The Reverend Benjamin Glennie: a lone survivor?

by Tom Watson

Presented at a meeting of the Society, 22 August 1991

A Man's duty in the new bourgeois spirit of Toowoomba and Warwick was not that of the pure Merino — 'to do his duty in the state of life to which it had pleased God to call him' — but to create a new community through a programme of personal and collective financial, social, political, and moral improvement. Once the individual by his own efforts improved himself, then a new society based on superior principles to that of the Old World would follow. Kate's flour-mill, Palethorpe's drapery and Glennie's churches were milestones, then, on the road to a new society based on the middle-class freedoms of 1776, 1791 and 1832.


This assessment of the Rev. Benjamin Glennie, a pioneer priest of the Moreton Bay District in New South Wales between 1848 and 1859, confirms Rayner's claim "The growth of the church was part of the developing life of the state and cannot be divorced from political, social and economic factors in Queensland history". Waterson, of course, wrote after Glennie had worked in Brisbane, 1848-1850, and the Darling Downs, 1850-1859. The churches that became St. Matthew's, Drayton, St. Mark's, Warwick, St. Luke's, Toowoomba and St. John's, Dalby, as well as St. John's, Brisbane, were then in the embryonic stage. It took many years to raise the necessary money to finance them for only the Brisbane church received government assistance and the congregations were very reluctant to contribute.

The Rev. John Gregor, the unfortunate predecessor to Glennie, had drowned in suspicious circumstances at Nundah, a northern district
of Brisbane. He had faced a most difficult task as the lone Anglican priest in distant Moreton Bay many miles from Bishop Broughton of Sydney, hounded by the Rev. Dr. J.D. Lang for converting to Anglicanism from Presbyterianism and unsupported by his own church members. Desperate for human companionship and spiritual succour he had found refuge with the German Lutheran missionaries.

The odds were very much against Gregor and they proved too much for him. Yet, as Waterson has shown, Glennie succeeded to a remarkable degree. How did he survive in the rough hurly burly of a raw frontier society? His diary soon reveals two major problems, the uncertainties of climate and the close-fistedness of his followers for he wrote in 1851:

My duties on the Darling Downs were begun under great difficulties arising from a severe drought. Feed was scarce everywhere. All horses at Cambooya had to be turned out. “Jim Crow” was very often not to be found and the paddocks everywhere between Drayton and Warwick were almost grassless. In spite of all these difficulties the folks in Warwick were exacting and withheld their subscriptions to the Stipend Fund.

A diary, by its very nature, is a deeply personal account and heightens the image of Glennie as a lone worker and at many times a lonely man. There is evidence to show that he edited it in the 1890s towards the end of his long life and there are unaccountable gaps but it reveals much of Glennie, the man, in Brisbane and on the Downs. At times, but rarely, he used it to express his personal joys and sorrows so it is a major source in accounting for his success and his survival. It is by no means the writings of a loner or a hermit. On the contrary Glennie possessed a strong gregarious nature as shown by the many names of men and women who appear in its pages to prove once again that “no man is an island”.

GLENNIE, AT HOME ON THE DOWNS

The many descriptions of Glennie certainly stress his undoubted individualism for historians have seen him as Apostle of the Downs (Brightman), Apostle of Queensland (Braun), this devoted priest (Lyttleton Groom), the pioneer of the Anglican ministry in Queensland (Rayner) or a remarkable man, possessed of gifts which enabled him to do a work which had left an enduring mark on the Church’s life and history of the Darling Downs (Glover). Another mini-portrait stresses his deep interest in education and his tolerance of differently-minded people in a very intolerant age for it presented him as “colporteur, schoolmaster and a clean living man. Persuasions did not bar him from seeing the good qualities of his fellow beings (Hall). Lastly, one who met him in his early ministry in Brisbane and rode with him on the Downs wrote
The name which I shall never speak but with reverence and respect, was presented to us in the Ministry of the Church: that of one who bore ever since the burden patiently and worthily: the service of which the "yoke is easy". I mean that of Benjamin Glennie . . .

Russell's use of the word 'us' indicates that the Glennie ministry took place in a special society and at a particular time and place. The location, the Moreton Bay District of New South Wales, afterwards the colony of Queensland, formed part of the extensive British Empire. During Glennie's short period in Brisbane, a town of early buildings but no footpaths, various migrant ships brought more settlers from Britain. The *Fortitude* and the *Lima* resulted from the Rev. J.D. Lang's endeavours "To promote the settlement of an industrial and virtuous agricultural population in the Moreton Bay district of New South Wales". Lang held high hopes that its members, largely from the Dissenting churches, would be instrumental in developing this remote district into a great cotton colony named Cooksland. In the 1840s and 1850s Moreton Bay consisted only of three major settlements, Brisbane on the coast, Ipswich further inland and the wool-producing Darling Downs in the interior.

Glennie's diary begins with his entry into Australia with William Tyrrell, the newly consecrated Anglican Bishop of Newcastle, and his party of church followers. Glennie, then a layman, was soon travelling Australia's immense distances in order to meet his brothers for he wrote,

1848 Jan. 16th landed in Sydney ("18") Went by steamer to Morpeth ("19") Bus to Maitland. Mail cart to Singleton, and found James and Henry at the house of the latter. ("24") Alfred came. Heavy rain.

It ends with reference to that poor physical health which plagued him all his life, the help from a willing lay assistant and increased response to his labours:


On many occasions he stressed his own personal initiatives as he set the example to others even in approaching summer heat, as on 11 November 1848, when he wrote from Brisbane:

Church meeting at Littles. Resolved to collect subscriptions. Called on Sergeant Harrison at the Barracks.

He arrived in Australia when both state and church were expressing deep concern for the welfare of future generations and especially the education of children. Young people appealed particularly to him and it is fitting that two Anglican schools in Toowoomba bear his name. Again, he often had to work alone as in this extract which shows him
shows him as a lone Sunday School teacher even in two major centres of population.

Both at Warwick and Drayton I am working single-handed. I began Sunday School at both places and both ceased except when I am at home on Sunday.

His ministry, as already stressed, brought him into contact with all sorts and conditions of men, women and children whether Anglo-Saxon, Chinese or Aboriginal. He led congregations, often small, at Matins and Evensong in hotels, court houses and private homes and he once celebrated Holy Communion for a handful of communicants in his own kitchen. He baptised many children, churched mothers, married couples, and buried the dead. As a zealous educationalist he taught in Sunday Schools, Bible and confirmation classes as well as in state and church primary schools. He once prepared a herdsman for confirmation while he tended his cattle on one of the hills of Brisbane. He also sold religious books and ran a library so that literate people in isolated places had literature to read in their leisure hours. All these activities brought him into contact with a range of persons and although a large number remained indifferent, or even obstructive, others gave their support. Without it Glennie, like the tragic Gregor, would have failed in his task.

**HIS UPBRINGING AND YOUTH**

Fragmentary records show that his earlier days in England appear to be a poor preparation for life in Moreton Bay. As the twelfth son of the Rev. Dr. William Glennie and his wife, Mary, nee Gardiner, he attended his father’s private school in Dulwich, London. He studied at King’s College, an Anglican foundation within London University, and between 1835 and 1840 he attended the Chapel to hear sermons by the Rev. H.J. Rose and others, arising from the Oxford Movement which sought to restore Catholicism to the Church of England. Consequently, the celebrated Cardinal Newman moved to Rome but Pusey, another leading member, remained an Anglican. Those issues of religious belief were just as burning in Australia as in Britain. The prejudiced Lang, for example, wrote of “the threatening aspect of Popery and Puseyism — the Beast and the Image of the Beast — in the Australian Colonies”. It was a major reason for his extensive Protestant colonization. On his rounds Glennie encountered more than one church-goer who asked directly, Are you a Puseyite? The answer really lay in the affirmative but he did not make it very obvious.

Glennie’s travels in Europe as a tutor to young men and families undertaking the Grand Tour acquainted him with the adventure of travel but in far more comfortable circumstances than in Moreton Bay. He also acquired fluency in French, Spanish and Italian and a working
knowledge of German which he later used when ministering to
German settlers on the Downs. His late admission to Christ’s College,
Cambridge, at the age of thirty in 1844 completed the higher education
of a privileged young man from the English middle classes. Whilst
studying for his degree he thought seriously of ordination in the
Church of England. When he sailed with the newly appointed Bishop
William Tyrrell to the extensive diocese of Newcastle in 1847 he
followed his older brothers, Henry, a landowner, James, a doctor and
Alfred, a farmer later ordained, for they had already settled in New
South Wales.

The influence of Bishop Tyrrell upon Glennie is highly significant
for they had much in common in age, social class and education. Born
in 1807, five years before Glennie, Tyrrell had attended Charterhouse
School and St. John’s College, Cambridge, where he gained high
honours in mathematics and in athletics as a long-distance walker,
cricketer and oarsman. He also became an accomplished rider, a
skill required of him constantly in his Newcastle diocese. Tyrrell had
rejected the offer to become an archdeacon to his College friend,
Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, but he responded to the demands
of Newcastle in spite of a serious lack of funding for this daunting
task.

His fellow Anglicans aboard the Medway certainly reflected
England’s social hierarchy, for they consisted of his Lordship, two
ordained clergymen, seven candidates for orders, a schoolmaster and
a schoolmistress, as well as Tyrrell’s gardener, groom and housekeeper.
The Bishop had accepted the post after initial reluctance since it meant
leaving the secure and comfortable country living at Beaulieu,
Hampshire, for a weak, scattered and divided church in the colonies.
Boodle, one of the clergymen, later wrote of the moral and social
condition in the diocese:

British ‘squatters’ had pushed to the extremities of this enormous
(settled) area (500 miles by 250) in search of pasturage for their
flocks and herds; and shepherds or stockmen, in some cases with
their wives and children, were thinly dotted about. Some of these
were respectable emigrants; not a few were restless n’er-do-wells who
had done badly in the old country and thought they might ‘do better
somewhere else’ — in most of such cases a vain hope; and many
were convicts who had served their time and were socially ‘free’,
but were, to say the least, of low moral tone . . . On the alluvial
lands along the courses of the rivers there were agricultural settlers.
And there were the three larger towns of Newcastle, East and West
Maitland on the lower Hunter; Brisbane, 500 miles to the north,
and some twenty lesser towns and villages’.

Boodle rightly stressed the evils of the transport system and the
resulting brutalization upon the convicted. Even so, there were
examples of real reform but the squatters of Moreton Bay proposed its revival in the 1850s to solve the acute labour shortage as many of their shepherds migrated to the gold-diggings in Victoria. This shortage also seriously hampered Glennie’s desire to build his churches, parsonages and schools.

One of Tyrrell’s first reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel confirmed a weak and faltering church. He wrote of universal bankruptcy, heavy debts and half-completed churches left in anger or despair. He also mentioned the immense problems brought by distance and the remoteness of some parishes in his vast Diocese that contained some 40,000 settlers scattered over an area equal in extent to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. His strong physical frame proved a great asset for he needed all his strength of body as well as mind to ride many, many miles to gain what he called “an accurate knowledge of the existing evils and the most pressing wants.”

THE RIGORS OF MORETON BAY

The Moreton Bay district presented both common and particular difficulties. Captain Wickham communicated the news of Gregor’s unfortunate death to Tyrrell and his party when they docked in Sydney so the diocese immediately lost one of its few clergy. In appointing Glennie, a totally inexperienced cleric, to succeed Gregor the Bishop took a considerable risk. Would he fare any better in such a divided Anglican church and against such prejudiced clerics as Lang who wrote most scathingly of Gregor and quoted the claim of an English official in Brisbane.

“I KNOW that he is not a good shepherd, but that he careth not for the sheep, because he is a hireling”.

In sending him to Moreton Bay Bishop Tyrrell had also to consider Glennie’s poor physical and mental health. He certainly went to a situation of much strain and stress so it was not surprising that after eighteen months Dr. Ballow ordered him to spend a month with the Leslies in Warwick. Physical tiredness and mental exhaustion soon returned for after touring the Downs with his bishop in July, 1850, he confessed:

This ride of 489 miles with Bishop Tyrrell was not very beneficial to my nerves. For many weeks afterwards I was in a nervous, irritable state.

Yet in that state he accepted the transfer to Drayton and the Rev. J. Wallace from Ipswich, a family man, took his place in Brisbane.

Why did not Tyrrell send a healthier, more experienced man such as Boodle? On the four month voyage aboard the Medway Bishop Tyrrell had a many opportunities to assess Glennie’s worth for he and Rodwell, the two most senior candidates for ordination, had studied
Rodwell, the two most senior candidates for ordination, had studied under his personal direction. All candidates had followed their Bishop's strict and rigorous schedule of daily prayers, study and reading until it became a natural habit with them. Tyrrell's personal library of theological books provided the reading matter and Glennie, obviously a bookish man, assumed the duties of librarian. There is evidence to show that Glennie continued with this practice for, during his days on the Downs, he wrote of beginning Greek and of reading a sermon by Jeremy Taylor. This rule linked him with his fellow clergy in distant places and particularly with his Bishop who exercised great pastoral care through his regular letters and his two-yearly visits.

In Australia the Bishop and all members of his party tried to come to terms with "an entirely new state of things" but Boodle's list of priorities for the needs of the Newcastle Diocese did not fully recognise all the differences between England and Australia. He gave them as:

1. To supply some measure of Christian teaching and worship over an area large enough to make many men sink into hopelessness.
2. To procure clergy.
3. To establish and support Church schools.
4. To provide teachers from unpromising material.
5. To maintain a constant struggle against Government and Parliament in favour of religious education.
6. To promote the building of Churches, Parsonages and schools in all directions.
7. To educate the laity in the duty of supporting their clergy and erecting the buildings required.
8. To establish and maintain a Book depot in some degree worthy of the name.
9. To lay the foundation of some endowment for various church purposes.
10. To organise as time went on a Diocesan Synod.

The Church of England in Australia had far fewer political and financial privileges than at home. She was not enshrined by law in the Australian constitution and she had not access to the many financial endowments accumulated over the centuries. The government did give matching aid by the Church Act of 1837 but only to a limited extent. Tyrrell had some funds at his disposal from the Society for the Proclamation of the Gospel and from his personal resources but the bulk of the money had to come from lay members of the church. From the Society's contribution he gave a small sum towards the building of a new church in Brisbane so that Glennie appears on the list of official S.P.G. missionaries.
His work in the new Diocese of Newcastle began at a time of great controversy over educational provision. Two major questions concerned church and state relationships. Should the state finance church schools and should the state schools teach religion? Tyrrell thought in English terms by expecting state aid for his church schools. In this respect he and the Catholic church saw eye to eye but the Dissenting churches took a different view. Tyrrell also stood firmly for a Sydney University based upon a religious foundation in 1849 and he fought a losing battle for this principle against Sir Charles Nicholson, its strongest supporter. Tyrrell also opposed the formation of a National Board of Education in 1848 to rival the Denominational Board although both bodies received state aid and one of Glennie's tasks in Moreton Bay lay in supervising the Church of England schools at Brisbane and Ipswich. His role in education did not end there for he visited National schools on the Downs in order to teach religion. He did not always enjoy them for Mr Abbott, the headmaster of the Warwick school, drank heavily and eventually died after imbibing a bottle of raw spirits.19

Glennie plunged into the work of his first parish to such an extent that he journeyed 1,310 miles in his first nine months. The leading Anglicans seemed to welcome him warmly and he soon met Captain Wickham, the Chief Administrator, as well as Messrs. Freeman, Stubbs, De Winton, Kent and Dr Ballow who offered him further hospitality. Visitors from the Downs included Patrick Leslie and H.S. Russell. He recorded the first meeting about a new church building in Brisbane on April 6th and another on May 19th but response remained half-hearted. The brief visit of the bishop to Brisbane and Ipswich early in June stimulated more interest and led to what H.S. Russell described as “our first episcopal stirring up, not before Church and School matters required it”. Glennie had his first glimpse of the Downs in August, 1848, when held a service in Horton’s public house at Drayton and took Evensong for seven people at Cambooya.20 Numbers were higher at Warwick with 45 attending Matins at Canning Downs and 35 at Evensong. He soon began his practice of observing closely the natural world around him for he wrote on August 22 1848:

Grass on the plains had recently been burnt. There was for some time an almost ceaseless continuance of whirlwind raising fine slender pillars of black powder 200 feet high.

He had an early reminder of the hazards facing fellow-pioneers for he read the burial service over the grave of “Jim”, a less fortunate Cambridge graduate, accidentally shot six years previously.

He doubtless appreciated this respite from the difficult and divided congregation in Brisbane where he continued to collect subscriptions for the Building Fund and he accepted the tender of 150 pounds for a school house. The Artemis brought a new ship-load of migrants
whose hiring took place in the Prisoners’ Barracks. He arranged a service for them but only 17 attended.

Dissension arose over the method of collection at the Sunday services and it caused him such concern that he asked for Tyrrell’s advice by admitting, “Most of the people here express such an objection to an offertory that I doubt of they will submit”. On the other hand Captain Wickham promised to give two allotments at Kangaroo Point to allow a church building there. At this time Glennie had the advice of the Rev. T. W. Bodenham, a fellow cleric, whose health soon forced him to leave the town and led to his death in Sydney in 1851. His departure also ended the promising singing classes which Mrs Bodenham conducted for girls on their verandah. It was after these exertions that Glennie spent the month of November, with the Leslies at Warwick, leaving the Reverends Creyke and Wallace to continue his work in Brisbane.

The intense summer heat in January, 1850, again laid him low. He seemed to need constant rest and sound sleep to avoid over-fatigue but mosquitoes, bugs and noisy fellow-travellers often prevented them. His appointment as Chaplain of the gaol increased his salary by 25 pounds but brought extra duties. In May he broke down twice whilst preaching at Warwick and Goomburra. The next entry reads, “My duties in Brisbane were now closed” as if to indicate that he moved to Drayton for health reasons.

At least he had survived the first two and a half years of his ordained ministry in the most demanding circumstances. The Moreton Bay Courier commended his simple, direct, Biblical preaching and even the hope of “a building sufficiently commodious to allow every member of his congregation to take part in the ceremony”. Bishop Tyrrell eventually laid the foundation stone in May, 1850, but only after making another substantial personal contribution. His acquisition of the site brought strong criticism from “Layman, a member of Mr. Stewart’s Dissenting congregation, in a letter to the Courier. He accused the bishop of making a private speculation of which several members of the Anglican church disapproved.

Glennie kept a low political profile. He had sat on the original committee to create a Brisbane Medical Hospital but he did not enter the debates on education, immigration or transportation. Neither did he take any leading role in the creation of a School of Arts in 1849. He concentrated solely upon his spiritual duties.

The divisions within his church continued for “A Member of the Church of England” wrote a most critical letter on June 15 1850. He contrasted very unfavourably his own church members with the spirit and energy of the Roman Catholics in building St. Stephen’s and the enterprises of the Wesleyans and Presbyterians. He accused
his church of being “stationary — if it has not retrograded”, as judged by the continued use of a dilapidated government building. He laid the blame, not on Glennie, but upon the laity for their laxity, poverty, insincerity, unchristian bickerings and even upon the blunder of appointing the Bishop to Newcastle and not to Moreton Bay. “Certain it is” he declared “that a spirit of disunion exists, and is gradually weakening the interests of the Church of England in this part of the world” He concluded with a plea for conciliation and the promotion of a fair and binding union on all sides.

It is an open question whether this letter, his shattered nerves or his singleness led to his transfer to the Darling Downs but it came in the following month. The small congregation at Drayton had already requested a priest but he, hitherto a town-dweller, had to adjust to a completely new rural environment and he soon encountered the constant problems of drought and floods for which his earlier years in Europe had never prepared him.

FROM CITY DWELLER TO COUNTRYMAN

A major reason for his success on the Downs lay in his ability to change from an urban dweller into a country man. He had to overcome his distaste of riding as Jim Crow, Rhubarb and other horses carried him over the vast distances. In the nine months of 1850 he estimated that he travelled 3,765 miles. On one occasion Besar, an Arab horse, threw him and he remained unconscious for five hours.\(^25\)

He usually travelled alone in his pastoral duties. He learnt when and when not to cross flooded streams and rivers. He slept by campfires or in shepherds huts, not always without company, for he complained constantly of fleas. The heat proved unbearable at times as in this entry in 1852, “Rode from Glengallan to Canning Downs going from tree to tree and waiting for cloud cover.” Continuous heavy rains made life equally difficult as in this extract.\(^26\)

On May 4th rode home from Jondaryan and afterwards got again into wet roads. Wet in Drayton about two days during my absence (5). Everything saturated with moisture. Even my paper and pen feel quite damp. All my drawers but 2 quite fast (6). Moved one of the blocks of my table to the fire and at last got the drawers open. Since April 21st rain has never ceased permanently in Drayton (14)

By enduring such difficulties he shared fully the hardships of his fellow-settlers and their families, particularly the new migrants from Europe who, like him, had no previous experience of such conditions.

As a new “man of the soil” he became a small farmer and cultivator. He reared goats and kids for their milk and he kept pigs and hens. He, with the help of his man-servant, Higgins, took great care over his vegetable garden and vineyard.\(^27\) It brought in, not only money for the building of churches and schools, but provided him
with a deep and satisfying interest. He grew peas, beans, onions, cucumbers, carrots, cabbages and even Jerusalem artichokes. Higgins also helped to dig a hole for the first mulberry tree and Glennie, like other settlers, shot the rosella parrots which ate his millet. The vineyard became a pride and joy, he tended the first ten cuttings with loving care and grieved over the theft of his grapes.

He also had the ability, as noted by Hall, to mix easily and in this rural parish he developed this social talent. Bishop Tyrrell found it much harder to divest himself of his superior social up-bringing in England and the authority of his ecclesiastical office. Glennie, of course, could not take refuge, as did Gregor, with German missionaries although he did tend to the needs of German settlers as well as the squatters, small farmers, store-keepers and bullock-drivers whose names appear in his diary. He also encountered Aborigines whose splendid physiques and tracking skills impressed him. Native police helped him on several occasions. Under their white officer they once attended a church service and beside one camp fire he borrowed the pannikin of a discharged trooper and his gin in order to boil some coffee. They, in their turn, respected him. He gave this reason.²⁸

To Tureybu to Bimbian and back. On the way Ashford shepherding with a gun. After an acquaintance made me understand why he was not safe with the blacks while I could go about in safety.

The Chinese usually received an adverse press as in the case of the three Chinese shepherds charged with negligence at Drayton but the case brought to light Whang Kong Mong Pong who claimed to be a Chinese scholar sent to New South Wales by the Emperor of China to teach these Asian migrants.²⁹ Glennie baptised at least two of them, George Arthur Keong and his child, in 1857.³⁰

The real danger of sinking into “hopelessness”, as mentioned by Boodle, always remained a possibility for him in his chosen role of a cleric as well as for other male and female migrants in this distant part of the world. The environmental conditions certainly affected moods and behaviour. His brother, the Rev. Albert Glennie, once noted in his New South Wales diary that black clouds tend to bring dark thoughts. The uncertain climate and the social isolation caused many people to turn to drink for solace and escape. Glennie makes many references to its abuse, such as “Fogarty drunk after taking the pledge” On another occasion he wrote:³¹

Riding home from Eton Vale met Bowles the postman on horse back. Very drunk. Picked up two fragments of the mail which I gave to Mr Lord. On Bowles return from Warwick he was brought into court and fined. When I called on his wife, she thanked me for what I had done.
Higher education and social status did not always mean self-control for he also recorded.\textsuperscript{32}

Thirty at funeral was a large number in the \( ? \) than of the population, the body was that of an English gentleman, good family and education who killed himself by drink. In the week I asked a man who was present what led him to attend the funeral of such a fellow. He replied that he went out of respect for him.

Intemperance affected women as well as men as he noted at Jimbour, "Spent night at Holmes, the overseer's, and had a service there. A Doctor with a drunken wife was occupying the house. They left next day after breakfast".

Another major reason for Glennie's effectiveness lay in his acceptance of human fallibility. People often grieved him but he seldom made moral judgments. His brother, Albert, differed in this respect and ascribed the death of a youth in a riding accident to his refusal to heed the warning of riding on the Sabbath.\textsuperscript{32} Benjamin saw no reason to sign the pledge himself as an example to others. He willingly accepted a bottle of wine from one of his parishioners and he purposefully built a wall to improve his cellar but one of the saddest entries in his diary occurred at a baptism for he wrote:\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{quote}
Young too drunk to attend and witness baptism of his own child.
The overseer was barely sober enough to be present. Rees (in charge) came in during service to stop disorderly behaviour. Two men in kitchen drunk.
\end{quote}

\textbf{OUTWARD OPTIMISM AND INWARD LONELINESS}

Benjamin Glennie had to face times of many deep disappointments and inevitable depressions. He missed deeply that supportive companionship of his Bishop and fellow Anglicans which he had valued on board the \textit{Medway}. Sectarian divisions and rivalries prevented much contact with other churches and their leaders. The Presbyterians had not attended his Easter services in April, 1848, and he reported in October that the Wesleyan and other Dissenting preachers began to be "very troublesome". On the Downs those differences continued. He wrote to Bishop Tyrrell for his advice concerning the validity of a marriage solemnised by the Rev. Kingsford whom Glennie described as "one of Dr. Lang's importations by the ship 'Chaseley'; and he used the word 'occupied' to describe the Catholic masses celebrated by Father Macginty in the court-house at Warwick".\textsuperscript{34}

Only rarely did Glennie express his loneliness but a problem connected with the government cemetery provoked a sense of great inadequacy. The matter got him down to such an extent that he expressed regret at "the misfortune of living in so isolated a manner
quite cut off from intercourse with my brother clerics". Glennie did receive occasional help from the Reverend Cryke and for two years from the Rev. William Dove between 1857 and 1859 until the Separation of Queensland from New South Wales.

His move to the Downs did not mean the end of criticism and division. He found Ralph Gore of Yandilla, an Irish protestant, to be particularly difficult. He once described him as "more than ever discontented, unhappy, gloomy and malcontented" and "boiling over irresistibly in the last two miles about all kinds of things in England". Gore had felt so strongly about the condition of the Church of England in Moreton Bay that he had written to J.B. Sumner, the Archbishop of Canterbury who had foolishly agreed with him in a written reply. Gore had caused much concern to Glennie by making the contents public. Arthur Macarthur of Warwick had disagreed with him about Christmas priorities by maintaining "a person should not be censured for omitting to go to church and communicate on Christmas Day and going to a greater distance to a dinner party". He, however, did agree to read the service in Glennie's absence.

In such a demanding and isolated post it was essential for him to cultivate a feeling of hope and optimism. He learnt to appreciate the beauty of nature and to express delight in her wonders. When impressed by a particularly beautiful day he recorded it. He once expressed great admiration for a magnificent eagle and he thought it worthwhile to note the fragrance of a few garden flowers growing at a deserted sheep station. He had something of the poet in him in the description of beautiful lagoon with "a mass of white water lilies in bloom, a few blue ones among them" set in a country abounding in sandal-wood and lime trees.

He not only read books of theology but he kept his mind active and expansive by regularly reading the works of Shakespeare in connection with his Bible reading. He must have used many candles and oil lights for when a friend presented to him a book on this subject he expressed disappointment that he had not been the author. He also sought to stimulate others by the books that he distributed but that aspect of his work received little attention in his diary.

He gained marked respect from the Darling Downs community as he identified himself with them. He deliberately sought out their company and engaged them in conversation even when making long journeys on foot. Sir Arthur Morgan wrote of him:

He walked much of the distance carrying his knapsack on his back. Though but a raw new chum he evidently possessed in a marked degree the sense of locality and direction which we Australians are
rather prone to think belongs exclusively to those of us reared in the bush.

He would find it hard to browbeat a congregation into giving money towards church funds. He got his results in a more subtle way by using humour to achieve his goals. He once preached from the text “Owe no man anything, but to love one another”. He said:

The churchwardens have not had sufficient funds in hand this month to pay baker and butcher, and I have therefore been unable to pay my grocer, baker and butcher. As I cannot carry out the first part of my text, it would be unseemly for me to compound the second.

He had other ways of indicating his need for funds such as wearing shabby but striking clothes that inevitably brought attention and comment. His former curate again recalled:

He had an extraordinary suit of clothes, consisting of a blue frock coat, with a high collar, and very tight sleeves considerably rubbed at the elbows, a pair of rather short grey trousers which displayed a good deal of white sock. An old cabbage hat completed the costume.

When they saw this garb his parishioners knew that they had not contributed sufficiently towards his stipend.

He received practical support on his journeys. Patrick Leslie provided him with a horse and St. John Gore gave a saddle. Mr Nicol, Commandant of the Native Police Force at the Wondai Gumbal Barracks loaned him a trooper, Sergeant and Mrs Skilton at the Wombo Police Station made him very comfortable in their beautifully clean hut and Mr Gordon’s bullock driver guided him over the Dulacca creek in a time of flood.

Appeals for money from his congregations continued to be a problem. He once complained that although the squatters and leading tradesmen of Drayton made their subscriptions others did not through want of asking. At Warwick the servants were once the only folk at Canning Downs to donate to the Bishop’s Mission Fund. Mr Goggs of Chinchilla gave not only practical help in getting him over another flooded creek but gave him a mare and money for his personal use. Glennie wrote appreciatively of him, “Mr Matthew Goggs was always ready and willing to render every help in his power”. Goggs also sought a Methodist minister for a group of shepherds who refused to attend an Anglican service.

Under Tyrrell’s leadership the finances of the diocese improved but only because the lay members responded more actively to the appeals. Glennie always retained his vision for churches dedicated to the four evangelists at Drayton, Warwick, Dalby and Toowoomba but in 1852 he again felt very much alone. He wrote “I am forced to take into my own hands the superintendence of all building work” but following
a visit from the bishop, Messrs. Hodgson, Moffatt and McLean pledged to build a church at Drayton after shearing. More help began to come from Warwick which had once been the most reluctant. Messrs George and Walter Leslie with Mr Marshall made up his stipend in 1851 “like reasonable people comparing him with their own difficulties when first starting a new station”. Mr Marshall proved the most generous. He not only gave the plate for Communion services but also the site for the Warwick church. Glennie delighted in this change of attitude towards finance between 1851 and 1858 by informing his bishop:

I am happy to report that Mr. Marshall has given a very nice site of 11 acres for a parsonage and Glebe in Warwick. Also we have in hand nearly 50 pounds on the Dalby Church Building Account.

In such support lay his salvation and his survival.

ENDNOTES

2. K. Rayner, John Gregor (1808-1848), Australian Dictionary of Biography, (ADB) v.1, Melbourne, 1966, p472. Glennie's own words seem to support the theory of suicide for he wrote “It was presumed he had been drowned while bathing” The Parish Chronicle, Oct. 1888, p2, Brisbane Diocesan Archives.
3. Australian Diary of Rev. Benjamin Glennie, B.A., 1848-1860, Brisbane Diocesan Archives (original) and Oxley Library, Brisbane (typed manuscript with errors).
5. Moreton Bay Courier (MBC) 27 January 1849.
6. Diary, 10 October 1851.
12. Boodle, ibid, p41.
16. Diary, 30 May 1852.
Glennie's own account appeared in *The Parish Chronicle*, January 1889, Brisbane Diocesan Archives.

21. Diary, 12 April 1849.
22. MBC 22 April 1848.
23. MBC 6 July 1850.
24. MBC 15 June 1850.
25. Diary, 12 August 1858.
26. Diary, 5 May 1852.
27. Diary, 30 July 1851.
29. MBC 23 February 1850.
30. Diary, 31 May 1857.
31. Diary, 4 December 1855.
33. Diary, 29 January 1854.
35. Diary, 26 March 1854. See also the entry “Black soil wet and heavy and I so depressed, had not the pluck to push Jim Crow and Rhubarb and thus reach Cecil Plains before dark” 27 June 1858.
36. Diary, 21 October 1854.
41. Diary, 26 February 1853.
42. Diary, 2 February 1851.
43. Diary, 15 December 1858.

ERRATUM

James Toohey: Brisbane Pioneer or First of the White Shoe Brigade

by William J. Metcalf

*Volume XIV, No. 9 (November 1991)*

The word “Patrick” in the last line of text on p.364 should read “Bernard”.