

Profit and Religion in a New Colony 1832–1836

In England in the 1830s there was much lively ferment in social and political ideas. Some wanted to reform the structure of political representation, others to open up new opportunities for the profitable investment of capital. Members of the Dissenting denominations, the Congregationalists, Baptists and Presbyterians, joined increasingly by the various Methodist groups, though granted civil liberties in 1828, still had a large agenda in their battles with the established and privileged Church of England. For the more forward thinkers the spirit of the age was one of liberty, either in reality or in prospect.

A colony promoted

Some men, including William Hutt, George Grote, Woolryche Whitmore, Robert Torrens and George Fife Angas, set about expressing these ideals in the establishment of a new colony in southern Australia. They took the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield as propounded by Robert Gouger as their guide. Between 1832 and 1836 they pestered the government for legal authority to go ahead with their schemes. The Colonial Office advisers were cautious about their plans, which seemed to transfer all power from the Crown to a joint stock company. It was an accurate perception of the priorities of the planners. The promoters believed that a self-governing and free colony would best create the environment for the creation of wealth, at least for the promoters who had an eye to the possibility of fast capital gains.

Little was said about religion in those negotiations. But since many, though not all, were known Dissenters, it is not surprising to find in the writings of some of them the notion that in the new colony the principle of liberty would extend from commercial activities to the realm of religion. The theory was obvious enough. Freedom was the basis of true prosperity. It was claimed that the Church of England's many unjust privileges were part of the old order which was denying men the full achievement of their potential in England. Its tithes or taxes, so ran the critique, were unfair, its claim to leadership unjustified. Religion should be based on personal assent and paid for by voluntary contributions. It was the power-packed program of the spokesmen of free churches in a free society.

The Church of England in the 1830s

Not all the planners and supporters of the new colony were such out-and-out Dissenters. Some had the more typical English view of religion: that it was expressed by the Church of England, by law the established church of the nation. They could not imagine themselves without access to the ministrations of its clergy, appointed in a variety of ways, often by individual patrons or sometimes select groups of laymen in possession of the right to appoint, the 'advowson', to a parish. Nor could they imagine a countryside without the accumulation of its church buildings, maintained by rates and endowments: the Church of England was to most English people the National Church.

Some within the Church of England took their religion personally as well as nationally. These were the Evangelicals, already described in the Introduction. They questioned the comfortable notion that the Church of England was merely the nation at prayer. The Bible taught them that Christianity was based on an individual response to the saving grace of God offered to mankind on the basis of the atoning work of Christ. These Evangelicals were religious enthusiasts who wanted to live their faith actively and seriously. They were on the brink of achieving their most famous victory in parliament with the abolition of slavery in British possessions in 1833.

But Evangelicals were only one party within the Church of England. The groupings were complex. For example, there were others, more cautious about enthusiasm which smacked of Methodism and lawbreaking, who emphasised the authority of the church and its bishops, and were even willing to challenge the domination exercised by the state over the church. Influenced by these views were to emerge reformers at the University of Oxford, the 'Tractarians', who pressed the argument for the independence and holiness of the Church of England to controversial extremes. However, in the founding years it was Evangelicals within the Church of England, along with a large body of convinced Dissenters, who made the pace in the negotiations about religion in the proposed new colony. Their differences about state aid to religion were laid aside in the face of the challenge of establishing religion in the new colony.

The Church of England and the new colony

In response to pressure from the Colonial Secretary Lord Stanley, the planning group around Robert Gouger developed schemes in 1833 to raise subscriptions to support religion and education in the new colony. One was for 'an Anglican Church and for paying a regularly educated clergyman'. They approached the bishop of London, Charles James Blomfield, on 6 December 1833 for permission to use his name as patron of this society for founding and endowing such a church in the new colony. This was entirely proper, for, as bishop of London, Blomfield held traditional responsibility for Anglicans overseas who lacked their own bishop. However, while Blomfield agreed to the use of his name as a president of the Church Association and recognised the need for voluntary support for religion, he declined to sit on an association committee with 'radicals and unitarians'.¹ Unabashed, the members of the South Australian Association published the prospectus of the South Australian Church Society on 16

January 1834. Bishop Blomfield's name as president did not appear on the first edition of this appeal, despite his reported willingness and later role in the appointment of the Colonial Chaplain. The appeal argued that:

Whatever the consolations and other advantages of religion, it is difficult to conceive a situation which requires them more than that in which men place themselves who become the first inhabitants of a wilderness, distant from the abode of society. In the planting of a colony, the chief elements of success are fortitude, patience, and brotherly affection.²

Like the reference to the colony of Massachusetts which accompanied this paragraph, the promoters were quite clear that this was an exercise in church-planting in the wilderness, a transplantation of form and the delivery of supports for faith in a new and unformed place.

They argued that religion was essential to setting up a new colony in the wilderness, and they called upon the example of the State of Massachusetts. Aware of the dangers of waste in establishing a religious structure, they assured their readers that settlement in South Australia would be concentrated, and hence the ministry of clergy would be more effective than it had been in the wilds of Upper Canada. Above all, it was a society they were helping to establish, of which religion was a crucial attribute. Finally, they pointed out that the proposed Church Society would have the added strength of being composed of both settlers, and residents remaining in England: here would be bonds of love and shared practices under the guidance of the Church of England.

The promoters of the South Australian Church Society were clearly convinced believers in the standing and relevance of the Church of England. There was no hint in their prospectus of any party affiliation. They took their protestant Christianity seriously, and expressed it without apology in the forms and traditions of the Church of England, which they aimed to reproduce in the new colony. This would simply ensure that the colonists would continue to receive the ministrations of their church in the new land in the Antipodes.

Negotiations continued between the SA Association (and its later embodiments) and the Colonial Office through the first part of 1834, and Lord Stanley continued to insist on proper provision for religion and education, while the promoters kept emphasizing that they wished to avoid the burdens of an established church, with all its implied loss of freedom of religious judgement.

When the South Australia bill reached the House of Lords in August 1834 it was amended to provide for the appointment of chaplains of the established churches of England and Scotland for the new colony. They were to be paid, the clause provided, from the land fund of the colony. Some of the Dissenters in the planning group were stunned at this change, this invasion of liberty, this transplantation of the hated system of the established church. Robert Gouger took the more moderate view that it was a small price to pay.³ Douglas Pike, in his magisterial *Paradise of Dissent*, a book which reveals only limited tolerance of the Church of England, shows conclusively that subsequent Dissenter claims that the SA Act didn't really contain anything about religion except a guarantee

of its freedom in the colony, were false and self-serving myths. He found no explicit evidence to explain who inserted the chaplaincy clause, or for what reason. The probability is that the Colonial Office and the cabinet felt that no British colony could exist without the guarantee of formal Christian ministry, and that King William IV would expect such provisions to be included in the bill. So it was that this controversial clause was included in the South Australia Act, assented to on 15 August 1834.

With this enforced and unexpected resolution in the Foundation Act of the problem of what formal place there was to be in the colony for the Church of England, negotiations opened between the government, the Colonization Commissioners, and the South Australian Association about the salary and identity of a Colonial Chaplain. Pascoe St Leger Grenfell took an interest in the search. Born in 1798, he was a son of the President of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company and long-time MP, and himself a rising Swansea copper manufacturer as well as a dedicated Evangelical Anglican.⁴

He was seconded in the Church Society by Raikes Currie, a City of London finance man like Pascoe Grenfell (the elder) and an evangelical Anglican. Two candidates for the appointment as Colonial Chaplain at least fell by the wayside, believing the salary too precarious, or finding a better employment. Some still preferred that the funds for the chaplain's salary be found by voluntary subscription. The planners themselves subscribed handsomely to the Church Association fund, and it was at this point, at the planning meeting of 23 December 1835, that Pascoe Grenfell St Leger offered the entitlement to a town acre and forty country acres as an inducement to progress.⁵

To strengthen the fund-raising drive, Bishop Blomfield suggested that the Church Association would do well to get the support of one of the missionary societies of the church. He pointed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), the Anglican organisation that had been active since 1701 in assisting Englishmen overseas to establish self-sustaining congregations. Sometimes the Society supported clergy with salaries, sometimes it granted money towards church building. Unlike the self-consciously evangelical Church Missionary Society, most of whose energies were being poured into India, the SPG was broader in its theological character and more responsive to the requirements of the bishops, especially the bishop of London, nominally responsible for all unattached Anglicans living overseas.

The support of the SPG was readily secured and a South Australian District Committee of the SPG was formed. Archdeacon Broughton of New South Wales, then in England for consultations on the establishment of local episcopal authority in Australia, was sensibly secured as president: after all he had nominal responsibility for the Church of England in the new colony, since it was being carved out of New South Wales. Another prospectus appeared and the subscription list was swelled by a promise of £200 from the SPG.

Early in 1836 Lord Glenelg, the newly appointed Colonial Secretary in the government of Lord Melbourne, indicated that he wished to proceed to an appointment to the post of Colonial Chaplain for the new colony, which, he insisted, would be paid from the income of the colonial government. He



Pascoe Grenfell painted by Martin Shee RA ca 1833.

A note on the Grenfell portrait print in the Vestry

The Grenfell print has been displayed in the Vestry since 1958 as an image of Pascoe St Leger Grenfell, donor of the funds which purchased the right to an Adelaide town acre and forty country acres. It is a lithograph of a portrait executed by Sir Martin Shee, RA. It was commissioned by the Board of Governors of the Royal Exchange 'as testimony of the high sense the Court has of the eminent services rendered by Mr Grenfell to the Corporation'. It was probably painted in the early 1830s, after Shee became President of the Royal Academy and was knighted, on the occasion of Grenfell standing down as President of the Board. However these details serve to establish that the identification of the sitter as Pascoe St Leger Grenfell (so named to mark his father's second marriage to Miss St Leger), is unlikely. A note on the back of the image held at Trinity shows that it was donated by Lt Col Arthur Morton Grenfell to mark the inauguration of the Grenfell Organ in 1958. Plainly the church authorities at Trinity at that time were glad accept the identification of the sitter as St Leger Grenfell. Recently, however, another descendant, Malcolm Barton, wrote to Brian Dickey (26 Feb 2009) arguing that the engraving is of Pascoe Grenfell, father to St Leger Grenfell. He believes that the son, born 1798, was 'barely old enough to be President of the Royal Exchange'. His father, Pascoe Grenfell, born 1761 and died 1836, was indubitably a governor and President of the Exchange, and also served as an MP 1802-26. The manuscript depicted in the picture on the table to the left is plainly headed 'P. Grenfell'. Such artistic detail was normally employed to identify the sitter. Malcolm Barton in the course of research into the Grenfell family, has only found some much later images that can safely be said to be of Pascoe St Leger Grenfell. This opinion is shared by Dr Jeff Nicholas, who is currently preparing a series of biographical studies of the promoters of South Australia. On the other hand the contemporary records of the meetings at the Adelphi Rooms in the mid-1830s quite explicitly report that the donation came from 'Pascoe St Leger Grenfell'. We also know that St Leger Grenfell was a generous supporter of Anglican causes in and around his places of manufacturing business and home, especially if they were evangelical in character. We must conclude that the image on display since 1958 is not of our generous founder-donor, but of his father.

did not believe that the voluntary basis of funding the Chaplain's salary so far explored was addressing the problem of securing an appointee. There had already been two abortive nominations canvassed among the planners. While Glenelg (formerly Charles Grant) was an active Evangelical, a member of the 'Clapham Sect', a veteran of the movement to abolish slavery, and a keen supporter of the proclamation of the gospel in India, his intervention caused some sore feelings, since it appeared to the voluntarists that they were being once again being overridden by the forces of the establishment. A lively, indeed, angry debate at the regular meeting of the planners in the Adelphi buildings eventually agreed that such an appointment should be made, despite mutterings to the contrary. While these feelings were being smoothed over, the Church Association moved quickly to find a suitable nominee before Glenelg preempted them.⁶

Thus it was to this post that Charles Beaumont Howard was appointed on 10 February 1836 by the Colonial Secretary, at the suggestion of Dr Sumner, bishop of Chester. Howard plainly indicated to the Delphi planners that he preferred a government salary however small to the uncertainties of voluntary subscriptions, which was to prove a prophetic preference in the light of his later struggles. So, 'better a clergyman paid from the wrong source than no clergyman at all', Howard was appointed at a salary of £250, as part of the arrangements for the future of the colony which culminated in the issue of the Letters Patent officially founding the colony on 19 February.⁷

Charles Beaumont Howard, the first Colonial Chaplain

Charles Howard was an Irishman, born in Dublin in 1807. He took his BA at Trinity College, Dublin in 1828, being remembered by other former undergraduates, Robert Edwards claims in his 1950s essay, for hard and reasonably successful study. Since 1790, candidates intending to seek ordination were expected to include one year of theology in their studies, a not very exacting requirement. Trinity College was a Tory stronghold, innocent of any radical social or economic ideas. More to the point, it was a Mecca for Evangelicals planning to enter the Church of England ministry, when neither Oxford, nor even Cambridge in the evening of Charles Simeon's influence there, were appropriate or accessible. Howard was ordained deacon by the bishop of Ferns for Dublin on 25 May 1831, serving as curate to the Revd Lambert Watson Hepenstal. He was priested on 29 July 1832 at Durham by Dr Sumner, the well-known evangelical who was not only bishop of Chester but had recently served on the major Royal Commission into the conduct of the poor laws. Nor did Howard make this important move alone. Before he left Dublin he was married to Grace Montgomery Neville on 12 April 1832 in the parish of St Peter, Dublin.⁸ They had therefore been members of the same parish while growing up, and so we might presume had formed a relationship while during that time. Dare we call them childhood sweethearts? Howard might have possessed a modest claim to patronage from the Howard earls of Wicklow, but in all truth, Charles and Grace were modest members of the Protestant establishment in Ireland who needed to move on to make their way in the world.

While priested by the bishop of Chester, Howard's first appointment (29 July 1832–April 1835) was as curate of Boroughbridge, in the diocese

of York: perhaps arranged by Dr Sumner. His sermons there were published in 1834, funded largely by subscriptions from his admiring congregation. The seventeen sermons covered a range of subjects dear to the evangelical. The first, on John 3:14-15, 'The Brazen Serpent', explored that central issue of the problem of sin and what God had done about it in the death of Christ. His concluding exhortation ran:

Look with an eye of stedfast faith to Him who was "lifted up", in order that he might deliver from the guilt and dominion of sin: and may you so believe on him, that you may be "washed, sanctified, and justified in his name, and through the Spirit of our God". Amen.⁹

The Hepenstal link in Charles Howard's career

The Hepenstal link provides us a glimpse of the complicated and inter-related lives of the Protestant Ascendancy which dominated Ireland during the nineteenth century.

The Revd Lambert Watson Hepenstal appears to have given Charles Howard title as curate as an act of patronage, most probably linked to his role as incumbent of the parish of Powerscourt, Co Wicklow. He was a wealthy landowner as well as a clergyman. He was also a pluralist, holding incumbencies to a cluster of Co Wicklow parishes, Derralossory, Bray, Delgany and Old Connaught as well as Powerscourt, though possibly not all at once. Plainly, he needed curates for these various centres, each typically paid £75 to £100 pa from the gross nominal income of the parish of around £400. To be fair, resistance to tithe payments by mainly Catholic parishioners made those nominal sums questionable.

Hepenstal held Bushy Park, located adjacent to the grand Palladian mansion of Powerscourt, then owned by the Wingfield family (Viscount Powerscourt), in trust for his son George Hepenstal. He leased it to Col Ralph Howard of the Wicklow Militia, a son of the earl of Wicklow. When we learn that Charles Howard's father, William, was described as 'Lt Howard' it becomes possible to suggest that Hepenstal appointed Charles Howard on the strength of a cadet linkage to Col Howard and the earl of Wicklow.

Hepenstal also managed land in Clonbroney Parish, co Longford, for the Adair family, another titled protestant family. It appears that James Farrell's father lived in this parish. Is it possible this linked Farrell and Howard?

Finally, George Hepenstal, only son of L.W Hepenstal, migrated to South Australia in 1839, and in 1840, was living next door to Holy Trinity Church. This seems unlikely to have been a chance event. Hepenstal established a substantial Australian family, but also returned to Ireland to challenge his father's will of 1859 which disowned him because of a 'connection which I cannot sanction'. George deserted his Australian family, hurried back and challenged the will and a very expensive and long-running series of courts cases ensued, by which George regained some property. He remarried in Ireland. There are still Australian descendants of that 'connection'.¹⁰

It was an exhortation he undoubtedly repeated in Adelaide and one which has been familiar to the congregation at Holy Trinity ever since. It defined a central plank of the evangelical understanding of Christianity, one of those four marks Bebbington has identified.

Howard then served in two parishes in the diocese of Chester, first as curate at Kirkham from April 1833 to June 1835, then as perpetual curate (normally a modestly paid but tenured post) at St Mary's, Hambleton. By 1836 the Howards had two daughters.¹¹

Another clue to Howard's outlook was the publication in 1839 of the *Divine Meditation upon several occasions with a daily directory ...*, by Sir

William Waller, a parliamentary general of the 1640s, edited by Charles Beaumont Howard. If this work can be attributed to our Howard, we find here clear association with the outlook of the Puritans in the Civil War. Howard was no follower of Archbishop Laud, that seventeenth century opponent of the puritans! The offer to serve in South Australia as Colonial Chaplain, which implied official appointment, seniority and a free field to develop his abilities, probably weighed in the mind of this young family man with few prospects.

Here then was an official of the new colony in Holy Orders, and one, what is more important, who soon commended himself to the Church Society and to Raikes Currie, its treasurer, despite Howard's conservatism in politics and his Irish, low church, outlook. His appointment was officially gazetted on 13 July 1836.¹² There was never any doubt that Howard, this member of the new colony's official staff, would in addition, be expected to take responsibility for the Church of England congregation which would come together when the colony was inaugurated in South Australia. A few weeks before the *Buffalo* sailed on 23 July 1836, the first issue of the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* appeared on 18 June.

The Church Committee published an advertisement on page one listing the donors who had so far contributed and inviting further subscriptions. As can be seen, by now both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) had made substantial gifts, as had the archbishop of Canterbury and a variety of others, some Anglicans, and some active Dissenters such as G.F. Angas and Rowland Hill. The paper also carried an editorial supporting their efforts:

Amidst the anxieties unavoidably incident to the formation and establishment of the new Colony, it is gratifying to know that the one thing needful, religious instruction, has by no means been forgotten ... Such members of the Church of England as are about to proceed thither are also most anxious that the faith and discipline to which they subscribe should not only be planted from the very commencement, but be preserved for their children, by means of a religious establishment. They are therefore prepared to contribute towards a fund, to be vested in trustees, for the building of churches and clergymen's houses, and otherwise promoting the interests of religion.

The article went on to note the support of people in England and the appointment of Howard, who 'is not only adequate to the efficient performance of his religious duties, but is a man of great private worth and intelligence – a good and sincere Christian minister'. To the £700 already subscribed more than another £100 was later raised. The Committee announced that about £500 would be spent on purchasing and shipping out a timber-framed building to serve as a church. Howard himself received £100 towards his outfit and a credit note for £50 to spend in the colony, along with communion plate, books and other necessities.

A trust established

Arrangements were also being made in London for the proper control of the property of the new congregation. An indenture was executed which would convey power to act on behalf of the supporters in London to some

of the colony’s leaders. A minor puzzle is that the deed is dated 25 August 1836, when at least one and probably all three of the colonists were on the water. Probably it was inserted when the details were worked out. Since this document, through its 1837 successor (which is reproduced at the end of this book as an appendix, in all its breathless legal jargon), remains the constitutive document of the congregation’s existence, it deserves close attention, as much for what it fails to mention as for what it directs, despite the fact that the original of 1836 can no longer be found.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CHURCH

COMMITTEE.

Rev. Henry Blunt.	P. St. Leger Grenfell, Esq.
I. S. Brownrigg, Esq. M.P.	John Labouchere, Esq.
Rev. A. M. Campbell.	John Shaw Lefevre, Esq.
John Capel, Esq.	Rev. Charles Miller.
The Dean of Chichester.	George Palmer, Esq. Jun.
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Thomas Somers Cocks, Esq.	Rev. Henry Raikes.
Raikes Currie, Esq.	John Rundle, Esq. M.P.
Rev. Dr. Dealtry.	Abel Smith, Esq. M.P.
Rev. H. R. Dukinfield.	Wolryche Whitmore, Esq.

HON. SEC.

Charles Mann, Esq.

TREASURER.

Raikes Currie, Esq.

An Association has been formed, in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to assist the Colonists, now settling in South Australia, in providing for themselves the means of Public Worship and Religious Instruction, according to the doctrines of the Church of England. Measures are in progress for securing the erection of a Church, a residence for the Clergyman, and a School, in the new Settlement; but to accomplish these objects assistance from this country is absolutely necessary; and the Committee earnestly solicit the contributions of those who are alive to the importance of making the introduction of the Christian Church coincide with the first planting of a Colony which may hereafter, under the blessing of Heaven, be the centre of light and truth, as well as of commerce and arts, in the vast regions in which it is placed. The Rev. C. B. Howard, M.A., recommended by the Bishop of Chester, and approved by the Bishop of London, has been appointed to the Chaplaincy of the Colony.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
200	0	0	Sir M. Blakeston, Bart.	10	0
			The Hon. and Rev. L. Powys	5	0
200	0	0	P. St. Leger Grenfell, Esq.	1	0
20	0	0	acre of town land, 40 acres		
20	0	0	of country land—estimated		
20	0	0	value	70	0
10	0	0	Capt. H. O'Brien	2	0
5	5	0	Major Digby Mackworth	2	0
21	0	0	The Rev. Lister Isaac	1	0
21	0	0	George Palmer, Esq.	5	0
21	0	0	George Palmer, Esq. Jun.	5	0
10	10	0	G. F. Angas, Esq.	5	0
10	0	0	John Capel, Esq.	5	0
5	0	0	Rowland Hill, Esq.	3	0
5	0	0	O. Gilles, Esq. and the Miss		
10	0	0	Gilles	12	0
5	5	0	The Rev. Henry Blunt	5	0
5	5	0	The Rev. Horace Mann	2	0
5	5	0			

Subscriptions received by COCKS & CO., CURRIES & CO., ESDAILES & CO., GOSLINGS & CO., and WILLIAMS & CO.

The parties named were firstly, Pascoe St Leger Grenfell, the holder of a preliminary land order, secondly Raikes Currie and the Reverend Sir Henry Robert Dukinfield of the SPG who held the collective funds, and thirdly, the men to whom they were transferring their powers, namely James Hurtle Fisher, Osmond Gilles and Charles Mann. Fisher was to be Resident Commissioner in South Australia of the Colonization Commission, having responsibility independent of the governor for the administration of land in the new colony; Gilles was to be the Treasurer and Mann the Advocate General or principal legal officer of the colony.

Grenfell transferred control over order no. 171 for a town acre and

over forty acres of country land to be selected in conjunction with the town acre. The conveyance did not have to specify that Currie and Dukinfield hand over money and the portable church, but it may be presumed they did so: alternatively they may have entrusted these resources to John Morphett, appointed as the SPG's attorney in the colony. The objects of the trust were to use the town acre as a site for 'the erection of a church where Divine Service could be celebrated according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England'. That same acre was also to provide space for a schoolroom and a parsonage and garden for the minister of the church. The country land was to provide six to eight acres for a cemetery and the remainder to be 'glebe land', in the familiar phrase of the Church of England, to provide income for the support of the minister. The trustees were instructed to provide one sixth of the accommodation in the church free of pew rent 'for the use of poor persons resorting thereto' while the other seats were to be let out in the usual way to subscribers. They were directed to apply the income to maintaining the fabric of the church, to provide Bibles and prayer books, 'surplices and vestments' (not otherwise specified) for the minister, and other articles necessary to perform Divine Service. After that came legal costs, then a contribution of £100 per year to the minister's salary, then fees to the pew opener, the rent collector, the sexton, the schoolteachers, and finally the Sunday and other schools that might be established. The minister was to keep his parsonage in tenantable order, while the trustees were to meet at least annually and to inspect the state of the property. None of the city acre could be sold. The traditional supporters of minister and congregation, churchwardens, were to be appointed annually at a meeting of subscribers: one by the minister, one by the subscribers.

In all of their work the trustees were made subject to the veto of the governor and chief justice, as some sort of check on their behaviour. This included alterations in the trust, and the appointment of replacements to the original trustees – for they were not incorporated as a permanent body.

Although no trace can now be found of that 1836 conveyance, its provisions may be reconstructed from the exact repetition of them in the fully developed trust deed executed in the colony on 27 June 1837, between the same parties. That text, formally enrolled in 1849 and entered under the provisions of the Torrens Title scheme in the 1930s, now lies in the State Library of South Australia, with the other items of the Trinity archive.

These were sensible arrangements which the lawyers and financiers understood, ensuring power to act was available in the colony, but also that it was made accountable to trustworthy public officers. The trust covered the traditional activities which laymen were normally expected to address in the Church of England: resources, money, property, buildings. The appointment of churchwardens at a meeting at Easter time was a clear restatement of the normal parish routine everyone understood in England. In other words this was to be a normal parish church of the Church of England. Church planting was to be according to that well-understood model.

The powers and responsibilities of the clergyman were not specified in the deed: that would have gone beyond the competence of the laity. All

that needed to be said was that this was to be for the conduct of services according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, or in one place more formally, the United Church of England and Ireland. None involved thought that there need be any further definition of what that meant. These were not the words or deeds of men moved by the new forces of Tractarianism seeping out of Oxford since July 1833. These were actions of men who regarded the doctrines and practices of the church as uncontroversial and well understood.

Nowhere was there provision to appoint the clergyman. The trustees controlled the resources and income, and so controlled the appointment to the temporal resources. How the clergyman might be identified, and how he might be authorised ecclesiastically, was left to custom. What the deed presumed was that the trustees would appoint, the governor would concur, and the bishop would license, a not uncommon English mixture of community, state and church. Ever since, that simple procedure has been followed in filling vacancies to this parish, even if other parts of the Church of England system have evolved different ways of doing things.

In Howard's case that is exactly what happened, though the documents involved have not been found. Already identified by virtue of his official appointment, he accepted this additional duty from the Church Association. He then formally consulted with the man he acknowledged as his bishop, the former Archdeacon Broughton, appointed Bishop of Australia early in 1836. Broughton gave him authority to act on his behalf to marry and bury, and to acknowledge the validity of any subsequent clergy who might come to the colony.¹³ He was thus to have powers as the bishop's 'surrogate' or official representative.

These, then, were the arrangements made in England for the maintenance of Anglican religion in South Australia while preparations went forward to create this new field for profitable investment. By preference and deliberate choice an Irish evangelical clergyman had been chosen to lead Anglicans in the new Province of South Australia. That theological tradition, if not the Irish link, was to become a permanent part of the life of the congregation which gathered around him and which has survived ever since.

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- 1 Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829–1857*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2 ed, 1967, pp.66–7.
 - 2 Brian Dickey and Peter Howell (eds), *South Australia's Foundations: select documents*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, pp.27-8.
 - 3 Pike, p.116.
 - 4 http://grenfell.history.users.btopenworld.com/Biographies/pascoe_st_leger_grenfell.htm, consulted 20 May 2011, and correspondence with Malcolm Barton, descendant of both the Grenfell and Barton.
 - 5 Minutes of the Conversazione Club meeting at the Adelphi Rooms, f.21, held in Colonial Office 386/141 and available on microfilm in the AGPS series. These meetings were by this stage the effective planning committee for the affairs of the new colony. Captain Hindmarsh chaired at least one of the meetings, and James Fisher played a leading role as a succession of matters were decided. See also Pike, ch. V.vi, esp. pp.117–19.

- 6 Pike, p.119; Robert Edwards, 'The Rev. Charles Beaumont Howard First Colonial Chaplain in the province of South Australia (1807–1843), TSS, n.d., SLSA, D3671T p.10. It is possible this essay was prepared in the 1950s under Douglas Pike's supervision. It uses sources now obscure. See also R. Edwards, 'Charles Beaumont Howard, in D. Pike (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 1, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966.
- 7 Pike, 119. Pike's judicious account of the story was based on a careful reading of the available evidence.
- 8 *Christian Examiner & Church of Ireland Magazine*, May 1831 cited in <http://boards.ancestry.com/thread.aspx?mv=flat&m=9823&p=surnames.howard>, which also cites the marriage presumably from parish registers. Howard is listed as living in Leinster Street, a central Dublin address facing Trinity College.
- 9 C.B. Howard, *Sermons Preached in Boroughbridge Chapel*, York, 1834, pp.27–8 (copy held in SLSA).
- 10 <http://genforum.genealogy.com/hepenstall/messages/149.html>, accessed 3 Apr 2012; <http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss%20lists/dopping.pdf>, accessed 4 Apr 2012.
- 11 Details of appointments from Cable Clerical Index, p.1250: <http://anglicanhistory.org/aus/cci/index.pdf>, accessed 31 Jan 2013. See below for Leith MacGillivray's story of the life of Grace Howard.
- 12 G.H. Jose, *The Church of England in South Australia, 1836–1856*, Adelaide, Church Office, 1937, p.7.
- 13 See in the next chapter the image of the still extant license Broughton issued to James Farrell, Howard's successor, in 1843, as bishop of Australia. The present incumbent or rector holds his license from the archbishop of Adelaide.