

# Consolidation and Conflict 1843–1869

James Farrell continued Howard's work in consolidating the parish while carrying out the duties of Colonial Chaplain. He looked for leadership from within the congregation, and for the establishment of institutions within the parish which would ensure its secure identity. He had to come to terms with the expansion of organised Anglicanism in the colony: more clergy, then a bishop along with the structures and arrangements of a new diocese of the Church of England. Those new arrangements left the simple congregationalism of many original members of the Trinity parish sorely puzzled, even angered. It took Farrell some years to resolve these conflicts and to complete the consolidation of the congregation, assisted in the second decade of his service at Trinity by a curate.

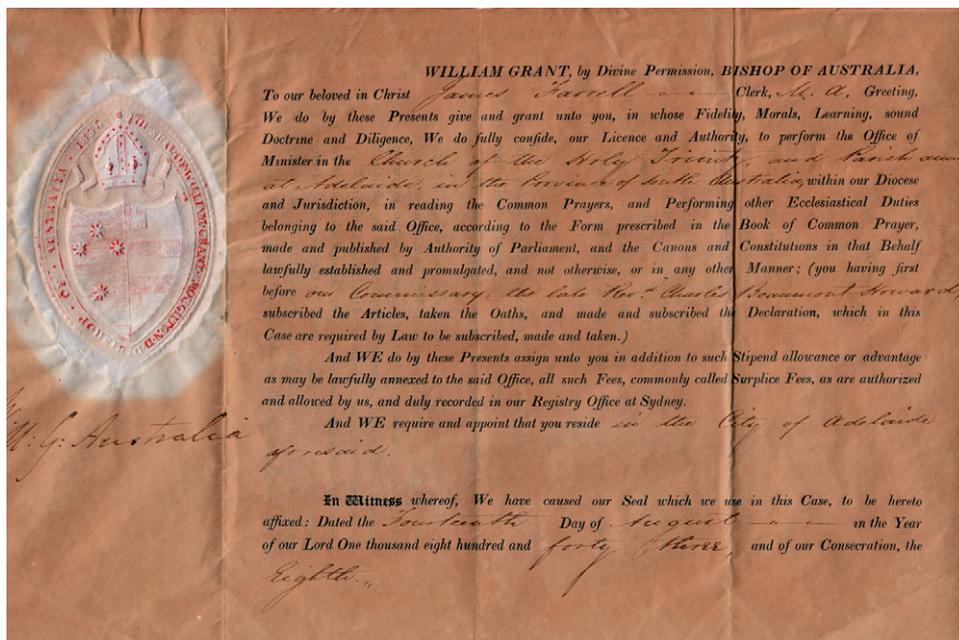
## **James Farrell appointed incumbent**

A week after Charles Howard's funeral, Charles Sturt and B.T. Finnis as trustees were once more grappling with the accounts, aided by James Farrell. As we have already noted, he was another Irishman, somewhat older than his predecessor (born 1803), and based at St John's, Halifax Street. He had already been said by the *South Australian Magazine* in January 1842 to 'drive away at the fundamentals of religion', perhaps with too frequent criticisms of the errors of other scholars or traditions. He had, it was claimed in that article, a high notion of the Church of England and its episcopacy. These were all views readily understood in the combative and missionary environment of Ireland in the 1820s, where the claims of the Roman Catholic Church had to be challenged and those of the United Church of England and Ireland promoted. After all, while studying in Dublin he was known as a member of the 'Rotunda school'. This phrase referred to the great room attached to the Lying-In Hospital in Dublin which was much favoured as a meeting place by the Protestant societies of Ireland, as was Exeter Hall in London. In short, he was a convinced evangelical.

Farrell agreed to the trustees' request to conduct evening services at Trinity church while conducting morning services at St John's, which had no lighting. This was in addition to his duties as Colonial Chaplain, to which post he was officially appointed from 20 July in succession to Howard. The trustees advised the churchwardens that they must pay the organist and singers from collections, and that only after the cost of

lighting the church for services was found. Other financial requirements authorised by the trust deed were noted, but there remained the question of committing pew rents to paying off the debt. Lawyers advised this was generally acceptable, but that debts incurred by those who were not trustees could not be paid off from pew rents – meaning that Howard’s note now payable by Gawler would not be readily repaid by the trustees. These were difficult days, and strong decisions were called for. Edward Stephens at the Bank of South Australia kept up his pressure, seconded by his London superiors.<sup>1</sup> Pew rents were reduced to £6 for a double pew and £3 for a single pew, though a single seat remained at £1. The justification was in part that only half as many services were available, and in part that the reductions would permit contributions from those who ‘in these depressed times’, could not ‘afford to pay the former rate’, while the proposed appointment of a schoolteacher was cancelled.<sup>2</sup> An amateur concert in aid of the schoolroom fund was held ‘with great eclat’ in Lambert’s Rooms on 4 November in the presence of Governor Grey and ‘the whole fashion and beauty of the colony’. In all this there was a certain toughness that suggests James Farrell was taking a firmer line in the administration of the church’s affairs than his over-committed predecessor. By 1 January 1844 the debt of £1841 had been reduced by £564 in repayments and £176 concession from the Bank of South Australia, leaving £1100 owing. There also remained an amount owing to the Bank of Australasia, which was becoming restless that it was not receiving any repayments. From the trustees’ point of view, since Gawler was expected to pay £1000, all this was certainly an improvement.

On this basis the trustees invited James Farrell on 11 January 1844 to succeed Charles Beaumont Howard as incumbent of the living of



Farrell’s licence from Dr Broughton, bishop of Australia, as incumbent clergyman at Holy Trinity.

Trinity Church.<sup>3</sup> Farrell accepted the task, with all its financial worries, and closed St John's so as to centralise his ministry. Negotiations with the Bank of South Australia continued, mainly about reducing the interest rate to 5 per cent. Once more the pew holders were called upon to pay their dues while Farrell himself took over from John Baker as treasurer.

### **Financial recovery**

The vestry meeting on 9 April 1844 received a report of these difficult proceedings which Farrell carefully recorded in a minute book, again a sign of his business competence, for there are no such records from Howard's time. Captain Watts and Samuel Stocks were made churchwardens, while accounts recording income of £238 for 1841–2, £188 for 1842–3, and £204 for 1843–4 were tabled. Most of the money went to the Bank of South Australia, though Farrell was paid £50 for his services in the interim period. The record of subscribers to the repayment of the debt included gifts of £10 from Governor Grey and from Judge Cooper. More dramatically Osmond Gilles, one of the original trustees, gave £160, yet another of his generous gifts to the development of the community of South Australia. Similarly Charles Mann gave £50 and James Fisher £10. This was their personal effort to clear the debt to which, as trustees, they had committed the congregation. Gifts from eighty four people and the SPG (£42) were recorded.

As if this was not enough, the walls and tower of the building cracked dangerously in November 1844. The building was closed on 1 December and the congregation moved across town to St John's. Once more an appeal was opened, this time for repairing and rebuilding the church.<sup>4</sup> There was even talk of selling the property to the small Catholic community at the end of 1844, but if ever it was an option it was promptly declined when the trustees could not offer clear title to the site.<sup>5</sup> Public opinion represented by the *Register* labelled such an idea as 'disgraceful on the part of the adherents of the Church of England'.

The building remained closed until 10 August 1845, as Farrell noted in the vestry minute book. Tenders were called for about £400 of work as advised by George Kingston, including enlarging the nave



James Farrell, incumbent 1844–69, Dean of Adelaide 1849–1869. Reproduced by permission from the oil portrait by Williams, 1860, in the diocese of Adelaide Church Office.

*Photo Brian Dickey*

to provide two aisles instead of the original one, moving the vestry 'from its present inconvenient site, to the extreme south; its entrance from the church being eastward of the altar', and raising the roof and walls of the transepts. Mr White and Mr Bowen carried out the work. The building committee, comprising Captain Frome RE, who was Surveyor General of the colony, C.B. Newenham, the colony's sheriff, and B.T. Finniss, Commissioner of Police, watched over the work and received some £500 in subscriptions. Some of it was raised by opening a 'shilling list' and canvassing workmen, for example at Ridley's flour mill, where 17s was contributed. Mr Bowen, the contractor, defended his work from fears that the new roof was insufficiently trussed. All was regularly reported to the Adelaide public in advertisements in the *Register*.

At long last the returning prosperity of the colony, based upon the export of copper from Kapunda and then the 'Monster Mine' at Burra, was beginning to flow through to the supporters of Trinity church, though once more the support of the SPG was generous. The Society sent £100 as an interest-free loan. Unfortunately the trustees had not been able to buy Burra shares as Bishop Murphy of the Catholic diocese had done, and which were now to his joy yielding £400 in interest payments annually for his £230 outlay.

### **Sunday school**

On 5 January 1845 there were eighty-five children attending the morning Sunday school, under the care of fifteen teachers, and one hundred and eight with fifteen teachers in the afternoon. The following week attendances fell to the sixties for it was 'oppressively hot'. Farrell conducted quarterly examinations and noted: 'the examination showed a tolerable progress in Scripture, History, Biography'. On 6 July he recorded in the Sunday school minute book:

The children answered very readily the various questions put to them ... and proved that the instruction was not altogether lost. Some of the children were promoted ... Tracts were distributed.<sup>6</sup>

That is to say, whatever the difficulties of building, the task of teaching the young in the truths of the faith was continued. The priorities were clear.

### **Farrell accused of assault**

More startling news reached the congregation in February 1845, when they learnt that their clergyman had been charged with assault. We have already seen Dr McGillivray's assessment of this tawdry sequence of events in the previous chapter. The incident arose out of the fact that Mrs Howard, accommodated in the St John's parsonage since her husband's death, had been forced to return to North Terrace after a fire at the Halifax Street house in November. At the court hearing it transpired that Farrell, Mrs Howard and a maid lived in the cramped quarters of the modest parsonage, with Farrell often sleeping on a couch in the living room. One day in February he had awoken the maid in a manner she and her father found actionable. She claimed in court (bravely we might now acknowledge) that he had precipitately removed the sheet to reveal her naked.

Almost certainly he did more than that. Farrell regarded it as an effort to blacken his name by the girl's father, and certainly the behaviour of the magistrates who heard the case supported that view. Farrell was accorded special seating and attention in the courtroom, while three men known as Farrell's friends made a point of sitting on the Bench. In obvious contrast, the complainant was badly treated by the court. Though Farrell was swiftly acquitted, the hint of impropriety remained, however delicately handled by the *Register*, to be reported to English acquaintances and officials. Governor Grey formally raised the matter at his Executive Council and then reported to the Colonial Office what he regarded as Farrell's 'indiscretion' and 'impropriety'. In his view 'I do not consider Mr Farrell to be a desirable person to be at the head of the establishment of the Church of England in this Province'. On the other hand, Farrell's parishioners published a strong letter of support.<sup>7</sup>

In November that year he married Mrs Howard in a quiet ceremony conducted by the Revd Robert Haining of the Church of Scotland at St Mary's church on the Sturt, for there was no other clergyman both available and appropriate in the eyes of Anglicans. In Pike's opinion he 'did not lose respect but rose in the estimation of the colonists'. By this he meant that the couple had ensured that they were married in proper circumstances, thus bringing to an end the somewhat questionable living arrangements which had brought censure on Farrell earlier in the year.<sup>8</sup>

### **Church refurbished**

In June 1845 the trustees sought the return of the clock for installation in the tower (hopefully after it was cleaned), and at last, on 4 August, the governor was informed by the trustees that the church now being in 'a state of repair, will be ready for the performance of Divine Service therein on Sunday next'.<sup>9</sup> The hours would be as before, namely 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Seating would be available for the governor, his staff, the military and the police, while the one-sixth of the seats available without charge as required by the trust deed would also be provided. The ambiguous character of the church remained. It was still in part a practical appendage of government.

The trustees forwarded a copy of the seating plan<sup>10</sup> with their letter, based on the new twin aisle layout, which can still be detected at the back of the nave from the large slate slabs placed in the floor at the two commencement points of these aisles.

In the plan the congregation can be identified by name, and their seats known. What is more, those customary seats help to explain the location of many of the memorial tablets which have been erected in the building. The Fisher family memorials are by that family's pew, in the second senior location (left front of the nave), while the memorial which Governor Gawler erected to the memory of his mother, Mrs Hutchinson, is fixed by the governor's pew (originally and correctly right front, and now wrongly transposed to the opposite side of the nave).

The tablet in memory of Arthur Gell, lost at sea, [see the box below] likewise reflects the pew plan, as did the one William Bartley installed in memory of his wife who died in 1845.

Here was a mixture of officialdom (Frome, Wyatt, Newenham, Sturt) and community leaders making their way in commerce, law, retailing and

business (Finniss, Mayo, Waterhouse, Fiveash, Hussey). Some perhaps subscribed but came only rarely. Others worshipped at Trinity all their lives, most notably Dr Mayo. Others still fell out with Anglicanism or with James Farrell and went to worship and minister elsewhere. The official character of the church building in the activities of the diocese and the state likewise faded, especially after the opening of Christ Church, North Adelaide, in 1849, closer to where many of the elite of the colony lived.

From the outside, the building was of golden limestone quarried from near Government House, quined with red bricks. It was set on the natural slope without the benefit of footings. Its roof line was low, its tower squat, surmounted by a small pyramid, a hat-like cover. The impression was one of a restrained, modest building, as was to be expected in the difficult times. The low simplicity of it all was almost Saxon, certainly sturdy and unpretentious, with no hint of that ecclesiastical Gothic which became so fashionable later in the century. When the church was reopened, salaries had once more to be paid commensurately: to John Monck as clerk (£10), to Mrs White for opening the pews, cleaning, dusting and lighting the lamps (£20), and to Charles Emery, bell ringer (£8).<sup>11</sup>

#### **Arthur Daniel Gell**

A file of newspaper entries and other extracts kindly provided by Ian Tulloch tells the sad story of the death of Arthur Gell, memorialised on the wall of Trinity Church. His elder brother (b.1816), the Revd John Philip Gell, went to Tasmania and was responsible for the establishment of Christ's College in 1846. He married a daughter of Governor Sir John on his return to England in 1849. Arthur (b. 1822) had also gained an appointment to the staff of an Australian colonial governor, in his case in 1838 as private secretary to Governor Gawler of South Australia. (Like Gawler, the Gells were Derby residents and the Revd Philip Gell shared the Gawlers' evangelical Christian convictions). In 1848 Arthur was appointed to be E.J. Eyre's private secretary in his new duties as Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand under Sir George Grey (previously Governor of South Australia). Before Arthur left for New Zealand, first to Sydney on the steamer Juno (2 November) and thence for New Zealand on the island trading brig Calypso, 105 tons, (13 November), he entrusted A.L. Elder with his affairs, mainly a flock of 1800 ewes, some cattle and a small block of land in North Adelaide. He was also responsible for the Franklins' investments in South Australia. Calypso carried a mixed cargo of consignments, notable among which were significant quantities of alcohol as well as 200 bags of maize, 335 bags of sugar and 30 bags of rice, together with a large mail consignment. Six weeks later the first expressions of concern at her non-arrival in Wellington were appearing in the press. By February, reports of wreckage sightings were being reported. She was now given up as lost. By September that year family friends in England were sharing the sad news of Arthur's death.<sup>12</sup>

The memorial speaks sadly of his zeal for duty and his amiable disposition. He was but one of many lost at sea in the great colonising enterprises going forward in Australia and New Zealand.

#### **Consolidation**

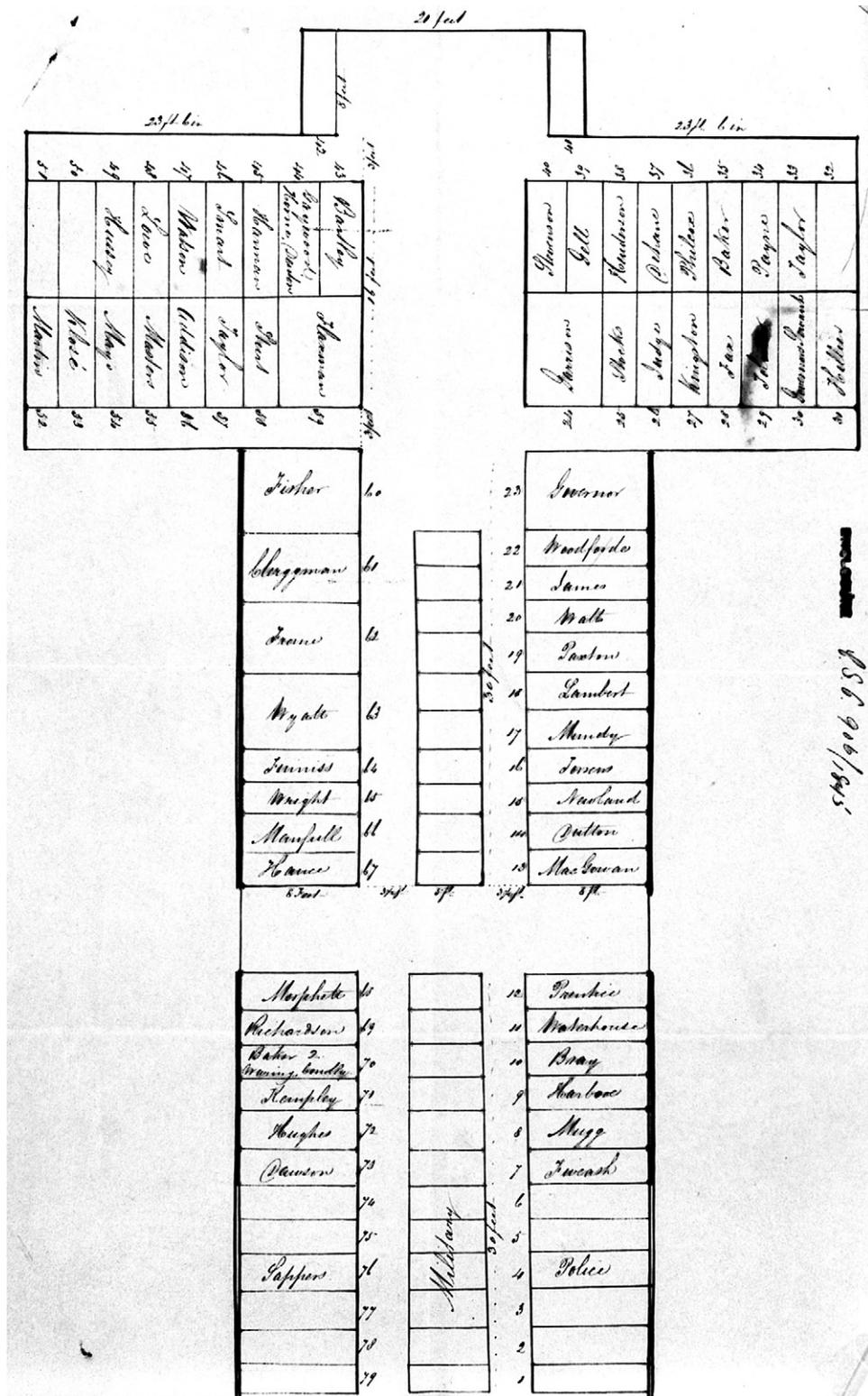
Still the banks pressed for repayment and still the trustees temporised. Farrell's priorities were towards the creation of more secure parish institutions. A more permanent schoolroom was built early in 1846, paid for

from subscriptions given after special sermons in its aid. It was this building, located to the south of the church where the cottage built in the mid-1950s currently (2013) stands, which briefly served from the later months of 1847 through to the end of 1849 as the location for the school which Bishop Short transformed into the Collegiate School of St Peter with money he brought from England: it was nothing more than a practical convenience that St Peter's used the schoolroom for a few months, despite occasional breathless claims to the contrary about formal links between the two institutions.<sup>13</sup> The one significant link was Farrell, who served on the Council of the College for many years and on his death in 1869 left the residue of his estate to the College. This munificent gift, built up by Farrell by an astute process of trading in house mortgages which was eventually valued at more than £15 000, helped the College at a time of near bankruptcy around 1870. It is no wonder his name is remembered there with gratitude and embodied in the title of major prizes. But he was not so popular with his widow, for he left nothing to Grace Farrell. This embarrassed the Council of St Peter's, who moved to allot her £200 p.a., the equivalent of the salary of the Colonial Chaplain, which had been extinguished at Farrell's death, for the remainder of her life.<sup>14</sup>

At the 1846 vestry meeting, income was reported at £516, half of which went to a schoolteacher and £75 as interest payments to the banks on £1215 still owing (including the Gawler £1000). Later that year Farrell thought it reasonable to raise pew rents to £8 p.a. a double and £4 p.a. a single pew as a way of diminishing the debt. When the trustees reported this and the appointment of Dr Wyatt as a trustee to Governor Robe, they received the suggestion from His Excellency in September that the church might be improved by the erection of galleries in the transepts 'for the use of the military and the natives', so they set about the task, estimated to cost £170.<sup>15</sup> A month later Charles Sturt and Boyle Travers Finniss resigned as trustees, on account of their public duties (Sturt though with failing eyesight, was Chief Secretary when he was not away exploring Central Australia). They were replaced by Dr Mayo, and Charles Flaxman, formerly G.F. Angus' agent and recently returned to the colony. Both men were residents; neither of them was an official. The goal of congregational consolidation was becoming more of a reality. These new trustees found they could plan on paying £200 p.a. to the banks towards liquidating the debts. At the 1847 vestry meeting Farrell's supplement (in addition to his Chaplain's salary) was doubled to £100 p.a. A year later the meeting learnt that £515 of the debt had been repaid, and in 1848, the remainder (£585). Energetic trustees who saw themselves as members of the parish, together with Farrell's ministry, had combined with the rising prosperity of the colony to consolidate the congregation.



The Governor's pew 2011. While 'incorrect' according to protocol, it provides a readily identifiable place for the Governor (who still confirms its incumbent's appointment under the terms of the trust deed), on visits to the church.



Seating plan 1845.

### **Growth of Anglicanism in South Australia**

Nor was Trinity now alone in having a clergyman, for in 1846 W.J. Woodcock, James Pollitt, W.H. Coombs and W.J. Newenham (the Sheriff's son) had arrived with SPG sponsorship to support Farrell. Woodcock went to St John's, Pollitt to Mount Barker, Coombs to Gawler and Newenham to Port Adelaide. Farrell as senior clergyman and thus de facto leader of the Church of England in South Australia was responsible for them, as well as his many other duties for church and state. Between them these men and the core of committed Anglican lay supporters sought to promote the affairs of their church with renewed vigour. Farrell reported to the SPG, which was supporting these new clergymen, that 'a new and active spirit appears to have been infused into the members of our Church, money is liberally subscribed and new churches are being erected in a most gratifying way'.<sup>16</sup> The local church society was reconstituted in 1846 under Woodcock's leadership.<sup>17</sup> These men, Hilliard suggests, were willing to challenge the continuing hostility of the Dissenters in the colony and to promote the claims of the Church of England to the allegiance of the colonists. Governor Robe agreed with them, and, eager to promote the



S.T. Gill Australia, 1818-1880 Trinity Church, Adelaide 1845, Adelaide watercolour, 27.3x39 cm, Gift of the South Australian Company 1890. Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.

Gill's watercolour of Trinity Church and North Terrace looking East shows the church's appearance and colouring since 1838 until the rebuild of 1888. Gill is proposing a Sunday gathering for Morning Prayer. Like his other Adelaide images, he may well have depicted real people in this scene. The colours were Adelaide's characteristic limestone gold with red brick quoining, as on the earliest of the Parliament House buildings: these two buildings shared the same stone quarry with the earliest parts of Government House. The quarry was located just north of the present main Parliament building, space subsequently used for the Adelaide baths and then the Festival Centre carpark.

moral stability of the colony, introduced an ordinance in 1846 providing for grants to such denominations in the colony which chose to accept them, to assist in providing stipends, building dwellings or churches. It was highly controversial in the colony, but it created even more opportunities for the development of those denominations willing to accept the funds, the Anglicans included.<sup>18</sup>

Concurrently with these colonial initiatives steps were being taken in England to strengthen the Church of England in South Australia. For some years concern had been expressed about the vast colonial dioceses of the Church of England scattered through the Empire. The Conservative Peel government was willing to take action to create new dioceses in the colonies if sufficient endowments could be raised from private supporters to fund the endeavours. With the generosity of such people as Angela Burdett-Coutts, an extremely rich banking heiress and devout Anglican, men were named as bishops to dioceses based on Newcastle, Melbourne and Adelaide. Augustus Short, then vicar of a Midlands parish, was offered and accepted appointment as the first bishop of Adelaide, from whence he would be responsible for Anglican ministry in South Australia (including the Northern Territory) and Western Australia. Even before his consecration, Short set about developing plans for his new diocese, seeking even more funds from the SPG and its sister society the SPCK.<sup>19</sup> On 30 December 1847 he was installed as the first bishop of Adelaide at Trinity church (which he described as ‘too low, cruciform’) on a ‘fiercely hot day’. W.H. Coombs recorded in his diary:

A procession was formed in the schoolroom. The Governor arrived, and the Bishop in full canonicals. I had the pleasure of meeting his Lordship, & welcoming him to S. Australia. A procession went from the schoolroom, consisting of the lay members of the South Australian Church Society – the clergy in their gowns two by two, preceding the bishop in his robes. His Lordship took the chair within the communion rails, & the clergy on seats on each side, without. The Colonial Chaplain read prayers. A large congregation had assembled, notwithstanding the heat of the weather.<sup>20</sup>

The bishop’s arrival would obviously have significance for the Trinity congregation. He could provide leadership in a way that Farrell, who was both government official and clergyman, could not. He could design the establishment of new preaching centres that could eventually become parishes (in modern parlance ‘church planting’), he could encourage his clergy, he could seek to develop a form of church government for his new diocese of Adelaide, stretching as it did from the Victorian border west to the Indian Ocean. He could challenge the easy common Protestantism of the colonists with a more positive assertion of the identity of the Church of England, for example by conducting confirmations. He conveyed a superior, and English, social style: he had links with Government House (a niece married Sir Henry Fox Young, governor 1848–1855). His churchmanship quickly proved to be more formal, affected to some degree by the Tractarians’, (by now usually called the Oxford Movement) call for independence of church affairs from the influence of the state, and a more serious approach to worship. He was also eager to take advantage of the

state aid available to the churches, despite the controversy such state aid immediately raised.

Such a new leader and this new structure could provide challenges to the congregation at Holy Trinity. It did not take them long to realise Short's churchmanship was different to theirs, and as we shall see, controversy soon burst out in the colony, with some of Short's critics regular members of Trinity. The theme of distance from the bishop, of suspicion at his episcopal intentions and his theological leanings was being formed. It would recur repeatedly in the life of the parish from then on, and remains a live issue to the present.

Certainly the Trinity parishioners were prompt to congratulate Farrell on his ministry, now that he was no longer 'first in place', in an address published in the *Register* on 12 January 1848. There is a hint of an early awareness that they and their minister were already at a distance from the new bishop. The long list of signatories, headed by Judge Cooper, assured him that he had

never shunned to declare unto them the whole counsel of Almighty God, and have ever laboured to place before your congregation, with all fidelity and earnestness, the truth as it is in Jesus.

James Farrell, probably glad that Short had taken over the principal post, was, as ever, self-deprecating. He returned thanks for their encouragement, but denied his own special merits. He had 'endeavoured to preach Christ and him crucified, as the sinner's sole and sure hope; persuaded that there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved'. The opportunity to focus more clearly on his parish lay before him. The continuities with Howard and evangelical religion were plain.

### **Holy Trinity consecrated**

A physical proof of the bond between minister and congregation was the consecration of Trinity Church by the bishop at the end of July 1848, thus signifying that the debts were all but repaid. The petition to the bishop for the consecration, signed by Farrell, the trustees and the wardens, spoke of 'the Church of the Holy Trinity in North Terrace' as 'the first Church built in the Province of South Australia'.<sup>21</sup> The petition claimed that over £5000 had been spent on the church, and only £300 remained to be paid off. The petition, it should be noted, is incontrovertible evidence that the church has always been officially dedicated to the Holy Trinity, despite changes in fashion among Protestants about the use of its full title. Mr Bartley, diocesan registrar and a Trinity parishioner, read the petition which was formally presented to the bishop by the trustees. Bishop Short, Archdeacon Woodcock and the now Dean Farrell all participated in the service. Using Ezra 6:14–17 as the text for his sermon in the consecration service,

His Lordship then spoke of Trinity church, which, he said, was founded when its members had nothing but cabins to live in ... Here, he was happy to say, the house of God had taken precedence.



The '1836 window'. It was intended to be installed in the permanent church to speak of the links with England. For many years after the 1888 extension it was installed in the western wall of the chancel. It is displayed in the vestry. Sent to the colony at the same time as the portable church, it carries the cipher 'WR IV' of King William IV, king when the colony was established, along with the date '1836'. While badly damaged and retaining only a few panes, it speaks tellingly of the commitment of the founders of Trinity church to its place in the established Church of England. This image was created by the National Museum of Australia while the window was on loan to it for the exhibition 'Not Just Ned. A true history of the Irish in Australia', and is drawn from the exhibition catalogue of the same name, Canberra, 2011.

He spoke generously of Howard, ‘who had been indefatigable in his labours for the promotion of the good work’, mentioned the time ‘when the church so nearly slipped through their hands into those of another body whose opinions and doctrines were so different to their own’, and called for yet more generous effort to pay off the last portion of the debt, and more generally throughout the diocese. The *Register* reporter noted that unfavourable weather had yielded ‘hardly an average attendance’. Nonetheless, those present contributed £80.<sup>22</sup>

Debate over state aid rent the colony for several years from its introduction by Governor Robe in 1846. Members of the Trinity congregation were to be found on both sides. Some supported the view that it was the proper responsibility of the state to aid the establishment of religious provisions in the colony. Others were deeply opposed to such state interference in religious matters. Farrell had no difficulties in chairing a committee appointed to administer the Anglican share of the money, which was spent on the support of clergymen and schoolmasters, and on helping to erect more churches and parsonages. One of these last was a permanent two-story residence for Farrell at Trinity. The annual vestry for 1850 was informed that it cost £1066, of which £150 was allotted from the state-aid resources, £100 from SPG funds, and £50 from the South Australian Church fund. Once more subscription lists were circulated, to which William Bartley, G.S. Kingston, Dr Mayo, George Morphett, William Paxton and Francis Dutton among others, contributed. It would be a generation before parishioners would be called upon to contribute to building funds again. Physical consolidation had been achieved.

### **Distrust of the bishop**

Bishop Short returned from an important meeting of Anglican bishops of Australia and New Zealand, held in Sydney, late in 1850. The publication of the proceedings of these meetings aroused suspicions about Short’s episcopal ambitions to control all trusts, about his supposed ‘Catholic’ view of baptismal regeneration, and his general high church preferences. It was feared that Short and the other bishops were intent on establishing church government in which they could, unchecked by laity or the state, develop doctrine and rules of practice to suit their obviously high church preferences (with the clear exception of the avowed evangelical Bishop Perry of Melbourne). A meeting of the Church Society was confronted by a motion critical of Short moved by Marshall MacDermott, manager of the Bank of Australasia and brother-in-law to the lawyer Samuel Tomkinson, whom we will meet again over the next fifty years. In subsequent meetings Fisher, Baker, Dutton, Wyatt and Kingston, all linked with Trinity, were among those who helped carry a motion protesting against episcopal interference with the doctrines of the Church. Farrell, meanwhile, had presided at a more temperate meeting of clergy, which nonetheless indicated a more Protestant view than Short’s, especially of baptism, and linked with it, the need to maintain opportunities of fellowship with other Protestants. Short’s replies, especially that repudiating the doctrines of the Tractarians, took much of the heat out of the debate, even if there has been some ongoing speculation about his economical use of the truth.<sup>23</sup>

Over the next eight years Short worked towards the creation of a

representative authority for his diocese. He avoided proceeding on the basis of legislation by parliament to authorise his synod, as had been passed in Sydney, which effectively relied on the power of the state to undergird the authority of the Anglican structure. Instead he created a synod in which the laity were eventually guaranteed a majority vote in financial matters by 'consensual compact', that is mutual agreement among the participating parishes. This was eventually registered under the General Associations Incorporation Act in 1872. Its forerunner, a diocesan assembly, was held at Trinity on 30 December 1852.

### **Charles Marryat, first curate**

The parish meanwhile flourished. The parsonage debt was soon paid off, and pew rents of £36 in 1852–3 were regarded as enough to pay £200 salary to Charles Marryat as curate to Farrell.<sup>24</sup> This had become necessary since Farrell had been appointed Dean by Bishop Short, that is, senior clergyman of the diocese, in 1849. Marryat was an Oxford graduate and the bishop's nephew. He later moved to become incumbent to St Paul's, Port Adelaide, then to Christ Church, North Adelaide and served as Dean in his turn for many years until his death in 1906.<sup>25</sup>

Dean Farrell was busy about the diocese while his curate carried out most of the routine duties associated with the Colonial Chaplaincy, such as visiting the gaol and the Destitute Asylum to read services. Farrell encouraged the establishment of new congregations, such as one at Brighton in 1853–4, of which he was one of the first trustees.<sup>26</sup> It was a group with whom G.S. Kingston was associated: they looked for a clergyman who 'should ever be of true evangelical doctrine and not in any degree tainted with Tractarianism', and they placed the patronage in lay hands. Their suspicion of Short was obvious. Other parishes also lay claim to Farrell's founding efforts. At Port Elliott, Goodwood and Salisbury, for example, there are such folk memories. They reflect Farrell's energy and business acumen as Dean, especially when Bishop Short was visiting England in the mid-1850s. When Short returned, Farrell himself took leave for a year-long journey that included a visit to the Holy Land, on which he was wont to speak at socials in subsequent years. At the 1854 vestry, Samuel Tomkinson, Dr Gosse, Mr Quick, John Hance and W. Fiveash were elected as representatives to the Diocesan Assembly, while £610 now covered the year's running costs, including £479 for salaries.

Later that year the curate followed his superior's example, by marrying Grace Montgomery Howard on 8 August 1854, though to be fair, she was the daughter, not the wife, of Farrell's predecessor! There were twenty-seven guests at the wedding breakfast:

The Schoolroom was tastefully decorated on the occasion [wrote the bridegroom in his journal], with an arch – greens – and texts of scripture on marriage – The children formed a line from Church to Parsonage and strewed the path with flowers – In Church they sang a suitable hymn & in school one composed by Mr Grocer – They were treated with cake and wine.<sup>27</sup>

His was a busy ministry, as he learnt his duties under the Dean's eye. In the week beginning 28 August 1854, for example, he recorded three

people attending week-day Morning Prayer, and he made five visits one day and four the next. He assisted at Mrs Peacock's funeral (taken by the Dean). At evening service later in the week seventeen were present. He took dinner and slept at the parsonage that night while the Dean was dining with Judge Cooper. It was his frequent parish visiting which he recorded most of all. With a salary of £300, he was in charge while the Dean was on leave from 20 November 1854. He had to press the churchwardens to whitewash the interior of the church and repair its fabric. He encouraged the improvement of the choir under Mr Daniels.

### **Opposition to proposed diocesan synod**

At the vestry meeting on 10 April 1855 he had stronger meat to cope with. First he was requested by the meeting to discuss with the bishop how the service on the monthly Communion Sunday (the first Sunday of the month) might be shortened from its present three hours which Samuel Tomkinson found excessive in such a hot building as Trinity, with its close, flat ceiling. This was a standard lay criticism of the prayer Book's expectations that the services include Morning Prayer, the Litany and Communion, with possibly two addresses by the clergyman. It was then suggested that pew rents might be replaced by half-yearly payments, with defaulters losing their accustomed sitting. Suddenly controversy erupted over Trinity's participation in the proposed diocesan synod. Marryat managed to postpone this matter. Finally, to clarify the financial position, it was resolved that the church's finances be under the joint control of the minister, the trustees and the churchwardens. It appears Samuel Tomkinson, sharp-eyed lawyer and churchwarden, had objected to Farrell's complete dominance as treasurer. (It was, incidentally the last direct motion ever passed by the vestry about financial administration as distinct from the adoption of annual budgets, although in more recent times it has implicitly accepted substantial extensions of Tomkinson's principle.)

A month later the meeting reconvened to discuss the proposed diocesan constitution circulated by Bishop Short which provided for a synod. More controversy erupted. G.S. Kingston, supported by William Cawthorne, carried a motion fifteen to seven that the vestry:

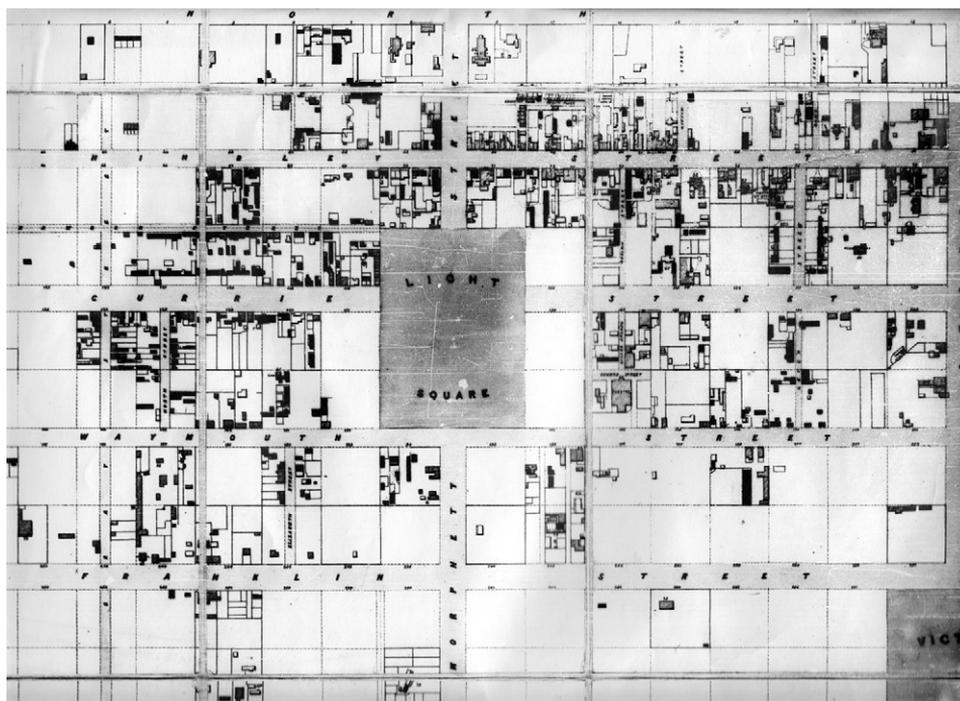
Protest against the introduction of the proposed Diocesan Constitution and Trust Deed or any regulations which would have the effect of introducing the Ecclesiastical Laws into this Colony, believing the same to be oppressive and utterly at variance with the present advanced state of society.

That last phrase said it all. To Kingston the bishop's proposals were contrary to liberty and progress as South Australians were now experiencing them. The meeting resolved to postpone debate of the proposed constitution for twelve months and declined to participate in the proposed synod. Samuel Tomkinson, George Mayo and Mr Hart joined Kingston in his opposition to Bishop Short's proposals.

W.A. Cawthorne, long-time Sunday school teacher at Trinity and by now master at Pulteney Street School, wrote in his private journal (which from previous entries shows him to be a 'hot' Protestant):

We are all agog about the new constitution just promulgated by the Bishop; to be [?adopted] or whatever it is under a Synod – of Bishops, clergy, and laity. We won't have them & we opposed them at the Vestry on the 10<sup>th</sup> inst – no laws ecclesiastical, no synod – no Puseyism – no popery. We renew the row this week – we beg to show all and sundry [that] we are not to be imposed, bamboozled, hoodwinked, gammoned, or frowned down. I believe I am to be excommunicated. I said in meeting, that the Synod meant schism. The Bishop has bolted for 6 weeks into the country – and when he returns, he will find the cathedral church [ie Trinity] actually refusing to do as he commands – repudiating the synod ... he'll be taught a lesson little anticipated.<sup>28</sup>

The *Register*, startled at such an effort at non-participation by the first parish of the diocese, sensibly remarked on 10 May that it all seemed extreme, the behaviour of 'over-grown children'. At a further postponed meeting on 19 May the business of electing synodsmen was addressed. Again Kingston sought to refuse, but Samuel Tomkinson carried a motion to proceed to the elections. He was supported in this more pragmatic step, which revised his stand of a week earlier, by Messrs Main, Mullett, Carleton, W. Fiveash, W. Roberts, Martin, T. Reid, Clerk, Hilton, Fax, Smythe, Gosse and Bray (fourteen) while Kingston's minority of nine were Dr Mayo, and Messrs G. Stevenson, W. Cawthorne, Gibbs, Austin, W.



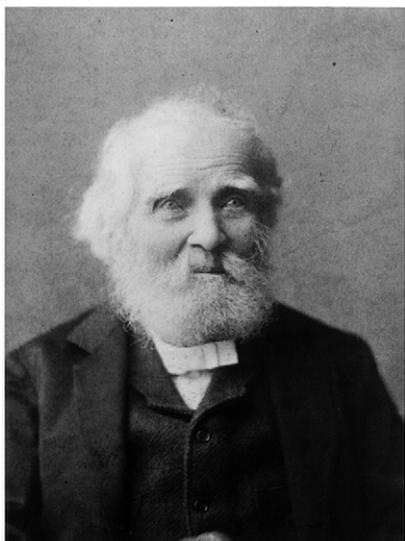
The Parish of Holy Trinity, Adelaide in the 1840s. After the opening of St Paul's, Pulteney Street and St Luke's, Whitmore Square, along with the earlier St John's, Halifax Street, this north-west corner of the city (later named Grey Ward by the City authorities) was Trinity's notional 'parish'. Under the consensual compact establishing the diocese of Adelaide these parishes possessed no enforceable bases, but were observed by agreement among the clergy. Part of G.C. Kingston's 1842 map of Adelaide, published by J.C. Hailes. SRSA.

Basham, C. Basham, G. Hussey and Woodforde. As a result Tomkinson, Dr Gosse, W. Roberts and W. Fiveash were elected to serve in the new synod (after Captain Hart declined). It should be noted that while twenty-three voted in the procedural motion, Gosse and Tomkinson each polled sixty votes, which shows that many men abstained from expressing an opinion on the controversial step of not participating in the proposed synod.

Cawthorne's take on this meeting was that although they lost their motion and indeed walked out in protest afterwards, they had launched a challenge to the original draft 'Constitution and Deed', which was sent back for reworking. At a meeting of the provisional synod on 17 May Bishop Short conceded much of what had been asked for, notably the recognition that English 'laws ecclesiastical' which gave such unfettered power to the bishop, did not apply in South Australia, and that voting in the synod would require concurrence of all three houses of bishop, clergy and laity. This crucial acceptance of shared authority with the absolutely necessary laity was the cornerstone of the new agreement. Nonetheless, Cawthorne recorded that the bishop's sermon on verses from James' Epistle about bridling the tongue seemed to scold the congregation: 'all the people in the church stared at one another'.<sup>29</sup>

On 22 May the vestry addressed these principles that Short had laid out for the compact to create the synod, with their admission of lay power, especially in financial matters. In August the vestry finally grappled with their adoption. Once again Tomkinson (of whom the *Register* had remarked in May 'nobody will suspect of High Church tendencies') moved for participation, while George Mayo moved for withdrawal. The participants carried the day roughly two to one and then the meeting expressed the unanimous support of the congregation for the representatives they had elected, in a motion eirenicly seconded by William Cawthorne. For some, clearly, the complete rejection of the episcopal and diocesan basis of Anglicanism was a real option, however inconsistent this might appear to modern observers of the Anglican Church. As with the other parishes who entered the compact, Trinity's vote proves beyond doubt that the parish has always been a part of the diocese of Adelaide, and *never* of any other diocese of the Church of England since the diocese of Adelaide was created. The view that the parish is a 'part of the diocese of Sydney' is a popular misconception, a myth which grew up in the twentieth century, perhaps promoted by unfriendly critics opposed to the existence of a strong evangelically-oriented congregation. Like the other parishes, Trinity's synod representatives adopted the Fundamental Provisions establishing the diocese of Adelaide on 9 October 1855: this indeed was the 'consensual compact': and so it remains, a joint agreement to act together for the common good.<sup>30</sup>

Nonetheless, some withdrew. Kingston's name disappears from Trinity records, possibly because the church at Brighton near his home was getting underway. But he and others were men who had, since the establishment of the colony, consistently argued for personal freedom and the minimum of hierarchical control, whether by governor or bishop. On the other hand Dr George Mayo continued faithful service as a trustee for another forty years. There is no doubt that Bishop Short was little



George Mayo, trustee 1846-1895 and generous financial supporter of Trinity. This photo was taken late in his life.

SLSA B9657

end of that same year of 1858 over the visit of Thomas Binney, a noted Independent preacher from England.<sup>31</sup> He became a symbol of common Protestantism, and men such as Samuel Tomkinson at Trinity were among his local promoters, as was Farrell. Bishop Short, however, declined to permit Binney to preach from Anglican pulpits, since he was neither episcopally ordained nor subject to Anglican discipline. Such insistence on Anglican church order, whatever Short's protestations to the contrary about Protestant unity, created furore. Short had inadvertently started the debate by writing a long and generous letter to Binney about the grounds upon which reunion of the churches might be achieved. For its time, Short's letter was a remarkable exploration of the problems inherent in reunion. Nonetheless, he was not about to do away with his own church and join with other protestants forthwith. But some enthusiasts for common Christianity eagerly interpreted his letter, published in the press, in this way. The public letter writers included Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, the colony's governor, who in his personal capacity urged the creation of an alliance between members of the 'General Reformed Church of Christ'. He was elected to represent Trinity at synod along with Nathaniel Oldham, Dr Wooldridge, and Samuel Stocks.

pleased, and of course we may be sure his nephew carried full reports of these highly charged meetings to him at Bishop's Court.

The vestry meeting of 25 March 1856 heard a financial report which reflected the previous year's dissension: pew rents were down from £404 in 1853-4 to £390, and monthly and other collections down from £246 to £119. Clearly James Farrell had some enthusing to do. Meanwhile, Kingston's exit was not quite complete. He sought at the 1858 vestry meeting to prevent the election of synodsmen, supported this time by Tomkinson, Dr Gosse, Henry Hussey and George Mayo. Once more, however, they were overborne by the moderates.

#### **Thomas Binney and church union**

Feelings ran high in the town at the



Samuel Tomkinson, doughty Protestant champion, vociferous opponent of Bishop Short, and trustee 1874-1900.

SLSA A23353.

MacDonnell's motion for such an alliance was shelved at the next synod, to Short's delight.

Grace Marryat wrote in her diary for 2 June 1859:

Great day at Synod to discuss Sir Richard MacDonnell's motion as to the desirability of Church alliance. Charles, Papa and Mr Coombs went up ... [they returned in the evening, bringing two more clergymen, Alexander Russell of St John's Halifax Street and Denzil Ibbetson of Kooringa to share dinner] all highly excited at the day's proceedings which had gone against the Alliance party.<sup>32</sup>

While Short and Binney might exchange letters about the theoretical prospects for reunion, the bishop was unwilling to contravene what he believed to be the ancient customs and laws of the church. He recorded in his diary in very frank terms:

I regard this as an attempt at Lay domination in spiritualities [?undermining] the discipline of the Church and its external Relations. The Bishops and Elders [he means clergy] should be requested first to consider this matter. The faithful laymen however won the day.<sup>33</sup>

Twelve months later MacDonnell declined to serve as a Trinity synodsmen again, and his letter to Samuel Tomkinson precipitated yet another debate in the vestry meeting about participation in synod by Trinity, with the abiding question of common Christianity still lurking in the background.<sup>34</sup> MacDonnell objected to the power in synod of members to insist that voting except on money matters be by 'orders', i.e. bishop, clergy and laity separately. To him, this gave too much power to the bishop and clergy, who together would therefore possess a veto over the more numerous laity. Tomkinson, building on these remarks, moved that Trinity declare a lack of confidence in the synod. At a special meeting of the vestry on 24 April 1860 about sixty men heard the arguments rehearsed once more, with Oldham opposing Tomkinson. As on previous occasions, the participants carried the day, thirty-nine to eleven. The issue was pursued with the same result at vestry meetings over the next few years. Gradually the irrelevance of non-participation became apparent, and the vision of a common, evangelical Protestant Christianity held so firmly by the closely-bonded group of first settlers faded. As the *Church Chronicle* remarked on 20 April 1861 'the solitary result [of non-participation] would be that the laity of that particular place would be excluded from a voice in the deliberations of Synod and from participation in its privileges'. It was not so much that evangelicals were marginalized as that the strength and identity of membership of the Church of England had gained greater acceptance among Trinity's supporters, as their incumbent and dean of the diocese certainly desired.

### **Richardson Reid, second curate**

One of those who spoke against the notion of a vote by orders was the Reverend Richardson Reid. His contribution on that occasion was critical of episcopal power, and one which earned him a rebuke from more senior members of the congregation. This young man, like Howard and Farrell, had been born in Ireland, but had been brought to South Australia as a

child of seven. He had been a Sunday school pupil at Trinity and a teacher at St Peter's College. He was the first locally-trained man to be ordained by Bishop Short. He succeeded Marryat as curate to Farrell in late 1858, and as the parish accounts were showing some improvement, he could be paid £200.

Sometime in his ministry, we do not know when, Reid received a note from James Farrell one Monday morning which has survived in Reid's papers:

You know that it is a dogma, if not doctrine with some of us ... never to praise a sermon before the Preacher ... [but I] thank Him for sending to my people as their minister one who can so faithfully, so fully and so clearly lay down the very way of salvation as you were enabled to do last night. May you continue so to preach Christ & Him crucified and may God give you seals to your ministry and bless you abundantly [and] bless you to the people I love dearly tho I serve badly.

Ever affectionately yours, JF<sup>35</sup>

In this, one of the few known letters in Farrell's own hand, the relationship of affection and commitment in the Gospel is apparent, as was Farrell's habitual self-deprecation. It was also evidence of Farrell's concern for securing and developing the congregation.

Soon Reid was commending himself to the congregation. He established a Mutual Improvement Society, which usually met weekly for addresses on biblical, literary and historical subjects, and for training in public speaking. In July 1860 he was farewelled by the parish on his appointment to Robe as incumbent. A testimonial and a purse of sovereigns was presented to him with seventy-nine subscribers (some anonymous). These were accompanied by a small silver plate recording the admiration of the congregation 'of his unwearied zeal for their spiritual welfare and his sympathy with those in distress'.<sup>36</sup> Possibly at the same time, another illuminated address was presented to him from the Mutual Improvement Class, 'a class which owes its existence to your solicitude for our mutual and spiritual culture'. They acknowledged his 'wise and careful superintendence' of their studies and looked for his future fruitfulness in the ministry. The signatories were John Dunk, John William Gepps, Thomas and Charles Lyons (brothers), Thomas Hosier, James Potter and William Clayfield.<sup>37</sup>

### **Parish life consolidated**

The life of the parish continued into the 1860s with growing evidence of its consolidation, after the conflict of the previous decade. A day school was being conducted by Miss Light in 1858, 'terms on application' said the advertisement in the *Register* in February. The regular tea meeting to celebrate the Sunday school's anniversary was held in 1859 'in the detached schoolroom, which was gaily and artistically decorated with flags bearing appropriate mottoes, and surrounded by flowers and ever-greens'. It was estimated that 200–250 were present for the meal. At the public meeting which followed, William Cawthorne presented the twenty-first annual report, which noted a fall in enrolments to an average of

117. He was followed by no fewer than seven clerical addresses, in the presence of Bishop Short! In Advent 1860 a series of lectures was given by the city's leading Anglican clergymen on the first chapter of St John's gospel. During 1861 a program of instruction for Sunday school teachers was presented 'for all who desire to profit by reading God's Word ... especially ... those whose youth and inexperience in the work call for increased efforts in preparing the Sabbath lesson'. Also in 1862 a collection of sermons appeared in support of the rebuilding at Marryat's church of St Paul's, Port Adelaide, some of which were preached at a special event in December 1861 when the church was re-opened after repairs. They included one by Farrell, our only record of what he might have been like as a preacher. Alongside the bishops of Adelaide and Sydney, Dean Farrell's remarks are brief, self-deprecating, even self-mocking, but plainly and directly evangelical in their appeal to salvation in Christ as the only hope. Generously, Farrell included a tribute to Charles Howard as the founding clergyman of the Anglican Church in the province.<sup>38</sup>

At the beginning of 1862 Reid was back at Trinity as curate, at a salary of £250 raised to £300 in 1864, possibly to take some of the strain off an ageing Farrell.<sup>39</sup> His singing class tendered their 'sincere and heartfelt thanks' to Reid at the end of 1863 for the trouble he took in instructing them in singing and 'for the enjoyment he afforded them in many other ways'. Obviously Reid, like Howard, was musical. The Mutual Improvement Society held its fourth annual soiree on 17 May 1864 in the schoolroom. Lady Daly (the governor's wife) was present with her daughter, together with Mrs Short and her daughters. Sir James Fisher, now the President of the Legislative Council, took the chair and lauded the value of such improvement. The glee 'Hark the Lark' was presented, followed by recitations, further singing, and the Dean on 'Reminiscences of Palestine'. Young William Shakespeare recited 'Peaceful Shades of Evening'. He was to become a regular fixture at such gatherings until the late 1920s.

In January 1865 the curate's duties included Wednesday visits to the Destitute Asylum and the Hospital. He went house calling with the Dean, and he preached at Mitcham and Hindmarsh on 12 February that year.

A little more about the life of the congregation can be learnt from the annual financial statements. The congregation remained modest in size, resources and ambition. In 1864, for example, £34 was raised for the Melanesian Mission, and similar amounts or less were given in subsequent years. This was the outcome of the visits of Bishop Patteson to Adelaide in 1864 and 1865 to publicise the work of the Mission.<sup>40</sup> Routine diocesan events such as an ordination service were held in Trinity Church from time to time.<sup>41</sup> Keeping up with the latest technology, the vestry in 1865 asked that gas be laid on to light the church. That year, however, income was only about £750, with a rising number of bills for repairs to the three buildings on the acre. The next year the vestry learnt that the gas fittings had cost £33 16s 6d. Reid was in the chair with only five others present – it was a sign that James Farrell was not well.

Yet not all the financial signs were bad in the 1860s. Later in 1866 a meeting of seatholders, that is a special vestry meeting, agreed to take collections weekly instead of monthly. They also agreed that the church and the schoolroom should be reroofed with galvanised iron. These were

confident decisions. A committee to consider rebuilding the church was also authorised, the first shadow of a long drawn-out saga only culminating in 1888. A year later the fund for reroofing held £420, including £120 from Farrell and £55 from Reid. The work cost £495. At the 1868 vestry the benefit of the weekly collection became apparent: £293 had been received, as compared with about £120 in previous years. For the first time a small interest-bearing account was opened. Perhaps the future held better promise after all.

### **Farrell's death**

A year later Reid was once more in the chair: James Farrell had been granted leave to travel to Europe in a last-ditch effort to recuperate his health. It would appear he mistakenly drank a lotion containing arsenic, thinking it his tonic. Reid wrote in the minute book that after the elections by fourteen or fifteen men, 'other matters were discussed, but not of any great importance – and the meeting closed with the Benediction.' There was no bold vision at that meeting.

They did not learn till 8 June 1869 that James Farrell had died on 26 April. He had sailed from Adelaide on 29 December 1868, travelling to England via Cape Horn. His health had not improved, and he died at Malvern, Worcestershire, at the home of his niece, Mrs Maltby, of a 'malignant ulceration' of the stomach.<sup>42</sup> So ended the ministry of 'an earnest and faithful laborer of his Master'. At the memorial service at Trinity the following Sunday with the pulpit draped in black, Bishop Short spoke well of the dead, praising Farrell's 'unaffected sincerity and genial kindness of heart founded on the love of Christ'. He spoke of Farrell's sincerity in the pulpit, his 'simple, manly religion'. Short acknowledged that he was 'firm in his own views of Gospel doctrine, [but] he nevertheless was tolerant of others and could appreciate men of a different school of thought if in them he saw the love of God readily shed abroad in their hearts'. He also reminded his hearers that once Farrell had become convinced of the usefulness of synod 'he had become its staunch supporter and one of its wisest counsellors'. These were just appreciations of the man who had guided the Trinity congregation through twenty-five years of turbulence to stable if unremarkable identity. True, families were removing to the suburbs and parish income only provided a modest means for its ministers. But conflict was over: consolidation had been achieved.<sup>43</sup>

1 Pike, p. 270.

2 Trustees, minute, 23, 25 Aug 1843.

3 The original letter, signed by the trustees, has survived in the K.T. Borrow papers, PRG 32, SLSA.

4 Circular from the trustees, 1844, appealing for donations to cover the cost, SRG 94/2/10, and subsequent entries.

5 *Observer* 7 Dec 1844: 'liquidation is sweet; but ... it remains to be seen whether a good title can be given.'

6 SRG 94/A2/6.

7 Minutes of Executive Council, 1 Mar 1845, GRG 40/1/3; *Register* 1, 19 Mar 1845.

8 Pike, p.255.

9 B.T. Finnis to the Governor, 4 Aug 1845, SRG 94/A2/5.

10 Filed with the inward correspondence of the Colonial Secretary, GRG 24/6/1845/906.

11 Trustees, minutes, 15 Aug 1845.

- 12 Thanks are due to Ian Tulloch for a dossier of original records documenting the death of Arthur Gell.
- 13 Katherine Thornton, *The Message of Its walls and Fields: a history of St Peter's College, 1847 to 2009*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2010, pp.20–21, showing a lithograph of an illustration by John Baptist Austin of 'Adelaide from the West end of Hindley Street, November, 1849', SLSA B8042.
- 14 John Tregenza, *Collegiate School of St Peter Adelaide: the founding years 1847–1878*, the School, Adelaide, 1996, for extensive details.
- 15 Trustees, minutes, 12 Sep 1846, Trustees to Governor 12 Sep 1846, SRG 24/6/1846/1132.
- 16 Farrell to SPG, 12 Dec 1846, quoted in Hilliard, *Godliness*, pp.41–2.
- 17 The manifesto of the South Australian Church Society appeared in the *Register* 5 Sep 1846 over Woodcock's name.
- 18 Pike deals at length with Robe's initiative and the subsequent furore which lasted until the abolition of state aid in 1851, in chs 15, 17.
- 19 The letters he wrote to Governor Robe, the SPG, SPCK and other supporters survive in his first letterbook, held by St Peter's cathedral Adelaide. <http://svc249.wic015v.server-web.com/archive/document/215.pdf>.
- 20 Hilliard, *Godliness*, p. 14, quoting from Coombs' diary held by the SPG archives in England.
- 21 SRG 94/1/shelf 133, box 14, Diocese of Adelaide papers.
- 22 *Register* 2 Aug 1848.
- 23 *An Account of the Proceedings of the Laity and Clergy of the Church of England in South Australia occasioned by the publication of Certain Minutes of a Meeting held in Sydney by the Australasian bishops in October, 1850*, Adelaide, 1851, 55; *Register* 31 Jan 1851.
- 24 In addition, a 'pew opener' who also cleaned the church and attended to the lamps' was appointed in 1851 at an annual payment of forty guineas. *Register* 23 Nov 1850. I am grateful to Glen Ralph for this reference.
- 25 T.T. Reed, 'Marryat, Charles, (1827–1906)', *ADB*, vol 10, p.419.
- 26 L. Anderson, *In the Wake of St Jude*, Brighton, 1986, p.1–2.
- 27 Charles Marryat, Diary, D3076/1 (L) SLSA.
- 28 W.A. Cawthorne, Journal, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library B230, 15 Apr.
- 29 Cawthorne, Journal 1848–59, pp.158–59.
- 30 The final constitution adopted by the representatives of the parishes constituting themselves into the Synod of the Diocese of Adelaide on 5 October 1855 as a Declaration, Fundamental Provisions and Regulations for the 'government of the United Church of England and Ireland within the Diocese of Adelaide in South Australia'. There was no recourse to parliamentary legislation, simply a 'consensual compact' to act together in this way. The text of 1855 (and not subsequently amended versions) may be found in R.A. Giles, *Constitutional History of the Australian Church*, London, 1929, pp. 254–60.
- 31 For an earlier examination of this controversy, which places too much emphasis on the evangelical issue, but helpfully quotes most of the main documents arising from this wordy local storm see my article, 'Marginalising evangelicals: Thomas Binney in Adelaide 1858–59', *Jnl of the United Reformed Church History Society*, vol 4, no 9, Dec, pp. 540–564.
- 32 Grace Howard Marryat, Diaries, D3077/6, SLSA.
- 33 Bishop Augustus Short, Diary 1 Jan 1857–31 Aug 1859, PRG 160/1, SLSA.
- 34 Vestry meeting, 10, 24 Apr 1860.
- 35 Richardson Reid papers, PRG 205/2, SLSA.
- 36 The plate is held at the Church, and is 107mm in diameter.
- 37 Originals in Reid papers, PRG 205, SLSA.
- 38 *A Sermon preached at the Re-opening of St Paul's Church, Port Adelaide, December 15th, 1861 by James Farrell, Dean of Adelaide*, Adelaide, J. Young, 1862. [no. 2 of 12 sermons].
- 39 Vestry, minutes, 29 Mar 1864.
- 40 The story of the Melanesian Mission is told by David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: a history of the Melanesian Mission, 1849–1942*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1978.

- 41 Henry Howitt was made deacon on the feast of St Peter, 29 Jun 1865, at Trinity. *Register* 26 Jul 1865. I am grateful to Glen Ralph for this reference.
- 42 David Hilliard, 'Farrell, James (1803–1869)', *ADB*. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/farrell-james-12914/text23331>, accessed 21 Nov 2012.
- 43 *Register* 8, 14 Jun 1869.