

**“Steel all Through”
The Church of England in Central Queensland
Transplantation and Adaptation
1892-1942**

by

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Abstract

‘Steel all through’¹: the Church of England in Central Queensland, Transplantation and Adaptation 1892-1942

The thesis is concerned with the establishment of the Anglican presence in Central Queensland and the history of the first fifty years of the Diocese of Rockhampton. The historical method employed examined the attitudes and mentalities of the Anglicans during that fifty years and attempted to determine how the process of transplantation and adaptation of the English social institution was, or was not, achieved in the new physical and social environment. Various aspects of Anglican Diocesan administration such as recruitment of clergy, financial shortages, cultural isolation, racial issues, episcopal appointments and ecumenical relationships, are taken as units and analysed in the overall context of transplantation and adaptation. It is argued that ‘Australianisation’ came gradually and without conscious manipulation. Where change from the English model was attempted, it was often initiated by the English clergy rather than the Australian laity.

¹ A. Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand, Volume 1*, London 1873, p.25. Trollope is commenting on the fact that –

The idea that Englishmen – that is, new chums, or Englishmen just come from home – are made of paste, whereas the Australian, native or thoroughly acclimatised, is steel all through ...

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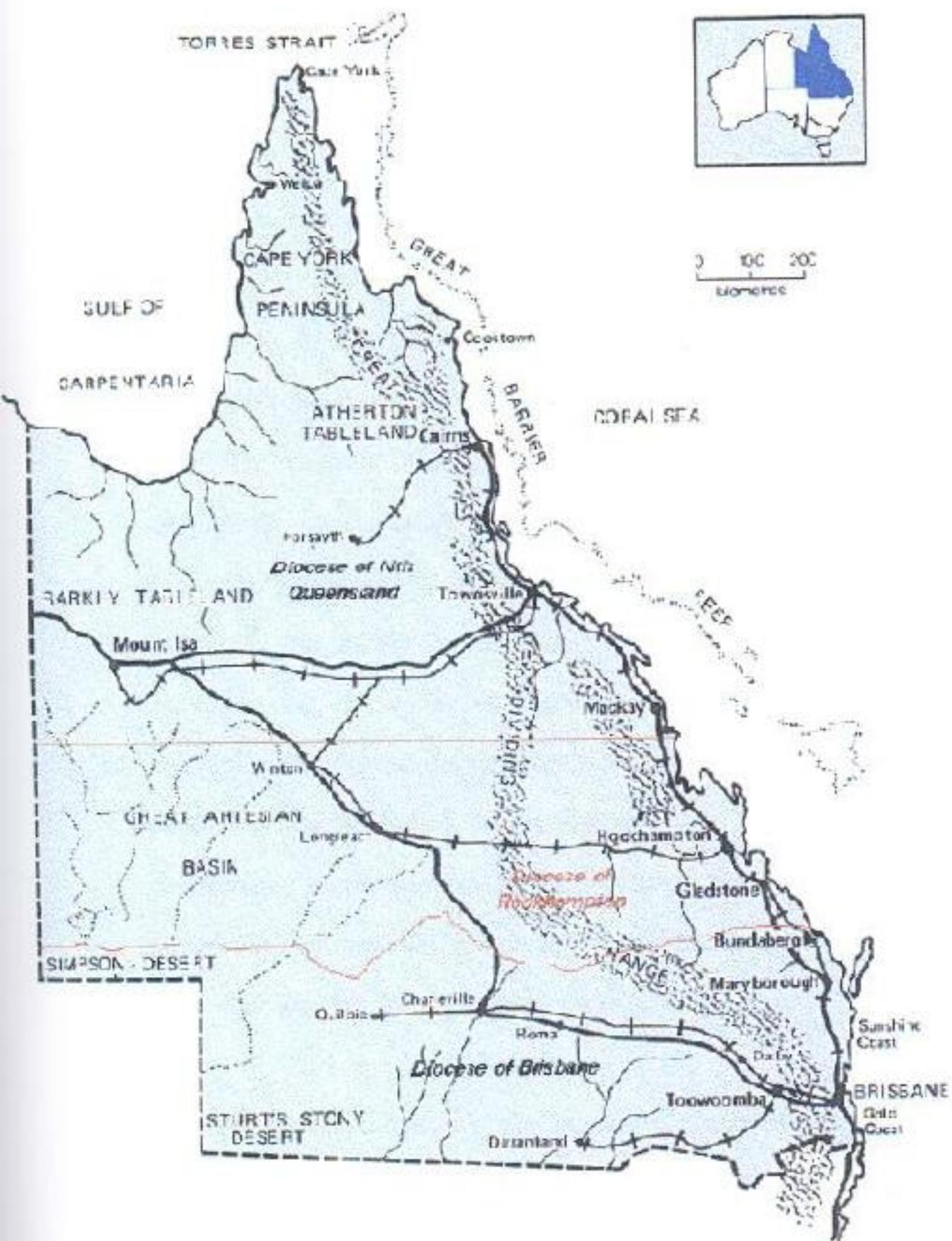
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Modified from www.csa.edu.au/australia/gallery/teqld1gr.gif

Declaration

I, Robert Henry Haldon Philp, hereby state that this thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part to this or any other university for the purposes of a higher degree. The dissertation is an original piece of research. It is based on primary sources and, except where otherwise acknowledged, all conclusions are my own. All primary and secondary sources are acknowledged in the citations, which are correct to the best of my knowledge.

R.H.H. PHILP

Introduction

The nature of social institutions is such that in all societies there are mutual interactions between the form, function and value orientations of one institution and those of other institutions that comprise the social milieu. Such interactions, in turn, both establish and animate the working ethos of a society. This thesis examines the social institution of religion, specifically as practised within the Church of England and the way its form, function and value orientations, as brought to mid-nineteenth century Central Queensland, impacted upon and was, in turn, affected by the prevailing social conditions. In particular, the thesis travels with those early Church immigrants and the institution they knew then, through the early transplantation to the end of the first fifty years of the establishment of the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1892. Of interest in this study is how this institution and its expectations, having been transplanted from one social milieu to another, adapted to the requirements and imperatives of a social, geographical and political environment very different from what was the “norm” in its place of origin.

Tom Frame, in his history of the Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn, points out that the colonial churches were essentially gatherings of specific groups of immigrants in particular geographical locations.² The specific group examined in this study is the English men and women who were either immigrants from England or those born in the colony of parents who had migrated and who were

² T. Frame, *A Church for a Nation, A History of the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, (Maryborough: Victoria, Hale and Ironmonger, 2000), n.9, p.346.

adherents of the Church of England (or Anglican Church of Australia, as it became later).

The English were the dominant national group within Central Queensland at this time. In the census districts contained within the boundaries of the future Diocese of Rockhampton of those born in the United Kingdom, the English constituted 21.2%, the Irish 13.4% and the Scots 5.7%³ of the population of 25,952 as recorded in the 1891 census. Of the balance, apart from a very small percentage represented by German and other European nationalities and some Chinese and Melanesians, the rest were Australian born. The English also were the group holding most of the managerial and public service positions. The Irish born – the next largest group – were more represented in the ranks of casual workers or miners.⁴

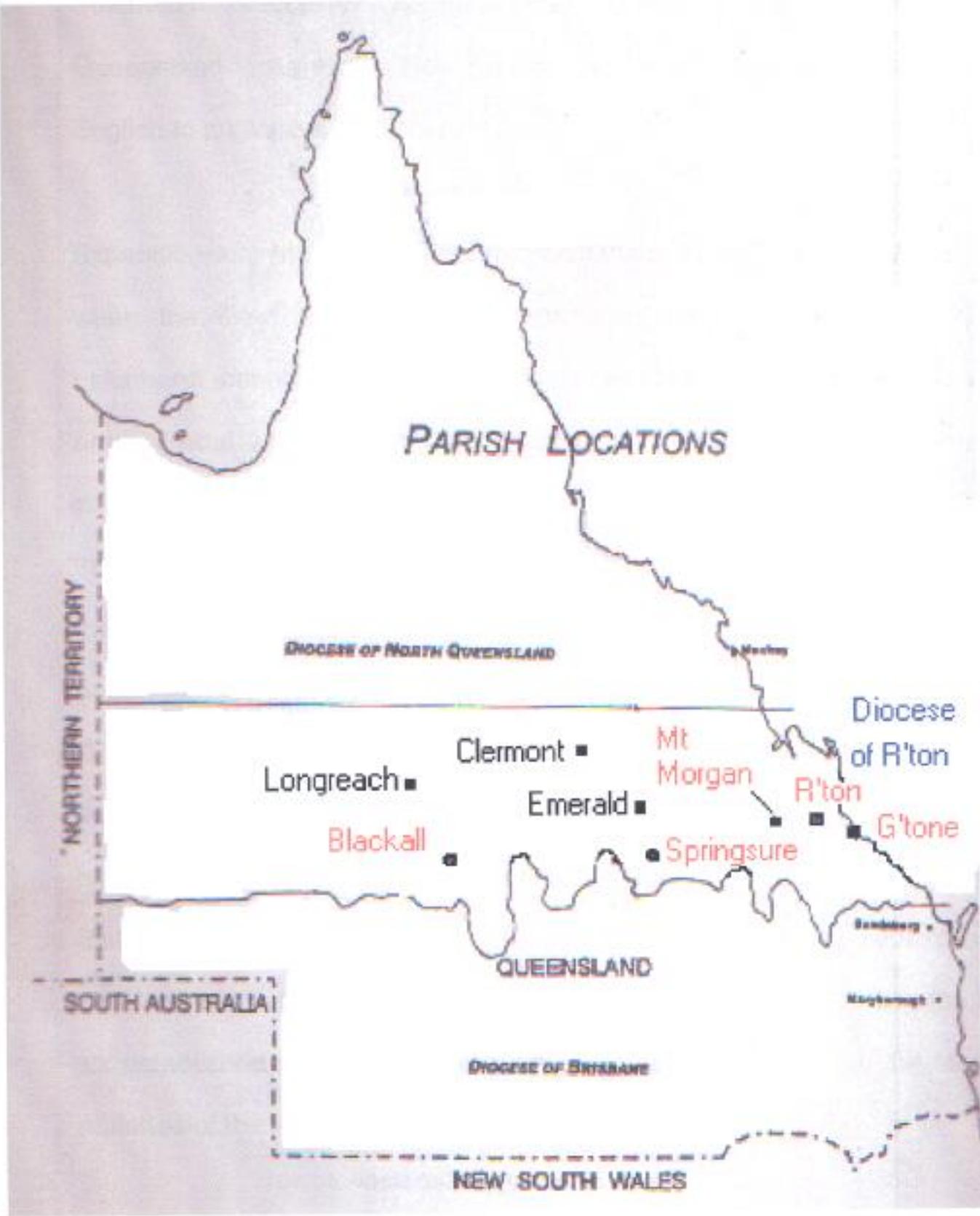
Such large numbers of English men and women required a Church which was familiar to them. With that Church came the need to proselytise as well as colonise and, while a full history of the Church in Central Queensland would be of considerable interest, this study limits itself to the period outlined above, not just because of the fifty year elapse of time from foundation of the Diocese, but also because the effects of wartime enlistment of clergy in chaplaincies had left the Diocese with a severe clergy shortage and the proportion of English born priests had decreased to a point from which it never recovered. 1942⁵ was also just prior to the departure from Brisbane of Archbishop William Wand – that

³ See Table 1, p.xxv.

⁴ M.E.R. McGinley, A Study of Irish migration to and settlement in Queensland, 1885-1912, (University of Queensland, M.A. Thesis, 1974), p.63.

⁵ English born clergy in the Diocese at its inception constituted 100% of the membership and in 1942, 35%, eight of the twenty-two active clergy. *Year Book 1942*, Rockhampton, pp.6-9.

Map of Parishes of the Diocese of Rockhampton as at Foundation, November 1892.



Source: Modified from *Year Book 2000*. Diocese of Rockhampton.

most “English” of English clergy in Queensland – and the election of his more “Australian” successor Reginald Halse, former Bush Brother in North Queensland.⁶ As such, it marks well the transition, under scrutiny, from an English to an Australian institution.

Expansion into the Central areas of Queensland began on 10 January 1854, when the New South Wales government proclaimed the Port Curtis and Leichhardt leasehold pastoral districts. These two districts covered the eastern area of what would become the Diocese of Rockhampton. It also provided a catalyst for a rush for land and subsequent closer settlement. It was, however, the discovery of gold at Canoona, north of the Fitzroy, in 1858 which provided the gold rush with its influx of population and this, in turn, ensured the permanent settlement of Rockhampton.⁷ The area remained part of the Diocese of Brisbane during the influx of settlers into the pastoral districts during the 1850s and 1860s. Brisbane itself had been part of the Diocese of Newcastle until separation in 1859 and the policies of Church expansion under Bishop William Tyrrell laid the foundation for the eventual separation from Brisbane of the northern areas of the Diocese in 1892. At that time there were six established parishes in the Central District. These became the foundation parishes of the new Diocese of Rockhampton.⁸

At this time all the clergy were of English birth and training, and the same applied to most of their parishioners. The clergy were of the party of the Church

⁶ Halse had been Warden of the Brotherhood of St. Barnabas in North Queensland from 1913 to 1924 when he accepted the See of Riverina.

⁷ L. McDonald, *Rockhampton, A History of City and District*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), p.15.

⁸ These parishes were Rockhampton, North Rockhampton, Gladstone, Clermont, Mt Morgan and Mitchell based on Blackall.

of England which is variously described as High Church, Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic,⁹ which set the direction of the Church's evolution in a particular theological and liturgical mode. This movement and its local influence is further discussed in Chapter 5. Although most of the clergy of this persuasion were in favour of the development of a Church which was truly national in character and separate from the Church of England, the culture of Anglo-Catholicism made for more rather than less Englishness. In turn, it is argued that this tendency delayed the adaptation of the Diocese to Australian cultural norms. Australianisation was gradual and by no means complete by the terminal date of 1942 as is discussed in Chapter 7.¹⁰

This study traces changes which are part of the process of evolution of the ecclesiastical institution from transplantation from England to eventual adaptation to the social and cultural environment of Central Queensland. The investigation covers the process as it affected the key groups within the Diocesan structure, such as the parish, the religious (and quasi-religious) orders, the social outreach areas, educational institutions, the involvement of the Diocese in political debate, the contribution to the Anglican presence by both lay men and women, as well as the particular attitudes and actions in race issues of the time; and relationships with other Christian denominations.

The method of the presentation in the thesis is essentially that of historical narrative with the analysis of the attitudes, actions and mentalities of the chief

⁹ While none of the terms is completely adequate nor accurate for general use in this work, and in the timeframe covered, the term which applies more to the mid-twentieth century – Anglo-Catholic – will be used as a general term in this thesis.

¹⁰ Chapter 5 details the influence of Anglo-Catholicism in the early stages of foundation of the Diocese and Chapter 7 plots the course of "Australianisation" of the Diocese of Rockhampton, the ecclesiastical institution.

components of the institution as organised on its inauguration, and as it evolved over the subsequent fifty years. Chapters 1 and 2 set the scene in England and the Australian colonies for transplantation and change from an institution which was part of the fabric of the political and social milieu of England and expansion within the new colony of New South Wales. Isolation from England and the dramatic changes in physical surroundings as well as the social setting forced change for the Church, albeit gradual change.

While the method employed in this thesis is that of historical narrative, an examination of cultural factors confirms the understanding of Vovelle and the school of “mentalities” in religious historical method, namely the theory that there are more subtle influences involved in studying the history of a society than the Marxist method and its concentration on class struggle allows.¹¹ Vovelle also maintains that change is rarely complete and that there is usually some residual behaviour which persists and relates to a previous state of the society under scrutiny. There was almost no class struggle in the setting up of the Anglican structures in Central Queensland. In society at large, there had been the “class” warfare in the shearing industry just prior to the establishment of the Diocese but Anglicans were not identified as leaders in either camp. An example of how the changes were not total but evolutionary, and of how some behaviours remained in spite of change, is the attitude toward education. It took Anglicans in general, and the clergy in particular, until 1913 to acknowledge that the Grammar School System was secular and not necessarily part of the Church’s responsibility. Also synodical government was a radical departure

¹¹ M. Vovelle, *Ideologies and Mentalities*, trans. E. O’Flaherty (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), pp.1-12.

from English norms but English liturgy, hymnody, architecture, titles and clerical dress remained, as they did until the late 1950s. The most significant remnant of the English norm of Church government was the parish system, which remains basically unchanged (in spite of the Bush Brotherhood influence) in 2002. These matters are pivotal in the present examinations of social groups within the overall Diocesan structure.¹²

As with most societies there were sub-cultures within the overall Central Queensland society and these have been examined in this work in relationship to the whole. It is one of the findings that the expansionary culture of the Bush Brotherhood eventually became the predominant attitude toward mission and hierarchial organisation in the Diocese, without discarding the English parochial system. Ruth Frappell, in her examination of the methods of ministering to isolated and remote parishioners in Australia points out that one of the factors which did not allow for a new method to emerge in a new land with new challenges was the translation of the English Diocesan system to the Australian bush. No real allowance was made for the new factors of distance, small population and lack of financial support for such a system.¹³ This was certainly the case in the Diocese of Rockhampton and is examined in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 7, the numbers and national origins of the clergy are examined and the shift in proportion of English born to home-grown is discussed, along with the election of English bishops. This can be seen as an indicator of change

¹² A study using this method is that of M. Aveling, 'Death and the Family in nineteenth century Western Australia', in P. Grimshaw et al. (eds.) *Families in Colonial Australia*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985), pp.32-41.

¹³ R.M. Frappell, *The Anglican Ministry to the unsettled districts of Australia 1890-1940*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1992), p.72-104.

from Englishness to Australianisation. However, it is noteworthy, and it should also be mentioned, that there were some Australians who were more English than the English in their attitudes to change, and that some of these could be found in the ranks of the clergy and laity. Which is to say that Australianisation was not automatic with the change to Australian born clergy; and other factors, such as the theological training and the influence of English rectors over Australian curates, need to be taken into account.

Another area of interest and discussion surrounding the change in attitudes is the change in liturgical practice and a progression toward a fuller expression of ceremonial and decoration during the time under investigation. This came about without significant opposition from congregations, a circumstance which differs somewhat from the experience of other Dioceses in the Australian church, and the Church of England itself, in the preceding four decades.¹⁴ By the end of 1942 the Diocese was monochrome in its ritual expression of the faith and in the underlying doctrines. There was no opportunity for serious challenge to the long-standing tradition of Anglo-Catholic practise and teaching which had been established at the foundation of the Diocese.

Anglo-Catholic sympathy also gave rise to a locally formed religious order, the Order of the Servants of the Holy Cross, for women, the first of the Australian Bush Brotherhoods, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and the importing of members of two religious orders from England for social welfare endeavours.¹⁵

¹⁴ J.S. Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996).

¹⁵ The Servants of the Holy Cross, established Rockhampton 1907; The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Longreach 1897; The Order of the Divine Compassion, St. Mary's Home, Rockhampton 1912; The Oratory of the Good Shepherd, St. Peter's School, Barcaldine 1926.

This development in a relatively sparsely populated area was not so much a radical change but the search for a solution, from the English experience, for the lack of resources, of manpower and financial backing.

Anglo-Catholicism was associated in England with Christian Socialism and such was the case in the Australian colonies,¹⁶ while a difference existed in the way this was expressed. In the Diocese of Rockhampton “socialism” manifested itself in two major undertakings on a Diocesan scale. They were the provision of accommodation for unmarried mothers which eventually became St. George’s Homes for orphans and the other was the establishment of schools. St. Mary’s Home opened its doors in 1907 and the first school began in the Cathedral parish in 1900. Again “rescue work” among unmarried mothers was very much in vogue in England at the time and church schools were English institutions from which the majority of the clergy would have come. These were not so much departures from past experiences of the Church in England but attempts to transplant significant outreach efforts of that Church to the new environment.

Studies of lay attitudes to the establishment of a religious order and religious vows being taken by clergy to work in the parochial areas of the West were found in researching this thesis to be generally supported. It is not surprising given the nature of the work undertaken by those involved, for it is difficult to oppose “good works”. In researching lay reaction it was obvious that some

¹⁶ D. Hilliard, ‘Anglicanism’ in *St. Mark’s Review*, No.158, Winter 1994, and ‘The Anglo-Catholic Tradition in Australian Anglicanism’ in M. Hutchinson and E. Campion (eds.), *Re-Visioning Australian Colonial Christianity: New Essays in the Australian Christian experience, 1788-1900*, (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994).

English attitudes to authority and class had survived the transplantation process and were still present, if somewhat modified. The respect for authority, especially for that of the Bishop, was one attitude which was manifest. Changes had been made in the polity and governance of the Diocese from those in force in England and the Bishop in the colony had no political status whatever, but the Bishop in his synod and Diocese was an almost absolute monarch. He was seen to be on a social level with the State Governor and was treated by the general community as at least the equal of the resident Supreme Court Justice, the Supreme Court Justice being a direct representative of the Crown.¹⁷ In Rockhampton this particular relationship was publicly difficult as the first Justice of the Supreme Court was a devout Roman Catholic and there was not much mixing socially between Roman Catholics and others in the early stages of settlement.

Similar attitudes to sectarian issues, such as those catalogued by McGuire¹⁸ in his history of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville, were in evidence in Rockhampton during the timeframe covered in this study. For the whole of the fifty years under review the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton incorporated the Diocese of Townsville, which did not become separate until 1930. This meant that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rockhampton had two Anglican bishops to contend with in his territory. The ecumenical relationships existing in the first fifty years of diocesan life are examined in detail in Chapter 12, especially the relationship with the Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton.

¹⁷ D. Hilliard, 'Anglicanism' in S. Goldberg and F.G. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.68. Hilliard gives an example from J.W.C. Wand's *Changeful Page, The Autobiography of William Wand, formerly Bishop of London*, (London: 1965), p.141.

¹⁸ J. McGuire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990).

Primary material available in the Diocesan Archives informs the research process for this thesis. This material consists of Year Books (titled as Proceedings of the Diocesan Synod until 1936), Synod Reports, Minutes of the Diocesan Council and other committees of the Diocese such as St. George's Homes Committee, Registers of Services, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials for the constituent parishes of the Diocese and Episcopal Correspondence over the time examined. Secondary material has been extensively used, especially for comparative studies of attitudes in other Anglican dioceses and in other parts of the Church in Queensland, Australia and England in the fifty-year period. The Central Queensland experience of transplantation is not atypical of country Anglican Dioceses in the Australian colonies but its population base, the absence of a significant agricultural industry, the absence of large pastoral conglomerations and endowment made the early stages of transplantation somewhat more difficult than in other places. It was not a difference of substance but of degree.

This study differs in its disposition of the material in that it does not follow a strictly chronological mode but, as has been mentioned, provides examination of and comment on selected institutions and groups within the Diocese through time. Attitudes change with time but some residue of previous attitudes can be discerned in action or lack of action within these groups and institutions and this is reflected in this study. The content of the first two chapters is well known to Australian Church historians but it has been used here to provide background information influencing the decision to expand the Church northwards. This decision meant the eventual establishment of fully-fledged dioceses on the frontiers of settlement. Rockhampton was one such diocese. The prevailing

attitude at that time was that the diocese was the preferred unit of missionary expansion, and the institutions and groups studied herein were part of the infrastructure deemed necessary for the functioning of a diocese.¹⁹ The foundation approach as to what was acceptable as “Anglican” influenced the future direction of the Diocese of Rockhampton.

The evidence offered herein confirms that the preferred model of the Church for the new Diocese was that of the Church of England, as it was experienced by those in charge of the original missionary expansion north. It was not until the pressures of distance and shortages of men and money became all pervading for the Bishops that the adequacy of the English parochial system was questioned for remote sparsely settled areas. Bishop Dawes, in the Diocese of Rockhampton, was the person to apply the new thinking to a practical model of parochial ministry. It is noted that, while pastoral ministry was reorganised along quasi-religious orders lines, the same radical thinking was not applied to diocesan organisation and infrastructure.

Chapter 3 provides discussion of the northern movement of the Church out of Moreton Bay and the physical establishment of the new missionary entity. This discussion involves the ecclesiastical politics of the Diocese of Brisbane which gave the move north impetus as well the desire of the Anglicans of Central Queensland to be separate from the Diocese of Brisbane. This desire bears some relationship to the secular moves for political separation and the formation of a Central Queensland colony. The secular movement had been fermenting

¹⁹ R.M. Frappell, *op. cit.*, p.108.

for the previous thirty-years,²⁰ and many of those involved in the secular movement were also members of the Anglican flock.²¹ There was a strong desire for separation from “the south”.

The constraint of the twin spectres of shortage of manpower and finance was of particular importance during this period and Chapter 4 investigates the way in which the peculiar Central Queensland “solution” to the problem was devised. This solution was the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, established in Longreach in September 1897. This Brotherhood was the first of what may be described as the beginning of an Australian wide movement over the next fifty years to establish brotherhoods in almost all country dioceses. Chapter 4 canvasses the details of the Brotherhood and its influence on the Australian church in general and on the Diocese of Rockhampton in particular, arguing that from the beginning the clergy of the new Diocese were those who had been influenced by, and those who followed, the tradition and teaching of the Oxford Movement. Chapter 5 examines the way in which this essentially clerical concept of the place of Anglicanism within the universal Catholic church was transplanted and adapted to Central Queensland’s geographical and social conditions.

The movement in England had its origins in the intellectual climate of the University of Oxford and later in the parishes of the larger cities with dense populations. Its transplantation to sparsely populated remote Queensland, not noted for intellectual rigour, is intriguing insofar as it was not opposed in any

²⁰ There was an active separation movement in existence in Rockhampton from 1861. In 1862 a petition seeking separation was presented to Government Bowen on behalf of a public meeting. McDonald, *op. cit.*, pp.540-544.

²¹ William Callaghan, Biddulph Henning, Thomas Nobbs and A.C. Robertson were among those who were prominent in the movement.

strong measure by the laity. This was not the case in its home country nor in the larger centres of population in Australia, namely Sydney and Melbourne,²² where ceremonial and other liturgical changes were resisted by both clerical and lay opponents. The extent to which Anglo-Catholicism was accepted by the laity, it is argued, was dependent on the visible outward works of mercy and pastoral care engaged in by the clergy and the members of the religious order involved in “rescue” work. These works are further examined in Chapter 9.

The position of the laity in the overall scheme of transplantation and adaptation is examined in Chapter 6. The first Conference held in 1887 was one in which the laity were well represented and where their voice was heard. Local financial backing for the proposed new diocese at that Conference was conspicuous by its paucity and this situation did not improve in the fifty years under study. Outside finance made the launch of the Diocese of Rockhampton possible.

The laity, both men and women, did play an important role in the nurture and growth of the new Diocese, and in the furthering of its works of charity and education. The work of evangelisation was left, in the main, to the clergy. Working for overseas mission was an important part of the lay endeavour. There was great effort, encouraged by the clergy, for the Melanesian Mission particularly in Norfolk Island, its headquarters until 1911, and regular articles concerning the mission and its personnel were features of the *Church Gazette* at this time.

²² J.R. Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996); D. Hilliard, ‘Anglicanism’ in S. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter’s Eastern Hill, Melbourne 1846-1990*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

By contrast, there was no move to encourage mission among Aboriginal people until much later and, until the involvement of the Australian Board of Mission at Woorabinda subsequent to 1926, nor was there lay involvement or apparent interest in Aboriginal mission. The dispossession was complete. This situation is dealt with more explicitly in Chapter 10.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Diocese was a mere eight years old and still feeling its way toward eventual adaptation but still very English in character. Bishop Dawes still had a further eight years to preside as Bishop of the Diocese. It was during Dawes' time that the foundations for the distinctive methods for approaching mission were set. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the rescue work for unmarried mothers at St. Mary's Home and the transfer of the Cathedral from private Trustee control to Diocesan control, as well as the establishment of the first school under Diocesan supervision, were all undertaken around this time. The subsequent thrust of Diocesan works were to follow these lines and a movement toward an Australian attitude to the mission of the Church and the best method of effecting this mission in Central Queensland had made a beginning.

These matters and the way in which ecclesiastical polity developed along Australian lines is discussed in Chapter 7. The Diocese began with synodical government and while this method of government was, by 1892, usual for all Australasian dioceses, it was not the English method. It enabled the laity to have a voice and a vote, twice that of the clergy, and, while giving the Bishop the power of veto, it also bound him to the decisions of the synod.

Anglo-Catholic reverence for the position of the Bishop meant that, in almost all cases, the Bishop's option, if known, was agreed to without too much debate. While the laity were represented, the policy and direction of diocesan effort remained very much that of the hierarchy. A particularly Australian aspect of this government by Synod is that it was, for reasons of distance, mostly Rockhampton dominated until transportation became less difficult. This did not occur during the time covered in this study. It meant that there developed a less than helpful Rockhampton versus the West mentality in later years.

Aspects of Australianisation or adaptation which fit the general experience of the Church in its quest for cultural identity in other parts of the country inform discussion in relation to the Central Queensland experience at this time. David Hilliard's comment that historians of Anglicanism in Australia need to look hard for fragments of the texture of Anglican church life, relations with other churches, theological controversies, changing patterns of worship, and the social composition of the Anglican community, is noted and used in this context.²³ Australianisation is difficult to trace in any significant way until the latter part of the period of time covered by this study.

The involvement of the Diocese and the Bishops in secular political activity is the subject matter of Chapter 8. This Chapter also charts the growth of unionism in the grazing industry, the federation of the Australian colonies, the iniquities of the importation of the Melanesian indentured workers, the first

²³ D. Hilliard and R. Frappell, in 'Anglicanism' in Hilary M. Carey, Ian Breward, Nicholas Dومانis, Ruth Frappell, David Hilliard, Katharine Massam, Anne O'Brien, Roger Thompson, 'Australian Religion Review, 1980-2000, Part 2: Christian Denominations' in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.25, No.1, February 2002, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), pp.56-59.

attempts at protection for Aboriginal people (the *Protection of Aboriginals and Sale of Opium Act of 1897*), conscription in the First World War era, and the separation issue, which all appear to have transpired without great attention being paid to them by the Diocese in any official way. The attempt to gain entry into State Schools for the purpose of giving religious instruction or giving Bible readings was vigorously taken on in political combat between the Church and the government at the same time. It would seem that English attitudes as to the method of the inculcation of religion were not being modified to any great extent; it was still expected that clergy of the Anglican Church had the same right of access to State Schools as they had enjoyed as clergy of the Church of England in England.

When it was realised that the Rockhampton Grammar Schools, founded in 1883 and in 1892, in the case of the Rockhampton Girls' Grammar, were independent schools without formal attachment to the Anglican Church, the Diocese set up a hostel to house out of town girls attending the latter to counter the secular influence and to provide a Christian home environment for the girls. This attempt to provide an alternative to the secular environment did not last long. It was begun in 1913 and shut in 1922 due to a lack of support from the Anglican population outside Rockhampton. This lack of support was demonstrated again in the failure of two other schools set up during the period covered by this study. St. Peter's School at Barcaldine was a boarding school for Anglican boys and girls from the surrounding remote areas. It opened its doors in 1919 and closed in 1932. St. Faith's School for girls was situated at Yeppoon. It took in its first boarders in 1923 and closed for lack of support in 1966.

Educational facilities providing schooling for children of families living in isolation from the main centres and providing a Christian and Anglican ethos for that education were one of the major thrusts of the Diocese in its outreach to the community. All three of the schools set up by the Diocese were managed by religious orders and the hostel managed by a committee headed by the Bishop's sister, Miss Crick. Lay support for these efforts was not sufficient to sustain them.

The Schools constituted the major effort in supplying social support for the general Anglican community and alongside them was the care of unmarried mothers and their offspring which developed into the major charitable and social outreach effort known as St. George's Homes for Children. These two thrusts of social outreach constituted the Diocese's care of the disadvantaged for the first fifty years of its existence. These official acts of mercy were accompanied by the private efforts of individuals such as Archdeacon Pritt in his concern for Melanesian people in North Rockhampton. No comparable work among Aboriginal people is in evidence during the period. More detail of the mission to South Sea Island labour is given in Chapter 9.

As with all frontier communities in Australia there was, in the time immediately before the foundation of the Diocese, a period of conflict with the original occupiers of the land. Central Queensland was the location of two of the major massacres in the history of frontier violence in Australian settlement. On 27 October 1857 at Hornet Bank on the Dawson River near present day Taroom, eleven Europeans of the Frazer family were murdered by Aboriginals and

dreadful revenge was exacted by the local squatters.²⁴ The pattern of violence continued with another such incident at Wills' Station, Cullin-la-Ringo, when nineteen settlers were killed in a surprise attack on their newly occupied camp. This occurred on 17 October 1861. At least sixty aboriginal people were slaughtered in punitive raids along the Nogoia River as a result.²⁵

While these were notable incidents of violence because of the number of white settlers killed in each episode, many other atrocities were perpetrated in the Central Queensland district especially by the Native Police. By the time the Diocese was founded the Aboriginal population was depleted. By 1876 it was reported that blacks were rarely seen in the surrounding countryside but the few left "attend town as regularly as our men of business"²⁶ and by 1909 the *Morning Bulletin* could opine in its leading article that "there are so few aborigines remaining in the immediate neighbourhood of Rockhampton that for all practical purposes the race may be said to be extinct".²⁷ The Aboriginal population had become unremarkable and no more noticed than any other physical feature in the landscape, especially after the setting up of the government settlement at Mimosa Creek (Woorabinda) in 1926. Church records pay no attention to racial origins and identification from surnames recorded in Parish Registers is, at best, guesswork.

In spite of the fact that the Aboriginal population, with the exception of those employed on the larger cattle stations in the western part of the Diocese, was

²⁴ H. Reynolds, *Indelible Stain*, (Ringwood: Viking Press, 2001), p.121.

²⁵ L. McDonald, op. cit., p.191.

²⁶ *ibid*, p.197.

²⁷ *Morning Bulletin*, 20 April 1909.

little regarded, the plight of the Melanesian labourers was of considerable concern to the Anglican clergy. This was due, at least in part, to the emphasis placed at the time on the Anglican Melanesian mission and appeals for its support from the Australian Board of Missions from 1850.²⁸ As mentioned, Archdeacon Francis Pritt had begun a particular mission to these people in North Rockhampton and, after his move to Gairloch near Ingham in North Queensland Diocese in 1893, the work was carried on by successive Rectors of North Rockhampton as is detailed in Chapter 10. Anglican clergy support for Melanesians in their attempts to avoid compulsory deportation after the passing of the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* in 1901 by the newly constituted Commonwealth Parliament is also detailed in that Chapter.

The presence of women was noted in reports of the Church of England Conference held in Rockhampton in 1887.²⁹ This Conference was the first effective public move to set up the separate Diocese and from this beginning the “ladies” were influential in the growth processes of the fledgling Diocese even if, as was expected at the time, they took a somewhat subsidiary role to that of the men. Chapter 11 details some of the ways in which the women of the Diocese were able to use their influence on policy and the exercise of charitable functions. This chapter also notes the change in attitude toward women in positions of decision making, and the early debates about their right to assume positions of authority within the parishes. Selected lives of individual women of the Diocese are used to demonstrate this influence.

²⁸ D. Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen, A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942*, (St. Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1978), p.13.

²⁹ Minutes of the Proceedings of the Church of England Conference, Rockhampton, 1887 (Rockhampton A.A.).

In the Diocese of Rockhampton, women's roles conformed to the roles of matron, maid and missionary for women in the organisation of the Church, as indicated in works by Ruth Sturmeay and Ruth Teale (Frappell), which were consulted for comparison with what was happening in other parts of the Church in Australia. Such comparison, particularly in the development of the influence of women on the attitudes and actions of synods and diocesan policy, is outlined.³⁰ In addition, J. Maguire's work on the Roman Catholic Diocese of Townsville provides a further comparison in attitude.³¹

In Chapter 12, the local and social issues between Christian denominations is encountered. The relationship between Anglicans and the other Christian bodies in Central Queensland reflected the wider issues of the political realities of the British Isles and Europe, especially in the early part of the time under review. This was true particularly of the relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. Roman Catholics were almost as numerous in the area as were Anglicans³² and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton had been founded a decade earlier. There was an undercurrent of rivalry between the two churches, especially as the Anglican hierarchy was loath to give way to an abandonment of the privileges enjoyed by their counterparts in the Church of England in England. They were, because of their Anglo-Catholic doctrinal stance, also making claim to be true Catholics, a claim seen to be in the realm of fantasy by their Roman Catholic counterparts.

³⁰ R. Sturmeay, *Women and the Anglican Church in Australia: Theology and Social Change*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1989).

R. Teale (Frappell), 'Matron Maid and Missionary' in S. Willis (ed.) *Women, Faith and Fetes, Essays in the History of Women and the Church*, (Melbourne: Dove, 1977).

³¹ J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville 1863-1983* (Toowoomba: Church Archivists Society, 1990), p.15 and pp.196-7.

³² M. MacGinley, op. cit., p.58 gives a Roman Catholic percentage of the census district of Rockhampton in 1891 as 27.5%, while the Queensland percentage was 23.35%.

Sectarian rivalry marked the early years of the history of both Dioceses but by the end of the Second World War, a date outside the scope of the study, the relationship had begun to thaw and, as the clerics of both denominations lost their British and Irish national identities, some co-operation was evident. This eventually gave way to the mutual limited acceptance after Vatican II in the 1960s. Relationships with Protestant denominations were also somewhat limited due to the claims of Catholicity made by the Anglicans. Anglicans were reluctant to join Ministers' Fraternal and the conditional baptism of converts from protestant denominations was routine. Bishop Tuffnell's ousting of the Presbyterians and any other non-Anglicans from the original St. Paul's Church in November 1860 was a precedent for future cool relationships,³³ in spite of some sympathy for non-Roman Catholics from the lay members of the congregations.

In areas outside Rockhampton, relationships between the various denominations were, on the lay level, somewhat more cordial but on the clerical level a reflection of the Rockhampton situation was evident.

Chapter 12 deals with this state of affairs and also examines the relationship with the non-English speaking Orthodox groups in the Central Queensland area.

³³ R.M. Hunter, "Diary", 24 November 1860 – Extracts in M.B. 3 April 1909. Captain Hunter, an Anglican, describes how Bishop Tuffnell dismissed the combined protestant trustees and immediately appointed churchwardens to administer the building and take public services until a priest was sent from Brisbane.

As outlined earlier, local sources of information provided initial impetus for this thesis; other valuable sources used are those covering the areas of Australian church history in general³⁴, Queensland church history³⁵ and the histories of various dioceses within the Australian Church.³⁶ Works on Australian church history, such as those by Frappell³⁷, Galbraith³⁸, Hilliard³⁹, Holden⁴⁰, J. Moses and A.D. Moses⁴¹, and Engel⁴², all provided vital background for the prevailing attitudes observed in those who first set up the Diocese. The theological platform of Anglo-Catholicism, the transplantation of the institution and its attendant values, its very Englishness can be replicated in other nineteenth century situations and the gradual decline in Englishness and its replacement by what can be called Australianisation is well documented and attested to in these publications. This study applies those observations to the regional entity in Central Queensland.

³⁴ Examples are I. Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993); D. Hilliard, 'Anglicanism' in S. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds.), *Australian Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.25, No.3, October 2001, Special Issue on Religion and National Identity.

³⁵ Such as H. Le Couteur, "The Moreton Bay Ministry of the Reverend Johann Handt: A Reappraisal", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.84, Part 2, December 1998; K. Rayner, *A History of the Church of England in Queensland*, (University of Queensland, Ph.D. Thesis, 1963); M. Brightman, *Benjamin Glennie: Apostle of the Downs*, (Toowoomba: the author, 1893); A.P. Elkin, *The Diocese of Newcastle*, (Sydney: The Australian Medical Publishing Co., 1955).

³⁶ Examples are T. Frame, *A Church for a Nation, A History of the Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, (Alexandra, New South Wales: Hale and Ironmonger, 2000); J. Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1983*, (Toowoomba: Church Archivists' Society, 1990).

³⁷ R. Frappell, *The Anglican Ministry to the unsettled districts of Australia, 1890-1940*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1992).

³⁸ D. Galbraith, *Just Enough Religion to make us Hate*, (University of Sydney, Ph.D. Thesis, 1999).

³⁹ D. Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic tradition in Australian Anglicanism' in *St. Mark's Review*, no.158, Winter 1994.

⁴⁰ C. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter's Eastern Hill Melbourne, 1846-1990*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

⁴¹ J. Moses, 'Introduction' in *Australian journal of Politics and History*, Vol.41, Special Issue, 1995 and A.D. Moses, 'An Antipodean Genocide? The origins of the genocidal movement in the colonization of Australia', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol.2, No.1, 2000.

⁴² F. Engel, *Christians in Australia: Times of Change, 1918-1978*, (Melbourne: joint Board of Christian Education, 1993).

Diocesan histories such as those by Frame⁴³, Maguire⁴⁴ and Holden⁴⁵ give particular reference to local dioceses and provided for a comparison with the Rockhampton experience. As mentioned earlier, this study differs from others in that the scheme of examination is one where social institutions and groups are analysed for their inherent attitudes and values. Evidence has been sought within the institutions and groups for change in an Australian direction during the time covered.

The Diocese of Rockhampton is, of course, not set alone in a southern continent and the works of Moses⁴⁶, Le Couteur⁴⁷ and Rayner⁴⁸ give a Queensland perspective and setting for what transpired in Central Queensland. The peculiarities of the Queensland situation such as the unrest in the pastoral industry, the introduction of Melanesian labour, the late exposure to Aboriginal resistance to settlement, the presence of non-Christian Chinese, the different nature of pastoral settlement and the absence, outside of Moreton Bay, of any past history of convict presence, all make for a somewhat different outcome in social values and attitudes than was experienced in some other areas. This study is set in that historical milieu and histories set in that same locus were of particular relevance.

As mentioned above, the intention of this study is to investigate the reasons for and methods used in the foundation and establishment of a new Diocese of Anglicanism in the geographical location of Central Queensland, and, in doing

⁴³ Frame, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Maguire, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ Holden, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ J. Moses, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ H. Le Couteur, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ K. Rayner, *op. cit.*

so, to uncover the process by which the institution of the Church of England was transplanted to that geographic area. In the examination of that phenomena, the study also aimed to look at the guiding attitudes and how those attitudes gradually modified and became adapted to Australian conditions. Or to discover if they did not. The theory behind Vovelle's mentalities that not all of a particular mind set changes and that quite unintentionally parts of a previous behaviour continue on and may even surface without any apparent obvious rational explanation at a later date is evident in this study of the Church of England in Central Queensland. This thesis maintains that even while a measure of Australianisation took place within the institution, it did not become a recognisable Australian entity in its own right during the period under scrutiny.

Central Queensland, as part of the most decentralised State in Australia, has its own identity. It is, and has been since the separation movements of the 1860s, strong in its claim that it is different from the metropolitan south-east corner and different from the tropical north. In the founding of the Diocese, identity was given to the Diocese of Rockhampton apart from Brisbane and the northern mission. In that climate of independence new ways of evangelism and pastoral care had to be found. Ministry methods peculiar to remote and isolated areas were pioneered and proved useful in that environment and elsewhere in Australia. This is the rationale for the thesis and its methodology.

Table 1

Population figures for census districts in the Diocese of Rockhampton in 1891 (the year before establishment of Diocese) giving place of birth if born outside the colony and in British Isles.

District	Total Population	English Born	Irish born	Scots born
Blackall	4,529	882	590	267
Clermont	5,288	1,335	688	279
Gladstone	3,306	559	442	214
Peak Downs	314	59	36	10
Rockhampton	11,629	1,527	1,633	681
Tambo	886	151	99	43
Total	25,952	5,513	3,488	1,494

Expressed as percentages of total population:

English born21.2%

Irish born 13.4%

Scots born5.7%

The remainder of the population was, with the exception of a very small percentage of those born in other European countries, some Chinese and South Sea Islanders, born in other Australian colonies and Queensland.

Source – M.E.R. McGinley, A Study of Irish migration to and settlement in Queensland 1885-1912, (University of Queensland, M.A. Thesis, 1972), p.55, Table 6.