From T.T. Reed’s Colonial Gentlemen to Trove: Rediscovering Anglican Clergymen in Australia’s Colonial Newspapers

by Marisa Young

T. T. Reed’s pioneering book on the lives of Anglican clergymen in South Australia is still an important guide to the contribution made by these men to the expansion of educational opportunities for children. However, the development of Trove by the National Library of Australia has provided new ways of tracing the educational activities of Anglican clergymen in Australia. Researchers have frequently acknowledged the importance of the roles played by Protestant ministers of religion in the expansion of primary and secondary education during the nineteenth century. Much of the focus of this research work in religious history and educational history has been linked to the contribution of Protestant clergymen in educational administrations, either through leadership roles as headmasters or through participation in activities established by school boards or councils. Numerous Protestant ministers of religion developed high profile roles during the early growth of non-government as well as government-supported primary and secondary schools in colonial South Australia.
This article will emphasise the ways that information searches using Trove can highlight forgotten aspects of educational activities undertaken by clergymen. It will focus on the activities of three ministers from the Church of England who combined their parish duties in the Diocese of Adelaide with attempts to run schools funded by private fees. Their willingness to undertake teaching work in this way thrust them into the secular world of an emerging Australian education market, where promotional activity through continuous newspaper advertising was part of the evolution of early models of educational entrepreneurship. These clergymen faced considerable competition from private venture schools as well as government-supported schools in the colonial capital. This article will also highlight gender issues associated with their promotional activities, as each minister used different definitions of gender in order to build supportive social networks for their schools and attract attention to their teaching activities.

Introduction. T. T. Reed’s Research and Digital Dividends

The development of the digital world has resulted in greater collaboration between information professionals in libraries and archives that can support historical research,¹ and it is important to remember to look for links between library collections of printed secondary source publications such as books and pamphlets and internet sites that enable greater access to primary and secondary sources such as diaries, minute books and newspapers produced before the final decades of the twentieth century. This article suggests that an early attempt to trace the lives of colonial Australian clergymen, T.T. Reed’s biographical guide to nineteenth century Church of England clergymen in South Australia,² can still be a valuable research guide in the digital world.


² T. T. Reed, Anglican Clergymen in South Australia in the Nineteenth Century (Gumeracha, South Australia: Gould Books, 1986).
be a valuable research guide in the digital world. The advent of the National Library of Australia's Trove website, which provides access to digital copies of Australian newspapers,³ confers Reed's work with a new importance, because Reed's work can be used to steer use of Trove's advanced search function for newspaper editorials, articles, public notices and advertisements.⁴ The possibility of developing more precise or nuanced newspaper searches can help researchers to expand our understanding of the complex nature of the lives and work of churchmen. Reference to Reed's work as a means to develop more complex newspaper searches also has the potential to expand our understanding of the importance of these churchmen in Australia's broader cultural and social history, especially the history of education, as well as business history, media studies and gender studies.

Christian Gentlemen and the Formation of a Colonial Civil Society

Researchers have frequently acknowledged the importance of the roles played by Protestant ministers of religion in the expansion of primary and secondary education during the nineteenth century. Much of the focus of this research work in religious history and educational history has been linked to the contribution of Protestant clergymen in educational administrations, either through leadership roles as headmasters or through participation in activities established by school boards or councils.⁵ Corporate school histories of Anglican schools such as the Collegiate School of St Peter and Pulteney Grammar School have already traced the careers of headmasters drawn from the ranks of the Church of England's clergymen.⁶ However, nineteenth century newspapers distributed numerous reports and

advertisements that showed clergymen made contributions to the expansion of education in colonial South Australia in a variety of ways. Part of the colonial publicity for St Peter's centred on curricula and co-curricula activities that were components of cultural life in the colony as well as educational pursuits in Europe. One of the most prominent of St Peter's early headmasters, Canon George Farr, had been prepared to promote his willingness to cater to local interest in imperial career paths from the late 1850s onwards. He supported the idea of preparing boys at St Peter's for entry into military careers, English or Irish university studies, and the Indian Civil Service examinations. Another major figure involved in the promotion of St Peter's, Bishop Augustus Short, was happy to draw attention to the enrolment of a former student from the school at the University of Cambridge in 1875.

Less well-known are the contributions made by Protestant clergymen who supported the expansion of a range of educational activities for adults during the colonial era. Colonial South Australian newspapers presented columns of print detailing their input. Short and Farr contributed to the foundation of cultural activities for adults that assisted the formation of a colonial civil society. Short was involved in the foundation of the University of Adelaide. Both Short and Farr supported the South Australian Society of Arts, which fostered the development of the South Australian School of Art. These two men were also associated with the South Australian Institute. Farr became linked to the subsequent development of the Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery Board during the early 1880s, and the Public Art Gallery assumed responsibility for the South Australian School of Art during this period.

Finding Pedagogues in the Parish. Church of England Clergymen as Colonial Educational Promoters in South Australian Newspapers

While numerous Protestant ministers of religion developed high profile roles during the early growth of government-supported and corporate or church-affiliated primary and secondary schools in colonial South Australia, three ministers from the Church of England combined their parish duties in the Diocese of Adelaide with attempts to run private venture schools funded by parental fees.

Early official histories of two Church of England parishes within the Adelaide square mile, St John’s, near East Terrace, and St Luke’s, in Whitmore Square, barely hint at the educational enterprise shown by some of the incumbents in those parishes. However, Reverend James Pollitt maintained a school when he served at St Luke’s. Reverend Russell and Reverend Ibbetson each ran their own schools for boys while they were associated with St John’s. These clergymen faced considerable competition from other private venture schools as well as government-supported schools in the colonial capital, and they highlighted gender issues during the course of their promotional activities, as each minister used different definitions of gender in order to attract attention to their teaching activities.11

T.T. Reed’s research supplies clear, succinct outlines of these three ministers’ church careers and family connections.12 The columns of Adelaide’s colonial newspapers were, by contrast, wonderful sources of information about their private venture schools. Their willingness to undertake teaching work in this way thrust them into the secular world of an emerging Australian education market, where promotional activity through continuous newspaper advertising was part of the evolution of early models of educational entrepreneurship.

British migrants to South Australia knew that teachers could be both classroom practitioners and cultural promoters. The transfer of curriculum developments, examination methods and teaching techniques from Britain to its colonies and the United States of America began before the Victorian era. The promotional techniques developed from the second half of the eighteenth century by British educators also found their way into the range of survival tools used by teachers far away from Britain’s shores.

Who were the educational promoters in early colonial South Australia? They came from the ranks of married couples and family groups, as well as individual men and women who publicised their own schools, members of religious orders and the clergy, and individuals from the ranks of artists, musicians, dancers and sportsmen who advertised their services as specialist teachers prepared to provide classes in specific subjects. A number of men and women involved in private venture educational enterprises entered corporate and government-supported teaching circles, but continued to use their own personal profiles in order to promote educational activities in their new working environments. Colonists who wished to enter teaching circles in South Australia also sought to attract attention to the ways in which they had acquired their own stores of social and cultural capital in order to boost their status. In order to meet the risk of setting up a viable educational enterprise, some educators were even prepared to promote the existence of their own relatives, especially when educational enterprises actually depended on the involvement of familial relationships.

11 Young, “Presentation Counts”, 119-122.
12 Reed, Anglican Clergymen. 50, 71-72, 76-77.
The importance of entrepreneurial traditions in British education during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been resurrected in recent work by historians in both Britain and Australia. Frequently dismissed or ignored by both Whig liberal and revisionist historians of education, the tradition of promoting teaching services for financial return through the use of a range of formal and informal techniques has been pushed back into the spotlight. Newspapers kept track of the traces left by smaller private venture operations that existed for shorter lengths of time, and a number of British and Australian historians have shown that smaller private schools and independent private teachers were extremely important in the educational scene in Britain and the Australian colonies during the nineteenth century.

In South Australia, newspapers advertisements from teachers were eventually brought together under single advertising subheadings that were used on a regular basis, but many teachers, governesses and tutors also placed advertisements in other sections of the advertising columns. Positions in schools and positions for governesses and tutors were found in the advertising columns specifically for education as well as the employment or ‘Wanted’ columns. The establishment, disposal and rental of school properties and the sale of school books written by teachers were included in advertising sections marked out with special education subheadings, but they were sometimes surrounded by advertising that was totally unrelated to education. Advertising for special school events and student entertainments could sometimes be found amongst notices for amusements and sporting activities, even after the 1840s. The rise of religious newspapers and periodicals in nineteenth century South Australia provided additional promotional outlets for both educational campaigners and educational entrepreneurs.¹³

Why were Church of England clergymen in colonial Adelaide prepared to take the risk of opening their own small private venture schools and using newspaper advertising in order to promote their teaching activities? The practice of opening a small private venture school within the family home was actually established by Protestant clergymen in Britain as a means to earn additional revenue and support their own relatives. Jane Austen’s father ran a small school for boys in the Austen home, and Jane Austen’s mother organised the domestic arrangements for her husband’s pupils.¹⁴

From the very start of South Australia’s foundation as a British settlement, the colony’s capital of Adelaide proved to be a magnet for those who aspired to work as teachers in the colony.⁷

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¹³ Young, “Presentation Counts”, 1-5, 18-19, 29-34, 83-85, 129-172, 297
planned through the use of an orderly grid system after an official survey must have appealed to European migrants. It was not unusual for educational entrepreneurs in Adelaide to mention the location of their own school or dwelling in association with other notable buildings or landmarks in the vicinity.

Teachers in Adelaide wanted to attract students from families resident in Adelaide, or living near Adelaide, as parents could deliver students to school locations when coming to Adelaide for business purposes. However, many of the colonists who became members of the social elite in South Australia drew their wealth from rural interests such as agricultural activities, but they chose to live for quite substantial periods in Adelaide in order to participate in the social and political activities that took place in the capital. The advertising columns of the Adelaide press also carried publicity from teachers who deliberately sought to capitalise on the preference for life in the colony’s capital by offering to accommodate boarding students from country regions. The quality of town life in colonial Australia drew its fair share of commentary and criticism, but as Adelaide continued to grow as the centre of South Australia’s commercial, cultural and religious activities as well as its public administration, the desire to stay in or near the central Adelaide square mile would remain strong. By staying in Adelaide, teachers were also able to benefit from the growth of the book selling, stationery and printing trades in the colony’s capital.

Teachers who stayed in the central Adelaide square mile for any length of time faced problems with enrolments and attendance figures. By the late 1850s, the columns of popular Adelaide newspapers in January and June of each year indicated that competition for enrolments between private and government-supported teachers had become intense in the colony’s capital. The Central Board of Education did not issue or maintain a large number of teaching licences in city wards, but by the early 1870s there were over ten of these government-supported schools in addition to private venture schools in the central square mile. While educational advertisements for Adelaide schools focused on prominent landmarks around the town, they did not allude to urban problems within the central square mile. Unfortunately, a location in central Adelaide did not always provide the most spacious environment for school students, and criminal elements were active in sections of the colonial capital. The transfer of the Collegiate School of St Peter from Trinity School Room in the Adelaide square mile to Hackney just outside the central business district was prompted by the need to gain a more expansive venue for school architecture and playgrounds. The Hackney site also removed the St Peter’s students from close proximity to Adelaide premises occupied by horse-breakers and pig-butchers. Given these circumstances, an individual Church of England clergyman able to offer classes to young boys within a private, protective family home

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Reverend James Pollitt

Reverend James Pollitt’s time at St Luke’s was far from uneventful, for at one point he and his family were forced out of their parsonage by fire. Accounts of church activities and school ceremonies revealed that clergymen-teachers in the Church of England knew each other quite well, and Pollitt was prepared to become part of social networks in Adelaide. James Pollitt’s interest in education may have been prompted in part by the needs of his own family, for he and his first wife had five sons and two daughters. James Pollitt did not provide his children with their entire education, however, for his son Henry, who eventually followed his father by becoming a clergyman, became a student at the Collegiate School of St Peter.

Pollitt’s own teaching work provided the traditional elementary English education, as well as elements of the type of curriculum used to prepare a Christian gentleman. However, given his brief early medical training at King’s College Hospital in London, he may have been able to provide slightly more specialised instruction in some branches of the sciences. Pollitt seemed keen to enter the educational marketplace as he lodged regular advertisements for students in Adelaide newspapers. His tenure at St Luke’s in Whitmore Square also provided a chance to become involved in a supportive association with an early doyen of private and licensed schools for boys, F.A. Haire, and this would have given Pollitt insights into the emerging market for elite boys’ schools in the colony. Pollitt was even running Haire’s Albert House Collegiate and Commercial Institute in Victoria Square on a temporary basis early in 1860.

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Young, “Presentation Counts”, 85-126, 182-184.
of the classical education that they had acquired before they came to the colony. Mr. Francis Haire promoted his capacity to provide the classical curriculum, and his previous experience in Europe was turned to advantage in his attempts to provide lessons in French. Latin continued to be a mainstay for entry into a theological education, such as that provided through St Peter’s or the short-lived local Union College, as well as a university education and progress in the ‘learned professions’ of the Christian ministry, medicine and the law. As a command of classical languages was still a desirable prerequisite for a religious life, members of the Protestant clergy, as well as the Catholic clergy and male religious held an advantage in advertising educational opportunities for boys. Protestant clergymen, and especially clergymen from the Church of England, began to dominate the teaching of the classical curriculum, either through private venture schools, or through appointments at the Collegiate School of St Peter, which provided instruction in Latin and Greek.

Pollitt’s newspaper advertising emphasised his capacity to combine the management of Haire’s private venture school with his work at St Luke’s. However, he did not work alone at Albert House, as he also acknowledged the presence of assistants who were in residence, and the work of his first wife. An advertisement for Albert House provided an opportunity for publicity for Mrs. Pollitt’s willingness to teach a limited number of young women along with her own daughter on the same financial terms charged for male day pupils and boarders. Reverend Pollitt’s teaching work was scaled back as the decade wore on, and by the 1867 he was only prepared to teach six young students at a time in his home-based school in Adelaide’s Sturt Street.

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James Pollitt did not become a figure of great consequence in the educational marketplace in Adelaide, but his interest in education was a lasting concern. He was prepared to support John Bonnar’s school in Mount Barker, Mr. Baker’s work as headteacher at a church-affiliated day school connected with St Luke’s, as well as Miss
Sophia Jane Thwaites when she lived and ran a high-profile school in Kent Town. James Pollitt’s second wife was Cecile Nagel (sic), who appears to have been the governess and teacher, Mademoiselle Nagelle. This marriage brought together two individuals who had both experienced the demands of the educational marketplace.16

Reverend Alexander Russell

There can be little doubt that Reverend Alexander Russell occupied a prominent position amongst the Anglican clergy in Adelaide. He was linked with the development of associations involved with social improvement and he attended a range of different formal gatherings in Adelaide involved with church, missionary and educational matters. However, the educational work undertaken by Russell deserves much greater attention. He was engaged in teaching activities that required commercial acumen, but his influence on other aspects of education in Adelaide was also important. Russell was interested in school examination work and, like Bishop Short, he was, at times, a very active commentator on education in the colony. Russell was willing to join the local Preceptors’ Association, edit the Education Journal, and engage in public forums as well as debates about secular education. Even his decision to refuse to join other Protestant ministers in the “Education League”, which was concerned with issues surrounding public education during the mid-1870s, was followed by a letter to the Register to further explain his ideas on educational issues.17 He became deeply involved in the discussions that surrounded the change in the status of Pulteney Street School from a government-supported licensed school associated with the Church of England to that of an independent church-affiliated school.18 Such was his involvement in the debate about Pulteney that the Register carried a report that stated that “there are few greater plagues to be met with in this world than a conscientious man…Commercially, socially and politically he is a stumbling block to the easy going…Why can’t they keep quiet like other people?”19

Russell developed his appreciation of the value of the press to attract attention to education when he began to promote his own school,20 and he was prepared to have other teachers cite his name as a referee in advertising for schools in Adelaide. Although Russell received some form of training for a life in business circles before he became a minister, his own teaching work during the 1850s and 1860s seems to have fitted within the traditional Christian

16 Young, “Presentation Counts”, 64-71, 119-120, 228-242; Reed, Anglican Clergymen, 71-72.
17 Young, “Presentation Counts”, 120-121; Reed, Anglican Clergymen, 76-77.
20 “Education for Boys in a Clergyman’s Family,” South Australian Register, December 18, 1855.
gentleman’s model of education for boys. Russell taught day pupils and boarders, and his advertising emphasised instruction in Latin, Greek, French and Mathematics in addition to fundamental elements of a traditional English education. During the mid-1860s he seems to have concentrated on classroom teaching, but he was still prepared to use his newspaper advertising to recommend Mrs. Gliddon’s boarding establishment for boys. 21

Reverend Denzil Ibbetson

The school run at St John’s Parsonage by Reverend Ibbetson was a rather different proposition. Ibbetson’s pastoral work at St John’s was respected by fellow colonists, but his tenure was hampered by difficulties, for the level of pew rents collected at the church seems to have provided problems. However, he was both a Christian gentleman and a practical man. He had been a civil engineer before he became a clergyman, and he resorted to his knowledge of practical and vocational skills, such as astronomy and surveying, in order to establish a niche for his educational enterprise. He was also prepared to run his own evening classes, support other prominent teachers and their schools within the Adelaide square mile, and even deliver lectures on surveying at St Peter’s, although this task was undertaken after Bishop Short, rather than the headmaster, Canon Farr, made arrangements. Ibbetson’s advertising stressed student access to a workshop and chemical laboratory as well as apparatus for subjects such as mechanics and chemistry. His parish responsibilities seemed to have been considerable, and the provision of practical curricula offerings as well as boarding facilities at St. John’s would have added to his workload, even if he taught only a small number of students over the age of eight.

21 Young, “Presentation Counts”, 120-121, 278-280
The colonial environment fostered a market for the teaching of practical, vocational subjects in private venture, corporate and government-supported schools. One of the more persistent concepts of masculinity that developed during the nineteenth century was built around the ideal of achievement in business and the capacity to protect family members. The concept of the Christian gentleman was quite different, as it was based on reflective behaviour. However, some schoolmasters from the ranks of the Protestant clergy did perceive a demand for these practical or commercial subjects from the initial stages in the colony’s existence.

Ibbetson was aware that some colonists were also interested in establishing educational bridges for their sons so that their boys could attempt further studies. Ibbetson’s own son Denzil was a successful candidate for the Indian Civil Service examination as well as the recipient of a Cambridge degree, achievements that resulted in positive coverage for both father and son in the Adelaide press. Reverend Ibbetson used his school advertising to alert parents to his willingness to prepare students for educational institutions and examinations in England. The influence of militarism in boys’ schools became increasingly apparent in England, the United States and Australia from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. By referring to the provision of curricula necessary for entry into English military training courses, advertising lodged by Adelaide teachers such as Reverend Ibbetson suggested that some colonists in South Australia were interested in the possibility of preparing colonial boys for military careers. Unfortunately, Ibbetson’s ambitions for his school were undermined by his own ill-health, and the progress of his school at St. John’s declined during 1871.22

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22 Young, “Presentation Counts”, 121-122, 228-242; Reed, Anglican Clergymen, 50.
Newspaper Searches and Collaboration Between Information Professionals

The columns of nineteenth century Australian newsprint that provide accounts of the lives of colonial clergymen have received relatively little attention, and accessing nineteenth century Australian newspapers has been, until quite recently, a laborious task. Original copies of newspapers, especially bound copies of large broadsheet newspapers, can be very awkward to handle. Reading microform copies of newspapers or associated almanacs through the use of microfiche or microfilm readers or printer-readers can be taxing on the researcher’s eyes. Scanning a full page of an original print copy of a broadsheet newspaper is easier than viewing a large section of a single page of a microform copy of a newspaper, a task which can be time consuming. Some Australian historians, such as Marjorie Theobald, have used colonial newspapers extensively in order to trace nineteenth century individuals who could not be found in government records series or private diaries and letters. These historians have revealed important colonial narratives that have been ignored or barely hinted at elsewhere. The advent of the Trove website for digitised Australian newspapers, a site supported by the National Library of Australia, permits full text searches, and this has opened up new opportunities for faster, easier research. T.T. Reed’s biographical accounts of nineteenth century Church of England clergymen in South Australia provide a very straightforward presentation of personal details and professional activities, with information about each clergyman placed in an alphabetically listed individual entry. The references cited by Reed at the end of each biographical entry indicate the extraordinary level of effort that he expended in order to complete this work. While the scope and detail of Reed’s work is truly impressive, it is not a comprehensive account of the lives of this cohort of Church of England’s clergymen. However, Reed’s book has gained an absolutely invaluable new role in the digital age. The names, dates and geographical locations provided in each entry can now assist twenty-first century researchers as they use the Advanced Search section of the National Library of Australia’s Trove site for digitised Australian newspapers, thereby providing access to rarely used newspaper editorials, articles, reader letters and advertisements. Reed’s work and the development of Trove emphasise the importance of collaborative work between information professionals and researchers. Librarians must be alert

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for opportunities to consult books such as Reed’s as sources of information that can help to guide the use of search engines on the internet. Librarians and researchers alike must also be prepared to recognise ways to link information in bound print publications to information in digitally-born sources, and librarians and researchers must collaborate with recordkeepers in collecting repositories and in-house records departments in order to develop productive links between primary, secondary and tertiary sources.25

Conclusion

The influence of nineteenth century colonial clergymen who served the Church of England went far beyond a church porch or a parsonage gate. Through professional collaboration and attempts to link information in older books such as T.T. Reed’s biographical guide with new digital sites such as the Trove website for newspapers, we can investigate the broader cultural and social impact of these ministers’ educational activities. As a consequence, we can begin to develop a deeper understanding of their role in the creation of Australia’s civil society.

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