

Building and Declining 1869–1895

Within a week of receiving the news of Farrell's death, the congregation set about installing a memorial tablet to him, and then electing his successor. The trustees specifically sought the guidance of the seatholders by arranging a ballot, in which Richardson Reid polled 228 votes to Archdeacon Twopeny's sixty-six and W.W. Ewbank (who was assisting Reid) six. With that indication of preference Dr Mayo, Dr Wyatt and Mr Flaxman had no difficulty in concurring, especially since Reid was Mayo's son-in-law. Reid therefore became incumbent of the parish where he had been curate for the previous seven years

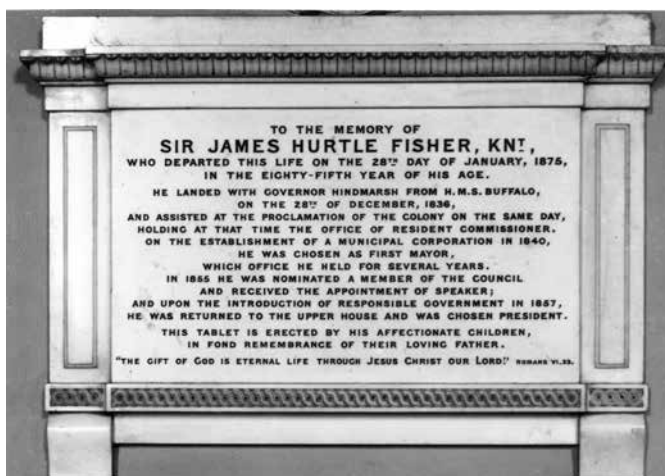


Richardson Reid, incumbent 1869-1895.

Trust clarified

The trustees took the opportunity to clarify the legal base of their role by seeking advice from Robert Ingleby, an Adelaide lawyer. Ingleby rightly observed that while the conveyance of August 1836 was recited in the deed of June 1837, there was no copy of it available. Moreover, the second document, while purporting to be an agreement with Currie and Dukinfield, was in fact drawn up in the colony by William Bartley for the three original trustees and had never left the colony. Ingleby presumed that the local authorised representative of the SPG (John Morphett) and Currie had required the deed, for certainly the money and the land order had been handed over and title issued to acre nine and part of section 287.

However tenuous, the deed had been given legal standing on a number of occasions: Governor Young had noted the appointment of Mayo, Flaxman and Wyatt as trustees on it on 22 December 1848, after the text had been enrolled by the Registrar on 22 November of that year, as no. 336 in book 13, immediately after the 1836 text as no. 335, under the provisions of Ordinance no. 10 of 1847, which had granted the controversial state aid to religion, but only to properly constituted trustees and other officers



Memorial tablet to James Fisher. *Photo by Don Gee.*

such as churchwardens. As Ingleby put it: 'The Trust deed is what now defines the right of all connected with the Church and by this deed they are formed.'

He was quite sure that the trustees, as founders of the church, had the right to appoint the minister. That right was their property. It accompanied the range of duties which Fisher and his colleagues had conceived as part of their trust and which have already been noticed. No doubt Mayo and his colleagues, all second-generation trustees, found this exposition helpful as they offered their support to Reid and the congregation.

Sunday services

During Reid's ministry, a number of forms of fellowship were developed. The church's Sunday ministry continued unabated, as we learn from William Shakespeare's diaries for 1872 and 1886.¹ Shakespeare became Inspector, that general enforcement officer, for the City of Adelaide in 1872. He shifted his loyalties from St Luke's, Whitmore Square to Trinity between 1872 and 1875. He was an assiduous Sunday school teacher, a man who delighted in worshipping with other Protestant Christians. On 7 January 1872 he attended morning service, noting a 'fine sermon'. He 'waited the sacrament' (for it was the first Sunday of the month, 'Sacrament Sunday' and indeed it still was well into the twenty-first century). Then in the afternoon he addressed the Sunday school on the account everyone has to give for the time spent in this world. It was an appropriate text for the City Council's enforcement officer, who spent many days in court seeking judgement against untidy or unruly or careless citizens. Later that year he heard Bishop Hale of Perth preach 'a good practical sermon'. From all we know of this generous, evangelically-minded bishop, this was a just assessment.²

Fourteen years later, in 1886, he confessed to his diary on 17 January that it was 'A very hot morning & in consequence thereof did not attend Trinity Church but took the whole family to North Adelaide Congregational Church [in Brougham Place, not far from his home, and the denomination

of his wife] and heard a pleasing sermon by the Revd Mr Hebditch on the text 'And Enoch walk'd with God. Attended Trinity Church in the evening but found it very hot'. He noted on 28 February that Reid was 'very poorly and perhaps would not be able to carry on the service'. But he did and 'delivered a very interesting sermon. He also gave a 'beautiful sermon ... on prayer' on 11 April.

Shakespeare also gives us evidence of the continued relevance in the lives of many people in Adelaide of the forms of the Church of England. On 4 April he and his son Walter attended Morning Prayer and remained for the sacrament:

In the evening I went to Pirie Street Wesleyan Church to hear the Rev. R.M. Hunter and remained to the sacrament that was there administered, but did not enjoy the service like that of the Church of England sacrament although the greater part is taken from the Church of England service.

Shakespeare was a living embodiment of the idea of common Christianity, which we have already seen was so well supported at Trinity. He attended a public meeting on 20 April of 'members of the Church of England who object to the high church practices that are being performed in most of our mission churches'. He then proceeded on to hear a temperance address in the Town Hall which underlines his serious view of life. It was acknowledged by the Trinity congregation, who at the 1886 vestry meeting elected him as a synodsman. He was thus emboldened to write to Bishop Kennion (who had succeeded Bishop Short in 1882) 'complaining about the Bishop's and some of our clergymen's doing of late', and to have a 'long chat' about these matters with Kennion at the bishop's At Home on 8 May.

The next day Shakespeare insisted that the Revd F.T. Whittington remove the altar table, cross and vases and replace the reading desk in the room at the Destitute Asylum where he was accustomed to take services once a month, in succession to the ministry of the Colonial Chaplains. Later in the year he was asked by Reid to conduct the 'after service' in connection with a ten day mission which was being held in three of the city's Anglican churches at the urging of Bishop Kennion. Shakespeare noted on 4 July that about forty heard his short exhortation in the schoolroom that 'we should be activated with a right and sincere motive in doing all our work for God so that we shall receive our reward hereafter' – which seems to have been a favourite theme of this son of Birmingham. He conducted such after services regularly after evening service for the rest of the year, which suggests Reid was well-pleased.



William Shakespeare, president of the Literary Society, Sunday school superintendent, churchwarden, and trustee 1907–1930. Photo from the 1880s. Courtesy of Mrs Shirley Adam, his daughter

Young men's society

The Mutual Improvement Society was now the Young Men's Society, in which Shakespeare was active too. But in 1872 attendance was disappointing, and he moved successfully that the society be wound up and its property, mainly improving books, be dispersed. He himself received a handsome set of twenty-nine volumes of extracts from great writers. Notwithstanding the evidence of those volumes in the home of his daughter when I visited her in the 1980s, the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society was again conducting meetings in 1875, although William Shakespeare does not appear as an office bearer. The program for February was: on the 2nd, elocution and readings; on the 9th, a debate; 16th, an address; 23rd, an essay 'Three weeks in Victoria' and a scriptural paper.³

Sunday school

Of more importance to Shakespeare and the parish was the Sunday school, which met both morning and afternoon. The total numbers on the roll had grown from about 200 in the 1860s to a fairly steady 300 for the rest of the century, with average attendances in the morning around 100, and 200 in the afternoon.⁴ On 27 February 1872 Shakespeare 'practised the SS children in the hymns to be sung on the Sunday the



annual Sermons are to be preached, also those to be sung on Easter Monday the day of their Treat'. W.H. Holmes was superintendent of the Sunday school from 1868 to 1885, and again for some years after that. He convened regular meetings of Sunday school teachers (there were about twenty-five) at which business matters such as admitting Miss Cavanagh as a full teacher were dealt with. The 1874 annual treat on Easter Monday saw more than 300 children with fifty teachers and friends go in eleven buses belonging to Hill & Co to James McLeod's Gaskmore Park,⁵ where they consumed lunch, an abundance of fruit and a hearty tea before returning to the schoolroom by 6.30 p.m. The 37th annual report that same year mentioned the holding of a monthly children's service in church, a Bible class, and the distribution of the improving magazines *Band of Hope* and *British Workman*. At the 'crammed to overflowing' tea meeting and the subsequent public meeting, Holmes urged the provision of more class rooms in lieu of the old chapter house. He was followed by four clerical addresses.⁶ The matter

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of accommodation continued to attract attention for another decade before a new building was erected.

In the meantime Holmes reported in 1876 that:

A missionary spirit has been so successfully kept alive among the scholars, that they regularly and willingly contribute to the Melanesian Mission, thus showing by their little offerings, a readiness to assist in sending to others less privileged the glad news of the Gospel.

That such fundraising was limited to children suggests their parents had not yet caught a sense of responsibility for missionary support.

William Shakespeare expressed concern for effective teaching in the Sunday school by attending a meeting on 5 November 1872 of the superintendents of the city's evangelical Sunday schools to form a teachers union. W.H. Holmes reported to the teachers on 19 November 1877 that a Church of England Sunday School Union had been formed.

Still the annual meetings went on. On 2 May 1878 Dean Marryat spoke on 'How to retain scholars in connection with the Church after leaving school', while the Revd Thomas Field (St Peter's, Glenelg) spoke on 'Education and what it has done': it has taught Christianity, the difference between good and evil, and the necessity of fearing God. The Revd W.B. Andrews (St Bartholomew's, Norwood) spoke on prayer, the Revd A.M. Mudie (St Saviour's, Glen Osmond) on 'Parochial work in connection with the Sunday School and on the encouragement necessary to Sunday School teachers', the Revd J.C. Haynes (St John's, Salisbury) on the importance of parents 'attending to their children's Sunday school education', the Revd Mr Robertson (probably William Robinson, an Irish clergyman who had come to the colony suffering from tuberculosis and who was serving as a supply chaplain) on the power of love in teaching, Canon Farr (St Peter's College) on missionary enterprise and W.S. Moore of Pulteney Street School, whose topic was not recorded. Meetings to celebrate the Sunday school's achievements regularly generated such substantial, even exhausting, programs, whether at Trinity or any other Protestant church in Adelaide in the second half of the nineteenth century. People were proud of their Sunday schools and what they represented in bringing up the youth of the new community.

The importance of the Sunday school at Trinity was further illustrated by activities beyond the annual meeting. Mr Lindow gave a talk to the teachers' meeting on 27 January 1879 on 'what we can do to promote habitual Bible reading amongst the scholars during the week'. On 28 July that year they agreed that the monthly afternoon meetings in the church be replaced by one quarterly to which parents and the congregation would be invited, a clear sign of the teachers' awareness that most of their scholars were sent by non-attending parents. Similarly, the annual meeting for 1883, which was held in March in the Town Hall and which catered for 400 at tea, was probably an attempt to publicise the work of the school. It also served to introduce the newly arrived Bishop Kennion, who remarked that the meeting 'reminded him very much of home'.

The 1887 Sunday school annual meeting aimed at publicising the newly erected schoolroom (mentioned below). Branches of the Band of Hope, the Temperance Society, the Girls' Friendly Society and the Floral



These two confirmation cards, one for Charles McCarthy, one for Florence Jay, have been carefully kept by their granddaughter, Dorothy Tunbridge, herself still a regular member of Trinity Church. Dorothy wrote on 12 January 2011 when donating the cards to the collection, that Charles, 17 at the time of his confirmation by Bishop Short in 1877, was living with his parents in Currie Street, where they owned several cottages, before they moved to Mile End. Florence came to Adelaide to be apprenticed as a dressmaker. She was offered board at the rectory by the Reids and lived there for five years. The couple met at Trinity while both attended Bible study groups for men and women. According to family legend, the 1881 service, in which Florence was confirmed, was a major event at St Peter's cathedral. The young couple married in 1885. Dorothy's mother and Dorothy herself were confirmed by Bishop Nutter Thomas in the cathedral. It is the continuity of faith and practice over three or four generations which is revealed here, a precious and continuing element in the life of the Trinity congregation.


and Industrial Society had been started during that year. This last aimed at developing a 'love of flowers, and to encourage those who have the taste and talent to fill up their spare time at home in making works of art'. Sale of work made by this society had raised £53 6s 2d towards seats for the new schoolroom.

In 1888 the annual report, on the other hand, remarked on the stability of numbers in the Sunday school, combined with the rapid turnover of individuals. Only about one-third of the scholars came from the families of seatholders or others attending the church. It was a worrying sign of the gulf which was opening up between the congregation and its immediate neighbourhood. 'The west end [of the city] seems peculiar in this respect, many families only remaining in the neighbourhood a few weeks'. Not surprisingly, the 1890 annual report put the case for the need for the Sunday school:

many parents ... have neither the time nor, indeed, the qualifications for imparting religious instruction to their children ... The Sunday School does much to correct this evil [of amusement in streets and

lanes]. It is a kind of Sunday nursery, where the dear children are cared for, have spiritual and mental food supplied to them and ... are grounded in those truths that will by God's blessing and the Holy Spirit's influence bring them sooner or later into personal union with the Lord Jesus Christ. Every child that cannot or does not receive religious instruction at home ought to be sent to the Sunday School.

Trinity Church Sunday School.



FIFTY-FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY
APRIL 28, 1892.

* PROGRAMME. *

OVERTURE DUET—"Maypole" ...	MISSSES REID
REPORT.	
"The Children's Home" ...	MR. J. E. LAWTON
CANON ANDREWS ...	TEN MINUTES
"The Blindman's Holiday" ...	MISS HOLLIDAY
RECITATION—"Ostler Joe" ...	MR. C. BAILEY
REV. W. S. MOORE ...	TEN MINUTES
"She Wore a Wreath of Roses" ...	MISS M. SELLS
"Music and Her Sister's Song" ...	MISSSES WALLIS
"Village Chorister" ...	THE CHOIR
"Home, Sweet Home" (<i>by Request</i>) ...	MR. G. S. HALE

VOTES OF THANKS.

+ NATIONAL ANTHEM. +

Tea at 6.30 p.m. . . . Concert at 8 p.m.
ADMISSION ONE SHILLING.

WILLIAMS & ORMISTON, LTD.

Choir

There was some turbulence during the 1870s about which hymn book to use. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was proposed in 1873 as a replacement for the *Mitre* hymn book introduced soon after Bishop Short's arrival but it 'was considered inadvisable to make any change from the Hymn Book already used in church', for there was a widespread belief that the new volume, published for the first time in 1872, was too high church in outlook. Comment at the 1876 vestry meeting about the quality of singing and responses led to a consultation between Reid, one of the wardens, the Sunday school superintendent and the organist. As a result regular weekly choir practices were introduced, while the problem of a new hymn book was held over. A committee to oversee the choir's work was appointed at the 1878 vestry meeting, clear sign of continuing dissatisfaction with this aspect of the congregation's life. Later that year Reid declared to a special

vestry meeting that new hymnbooks were undoubtedly needed, because the old ones were falling apart. The meeting indicated a preference for *Church Hymns*, together with a supplement drawn from the existing collection. It was a conservative and Protestant choice. A clue to some of the other problems in this area came with the churchwardens' report to the 1879 vestry, which included the information that the accommodation for the choir had been improved and that the organ had been moved into the body of the church. In addition the choir committee had laid down rules aimed at improving the conduct of psalmody. What is more, ladies of the congregation were now encouraged to join the choir. The meeting agreed to the proposal for the introduction of the new hymn book and appointed six men, including Holmes, Shakespeare and Reid, to the choir committee.

This committee expressed dissatisfaction to the 1880 vestry meeting at the 'conduct of the psalmody and the management of the choir'. Consequently Mr Lyons resigned as choirmaster and Mr Hale was appointed in his place. The new hymn book, edited by Sullivan, was now in use. The committee also remarked that 'the new mode of chanting as arranged in the Cathedral Psalter, though at first objected to through its being strange, is beginning to be more appreciated'.

By the end of 1880 the trustees were advised that the choir and many in the congregation wanted a new organ, so collecting cards were issued. A month later, with £40 in hand, improvements costing £15 to the existing instrument were authorised. For once the identity of the musicians is revealed, in Reid's report to the 1881 vestry. Mr Hale was the organist and Mr Montague the conductor (presumably when required). J.W. Daniels had been employed during 1880 as music teacher in response to the concerns being expressed about the standard of singing. Such information is rare: all that is usually conveyed is the annual salary of £40 (or so) for the organist. It is impossible to know what sort of organ was being used since the seraphine of the early 1840s, nor the identity of the succession of organists before David Hardy, who began his forty-year career in 1915.

On 9 November 1886, a public holiday in the colony in honour of the Prince of Wales' birthday, William Shakespeare set off to the choir picnic:

Up early & packed up the eatables that I had prepared to take with me to the Choir Picnic which was held this year at Henley Beach & at 9 o'clock started by tram with the other members of the choir, about 20 at least went. Enjoyed ourselves very much. Mrs S also came about noon and joined us. Had tea in the large tent erected for the Congregational tea meeting ... Reached home about 8 o'clock tired and hot.

Clearly the choir had a strong sense of identity.

Finances

While these aspects of the congregation's life developed, a new schoolroom was built and the church substantially altered to take on its present form. Moreover, it was achieved during a period of severe economic difficulty.

At the beginning of the 1870s Reid as incumbent was being paid over £400 as annual salary, enough to make him confident to propose marriage to Mary Mayo. They were married in 1872. The entire amount of

his salary came from congregational contributions, save a small amount from an investment with the SPG. General income was nearly £700. There was money to put into a reserve fund. By 1873, Reid's salary had fallen to £360, and for the next twenty years it fell inexorably, except for 1878–1880, when it returned to £400. True, he was marrying about fifty couples a year, and apart from the occasions when he might have waived them, his surplice fees supplemented his salary. But, as he remarked on one occasion, such fees were always an uncertain source of income.

Then there was the question of the land the trustees learnt they owned in Kermodie Street, North Adelaide. It had been given to them some fifteen years earlier in memory of Arthur Gell, but they now found it had been long occupied without permission and that substantial rates were due. Reid was authorised to settle the matter as best he could. Trinity got nothing out of the eventual sale of the land because the proceeds went to pay the rates and the lawyers.⁷

Building plans

Discussion about extending the schoolroom behind the church went on in a desultory fashion through the 1870s, to which was added the suggestion that the pews in the church be replaced. This idea came from Samuel Tomkinson, who had become a trustee in 1874 in succession to Flaxman. While in England he had seen some pews that he regarded as 'comfortable, elegant and moderate in cost'. Plans from Woods and McMinn were approved at the 1877 vestry meeting, where £38 was promptly subscribed. Some discussion of tenders resulted in John Cain doing the work for £540.⁸ It is likely that these chest-high pews replaced more box-like seating, but that the new arrangement followed the previous double-aisled layout with alternating centre dividers, as is apparent from contemporary photographs.

It was to the committee overseeing the repewing that Dr Mayo brought a different proposal on 16 August 1877. He offered £1000 towards rebuilding the church if £2000 could be raised by the congregation over the next three years. The committee was startled by this offer from the



Trinity Church from North Terrace, with some helpful passers-by to add interest. The rectory can be seen to the left.

The photographer's logo has been retained.

father-in-law of the incumbent and somewhat hesitant about where they would find £2000 to match his offer. Meanwhile W.H. Holmes continued to put the claims of the Sunday school at its annual meeting in 1878. The new pews were paid for by drawing out all the reserve (£250), £50 from the current account, the money raised at the vestry meeting, and £144 gathered in subscriptions by the ladies. That still left £148 to raise. That same vestry meeting learnt not only of Mayo's offer, but of £500 that Miss Da Costa of the wealthy merchant family was willing to add if rebuilding went ahead.

It was now a 'rebuilding' committee which met on 29 May 1878, which resolved:

considering [the] present state of the walls and roof of Trinity Church, and the probable cost of putting it into an efficient state of repair, it is desirable that steps be taken forthwith to arrange for the building of a new structure.

The cost was estimated at £7000, about ten times a comfortable professional income. The committee called a general meeting, held on 4 June, to which twenty men came, and once more Holmes urged the alternative of a new schoolroom. The *Register* on 2 September 1878 caught some of the flavour:

We understand that it is proposed to erect a new edifice on the site ... No doubt many of its friends will regret to see the venerable pile demolished but it is felt to be high time that the accommodation should be improved, and this cannot be well done without erecting an entirely new structure.

Members of the congregation planned a fund-raising bazaar. A musical and literary entertainment was held, with duets, recitations and the like, including Shakespeare's rendition of 'The Diver'.⁹ By the 1879 vestry, £1586 was in hand. The long-planned bazaar was held in the Town Hall from 18 to 20 September 1879. 'His Excellency the Acting Governor', Chief Justice Way, opened the occasion, supported by various clergy. Way spoke generously: he was a Bible Christian (one of the Methodist denominations), and he was always willing to encourage Christianity. He spoke affectionately of the 'old colonists' church' which spoke 'of the practical and earnest character of the Pilgrim Fathers to whom we all owed so much'. He also announced that Dr Mayo had advised that the plan was now to extend rather than replace the existing structure, which was surely a financial and emotional relief to many in the audience. Trading was conducted from four long stalls staffed by 'sylphs'. They sold 'smoking caps, cigar cans, pincushions ... devices in woolwork [by which obviously the male reporter was completely mystified], babies' frocks ... coseys... and embroidered frivolities whose use and applications were unfathomable save to the initiated.' The bazaar raised £378.¹⁰

The wardens also reported a division of opinion among the architects about what to do, and a certain slowness in fundraising. Only £2389 was in hand. Matters therefore remained in abeyance. In addition, Richardson Reid was absent with his wife on leave in England, in an attempt to recuperate his health.

Reid was welcomed back on 7 October 1880. Despite the poor weather, a large gathering enjoyed music, operatic choruses and recitations, with an address in black letter Gothic drawn by James Lockwood of the Young Men's Society:

We the undersigned on behalf of the Trinity Church Young Men's Society wish you as our President and Pastor a very hearty and Christian welcome on your return from England. Your interest in our Society was so well known and your influence for its success so wisely and kindly exercised, that your absence has been felt in many ways. Still, while deprived of the benefit of your counsel & presence we have striven to overcome the difficulties incident to such a Society & have endeavoured worthily we trust to maintain its interests.

We sincerely trust that your visit to the Old country & its various institutions has been blessed to you, & that by God's providence your remaining life may be one of much usefulness & prosperity.¹¹

The slide in the South Australian economy¹² which was to be so disastrous to the community for more than twenty years was acknowledged at Trinity in 1881 when Reid was paid only £320, twenty per cent less than the previous year, and in 1882, when his salary fell to £290 plus an acknowledgement that £30 was 'owing' to him. He was never to receive it. He remarked in his letter to the congregation at the 1881 vestry meeting (the first recorded communication of this sort and one of the few till the 1960s) that 'it will be seen from the balance-sheet that, notwithstanding an unusually depressing season in all matters of business during the past few years ... all accounts have been paid.' Well, in a fashion, and he had to bear the strain.

The wardens at the 1882 meeting blamed the fall-off on the suburbanisation of the congregation. This was a valid but by no means complete explanation, and one which in itself posed important questions about the long-term continuation of the congregation. By 1884, Reid's salary was down to £240, while only nine men joined him for the vestry meeting on 15 April. The salary was £207 and the attendance nine the next year.

New schoolroom

But after these years of hesitation that same 1885 vestry agreed that Dr Mayo, Mr Toms and W.H. Holmes should report on 'the best means for building a new schoolroom, very urgently needed, and to confer with the Trustees of the Rebuilding Fund upon the subject'. That is, the lesser project, so long promoted by Holmes, was now seen to be the more feasible, perhaps too as one that might generate income for the parish. This was because there was a small day school using the existing schoolroom and paying rent for the privilege. It might have been hoped that this income could be augmented if a new schoolroom were built.

There was still money available in the community, for at the 1886 vestry meeting, not only had the main rebuilding fund grown to £3154, but a new school building fund stood at £288: however, Reid was paid only £185 for the year 1885-6. The bishop also seems to have taken a hand, whatever William Shakespeare's suspicions of his high churchmanship.

At the Sunday school anniversary sermon the day after that ‘At Home’, Kennion urged alteration rather than rebuilding of the church: it would cost less, and would be less traumatic for all concerned no doubt.

We have already seen how Reid ran a ten-day mission in July 1886, and the financial context is now clear. But it had little impact on the church’s regular income, for at the 1887 vestry meeting Reid’s salary was reported as only £137, though the two building funds stood at £3372 and £812 – a remarkable achievement as the colony’s economy continued to deteriorate. Dr Mayo had continued his generosity by giving £500 to the school building fund. The opening of the ‘new schoolroom’ was celebrated in September 1887, so despite the absence of records, action had clearly been taken that winter to build the hall that remains so familiar on North Terrace. A tea and concert was held on 21 September and a series of items were presented, including Shakespeare’s ‘The Diver’ again.

Special church services were held the next day, with Reid preaching in the morning and W.S. Moore in the evening, while in between the bishop conducted a special meeting to declare the new hall open. It had cost £883: a modest, even austere, building, measuring 67 feet (20.42m) by 37 feet (11.28m), it still lacked the classrooms on either side which would make it an efficient school building. For the time being the parish had got nothing more than a reasonably-sized hall. Not surprisingly, the old schoolroom on Morphett Street was retained.¹³

We know that the day school welcomed the new building too, for an entertainment was held in which the scholars performed ‘under the superintendent of the school (Miss Gellert) assisted by the music teacher (Miss Martin). There was a large attendance of parents and friends’. As was to be expected, Reid presided. He ‘alluded to the excellent training which the children had received, as he knew from experience, and also from having been an examiner on two important subjects’. The school was one of many which offered an alternative elementary education to that being provided by the government’s schools. Parents still had to pay from 4d to 6d a week (as they did in the government schools), even though the 1875 Education Act had made attendance at some primary school (relatively) compulsory. The catchment area for Miss Gellert’s school stretched as far as Coromandel Valley, for May Miell travelled in and out by train daily from 1884 when she was only nine.

Church rebuilt again

So then, the 1888 vestry asked the trustees to ‘renew’ the church. Mayo, Tomkinson and Toms (who replaced Wyatt in 1887) addressed the questions of good faith at a meeting on 18 April 1888. Could the church be so enlarged and renovated to make it in reality a *new* church? Could Mayo revise his requirement that £5000 be raised to match his promised £1000? They inspected the building and felt sure that the middle walls were strong enough to be carried up another four or five feet (1–1.5m). They looked for the raising of the tower and the entire rebuilding of the chancel. The cost would be £1500–£2000. Already they had the agreement of Miss Da Costa’s trustees to such a scheme, one which was influenced by a viewing of the new St John’s, Halifax Street. At last there was a plan, which the officers of Trinity church, synodsmen, wardens and sidesmen,

all gladly signed on 8 May. The building committee of Mayo, Tomkinson, Brooks, Spafford, Lindow and Reid got down to business the same day, appointing E.J. Woods, the city's leading architect. There may be a Trinity connection: C. Howard Marryat was a young architect working in Woods' office. His signature appears on the plans for Urrbrae House which are still to be seen there. These were developed a year or two later, so he may well have been involved in the Trinity rebuild. The point is that he was Charles Marryat's son, and therefore Charles Howard's grandson: as his given names attest – the 'C' plainly for Charles, his father's and his grandfather's name, while the 'Howard' he did use came also from his grandfather, no doubt at his mother Grace's urging.

Two months later the building committee dispensed with the idea of a spire and agreed to move the '1836' window, that memento of the beginnings of the parish, to the west wall of the new chancel. A vestry meeting approved the plans on 12 September, and on 5 October Mr Codd's tender was accepted for the building work. Worship was transferred to the schoolroom for the duration: perhaps some of the leaders had conceived this two-phase building program with an eye to using the new hall as an acceptable temporary place of worship while the work on the church proceeded.

The last services in the old building were held on 14 October. Richardson Reid wrote sadly in the minute book on this occasion 'Last morning service held in old Trinity Church ... 5 Acts 30 & 31 very lame only a few remarks at close'. His health was indeed limiting his ministry at what should have been a time of great satisfaction. The *Register* journalist who reported that last service spoke of 'this relic of the infancy of settlement in South Australia with its square tower, long low walls, narrow windows, and high-pitched roof has a quaint old fashioned air about it'. It was a description which perhaps fitted the congregation as well as the building. Evidence of its physical appearance now to be drastically altered is slight, although efforts have been made to reconstruct its appearance from the few illustrations of the old building. The 1888 plans have long since disappeared.

But as is the way of building schemes, there were a few amendments: the galleries were renewed, the west porch of the nave was pulled down, and buttresses were added to the main walls. As yet, no account of the reopening has been found. We must presume the usual, if perhaps restrained, exercises in rededication.

The structure which was reoccupied in 1889 retained the same floor plan and hence the same seating. But the roof was thrown up to a more lofty height, which would overcome the stifling summer heat. There was more space in the chancel, and tidied-up galleries. Outside, as can still be seen, the new and old stonework stood out in contrast, while the tower gained height and a modicum of decoration. It also lost its quaint little hat. The building has not been altered substantially since, except to rearrange the seating and to add some memorials and galleries.

Woods had, in effect, imposed many of the approved characteristics of ecclesiastical Gothic style on the original sturdy and simple church. No doubt the buttresses were necessary, but they largely masked the original quoining, so characteristic a mark of mid-nineteenth century Adelaide

buildings. The tower gained crocketing and perpendicular lights as well as greater height. The windows of the nave gained an approved Gothic-style point. Inside, the fine timber roof work certainly improved on the previous low ceiling, and also reproduced the upward angularities of the same preferred style.

Overall, this transformation was tasteful as well as skillful, so much so that the original image has been lost from memory and meaning. Woods' work clearly owed all to the revival of Gothic as the dominant style of English churches in the second half of the nineteenth century. His work indelibly shaped the building for ever more. Any future additions will have to respond in sympathy to his work, not the original building of 1838–45.



Trinity church after the 1888 rebuild with the rectory and 1880 parish hall, and with established trees. The old Morphett Street bridge structure can be glimpsed above.

One memorial, the eleventh, was unveiled on 14 July 1889.¹⁴ It was to J.S. Bagshaw, the successful farm-implement maker. It recorded his leadership of the local Orange Lodge. Reid, himself a mason of the Lodge of St John, Adelaide, of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland, preached, supported by W.S. Moore, in memory of their late Grand Master. Subsequent observers have often commented on the Protestant Irish, anti-Catholic, slogans of the memorial. The bitterness of the seventeenth century came to quiet Adelaide in the stridency of this memorial to a life-long, committed, Protestant.

Struggling to survive

Reid's ministry in the rebuilt church was not marked by expansion. The economy was in depression by 1890, and the church accounts reflected it. Total income in 1889–90 was £309, and only a little better at £345 a year later, although the rebuilding was all paid for. But at the 1891 vestry meeting it was urged that the congregation be involved in the appointment of the new incumbent, for it was obvious Reid could not last much longer. The tragedy for him, as with all contemporary his clerical colleagues, was



Memorial tablet to J.S. Bagshaw, replete with references to the Orange Lodge, Irish Protestantism and family pride.
Photo by Don Gee.



The Revd E. Scarisbrick. He was also a schoolmaster at St Peter's College.

the inadequacy of the retirement scheme: they had to work till they died, unless they had private savings to pay for their retirement. There was little hope of that when Reid's salary had been so paltry for so long, and it was not going to improve if his work was hampered by his health.

Still, the schoolroom was extended in 1891–2 by adding a kitchen and an infants' classroom by the simple expedient of throwing out a skillion roof on the rear of the hall. But it didn't help matters that the new land tax applied to Trinity. Naturally the congregation asked its respected leaders to seek relief from the government, though on what grounds they believed they were entitled to special treatment was not recorded. The building fund eventually paid £91 to the government and another £14 in fees.

Remarkably, at the meeting to discuss the problem on 12 September 1892, for the first time two women, Miss White and Miss Bradley, were recorded officially present as pewholders. The congregation had not been in the forefront of any effort to acknowledge the part of women in its life. This first appearance of women in the records of the vestry meetings suggests at least a little of the impact of feminism which was gaining ground in Adelaide in these years. Resolutions in favour of women voting in parliamentary elections had been passed by the House of Assembly and soon they were to receive the vote, and to exercise it for the first time at the 1896 election. But for the most part, women at Trinity strictly observed the doctrine of women's separate sphere. Their contribution to the congregation's life was unobtrusive and domestic, and remained so for at least another generation.

In May 1893 the Revd E. Scarisbrick was appointed as curate at a promised £300, a large income for a curate, which was further evidence that Reid was unable to carry out his duties.

But the curate was paid only £100 and Reid a mere £59 in 1893–4.

Unfortunately Scarisbrick died on 13 April 1894. Dr Mayo, despite his family link with Reid, moved at the 1894 meeting that the incumbent consider retiring. Reid refused to put the motion. A year later, and only a couple of months after the death of Mayo. Reid submitted his resignation to the annual vestry meeting. It is possible that his wife Mary benefited from her father's will to help Reid make this decision. His resignation was accepted. The Revd Frederick Webb of St Alban's, Armadale, Victoria was supported for appointment as his successor.

Before examining the controversy over the succession of Frederick Webb, the twenty-seven year ministry of Richardson Reid should be reviewed. It was a period in which significant development in the institutions of the parish occurred: Sunday school, choir, young men's society. But it was a period in which many members departed for the suburbs, and naturally they worshipped where they could readily attend. Only a handful of loyal stalwarts, some still living in the city, now came to Trinity. The support of the first generation of colonists to the first Anglican church in the colony was fading with time. Was the sense of a distinctive evangelical ministry also at risk?

Worse, the economy which had been so buoyant in the 1870s steadily worsened in the 1880s and 1890s. Nonetheless, substantial building had occurred. It was a remarkable achievement which owed much to the generosity of Dr George Mayo, who we might guess saw to it that his ailing son-in-law did not want. But overall, the congregation was in serious, possibly terminal, decline.

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- 1 William Shakespeare, diaries, held (1985) by his daughter, Mrs. Adams.
 - 2 A.Q.de Robin, ADB: <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A040359b.htm?hilite=Matthew%3Bhale>
 - 3 Reid papers, PRG 205/8.
 - 4 The detail about the Sunday School in this chapter is drawn from Trinity Sunday School, annual reports, 1850–1949, SRG 94/A2/13 and minutes 1845, 1873–1884, SRG 94/A2/6.
 - 5 Now the suburb of Dernancourt.
 - 6 *Register* 17 Apr 1874.
 - 7 Vestry meetings 21 Apr 1873, 7 Apr 1874.
 - 8 The tale of the rebuilding can be followed in the records of the vestry.
 - 9 *Register* 28 Nov 1878.
 - 10 *Register* 19 Sep 1879.
 - 11 *Register* 9 Oct 1880.
 - 12 Charted by W.A. Sinclair, 'Urban booms in nineteenth-century Australia: Adelaide and Melbourne', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 10, pp.3–14, in which the earlier onset of economic decline in South Australia is established.
 - 13 *Builder and Constructor's News*, 15 Oct 1887, p.363.
 - 14 *Register* 15 Jul 1889.