Secularism', *Australian Humanist* 82 (Autumn 2006).
[84]Quoted from Tom Frame, *Losing My Religion: Unbelief in Australia* (UNSW Press, 2009), 67.
[85] Hogan points out the inconsistency of such a correlation. Though in the 1870's sectarian passions and denominational support were high; but in the 1920's sectarian passions were also high in a period when denominational allegiance seemed much reduced. Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 86.
[86] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 86.

attached themselves to 'tribal' organisations, who (in Horne's words) found religion important when they were stopped from doing what they wanted to do. The history of sectarianism that has been sketched above proves this point exactly - the highest peaks of sectarianism occurred not over matters of religious doctrine, but over the everyday social issues of education, marriage, conscription and employment. Organisations such as the Loyal Orange Institute, the Protestant Defence Association and the Catholic Federations took up these issues and publicised them in their affiliated publications like *The Rock* and *The Catholic Weekly.* O'Farrell agreed: 'the central issue was always political power'.[87]

It is true that without such organisational forms sectarianism would never have been such a powerful force in Australian society. However, this explanation is ultimately unsatisfactory by itself. Such tribal organisations were important reflections of society's values; so perhaps it is likely that either changes in values, or values met, lay at the heart of sectarian dissolution.

Changes in the mass media as well as education help to explain some shifting in the underlying values of society. With regard to mass media it is important to note that before television and the internet, general society received information by way of the pulpit, public address, radio and written publications, all of which were often influenced by sectarian bias. While these modes of communication still exist, they now compete in the community with television and the internet causing information overload. Hugh Mackay notes that modern media has opened so many channels of information with alternative opinions that there is a general scepticism such that we just don't value truth that much anymore.[88]

On the education front much has happened to dissipate the issues that led to sectarian tensions. Firstly, the role of denominational schools, particularly Catholic Schools, in

[87] O'Farrell, 'Double Jeopardy - Catholic and Irish', 10.
[88] Mackay, *Advance Australia ... Where*, 105.

imparting a sense of cultural differentness to other religious groups has largely been broken down. Clerical control of education was the key to this educative process. Hogan notes that 'it does make a difference that students in Catholic schools before the 1950's were taught almost completely by dedicated religious nuns, brothers and priests'.[89] However, post-1960, the proportion of lay teachers in Catholic schools has increased markedly (1965:21%, 1975:68%, 1995:97%),[90] making it inherently difficult for the Church to be as directive in setting out what students learn about the Church.

Secondly, the 1963 Menzies government brought the long running sectarian battle over state aid to an end when they gave Commonwealth grants to the states for the purpose of science education. These grants were available to denominational as well as government schools. Hogan writes, 'One of the outstanding features of the campaign for state aid in the 1960's was the cooperation between Catholic and Protestant pressure groups'.[91]

Yet the decision to re-introduce state aid is not so surprising given the strains on educational resources in the early 1960s due to developments that took place after the Second World War. Rise in immigration and birth rates accompanied by higher school leaving ages put intense strain on existing school networks. Coupled with a lack of development in Australian scientific and technological education in the post-Sputnik era produced much community concern. Education was in 'crisis' and many believed that the only way to alleviate the crisis was for the federal government to inject additional funds into the school system.[92]

The Catholic system, which had survived reasonably well before WWII, was also struggling and the prospect that it might collapse, placing a greater burden on the government system,

[89] Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 86.
[90] K Canavan, 'The Transformation of Catholic Schools in Australia', *Journal of Religious Education* 47/1 (1999): 21.
[91] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 254.
[92] Ian R Wilkinson, Brian J Caldwell, R J W Selleck, Jessica Harris, Pam Dettman, *A History of State Aid to Non-government Schools in Australia*, 18.

was real.[93] The provision of assistance to Catholic schools still concerned many Protestants, but these changing social factors led to a softening of the old sectarianism battle lines. Significantly, traditional political allegiances had started to breakdown after the split of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) in the mid-1950's, leading to the formation of the Democratic Labor Party (DLP). No longer could Labor assume the Catholic vote. Rather, as Hogan notes, many Catholics started to find sympathies with the Liberal Party, being drawn together into cooperative political activity with Protestant spokesmen on ethical matters such as abortion, sexual permissiveness and caricaturing the Whitlam ALP as a party of irreligion.[94]

The ecumenical movement within both the Protestant and Catholic camps further accelerated the breakdown of these traditional boundaries. Christian movements towards church unity gained momentum from the World Council of Churches in the early '60s with the Uniting Church being formed from the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches. This movement has brought about much cross-denominational interaction with shared worship and social concern.

Most significantly, however, are the changes within Catholicism that resulted from the outcomes of meetings of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). Lay participation in the Church was now encouraged; the Mass was now to be read in vernacular languages (not Latin), there were changes to monastic and convent orders whereby the 'religious' were to be more open to the world to influence it. Dialogue was initiated with Protestant denominations. The council decreed that in certain circumstances, determinable by the bishop, 'it is allowable; indeed desirable the Catholics should join in prayer with their separated brethren'.[95] Protestants were no longer heretics, but separated brethren. In March 1970, Pope

[93] Michael Hogan, *The Catholic campaign for State Aid: A Study of a Pressure Group Campaign in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, 1950-1972* (Catholic Theological Faculty, 1978), 13–14.
[94] Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 255.
[95] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 197.

Paul VI issued an apostolic letter *Motu Proprio*, which relaxed the stringent canon laws concerning mixed marriages. Local bishops were now able to permit mixed marriages on the condition that the Catholic party 'make a sincere promise to do all in his power to have all the children baptised and brought up in the Catholic Church'.[96] Hirst sees this movement as a key moment in Australia's journey towards unity - 'The marrying and partnering of people of all sorts across all boundaries is the great unifying force in Australia'[97]

Parkes' desire for a unified Australia via an appeal to an Australian rather than sectarian identity, one where 'whether we are Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen, or whether we are the sons of some foreign land, over and above every other consideration we ought to be Australians', has been amplified by the increase in ethnicity since WWII. Post war immigration has led to dissipation in the nationalism that accompanied much sectarian conflict. English Protestants and Irish Catholics started to realise that they had more in common with each other than, say, Vietnamese Buddhists. Protestant devotion to the British crown has become a residual concern rather than a central issue.[98] Added to this is the increase in the number of locally born Catholic clergy with the declining link between and Irish identity.[99]

Accompanying multiculturalism as a significant factor in diminishing of sectarianism is class mobility. From the beginning, Australia's economic structure allowed Irish Catholic convicts, when freed, to be able to move to ownership, prosperity and respectability, a path followed by migrants thereafter. [100] In colonies starved of labour, few employers had the luxury of being able to avoid Irish Catholic workers.

[96] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 200.
[97] John Bradley Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History* (Black Inc., 2006), 35.
[98] Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 88.
[99] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 67.
[100] O'Farrell, 'Double Jeopardy - Catholic and Irish', 12.

It was only with the advent of the close living of cities and in times of mass unemployment that sectarian tensions arose and tribal organisations were formed. For some these organisations sustained them in a turbulent work environment offering them a sense of social superiority and identity. For others sectarianism explained their socio-economic frustrations.[101] These experiences alert us again to the issue of identity being intimately tied to sectarianism. Hugh Mackay has identified work as the new centre of an individual's existence in Australia,[102] whereby the workplace is the central social institution where we find our identity.

Changing Class position has a very direct effect on society's unity. Catholics are not destined to be working class, of all Australians it can be said that standards of living have improved, expectations have changes and new dreams are available.[103] Whereas sectarian groups once provided a sense of identity and social support for the under privileged, these same social groups in later generations now have much more attainable materialistic dreams and have much less need to rely on tribalistic support.

Conclusion

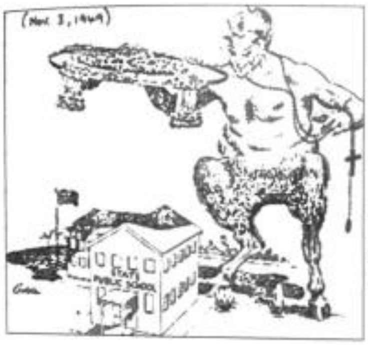
What then can we say of sectarianism in Australia? With deep historical roots in Angloc-Celtic nationalism, sectarianism deeply pervaded Australia's socio-religious past. It still exists in the memory of many Australians through its remembered influence in the personal areas of marriage, education and employment. Church institutions, political parties and tribal organisations were guilty of much bigotry, intolerance and social division. Sectarianism was the result of the idea that there must be one Australian identity and that of a particular kind.

[101] Edwards, *WASPS, Tykes and Ecumaniacs*, 24–25.
[102] Hugh MacKay, *Reinventing Australia: The Mind and Mood of Australia in The 90s* (Angus & Robertson, 1993), 83.
[103] Hogan, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', 88.

The post-war period, and especially the sixties, saw the journey to a unified Australia advance rapidly. Vatican II, increasing class mobility and the secularisation of society have all had significant impact. With the values of 'good education' 'freedom to marry' and 'a fair go for all' in place, Australia seems to have found the Australian way of life. Perhaps the old adage 'don't talk about religion or politics' has good historical warrant.

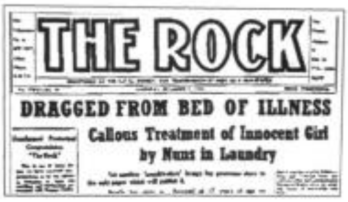
Appendix A

The Rock **drew on conspiracy theories, sensationalism and traditional polemic, sectarian imagery and prejudice in conveying its less than subtle anti-Catholic message.**



The Anti-Christ Pope, holding out his papal hat to collect government money, menaces public education. Traditional anti-Catholic imagery, such as this bestial demonic depiction of the Pope, whose shadow looms over free society, was frequently invoked by Protestant controversialists to articulate contemporaneous sectarian concerns. *The Rock*, 3 November 1949.

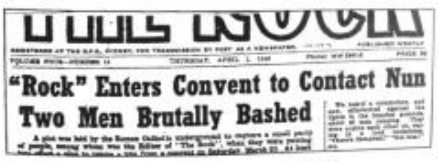
The saga of the 'Laundry Slaves' made front-page news of *The Rock* on numerous occasions. Exploitation for commercial gain of girls put in the charge of nuns at rehabilitation convents was a persistent allegation.



THE ROCK

DRAGGED FROM BED OF ILLNESS

Callous Treatment of Innocent Girl by Nuns in Laundry



THE ROCK

"Rock" Enters Convent to Contact Nun

Two Men Brutally Bashed

April Fools' Day prank or daring rescue mission? *The Rock*, 1 April 1948.

Black arts, occult and despotic imagery were extensively used by *The Rock* in its efforts to expose what it saw as Catholic world domination plots.

Papal conspiracy for world domination was taken as gospel by *The Rock*, manifest in Australia's post-war immigration policies [illegible] the Cold War. The 'Recipe [illegible] in the Papal Hierarchy's [illegible] the ingredients of Roman [illegible] as ignorance, idolatry, [illegible] Protestantism, blasphemy, [illegible] Lying Propaganda and Treason. *The Rock*, [illegible] 1947.

Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell, here depicted as 'Rome's Moses' administering a dosage of 'European Scum and Rabble' to Protestant Australia, was a favourite target of *The Rock*. Calwell, a Catholic, was invariably accused by *The Rock* of being a puppet of the Vatican's extensive conspiracy for world domination. *The Rock*, June 1947.

Calwell, here depicted as a fascist terrorising Freedom, was invariably accused by *The Rock* of being a puppet of the Vatican's extensive conspiracy for world domination. Erotic imagery and allusions to Catholic sexual predation and perversion were common in *The Rock*. *The Rock*, August 1949.

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