

# The *Book of Common Prayer* in Australia and the British Empire, 1788–1918

Michael Gladwin

In Peter Weir's 2003 film *Master and Commander* Captain Jack Aubrey, played with conviction by Russell Crowe, leads his crew in a bloody engagement to defeat a French warship off the Galapagos Islands. In the aftermath of the battle, Aubrey conducts the funeral of the British sailors killed in battle. He reads to the assembled crew a prayer, with due *gravitas*, accompanied by the solemn strains of Ralph Vaughn Williams' *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*. That prayer entitled 'At the Burial of Their Dead at Sea' is, of course, from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. This brief vignette, of the Prayer Book's use on a nineteenth-century warship on the far side of the world, gestures towards some of the key themes of this paper.

The first theme is the important role played by the *Book of Common Prayer* in situations outside the traditional parish structure of Britain. While this included the deck of a Royal Navy man-o-war, the *Book of Common Prayer's* usefulness also extended to the colonies on the antipodes of Empire. Our interest here is the Australian colonies up to the 1920s. The *Book of Common Prayer* proved immensely useful and adaptable in colonial and

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*Michael Gladwin is Lecturer in History at St Mark's National Theological Centre and the School of Theology, Charles Sturt University.*

pioneer situations, particularly among lay people and the military. The Prayer Book provided a prefabricated structure for fledgling churches where no clergyman was available.

A second related theme is suggested by Captain Aubrey's use of the Prayer Book as the official form of words for state occasions such as the burial of sailors. The state-sanctioned status of the *Book of Common Prayer*, within both Britain and its wider Empire, meant that it played an important but sometimes controversial role in early Australian history. But because of early religious pluralism in the Australian colonies the Prayer Book quickly lost its official status. The *Book of Common Prayer's* changing official status is therefore a bellwether for the extent to which Anglicanism had an established status on Australian soil.

The third theme of this paper is the extent to which the *Book of Common Prayer* was a force for unity and continuity in colonial Anglican theology and identity. As we shall see, the *Book of Common Prayer's* content and interpretation have been contested, most notably by Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic parties within the Australian Church.

### **The *Book of Common Prayer* in a colonial context**

Much has been said about the *Book of Common Prayer's* importance for guiding and illuminating generations of Christians in regular worship, and at the turning points of their lives. As the Prayer Book Society has reminded us during this 350th anniversary year, the *Book of Common Prayer's* memorable cadences have provided a 'guarantee of orthodoxy, dignity and beauty in the Church's worship'. Moreover its services have promoted reverence in the way they '[honour] the power and majesty of God, [accept] the reality of human sin and joyfully [acknowledge] the pardon given through faith in Jesus Christ'. The *Book of Common Prayer's* 'direct and unambiguous words ... have become a familiar part of our speech', making it, 'after the Bible, the most frequently cited book in English and one of the guiding influences on our language', and a basis of religious expression in this nation.<sup>1</sup> However I would not go as far as one Roman Catholic admirer of Anglicanism and the Prayer Book who declared that: 'We Romans will go to heaven because we are the one, true church. Anglicans will go to heaven because they've got good taste.'<sup>2</sup>

These features of the Prayer Book help to explain its enduring appeal beyond British borders to its wider Empire and settler colonies during the

nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The *Book of Common Prayer* was particularly useful for a fledgling Australian Church which was chronically short of clergy. Scores of earnest lay people held services, using the *Book of Common Prayer*, in their homes or in local public spaces ranging from school-houses to bush pubs. Many of these lay people sowed seeds which would bloom into large established parishes once they could afford to support a clergyman.<sup>4</sup>

Nowhere was the *Book of Common Prayer* more useful than among the military.<sup>5</sup> Army officer Earnest Close for example took Prayer Book services in the Newcastle area during the 1820s, before the appointment of a chaplain. Close had been wounded fighting against Napoleon's forces in one of the bloodiest battles of the Peninsular Wars, the Battle of Albuera in 1811. During the melee the twenty-one year old Close was one 'of a group of four who ran forward in an attempt to save [his battalion's] Colours.' His three comrades were killed instantly by an exploding shell. While lying wounded, Close vowed that 'if his life were spared, he would build a church as a thank-offering.' In 1840 Close had St James' Church built near Morpeth in the Hunter region, in answer to that vow.<sup>6</sup>

Close's use of the Prayer Book hints at the official, state-sanctioned character of the *Book of Common Prayer* in the early colonies. The provision of public worship, prayer, preaching and religious instruction was a key role of the early Anglican Church in Australia. Governor Arthur Phillip was enjoined in his official instructions to 'cause the prayers of the Church of England to be read with all due solemnity every Sunday, and ... to enforce a due observance of religion and good order', taking 'such steps for the due celebration of publick worship as circumstances will permit.'<sup>7</sup> The most controversial legacy of this was compulsory church services or parades, which officers and convicts were forced to attend. Parades became a source of resentment among the growing numbers of (initially priestless) Irish Roman Catholics after 1791, Scots Presbyterians after the 1820s and Cornish Methodists from the 1830s.<sup>8</sup> That resentment should not be overstated however when we remember that 600 to 800 convicts were attending the services of the first clergyman, Richard Johnson, before they were mandatory. Moreover, as Anne O'Brien points out, the disgruntled could be protesting 'against compulsion as much as the Church.'<sup>9</sup>

The *Book of Common Prayer* played an important official and spiritual role in most early colonists' experience of death and dying. Colonists' exposure to death was constant during a period in which life expectancy never rose

above 50 years and in which infant and maternal mortality were high.<sup>10</sup> This helps to explain the popularity of the *Book of Common Prayer's* service for 'churchings' – a thanksgiving service for women who survived childbirth.

Following English practice, Anglican clergy held a monopoly over burial grounds, usually attached to churches, and burial rites (as laid down in the *Book of Common Prayer*). It was not until 1820, when Governor Lachlan Macquarie authorised Roman Catholic chaplains to perform the rites of their Church 'when called upon', that burial rites other than those of the Prayer Book were authorised in the Australian colonies. Tasmania's Catholics had to wait until 1843.<sup>11</sup> With official recognition of non-Anglican denominations after 1820 and creeping government control of public burial grounds, authority over burial rites and grounds remained a 'live' issue, so to speak, until the mid-nineteenth century.

It is in a related official capacity that the Prayer Book is first mentioned in an Australian newspaper. The context of that *Sydney Gazette* article from March 1805 is a sad one – a public execution of a convict:

At half past nine [the unfortunate criminal] was taken out of the prison, and ... suffered to walk to the place of execution, which he reached in little more than 20 minutes, praying with much fervor as he walked, *with his eyes intently fixed on a prayer book*. He was altogether regardless of surrounding objects, and frequently read aloud with seeming energy. When arrived at the awful spot, he kneeled, and joined in prayer with the MINISTER, whose pious labours were successful in fortifying the intended sufferer with Christian resignation ... [and] exemplary devotion. At 10 o'clock the PROVOST MARSHAL rehearsed his warrant, and a few moments after the unhappy man atoned for his offences.<sup>12</sup>

A further indication of our troubled early history is the fact that the second mention of the Prayer Book in Australian newspapers is a report that a copy had been stolen. A Mr Luttril of Parramatta reported a *Book of Common Prayer* among the precious books stolen from his house.

On a more hopeful note, the *Book of Common Prayer* is associated with what may be the first documented scenes of spiritual revival in the Australian colonies.<sup>13</sup> A central figure was the Anglican chaplain in Hobart, William Bedford, who was reputed to have attended 400 executions, with

Prayer Book in hand at each.<sup>14</sup> Methodist chaplains who accompanied Bedford recorded extraordinary scenes: ‘This is awful work indeed!’ wrote the Reverend Benjamin Carvosso in his journal in 1826:

Within the last thirty hours I have attended on the scaffold the execution of fourteen fellow men! ... Blessed be the God of mercy, I have seen ... [revival] here in a common prison ... when I looked around me under these circumstances no less gracious than singular, I could not but join with the Revd Mr Bedford (a laborious and honoured instrument in this good work) and gratefully exclaim, ‘What hath God wrought!’ [The convicts’] sense of sin was strong, their cries for mercy piercing, and their peace and joy in believing abundant.<sup>15</sup>

The usefulness of the *Book of Common Prayer* in the colonial context extended beyond Anglicans to Methodists. This was not surprising, given John Wesley’s own high estimation of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Wesley taught his followers that ‘there [was] no LITURGY in the World, either in ancient or modern language, which breathe[d] more of a solid, scriptural, rational Piety’ than the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book’s language, declared Wesley, was ‘not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.’ John and Charles Wesley experienced manifestations of the Holy Spirit that make modern charismatic revivals look tame, ‘yet the Wesleys still held up the Prayer Book as a vital tool for orthodoxy and renewal.’<sup>16</sup> Bard Thompson observes that ‘[i]t was the way of John Wesley to espouse extempore prayer, yet esteem the prayer book; to give free expression to evangelical power, yet prize the structures of the church ...’<sup>17</sup> Australian Methodists used the normal *Book of Common Prayer* as well as Wesley’s *Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer*, and from their early days in the 1820s advertised their doctrines as ‘precisely those of the Church of England, as set forth in her Bible, her Liturgy, her Articles, and her Book of Homilies.’<sup>18</sup>

Australian Army chaplains during the First World War recorded their deep appreciation of the value of the *Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>19</sup> The burial service and prayers for the sick were particularly appreciated amid the horrendous casualties of Gallipoli and then the titanic killing grounds of the Western Front, where 60,000 Australians died. Chaplains worked in the front line, at casualty clearing posts and in hospitals, ministering on a

daily basis to the sick, wounded and dying. The *Book of Common Prayer's* prayers gave chaplains a structure and a sacramental framework for pastoral work in the most extreme situations imaginable. They memorised various prayers and parts of services, and so were able to use them in any location or circumstance. GK Tucker, an Anglo-Catholic chaplain and later founder of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, made the provision of Holy Communion a priority wherever he ministered to troops, taking care to fit out dugouts and tents with an altar (formed on one occasion by a gun carriage), hangings, a cross, candles and flowers. While posted to a casualty clearing station just behind the front line, he took the consecrated elements from the altar to the wards, walking through the camp in his robes. The Prayer Book proved indispensable as Tucker toured the wards, offering bedside confession, absolution, and the Prayer of Humble Access and blessing.<sup>20</sup>

Clergy were not the only ones to appreciate the Prayer Book. An Anglo-Catholic padre, David Garland, served as chaplain to the AIF in Egypt during 1917 and 1918. Garland was also the driving force behind the Anzac Day commemoration service, which bears strong traces of the Prayer Book's influence.<sup>21</sup> In September 1918 a group of Australian nurses in Alexandria asked him if he could come up from Cairo to celebrate the Holy Eucharist prior to their embarkation for Salonika. They had no available Anglican chaplain. Garland left immediately and to his surprise found the service packed with both Anglicans and Nonconformists:

... we were given the use of the beautiful Church of S[t]. Mark, Alexandria ... [and] the picture will never fade from my memory, our Australian girls in their sister's uniforms kneeling together in the front of the church ...

We were not all Church of England people, but was a rule made to protect the Church from an evil of Puritanism to be applied to these who literally were taking their lives in their hands, and knew what they were facing? These were the girls who had seen ... the dead bodies of English sisters washed on the shore ... after German devils had torpedoed them. They knew that within 24 hours the same fate might be theirs. And so together they came and knelt in the presence of Him who not only died for us, but also gives Himself to be spiritual food and sustenance in the Holy Sacrament,

and received together the Body and Blood of Christ. I was afterward struck by the fact that while our own Church girls took the whole service as a matter of course, yet it was others who, speaking to me about the beauty of the service, remarked to me upon the appropriateness of the prayers and how I had chosen the ‘Scripture portions’ so suitably. It was only by emphasis I convinced them that one prayer had been specially added, and that the ‘Scripture portions’ with the whole service made up exactly the same service which the Church of England was using throughout the Empire that week.

The *Book of Common Prayer* has also figured in recent research that has challenged the longstanding stereotype of the irreligious character of the Australian soldier. Historian Colin Bale has studied First World War soldiers’ service records, many of which contain a list of the personal effects of soldiers killed in action. Bale found that two-thirds of soldiers’ personal effects included Bibles, prayer books, hymn books, religious literature and paraphernalia such as rosaries and religious medallions. In one sample of soldiers buried in Pozieres cemetery in 1916, the *Book of Common Prayer* represented one-third of all religious items. Of course the meaning and use of these Prayer Books for soldiers is largely beyond historical investigation. Yet when this evidence is combined with a large body of chaplains’ and soldiers’ accounts of religious interest within the AIF, it is fair to conclude, with Bale, that ‘significant numbers of [soldiers] appear to have been more interested in religion than has often been thought.’<sup>22</sup>

The *Book of Common Prayer’s* importance for padres continued into the Second World War. For some it could bridge cultural divides. Anglican chaplain R Ogden vividly remembered during the Pacific campaign against Japan a service he held in a half-wrecked house, crowded with recently liberated civilians, mostly Chinese. Remarkably, they knew the old Prayer Book service, so an interpreter was only required for preaching.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the ultimate example of the relevance of the Prayer Book’s words belonged to an Anglican padre who read a burial service during the siege of Tobruk in North Africa. A fellow chaplain recalled the incident:

I had paid scores of visits to that cemetery [on the Bardia road near Tobruk] ... On more than one occasion as I stood

reading the burial service, Stukas [German dive-bomber aircraft] swooped down and machine-gunned the area ... On one such occasion I had just concluded a burial service and was standing by whilst the Church of England Padre conducted one. Just as he read the words 'In the midst of life we are in death,' there came the rat-tat-tat of a machine-gun, and we suddenly realised that a diving Stuka was paying us unwelcome attention. In a split second the whole burial party had disappeared into the open graves.<sup>24</sup>

### **A force for continuity and change**

The *Book of Common Prayer* was an important force for consensus and continuity within the Anglican Church of Australia before 1918. David Hilliard has identified a number of ties that bound Anglicans together until recently; prominent among these was a common liturgy and vocabulary in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Other common ties included an episcopal form of church government; historical and cultural links with the parent church in England; rivalry with Roman Catholicism; a largely uniform social composition; and a moderate, grass-roots cultural identity which he labels 'C of E'.<sup>25</sup> Indeed the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* was the one common liturgy for all Australian Anglican churches until 1972. The Prayer Book further connected the Australian Church to England and to other colonies of the British Empire.

Lewis Radford, an influential early bishop of the Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn, recognised the importance of the Prayer Book as a unifying force amid rival schools of churchmanship:

There ought to be room in a diocese for all sorts of clergy who are prepared to obey the Prayer Book and work the Prayer Book and to accept their bishop's judgement as a judge of first instance on points of doubt or difficulty. What is disastrous or dangerous to the unity of a diocese is not the difference of churchmanship but the dissensions of partisanship. Neither does diocesan unity mean parochial uniformity in method or organisation.<sup>26</sup>

In early Australia before the 1840s, Matins (or Morning Prayer), Evensong (or Evening Prayer) and Holy Communion were conducted as laid out in

the *Book of Common Prayer*, although the mainly Evangelical clergy rarely celebrated Holy Communion – monthly at most. Parishioners were largely spectators, with the presiding clergyman reading out the prayers and delivering the sermon. The parish clerk sat in the niche of the typical three-decked pulpit, leading people through the verses and responses, and announcing the hymns. Choirs and later organs began to appear in the wealthier churches such as St James, Sydney, after the 1830s.<sup>27</sup> In Anglican churches music was the servant of the liturgy, with emphasis on the words from the pulpit and the Prayer Book.<sup>28</sup>

Changes however were in the air. Anglo-Catholic ritual and theology gained traction across Australia during the second half of the nineteenth century. Holy Communion was celebrated more regularly after 1860. By 1900 an early celebration of Holy Communion every Sunday was almost universal, usually at 7.00 am or 8.00 am. 11.00 am choral celebrations of the Eucharist on two or more Sundays a month replaced Morning Prayer. Catholic notions of Christ's real presence and Reservation of the Sacrament (where the consecrated elements are reserved for later use) were included in the Eucharist. Other changes in ritual were striking. Anglo-Catholic celebrants wore coloured robes, faced eastward instead of standing at the 'north end', bowed at the altar, and made the sign of a cross. The liturgical year was emphasised, with observance of saints' days, seasons and major feasts; wooden communion 'tables' became 'altars', sometimes of stone or marble, and with two or more lighted candles to symbolise the human and divine natures of Christ. Crosses (long considered a Roman Catholic icon) appeared in altarpiece decorations.<sup>29</sup>

Many Evangelicals, in both Australia and England, were aghast at such changes which they saw as an unpatriotic attack on the Protestant character of their Church of England (and the British Constitution) and a theological threat to the principles of the sixteenth-century Reformation that they held so dear. Tensions between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals reached boiling point in England by 1906, when a Parliamentary Commission asserted the need to reform the public worship laws which were, of course, grounded in the Prayer Book. Evangelicals threatened an exodus from the Church of England.

The First World War however ushered in wider acceptance of Anglo-Catholic ritual among parish priests who sought to comfort grieving congregations. These practices included the Reservation of the Sacrament (convenient for

the battlefield and hospitals), Prayers for the Dead, Eucharistic vestments and a more ancient service of Holy Communion. This was anathema for many Evangelicals who complained that Reservation, for example, 'suggested that Christ was physically present in the bread and wine, which then became the subject of adoration.' Yet Anglo-Catholic influence meant that by the 1920s the case for a new Prayer Book appeared compelling. A revised Prayer Book, including Prayers for the Dead, Reservation and the use of vestments, was submitted to Parliament in 1927. It failed to pass the Commons in both 1927 and 1928. Its opponents convinced Parliament that 'the new Prayer Book constituted a real doctrinal reversion to pre-Reformation beliefs and practices' with the result that Prayer Book revision was put back fifty years.<sup>30</sup>

The fallout in Australia was significant. Evangelicals had at first supported diocesan independence. The Australian Church was legally bound by the *Book of Common Prayer* just as much as any English diocese. So Evangelicals saw this nexus with the English Church and its Prayer Book as a means of safeguarding their Reformation inheritance from the 'Romanising' influence of Anglo-Catholic innovations. In contrast, High Churchmen and Anglo-Catholics wished for a central decision-making authority in the form of a new constitution for the Australian Church. That way they could push for accommodation of their ritual – which they believed to be an essential part of the Catholic faith – 'in [a] new [Prayer] Book'.<sup>31</sup> But the postwar developments in England convinced many Sydney Evangelicals that the Mother Church could no longer be trusted to safeguard Protestant truths. Australian Evangelicals therefore began to push for a national constitution in conventions held between 1926 and 1932. Influential conservatives however feared that the proposed constitution had too many loopholes that could allow future change of fundamental doctrines and beliefs. Their agitation ensured that any real possibility for a constitution, and therefore a national Australian Church, was postponed until the 1960s.<sup>32</sup>

These historical developments reveal how differing interpretations of the Prayer Book acted to limit its role as a basis of unity. Likewise Brian Douglas has recently demonstrated the multiple philosophical assumptions underlying the theology and practice of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer's* Eucharistic liturgy. This is most clearly illustrated in differing interpretations of the Prayer Book's references to the offertory, the so-called 'Black Rubric' regarding kneeling, and the *Thirty-Nine Articles*. The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer's* Article XXVIII, for example, is from the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of

1571. This Article specifically rejects transubstantiation, but, unlike earlier versions of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, it does not specifically reject a notion of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist.<sup>33</sup>

## Conclusions

In conclusion, what can be said about the place of the *Book of Common Prayer* in Australia and the British Empire before the 1920s? It has been possible to glance at only a few important themes in this article. In the first place, the *Book of Common Prayer* was ubiquitous in terms of its use and appeal. It also proved adaptable for Australian colonists, whether in the bush with no clergyman for hundreds of miles, or on the battlefields of the Western Front. The *Book of Common Prayer's* early official status is also a reminder of the Australian Church's experience of religious pluralism. Although the *Book of Common Prayer* was initially the Prayer Book of the state and therefore provided the template for services ranging from forced church parades to convict executions, that status ended relatively early in 1820.

Finally, it is clear that before the 1930s the *Book of Common Prayer* acted as a force for unity in fundamental doctrine and continuity of use. The *Book of Common Prayer's* common liturgy and vocabulary acted as a tie that bound Anglicans together, in both Australia and Britain's wider empire. Yet the same period witnessed significant changes in theological emphasis, liturgical style and interpretation. This limited the Prayer Book's role, as Bruce Kaye has argued, 'as a basis of unity and coherence'. The Prayer Book was co-opted by both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics to affirm and legitimate their own schools of theology and churchmanship. But looking back at those differences with historical hindsight, they were not fundamental, even if they seemed so at the time. Both Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic parties subscribed to a central orthodoxy embodied in the *Book of Common Prayer*, unlike other emerging contemporary movements such as fundamentalism and liberalism. In any case, it is typical of the *via media* character of Anglicanism, composed as it is of Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed influences, that the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* can sustain varying interpretations, especially regarding its Eucharistic theology. As Archbishop Keith Rayner once put it, 'the Church is not committed to any doctrine of the verbal inerrancy of the Prayer Book'. In assessing the place of the Prayer Book in Australia and the British Empire before the 1920s, the words of compilers of the Prayer Book's Preface seem prescient: 'For we

think it convenient that every Country should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's Honour and Glory.<sup>734</sup>

## Endnotes

1. 'The BCP Story: Archbishop Cranmer's Immortal Bequest', at <http://www.bcp350.org.uk/story.php>, accessed 10 August 2012. For the influence of the *Book of Common Prayer's* language, see John Harris, 'Life, death and everything in between: the Englishing of the Prayer Book', in this edition of *St Mark's Review*.
2. Sharwood, *The Book of Common Prayer and Anglican identity*, St George's Cathedral, Perth, 1999, p. 10.
3. For an excellent overview of the worldwide reach of the *Book of Common Prayer*, see Charles Hefling and Cynthia L Shattuck (eds), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, OUP, New York, 2006.
4. This was especially the case after the passing of the 1836 Church Act in New South Wales and the 1837 Church Act in Tasmania. These Acts committed government to matching pound-for-pound people's voluntary donations to church building and clergy stipends and acted as a pump-primer for the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. We also find the *Book of Common Prayer's* usefulness in the absence of clergy over a century later among Second World War POWs in Japanese captivity. The diaries of Edward 'Weary' Dunlop show that the padre was too sick to take services, so 'just the form of service' was used. See diary entry for 7 February 1943, in EE Dunlop, *The War Diaries of Weary Dunlop*, Viking, Melbourne, 1997, p. 166.
5. Although Patrick O'Brian's novels include a naval chaplain, the Rev Mr Martin, he does not appear in *Master and Commander*. This exemplifies the value of the Prayer Book for a naval captain like Captain Jack Aubrey.
6. Elkin, *Morpeth and I*, pp. 42–3. No chaplain was appointed to the Newcastle area until the 1820s. Before Close the local commandant, Captain Wallis, and his officers assumed the duty of minister of the area, conducting Prayer Book services in a small church that was first erected out of wooden slabs in 1812.
7. 'Governor Phillip's Instructions', 25 April 1787, quoted in *Historical Records of Australia*, Ser. 1, Vol. 1, pp. 14, 34.

8. James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, CUP, Cambridge, 2001, p. 321; Alan M Grocott, *Convicts, clergymen and churches*, SUP, Sydney, 1980, pp. 31–5, 42–60.
9. Anne O'Brien, *God's willing workers: women and religion in Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2005, pp. 18–19.
10. Kellehear, 'The Australian way of death: Formative historical and social influences', in Allan Kellehear (ed.), *Death & dying in Australia*, OUP, Melbourne, 2000, pp. 1–13 (p. 10); Peter McDonald, Lado Ruzicka and Patricia Pyne, 'Marriage, Fertility and Mortality', in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, p. 42. For a clergyman's vivid description of colonial funeralia, see Richard Taylor, diary entry for 30 December 1836, 'Diary of residence in NSW, 12 June 1836–19 February 1839', Typescript copy, Mitchell Library, Sydney, ML A3816, CY Mfm 1741, fols 42–43.
11. Graeme M Griffin, 'Defining Australian death: religion and the state', in Kellehear, *Death & dying in Australia*, pp. 40–51 (quotation at p. 46).
12. 'Execution', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 3 March 1805, p. 2 (author's emphasis).
13. The reliability of these accounts is further suggested by the inclusion of frank avowals of the clergymen's failure to elicit pious responses from convicts *pari passu* with accounts of 'success'. The accounts also suggest the need to revise by a decade Stuart Piggin's contention in *Spirit of a nation: The story of Australia's Christian heritage*, Strand Books, Sydney, 2004, p. 41, that the first recorded revivals in Australian colonies occurred in 1834. For the broader history of revivalism in colonial Australia, see Piggin, *Spirit of a nation*, pp. 39–43; Mark Hutchinson and Stuart Piggin (eds), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, CSAC, Sydney, 1994.
14. John West, *History of Tasmania*, AGL Shaw (ed.), Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1971 [1852], pp. 431–2. Dr Ross, editor of the *Hobart Town Courier*, reflected in an editorial of 14 August 1835 that it was 'a matter of consolation that we have a pastor, possessed of the very peculiar ... endowments, with which Mr. Bedford is gifted, for leading to repentance, and affording all possible consolation to the miserable beings in their last extremity'.
15. Benjamin Carvosso, journal entry for 7 January 1826, quoted in Graeme M Griffin, *They came to care: pastoral ministry in colonial Australia*, JBCE,

- Melbourne, 1993, p. 243. See also the Rev W Schofield, journal entry for 17 December 1827, quoted in Griffin, *They came to care*, p. 249, for Bedford's 'much freedom of mind and concern for the salvation of the men.'
16. John Wesley, Preface to the *Sunday Service of the Methodists of North America*, United Methodist Publishing House, 1984 [1784], p. v; 'EdHird's Blog,' at <http://edhird.wordpress.com/tag/john-and-charles-wesley/>, accessed 12 August 2012.
  17. Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, World Publishing, Cleveland and New York, 1961, p. 416.
  18. For Methodist use and interpretation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, see 'Classified Advertising,' *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 22 June 1822, p. 1; 'Supplement to the Sydney Gazette' *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 November 1828, p. 1.
  19. During that war Anglican padres used special Prayer Books printed by the Church Army in Britain. See 'Report from Senior Chaplain WE Dexter DSO, MA to Chaplain General the most Rev HL Clarke DD, for information of the GOC (Jan 1917)', Australian War Memorial, Canberra, AWM 10/4306/4/8.
  20. Tucker, *As private and padre with the A.I.F.*, British-Australasian, London, pp. 70–71, 114–5.
  21. *The Church Standard*, 20 September 1918, quoted in John Moses and George David, *The Origins of Anzac Day and Canon David Garland*, Broughton Books, Canberra, 2013 (forthcoming), chapter 8. I am grateful to the Rev Dr John Moses for allowing me to view draft MS chapters of this book.
  22. Colin Bale, 'In God We Trust: The Impact of the Great War on Religious Belief', in Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson, *Donald Robinson selected works: vol. 3: Appreciation*, Australian Church Record, Sydney, 2008, pp. 303–14, at pp. 304–7. Samples were of soldiers killed in action during 1916 and 1918. Such conclusions are in keeping with recent revisionist accounts of positive attitudes to religion among the English working classes and British soldiers of the Great War. See Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf (eds), *The decline of Christendom in western Europe, 1750–2000*, CUP, Cambridge, 2003; Michael Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department, 1796–1953: clergy under fire*, Boydell Press, Rochester NY, 2008, pp. 4–12.
  23. R Ogden, quoted in Tippett, 'Australian Army chaplains, South West Pacific Area, 1942–1945', unpublished MA (Hons) thesis, UNSW, pp. 201–2.

24. JC Salter, *A padre with the Rats of Tobruk*, J Walch & Sons, Hobart, p. 52.
25. David Hilliard, cited in Bruce Kaye, 'Emergence and character', in *idem*, Tom Frame, Colin Holden and Geoff Treloar (eds), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2002, p. 173.
26. Lewis Radford, quoted in TR Frame, *A church for a nation: the history of the Anglican diocese of Canberra & Goulburn*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, p. 126. Although Anglo-Catholic in sympathy, Radford nevertheless disliked Anglo-Catholic excess as much as narrow evangelicalism.
27. Brian Fletcher, 'The Anglican Ascendancy, 1788–1836' in Kaye et al, *Anglicanism in Australia*, pp. 7–30, at p. 22.
28. Ruth Frappell, 'Imperial Fervour and Anglican Loyalty 1901–1929', in Kaye et al, *Anglicans in Australia*, p. 80.
29. David Hilliard, 'Anglicans: Church of England in Australia', in James Jupp (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia*, CUP: Cambridge, 2009, pp. 128–40, at pp. 132–33.
30. Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: a history of the Diocese*, Anglican Information Office, Sydney, 1987, p. 209.
31. Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 207–8.
32. Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 207–12.
33. Brian Douglas, 'Eucharistic theology of the BCP in its historical context and remarks on its influence today', unpublished conference paper, St Paul's College Symposium, University of Sydney, 30 November 2011, pp. 1–4, 6–11.
34. Preface to the *Book of Common Prayer*, John Field, Cambridge, 1662.

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