CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE IN COLONIAL AUSTRALIA: SELECTED CATHOLIC, ANGLICAN, WESLEYAN AND ADVENTIST PERSPECTIVES, 1891-1900

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I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

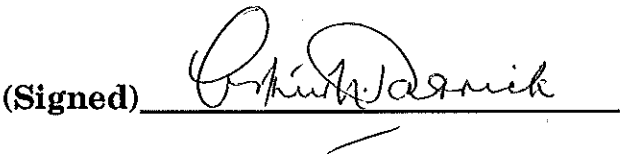
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SYNOPSIS

The adherents of an ideology usually possess common ideas and values, and tend to cluster together as a subculture. Consequently they often experience difficulty in relating to the wider society which exists in the same time and place. Early in its history, Christianity encountered relational problems with Jews and pagans; controversies also developed amongst rival Christian groups. The persistence of this conflict caused H. Richard Niebuhr to call it 'the enduring problem'; he also identified a range of typical responses, particularly in Western civilisation. On the two extremes are those Christians who withdraw and accommodate; occupying the middle ground are dualists, synthesists and conversionists. These solutions may be held in their pure form or in a variety of combinations. They may be influenced by a range of ideas about salvation, the church, eschatology, the relations of church and state, Christian history and patterns of thought in society.

The Christianity which was transplanted into colonial Australia was derived from Northern Hemisphere denominations, and experienced the persistent effects of distance, dependence and sectarianism. Divided by national and religious loyalties and antipathies, and challenged by a desacralised society, the churches tended to develop a conservative ethos which failed to address crucial religious and social questions. Denominational attitudes toward educational, economic and political issues may be used to identify the various stances which were present in New South Wales near the end of the colonial period. Selected Roman Catholic, Church of England, Wesleyan Methodist and Seventh-day Adventists perspectives are explored in the light of Niebuhr's typologies.

The solutions favoured by these denominations were based on the range of factors indicated above. For instance, the uniqueness of Catholicism as the one 'true' church was strongly presented by Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran; the inclusive strength of Anglicanism as a 'comprehensive' church was fostered by Archbishop William

Saumarez Smith; and the idea that their church was 'chosen' to preach the gospel and engage in a war with evil was nurtured by the Wesleyan weekly newspaper. Nominally, these three denominations included eight out of every ten people in New South Wales. In order to illustrate the determinative role which eschatological thought may assume in a religious group, Adventist ideas as expressed by Ellen Gould White are examined in relation to her idea of a 'remnant' church.

Each denomination was strongly persuaded by the merits of its own stance, and unconvinced by the strengths of the other religious options. Thus, Christianity tended to remain institutionalised and divided; it was, therefore, often unattractive to secular Australians. It seemed more appropriate for each subculture of Christians to maintain its boundaries rather than to search for and promote a coherent religion directed toward meeting the evident human needs in colonial society. The experience of Christianity in nineteenth-century Australia illustrates the power of ideas to motivate and restrain believers; it also demonstrates the continuing usefulness of Niebuhr's analyses and the necessity for a constant reappraisal of 'the enduring problem'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Macquarie Dictionary claims to be the first comprehensive documentation of Australia's language. This thesis follows the spelling of its revised edition (1985) for Australian terms. The *Macquarie* also defines an 'acknowledgement' as an act of admitting or an act of appreciation. These pages are both.

I admit my indebtedness to many fellow human beings. Roy Branson, now an ethicist in the Kennedy Institute of Georgetown University, caused me to read the writings of H. Richard Niebuhr. Don Hansen's undergraduate lectures infused me with some of his enthusiasm for Australian history. Miriam Dixson encouraged me, during a qualifying MLitt course in 1982-3 at the University of New England, to explore the relations between religion and society. Greg McMinn vetted my first attempts to map the territory of this thesis from mid-1984 until 1987. Since late 1987, Don Wright has gone far beyond the call of duty as my supervisor in the Department of History at the University of Newcastle.

James Cox, Bryan Ball and Geoffrey Madigan, principals of Avondale College, authorised this course of study, and the Avondale College Board of Governors enabled me to engage in full-time research and writing during 1989. Before and after that, Tim Gorle and other colleagues were accommodating as I tried to meet the demands of work and study. Joan, my wife, has noticed the amount of time I have spent with books and an Apple computer, but she has given me unfailing support nevertheless.

Many librarians and archivists gave me access to their resources. Some institutions must be acknowledged by name: the State Library of New South Wales, especially its Mitchell Library; the Veech Library of the Catholic Institute of Sydney/St Patrick's College, Manly; the library of Moore Theological College, Newtown; the library of Avondale College, Cooranbong; the Auchmuty Library of the University of Newcastle. The churches' archival institutions were invaluable: the Catholic Archdiocesan Archives in St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney; the Australiana collection at Moore College; Eskdale, the Uniting Church archive at North Parramatta where Methodist and other sources are held; the Ellen G. White/Seventh-day Adventist Research Centre, Avondale College.

I have a long list of librarians/archivists who were helpful, including in particular Hans Arns and Pam Fitzpatrick, Manly; John Cummins and Chantal Celjan, St Mary's; Kim Robinson, Moore; Eric Clancy, Eskdale; Eleanor Scale, Avondale; Jim Cleary, Newcastle.

Three people merit thanks for technical assistance. Len Hokin, who spends his days and too much of his nights with the computer system at Avondale College, gave helpful advice. Maurice Ashton transferred the content of my Apple discs to the college system, not without difficulty. Colleen Pinchin painstakingly reformatted the text, and incorporated some of the corrections and additions.

This thesis has borrowed elements of style from J.A. La Nauze, *Presentation of Historical Theses: Notes for University Students* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966); Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, fourth ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, fourth ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985); *Style Manual for Authors, Editors and Printers*, fourth ed. (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1988). No one of these sources solved all the problems which I encountered. La Nauze seemed the most inclusive guide to a recognised Australian form. The Government's manual was the most up-to-date, but some of its recommendations are not yet in common use. An eclectic form, therefore, seemed most appropriate.

At one stage I had an extensive list of abbreviations drawn from a wide range of sources or created to meet the needs which emerged. This list became bewildering due to the variety of sources and the range of subject matter. Thus abbreviations are usually avoided; those which are used are standard ones, or else they are limited to a specific chapter and explained at the first occurrence. The full name of a journal or newspaper is given at the point where it first appears in the text, and again in the bibliography. Elsewhere a shortened form may be employed. Thus *The Journal of Religious History* becomes *Journal of Religious History*, *The Bible Echo and Signs of the Times* becomes simply *Echo*, etc.

I began research toward this thesis with the intention of making H. Richard Niebuhr's typology its controlling idea. In the second half of 1989 I faltered in that purpose. This revised edition employs Niebuhr's typology as its organising principle.

I have conferred with many people representing different communions and various academic disciplines. Some of these have helped me with constructive criticism: Anthony Cahill, John Cox, Brian Dickey, Don Hansen, Peter Kuch, Bill Lawton, Robert McIver, Barry Oliver, Robyn Priestley, Steven Thompson, Alan Ward and Norman Young. Certain analyses I have made are not present in the literature I have cited, and are contested by some of the critics I value most.

The people mentioned above are in no way responsible for the flaws in this work. The fact that the problem I have addressed is neither solved nor solvable is a healthy incentive to persist with the search for interim solutions. I trust that the sense of partnership I have shared with people of diverse backgrounds and different academic interests will be enhanced in the ongoing quest.

Arthur Patrick,
1 October 1991.

INTRODUCTION

The problematic relationship between Christianity and culture engaged the attention of H. Richard Niebuhr (1894-1962) during much of his fruitful career. A major concern of his doctoral thesis presented in 1924, by 1951 this problem had motivated Niebuhr's best-known book about 'the double wrestle of the church with its Lord and with the cultural society with which it lives in symbiosis'.[1] For two thousand years, Niebuhr claims, a many-sided debate has engaged the church and its world. Biblical studies, theology, ethics, philosophy, anthropology, sociology and history are among the academic disciplines which are involved in the twentieth-century phases of the debate.

After work and study in New Zealand and the United States, I returned to Australia in 1973 and, during the next decade, witnessed what appeared to be in part a destructive collision between religious ideas and Australian culture. Since this conflict had manifold effects, one of which was to reorientate the careers of over a hundred professional people of my acquaintance, it seemed to call for more than cursory attention. For some years I noticed that the ongoing crisis had exegetical, theological and sociological dimensions. Therefore, I read with some eagerness a number of studies which sought a more accurate exegesis of the Old Testament and the New, or systematised theological ideas, or addressed the religious questions from a sociological perspective. The relevance of these explorations was

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1 H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. 1-44, xi. There is no intention in Niebuhr's writings or in this thesis to reify the problem or to suggest that it is unique to Christianity. Any ideology is likely to face difficulties as it interacts with the culture which surrounds it.

apparent; but they also deepened the impression that any single discipline could only proceed effectively in partnership with related modes of inquiry. From 1981 to 1983, as I began to examine Australian history, I decided that religious history was one of the indispensable components in the contemporary dialectic.[2] However, it soon became apparent that it was impossible to understand Christianity in contemporary Australia without first giving attention to its Northern Hemisphere provenance and colonial transplantation.

This thesis, therefore, looks at the problem of nineteenth-century Christianity and culture in historical terms, but with an attitude of respect for the other approaches mentioned above. In chapter one I introduce the problem and, with the help of Niebuhr, identify five solutions which have frequently been proposed since the first century of the Christian era. The bias is toward the manifestation of the problem and some of the significant solutions which emerged within Christendom. Then, in chapter two, I chart the context of a more localised example of the problem in a colonial society, that is, within Australia. Thereafter I note the varied nature of Australian Christianity, and dig 'trenches'[3] into the self-understanding and experience of four denominations in New South Wales. Finally, I make some historical assessments of the problem and the solutions offered, as my contribution to the ongoing debate over the encounter between Christianity and culture.

The subject of this thesis lies within the territories of religious history, church history and the history of ideas in a sacral context. Religious history 'mingles with the history of politics or society or culture'; church history is often concerned with institutional matters; the history of ideas examines ideas in their social context and seeks to

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2 The questions seemed to demand an understanding of numerous issues, including the nature of religious belief, the essential and the peripheral within Christianity, the influence of myth and tradition, the locus and function of ecclesiastical authority.

3 The reference to 'trenches' implies my method by an analogy. Jerusalem is one of many ancient cities which have gained the attention of archaeologists during recent decades. Several requirements are usually addressed by those who choose to unearth an ancient city of this type. An acquaintance with archaeological method and the discoveries already made is primary; a surface survey of the area is important; the site must be excavated, which usually means trenches are dug in a selected area. Finally, when the material and documentary evidence have been analysed, calculated guesses can be made and tested in the public arena.

understand how they influence human beings.[4] Near the end of *A History of Christianity*, a substantial volume aiming 'to present the salient facts as modern scholars see and interpret them', Paul Johnson suggests that 'Christian history is a constant process of struggle and rebirth - a succession of crises often accompanied by horror, bloodshed, bigotry and unreason'.[5] Horror and bloodshed have been largely absent from Australian religion, but the processes of 'struggle and rebirth' in its Christianity can be explored fruitfully by combining the approaches of religious history, church history and the history of ideas, in relation to the society in which they operate.

A number of questions required more than passing attention in order for this study to proceed, even though some of them cannot be given extended attention in the text of the thesis. What is religion? What is Christianity? What is culture? How does an understanding of the early development and Northern Hemisphere history of Christianity illumine its Australian experience? Why have subcultures (denominations) developed within Christianity and how are they sustained? Such issues were inseparable from the main question under exploration: **What interim and ultimate solutions did Catholics, Anglicans, Wesleyans and Adventists propose for the problematic relationship between Christianity and culture during the 1890s in New South Wales, and why did they choose those particular options?** Thereafter, it seemed relevant to ask two further questions. How effective were these solutions; that is, were the objectives of the people who proposed them realised? To what extent is Christianity able to minimise conflict with its culture?

A working definition of religion indicates parameters which are important for the task in hand. Religion is 'a six-dimensional organism, typically containing doctrines, myths, ethical teachings, rituals, and social institutions ... animated by religious experiences of

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4 J.D. Bollen, A.E. Cahill, Bruce Mansfield, Patrick O'Farrell, 'Australian Religious History, 1960-1980', *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (June 1980), pp. 8-43, define religious history over against church history. For five perspectives on religious history, see Patrick Collinson, Christopher Brooke, Edward Norman, Peter Lake, David Hempton, 'What is Religious History?', in Juliet Gardiner (ed.), *What is History Today?* (Atlantic Highlands [New Jersey], 1988), pp. 58-67. For insights into the history of ideas, see Philip Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, four vols (New York, 1968, 1973); Preston King (ed.), *The History of Ideas: An Introduction to Method* (London and Canberra, 1983), pp. 19, 316-325.

5 *A History of Christianity* (London, 1976), pp. vii, 515-517.

various kinds'.[6] Its functional modes include existential, intellectual, institutional and ethical components.[7] Some social historians portray Christianity as a phenomenon which has evolved from animism through polytheism and henotheism to monotheism. In contrast with such an understanding, many conservative Christians declare their religion is a human response to the voluntary self-revelation of a transcendent God, a disclosure witnessed to by both the Old Testament and the New, but given definitively in the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth.[8]

So, for some analysts, Christianity has developed from a process of social evolution; for others, it is the product of supernatural revelation. I do not debate these contrasting opinions, nor the various explanations which lie between them. Rather, I assume there is an historical relationship between the three great monotheistic faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and that it can be argued the latter two inherited or derived their monotheism from Jewish sources.[9] Only the second of these monotheistic religions is under direct investigation, but the Old Testament and Judaism are crucial as the historical and theological backdrop for the argument. An immense literature, intensified by the holocaust which occurred during the Second World War, is currently reshaping the understanding of the relationship between Judaism and its most important messianic sect, Christianity.[10]

There are abundant sources which seek to define 'culture' and its relationship to 'society', to 'civilisation' or to 'the world'. While this thesis accepts that all these terms are useful indicators of the human

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6 Ninian Smart, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, third ed. (New York, 1984), p. 16. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London, 1973), p. 90, emphasises the powerful effects which religion may have as 'a system of symbols'.

7 Peter Bishop and Michael Darton (eds), 'The Nature of Religion', *The Encyclopedia of World Faiths: An Illustrated Survey of the World's Living Religions* (London and Sydney, 1987), pp. 6-31.

8 C.H. Pinnock, 'Revelation', in Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, 1988), pp. 585-587.

9 Bishop and Darton (eds), *The Encyclopedia of World Faiths*, p. 168; cf. Stewart Sutherland, Leslie Houlden, Peter Clarke, and Friedhelm Hardy (eds), *The World's Religions* (London, 1988).

10 Christopher Rowland, *Christian Origins: An Account of the Setting and Character of the Most Important Messianic Sect of Judaism* (London, 1985).

environment with which a religion interacts, a full discussion of the vast and complex literature is beyond its scope. Rather, in order to employ Niebuhr's typology, I accept his definition of culture as comprising 'language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artifacts, technical processes, and values'. Again, Niebuhr states that culture 'includes speech, education, tradition, myth, science, art, philosophy, government, law, rite, beliefs, inventions, technologies'.[11]

The *World Christian Encyclopedia* notes that there were some 20,800 Christian denominations extant early in the 1980s, a diversity which it suggests may be expected from the fact that 'Christianity is being spread among some 8,990 peoples speaking 7,010 languages in the modern world'.[12] The present task was simplified by the fact that the denominations in colonial Australia were comparatively few in number and had quite clearly identifiable characteristics. The issues investigated and the conclusions reached have a limited relevance for the study of Christianity as one of the world's living religions; they have a more definite relevance for the particular denominations under review, and for the clusters of denominations to which the Australian churches are historically and ideologically related.

The interaction between Christianity and culture could be examined fruitfully from outside or from inside Christianity; I have chosen to explore it from the perspectives of four denominations within the religion, giving particular attention to the way in which theological ideas influenced adherents of Christianity as they encountered their world. Although chapter one surveys the relationship between Christianity and culture during the Christian era, only a small segment of the problem can be explored in any detail by a single thesis. Thus, strands of Christianity within Australia are selected because they represent different polities expressed in Roman Catholic, Anglican, Wesleyan and Adventist communions, embracing catholic, protestant, evangelical, revivalist and millenarian approaches. The four which I have chosen embraced eight out of every ten persons residing in New South Wales.[13] Although the Adventists were a tiny

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11 *Christ and Culture*, pp. 32, 33.

12 David B. Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Oxford, 1982), Preface.

13 Statistics for all the denominations are discussed in chapters three and four.

minority compared with the other three denominations, their experience illustrated, even more fully than that of the Anglicans, the control which eschatology may assume in a religious group. Taken together, these four religious bodies illustrate some of the characteristic factors which have shaped the relations between groups of Christians and their cultures: the tension between commonality and denominationalism; the struggle between constancy and adaptation; the motivation and constraint provided by ideas about personal salvation, ecclesiology and eschatology. Each of the four denominations was also sustained as a separate subculture by its imaging of its past, and by its attitudes toward the state and the dominant thought patterns of society.

My argument is that the solutions adopted by any particular group of Christians were usually conditioned by such factors as the historical experiences and the doctrines of their denomination. Both of these elements were formative, sometimes motivating socially-appropriate ideas and actions, but at other times restraining Christians from confronting social problems. Previous heritage and present beliefs helped to shape the churches' self-understandings and identities, their concepts of mission, and their relations to such specific issues as the quality of individual and national life, the affirmation of good and the confrontation of evil.

The period chosen, 1891-1900, was both the climax of the colonial period and a seed-plot for twentieth-century Australia. Some Christians of the time believed that they were living in a period of important transition, due to the approach of the new century and the development of federal sentiment within the six widely-separated colonies. A number of events during the 1890s stimulated the expression of Christian values and aspirations, for instance, there were ongoing debates over education, economic problems and the relations between church and state. Hence, this period provides a useful historical context in which to ask the principal question which is under investigation.

The entire thesis might have fruitfully explored how a single Christian body or person related to a particular issue. As a case in point, in chapter five I infer that even a substantial book has not resolved all the issues involved in the relationship between the Catholic Cardinal-Archbishop of Sydney, Patrick Francis Moran, and

the emergent Labor Party.[14] Yet, I presume to treat such a matter in a few paragraphs, and to deal with a number of other concerns which engaged the interest of Catholics during the 1890s, before hastening on to do the same for three other denominations. The weaknesses in such a method are acknowledged, nevertheless a trans-denominational approach to multiple issues is essential to clearly disclose the origins and nature of the various responses.[15] Rather than there being a single Christian solution to the problem, there were many Christian solutions and combinations of solutions. Thus a comparison between denominations, in respect of a number of issues, reveals the essential qualities of each solution better than can the study of a particular denominational solution.[16]

The literature which has been consulted for this thesis has necessarily been selective. Comprehensive treatments of the history of Christianity have continued to appear during the last half-century, with Kenneth Scott Latourette, Henry Chadwick, Owen Chadwick and Jaroslav Pelikan being amongst the influential authors and editors of multi-volume works.[17] Even 'the monographic literature on the history and theology of Christianity is, quite literally, incomprehensible in its

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14 Patrick Ford, *Cardinal Moran and the ALP* (Melbourne, 1966).

15 The denominations which were not accorded a chapter in the thesis are noticed briefly in chapter four. Also, the study observed many issues which had some relevance for its main question, but which are not discussed in the text. Some matters were important for only one or two denominations, but were so crucial that they could not be ignored. For reasons of simplicity and comparability, only a limited number of issues are included in the text; the introduction of other issues would enrich but not alter the conclusions.

16 The idea that a religious group may profit even from its severest critics is underlined effectively by Robert L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 204. This notion was unpopular in the 1890s. As a Seventh-day Adventist, I am a communicant member of one of the four groups under consideration; thus I have tried to be aware of the biases arising from both my Christian orientation and denominational background.

17 Kenneth Scott Latourette wrote much on Christian history, including seven volumes entitled *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, and five volumes entitled *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*. See his 'inclusive retrospect' in *A History of Christianity* (New York, 1953), pp. 1463-1477, and the newly-edited editions of his work now appearing. Note also Owen Chadwick (ed.), *The Pelican History of the Church*, six vols (Harmondsworth, 1960-1970); Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, five vols (Chicago and London, 1971-1989); Henry and Owen Chadwick (eds), *Oxford History of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1976-). The sixth volume of the *Oxford History* appeared in 1989; some twenty volumes are projected.

scope',[18] so it was important to identify succinct yet reliable overviews of the subject. Thereafter, more extended treatments could be better used to understand the particular persons, ideas and events which have influenced the course of Christian history. The reference works, monographs and journal articles cited in the footnotes have been selected for the viewpoints they contain and for the bibliographies they present. They are drawn from the authoritative and recent sources; in no way do they claim to be exhaustive.

Christians who lived in nineteenth-century Australia had much to say about the relationship between their religion and their culture. Often their lines seem as though they were prepared by people who lived in other times and distant places. For this reason, our first task is to construct a framework within which to interpret the encounter between Christianity and culture.

[18] Jaroslav Pelikan, 'Christianity', in Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 3, pp. 348-362. This article by Pelikan and one by Bainton are particularly useful overviews. See Roland H. Bainton, 'Christianity', in Richard Cavendish (ed.), *Man, Myth & Magic: The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mythology, Religion and the Unknown*, twelve vols (New York, 1985), Vol. 2, pp. 466-476.

CHAPTER 1

CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE: 'THE ENDURING PROBLEM' AND SOME TYPICAL CHRISTIAN SOLUTIONS

Even a brief survey of its founding and development suggests that Christianity has faced a persistent dilemma in its relationship with culture.[1] Christianity originated in south-west Asia, on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean region, within a subdivision of the Roman Province of Syria which was influenced deeply by Greek language and culture. Christians characteristically attribute the founding of their religion directly to the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, an Aramaic-speaking Jew born in 6 BC or soon thereafter in Judea, raised in Egypt and Lower Galilee, who died by crucifixion between AD 29

[1] Sociological perspectives make an important contribution to this discussion. For bibliographies, see Derek Tidball, *An Introduction to the Sociology of the New Testament* (Exeter, 1983), pp. 153-156; Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven and London, 1983), pp. 243-278. The present debate within the scholarly world owes much to three pioneer thinkers: Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. O. Wyon (Chicago, 1912, 1976); Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York, 1915); Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischoff (Boston, 1922, 1963).

and AD 33 in Jerusalem.[2] Although Christianity at first appeared to be merely another Jewish sect, within three decades it was penetrating both Asia and Europe, and starting to clarify both its continuities with and its radical differences from Judaism. Christianity spread continuously from its birthplace on the land-bridge between Europe, Africa and Asia, until it became the prevalent faith within Western civilisation, and, at least for part of the twentieth century, 'the most extensive and universal religion in history'.[3] Consequently it was confronted by the problem of how to relate to the Jewish, Roman, Greek and other cultures which it encountered.

The reality of the conflict between early Christians and Judaism does not imply that Christianity was not heavily indebted to Judaism. The first Christian groups developed within a Jewish culture which offered differing models of the relationship between religion and culture, exemplified by Essenes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, Zealots and others.[4] The foundational doctrines of Christianity, including in particular its sense of mission, largely ruled out the option modelled by the Essenes at Qumran, at least until a significant minority, monastics, began their withdrawal from the world in the fourth century. Even so, some Christians preserved other ideas which were central to the Qumran Covenanters: the coming conflict between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, the future inheritance of the poor, the role of the faithful remnant and the hope of an imminent consummation. In similar fashion, many Christians were in accord with the Pharisees in their determination to be obedient to God rather than men, even at the cost of martyrdom, and much of the Christians' social outlook followed Pharisaic patterns.[5] The political ideas of the Sadducees and the Herodians, like the revolutionary stance of the

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2 Ormond Edwards, *The Time of Christ: A Chronology of the Incarnation* (Edinburgh, 1986). See W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (London, 1984), for a review of the life of Jesus of Nazareth in 'the unquiet Jewish-Greco-Roman world', pp. 53-74, and a bibiography, pp. 74-83.

3 David B. Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Oxford, 1982), p. 3. For a review of aspects of Christian indebtedness to Judaism, see D.S. Russell, *From Early Judaism to Early Church* (London, 1986).

4 Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, pp. 22-30; E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London, 1985).

5 Harvey Falk, *Jesus and the Pharisees: A New Look at the Jewishness of Jesus* (New York, 1985); cf. Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity* (London, 1984), pp. 45-62.

Zealots, seemed less applicable within early Christianity.[6] But it is evident that the first century gave the followers of Jesus a range of options from which to choose as they encountered the various cultures of the Mediterranean region, and, in due course, the world.

From the beginning, Christians recognised that the relationship between their religion and the culture within which they lived was problematic. While their sacred writings did record positive experiences, they also recounted disturbing conflicts with rulers, adherents of other religions, the general populace and those who espoused variant forms of Christianity. About AD 57 St Paul the apostle declared that Christians were reviled, persecuted, defamed, 'made as the filth of the world, and ... the offscouring of all things'.[7] Before the death of St Paul during the next decade, debates were consolidating between Christians and Jews and Christians and pagans. Believers were also often disposed to roundly condemn other Christians whom they regarded as heretics. Several dimensions of this dispute are introduced in the New Testament and illustrated at length in the church's subsequent experience.

Christianity has usually claimed divine revelation as its basis, recommended commitment to God's will, and proclaimed an other-worldly salvation. Such ideas made it a dynamic force yet a disturbing presence within any society which it entered. Since its missionary impulse thrust it constantly into new and diverse cultures, most of which also experienced continuous change over time, the problem of how it should relate to culture was ever present but ever new.[8] One of the most persistent dilemmas confronting Christians,

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6 Older studies like S.G.F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity* (Manchester, 1967) must be reinterpreted in the light of the recent explosion of information on the Jewish background of Christianity: Donald A. Hagner, *The Jewish Reclamation of Jesus: An Analysis and Critique of Modern Jewish Study of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, 1984), p, 235; J.H. Charlesworth, 'From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives', in Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, Ernest S. Frerichs (eds), *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 225-264.

7 1 Corinthians 4:13; cf. 1:23; 2 Corinthians 11:24; John 5: 16, 18; 7: 1, 13; Acts 7:58; 9:23. Unless otherwise indicated, biblical quotations are from the King James or Authorised Version throughout this thesis, since that version was the common Bible of Protestants during the 1890s. Where a Catholic translation is important to the argument, the Douai-Reims version is useful.

8 Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia*, pp. 21-32, 105-111, gives a chronology of world evangelisation and an ethnolinguistic classification of cultures.

therefore, derived from their desire to be faithful to their Scriptures, and, at the same time, to live as responsible citizens within the varied and varying cultural contexts in which they found themselves.

H. Richard Niebuhr, as has been noted, devoted much of his career to the exploration of what he called the 'confused', 'many-sided debate about the relations of Christianity and civilization'.[9] Niebuhr came to believe that the ever-recurring question of how to live the Christian life within a given culture calls for 'an infinite dialogue ... in the Christian conscience and the Christian community'.[10] Since the aim of this thesis is to make an historical exploration of the problem of religion and culture in Australia during the late nineteenth century, it is suggested that Niebuhr's insights provide a useful orientation for the task in hand.

Any attempt to understand Christianity in a given time and place must be based on an acquaintance with its heritage from the first century onward. But, in addition, the historian of Christianity is ever challenged by what E.H. Carr might call 'a widening horizon',[11] and hence it is helpful to be able to barter with others who are exploring the same territory. A strength of Niebuhr's contribution lies in his ability to create a dialogue between historical studies and a number of other disciplines, in particular, biblical studies, systematic theology, Christian ethics, psychology and sociology.[12] His childhood nurture, education and professional career 'joined the cultural heritage of Germany with the social pragmatism of America', combining 'unaffected piety and stringent learning, theological liberality and evangelical sobriety, priestly care and prophetic critique'.[13]

More specifically, Niebuhr's bilingual childhood in Missouri gave him early access to German liberal theology, while his early pastoral training and experience confirmed him in the Reformed tradition. At

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9 See Introduction, p. 1, and H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. 1 and xi.

10 *Christ and Culture*, p. 39.

11 *What Is History*? (Harmondsworth, 1961), p. 133.

12 Each one of these disciplines provides a window through which to examine the relationship between religion and culture. Thus any historical enquiry should be sensitive to such viewpoints.

13 Lonnie D. Kliever, *H. Richard Niebuhr* (Waco, 1977), p. 19.

the University of Chicago in 1921 be began to imbibe ideas from social philosophy and psychology which were a permanent force in his thinking. His doctoral dissertation, completed in 1924 at the Yale University Divinity School, focused on the religious philosophy of Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), a study which extended Niebuhr's grasp of historical relativism. His academic, pastoral, teaching and administrative experiences coalesced in his role at Yale University, where he was professor of Christian ethics from 1931 until his death. The substance of *Christ and Culture*, the best known of Niebuhr's seven books, was delivered as lectures during 1949. By that stage in his career, Niebuhr's theological synthesis and ethical stance had been honed by his reflections upon economic depression, social evils and war. He had also subjected his ideas to the cross-fire of public opinion through the publication of many articles.[14]

This chapter does not address Niebuhr's theology, that area of his thought which has provoked most of the many doctoral theses, books and journal articles which relate to him. Nor is it our present intention to examine, in detail, Niebuhr's historiography.[15] Rather, it is suggested that his long engagement with the problem of religion and culture has raised useful questions and pointed the way toward creative answers, both of which merit being kept in mind throughout the present exploration.

Niebuhr uses the descriptive term embodied in the title of this chapter, 'the enduring problem', to sum up the relationship between Christianity and culture. He suggests that five constructs or types help to define 'typical partial answers that recur so often in different eras and societies that they seem to be less the product of historical conditioning than of the nature of the problem itself and the meaning of its terms'. Three of these typical answers belong to 'that median type in which both Christ and culture are distinguished and affirmed', whereas the other two are polar opposites, emphasising either 'the **opposition** between Christ and culture' or 'a fundamental **agreement**

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[14] See, for example, Jerry A. Irish, *The Religious Thought of H. Richard Niebuhr* (Atlanta, 1983).

[15] The findings of two doctoral dissertations will be noticed in chapter nine: Douglas F. Ottati, *Meaning and Method in H. Richard Niebuhr's Theology* (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 95-133; Charles Wayne Scriven, 'The Transformation of Culture: Christian Social Ethics After H. Richard Niebuhr' (PhD dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1985).

between Christ and culture'.[16] We shall at this point summarise Niebuhr's typologies and list some of the main examples he cites, acknowledging that it is impossible to do so without employing much of his language in the next five paragraphs.

(A) History is well supplied (Niebuhr claims) with examples of anti-cultural, non-conforming, radical, exclusive Christianity: some New Testament Christians of the first century,[17] Clement of Rome (fl. c. 90-100), Tertullian (c. 160/70-c. 215/20), some early monastics, Protestant sects, Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) and many others. Mennonites in the United States and Jehovah's Witnesses in Australia are two of the more visible examples from the twentieth century.[18] Such groups emphasise portions of the Gospel of Matthew, the First Epistle of John and the Revelation of St John. They stress a long series of contrasts: Christ and Caesar, church and state, divine revelation and human reason, light and darkness, God's will versus man's will, the children of God and outside society, spiritual and material, eternal and temporal, Christian and secular, God's work in Christ versus man's work in culture, and soul-regeneration over against social reform. For such believers, history is the story of a rising church or Christian culture and a dying pagan civilisation. Their religion presents an inseparable relation between the three themes of love: God's love for human beings, their love for God, and their love for each other. Hence, the believer's loyalty is directed entirely to the new order, the new society and its Lord, without concern for transitory culture. Niebuhr describes and illustrates this stance in his chapter

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16 Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, pp. 39-44. Emphasis his.

17 A New Testament specialist may contend that this is a moot point; Jesus was not called a wine-bibber and a glutton because he was anti-social, and the early church did not record such incidents because it was anti-social. See Norman H. Young to A.N. Patrick, 19 June 1989. Young adds that the New Testament nowhere rejects the world outright, unless in the Johannine corpus, especially Revelation. Similar strictures could be raised about other statements reflecting Niebuhr's thought in the next five paragraphs. This chapter only presents a summary of Niebuhr's typologies and cites some of his examples; it would require several dissertations to debate the details.

18 Observe the extensive writings of John H. Yoder in relation to Mennonite thought.

entitled 'Christ Against Culture'.[19]

(B) An opposite answer is given by the 'once-born' and 'healthy-minded' harmonisers of Christ and culture. Culture-Protestantism accommodates Christ to culture while selecting from culture what conforms most readily to Christ. Such Christians interpret the New Testament as relevant to the there-and-then and to the here-and-now, in that it agrees with the interests and needs of the time. Judaisers, Nazarenes and Ebionites sought to maintain loyalty to Jesus Christ without abandoning any important part of current Jewish tradition, or giving up the special messianic hopes of Israel. The Christian Gnostics also exemplified this stance, as did Lactantius (c. 240-c. 320) and others who sought to amalgamate Hellenistic culture and Christianity in the time of Constantine. Peter Abelard (1079-1142) reduced the faith to what conformed to the best in his culture; John Locke (1632-1704) stressed the reasonableness of Christianity; Gottfried Leibnitz (1646-1715) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) opted for religion within the limits of reason. Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918) stood within this stream. The harmonisers seek to reconcile the gospel with the science and philosophy of their time; they make Christianity a religious and philosophic system, emphasising Jesus as spiritual saviour rather than Lord of life, and the church as an association of the enlightened. They offer, rather than the exacting demands of certain biblical passages, kindly and liberal guidance for good people who want to do right. This answer assumes the tension that exists between church and world is due to the church's misunderstanding of Christ. The radical Christian charges this group with reducing the kingdom of God to a fellowship of human beings. Yet the 'Christ of Culture' position, to use Niebuhr's third chapter title, claims that it is recommending Christianity to an unbelieving society, and presenting reason as the highway to God and salvation.[20]

(C) According to Niebuhr, the great majority of Christians have

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[19] *Christ and Culture*, pp. 45-82. Dates have been added with the help of various reference works, including J.D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, revised ed. (Grand Rapids, 1978); F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, second ed. (Oxford, 1978, 1983); Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright, eds, *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, 1988).

[20] *Christ and Culture*, pp. 83-115.

'refused to take either the position of the anti-cultural radicals or that of the accommodators of Christ to culture'. The majority movement in Christianity includes three principal strands: synthesists, dualists and conversionists. The synthesists adopt a 'both-and' rather than an 'either-or' stance, attempting to combine appreciation of culture with loyalty to Christ, while at the same time placing Christ above culture. Passages in the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans are crucial to this answer which was articulated by apologists in the second century, and many others, such as Justin Martyr (c. 100-165), Clement of Alexandria (c. 155-c. 220), Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274), Joseph Butler (1692-1752) and Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903). The synthesist's understanding of Christ separates him from the cultural believer, whereas his appreciation of culture distances him from the radical Christian. He believes that Christ is far above culture; indeed, there is a gulf between them, even though culture may be a preliminary training for the work of the Lord. Such a believer combines, without confusing, philosophy and theology, state and church, civic and Christian virtues, natural and divine laws. This 'Christ Above Culture' synthesis is not easily attained or maintained, being subject to obvious tensions.[21]

(D) Another 'Christian of the centre', the dualist, lives in conflict or tension between two magnetic poles, and in the presence of one great issue: the conflict between God and man due to the righteousness of God and the unrighteousness of fallen humanity. The dualist believes that in the cross of Christ man's work has been judged, and by Christ's resurrection the new life has been introduced into history. Hence, man now lives between time and eternity, between wrath and mercy, between culture and Christ, with no solution to this dilemma before death. Niebuhr finds many examples of this stance: Paul the Apostle in the first century, Marcion in the second century, Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Martin Luther (1483-1546), Roger Williams (c. 1603-1683), Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), Reinhold Niebuhr (1893-1971) and others. Yet the complexity of 'the enduring problem' is such that some of these individuals combine more than one option. Hence, for Augustine the conversionist note is more characteristic than the dualist stance; Troeltsch does not always hold a tension between Christ and culture. The dualist fixes his gaze on the depths and heights of wickedness and

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21 *Christ and Culture*, pp. 116-148.

goodness as revealed in the cross of Christ. His theorising begins with the miracle of God's grace, which forgives men without merit on their part. He believes grace is in God, sin is in man, and man is in sin. He affirms that before the holiness of God there are no significant differences, rather, everything that is creaturely is depraved. For the dualist, therefore, all culture is injected with that godlessness which is the essence of sin. He knows he belongs to a culture and cannot escape from it, yet he believes God sustains him in it and by it. Hence, adopting the 'Christ and Culture in Paradox' stance, the true dualist lives in the tension between wrath and mercy.[22]

(E) Niebuhr's last answer is that given by the conversionists who find their chief biblical foundation in the Gospel of John. This stance may be illustrated by the Letter of Diognetus written late in the second century; Augustine's *City of God*; John Calvin's (1509-1564) desire for the permeation of all life by the gospel, with the state as God's minister; John Wesley's (1703-1791) emphasis on Christ as the transformer of life; F.D. Maurice's (1805-1872) notion that Christ is Lord of mankind whether men believe this on not. Of these and others, Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) is 'the most consistent conversionist'. The conversionist approach emphasises Christ as redeemer; takes a positive and hopeful attitude toward culture; and makes creation a major theme, declaring that man lives in a created order. It further declares that the fall has warped, twisted and misdirected man's good nature; it stresses the redemptive work of God in the incarnation of the Son; it affirms that God in Christ has entered a human culture that has never been without his ordering action; and it believes that history is a dramatic interaction between God and man. Therefore, the conversionist understanding asserts that all things are possible to God; it sees history as the story of God's mighty deeds and man's response to them; and it presents to the world 'Christ the Transformer of Culture'.[23]

Niebuhr has described the encounter between Christianity and society aptly as 'the enduring problem'. To use his words, this dilemma does create 'a many-sided debate' engaging 'historians and theologians, statesmen and churchmen, Catholics and Protestants, Christians and anti-Christians'. Sometimes this debate is a public one;

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22 *Christ and Culture*, pp. 149-189.

23 *Christ and Culture*, pp. 190-229.

at other times it proceeds 'privately in the conflicts of conscience'. The discussion ranges from 'special issues, such as those of the place of Christian faith in general education or of Christian ethics in economic life', to questions as broad as 'the church's responsibility for social order or of the need for a new separation of Christ's followers from the world'. Further, the faith of the church 'forms the basis for our reasoning in culture; for our efforts to define a rational justice; for our endeavours after rational political order; for our attempts to interpret the beautiful and true'.[24]

It is further contended, at Niebuhr's suggestion, that any answers that can be given in response to 'the enduring problem' can be only partial at best. While we can 'count on being corrected, forgiven, complemented, by the company of the faithful and by many others to whom [God] is faithful though they reject Him',[25] the questions and the answers are crucial for both religion and culture. The issues have been explored at some depth by Niebuhr and others as they existed or persist in various cultures in the Northern Hemisphere.[26] The problem is a continuing focus of enquiry amongst some of those who are engaged in religious history, and in the study of Christian missions within the developing nations. Some aspects of the problem have been investigated fruitfully within Australia.[27] But a significant need remains for a continuing and more comprehensive enquiry into the interaction between Australian Christians and their culture. This process must involve the study of numerous denominations, employ the insights of a number of disciplines, and assess the relevance of many issues. This thesis addresses only a tiny segment of that endeavour, but it seeks to show that the received theologies and histories of the selected denominations (which in their various ways illustrate Niebuhr's types) vigorously motivated and sharply

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24 Cf. *Christ and Culture*, pp. 1-44, with Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus Through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 1-8.

25 *Christ and Culture*, pp. 255-256.

26 Although it is four decades since *Christ and Culture* appeared, Niebuhr's analyses remain an important element in the ongoing debate. The recent literature is so extensive that another thesis would be needed to review it adequately.

27 For sources, see Hans Mol, *The Faith of Australians* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 225-241; Michael Mason (ed.), *Religion in Australian Life: A Bibliography of Social Research* (Bedford Park [Adelaide], 1982), pp. 119-223.

constrained their responses to social issues during the 1890s.

The next chapter will survey the context of Christianity within colonial Australia. It will be observed that a similar struggle has beset the faith in successive generations due to a range of considerations, including 'the conflicting claims of a utopian message and the pragmatic approach needed to deal with an unregenerate world'.[28]

[28] Christopher Rowland, *Christian Origins: An Account of the Setting and Character of the Most Important Messianic Sect of Judaism* (London, 1985), pp. 272-311, especially p. 309.

CHAPTER 2

CHRISTIANITY IN COLONIAL AUSTRALIA

Australian white settlement was a small part of a much larger movement of people; a result of the unprecedented expansion of European population which took place between the eighteenth century and 1930. This increase, by the early nineteenth century, was associated with a large-scale migration to regions of recent settlement, a process which continued until the early part of the present century. For Australia, the redistribution of Europeans had a dramatic influence on the period of pioneering white settlement from 1788 to 1860, during which time the white population increased rapidly and the number of Aborigines fell markedly. However, between 1860 and 1930, both immigration and the Australian birth-rate declined, leading to a fall in the rate of white population growth.[1]

During the first seven decades of white settlement in Australia, on an average, the population doubled every eight years, mainly due to a high level of immigration. Contrary to many claims, the gold rushes of the 1850s did not begin an era of accelerated expansion; rather, they extended the early period of rapid population growth. The next seventy years, 1860 to 1930, which witnessed a transition to a slower

1 R.V. Jackson, *The Population History of Australia* (Melbourne, 1988), pp. 2-3; James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 23-96.

population increase, averaged a growth of only 3.4 per cent per annum until 1890. While there had been a temporary rise in the growth rate during the 1880s, this fell steeply during the 1890s and until shortly after 1900. Indeed, the average growth rate between 1890 and 1930 was only 1.8 per cent. Total population growth in the twentieth century was destined to slow to the point where it would take about forty years to double.[2]

Certain population data for New South Wales in the 1890s confirm the impressions derived from the statistics just cited. On 5 April 1891, New South Wales registered a total population of 1,132,234 persons, whereas by 31 March 1901 the population was 1,359,133, a numerical growth in the decade of 226,899, at an average annual rate of increase of 1.84 per cent. Only 11,263 of this population were Chinese, and a mere 4,287 were listed as Aborigines.[3] Viewed in demographic terms, the success of British colonisation in Australia presupposed the displacement of Aborigines and the marginalisation of their culture.[4] Late in the nineteenth century the Aborigines were still frequently said to be facing extinction, although by that time official neglect was being replaced by paternalistic protection. Virulent racial attitudes were a feature of Australian life in the latter part of the colonial period and beyond.[5] Thus, as federal sentiment was developing, ways were being sought systematically to exclude non-white immigrants.[6]

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2 Jackson, *Population History of Australia*, pp. 3-65.

3 T.A. Coghlan, Government Statistician, 'Statistical View of the Progress of New South Wales', *New South Wales Statistical Register for 1902 and Previous Years* (Sydney, 1903), p. 683 and insert facing p. 1136. Unless otherwise indicated, all New South Wales statistics cited in this chapter are from this source.

4 For legislation designed 'to show the civilised world that however black may be the page of history ... there is a bright page to be written', see the speech by Horace Tozer, Home Secretary, Queensland, in *Parliamentary Debates*, 1897, quoted in Frank Crowley, *A Documentary History of Australia*, Vol. 3: *Colonial Australia, 1875-1900* (Melbourne, 1980), pp. 520-522.

5 For a review of Aboriginal society and culture, see D.J. Mulvaney and J. Peter White (eds), *Australians to 1788* (Broadway [Sydney], 1987), pp. 342-443.

6 Observe Sir Henry Parkes speech promoting federation as a way of preventing 'any influx whatever of inferior, and therefore degraded, people'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 August 1892. On racial attitudes, see A.T. Yarwood, 'The White Australia Policy', in Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*, pp. 77-83. It is acknowledged that not all historians agree with the 'racist' interpretation given in this paragraph.

Australia was settled in 'an age when any part of the world whose inhabitants could not fight the Europeans was considered European property'.[7] Since its only indigenous human beings were black, relatively defenceless and seemingly without interest in the presumed benefits of white civilisation, even their existence was discounted to the extent that often the vast new land was deemed to be empty. Little cultural reciprocity was shared between the white settlers and the other peoples which were closest geographically: the Melanesians and the Polynesians of the Pacific Islands, and the culturally-feared races of Asia. Even more formidable, in some respects, was the threat that French, German or Russian expansion might rob the colony of its English hegemony.[8] In psychological terms, colonial Australians tended to be excessively dependent upon their antecedent societies and at the same time severely isolated from interchange with most other cultures.

The close relationship between the Australian colonists and the societies of England, Ireland and Scotland may be illustrated statistically. In 1861, only 37.2 per cent of the population had been born in Australia, whereas 54.7 per cent had been born in the British Isles, 'with England the source of more than half these people, Ireland more than a quarter, and Scotland most of the rest'.[9] By 1891, the Australian-born had increased to 68.2 per cent, but the proportion born in the British Isles was still 26.1 per cent. It was inevitable, therefore, that Australian Christianity would reflect the lines of cleavage which were evident amongst the peoples uprooted from the Northern Hemisphere and transplanted into the Antipodes.

Except for small inflows of people from Northern Europe and Asia, Australia in the 1890s was an outpost of Britannia. Even so, it would be a mistake to infer that Australian culture was a carbon copy of any one of the antecedent societies from which the majority of its people had migrated. In this connection it is important to ask why these particular Britons were in the Southern Hemisphere. Until 1820, most of those who arrived in Australia were convicts, officials,

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7 Donald Horne, *The Story of the Australian People* (Sydney, 1985), p. 10.

8 Note the fears which reached the level of hysteria when the cable link with the heart of the British Empire broke during 1888. Graeme Davison, J.W. McCarty and Ailsa McLeary (eds), *Australians 1888* (Broadway [Sydney], 1987), pp. 403-405.

9 Jackson, *Population History of Australia*, p. 38.

and military personnel; indeed, 160,000 convicts were transported here during the eighty years the system of transportation operated. Thus the new white culture was consciously focused upon two groups: convicts who had been purposefully isolated from respectable British society, and the individuals who were charged with the task of maintaining the desired isolation and discipline. As time went by, this vast gaol opened its gates to lower-class assisted immigrants and free settlers generally lured by the promise of wealth. Many convicts and early settlers represented, often in the same geographical area, quite different modes of thought which derived mainly from England, or Scotland, or Ireland; yet most of them did not represent well the whole or the wholeness of any one of the cultures from which they had come. New South Wales in its early period had all the unnaturalness of an extensive gaol designed to isolate and control habitual criminals; as time went by, many of its people demonstrated a passion for wealth.

Such was the cultural context of Christianity in early Australia. According to Roland H. Bainton, Christianity emphasises 'the gentler virtues: mercy, compassion, consideration, tenderness, self-sacrifice and love, sheer love, with no consideration of recompense'.[10] Convicts and assisted immigrants were drawn from the poorer classes who had seldom experienced these gentler virtues before they embarked for Australia, and were unlikely to find these qualities paramount in the colonies. The scarcity of women and the general poor treatment of females, during the early period, are two aspects of the wide-ranging social impoverishment which existed within early New South Wales society. During the 1970s Miriam Dixson argued that colonial culture was seriously deficient in effective female role models, and Anne Summers found reasons during the early period for women being stereotyped as prostitutes and, later, as either 'damned whores' or 'God's police'.[11] The fact that 'the overall pattern of migration suggests a response to economic incentives' implies that free settlers were drawn to Australia by 'the discovery of exploitable

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[10] Roland H. Bainton, 'Christianity', in Richard Cavendish (ed.), *Man, Myth & Magic: The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mythology, Religion and the Unknown*, twelve vols (New York, 1985), Vol. 2, pp. 466-476.

[11] Miriam Dixson, *The Real Matilda: Woman and Identity in Australia 1788 to the Present*, revised ed. (Melbourne, 1983), pp. 179-220; Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (Melbourne, 1975).

resources'.[12] Upon their arrival the colonists tended to cluster in industries which involved pillaging the seas and raping the land. All these factors and more had a part in creating both the legendary and the actual Australian; they did not form an ideal context for either the transmission or the nurture of Christianity.[13]

The colony's geographical location and characteristics also had a bearing on the development of its religious ethos. The alien nature of the Australian environment, from the viewpoint of the earliest European inhabitants, included far more than the strangeness of its existing Aboriginal culture. The unfamiliar aspect of its flora, fauna, climate and seasons was striking. It was prone to excessive summer heat, drought, flood and bush-fire. The quality of its soil was often poor, and, combined with climatic factors, unsuited to some of the best-loved plants of the British Isles. The impact of these geographical characteristics was exacerbated by the enormous problem of its distance from other centres of Western civilisation, the separateness of its various colonies, the isolation of its inland settlements, and the loneliness of many of its individual families.[14] Covered by a radically unfamiliar vegetation bathed in a mysterious light, the new country took a century to develop its 'first truly Australian school of painting'.[15] Many other aspects of colonial life would require a similar time period for the umbilical cords of dependence to be cut and for national independence to become evident. During its first century, Australia's white inhabitants viewed it as a fatal shore or a promised land, and sometimes, ambivalently, as both at the same time. Therefore, the colonial period often witnessed a struggle between competing loyalties; the nurture of the Christian religion was seldom a paramount consideration.

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12 Jackson, *Population History of Australia*, p. 49.

13 Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, second ed. (Melbourne, 1966); Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980* (Sydney, 1981).

14 Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne, 1966).

15 Patrick McCaughey, *Australian Painters of the Heidelberg School: The Jack Manton Collection* (Melbourne, 1979), p. 16; cf. D.J. Quinn, 'Artists and Artistic Taste in Australia', *Review of Reviews*, IX (20 November 1896), quoted in Crowley, *Colonial Australia*, pp. 491-493.

If this was the nature of the soil into which Australian Christianity was transplanted, what can be observed of the plant itself? At least eight characteristics merit consideration. **Colonial Christianity was, first of all, derivative**. It was carried as incidental baggage by people moving from long-established European societies into a disturbingly-new context. Only a few of those who transplanted religion into the inhospitable soil of colonial society between 1788 and 1900 were motivated by purposes akin to those of the Pilgrim Fathers and other similar colonists of North America. Albeit the provisions for religion were hasty and ill-conceived, it was dispatched from England with the First Fleet. It came in the person of a young, inexperienced, earnest, fallible, evangelical clergyman of the Church of England;[16] in the misshapen lives of transported criminals;[17] and in the doubtful piety of gaol-minders and officials who generally had interests quite other than the nurture of the Christian faith. But the fact remains that Christianity was brought as a fragile plant to New South Wales from the beginning of white settlement, with the soil of British and other European cultures clinging to its roots. It did more than survive the journey; having being uprooted and moved into unpromising ground, it thrived. In the census at the end of the colonial period only two per cent of the population did not list themselves as Christians.

However, it is important to emphasise the dependent nature of Australian Christianity.[18] Its planting and its growth need to be related to the longer history of Catholic and Protestant missions, including the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society and more. Its initial dispatch and continuing financial support, its literature and its clerical training, like its supply of clergy, often were long dependent upon churches in England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, the United States and other countries. Yet, to note this fact is also to observe the resilience which

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16 Neil K. Macintosh, *Richard Johnson: Chaplain to the Colony of New South Wales* (Sydney, 1978).

17 Allan M. Grocott, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches* (Sydney, 1980), pp. 82-103.

18 Michael Mason (ed.), *Religion in Australian Life: A Bibliography of Social Research* (Bedford Park [Adelaide], 1982), pp. 59-118, gives a list of sources, many of which demonstrate this theme.

Christianity has often demonstrated in moving from its Near Eastern matrix into new cultural settings. The history of this religion in Australia indicates, once again, that it is able to negotiate the problems of transfer, including those of long-lasting dependence, when changing from one country and culture to a new land and a different society.

Christianity in colonial Australia was, in general, socially regulative, and thus it was at odds with a prevalent spirit within its society. From the viewpoint of those who planned the colony, as well as its early officials, religion was often part of the punishment at worst, or a means of effecting control and reformation at best. Both the literature provided for distribution by the early clergy and the Bible texts which the Reverend Samuel Marsden chose for his sermons, indicate that even evangelical religion was prepared to be one component of a comprehensive system directed toward the punishment and reform of socially-alienated human beings. While evident in the ministry of the first chaplain, Richard Johnson, a concern for behavioural compliance was a more obvious mark of Samuel Marsden's still-controversial endeavours.[19] In this respect the early chaplains were not alone, for the Christianity of Anglicans, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and even some Catholics, was deeply influenced by Puritan thought.

The fact that nineteenth-century preaching, literature, and church discipline had a marked emphasis upon conduct does not mean it should be dismissed out of hand. Although he makes no claim to be a religious historian, Ronald Conway's perception merits attention: that the Australian churches quickly became 'social ghettos or lobbies in which fringe obsessions such as temperance, gambling, property rights, and sexual conduct were pushed, to the embarrassment of governments and the jeers of secularists and ordinary blokes'.[20] Conway's assessment finds some support in the evidence cited in the volumes by Walter Phillips and David Bollen, and it is given wider

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19 A.T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden: The Great Survivor* (Melbourne, 1977). The current focus upon the historiography of evangelicalism is challenging the well-known stereotypes of Marsden and even aspects of Yarwood's interpretation.

20 Ronald Conway, *The Great Australian Stupor: An Interpretation of the Australian Way of Life* (Melbourne, 1971, 1985), p. 162.

historical reference by Keith Dunstan.[21] But, in this regard, two factors should be kept in mind. First, this 'wowser' religion, despite the fact that it was in some ways inadequate, and was more often caricatured negatively, formed part of a vibrant strand in Christianity which influenced many Australians, even though it was not the majority viewpoint.[22] Second, there was some actual Christianity, even though it was usually of an anonymous brand, among Conway's 'secularists and ordinary blokes'. A feature of religious life in Australia, often confirmed by surveys, is that Christian belief is much more pervasive than such institutionalised religious practices as church attendance. Ian Gillman's observation is an apt one, that there was no doubt concerning the usual Protestant stance on such issues as 'the liquor traffic, gambling, Sunday observance, sexual immorality and "questionable" art and literature'. Gillman sees, in the fact that some Australian heroes were outlaws, both 'a protest against authority and social injustice' and 'an element of rejection of clerical emphases on the values of a middle-class society from which many people felt themselves alienated'.[23] This observation does not imply that Christianity failed to exert a significant influence, even beyond the ranks of clergy and middle-class church-goers. The existence of 'sin-centred morality and ethics' does not imply only 'a sad reputation among liberals and unbelievers for wowserism, emotional rigidity and killjoy attitudes'.[24] Rather, it introduces an issue which is fundamental to the nature of Christianity, not least in that it shaped the second half of a number of Pauline epistles in the New Testament. The fact that the gospel radically impinges upon the lives of Christians is confirmed by the fact that values are often a centre-piece in the debate between Christianity and culture.

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21 Walter Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country': Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and after* (St Lucia, 1981); J.D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910* (Melbourne, 1972); Keith Dunstan, *Wowsers* (Sydney, 1968).

22 Note the current study of evangelicalism led by Stuart Piggin and Brian Dickey, often reported in *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review*. See also Stuart Piggin, 'Towards a Bicentennial History of Australian Evangelicalism', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (June 1988), pp. 20-37.

23 Ian Gillman, *Many Faiths One Nation: A Guide to the Major Faiths and Denominations in Australia* (Sydney, 1988), p. 9.

24 Conway, *The Great Australian Stupor*, p. 167, cf. pp. 161-181.

The examination of denominational affiliations made in chapters three and four suggests another important characteristic of colonial Christianity. **The religion transported to Australia was deeply divided into competitive subcultures which were often nationalistic in their ethos.** Anglicanism was the principal religion of the English, Catholicism that of the Irish, Presbyterianism that of the Scots. Methodism tended to mix English, Irish and Welsh elements, particularly in its Primitive Methodist strand. Lutherans were mainly of German origin. Jews were sons of Israel in blood and faith. While the cultural values of Ireland, together with Roman Catholicism, formed the Irish Catholics into an identifiable and continuing subculture with a distinct ethos, a similar cultural separation characterised most other churches. Therefore, all the denominations in Australia should be studied in the light of the religious and cultural heritage which they or their forebears experienced in the societies from which white Australians migrated or descended. Any history of a church in Australia must, perforce, be prefaced by an account of that denomination in its antecedent country. Australian religion was not only fragmented by denominational divisions, these cleavages were reinforced by national loyalties and antipathies.

Several circumstances worked together to make Australian Christianity culturally and theologically defensive. It is true that pilgrims in the New World were confronted by harsher winters and larger forests than those of the British Isles. Yet the North American land, climate and vegetation had a certain familiarity about it. The stars and sun seemed friendly for they were where they should be in the sky. But in the alien land of New South Wales, a profound sense of shock was a frequent European response. This was antipodean country, a fact which helps to explain why the colonists tended to preserve the known in order to be able to face the unknown. It was necessary for them to reproduce a familiar social and religious landscape, for their Northern Hemisphere plants were too few to change the aspect of the vast new continent. There seemed little need or opportunity to seek a new expression of faith, and certainly they were only repelled by Aboriginal religion. To venture into the formation of an alien form of worship could signify, for believers, a severing of important links with relatives and country, in addition to cutting the moorings of conviction. Of course, for many it was sufficient to retain the name if not the practice of their denominational

faith. Every person, according to Robert Handy, in some degree desires to both preserve that which is precious in the past, as well as to be open to the future.[25] Australian Christians, however, were so placed that they needed to accentuate a conservative rather than a progressive attitude toward their religion. This factor had its benefits, but it also constrained the horizons of Australian Christianity.

This conservative Australian Christianity stood over against a culture which was infused with the spirit of the Enlightenment.[26] It is true that Australia was cushioned from much of the turbulence which occurred within European Christianity during the nineteenth century. But many of its leaders were deeply influenced by the ongoing effects of the Enlightenment, from Governor Arthur Phillip (1738-1814) onward. Phillip's era as the founding governor of New South Wales effectively ended with his illness in 1792, but not before he had exemplified his tolerance in the religious sphere. Like many of his successors, he was willing to employ religion as a means of control and reformation, but he was indifferent toward evangelical piety. This essential attitude cautioned subsequent governors against permitting sectarian rivalry to intensify, through allowing other than Anglican clergy to function in the colony. Later, in changing circumstances during the 1830s, despite the consternation of the Church of England, this same spirit conspired to confer similar patronage upon the four major denominations which were then in the colony. By 1880 in New South Wales, liberal minds ensured that education was raised above sectarianism, by making it ostensibly free, compulsory and secular. This spirit pervaded more citizens as time went by; before the end of the century it was influencing the thought of some churchmen deeply. Thus, some Christians were on the way to reshaping their conservative beliefs and consequently their relationship to society, whereas others resisted the ongoing effects of the desacralisation which was an important influence upon Australian

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[25] Robert T. Handy, 'Liberal and Conservative: An Inescapable Dichotomy in American Church History?' *Encounter*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer 1971), pp. 208-216.

[26] C.M.H. (Manning) Clark traces this theme at length in his six-volume *A History of Australia* (Melbourne, 1962-1987).

colonial religion.[27] Some of the cherished doctrines of the churches were threatened by the legacy of the Enlightenment, and competitive denominationalism tended to bring scorn upon Christianity from the sons and daughters of the Enlightenment. Conservative religion was thus on a collision course with a growing sentiment in Australian culture.

Walter Phillips has effectively underlined a further problem which constrained Christianity late in the colonial period: **the defensiveness of its attitudes which often led its most ardent protagonists to fight inconsequential battles.**[28] Debates over a host of issues, such as contraception and train travel on Sunday, even estranged some church-going Christians from their denominations. Such disputes focused the energies and resources of the churches upon matters which were either absent from, or at best peripheral to, the charter which they claimed to have been given in the New Testament. Even the ideas motivating Christian evangelism, as William Lawton has demonstrated, could contribute to an excessively separatist or world-denying attitude.[29]

Another factor, social status, tended to separate Christians from their culture. This was an acute problem during the convict era, but it continued strongly thereafter. The language of the *Book of Common Prayer*, like that of the Authorised Version of the Bible, was not well adapted to those people which churchmen were apt to call 'the lower orders of society'. Presbyterians and Wesleyans tended to be diligent, thrifty people whose life-styles predisposed them to upward mobility in social and economic terms. Congregationalists ministered best to those of independent minds and means. Adventist doctrine was too demanding for most of those whose precarious existence was consumed with the struggle to find food and shelter. The Irish segment of the population included more of the working class than was usual in any other segment of the population, but, even so, the Catholic church found it was very difficult to minister effectively to

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[27] Bruce Mansfield, 'Thinking about Australian Religious History', in Robert Withycombe (ed.), *Australian and New Zealand Religious History, 1788-1988: A Collection of Papers and Addresses* (Canberra, 1988); and in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (June 1989), pp. 330-344.

[28] Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country'*, pp. 274-275.

[29] William J. Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be: The Kingdom of God and Social Reform. Anglicans and the Diocese of Sydney, 1885-1914' (PhD thesis, The University of New South Wales, 1985).

the poorest people. Too often, nineteenth-century Christianity was identified with middle-class values, and thus it tended to exclude the poor.[30]

The inter-relatedness of these eight factors is so obvious that it scarcely needs separate mention. Yet it should not be assumed that all of these factors were important at any given time in a particular denomination. A sequence of countervailing considerations could be marshalled. The form and content of Scripture suggests, even to the satisfaction of some evangelicals, that divine revelation is culturally-conditioned. The expression of Christianity is always influenced in some way by its culture, even within the groups which Niebuhr would identify as the most anti-cultural. Australian Christianity did progressively drink from and exemplify the spirit of its new environment. Not all churches and Christians identified with middle-class values, or were constrained in their response to human need by their fear of humanism. There were cogent reasons for Christians to change their relations with the wider culture in some respects; as the nineteenth century progressed, the state assumed a greater role in education and health care, and this fact, together with the development of a strong secular ethic, reinforced the private nature of religion in this country.[31] Materialistic motives did not activate all the free settlers; the desire for prosperity did not demand exploitative tactics of everyone; not all engaged in plundering the sea and the land for wealth. The quest for prosperity seemed to offer greater satisfactions than the solace of religion, but there were exceptions. There were those for whom religion was in no respect a key to wealth, and some escaped the influence of the racist and masculinist attitudes which were present in their culture. While the factors listed above tended to mould the shape of Australian Christianity, they did not

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30 See H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929), for Niebuhr's analysis of the social character of North American denominations. This volume, published two decades before Niebuhr delivered the lectures which became *Christ and Culture*, 'overlooked the uniqueness of the American context', according to Bryan R. Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and New Religious Movements in Contemporary Society* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 106-110. This fact is a principal reason why Niebuhr's *Social Sources* has only a limited relevance for the situation in Australia.

31 Brian Murphy, 'Religion', *Dictionary of Australian History* (Sydney, 1982), pp. 231-232.

make it homogeneous, especially since these forces did not confront all denominations equally in every geographical area.[32] Such caveats and qualifications could be multiplied.

But enough has been said to indicate some of the general features of the Australian religion which will be mapped denominationally in subsequent chapters. Important themes, some barely implied thus far, could be profitably explored at greater depth: the meaning of life developed in the context of the Australian landscape; the great conflict between a transcendental view of the human condition and a this-worldy or humanistic view;[33] and the notion that Australian religiosity was of the military chaplaincy type.[34] It is apparent that the variety in Australian Christianity was a source of conflict between competing religious subcultures. As a Christian group surveyed the culture of New South Wales, it often identified the other denominations as its rivals, if not its enemies. But beyond the churches were the common foes of the practicing Christians: a growing number of increasingly-vocal secularists.

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Nineteen centuries after St Paul complained that Christians were reviled, persecuted and defamed, the weekly *Bulletin* functioned as a foil for organised religion in Australia. John Feltham Archibald as a founder of the journal and its editor from 1886 to 1903, especially with the help of Alfred George Stephens as literary editor after 1894, developed the *Bulletin* into 'The Bushman's Bible'. A formative influence far beyond its actual readership, the *Bulletin* focused the diffuse interests of secularists, and gathered into its readership republicans, federationists and believers in White Australia. It stood staunchly for egalitarianism, democracy, masculinity and mateship. As

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[32] Gillman's essay, 'Religion in Australian Life: An Exploration', *Many Faiths One Nation*, pp. 3-58, has been a formative influence in this paragraph.

[33] Bruce N. Kaye, 'Manning Clark's Interpretation of Religion in Australia', in Withycombe (ed.), *Australian and New Zealand Religious History, 1788-1988*, pp. 93-112.

[34] Gary Bouma, 'Assessing Trends in the Position, Strength and Role of Religion in Australia', in Withycombe (ed.), *Australian and New Zealand Religious History*, pp. 44-55.

'the chief organ of Australian nationalism',[35] it employed, with telling effect, prose, poetry and cartoons to further aggressive Australianism. Through uninhibited satire and irreverent visuals, the *Bulletin* frequently attacked Christians and their values.

The secularist attitudes which were present in the newly-formed Commonwealth of Australia were epitomised on the front page of the *Bulletin* dated 19 January 1901 by a large cartoon, entitled 'More Scuffling on the Steps'. In the cartoon, two ample, robed clergymen confront St Peter, keeper of heaven's portal. The Anglican archbishop of Sydney wishes Peter 'to hand in this prayer'; William Saumarez Smith proffers a scroll inscribed 'Uncommon Prayer for the Commonwealth'. The Roman Catholic cardinal-archbishop of Sydney exclaims, 'No, no Peter! *here*'s the proper prayer'; Patrick Francis Moran presents a scroll marked 'Special Prayer for Commonwealth', adding: 'Am not I your direct representative? It's like this chap's impudence! Who's *he*? I should like to know.' Although Peter's wrinkled face may be sketched so as to express benign amusement, both his index fingers point directly downward as he says, 'Really, gentlemen, it's as much as my place is worth to have any disturbance here! You had better both go to - well, down below.'

Care must be taken not to equate the context of Christianity in the Graeco-Roman world and in colonial Australia. In the former it was a new, little-understood, minority religion. In the latter it was a cluster of competing subcultures struggling to maintain their status and each hoping to gain a leading role in society. However, the church's problem of relating to secular society is as evident in the nineteenth century as in the first.

The attitudes expressed in the *Bulletin*'s cartoon are consistent with those which it reiterated throughout the 1890s. Both its writers and its artists mounted a sustained assault upon organised religion. Five converging lines of evidence point to the fact that, in the opinion of 'The Bushman's Bible', the Christian religion was irrelevant.

Firstly, all religions were presented in a negative light. Therefore, as the prevalent religion in Australia, Christianity was seen as the most annoying local example of a more pervasive problem. The

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[35] Murphy, 'Bulletin', *Dictionary of Australian History*, pp. 53-54; 'Jules Francois [John Feltham] Archibald (1856-1919)', *The Australian Encyclopedia*, fifth ed. (Terry Hills [Sydney], 1988), Vol. 1, p. 179; 'Alfred George Stephens (1865-1933)', *The Australian Encyclopedia*, fifth ed., Vol. 7, pp. 2716-2717; cf. R.B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales, 1803-1920* (Sydney, 1976), pp. 99-113.

basis of religion was declared to be human fancy, imagination, superstition and clerical assumptions; its dogmas were said to give rise to bigotry and intolerance. Christianity was blamed for a deterioration in the culture of the Mediterranean world in matters as diverse as cleanliness, education and the quality of wine.[36] However, there were instances in which the *Bulletin* showed a measure of appreciation for the character or principles of some religious leaders: Jesus Christ as the founder of Christianity, Muhammad as the founder of Islam, and Annie Besant as the promoter of Theosophy in Australia.[37]

Secondly, strong criticism was levelled at the Christian Scriptures, particularly the Old Testament. The Bible, which 'the local devil-remover' enjoins his congregation to read and meditate upon, was said to be 'chokeful [sic] of statements which couldn't be printed in *The Bulletin* without landing the whole literary staff in gaol'. Its undesirable features included the deeds of 'ancient prophets and law givers and horrid old kings ... who seemed to have lived in an atmosphere of moral guano'.[38] Biblical ideas and narratives were frequently made the butt of vitriolic review and uncomplimentary jest.[39]

Thirdly, the history of Christianity was presented as a sordid and sorry record. Roman Catholicism was blamed for intolerance and persecution.[40] The first head of the Church of England was described as 'the matrimonially-experienced Henry VIII', and the partnership between church and state in Ireland was said to have been 'upheld by bayonets for centuries'.[41] The 'pope' of the Salvation Army was stated to be even more despotic than the pope in Rome; the spectrum of other Christian denominations often received similar dismissive treatment.[42]

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36 *Bulletin*, 26 September 1891, p. 6; 29 October 1892, p. 6; 25 March 1893, p. 4; 17 February 1894, p. 7; 16 June 1894, p. 4; 14 July 1894, p. 6; 12 October 1895, p. 7.

37 *Bulletin*, 3 October 1891, p. 7; 26 September 1891, p. 6; 23 September 1893, p. 5; 15 September 1894, p. 15. Cf. Janet Oppenheim, 'Prophets Without Honour? The Odyssey of Annie Besant', *History Today*, Vol. 39 (September 1989), pp. 12-18.

38 *Bulletin*, 17 October 1891, p. 7.

39 *Bulletin*, 14 November 1891, p. 6; 25 March 1893, p. 8.

40 *Bulletin*, 14 March 1891, p. 7; 29 October 1892, p. 6.

41 *Bulletin*, 26 September 1891, p. 6.

42 *Bulletin*, 10 October 1891, p. 12; 28 November 1891, p. 7; 23 July 1892, pp. 6-7; 24 June, 1893, p. 7.

Fourthly, the adherents of Christianity were pictured within an unattractive frame of reference. Pope Leo XIII was described as 'a rheumatic patriarch with the biggest income on earth who is no use to anybody but himself'.[43] As might be expected of the best-known churchmen in Sydney, Smith and Moran merited more space than than their less-known ecclesiastical brothers.[44] The *Bulletin* was apt to contrast the Sydney Socialist League with 'stall-fed clergymen'; to characterise the leader of an insignificant Christian denomination as 'poor old Pastor Howlmore'; to speak of clergy as 'greasy', or as 'an outraged gang of hired prelates', or as 'holy baldheads'.[45] Children and labourers readily outwitted clerics, the exponents of 'venerable snuffle' and 'holy drivel'.[46] The clergy, 'the third sex', were portrayed as one of the principal reasons why men don't go to church.[47] Australia was believed to have 'more begging, cantankerous parsons to the square league' than almost any other country.[48] The laity attracted epithets like 'bloated hypocrite', 'the average formalist', 'lamentable capitalists', 'hard-shell sectarians', and 'self-sufficient bigots'.[49] Indeed, of 'true Protestants' it was said:

> Where two or three hundred cranks are gathered together for the mutual admiration of their own diseased little fad, that fad presently swells up in their imaginations and obscures the earth, and the entire solar system revolves round it; therefore everything that happens must be in some way connected with it either favourably or otherwise.[50]

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43 *Bulletin*, 14 March 1891, p. 7; 7 December 1895, p. 1.

44 *Bulletin*, 2 January 1892, p. 12; 19 January 1901, p. 1.

45 *Bulletin*, 31 January 1891, p. 4; 5 January 1901, p. 10; 14 March 1891, p. 7; 2 January 1892, pp. 7 and 12; 21 March 1891, p. 7; 10 December 1892, p. 7.

46 *Bulletin*, 14 November 1891, p. 15; 6 October 1894, p. 10; 7 April 1894, p. 5.

47 *Bulletin*, 26 September 1891, p. 6; 13 January 1894, p. 9; cf. 27 October 1900, pp. 11 and 13.

48 *Bulletin*, 25 February 1893, p. 5.

49 *Bulletin*, 7 April 1894, p. 5; 29 April 1893, p. 7; 14 April 1894, p. 7; 21 May 1892, p. 5.

50 *Bulletin*, 23 July 1892, p. 6.

Such were the merciless shafts hurled at the perceived self-sufficiency and exclusiveness of clergy and laity.

Fifthly, most of the specific solutions which Christians offered for the problems of society were ridiculed by the *Bulletin*. A cleric portrayed his idea of the church as a four-storey structure: a first floor for feeding the poor, a second for housing the indigent, a third for worship and a fourth for use as a hospital. In response, the *Bulletin*'s cartoonist drew a five-storey building, with an angel hovering in clear view above the roof, but with a devil stoking a furnace in the lowest level, out of sight.[51] An attempt to convert an Indian, convicted of murder, provided a story from which a typical moral could be drawn. The execution of the Indian was said to have been delayed so that he could learn 'the art of getting full salvation from his sins'. Refusing to eat, he was fed by force, to keep him alive so that twice daily an ancient missionary might attempt 'to pump the water of life into his poor intellectual system', and teach him how Christians 'send their murderers straight from the hangman's grip to the bosom of Jesus'. However, according to the *Bulletin*:

> He died a veritable martyr, and, to our mind, illustrating a circumstance we have frequently pointed out - to wit, that our civilisation is but a veneer, and that for all our boasted nineteenth-century sweetness and light we are capable of as brutal outrage as any breech-clouted savage dancing round a prospective 'long pig,' or any agent of the Inquisition at work with the Devil's tools in the name of God and true religion.[52]

Intercession for God's help in the troubles of the country elicited the printing of many satirical prayers. Some sharpened the debate between rich and poor: 'Let Thy light shine upon the darkness of the sharemarket, and the meter of our hearts will register several million feet of thanksgivings from the flame Thou shalt have kindled therein'.[53] The desire of churchmen to protect the sanctity of Sunday evoked withering sarcasm. Mr 'Righteous' Wrixon was credited with 'a Puritanical Bill for inciting people to suicide on the Sabbath Day', and a cartoon sketched a parson passing an orchard on his way to church, saying, 'Now if we can get Parliament to pass a short Act to stop fruit

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51 *Bulletin*, 3 June 1893, p. 12.

52 *Bulletin*, 2 May 1894, p. 5.

53 *Bulletin*, 3 June 1893, p. 12.

from growing on Sunday, our victory as an organised Christian body will be complete.'[54] In the long-continuing struggle over education, the *Bulletin* was decidedly against state aid for religious instruction.[55] It also favoured the separation of church and state; courage was required, the paper said, to propose a re-marriage for 'this divorced and ill-assorted couple'.[56]

While the *Bulletin* was wary of giving unqualified support to any organisation, even the emergent Labor Party, it was unsparing in its denunciation of class distinctions.[57] On the 'baby-farming' issue, it revealed a deep concern for the dilemma faced by the mothers of illegitimate children, torn as some of them were between the alternatives of infanticide and starvation.[58] Royalty was given strident criticism and few accolades, as was the idea of 'the eternal greatness of the awful British Empire'.

> The Last Man is going to be an Englishman - that final being who will stand his family umbrella up against the blackened stars and the extinguished sun, and hang his hat on the worm that never dies, and keep his eye on the seraphim when they suspend this old, dead, fire-blasted world in the heavens to dry.[59]

It is not surprising, then, that the *Bulletin* roundly condemned British involvement in the Boer War which took Australian soldiers to the southern end of the African continent between 1899 and 1902. Not only did it claim that unworthy motives began the conflict;

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54 *Bulletin*, 24 June 1893, p. 7; 29 April 1893, p. 7; 31 January 1891, pp. 4-5; 16 March 1895, p. 7; 1 August 1896, p. 7; 21 February 1891, p. 7; 3 November 1900, p. 17; 15 August 1896, p. 1.

55 *Bulletin*, 3 February 1894, p. 4; 31 March 1894, p. 7; 26 May 1894, p. 6.

56 *Bulletin*, 23 January 1897, p. 7; 26 February 1897, p. 6; 10 April 1897, p. 7; 26 September 1891, p. 6.

57 *Bulletin*, 16 May 1896, pp. 6-7; 13 June 1896, p. 7; 7 April 1894, p. 5; 31 January 1891, pp. 4-5; 13 May 1893, p. 7; 21 February 1891, p. 7.

58 *Bulletin*, 19 November 1892, p. 4. The *Bulletin* was apt to take an open view on issues which Christians determined by reference to biblical injunctions; for instance, it claimed the decision to end human life as an individual right, and it advocated divorce by mutual consent. See *Bulletin*, 4 July 1891, p. 7; 26 November 1891, p. 7; 6 September 1891, p. 7.

59 *Bulletin*, 14 November 1891, p. 7; cf. Keith Robbins, 'Religion and Identity in Modern British History', in Stuart Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Papers Read at the Nineteenth Summer Meeting and the Twentieth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 465-487.

unconscionable methods were used to prosecute it.[60] When Christians declared that the Empire's army was led by the 'God of battles', secularists were provoked to denigrate that god and his professed followers.

In order to understand the rhetoric employed by the *Bulletin* in its conflict with the churches it is necessary to understand both the context and the nature of Christianity in early Australia. The cultural landscape and the religious profile of colonial Christianity have been suggested in the present chapter; the ensuing two chapters will more fully describe the Christian denominations which together in 1901 included 98 per cent of the population of New South Wales, as indicated in Table I.

[60] *Bulletin*, 4 November 1899, p. 7; 23 December 1899, p. 6; 26 January 1901, p. 7; 29 December 1900, p. 7.

CHAPTER 3

THE MAJOR DENOMINATIONS IN THE ANTIPODES: CATHOLICS AND ANGLICANS

The history of the Roman Catholic church in Australia has been written with increasing effectiveness during the past century or so. The first major attempt was by an Irish-born priest, John P. Kenny (1816-1886), covering the early period to 1840.[1] Patrick Francis Moran (1830-1911) transferred from an Irish bishopric to Sydney as archbishop during 1884. Moran had an established reputation as a church historian in Rome and Ireland, and, within his first decade in Australia, compiled a massive, detailed account of the church's origins and progress in this country.[2] In the year of Moran's death, H.N. Birt

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1 J. Kenny, *A History of the Commencement and Progress of Catholicity in Australia* (Sydney, 1886). Cf. James Hugh Donohoe, *The Catholics of New South Wales and Their Families* (Sydney, 1988), which has some interpretative comment on pp. 1-20, and then lists ten thousand early Catholics, beginning with the 300 who arrived with the First Fleet during 1788. Kenny prepared the manuscript for a second volume, but this disappeared, according to 'John O'Brien' [Mgr Patrick Joseph Hartigan], *The Men of '38 and Other Pioneer Priests* (Kilmore, 1975), pp. 167-170.

2 Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, two vols (Sydney, n.d.[1895]). The date is variously given as 1894, 1895 and 1896. That proof sheets were being read in 1894 is evident from Frank Coffee's letter to Moran, 12 May 1894. During April 1895 Moran congratulated Coffee on bringing the *History* 'to completion in such an admirable manner'. See Moran to Coffee, 8 April 1895; cf. Coffee to Moran, 8 April 1895. By June 1895 William J. Walsh,
(Footnote continued)

published a defence of the Benedictine contribution to Australian Catholicism; further buoyant, celebratory histories followed during the first half of the twentieth century from the efforts of other clerics such as Archbishop Eris O'Brien and Father James Murtagh.[3] But it remained for a lay historian from New Zealand, Patrick O'Farrell, to bring the historical analysis of Catholicism in Australia to a new level of comprehensiveness and maturity, and, in collaboration with Deirdre O'Farrell, to make crucial primary sources more widely available.[4] During the past several decades, Catholics and others have written significant theses in public institutions of learning, exploring many issues which are relevant for an understanding of Catholicism within Australian culture.[5] These studies and the publications of historians relating to Australian Catholicity[6] have been assessed in reviews[7] and compiled in bibliographies,[8] thus making rich resources readily available.

Australian religious history as an academic discipline has made significant progress since 1960 when *The Journal of Religious History* began to challenge those interested in this field. Few would

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(Footnote 2 continued from previous page)
Archbishop of Dublin, had received a copy of the *History*. See Walsh to Moran, 22 June 1895. All the original letters cited in this chapter are, unless otherwise indicated, in the Sydney Archdiocesan Archives of the Catholic Church.

3 H.N. Birt, OSB, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, two vols (London, 1911); Eris M. O'Brien, *The Foundation of Catholicism in Australia: Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry*, two vols (Sydney, 1922); Eris O'Brien, *The Dawn of Catholicism in Australia*, two vols (Sydney, 1928); James G. Murtagh, *Australia: The Catholic Chapter* (Melbourne, 1959). Murtagh's volume was first published in the United States of America during 1946.

4 Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History, 1788-1967* (Melbourne, 1968); Patrick and Deirdre O'Farrell (eds), *Documents in Australian Catholic History, 1788-1968*, two vols (London, 1969). Note the corrections suggested for O'Farrell's 'radically deficient' history by Bede Nairn's critical review in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (December 1969), pp. 359-363, over against the approving review of O'Farrell's 1977 edition by John Tracy Ellis, 'Australian Catholicism: An American Perspective', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (June 1979), pp. 313-321. O'Farrell's current edition, entitled *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History* (Kensington, 1985), excels as a bishop's history even though parts of the text are now dated.

5 O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, pp. 449-452; Peter Bentley (ed.), *Australian Religious Studies: A Bibliography of Post-Graduate Theses 1922-1986* (Leichhardt, 1988), pp. 50-54, 20-24. The 'National Catholic Research Council Newsletter', also published in Leichhardt, listed publications appearing and
(Footnote continued)

(Footnote(s) 6 - 8 will appear on a subsequent page)

now fail to at least give lip-service to Donald G. MacRae's contention that no society exists, 'however formally secular, in which religion is not a major component of both the structural and the cultural life'.[9] Currently, this recognition exposes the inadequacy of much earlier and some recent Australian historiography, and indicates the large amount of work which remains to be done if the religious factor is to be addressed adequately. However, a heartening body of theses, journal articles and books is now available which moves well beyond the compilatory, antiquarian, or triumphalistic historiography of earlier times. Catholic history and Catholic historians have been at the centre of this development.

Any interpretation of Australian Catholicism at the end of the colonial period must be based upon an awareness of three important factors. First, its Roman orientation, including its historic respect for papal primacy and infallibility, gave it an ethos different from that of other denominations. Second, the Irish provenance of Australian

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(Footnote 5 continued from previous page)
research undertaken in the 1980s. The December 1988 issue (Vol. VIII, No. 4) reported an intended restructuring of the NCRC, by the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, after the Council's first twelve years of operation. Some NCRC functions are continued in *Pointers: Bulletin of the Christian Research Association*. See Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1991).

6 'Catholicity' is not used here in its historical/theological sense as an attribute of the church [see Avery Dulles, SJ, *The Catholicity of the Church* (Oxford, 1985)], but in the way it was often employed in Catholic literature of the 1890s, as a synonym for either Catholicism or the Roman Catholic church.

7 For two early but comprehensive reviews, see K. S. Inglis, 'Catholic Historiography in Australia', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 31 (November 1958), pp. 233-253; Walter Phillips, 'Australian Catholic Historiography: Some Recent Issues', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 56 (April 1971), pp. 600-611. Cf. James Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales, 1788-1860* (Sydney, 1974), pp. vii-x, 1-41, 253-264; J.D. Bollen, A.E. Cahill, Bruce Mansfield, Patrick O'Farrell, 'Australian Religious History, 1960-1980', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (June 1980), pp. 8-44.

8 For useful bibliographies, see Waldersee, *Catholic Society*, pp. 293-301; Douglas Hynd, 'Christianity in Australia: a Bibliography', in Dorothy Harris, Douglas Hynd and David Millikan (eds), *The Shape of Belief: Christianity in Australia Today* (Homebush West [Sydney], 1982), pp. 208-210; Michael Mason (ed.), *Religion in Australian Life: A Bibliography of Social Research* (Bedford Park [Adelaide], 1982), pp. 66-74; Edmund Campion, *Rockchoppers: Growing up Catholic in Australia* (Ringwood [Melbourne], 1982), pp. 225-232; O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, pp. 449-466; Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics* (Ringwood [Melbourne], 1987), pp. 251-265. Lawrence D. McIntosh, 'Religion', in D.H. Borchardt (ed.), *Australians: A Guide to Sources* (Broadway [Sydney], 1987), pp. 344-355.

9 'Foreword', Michael Hill, *A Sociology of Religion* (New York, 1973), p. vii.

Catholicism helped to constitute Catholics of the period as an identifiable subculture. Third, as cardinal-archbishop and hence the ranking churchman in the Australasian hierarchy, Moran's personal convictions and leadership moulded the shape of Australian Catholicity between 1884 and 1911.

Catholicism in nineteenth-century Australia was strongly loyal to the pope and to Rome. Discussions of the role of the papacy are an important feature of Catholic history, with evidence for the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome being sought as far back as the first century of the Christian era.[10] Saint Peter's primacy is seen to be based on New Testament evidence, in particular the Gospel of Matthew 16: 13-20, but in a more general way upon St Peter's special place amongst the first followers of Jesus. Between AD 88 and 96, Clement I of Rome welded the early Christians into a more closely-knit community by highlighting their need for a hierarchy in which the Bishop of Rome had pre-eminence. Centuries of sometimes ambivalent tradition concerning papal authority culminated in a more clearly-defined doctrinal expression in the first Vatican Council, 1869-1870. With the fullness of papal power enshrined in that Council's Dogmatic Constitutions on the Catholic Faith,[11] it was uncharacteristic for the Australian hierarchy to seriously challenge this concept. Indeed, Catholicism in this country generally lacked the sometimes vigorous questioning attitude of its North American counterpart.[12]

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10 For a conspectus on papal authority, see A.T. Hanson, 'The Power of the Keys'; R.P.C. Hanson, 'Papacy'; R.P.C. Hanson, 'Infallibility', in Alan Richardson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London, 1969), pp. 186, 251, 169.

11 J. Neuner, SJ, and J. Dupuis, SJ, *The Christian Faith in the Documents of the Christian Church*, fourth ed. (Bangalore, 1982), pp. 40-43, 226-234; J.P. Kirch, 'Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI (New York, 1911), pp. 744-752, plus the *Encyclopedia* articles on Apostolic See, Apostolic Succession, Church, Papal Arbitration, Pope, and Unity. For a recent perspective, written with an awareness of discussions within the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, see J.M.R. Tillard, OP, *The Bishop of Rome*, trans. John de Satge (Wilmington, ET 1983).

12 Gerald A. McCool, *Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century: The Quest for a Unitary Method* (New York, 1973), pp. 23-27; Gerard Noel, *The Anatomy of the Catholic Church* (London, 1980), pp. 115-121. However, I am indebted to A.E. Cahill for drawing my attention to the tension in Irish-papal relations arising from condemnation of the Nationalist's/Land League's 'Plan of Campaign'. Leo XIII sent Moran in 1888 on a secret mission to Ireland, but Moran sided with the rebellious Irish hierarchy, and was then strongly criticised by the Vatican bureaucracy. Irish Catholic newspapers in the Australian colonies were not uncritically loyal to the papacy in 1888. Moran knew the real Rome did not

(Footnote continued)

While the nineteenth century witnessed a significant loss in the temporal power of the papacy, the moral force of the pope's authority was generally enhanced. Indeed, the problems which were encountered by the popes during the century, politically and economically, awakened great sympathy and stimulated Catholic solidarity in Australia.[13] Certainly, Pope Leo XIII (born 1810, reigned 1878-1903) was presented by the hierarchy to Australian Catholics in all the dignity of his several historical titles, including 'Successor of the Chief of the Apostles' and 'Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church'. Catholic literature, sermons and pastoral letters were typically unequivocal in their references to the pope, declaring him to be 'the prince of bishops, the heir of the Apostles, the one shepherd, not only of the sheep, but of all pastors', and much more. Such affirmations were apt to be far-reaching in their implications: 'Others have been called to a part of solicitude; he is called to the plenitude of power.'[14] Although decisions taken in Rome might cause concern in this country, they were treated with great deference. Respect for authority can be assessed most effectively when tensions are visible. One of the most painful Roman decisions during the 1890s was that New Zealand prelates should not attend the 1895 Plenary Council in Sydney. Although this directive was viewed with keen disappointment, even to the point of consternation, the numerous references to it in the Moran correspondence treat the authority of Rome with respect and obedience. Further, Australian Catholics usually interpreted the language relating to papal authority in a straightforward manner, in the same way that they found useful the black-and-white language of the 1864 Syllabus of Errors and Leo XIII's documents of similar type.

(Footnote 12 continued from previous page)
conform to his ideal of Rome, but his public declarations during the 1890s did not betray this fact. Cf. A.E. Cahill, 'Cardinal Moran's Politics', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (December 1989), pp. 525-531.

13 Numerous examples could be cited, for example, 'Vindex', 'The Roman Question Misstated', *The Catholic Press*, 7 December 1895, assails the clamourous Freemasons of Europe who have 'succeeded in erecting a Freemason government in Rome over the crushed liberties of Italy and on the necks of millions of devoted Italian Catholics - and the Papacy'.

14 'The Popes and the Papacy', *Australasian Catholic Record*, January 1900, pp. 21-35. There were constant references of this type in Moran's speeches and writings. See, for example, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics* (Sydney, 1895), pp. 81-106; 'Opening of the New Local R.C. Church. The Cardinal's Visit and Discourse', *North Sydney Recorder*, 3 October 1896; *The Apostolate of St Patrick* (Sydney, 1897), p. 6.

Collegiality, however, was present in a form adapted to the nineteenth century: Cardinal Moran as a long-time friend of Leo XIII, and as Leo's personal choice for the see of Sydney, maintained frequent and fraternal communications with Rome;[15] and many of the Australian bishops consulted each other frequently, a practice illustrated by the reciprocal relationship between Moran and Archbishop Thomas Carr of Melbourne.[16]

John Molony, in a major book entitled *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church*, admits there were clear differences even amongst the Roman-trained bishops of the Australian church after 1840, that is, within the period given special scrutiny in his volume. Beyond issues of nationality and personality, their judgements on important local issues varied, as did their perspectives on religion itself. But Molony contends that almost all of these bishops could rightly be called Roman due to their unswerving loyalty to the papacy, their allegiance to Rome as the centre and heart of Christendom, their obedience to the Roman curia, and 'their willing readiness to form and foster a local institutional Church according to Roman ideas'.[17] In his highly critical review of Molony's book, A.G. Gough implies that no single scholar is equipped to do justice to a subject as rich as the 'superb intellectual comedy of nineteenth-century Catholicism', including 'the endless four-handed game of auction bridge between the hierarchy, clergy, laity, and Roman Catholic press in which partners

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15 John N. Molony, *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church* (Melbourne, 1969), pp. 96-103, 168; Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 700. Note the tenor of Moran's frequent contact with Tobias Kirby, rector of the Irish College in Rome, until Kirby's death in 1895, and thereafter with the new rector, Michael Kelly. Kirby and Kelly provided a constant flow of information between Leo XIII and the Australian church, supplementary to newspaper and other reports. See Kirby to Moran, 22 November 1892; Kelly to Moran, 15 November 1895. The Australian church's main formal links with Rome were via The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, a sort of Vatican 'colonial office'.

16 Letters throughout the 1890s detail this relationship, but see Carr to Moran, 27 August 1891; 10 October 1894; 18 April 1895; 1 August 1897; 29 March 1898; 4 March 1900; 29 November 1900. The Moran Correspondence files contain many more letters to Moran than by him.

17 Molony, *The Roman Mould*, p. 168.

were always changing'.[18] However, when Gough's caveats have all been considered, the substantial loyalty of the Australian Catholic church towards all things Roman remains evident.[19]

It is essential to emphasise that the second powerful loyalty, which possessed most Catholics in Australia, united ethnicity and religion. More than seven million people emigrated permanently from Ireland between 1801 and 1900. About 5 per cent of these Irish immigrants came to Australia, forming a little less than 25 per cent of the immigrants who arrived between 1788 and early in the twentieth century.[20] As O'Farrell warns, the Protestant Irish should not be ignored, because at the beginnings of settlement they constituted about 10 per cent of Irish convicts, and at some later periods, around 20 per cent of assisted Irish immigrants were Protestants.[21] But the noteworthy fact remains that at any given time in the history of New South Wales, usually about 25 per cent of the population has been Catholic, with the majority of these people in colonial times being either born in Ireland or conscious of their Irish descent.[22] This significant Catholic minority retained strong feelings for the troubled nation of Ireland and its persecuted church, preserving their identity, 'retaining their traditional characteristics and forming a sub-culture

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18 A.G. Gough, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1970), pp. 87-90. Tensions and controversies within the Australian hierarchy prior to 1870 are documented by T.L. Suttor, *Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia, 1788-1870. The Formation of Australian Catholicism* (Melbourne, 1965). Note A.R. Vidler's critical review of Suttor, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 1966), pp. 167-169.

19 Cf. O'Farrell's account of the situation into which Moran came in 1884, *The Catholic Church and Community*, pp. 194-225; Gallagher to Moran, 12 May 1895; Carr to Moran, 7 and 17 September 1896.

20 MacDonagh, 'The Irish in Australia: A General View', in Oliver MacDonagh and W.F. Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History* (London, 1986), pp. 155-174.

21 Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Kensington, 1986), p. 13.

22 Some writers speak in round figures of Australians being one third Irish Catholics, for example, see Father C. Duffy, 'The Origin of Anti-Catholicism in Australia', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 1 (1960), pp. 1-12; cf. Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 856. For recent analyses, see Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Ringwood [Melbourne], 1987), pp. 23-24; H.R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930* (North Sydney, 1987), pp. 19-20. The 1986 census indicated Catholics were then 26.1 per cent of the Australian population, the largest religious group in the nation. Ian Castles, *Census 86 - Religion in Australia* (Canberra, 1991), p. 2.

within Australian society'.[23] The hostility and resentment of the Irish toward their English masters, attitudes so pervasive in the Northern Hemisphere, were transported to New South Wales in convict ships and as the unlisted baggage of immigrants. That the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant ascendancy in Australia responded with oppression, suspicion, and - at best - cautious toleration, may be understandable from our perspective in the twentieth century.[24] Yet the dilemma of the Irish at the time was very real indeed. Chapter five will examine Moran's role in this and other aspects of the relationship between Catholics and culture in New South Wales during the last decade of the colonial period.

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It was almost as an afterthought that the British Government transported the Anglican Church[25] to New South Wales with the first convicts and their gaolers in 1788.[26] Even though its *de facto* establishment in New South Wales was ended by the Church Act of

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23 John O'Brien, 'The Irish in Australia 1945-1968', in Colin Kiernan (ed.), *Ireland and Australia* (North Ryde [Sydney], 1984), p. 69. Note the sustained reporting of Irish concerns in *The Freeman's Journal* throughout the 1890s, and the substantial Irish content in *The Catholic Press*, a weekly newspaper founded in 1895. Irish-born priests founded the *Press* to compete with the *Freeman*.

24 See the evidence Duffy cites for the persecution theory in 'The Origin of Anti-Catholicism', but note Hogan's agreement with Waldersee's objection to the persecution theory, *The Sectarian Strand*, p. 25. Waldersee (*Catholic Society*, p. viii) examined the twin 'legends of persecution wreaked by bigoted and vindictive officials on a helpless Catholic minority, who as transportees were either righteous patriots or innocent farm-boys, and as emancipists were, with the exception of the lucky few, poor and downtrodden'. He found both these legends to require 'not merely revision, but virtually rejection'. For a well-researched summary of an aspect of Irish and British conflict in the nineteenth century, see Keith Amos, *The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880* (Kensington [Sydney], 1988), pp. 286-288.

25 For definitions of 'The Anglican Communion' and 'Anglicanism', see F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, second ed. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 55, 57-58. Cf. Lowther Clarke, 'The Church of England', *Australian Industry* (Brisbane, 1906), pp. 56-57. Clarke was at the time Archbishop of Melbourne, and presented the Church of England in Australia as 'an integral part of the great Anglican communion', p. 56.

26 Cf. D.J. Mulvaney and J. Peter White (eds), *Australians to 1788* (Broadway, 1987), pp. 428-429, and Neil K. Macintosh, *Richard Johnson: Chaplain to the Colony of New South Wales, His Life and Times, 1755-1827* (Sydney, 1978), pp. 24-29.

1836,[27] it still sustained a special relationship with the state throughout and beyond the colonial period.[28] Originally known as the United Church of England and Ireland, it was renamed the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania by a General Conference in 1872.[29] The same General Conference constituted an Australia-wide General Synod structure, and the church continued thereafter to adapt its polity to local circumstances.[30] It took until 1962 to formulate a thoroughly local constitution; only in 1981 did it signify a new stage of maturity by calling itself the Anglican Church of Australia.[31] Thus, any attempt to understand Anglicanism in Sydney must begin with the salient features of its English background.

To describe the Church of England, given its comprehensive nature, is a challenging task even for an entire volume.[32] However, an understanding of five major characteristics is of fundamental

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27 For a collection of primary sources, see Jean Woolmington (ed.), *Religion in Early Australia: The Problem of Church and State* (Sydney, 1976), pp. 1-29, 93-114.

28 Marsden and some other early clerics combined civil and religious roles. A.T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden: The Great Survivor* (Melbourne, 1977), 47-55, 141-144; J.S. Gregory, *Church and State: Changing Government Policies towards Religion in Australia* (Melbourne, 1973), pp. 5-43.

29 There is no comprehensive history of the Church of England in Australia. For brief surveys, see Robert Humphreys and Rowland Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia* (Melbourne, 1986), pp. 34-41; George Shaw, 'Anglicans', in Ian Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation: A Guide to the Major Faiths and Denominations in Australia* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 74-83. Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, 1987), give a thematic overview and append a bibliography on pp. 381-383. E.C. Rowland, *A Century of the English Church in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1948), is an impressionistic survey. Judd and Cable have produced the premier history of the Anglican Church in New South Wales, yet reviews of their work demonstrate that it is a hazardous enterprise to attempt to write Anglican history. See the review by Stuart Piggin, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (June 1989), pp. 365-367.

30 *The General Synod of the Dioceses in Australia and Tasmania: Constitution and Determinations, Session 1872 to Session 1910* (Sydney, 1916), p. 5. The process of adaptation was also reflected in the annual and special *Proceedings of the Diocese of Sydney* during the 1890s, and in the sessions of the Provincial Synod of New South Wales.

31 At the 1981 census Anglicans were 26.1 and Catholics were 26.0 per cent of the Australian population, whereas by the 1986 census the 3,723,419 Anglicans were 23.9 per cent of the population, and Catholics were 26.1 per cent. See the relevant Australian Bureau of Statistics publications, including *Census of Population and Housing*, 30 June 1986 (1987); *New South Wales Yearbook* (1988); *Year Book Australia* (1988); Castles, *Census 86 - Religion in Australia*, pp. 1-3.

32 Stephen Sykes and John Booty, 'Preface', *The Study of Anglicanism* (London, (Footnote continued)

importance to the argument of this thesis. These features were vital for the church in England, and they continued to be of great significance for the church in Australia. An outline of their English heritage suggests the nature of the principal form of Christianity which was transported to New South Wales in 1788, and which flourished as the largest denomination in Sydney at the end of the colonial period.

George Murray, a journalist who observed the secular and religious aspects of the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953, commented that 'nowhere else are Church and State so closely intertwined as in this realm, and in no place is that close connection so aptly symbolised as in Westminster Abbey'.[33] This linking of religion and politics has been a continuing feature of the English church since it achieved independence from Rome during the 1530s. Coronation services confirm this relationship and make important visual and verbal statements about other aspects of the national church.[34] Before taking the Coronation Oath, each English monarch from Anne (1702-1714) to George III (1760-1820) made a declaration against Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass in words akin to those required of the first governor of New South Wales in 1788. Since the Accession Declaration Act of 1910 this separateness from Roman Catholicism has been preserved in the monarch's declaration that he or she is 'a faithful Protestant', an assurance Queen Elizabeth II gave before both houses of Parliament on 4 November 1952. Elizabeth also covenanted to 'maintain in the United Kingdom the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law', prior to her reception of 'the Ring of kingly dignity and the Seal of Catholic Faith' and her consecration as 'our Head and Prince ... the Defender of Christ's

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1988), p. xi; cf. F.W. Head, 'Church of England', in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, thirteen vols (Edinburgh, 1910), Vol. 3, pp. 638-655; David B. Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 699-710.

33 George Murray, 'Nothing Like This Anywhere on Earth', [London] *Daily Mail*, 3 June 1953. Archdeacon F.B. Boyce, *The Coronation of the King*, is an undated pamphlet issued just before the accession of George V, emphasising the 'deep spiritual significance of the coronation to take place in "the Church of a thousand national memories"', p. 1.

34 For religious perspectives on the monarchy see His Grace, The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [Geoffrey Fisher], *I Here Present Unto You: Addresses Interpreting the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London, 1953).

Religion'.[35] Thus the ceremonies so long associated with the coronation of an English king or queen give enormous publicity to the historic self-understanding of the Church of England: as the possessor of Christ's religion or the catholic faith, as being both protestant and reformed, and as a religion established by law.

The catholicity of the Church of England is enunciated clearly in the theological content of its Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the classic definitions which were developed between 1536 and 1571.[36] In its Trinitarian faith, as well as in its Christology and soteriology, Anglicanism chose a mainstream or orthodox position in terms of historic Christianity. In particular, two specific elements in the Articles of Religion have functioned as guardians of this status. Article VI declares that the Holy Scriptures contain 'all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man'. This expression set the basic parameters for the belief and practice of the church. But Article VIII particularised the faith by enjoining the reception and belief of three ancient creeds which it declared to be provable 'by most certain warrants of holy Scripture'. Hence Article VIII gave a compelling authority to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed. *The Book of Common Prayer* required the repetition of these symbols, ensuring the church would remember them over time. This adoption of the three most widely-recognised creeds by the Church of England confirmed its catholicity, as did its acceptance of the first four ecumenical councils (Nicaea, AD 325; Constantinople, 381; Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, AD 451) which related to the Trinity and the incarnation of Christ. Richard Hooker (c. 1554-1600), in his *Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, created one of the most influential analyses of the faith and practice of the Church of England and, at the same time, demonstrated the church's catholicity.[37]

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35 Edward C. Ratcliff, *The Coronation Service of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London, 1953), pp. vii, 37-38, 48. In the Diocese of Sydney there was strong support for the notion of 'Protestant England'. *The Church Standard*, 9 February 1901, p. 10; 23 February 1901, p. 10.

36 *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Church of England* (Oxford, n.d.), pp. 585-599. The edition quoted in this chapter was in use about the 1890s; for more recent language see *An Australian Prayer Book* (Sydney, 1978).

37 Massey H. Shepherd, Jr, 'Anglicanism', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia*

(Footnote continued)

Anglican worship services reminded the faithful regularly of their belief in 'the Catholick Faith', as on numerous days each year they sang or said the Creed of Saint Athanasius. But the far more frequent use of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, in Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer and Communion, affirmed 'the holy Catholick Church' as 'one Catholick and Apostolick'.[38] While good Anglicans could acknowledge that 'vulgar speech' conceded the term catholic to the Church of Rome, its use in Church of England creeds was (they declared) sufficient proof that their church made no such concession.[39] Anglican catholicity was constantly declared in the claim that its origins and ministry derived from Christ and the Twelve Apostles in an unbroken succession.[40] Unlike many Protestant denominations, it was not enough for Anglicans to affirm their accord with New Testament doctrine and practice, for their episcopal polity required a demonstrable continuity from apostolic times. Thus they believe it is important to list an unbroken line of bishops from the first century to the present.[41] In tandem with this idea, they adopt an affirmative attitude towards Christianity in England prior to the 1530s, when the church in England severed its links with Rome and became the Church of England.[42]

During the 1890s, Roman Catholics in Australia seldom spoke of the Church of England as such, but they frequently referred to this ecclesiastical body as the 'Protestant Church'. Some Anglicans questioned the applicability of the term protestant in this way. Of course, the English Church had no part in the formal 'Protestatio' of the German princes at the Diet of Speyer (1529) which gave rise to the term protestant, but England has required each of its monarchs to be

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(Footnote 37 continued from previous page)
of Religion, 16 vols (New York, 1987), Vol. 1, pp. 286-291; Albert Wm. Eaton, *The Faith History and Practice of the Church of England* (London, 1957), p. 88.

38 *Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 26-29, 12, 22-23, 238-239.

39 'Catholic', in William Benham (ed.), *The Dictionary of Religion: An Encyclopaedia of Christian and Other Religious Doctrines, Denominations, Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Terms, History, Biography, Etc. Etc.* (London, 1887), p. 215; *The Church Standard*, 3 November 1900, p. 11. Benham's work is used because of its applicability for the 1890s, but its opinions should not be viewed as indicative for the present. The same can be said of Edward L. Cutts, *A Dictionary of the Church of England*, fourth ed. (London, 1913).

(Footnote(s) 40 - 42 will appear on a subsequent page)

'a faithful Protestant'. In the nineteenth century, the Anglicans who questioned the suitability of the term protestant as a description of their church could be divided into two main groups. Some wanted either to effect a union with Rome or to emphasise the strengths of sacramentalism, whereas others were determined to recover the historic faith which had been honed by the Protestant Reformation.[43] To some extent both of the frequently-used terms, catholic and protestant, fitted parties within the church better than the denomination as a whole. Indeed, they highlighted the continuity of major groupings of conviction which had frequently surfaced during earlier struggles within the English church, not least in the contest between Puritans and Caroline Divines which began late in the sixteenth century.[44] Nineteenth-century concepts of sabbatarianism and of Christian responsibility for the regulation of society also had some of their roots in seventeenth-century British Christianity, when Puritans gradually came to be known after 1662 as Nonconformists or Dissenters, and had their radical protestantism most fully preserved by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Quakers.[45] The qualified protestantism of Anglicanism is best defined by its rejection of those tenets of faith which were distinctive marks of Roman Catholicism on the one hand and by its distance from the more radical reformers on the other.

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40 Benham, 'Apostolic Succession', *Dictionary of Religion*, p. 60.

41 Shepherd, 'Anglicanism', in Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 288.

42 F.B. Boyce, *Augustine and the Evangelization of England* (Sydney, 1897), contended: 'The continuity of our church ranges through all the centuries from apostolic times or very close to them to now,' p. 1.

43 Cf. Benham, 'Protestants', *Dictionary of Religion*, p. 861.

44 D.D. Sceats, 'Caroline Divines', and I. Breward, 'Puritan Theology', in Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, 1988), pp. 128-129, 550-553; Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross (eds), *Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1962), pp. 78-83.

45 Benham, 'Puritans', 'Non-Conformists', 'Dissenters', *The Dictionary of Religion*, pp. 864-865, 748, 332-333; Alan Richardson, 'Nonconformity', and J.T. McNeill, 'Puritanism', in Alan Richardson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London, 1969), pp. 234, 284. Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists are noted in the next chapter; for Quakers see William Nicolle Oats, *A Question of Survival: Quakers in the Nineteenth Century* (St Lucia, 1985).

Thus, the Church of England, as both catholic and protestant, was located theologically and liturgically between Roman Catholicism and the more radical heirs of the sixteenth-century Reformation. In this position it was likely to be in the path of arrows from both sides, and significant numbers of its members have been, on occasion, drawn into a more strictly protestant communion, or into Roman Catholicism. Two significant occasions illustrate these rival tendencies. In 1662 about two thousand clergy dissented from the Act of Uniformity, and were therefore expelled from the church and more directly, all offices they held in it. This greatly strengthened the Nonconformist churches in England. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the Oxford Movement revived concerns which led a number of prominent Anglicans to become Catholics.[46] The history of the Church of England in Australia illustrates the attractiveness of these opposing tendencies, and the perennial conflict between those who choose one and perceive the other as a dangerous aberration.

The comprehensiveness of the Anglican communion had long included High Churchmen, but in the nineteenth century this party was to assume a new significance. While some historians trace High Church ideas back to Elizabethan times, the title does not occur until late in the seventeenth century, and the founding of the party is often attributed to Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645) between 1620 and 1630. High Churchmen emphasise the historic continuity of the Church of England with catholic Christianity, taking a 'high' view of ecclesiastical authority, episcopacy and the sacraments. In response to the radicalism and irreligion of the French Revolution, the High Church emphasis on the apostolic order and authority of the visible church, coupled with the requirement of obedience to the church's ordinances and liturgy, seemed for some Anglicans to be a compelling option. Therefore, this type of churchmanship entered a revival phase early in the century. But it remained for the Oxford Movement to transform it in the wake of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829.[47]

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[46] Note chapters V and VII in J.W.C. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today* (London, 1961); cf. Paul Sangster, *A History of the Free Churches* (London, 1983), pp. 85-109; D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989).

[47] Elisabeth Jay (ed.), *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 6-8; Perry Butler, 'The History of Anglicanism from Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day', in Sykes and Booty (eds), *The Study of Anglicanism*, pp. 32-35.

The Oxford Movement developed at Oxford University between the years 1833 and 1845. Opposition to reforming and liberalising movements in the Church of England was crystallised in a sermon by John Keble (1792-1866) delivered in the university pulpit on 14 July 1833, declaring that the proposed suppression of ten Irish bishoprics was 'National Apostasy'. This sermon is usually regarded as initiating the Oxford Movement; thereafter Keble became a leader in the attempt by the Oxford Movement to restore High Church ideals. Keble was joined by John Henry Newman (1801-1890), Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-1836), Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) and others. Their long series of 'Tracts for the Times' brought Tractarianism to its zenith by 1839. But during 1841 Newman's *Tract XC* received a hostile reaction; it gave evidence he was moving toward Rome. By 1845 Newman and some of his key associates had joined the Roman Catholic Church, hence their personal influence upon Anglicanism was crippled. Thereafter, the principles of the Oxford Movement were fostered by Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) until he seceded to Rome in 1851, and by Pusey until his death in 1882. Perry Butler claims 'enormous' ramifications for this 'Catholic Revival' within Anglicanism, specifically in 'the restoration of liturgical practice and sacramental teaching associated with Roman Catholicism, the revival of the religious life and greater emphasis on the priestly office'.[48] Thus High Churchmanship in Tractarianism or the Oxford Movement enriched Anglicanism with what Butler calls a greater sense of catholicity and sacramental spirituality. But at the same time it planted the seeds for an ongoing conflict over 'ritualism' and 'sacerdotalism' which frequently reached into the Australian church. While some Anglicans believe their church should 'hold together in a comprehensive middle way (*via media*) the tensions of its Protestant and Catholic elements',[49] others declare this stance is the heresy long ago fostered by Archbishop Laud. Those who wish to maintain such a creative accommodation have seldom found their task to be an easy one.

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[48] P.N. Hillyer, 'John Henry Newman' and 'Anglo-Catholic Theology', in Ferguson and Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology*, pp. 466-467; 23-24; Butler, in Sykes and Booty (eds), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 35.

[49] Shepherd, 'Anglicanism', in Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 3, p. 286.

The Church of England did not include the word 'Reformed' as part of its official name in the way a number of other churches did, but a majority of its adherents have consistently deemed themselves to be reformed. However, High Churchmen and Anglo-Catholics are apt to claim that they represent authentic Anglicanism, but at the same time they may wish to minimise their acceptance of Protestant Reformation principles and maximise their affinity with the Church of Rome. The Articles of Religion consciously steer a course between the predestinarian emphasis in classic Calvinism and the ideas of Anabaptism. Hence, the meaning of the term reformed can be as subjective as definitions of the Reformation in England, which was, according to A.G. Dickens, 'complex in its causes, its progress and its consequences', with 'conflicts between King and Pope, Church and State, common lawyers and canon lawyers, laymen and clerics, ecclesiastical and lay landowners, citizens and bishops'. But from these ideological conflicts, Dickens maintains, 'a process of Protestantisation among the English people' occurred, bringing a changed viewpoint concerning 'the nature and functions of religion, both in the individual and in society'.[50] This complexity, and the recent surge in the development of historiography, are two of the factors which underlie the new understanding of the English Reformation which is currently being formulated.[51] Some of the parameters of this re-interpretation are made apparent by Paul Seaver's review of one hundred studies relating to the English Reformation which were produced during the 1970s.[52] There are, however, several ingredients in the Church of England definition of the

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50 A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), p. 325. 'The course of Reformation in England is to many a confused picture of colourful personalities, dynastic problems, political intrigue, shameless greed, murderous persecution, and sudden liturgical changes. Like "a code of coherent, intelligible, and effective law" which is not a compromise between anarchy and tyranny, Anglicanism is not "a compromise but a *Via Media*, a middle path".' The Right Reverend T.T. Reed, 'The Mission of the Church in Australia Today', *The Anglican Way* (Sydney, 1959), pp. 16, 18. Reed presents Anglicans as between Rome and Geneva, Papists and Puritans, pp. 13-26.

51 See Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London, 1986); Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 19-33, for a discussion of recent historiography on this subject. O'Day includes a useful bibliography, pp. 201-217.

52 Paul Seaver, 'The English Reformation', in Steven Ozment (ed.), *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St Louis, 1982), pp. 271-296.

word reformed which may be listed with some confidence. For Anglicanism, the word reformed relates loosely to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, but specifically to that part of the Reformation which created the Church of England. It implies a reform of the doctrine and practice of Roman Catholicism by a return to historic Christianity, but without adopting either Calvinism or Anabaptism.

So the Church of England must be understood as adopting particular definitions of three crucial Christian terms - catholic, protestant, reformed - as parts of its self-designation. While much of the history of Anglicanism could be discussed fruitfully in the light of these three words, Australian Anglicanism in particular highlights the importance of yet another term, evangelicalism. Indeed, the Diocese of Sydney was increasingly dominated by evangelical influences after 1855.

The modern phase of evangelicalism arose within the Church of England, although the streams initiated by John Wesley and George Whitefield (1714-1770) found separate courses. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, influences emanating from the Enlightenment had made Christ into 'The Teacher of Common Sense'[53], an unattractive figure for at least some English Christians. Much religion, seriously deficient in its historical consciousness, was replete with exhortations about moral piety. Volumes such as William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728), by creating a sense of despair in John Wesley and others, formed a context in which an earnest belief in a personal Saviour seemed to be highly desirable. Evangelicalism recalled the Reformation doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, over against the incomprehensible promises of God. In its view, the drama of conversion began the Christian life; conversion was to be followed by assurance of salvation and growth in holiness.[54]

In a major book, Alexander Zabriskie suggests that Anglican Evangelicals have experienced four stages of development. During the first stage they were led by awakeners, in the next by

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[53] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus Through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 182-193.

[54] Butler, 'The History of Anglicanism', in Sykes and Booty (eds), *The Study of Anglicanism*, pp. 32-35; R.T. Beckwith, 'Anglicanism', in Ferguson and Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology*, pp. 21-23.

pastors/organisers, and in the third by ecclesiastical controversialists. Early in the twentieth century they entered the fourth stage, a period of reorientation.[55] Zabriskie takes some pains to detail the comparative independence of the Anglican Evangelicals from the Arminian Methodists, following Wesley, and the Calvinistic Methodists, following Whitefield, even though the three evangelical groups reacted initially to the same religious problems. In the eighteenth century, Anglican Evangelicals demonstrated an enduring commitment to the Church of England as Wesleyans and others departed, and they gradually developed societies, parochial and home activities which changed them from a movement into a party. A century after their beginnings, the Evangelicals engaged in long-running debates with Tractarians, theological liberals and Christian socialists, losing in this process the support of some of their younger and more ardent supporters. Despite certain obscurantist tendencies, the Evangelicals 'released into the Church of England a fresh outburst of religion which resembled that of the primitive Church more closely than anything else', and in this fact is to be found their greatest significance.[56] Among their important characteristics it is useful to cite their restatement of three Protestant Reformation emphases: conversion, the supremacy of Scripture and gospel preaching. The moderate Calvinism of many evangelicals was founded upon 'the doctrine of total depravity, from which followed the necessity of conversion, justification by saving faith, the centrality of the atonement and sanctification by the Holy Spirit'.[57] Australian Christianity was fostered in its early years by evangelical influences in England, and in Australia by such evangelical chaplains as Richard

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55 Alexander C. Zabriskie, *Anglican Evangelicalism* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 5-37.

56 Zabriskie, *Anglican Evangelicalism*, p. 21.

57 Butler, in Sykes and Booty (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, p. 32. According to another informed author, 'There are four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion: conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel in effort; biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism.' Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 2-3, 5-17.

Johnson and Samuel Marsden. After the arrival of Bishop Frederic Barker in 1855, no other Anglican party had such a profound influence upon the Diocese of Sydney as the Evangelical Party.

The coexistence of characteristics such as these, within a single denomination, has caused the Church of England to be described frequently as a 'comprehensive' church. This comprehensiveness has obvious benefits: it enables the church to include people of quite different Christian attitudes, and it taps the potential of various approaches toward Christianity which marked different ages in the life of the church. However, it also prevented the Church of England from being as homogeneous as those denominations which defined the Christian faith in narrower terms. Anglicanism is in this respect a microcosm of the Christian church, a miniature of the church universal which embraces people from strict Catholicism to individualistic Protestantism.

The inclusive nature of the Church of England was illustrated by 'Latitudinarianism', a mid-seventeenth century attitude favouring a latitude of opinion in religious matters as a way of avoiding religious conflicts, a stance akin to the 'Broad Church' position fostered after 1850. Such Anglicans were impressed by John Locke's volume, *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures* (1695), which argued that the essence of Christianity consisted in a few fundamental tenets, and, later, by F.B. Maurice's claim in *The Kingdom of Christ* (1838) that the divine order established in the trinity held together the various segments of English Christianity. Thus, Australian Anglicans had a variety of earlier models from which to draw as they attempted to apply the Christian faith in their encounter with Australian culture.

New complications were to arise in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the development of liberal Protestantism. Liberalism is difficult to define, in that some Catholics, Protestants and Evangelicals have all claimed to be liberals, but they may have had little more in common than a tendency to favour freedom and progress. Both the Renaissance and the Enlightenment nurtured a secular humanism which offered an anthropocentric rather than a theocentric view of reality. Liberal Protestantism in the nineteenth century adopted this changed view of reality, and set its mind to develop an anti-dogmatic and humanitarian reconstruction of the Christian faith. Thus, after 1860, another fierce debate, this time between biblical critics and those who held traditional views of

Scripture, gradually introduced liberal theology into the Church of England.[58] While liberalism of this type could invade any part of the Anglican church, it was least welcome amongst those who stood most staunchly for either catholicity or evangelicalism.

Anglicans' frequent allusion to their comprehensiveness was an acknowledgement that in doctrine and in churchmanship they embraced people who thought of themselves as belonging to one of a number of sub-groups: Anglo-Catholic, High Church, Broad Church, Low Church or Evangelical. Although these parties were defined variously by those who belonged to one of them, or by those who hurled their names as epithets, the gradation of position may be loosely described as from Roman Catholicism on one side to radical Protestantism on the other. The fact that the Diocese of Sydney embraced this diversity meant it would experience a constant challenge to define Christianity and the role of Christians within their culture.

It must be emphasised that such diversity was not without potential strengths. As Albert Eaton points out, an alert Anglican could draw from the Evangelical Movement 'a sense of the importance of each individual soul, of the worthlessness of any Churchmanship that is not based on personal religion'. From the Oxford Movement the believer could appreciate the value of the church and of personal duty within 'the great Brotherhood founded by Christ Himself'. The Broad Church invited Anglicans to nourish 'a desire to face facts fearlessly and frankly', and so on.[59] But, on the other hand, this diversity could stimulate attitudes and activities which disrupted parish life and brought tensions into synodical deliberations, as earnest adherents focused on one option and condemned those who chose one of the others.

Clearly, the Anglican communion needed to foster ways to hold such contrasting forces in creative tension. Apart from Scripture, the most unifying force in the Church of England throughout the nineteenth century was its *Book of Common Prayer* which provided the language and thought forms for its worship services, baptisms, marriages, funerals and other special occasions. This rubric, developed

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[58] Butler, in Sykes and Booty (eds.), *The Study of Anglicanism*, pp. 35-37. For definitions of various Anglican parties, see Barrett (ed.), 'Survey Dictionary of World Christianity', *World Christian Encyclopedia*, pp. 811-856.

[59] Eaton, *The Faith History and Practice of the Church of England*, p. 192.

somewhat painfully during the Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan phases of the English Reformation up to 1571, with its homilies and Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, bore eloquent witness to the Church of England as catholic but not Roman Catholic, as protestant but not Anabaptist, as reformed but not Calvinist. The inclusive nature of the *Book* made it both a means of achieving unity and a starting point for fresh controversy about the way to define authentic Anglican doctrine and practice. A shared loyalty to the world-wide communion symbolised by the Archbishop of Canterbury was also an important unifying factor. The idea of holding a decennial conference under the chairmanship of the senior archbishop at his London palace was initiated in 1867. During 1888, the third Lambeth Conference highlighted four elements which it was hoped might form a basis for union amongst Christians: the Bible, the creeds (the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed), the sacraments (baptism and the Supper of the Lord) and the historic episcopate. This 'Lambeth Quadrilateral' was destined to become famous as a stimulus for cohesion, and a focus of ongoing debate.[60]

Such was the comprehensiveness which Anglicans needed to hold together in the Diocese of Sydney. Chapter six will examine the role of the Anglican bishop/archbishop of the 1890s in marshalling this diversity to interact coherently with its human environment in New South Wales. Given the range of convictions embraced within the Roman Catholic and Anglican communions, it might be expected that the *Bulletin* would find occasion to remark about 'scuffling on the steps' of heaven's portal. However, these two communions only included 72.54 per cent of the New South Wales population; the other twenty-six per cent of Christians included the far greater variety to be described in chapter four.

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[60] Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today*, p. 158.

CHAPTER 4

THE SMALLER DENOMINATIONS IN THE ANTIPODES

Despite the harshness of early colonial society, and its later excessive materialism, a nominal adherence to Christianity was one of the most pervasive characteristics amongst the people of the new Commonwealth. Indeed, only 0.2 per cent of Australians listed themselves in the 1901 census as having 'No Religion', although another 1.5 per cent chose not to submit any information for this category on the census forms, and 0.56 per cent claimed to be agnotics or freethinkers. An amorphous group, generally reported as 'Other', combined the 5.1 per cent of the population who did not fit into the nine best-known denominations. With the exception of several small groups (for example, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists) almost all white Australians registered themselves as belonging to the various Christian churches.[1]

Religious affiliation within New South Wales, as has been noted, differed only slightly from its proportions in the Commonwealth as a whole. Table I shows that Church of England, Roman Catholic

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1 For the most comprehensive review of ethnicity in Australian religion, see James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (North Ryde [Sydney], 1988). *The Australian Encyclopedia*, fifth ed., nine vols (Terry Hills [Sydney], 1988), gives a useful overview of Australian religious bodies. In order to interpret statistics relating to religious bodies, see W.W. Phillips, 'Religion', in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics* (Broadway [Sydney], 1987), pp. 418-435.

and Methodist numbers in the colony increased from 81.30 per cent of the population in 1891 to 82.83 per cent in 1901. During this period, Seventh-day Adventists in New South Wales increased from a mere handful to 1,177.[2]

Therefore, the main body of this thesis concentrates upon four denominations which together in 1901 embraced over eight out of every ten people in New South Wales. Statistics for Australia as a whole confirm a similarity to the situation in New South Wales. The largest religious body in the new nation, then known as the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania, claimed the allegiance of 1,497,576 people, or 39.7 per cent of all Australians. Next in size was the Roman Catholic Church, which included 855,799 persons, or 22.7 per cent. The third grouping in order of size comprised the Methodist bodies, with 504,101 people, or 13.4 per cent of the population. A small segment from the 'Other' census category for 1901, Seventh-day Adventists claimed the allegiance of 2,038 persons in the six colonies. Thus the religious groups under closest consideration comprised just over three out of every four Australians, nation-wide, at the end of the colonial period.

All four of these denominations included traditions dating from the beginning of the Christian era, and more particularly in the cases of the Church of England and the Methodists, from sixteenth-century and eighteenth-century England respectively. The Adventists arose as a millennialist body in the United States of America during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. As selected Catholic, Anglican, Wesleyan and Adventist perspectives are examined in chapters five to eight, their viewpoints must be seen as important segments of a much more varied tapestry. Therefore, the salient features of the other six Christian denominations identified in the statistics for 1901 will be noticed in passing, to underline the comparative complexity of Australian Christianity near the end of the colonial period. However, unlike the situation in North America, Australia did not develop new religious groups, so these were not indigenous churches. In fact, all of the six were derived from movements within the United Kingdom and continental Europe, with the exception of the Churches of Christ which

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2 *Union Conference Record*, 1 October 1900, gives the number as 693, whereas the census recorded 1,177. Figures compiled by the Adventists would include only baptised members who had reached 'the age of accountability'.

developed in the United States early in the nineteenth century. These six churches will be listed briefly in the order of their size within the total Australian population.

Presbyterians

A classic Protestant stance was well represented in Australia by a number of Presbyterian groups, all of which traced their heritage through the 1647 Westminster Confession of Faith to Scottish, Dutch, Swiss and German reformers of the sixteenth century.[3] One of the 'Scottish Martyrs' is believed to have held a Presbyterian service in New South Wales during 1795, and from 1802 onward free Scots began to settle as farmers along the Hawkesbury River west of Sydney. They erected a stone building to function as both a church and a school at Ebenezer in 1809. Soon thereafter Presbyterianism was planted in Tasmania, to be strengthened many years later by the arrival of a minister in 1822. The creative yet turbulent ministry of the Reverend John Dunmore Lang (1799-1878) stimulated and differentiated the Presbyterians in New South Wales from his arrival in May 1823 until his death.[4] Major attempts to unite Presbyterians took place in 1865 and in 1886, and in July 1901 the Presbyterian Church in Australia came into existence.[5] By 1901, the 426,105 Presbyterians in Australia accounted for 11.3 per cent of the population; in New South Wales they increased from 109,390 in 1891 to 132,617 in 1901, that is, from 9.86 to 9.91 per cent of the colony's population.

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3 Henry Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church*, second ed. (London, 1963), pp. 244-248; John H. Leith (ed.), *Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present* (Garden City, 1963), pp. 192-230; Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900* (Sydney, 1984), pp. 50-51, 241-268; Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scottish Australia* (Melbourne, 1987), pp. 134-151.

4 D.W.A. Baker, *Days of Wrath: A Life of John Dunmore Lang* (Melbourne, 1985).

5 For overviews of Presbyterianism in Australia, see Ian Gillman, 'Presbyterians', *Many Faiths One Nation* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 103-113; Robert Humphreys and Rowland Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia* (Melbourne, 1986), pp. 50-69; I. Breward, 'The Scottish Character of Australian Presbyterian Churches', in Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*, pp. 769-774. See also Rowland S. Ward, *The Bush Still Burns: The Presbyterian and Reformed Faith in Australia, 1788-1988* (Wantirna [Melbourne], 1989), for an account which supports the perspectives of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia.

Baptists

Australian Baptists became visible in both New South Wales and Tasmania during the 1830s.[6] In the early period they demonstrated a strong continuity in doctrine and practice with their British antecedents. The largest segment of the denomination in this country was made up of Particular Baptists, followed by General Baptists. However, a number of other groups have been represented in smaller numbers: Strict and Particular Baptists, Scottish Baptists, Independent Baptists, High Calvinists, Fullerites, and, more recently, several others including Seventh Day Baptists. Before 1900, some of these groups were merging into the broader fellowship of colonial and federal Baptist unions, whereas others continued to prize their separate identity. The mainstream history of the denomination in Australia is quite accessible, in that an official history was published in 1966,[7] an interpretative study appeared in 1975,[8] and since 1980 the first five numbers in a *Baptist Historical Series* have become available.[9] The earliest known Baptist service in Sydney convened in the Rose and Crown Inn on 24 April 1831. With the arrival on 1 December 1834 of the first official pastor, Reverend John Saunders (1806-1859), a quite tolerant congregation of Particular Baptists began to develop. The first chapel was opened in September 1836, and its congregation grew steadily during the thirteen years of the Saunders' incumbency. It was not easy for Australian Baptists to transcend the divisive tendencies within their European and British heritage.[10] There were debates and divisions over whether only baptised believers should participate in communion, over the question of 'open' and

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6 David Parker, 'Baptists', in Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation*, pp. 133-141; Humphreys and Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia*, pp. 79-85; H. Mol, 'Baptists', in Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*, pp. 441-442.

7 A.C. Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground* (Sydney, 1966).

8 J.D. Bollen, *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority* (London, 1975).

9 Note in particular the second number in this series, Ken R. Manley and Michael Petras, *The First Australian Baptists* (Sydney, 1981). Manley and Petras include a bibliography of both primary sources and later reference works, pp. 92-96.

10 Note Edwin S. Gaustad's text and bibliography, 'Baptist Churches', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, sixteen vols (New York, 1987), Vol. 2, pp. 63-66.

'closed' fellowship, over pre- and post-millennialism, and over the issue of state aid to religion.[11] However, most Australian Baptists evinced clearly the principal features which characterised the rise and development of their communion from the sixteenth century onward: a sustained focus on Scripture and evangelical witness, a polity emphasising the autonomy of the local congregation yet allowing for some state and federal co-operation, and a decided conviction that religion and politics should be kept separate.[12] In the census of 1891, 1.18 per cent of the population in New South Wales registered themselves as Baptists; in 1901 the 16,618 Baptists in the state constituted 1.24 per cent of the population.

Lutherans

The first Lutherans began to arrive in 1837 as missionaries to the Aborigines and as settlers in South Australia. Although the early immigrants sought relief from Prussian persecution, the quest for economic betterment brought others during the next four decades. A small group of Lutherans commenced services in Mudgee during 1843, but only in 1866 did a congregation establish itself in Sydney. The first wave of Lutheran immigration ended about 1880; the second and third waves did not reach Australia until after the First World War and the Second World War respectively. Siegfried Hebart, an historian of Australian Lutheranism, notes the various factors which made it difficult for Lutherans to achieve unity here, emphasising the 'bewildering diversity of political, national, cultural, and religious conditions' in their German background.[13] However, they acknowledged a common commitment to Scripture and to the principles enunciated in the *Book of Concord*, written in Germany

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[11] Heather Vose, 'Australian Baptists in the 19th Century', in Michael Petras (ed.), *Australian Baptists Past and Present* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 1-22. This volume, No. 5 in the *Baptist Historical Studies* series, includes a bibliography, pp. 82-85. In the 1986 census, 67,187 persons in New South Wales registered themselves as Baptists, the same proportion (1.4 per cent) as in the census returns for 1976 and 1981. *New South Wales Year Book*, 1988, p. 470.

[12] Cf. Stuart Piggin, 'The Role of Baptists in the History of Australian Evangelicalism', *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review*, No. 11 (April 1991), pp. 5-27.

[13] Siegfried Hebart, 'Lutherans', in Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation*, p. 152; cf. Humphreys and Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia*, pp. 27-33.

between 1529 and 1537, embodying both ancient creeds and the classical formulations of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and his associates.[14] By 1891 2.0 per cent of Australians were Lutherans, 75,021 people in all, but only 7,950 of these were in New South Wales. In 1891, 0.72 per cent of the residents of the colony were Lutherans, but by 1901 this percentage had fallen to 0.55.

Congregationalists

Fundamental to the founding of Congregationalism was the struggle between the authority of the established Church of England and the consciences of local congregations deeply influenced by Puritanism.[15] Early experiments, led by Robert Brown in Norwich and Holland about 1580, and by Henry Barrow in London a few years later, did not meet with lasting success. But the pressure of persecution which set the Pilgrim Fathers on their journey to the New World in 1620 was a continuing factor in England. When Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) became Lord Protector in 1653, English Independents experienced a welcome respite, and the Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order became a useful point of reference for them after 1658.[16] But, when the monarchy was restored in 1660, more persecution followed, and the Act of Uniformity caused the withdrawal of perhaps two thousand clergy in 1662. Persecution continued until the death of Queen Anne in 1714, and discrimination, such as exclusion from universities, persisted for much longer. So dissenting minds founded Nonconformist congregations where they had freedom to worship as they chose, and to sing the hymns of Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and Philip Doddridge (1702-1751). They also pioneered their own institutions of learning, helped to found the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795, and thereafter gave the LMS most of its support.

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14 Leith (ed.), *Creeds of the Churches*, pp. 61-126; Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church*, pp. 185-212. For an interpretation and bibliography, see J. Atkinson, 'Martin Luther', in Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, 1988), pp. 401-404.

15 See Daniel Jenkins, 'Congregational Theology', in Alan Richardson and John Bowden (eds), *A New Dictionary of Theology* (London, 1983), pp. 118-119; G.W. Kirby, 'Congregationalism', in Ferguson and Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology*, pp. 159-161.

16 Bettenson (ed.), *Documents of the Christian Church*, pp. 250-252.

London Missionary Society missionaries, during an enforced stay in New South Wales for several years beginning in 1798, held Congregational services in Sydney and its environs. But not until the early 1830s was a permanent church constituted in Pitt Street, Sydney. Like the Baptists, the Congregationalists opposed state aid to religion. They ministered with particular effectiveness to the educated minority in the population, and were well represented in 'the organs of the press' and in elected political offices within New South Wales late in the nineteenth century.[17] The Congregational Union of New South Wales was formed in 1866, with later moves for a federal union including New Zealand during 1888 and 1904.[18] In the 1891 census, 24,090 New South Wales residents listed themselves as Congregational. Since this number only grew to 24,834 by 1901, the proportion of Congregationalists fell from 2.17 to 1.86 per cent of the New South Wales population during the decade.

The Salvation Army

A Methodist minister, William Booth (1829-1912), established the East London Revival Society during 1865. This institution quickly outgrew its 'East London' designation by developing a network of meeting places. Booth mooted the name 'Salvation Army' at the 1878 annual meeting, and this descriptive term proved so popular that it was adopted by deed poll two years later. The Salvationists 'invaded' Australia by holding an open-air meeting in Adelaide on 5 September 1880, and early the next year they 'landed' two full-time officers. Pioneer Salvationists began confronting often-hostile crowds in New South Wales during 1882.[19] The number of recruits grew rapidly, 1.07 per cent of all Australians declared their allegiance to the Army in the census of 1891, and 31,000 people did the same in 1901. Well known for its unorthodox evangelistic methods and wide-ranging relief

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17 H. Mol, 'Congregationalists', in Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*, p. 441.

18 For overviews of Congregationalists in Australia, see Geoffrey Barnes, 'Congregationalists', in Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation*, pp. 114-121; Humphreys and Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia*, pp. 70-73.

19 Tom Hubbard, 'The Salvation Army', in Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation*, pp. 211-216; Humphreys and Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia*, pp. 132-133; Barbara Bolton, *Booth's Drum: The Salvation Army in Australia, 1880-1980* (Sydney, 1980).

activities, the Salvation Army had 10,315 adherents in New South Wales by 1891, but this number decreased to 9,585 or to 0.72 per cent of the population by 1901.

The Churches of Christ

The ideas which gradually developed the Churches of Christ were forming in the minds of Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists late in the eighteenth century. A Methodist clergyman in North Carolina, James O'Kelly, began to emphasise that the New Testament should be the church's only pattern for its faith and practice, and on 25 December 1793 O'Kelly formed a Church of Christ with a congregational as opposed to an episcopal polity. A Presbyterian, Barton W. Stone, began a new phase of frontier evangelism with the Cane Ridge revival in Kentucky during 1801, and thereafter exhorted his followers to restore the primitive Christianity of the New Testament. After emigrating from Ireland to America in 1807, Thomas Campbell (1763-1854) left the Presbyterians for the Baptists, in order to gain more freedom to follow the Scriptures. From 1809 onward, Thomas Campbell was joined by his son, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866). Both the Campbells were deeply influenced by the Scottish reformers Robert and James Haldane, and came to oppose everything that savoured of denominationalism. A Scottish Presbyterian, Walter Scott, after evangelising for the Baptists in Virginia, joined forces with Barton Stone in 1824. By 1832 these various streams, together with others, coalesced as the Churches of Christ.[20]

This brief account of their origins indicates something of the nature of the Churches of Christ which began in Australia during the 1840s as 'a small, anti-clerical, inward-looking nucleus who were convinced that they alone were in possession of the truth'.[21] The first

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[20] J.L. Clark, 'The Disciples of Christ', *Review and Herald*, 20 April 1972, pp. 6-8; David Edwin Harrell, 'Restorationism and the Stone-Campbell Tradition', in Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (eds) *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, three vols (New York, 1988), Vol. 2, pp. 845-858.

[21] Graeme Lewis Chapman, 'One Lord, one Faith, One Baptism: A historical analysis of the distinctive theology of Churches of Christ in Australia, with particular reference to their plea for unity on the basis of a restored New Testament Christianity' (TheolM thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1981), p.
(Footnote continued)

adherents in this country had Scottish-Baptist and Wesleyan connections, but they soon welcomed assistance from a British evangelist trained in Virginia. Thus, in Australia the first Churches of Christ eschewed denominationalism and credalism in their attempt to develop unity through the restoration of New Testament Christianity. By 1866 some of their congregations were represented at a colony-wide conference for Victoria, and a Federal Conference was organised in 1889.[22] Such events were early milestones on a long road toward a more out-ward looking stance. In the census of 1901, 24,192 people listed themselves as belonging to the Churches of Christ, forming 0.6 per cent of the Commonwealth's population. Of these, only 3,453 were in New South Wales.

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The Wesleyans and the Adventists had much in common with these six denominations; indeed, their commonality was far stronger with the smaller groups than it was with the Catholics and the Anglicans. This fact should be kept in mind as the major characteristics of the Wesleyans and the Adventists are noted.

Wesleyans

John Wesley and his followers emphasised 'the Johannine idea of the present possibility of the transformation of temporal man into a child of God'.[23] But their religion envisaged more than the perfection of the individual; it impinged upon the home, the church, the community, the nation and the world. Methodism proclaimed

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(Footnote 21 continued from previous page)
252; cf. Chapman, *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism: A History of Churches of Christ in Australia* (Box Hill [Melbourne], 1979), p. 93; Chapman, 'Churches of Christ in Australia, 1845-1970: A Historical Survey of the Distinctive Doctrines and Practices of Churches of Christ in Australia' (MA thesis, Macquarie University, 1973), pp. 2-3.

22 Humphreys and Ward, *Religious Bodies in Australia*, pp. 86-90; Graeme Chapman, 'Churches of Christ', in Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation*, pp. 159-167. Note the numerical strength of this communion remains in two United States denominations, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the Churches of Christ.

23 H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. 218-219; Maldwyn L. Edwards, 'John Wesley (1703-1791)', in Nolan B. Harmon (ed.), *The*
(Footnote continued)

justifying and sanctifying grace from God, but it also challenged its people to both fight and pray in an ongoing war with evil.[24] Chapter seven observes the way in which Wesleyan belief influenced its adherents in their encounter with Australian culture near the end of the colonial period. Such an objective requires an introduction to British Methodism and Australian Wesleyanism.

Parts of the history of Christianity treated in chapters three to six, especially those aspects relating to Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism and Anglicanism, provide a general framework for the interpretation of Wesleyanism. But five of the specific characteristics which Methodism manifested during its founding and early development must be observed in order to understand the Australian denomination.

Firstly, from its inception, Methodism imbibed ideas from the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Christian denominations in Australia have seldom borne the names of their founders; the Lutherans and the Wesleyan branch of Methodism are exceptions in this regard. It was against the wishes of Martin Luther that his followers came to be called and to call themselves Lutherans,[25] and the terms 'Holy Club' and 'Methodists' were initially epithets of derision for a group which the Wesley brothers joined at Oxford University. Luther, an Augustinian monk and a professor of biblical studies, was excommunicated by the papal bull *Decet Romanum* on 3 January 1521, and became one of the best-known and most influential Protestant leaders. It was the reading of Luther's commentary on Galatians which brought Charles Wesley (1707-1788) to conversion, three days before Luther's preface to his commentary on Romans

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(Footnote 23 continued from previous page)
Encyclopedia of World Methodism, two vols (Nashville, 1974), Vol. II, pp. 2494-2500.

24 Note the hymn 'Soldiers of Christ, Arise', originally sixteen stanzas, one of over 5,500 hymns written by Charles Wesley, 'the most gifted and indefatigable hymnwriter that England has ever known', according to F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, second ed. (Oxford, 1983), p. 1466-1467. Cf. W.F. Lofthouse, 'Charles Wesley', in Rupert Davies, A. Raymond George, and Gordon Rupp (eds), *A History of The Methodist Church in Great Britain*, four vols (London, 1965, 1978, 1983, 1988), Vol. 1, pp. 113-144.

25 J.T. McNeill, 'Lutheranism, Luther', in Alan Richardson and John Bowden (eds), *A New Dictionary of Theology* (London, 1983), pp. 342-344.

'strangely warmed' the heart of his older brother, John, on 24 May 1738.[26] Like Luther, John Wesley did not intend to cause a schism or to develop a new ecclesiastical body, but both Luther and Wesley represented ideas which made the formation of separate churches inevitable. Luther's concepts of grace and justification were crucial for John Wesley's notion of Christ as the transformer of life through conversion and sanctification.

Methodism drew liberally from a second Christian source, Anglicanism. It began as a High Church movement; it typified the love of High Churchmen for method in religious faith and practice;[27] and it was theologically mainstream or orthodox, due to its founding within and long presence inside Anglicanism. John Wesley's Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament and the Wesley brothers' *Forty Four Sermons* were designed to affirm the catholic theological stream as exemplified in the creeds, the Church of England Articles of Religion, and the *Book of Common Prayer*.[28] This relation to Anglicanism was sustained and delimited by John Wesley's abridgement of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion into twenty-five. Until their deaths, both the Wesleys sought to remain loyal to the Church of England in which they had been raised, trained and ordained as clergymen. However, John Wesley's open-air evangelism, plus his organisation of societies and classes for the nurture of converts, put great strains upon the tolerance of the Church of England. The resultant fragile relationship was broken in principle when Wesley appointed 'The Legal Hundred' preachers in 1784, and ordained presbyters to care for his British flock and Thomas Coke to superintend the church in North

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26 Of the extensive literature on Methodism, the best composite treatment of its type, with extensive bibliographical recommendations, is the four-volume *A History of The Methodist Church in Great Britain*. See also John Munsey Turner, *Conflict and Reconciliation: Studies in Methodism and Ecumenism in England, 1740-1982* (London, 1985); Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* (Oxford, 1986). Betty M. Jarboe, *John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography* (Metuchen and London, 1987), lists 4,755 works published between 1788 and 1986, so is a useful resource. Note, however, Clive D. Field's critical review of Jarboe's *Bibliography*, in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XLVI, Part 6 (October 1988), pp. 187-188.

27 J.W.C. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today* (London, 1961), pp. 112-113.

28 Colin W. Williams, *John Wesley's Theology Today* (London, 1960), p. 8; cf. *The Standard Sermons of John Wesley*, two vols (London, 1921); Rev. Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography*, second ed. (London, 1906), and the Bicentennial edition of Wesley's writings currently being produced by Abingdon Press, edited by Albert C. Outler. Volume 1 appeared in 1984.

America. Thus, separation from the Church of England was made inevitable after Wesley's death. But the Wesley brothers and their movement were influenced permanently by Anglicanism in general and by High Church principles in particular.

Thirdly, Methodism bore the imprint of Puritanism, with its concern for conduct. John Wesley's preaching inaugurated Methodism and the hymns of his brother Charles nourished it. Both brothers authorised the laws and regulations of 'The People Called Methodists', published on 1 May 1743. These laws and regulations were adopted as foundational by the General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church between 1881 and 1884.[29] The Wesleyans had a double rationale for the name which they chose for themselves; it recalled the historical significance of both John and Charles Wesley. This heritage, adopted by the Australian Wesleyans in a deliberate way, emphasised that transforming, regenerative change should operate not only at the beginning but throughout the Christian life. Early Methodism had reinforced this notion by conceiving of itself as a society with three demanding principles of conduct for its members: 'doing no harm', 'doing good of every possible sort', and 'attending all the ordinances of God'. Those who habitually broke any of the rules were to be admonished, but, if they did not repent within a suitable time, they were to be expelled. The expectations of John and Charles Wesley are illustrated by the list of evils which they said were to be avoided:

> The taking of the name of God in vain:
> The profaning of the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling:
> Drunkenness; buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity:
> Fighting, quarreling, brawling; brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling: The buying or selling uncustomed goods:
> The giving or taking things on usury - i.e., unlawful interest:
> Uncharitable or unprofitable conversation; particularly speaking evil of Magistrates or Ministers:
> Doing to others as we would not they should do unto us:
> Doing what we know is not for the glory of God; as
> The putting on of gold or costly apparel:
> The taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the LORD JESUS:

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29 General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *The Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Melbourne, 1885), p. v.

> The singing those songs, or reading those books which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God:
> Softness or needless self-indulgence:
> Laying up treasures upon earth:
> Borrowing without a probability of paying; or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.[30]

This list of evils to be avoided was followed by a list of similar length detailing good things to be done, and a third list of six ordinances of God which were to be attended. But Methodism advocated far more than lists of negative and positive behaviours. It fostered an ongoing experience of sanctification or holiness.[31]

Methodism was part of a widespread evangelical reaction to the religious climate of early eighteenth-century England, a 'Glacial Epoch' in the history of Christianity when, according to G.R. Balleine, 'only the cautious and the colourless remained, Laodiceans, whose ideal Church was neither hot nor cold'.[32] Although Balleine's portrayal overdraws one of the central problems which stimulated the British evangelical awakening, it does highlight in a useful manner the polar-opposite of evangelical enthusiasm. Over against the moralism of the era, evangelicalism developed in three identifiable but related movements, all connected with the established Church of England: the Methodist societies which adhered to Arminianism under the Wesley brothers, the Calvinistic Methodists under George Whitefield (1714-1770), and the Anglican Evangelicals.[33] The experience of the Anglican Evangelicals has been noted above and will be further examined in chapter six; Calvinistic Methodism was the route not taken by most Wesleyans in New South Wales. Hence, it is important

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30 *The Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 1-3; cf. Robert C. Monk, *A Study of the Christian Life: John Wesley, His Puritan Heritage* (New York, 1966).

31 Albert C. Outler (ed.), *John Wesley* (New York, 1964), pp. 251-305; Timothy L. Smith, *Whitefield & Wesley on the New Birth* (Grand Rapids, 1985), pp. 11-38.

32 G.R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, new ed. (London, 1951), p. 13; Williston Walker and Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Christian Church*, fourth ed. (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 596-606; cf. Paul A. Carter, 'Religion at the Grass-roots', in Geoffrey Barraclough (ed.), *The Christian World: A Social and Cultural History of Christianity*, (London, 1981), pp. 273-286. Walker and Handy observe that the British evangelical awakening was an 'analogue' of the Great Awakening in North America and of Pietism in Germany.

33 Walker and Handy, *A History of the Christian Church*, p. 598.

to stress at this point that the Methodism fostered during their lifetimes by John and Charles Wesley was positively related to Anglican evangelicalism.

Thus far we have emphasised that Methodism was Protestant, Anglican, Puritan and evangelical. To note the importance of each of these four components makes it clear that Methodism was eclectic in its quest for authentic Christianity. However, it developed its own synthesis quickly. Martin Schmidt contends that in the early weeks following the conversion of John Wesley, nearly all the characteristics of his movement became evident: 'the energetic zeal with which its supporters went to work, a fellowship of like-minded friends, the leading position it gave to preaching, the emphasis on the Pauline doctrine of justification, forgiveness of sins and the new birth, the urge to concentrate this message on the personal experience of salvation and talk about faith'.[34] The 'distinctive emphases' in Methodism may be classified as the universal offer of salvation, the doctrine of assurance, and the teaching of Christian perfection. The Methodist ethos emphasised 'the optimism of grace', seeing 'salvation not primarily in forensic or imputational terms but as a transforming power which has visible ethical results'.[35] John Wesley opposed slavery, championed prison reform, opened schools and orphanages, established free medical dispensaries, organised relief for the poor, provided work for the unemployed, subsidised small businesses, and 'challenged not only the social conditions but also the social distinctions of the day'.[36] It is not without precedent in Wesley's ministry that some of his followers have felt their real work was to save souls, whereas others have proceeded under the conviction that their mission was to save society.[37]

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34 Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, two vols (1966), trans. Norman P. Goldhawk (ET London, 1971), p. 11.

35 A. Raymond George, 'Methodism', in Alan Richardson (ed.), *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London 1969), pp. 213-215.

36 J.R. Sorrell, *The Wesley Message* (Sydney, 1977), pp. 4-6; Samuel J. Rogal, 'John Wesley's Journal: Prescriptions for the Social, Spiritual, and Intellectual Ills of Britain's Middle Class', *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 33-42.

37 Gordon Rupp, 'Introductory Essay', *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Vol. 1, pp. xxxviii and xxxix.

This tension between individual salvation and social consciousness is but one illustration of the richness of the Christianity preached and practised by the Wesley brothers. To understand this diversity, it is helpful to review what Gordon Rupp introduces as a four-fold 'Our' used by early Methodists: 'Our doctrines', 'Our Hymns', 'Our Literature', 'Our discipline'.[38] In short, as Rupp ably states and as his co-authors demonstrate, John Wesley had an abiding concern for historic Christianity; his *Christian Library* illustrates this catholicity. But Wesley was Protestant in his attitude toward Roman Catholicism and in his soteriolgy. He was raised in a Puritan atmosphere, and his ideas of conscience, conversion and grace embodied this influence. He was clearly indebted to High Church Anglicanism, yet at the same time he fostered an ethos akin to that of the Anglican Evangelicals. Wesley was deeply appreciative of religious influences emanating from continental Europe, including Lutheranism, Pietism and Moravian devotion.

John Wesley was one of those who emphasised the sixteenth-century Reformation notion of the church as having two great dimensions, word and sacraments. He was also among those who preserved the seventeenth century concept of 'the discipline of Christ', with its emphasis on church order and ecclesiastical polity. Yet, in part, Wesley's genius was to see the strength of Pietism, Moravianism and evangelicalism as adding a fourth dimension, 'the importance of the church as a community, and especially of the Christian cell, the small company of Christians meeting for prayer and edification as a means of grace'.[39] Wesley's followers found it difficult to comprehend this diversity in a single denomination, and, as they confronted new challenges after his death, 'The People Called Methodists' fragmented with the secession of Primitive Methodists (1811), Bible Christians (1815), the United Methodist Free Church (1857) and others. By contrast, the Wesleyan Methodists preserved a structural continuity with the era of Wesley's leadership.[40]

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38 Cf. Rupp, 'Introductory Essay', pp. xiii-xl, with the subsequent chapters by Rupert Davies, John Lawson, Frank Baker, and Raymond George, *A History of The Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Vol. 1, pp. 145-273.

39 Rupp, 'Introductory Essay', p. xxxvi; Henry D. Rack, 'Religious Societies and the Origins of Methodism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (October 1987), pp. 582-595.

40 James Udy, 'Methodists', in Ian Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation: A*

(Footnote continued)

The British background to Australian Methodism was, therefore, a source of rich traditions, capable of supplying nurture, challenge and conflict. Any attempt to identify its distinctive emphases must not underestimate this diversity.

Methodism began in Sydney in an inauspicious way during the governorship of Lachlan Macquarie (1810-1821).[41] Upon his arrival on 18 January 1812, a Methodist schoolmaster named Thomas Bowden either founded or assisted the operation of a small Methodist class meeting. Bowden's appeal for help from the Wesleyan Missionary Society led that body to appoint the Reverend Samuel Leigh to Australia. With Leigh's arrival on 10 August 1815, the 13,000 inhabitants of New South Wales had their first official Methodist emissary. The early years were marked by official disapproval, for it seemed to Governor Lachlan Macquarie and others that another form of Christianity should not be fostered in the colony. Seven months after Leigh arrived, Macquarie wrote back to Britain:

> This Man has Conducted himself Very quietly and Inoffensively since his Arrival, and I have no fault to find with him as he is no Expence to the Crown. But tho' Mr. Leigh's conduct has been hitherto very Correct here, Still I should Strongly recommend that no Persons of his Description should in future be permitted to Come out to this Colony. We require regular and pious Clergymen of the Church of England, and not Sectaries, for a new and rising colony like this.[42]

(Footnote 40 continued from previous page)
Guide to the Major Faiths and Denominations in Australia (Sydney, 1988), p. 85; John Kent, 'Wesleyan Methodism', in Harmon (ed.), *Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, Vol. II, pp. 2525-2527.

41 For Methodist history in Australia, see Udy's article in Gillman (ed.), *Many Faiths One Nation*, pp. 84-92; James Colwell, *The Illustrated History of Methodism: Australia, 1812-1855. New South Wales and Polynesia, 1856-1902* (Sydney, 1904); Emily G. Pickering, 'The Beginning of Wesleyan Methodism in Sydney and the First Chapel', *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Methodist Historical Society*, No. 46-47 (January 1946), pp. 639-658; J.D. Bollen, 'A Time of Small Things: Methodist Mission in New South Wales', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (June 1973), pp. 225-247; Kath Whitby and Eric G. Clancy, *Great the Heritage. The Story of Methodism in N.S.W.: 1812 to 1975* (Sydney, 1975).

42 Macquarie to Bathurst, 18 March 1816, *Historical Records of Australia*, I, ix, p. 59.

An even larger problem for the transplanting of Methodism was that Methodist ethics suited few officials and fewer convicts. There were also trials within colonial Methodism, as its adherents disagreed about their heritage, and some fell short of their ideals. However, the Wesleyan specimen of Christianity was transplanted with significant success. Four decades after Leigh arrived, when forty ministers met for the first Australian Conference, held in Sydney on 18 January 1855, they had before them the church's general returns of November 1854: 76 chapels, 109 preaching places, 2,456 church members, 237 persons on trial, with 15,650 attendants at public worship. By 1874, New South Wales and Queensland became a separate Conference served by 55 ministers. Methodist education began in a preliminary way with Newington College in Sydney during 1863, and a church paper, the *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record* was started in 1858, revived in 1864, and renamed *The Weekly Advocate*. Almost three decades later it was decided to change the paper's name to *The Methodist*, a decision which became effective during 1892. The *Advocate* and the *Methodist* gave a quite unified Wesleyan perspective on Christianity and culture throughout the 1890s. The Central Methodist Mission, pioneered in Sydney from 1884 by Reverend W.G. Taylor and others, best exemplified the social conscience of Methodism.[43]

By 1891 there were 9,622 Wesleyan members in New South Wales and Queensland plus 676 persons on trial and a total of 82,285 attendants at public worship.[44] With its connexional system, its itinerancy for clergy and its strong lay involvement, the church had been able to spread itself widely throughout New South Wales as well as in the capital of the colony.[45] By 1891 the population of Sydney and its suburbs was 386,400, increased from 227,043 ten years earlier. This 'crowding of people into large cities is not for their good, physically, morally or economically', the *Advocate* stated.[46] The *New*

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43 Don Wright, *Mantle of Christ: A History of the Sydney Central Methodist Mission* (St Lucia, 1984), Introduction and pp. 92-96.

44 *The Weekly Advocate*, 30 May 1891, pp. 504-505. In the two colonies there were 463 churches, with 430 other preaching places.

45 Eric G. Clancy, 'Rural Methodism in New South Wales, 1836-1902', in James S. Udy and Eric G. Clancy (eds), *Dig or Die: Papers Given at the World Methodist Historical Society Wesley Heritage Conference* (Sydney, 1981), pp. 89-111.

46 *Advocate*, 9 May 1891, p. 477.

South Wales Statistical Register indicated that, in 1891, the 112,448 Methodists in New South Wales represented 10.01 per cent of the colony's population, whereas by 1901, the 137,638 Methodists accounted for 10.16 of the state's population. Since the church and the census figures were gathered by different methods, and the census lumped all Methodist bodies together, the census figures were consistently higher than the Wesleyans' own figures. Queensland became independent from the New South Wales Conference early in the 1890s; the number of Methodists in New South Wales increased by 22.40 per cent during the decade, but this growth only raised their proportion of the general population by 0.15 per cent.[47] In other words, the Methodists were holding their own as they moved toward 1902, when union was effected for Wesleyans, Bible Christians, Primitive Methodists and United Methodist Free Churches.[48]

Seventh-day Adventists

The Seventh-day Adventist solution was in some respects related to those of the three main denominations; it had some of the separateness of Catholicism, the Christological message of Anglicanism, and the values of Wesleyanism. It also had some ideas in common with the Puritanism and the polity of the Presbyterians, and an even closer affinity with Baptist and Congregationalist views on the separation of church and state. However, the Adventists were steeped in the apocalyptic literature of the Bible, and thus they developed a millenarian stance distinct from any of the nine largest Christian denominations in the colony of New South Wales. Chapter nine, after exploring how a prominent Seventh-day Adventist related to 'the enduring problem', suggests why Adventist perspectives were more

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47 J.D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910* (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 183-185. Note the slightly different figures in Richard Broome, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society, 1900-1914* (St Lucia, 1980), p. 166.

48 *The Methodist* gave extensive space to the matter of union during the 1890s, and reported the optimistic 'Official Address' at the New South Wales Conference, 1902. See *Methodist*, 1 March 1902, pp. 1-4, 10, and E.G. Clancy, 'The Struggle for Methodist Union in New South Wales', *Journal and Proceedings of the Australasian Methodist Historical Society*, No. 95 (September 1975), pp. 1360-1378. There were no Bible Christian churches in New South Wales, but many in South Australia.

separatist than those of the longer-established denominations.[49] In so doing it seeks to isolate and examine a strand of thought which has elicited a great deal of debate since the founding of Christianity.

This task must be informed by an adequate understanding of the Seventh-day Adventist church from its rise to its planting in Australia.[50] The Adventists locate their beginning as a separate religious body within the religious ferment which occurred in the United States during the 1840s.[51] Thus they affirm selected aspects of the millennialist awakening led by William Miller and his associates in the New England states and adjacent areas between 1831 and 1844. But the Adventists also claim continuity with historic Christianity.[52] Crucial to any interpretation of their self-understanding are the landmark doctrines which they defined during their formative early years, in particular between 1844 and 1863.[53] In order to interpret Adventist relations with culture, it is necessary to understand eleven features of the church, all of which were well established by the time it dispatched its first official overseas missionaries to Australia during

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49 A preliminary form of this analysis was published as 'Doctrine and Deed: Adventism's Encounter With Its Society in Nineteenth-Century Australia', in Arthur J. Ferch (ed.), *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific: 1885-1918* (Wahroonga and Warburton, 1986), pp. 19-29.

50 For bibliography and interpretation, see my article, 'Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific: A Review of Sources', *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1987), pp. 307-326.

51 Vern Carner, Sakae Kubo, Curt Rice, 'Bibliographical Essay' in Edwin S. Gaustad (ed.), *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1974), pp. 207-317; R.W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History Textbook for College Classes* (Mountain View, 1979), pp. 13-71; Gary Land (ed.), *Adventism in America: A History* (Grand Rapids, 1986). Schwarz and Land are both trained historians who have pioneered Adventist historiography. Schwarz includes a 'Suggested Reading' section in each chapter; Land's panel of authors present an analytical account with endnotes and a 'Bibliographical Essay', pp. 254-296. For a recent narrative account, see Anne Devereaux, *The Seventh-day Adventists: A History* (New York, 1988).

52 *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 21-25; Bryan W. Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge, 1981). Ball's ongoing research, on sabbatarianism in England, is nearing publication. An older treatment, less exact in its historiography, is that by L.E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, four vols (Washington, D.C., 1946-1954).

53 P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, 1977), pp. 103-242.

1885.[54]

First of all, Millerism, the precursor of Seventh-day Adventism, arose amongst heirs of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation. This fact is well illustrated by the conversion, convictions and career of William Miller (1782-1849), and is confirmed by the denominational affiliations of his ministerial associates. At twenty-two years of age Miller, nominally a Baptist, came under the influence of Deists and the writings of Voltaire (1694-1778), David Hume (1711-1776), Thomas Paine (1737-1809) and Ethan Allen (1738-1789). After twelve years following deistical ideas, however, Miller began to reflect deeply upon providential occurrences which he witnessed while he was a captain in the United States army during the War of 1812 with Britain. He also became aware of his need of a saviour from sin. During 1816 Miller was converted in church while he was reading aloud an evangelistic sermon based on Isaiah 53.[55] Thereafter he continued to be active as a Baptist layman, and was given a licence to preach by his local congregation on 12 September 1833. The twenty articles of faith which Miller recorded in his notebook on 5 September 1822, his handwritten copy of the Baptist Articles of Faith produced by his local congregation, like his sermons and writings, all testify to a warm-hearted evangelical Protestantism as central to his religious experience.[56] The same orientation is evident amongst Miller's colleagues. Miller believed some two hundred ministers embraced his views, and that about five hundred public lecturers proclaimed them.[57] But the *Midnight Cry*, a principal Millerite periodical, suggested in its 24 March 1844 issue that between 1,500 and 2,000 lecturers were 'proclaiming the kingdom

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54 S.N. Haskell, 'The Australian Mission', *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Basle, 1886), pp. 91-108.

55 *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence* (Boston, 1845), pp. 1-6; Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, Vol. IV, pp. 455-475.

56 Some 800 letters by and to William Miller, plus a score of his pamphlets and books, are extant. Jean Hoornstra (ed.), *The Millerites and Early Adventists: An Index to the Microfilm Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts* (Ann Arbor, 1974), p. 19.

57 Miller, *Apology and Defence*, p. 22. Most of the sources cited in this chapter are available in microform or hard copy in either the Ellen G. White/Seventh-day Adventist Research Centre or the South Pacific Division Heritage Room at Avondale College, Cooranbong, New South Wales. Other items are in the South Pacific Division Library and Archives, Wahroonga, New South Wales, or at the Greater Sydney Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Strathfield, New South Wales.

of heaven is at hand'. Of 174 Millerite preachers whose denominational affiliations can be traced, 44 per cent were Methodists, 27 per cent were Baptists, 9 per cent were Congregationalists, 8 per cent belonged to the Christian Connection, and 7 per cent were Presbyterians. Also represented were ministers of Dutch Reformed, Episcopalian, Lutheran and Friend churches.[58] The mind-set of Miller and his associates was Protestant in its relation to Scripture, anti-Roman Catholic in its ecclesiology, and evangelical in its soteriology. The Millerites also borrowed freely from both pietism and revivalism.[59]

Secondly, and even more importantly for the distinctive ethos which it developed, Millerism was nourished by the thought of the apocalyptic literature of the Old and New Testaments. Beginning in 1816, Miller began a systematic study of the Bible, starting with Genesis, and within two years reaching the Book of Daniel. He came to believe that there were four lines of prophecy in Daniel, all of which climaxed in the setting up of the kingdom of God at the second advent of Jesus Christ. His attention was caught by Daniel 8:14 with its cryptic promise, 'Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed'. He decided that on some occasions in symbolic prophecy a day stood for a year, as in Numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:6. Miller interpreted Daniel chapter nine as a further explanation of the theme of chapter eight, and thus he fixed upon 457 BC as the starting point for a period of 2,300 years, after which the 'sanctuary' would be restored about 1843 AD. The Jewish temple had been demolished by the Romans in 70 AD; surely, he mused, this cleansing of the sanctuary must imply the purification of the earth at the cataclysmic return of Christ. Thus the doctrine of the second advent of Christ arrested Miller's attention and began to function as the controlling idea in his life. He soon juxtaposed other apocalyptic passages of Scripture with Daniel: Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21 and the Revelation of St John in particular. It was inevitable that prime

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58 Everett N. Dick, 'The Millerite Movement, 1830-1845', in Land (ed.), *Adventism in America*, p. 1-35, 254-259.

59 David L. Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* (Chico, 1985); Ruth Alden Doan, 'Millerism and Evangelical Culture', in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler (eds), *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987), pp. 118-138; Ruth Alden Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (Philadelphia, 1987).

concerns within this literature would shape what came to be known as the 'Great Second Advent Movement', a part of the Second Great Awakening in the United States.[60]

Miller and his associates were a people possessed by a great sense of urgency, so they gave slight attention to making an abstract analysis of the *genre* of apocalyptic literature. On the other hand, extra-biblical apocalyptic writings, in particular the Jewish apocalypses which formed a backdrop for the Millerite's favourite Scriptures, have been the focus of much research in the twentieth century, and some of these insights help to interpret Adventism. According to D.S. Russell, Jewish apocalyptic literature 'has the prophetic tradition as its father and faith in the ultimate triumph of God in times of peril and persecution as its mother'. Its categories of thought often include a pessimistic view of human history, dualism, the division of time into periods, the notion of two ages, numerology, ecstasy, claims of inspiration, and the concept of esoteric privilege. Important to apocalyptic literature is 'the idea of the unity of history and the conception of cosmic history which treats of earth and heaven', plus 'the notion of primordiality with its revelations concerning creation and the fall of men and angels', and 'the source of evil in the universe and the part played in this by angelic powers'. Often present is the idea of 'conflict between light and darkness, good and evil, God and Satan', and the emergence of a transcendent figure called 'the Son of Man', together with notions of resurrection, judgement and a future condition of bliss. Russell contends that while such 'marks' are not present in all apocalyptic writings, they convey an impression of its 'particular mood of thought and belief'. Hence the apocalyptists wrote of the dramatic conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan, they affirmed both primordiality and eschatology, and they employed freely such categories as universalism, determinism and

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[60] William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year 1843* (New York, 1836). This 233-page edition of Miller's lectures had its genesis in a series of newspaper articles during 1831. It was enlarged during 1838 and again in 1840. For a recent denominational perspective on the rise of Adventism, informed but in popular language, see the eight-part series by Hans K. LaRondelle, 'A People of Prophecy', *Adventist Review*, 1 June 1989 to 20 July 1989. A recent doctoral thesis completed in Sweden found that the popular use of the 'historicist hermeneutic' ended with Miller, and was replaced by Darbyan futurism and preterism. Kai J. Arasola, *The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament* (Uppsala, 1990).

supernaturalism. They looked forward to a cataclysmic end of a 'supramundane character' for all things earthly, believing, Russell says:

> God has set a limit to the powers of evil in the world; the era of conflict will soon be over; the triumph of God's predetermined purpose will provide the key to all life's mysteries and problems. This triumph will come, not by a gradual transformation of the universe and not by a whittling down of the power of evil, but by a supernatural and catastrophic intervention. This intervention will take the form of a great crisis, usually seen as about to happen in the writer's own day. God will break into history in a mighty act of judgement and establish his kingdom.[61]

Such were the marks of Jewish apocalyptic literature, a *genre* of writing best known to Christians in the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation. The biblical examples of this literature nourished a sense of immediacy amongst the Millerites and their spiritual descendants, the Seventh-day Adventists; these movements bore what Russell identifies as 'the mood of thought and belief' typical of the *genre* of apocalyptic.

Thirdly, the sense of immediacy in Adventism was cast in a decidedly pre-millennialist mould. It was not enough simply to believe that Christ would return soon; it was imperative to understand his glorious advent as pre-millennial, that is, as occurring prior to the thousand years of peace (the millennium) described in Revelation 20. The crucial significance of this idea is well illustrated in the contrast between two popular evangelists who functioned at the flood-tide of the Second Great Awakening, Charles Finney (1792-1875) and Charles Fitch (1805-1844). Fitch, as an associate of Finney, officiated on 13 May 1836 when Finney's Broadway Tabernacle Church was organised in New York City, preaching the sermon, reading the roster of members, the Declaration of Principles, the Rules, Confession of Faith, the Covenant, and then pronouncing the congregation a church. But different views of millennialism were soon to separate these spiritual brothers. According to the Millerite periodical, the *Signs of the Times*, Fitch came 'into the full faith of the Second Advent, both as to the

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[61] D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 B.C. - A.D. 100* (London, 1964), p. 104-106. For succinct summaries with bibliographies see John J. Collins, 'Apocalypse', and Hillel Schwartz, 'Millenarianism', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, sixteen vols (New York, 1987), Vol. 1, pp. 334-336; Vol. 9, pp. 521-532.

manner, and the *time*', shortly before its 15 December 1841 issue went to press. In a letter to his wife on 14 June 1842, Fitch indicated a continuing brotherly relationship with Finney, and his desire that Finney 'should thoroughly examine the subject of the second advent'. But the relationship between Finney and Fitch foundered as Fitch's idea of a pre-millennial second advent crystallised in his urgent call to leave 'Babylon', while Finney and the Oberlin reformers chose to remain with an optimistic post-millennialism, believing Christ's return would climax a thousand years of ever-better world conditions. The inevitability of such a division is clear from Fitch's sermons and articles after July 1843, for instance:

> To come out of Babylon is to be converted to the true scriptural doctrine of the personal coming and Kingdom of Christ; to receive the truth on this subject with all readiness of mind, as you will find it plainly written out on the pages of the Bible; to love Christ's appearing, and rejoice in it, and fully and faithfully to avow to the world your unshrinking belief in God's word touching this momentous subject, and to do all in your power to open the eyes of others, and influence them to a similar course, that they may be ready to meet their Lord.[62]

Not even the bonds of evangelical brotherly love could survive the application of Revelation 14:8 and 18:4-8 which Fitch was developing.

These three characteristics of Millerism assumed a central place in sabbatarian Adventism, after the 'Great Disappointment' when Christ failed to appear on the last major date which they projected for his return, 22 October 1844. But, to these formative ideas, a fourth must be added: a passion for doctrinal reconstruction. A significant number of the Millerites had opted enthusiastically for the idea that the baptism of believers should be by immersion, and that the rite should only be administered after the age of accountability had been reached. Acceptance of this idea meant numbers of ministers and mature Christians who came to believe in 'the Advent near' were immersed in cold lakes and rivers during the autumn of 1844. But thereafter the search for new scriptural light on their disappointment led the remnants of Millerism to espouse other doctrinal reforms. Separate groups developed a concern to honour the

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62 Charles Fitch, 'What is it for God's People to Come Out of Babylon', *The Signs of the Times*, 13 September 1843; cf. the content of Fitch's periodical, *The Second Advent of Christ*, published in Cleveland, Ohio; David T. Arthur, '"Come Out of Babylon": A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism' (PhD dissertation, The University of Rochester, 1970).

seventh day of the week in obedience to the fourth of the Ten Commandments; to recover the doctrine of conditional immortality; to exercise the spiritual gifts described in the New Testament, in particular, the gift of prophecy. As these disparate groups communicated with each other they came to adopt these three doctrines, along with the baptism of adult believers, as common fundamentals. Sabbatarianism, conditionalism, prophetism and believers' baptism were not viewed as new doctrines, but as part of a necessary and wide-ranging restoration of truths lost by the church during centuries of apostasy. Thus the recovery of these teachings fitted in with the desire to return to the primitive faith of the early Christian church. Adventists shared the 'restorationist' impulse of the Christian Connection or the Churches of Christ; they were determined to restore the 'primitive godliness' of the New Testament.[63]

The disappointed Millerites who became Seventh-day Adventists were not afraid to break fresh ground if they believed the Scriptures held what they called 'new light'. However, only one of their fundamental doctrines was qualitatively new: the idea that Christ's ministry was symbolised by the two phases (one daily, the other annual or yearly) of the Jewish sanctuary service. The daily ministry, with its sacrifices, focused on the death of Christ and his mediation between God and man; the yearly ritual of the Day of Atonement pointed to Christ's work of judgement described in Daniel 7: 9-14, they concluded. Thus, they reasoned, 22 October 1844 must be the antitype of the Jewish annual festival of *Yom Kippur* or Day of Atonement; so, on that day Jesus Christ began a work of judgement prior to his return in glory to redeem the saints of all ages.[64] This re-definition of the 'sanctuary' idea preserved a continuity with Millerite apocalyptic interpretation, yet it also created a new purpose

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63 David S. Katz, *Sabbath Sectarianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 178-212; T.M. Preble, *A Tract, Showing That the Seventh Day Should Be Observed as the Sabbath, Instead of the First Day; 'According to the Commandment'* (Nashua, 1845); Joseph Bates, *The Seventh-day Sabbath a Perpetual Sign, From the Beginning, to the Entering Into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandment* (New Bedford, 1846); Kenneth A. Strand (ed.), *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, D.C., 1982); L.E. Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers: The Conflict of the Ages Over the Nature and Destiny of Man*, two vols (Washington, D.C., 1965, 1966), Vol. II, pp. 247-743.

64 Roy Adams, *The Sanctuary Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Berrien Springs, 1981), pp. 1-94.

for Miller's spiritual heirs. Initiated on 23 October 1844 by Hiram Edson, a believer disappointed because Christ had not come the previous day, this concept affirmed the basic correctness of Millerite Adventism while admitting the error of setting a date for the second advent of Christ.[65] It gave the fledgling sabbatarians a new 'present truth' and a fresh sense of hope; Christ was engaged in the final phase of his ministry within 'the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man' (Hebrews 8:1-2), so he would soon return in power and glory. The esoteric nature of this sanctuary teaching served as a means for separating Adventists from the unbelieving world, and even from the majority group of those they called 'fallen' or 'nominal' Adventists, the Millerites who came to deny the 1844 experience as a work of God. Indeed, not until 1851 did the sabbatarians redefine this 'Shut Door' idea and regain confidence in preaching to the 'world', that is, those who had not been part of the 1844 movement.[66]

Sixthly, particular portions of Scripture came to have unique meanings for the sabbatarian Adventists. Daniel 8:14, declaring that 'unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed', had made them, as Millerites, sure that the earth would be cleansed and restored at the coming of Christ on 22 October 1844. The same text now made them confident Christ had started the last phase of his heavenly ministry on that day, and thus he would soon return to earth. Daniel 12:4 gave them the conviction that the prophecies of Daniel were now unlocked to their understanding in 'the time of the end', an era which most of them dated from 1798, by comparing the texts in Daniel and Revelation which referred to 1,260 days (years) of papal supremacy. The Epistle to the Hebrews was read as an Adventist tract on the two-phase ministry of Christ as the antitypical high priest of the true sanctuary in heaven. Revelation chapter 10 seemed to them to include both a prophecy of their bitter

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65 Hiram Edson, a fragment of an undated and untitled manuscript recounting his experience, pp. 5-10a, in Numbers and Butler (eds), *The Disappointed*, pp. 213-216. For a description and an analysis, see Don F. Neufeld (ed.), 'Hiram Edson (1806-1882)', *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, revised ed. (Washington, D.C., 1976), pp. 412-413.

66 For differing accounts of the 'Shut Door' period from 1844-1851, see Ingemar Linden, *1844 and the Shut Door Problem* (Uppsala, 1982); Borge Schantz, 'The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal' (PhD dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), pp. 213-222; J.B. Goodner, 'Reviewing the Review', *Adventist Currents*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (February 1985), pp. 4-6, 56; C. Mervyn Maxwell, *Tell It to the World: The Story of Seventh-day Adventists*, revised ed. (Mountain View, 1982), pp. 40-66.

experience, and a statement of their new commission: 'Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings'. Also, they dwelt upon Matthew 24, verse 14, thus assuring themselves that 'this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come'. Such Bible texts helped them to come to Revelation 14:6-12 with a particular mind-set, and thus to understand and proclaim the messages of its three angels as the Adventists' specific charter. These verses were seen to enjoin the preaching of 'the everlasting gospel', to describe the warning of the judgement given by Millerism, plus the painful call out of a spiritual 'Babylon'. But beyond such considerations, the third angel ended his message on a positive note: 'Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus'. In its context, between the crisis of Revelation 13 and the second coming of Christ pictured in Revelation 14, this verse seemed to point to the recovery of the true Sabbath as the authenticating seal of God's holy Ten Commandment law.[67]

With such passages of Scripture ringing in their ears, Seventh-day Adventists developed from the fragments of Millerism between 1844 and 1860, when at last they found a name to fit their convictions. It could be assumed that the heirs of Millerism would want to forget the sweet expectation that had suffused their lives from 1831 until 1844, since it had led to such bitter disappointment. But, instead, they found their experience prophesied in the Scriptures, together with their new commission, and the assurance that when their work was faithfully done, the end of the age would come. Within their personal charter from heaven, Revelation 14:6-12, was the urgent commission to preach the everlasting gospel to everyone on earth, indeed, 'to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people'. So the movement could not remain a North American sect. Instead, it developed a seventh feature: a concept of world mission destined to disperse it, within the nineteenth century, to most continents of the earth.[68]

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[67] Damsteegt, *Foundations*, pp. 78-164.

[68] Gottfried Oosterwal, *Mission Possible: The Challenge of Mission Today* (Nashville, 1982), pp. 23-41.

Early Adventists exemplified a further characteristic, a self-designation as reformers who would adopt no limiting creeds. They were children of an age characterised by wide-ranging reforms in the United States. Finney's preaching stimulated people to become involved with anti-slavery and temperance societies; Miller exhorted his followers not to drink another draught, lest Christ should come and find them drunken. Social concern was expressed in prison reforms, in better care for the poor and the insane, in experimentation with educational and health reforms. So it was that Seventh-day Adventists came to think of themselves as reformers: in health, in temperance, in dress, in education and in doctrine. In order for needed reforms to proceed in the area of theology, they determined to avoid the constraints of creeds. Only the Bible would be their rule of faith and practice. They remembered the acute pain of being 'disfellowshipped' (expelled) from their churches because of their belief in an imminent second advent of Christ, and so they eschewed institutionalised religion. A prevailing attitude was clearly expressed by a prominent pioneer as the movement struggled to come to terms with the need for organisation:

> The first step of apostasy is to get up a creed, telling us what we shall believe. The second is, to make that creed a test of fellowship. The third is to try members by that creed. The fourth [is] to denounce as heretics those who do not believe that creed. And, fifth, to commence persecution against such.[69]

Within such a climate of belief, even the adoption of a name seemed to be a perilous undertaking. Thus it was only after years of not knowing what to call themselves that they cautiously adopted a permanent name, Seventh-day Adventists, in 1860. The first state-wide conference of churches was established in 1861, and a general conference structure emerged in the city of Battle Creek, Michigan, during 1863. By then there were a mere 3,500 baptised believers; there may have been 100,000 Millerites expecting Christ to come in 1844. While the Adventists remained critical of creeds, they developed quite precise notions of true and false doctrine, and proved themselves well able to dismiss those with aberrant beliefs.[70]

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[69] J.N. Loughborough, remarks cited in *Review and Herald*, 8 October, 1861, p. 148.

[70] Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organisation: Historical Development, 1844-1881* (Berrien Springs, 1987), pp. 116-192.

A further cluster of Seventh-day Adventist characteristics are so dependent upon each other that they can scarcely be discussed in isolation: a theology of history; the prophetic role of Ellen White; the development of institutions to implement Adventist ideas.

So great was the need to remember the leading of the Lord in Millerism that, during 1850, the sabbatarians began to publish a paper which gave a more precise form to their theology of history. They presented themselves as the true heirs of the Protestant Reformation in general and of the Advent hope in particular; the authentic believers were those remnants of Millerism which had now adopted such landmark doctrines as the seventh-day Sabbath, the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary and conditional immortality. But this nascent theology of history probably would not have survived without the assurance of a prophetic revelation of the past, present and future.

Assurance of that revelation came through a young convert to Millerism from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Portland, Maine, Ellen Gould Harmon (1827-1915).[71] Disfellowshipped by the Portland congregation along with her family for embracing Millerite views, the teenage Ellen Harmon was also deeply disappointed on 22 October 1844 when Christ failed to appear. But in December of that year she received her first 'vision', in which she declared that she saw the travels of the Advent people until they should enter the New Jerusalem. Many such charismatic experiences were to follow, confirming the steps taken by the fledgling movement in its search for Bible truth, and, during 1848, indicating that Adventist literature would go 'like streams of light clear round the world'. Of even greater significance were Ellen White's 'testimonies' for individuals and the church, commencing in 1855 and forming nine volumes by 1909. However, White's most profound influence derived from another stream of books, begun in 1858, on the cosmic conflict between good and evil.[72]

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71 One of the best of many doctoral dissertations on Ellen White (nee Harmon) is that by Roy E. Graham, 'Ellen G. White: An Examination of Her Position and Role in the Seventh-day Adventist Church' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1977). Autobiographical comments are interspersed through Ellen White's writings; more than one hundred volumes, reprints of original editions or compilations from her writings, are currently in print. Her incomplete autobiography is available as *Life Sketches* (Mountain View, 1915).

72 For an apologetic biography based on the primary sources, see Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White*, six vols (Washington, D.C., 1981-1986).

Ellen Harmon married James Springer White (1821-1881), a young Millerite preacher, on 30 August 1846.[73] His foresight and skill developed the publishing arm and the organisational body of the new church; her prophetic gift helped the scattered believers to coalesce into a movement; together the Whites were two of the most influential founders of Seventh-day Adventism. Above all else that the Whites did, Ellen White's writings on the theme of the age-long struggle between good and evil fostered the identity and mission of Seventh-day Adventists, and governed their perspectives on Christianity and culture. Starting with a 219-page book in 1858, reporting a composite vision of 'the great controversy between Christ and his angels, and Satan and his angels', this theme was Ellen White's principal motivation until her death in 1915. Her books on the 'Conflict of the Ages' not only distilled the story of the Bible and recounted the history of the church; they also reached forward to the restoration of all things in that new heavens and earth, wherein righteousness would dwell. They even provided much of the motivation for Adventist reforms in health and education. Of prime significance for Australian Adventists was the publication of Ellen White's third edition of *The Great Controversy* during 1888, a volume which was, next to the Bible, *the* Seventh-day Adventist textbook during the 1890s.[74]

Adventist ideas came to expression in a world-wide network of publishing, health care, health food and educational institutions. These institutional characteristics grew, in part, from tendencies which began to influence the Millerites during the 1830s. The printed word was used extensively by Miller and his colleagues to disseminate their message. A spate of books was augmented by numerous periodicals bearing titles which proclaimed the apocalyptic convictions of Millerism: *The Signs of the Times and Expositor of Prophecy, The Midnight Cry, The Advent Herald, The Second Advent of Christ* and many more. After Millerism crumbled and sabbatarian Adventists began to coalesce, they slowly revived the printing of the word in broadsides, pamphlets and periodicals. One significant early pamphlet, *A Word to the 'Little Flock'* bore witness in 1847 to the self-understanding of its publishers, as did the first periodical, *The Present Truth*, published during 1849. The next year, as the scattered

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73 Virgil Robinson, *James White* (Washington, D.C., 1976), pp. 33-39.

74 Joseph Battistone, *The Great Controversy Theme in E.G. White Writings* (Berrien Springs, 1978), pp. 111-113.

sabbatarians deemed it was essential to demonstrate in a clear way that they were the true heirs of Millerism, *The Advent Herald* was initiated for that purpose. But ere 1850 closed, they could see the need to do much more than review the history and thought of the 1844 movement, so they established a permanent periodical, *The Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald.* This publication was shaped by several purposes: to review the Advent movement of 1831-1844, to herald the seventh day of the week as the true Sabbath, to nurture the faithful, to evangelise other Millerites and indeed the whole world. The *Review* office moved, at first, with the preaching itineraries of James and Ellen White, until it was given a more permanent home in the city of Battle Creek, Michigan, during 1855. There the journal shared its name with the church's first institution, the Review and Herald Publishing Association. While a world-wide network of publishing houses was developing by the late nineteenth century, three of these printed most of the Adventist literature used in Australia during the 1890s: the Review and Herald Publishing Association at the movement's headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, which published the weekly *Review and Herald*; the Pacific Press in Oakland, California, which published the church's premier evangelistic magazine, *The Signs of the Times*; and the Echo Publishing Company in Melbourne, Victoria, which published the Australian equivalent of the American *Signs*, then called *The Bible Echo.* Each of these publishers, of course, printed pamphlets, other periodicals and books.[75]

Adventism, as has been stated, was born in an age of reform, in which ideas as diverse as the abolition of slavery, health, and educational reforms competed for attention. While the sabbatarians early discarded tobacco and pork, it was not until 1863 that they began a comprehensive effort to maintain and restore their own health and that of the world. Although many of the same ideas were effervescing in society at large,[76] the Adventists' motivation came from Ellen White's conviction that God had on 5 June 1863 introduced her to both the problems and their solution. A series of pamphlets on 'How to Live' soon busied the Battle Creek press, and by 1866 the Western Health

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[75] *Early S.D.A. Periodicals: Facsimile Reproductions of The Present Truth and The Advent Review* (Washington, D.C., 1946). The *Review and Herald, Signs of the Times* and *Bible Echo* are available in originals, facsimile reprints or micorform.

[76] James C. Whorton, *Crusader for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton, 1982), describes the health reform movement in the United States which Adventists drew from and reworked.

Reform Institute was opened in the city of Battle Creek. Publications and institutions for health maintenance and care were to be multiplied thereafter, with a journal entitled *The Health Reformer* heralding the benefits of a simple life-style free of narcotics, flesh foods and even milder stimulants such as tea and coffee.[77] It was part of Ellen White's contribution that religion and health and education were intimately related in Adventist belief and practice.[78]

Two Adventist brothers in Battle Creek pioneered health reform establishments, later conflicting with each other and finally with the Adventist cause. As a medical doctor, John Harvey Kellogg (1852-1943) gave Ellen White's ideas better substance in the Battle Creek Sanitarium, the successor of the Western Health Reform Institute and the prototype of many such institutions.[79] John's younger brother, Will Keith Kellogg (1860-1951), became known as a manufacturer of cereal breakfast foods.[80] The manufacture of cereal foods and meat substitutes was destined to change the eating habits of millions in many parts of the world, but especially in North America, Australia and New Zealand. The influence of John and Will Kellogg continued within Adventism long after they had severed their connections with the movement. Australian Adventists first imported their health foods from Battle Creek, but before the 1890s were over, they were starting to duplicate North American institutions in New South Wales.

Adventists were also caught up in the movement for educational reform. While some ephemeral church schools were begun during the 1850s, it took until 1874 for the movement to establish its first college in the city of Battle Creek. From these modest beginnings

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77 Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York, 1976); George W. Reid, *A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists and Health Reform* (Washington, D.C., 1982). Reid's volume, based on his doctoral dissertation, evaluates Numbers' work as 'a thorough, compact, well documented study' which professes objectivity but 'its clear tenor leans toward discrediting much of what Mrs. White claimed', p. 171. Gary Land, 'From Apologetics to History: The Professionalization of Adventist Historians', *Spectrum*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (March 1980), pp. 89-100, indicates the problem faced by historians such as Numbers.

78 Of her large number of articles and books on health reform, Ellen White's *The Ministry of Healing* (Mountain View, 1905) is the most comprehensive.

79 Richard W. Schwarz, *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D* (Nashville, 1970).

80 Horace B. Powell, *The Original Has This Signature: W.K. Kellogg* (Englewood Cliffs, 1956).

a world-wide network of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions was destined to develop.[81] Battle Creek College only had a limited amount of land, a mere twelve acres, and that in an urban setting. Ellen White visualised a more complete following of the heavenly blueprint which she believed she had been given for Christian education. Thus the effort to establish a college in New South Wales during the 1890s was directed toward meeting her ideals more fully than had been done up to that point.[82]

Adventist ideas, then, found expression in various types of institutions. One type of buildings housed printers of the glad tidings, which members and colporteurs (salespeople) then scattered 'like the leaves of autumn'; another type was staffed by doctors and nurses committed to the maintenance and recovery of health; yet another type included factory workers manufacturing the basics of an alternative diet; while in another type corps of educators and students determinedly sought a 'true' or Christian education. These institutions were to be the most visible face of Seventh-day Adventism, for those looking at it from the outside. They also created a tension at the nerve centres of the church: how to go into all the world preaching the gospel (Mark 16:15), and, simultaneously, how to come out of the world and be separate (2 Corinthians 6:17). A dominant characteristic of Adventism in New South Wales during the 1890s was illustrated by its struggle to balance these conflicting commands. To complicate the issue, an Arcadian notion of 'country living' was generally understood to be an important ideal.[83] The Adventists felt impelled to plant their institutions in rural areas which then became colonies of believers. Thus these institutions had an unintended effect; they inhibited the dispersal of light bearers amongst the general population.

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81 George R. Knight (ed.), *Early Adventist Educators* (Berrien Springs, 1983).

82 A.G. Lindsay, 'The Influence of Ellen White Upon the Development of the Seventh-day Adventist School System in Australia, 1891-1900' (MEd thesis, The University of Newcastle, 1978); Milton Raymond Hook, 'The Avondale School and Adventist Educational Goals, 1894-1900' (EdD dissertation, Andrews University, 1978).

83 Ellen White's concepts were compiled in *Country Living: An Aid to Moral and Social Security* (Washington, D.C., 1946), but a number of them were first published during the 1890s.

Adventists, then, believed in a Protestantism nourished by apocalyptic thought, cast in a pre-millennialist mould, and exhibiting a passion for doctrinal reconstruction. Their concept of the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, arguably their most distinctive tenet, was crucial in the formation of their self-understanding. The product of bitter experience which had driven them to the Bible, it helped them to fasten upon passages of Scripture which seemed to clarify their identity and imply a world mission for their movement. They sallied forth on this mission professing to discard written creeds, but with a precise set of ideas in their minds and in their literature. Their history, they believed, was not just a sequence of human circumstances; rather, it was part of God's redemptive action within human experience, tailored to meet the needs of the last days preceding the return of Christ. Not only did Ellen White reinforce such concepts, she helped the movement focus on those ideas which would find continuous expression in a network of institutions.

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Christianity in colonial Australia was not only fragmented by a strong cleavage between Roman Catholics and others; Protestants commonly evinced a competitive rather than a co-operative attitude. In addition, as the foregoing discussion has observed, there were important divisions within such denominations as the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Baptists. Catherine L. Albanese, in speaking of 'the counterpoint between the manyness and oneness' of Christianity,[84] highlights one of the useful ways to describe the emphasis in nineteenth-century Australia which favoured denominationalism rather than commonality. Thus the churches spent much time establishing and maintaining the boundaries of religious acceptability, safeguarding their identity, specifying the nature of their mission, recalling the meaning of their heritage and clarifying their denominational relations with society and with the state. Denominationalism was often, therefore, a pervasive obstacle for those who wished to build a coherent kingdom of God in Australia. With this fact in mind, the four denominations selected for more extended treatment in this thesis will be examined sequentially.

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[84] Catherine L. Albanese, 'Christianity in North America', in Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 3, pp. 401-411.

CHAPTER 5

PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN: A CATHOLIC SOLUTION

It is not surprising that H. Richard Niebuhr uses no Australian churchmen to illustrate his five-part typology.[1] White settlement of this continent did not begin until 1788, and then only as a small part of a much larger movement of people. Christianity was transplanted into Australian soil as an incidental result of Europeans being being uprooted from long-established societies in the Northern Hemishpere by a cluster of factors including crime and greed. Thus, during the colonial period, Australian Christianity was necessarily derivative and heavily dependent upon its parent churches. Those people most likely to find themselves in the Australian colonies were unlikely to represent the strongest adherents of Christianity in the British Isles and Europe, and, having arrived in the Antipodes, they seldom found circumstances which favoured the belief and practice of the Christian faith. In this disturbingly-different context, the characteristic response was a conservative rather than an innovative expression of Christianity; in general, Christians felt a need to withstand the prevailing sentiments of an increasingly desacralised society. Given these and other conditions it was unlikely that any Australian Christian would achieve worldwide recognition and the consequent possibility of selection by Niebuhr to exemplify his categories.

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1 *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. 45-229.

However, Niebuhr's analyses can be effectively applied to the Australian situation. This chapter considers perspectives amongst Roman Catholics, a group which comprised over twenty-two per cent of the nation's population throughout the 1890s. In order to interpret the Catholic vision for religion within Australian culture during the last decade of the nineteenth century, it is imperative (as stated in chapter three) to understand the enormous influence of the cardinal throughout the period, Patrick Francis Moran (1830-1911).[2] Moran made a sustained attempt to implement the 'Christ above culture' stance, and, in so doing, illustrated both the attractiveness and the impracticability of such an endeavour. Primary attention has been given to some fifty printed items (books, speeches and pastoral letters) of which Moran was the sole or the principal author. These documents are interpreted in the light of Moran's English-language correspondence from 1891-1900, and modulated by viewpoints drawn from the two main Catholic newspapers published in New South Wales. In softer focus is the wider contextual background of Roman Catholic history and thought.

Moran does not fit with those Christians whose chief emphasis was **opposition** to culture, nor with those who stressed a fundamental **agreement** with culture. Rather, his was one of three difficult median positions. As a synthesist, he saw true culture as impossible (to use Niebuhr's words) 'unless beyond all human achievement, all human search for values, all human society, Christ enters into life from above with gifts which human aspiration has not envisioned and which human effort cannot attain unless he relates men to a supernatural society and a new value-center'.[3]

Moran developed his stance from a strong emotional and intellectual attachment to Irish and Roman Catholicism. The early deaths of his Irish parents took him to Rome in the care of a relative, Paul Cullen, a prominent Irish churchman then rector of the Irish

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[2] No comprehensive biography of Moran exists, but see Most Rev. Michael Kelly, D.D., *Panegyric Delivered on the Occasion of the Month's Mind of His Eminence Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran* (Sydney, 1911), pp. 3-19. Of the numerous short accounts in reference works, the best is that by A.E. Cahill in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 10: *1891-1939* (Melbourne, 1986), pp. 577-581. When relevant Vatican archival sources are released, it is to be hoped that Cahill will complete a biography of Moran.

[3] *Christ and Culture*, pp. 41-42.

College. By his mid-teens, Moran spoke Italian and Latin fluently; during the following decade he studied six other biblical and contemporary European languages. Probably the most profound influence upon him during his twenty-four years in Rome was the Irish Catholicity of Cullen, but Moran was also deeply influenced by Jesuit theology, Catholic missiology and Irish religious history. One of Moran's doctoral examiners in 1852 was Gioacchino Vincenzo Pecci (born 1810, cardinal 1853, pope 1878). Not only did Moran know Leo XIII (reigned 1878-1903) well, he substantially agreed with Leo's Thomist orientation and his aim to restore 'the social order in the light of the teaching and under the direction of the Church'.[4]

Thus it was that Moran's Irish background, Roman education, overseas friendships and administrative experience were in sympathy with the powerful Roman and Irish influences already present in the Australian church when he arrived during 1884.[5] But, as a corporate body, Australian Catholics with their first-ever cardinal as archbishop of Sydney and the church's most voluble spokesman in Australasia, were being thrust into a new situation, well illustrated by the receptions which they gave Moran at his various arrivals by sea.[6] Events during the 1890s and beyond, especially the First Catholic Congress held during 1900, would cause them to express their self-understanding and mission with a fresh sense of hope. Many of them believed that a grand opportunity was being given to them in the conjunction of two factors: the maturing of their church, and the metamorphosis of six widely-separated colonies into a new nation. Here, it seemed, all that was good in the Roman Catholic church and the heritage of Ireland could coalesce. In an age of considerable secular and religious idealism, it seemed reasonable for them to

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4 Claudia Carlen, *The Papal Encyclicals 1878-1903* (Raleigh, 1981), pp. 3-4; Joseph N. Moody (ed.), *Church and Society: Catholic Social and Political Thought and Movements 1789-1950* (New York, 1953), pp. 21-92. Moody sees a period which he names 'The Time of Constructive Achievement' beginning with the reign of Leo XIII.

5 Ursula M.L. Bygott, *With Pen and Tongue: The Jesuits in Australia, 1865-1939* (Melbourne, 1980), p. 309. Cf. A.E. Cahill's review of Bygott, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (June 1982), pp. 102-105.

6 Moran journeyed to Rome during 1885, 1888, 1893, 1902, and 1903. See James T. Donovan, *His Eminence* (Sydney, 1902), pp. 31-33, 37-41, for accounts of typical receptions.

envisage the possibility of a Catholic utopia in a federated Australia.[7]

Yet Moran and his Australian flock were acutely aware of a sustained conflict between Catholic faith and contemporary culture. His diary at the beginning of 1900 conveys his mood: 'Entering a new year which will bring the century to a close. I must devote it wholly to the love of our Blessed Lord & to His fervent service on the battlefields of the Faith to which He has called me.'[8] The cardinal's sermons frequently recounted earlier battles which the church had fought and always won. She had faced successfully pagan Roman persecution in the early Christian centuries, inundation by barbarian hordes, the threat of Islam, Orthodox and Protestant schisms, the challenges of Jansenists and Gallicans. Even more importantly for his hearers and readers, Moran emphasised that Irish Catholics had triumphed over English oppression in both Ireland and Australia.

When Moran periodised the first hundred years of his church in this country, he discerned four phases. He believed the years to 1820 were marked by persecution, those to 1850 by partial toleration, and those to 1880 by nominal religious equality. Beyond 1880 he saw a new phase was beginning, one in which the church was able to assert 'its right to a footing of equality with every other religious denomination', and in which it was 'strong enough to insist that such a just claim shall be respected'.[9] During the 1890s the Catholics in New South Wales, most of whom were acutely conscious of their Irish heritage, felt their church to be coming of age after much suffering.[10] The comparative euphoria within Catholicism of the period cannot be understood unless this fact is kept clearly in mind.

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7 Cf. Moran's addresses and writings, cited later in this chapter, with the following letters: Dunne to Moran, 3 September 1896; Kelly to Moran, 27 March 1897; Hennessy to Moran, 19 February 1897; Carr to Moran, 29 March 1898; Lanigan to Moran, 11 March 1900. Observe the *Catholic Press*'s anticipation and reports of the Congress held in Sydney during September 1900, especially issues dated 14 July 1900 and 15 September 1900. All Moran's maunscripts cited in this chapter are located in the Sydney Archdiocesan Archives of the Catholic Church.

8 Moran Correspondence, January 1900.

9 Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 25. Note that in his article, 'The Catholic Church in Australia', *Australian Industry* (Brisbane, 1906), pp. 58-59, Moran still emphasised the persecution theme explicitly. Indeed this concept was one of his most characteristic historical allusions. The persecution theme is featured in the windows of St Mary's Cathedral and in the museum attached to the Cathedral.

10 The suspect nature of several common generalisations about the Irish in (Footnote continued)

Even Moran's appointment to Sydney in 1884 was seen as a victory of Roman and Irish preference over English purpose.[11] Of the 150,000 Catholics in his diocese a decade later, only a handful were not Irish or rated as being of Irish descent. The Irish believed that they viewed things differently from the English, and so their missioners were deemed able to serve the Australian church more effectively.[12] To be 'good Irishmen' went naturally with 'holding aloof from all that Holy Church might take exception to'.[13] Even 'the Ven[erable] Head of the Church' in Rome was known to maintain a deep interest in the affairs of Ireland.[14]

For the faithful, Cardinal Moran interpreted Irish nationality and religion in a way that fostered Irishness and Catholicism in Australia. His extensive writings on Irish history confronted some of the negative contemporary stereotypes relating to the Irish, emphasising their saintliness, their outstanding contribution to the missionary success of Christianity and their cultural achievements.[15] Moran received constant input in correspondence from Ireland and Rome which stimulated his national consciousness and contributed ideas for him to translate into an Australian context.[16] If a great cathedral was nearing completion, it had 'a sort of presumptive right

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(Footnote 10 continued from previous page)
Australia is ably documented by Patrick O'Farrell, 'Writing the History of Irish-Australia', Oliver MacDonagh and W.F. Mandle (eds.), *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History* (London, 1986), pp. 217-228; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*; Chris McConville, *Croppies, Celts and Catholics: The Irish in Australia* (Caulfield East [Melbourne], 1987). Behind the latter volume is McConville's 'Emigrant Irish and Suburban Catholics: Faith and Nation in Melbourne and Sydney 1851-1933' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 1984). See also Louise Ann Mazzaroli, 'The Irish in New South Wales, 1884-1914: Some Aspects of Irish Sub-Culture' (PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1979).

11 Kirby to Moran, 16 January 1892.

12 Bowditch to Moran, 14 August 1900; O'Farrell to Higgins, 13 January 1894; Moran to O'Farrell, 12 February 1894.

13 Doyle to Moran, 21 May 1894.

14 Kirby to Moran, 11 September 1893.

15 Moran, *The Apostolate of St Patrick* (Sydney, 1897); cf. Students of the Irish College, Rome, 'Address to His Eminence Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran', 21 May 1893.

16 Kirby to Moran, 8 January 1891; Walsh to Moran, 15 December 1893; Hon. Secretary, Cork Historical Society, to Moran, 24 October 1893.

that an Irish-Australian Cardinal should preside and preach at its Consecration'.[17] And if a bishop was 'a sterling prelate, earnest in maintaining discipline and wholly devoted to the promotion of religion', it would be natural to declare him 'withal an earnest Irish patriot'.[18]

During his first decade in Australia, Moran's work on his huge *History of the Catholic Church* called for him to treat his own era. His translation to Sydney and his reception of 'the Cardinalitial dignity' (sic) was dealt with in one paragraph. He quoted at length from two laudatory speeches by the Catholic politician, the Right Honourable William Bede Dalley, probably because they allowed his *History* to record important things about the Catholic Church in general but his own role in particular. Some comparative statistics emphasised the remarkable progress of the church from Vaughan's era to 1892. But the heart of the account, consuming more than two thirds of the pages devoted to Moran's reign, focused on the Plenary Synod of the Bishops of Australasia which convened in Sydney 'under the presidency of the Cardinal Archbishop' for two weeks during November 1885. From this Synod, Moran believed he could date 'a new era of expansion and peace and blessing for the Catholic Church in Australasia'. Probably he quoted in full the eighteen-page text of the 'Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of Australasia in Plenary Council Assembled to the Clergy and Laity of Their Charge' because he felt it set out the agenda for the immediate future of Australian Catholicism.[19]

An appreciative refrain in Moran's writings, rejoicing in religious liberty and favourable opportunities in Australia, was constantly balanced by a keen awareness of an ongoing antipathy between Christianity and Australian culture. Catholics viewed 'the organ of infidelity - the Sydney *Bulletin*' as an evident example of the evil forces confronting them in 'an infidel and immoral age'.[20] The *Bulletin* 'constantly and with whatever little ability and venom' it possessed,

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17 Carr to Moran, 1 August 1897.

18 Moran, diary entry re the death of William Lanigan, 13 June 1900; *Catholic Press*, 16 and 23 June 1900.

19 Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 683-709. A.E. Cahill suggests that most of Moran's history was written in the 1880s; Moran took a draft with him on his 1888 trip and had discussions with overseas publishers. Cahill to Patrick, 19 May 1989.

20 *Catholic Press*, 24 July 1897, p. 9; cf. 17 July 1897, p.6.

attacked 'the fundamental principles of Christianity', according to the *Catholic Press*. Staunch Catholics were ardently opposed to all 'godless and immoral literature', especially the 'papers published in Sydney that assail Christianity with ... virulence and persistence'. The *Telegraph* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* were often criticised in this regard, but the *Bulletin* was derided as an advocate of 'brute materialism' which despised the religion of Christ.[21] However, Catholics devoted words of comparable sharpness to the problems caused by other segments of Australian society, particularly the Protestant churches. Indeed, the bane of secularism seldom seemed quite as threatening as the pain of false religion.

Moran frequently focused the attention of Australian Catholics upon the ideal solution for the tensions between faith and culture, what he called 'a Christian civilisation'. However, he envisaged a cluster of more immediate, interim solutions; examples of these will now be outlined.

* * * * *

Central amongst Catholic concerns late in the nineteenth century was the education of their children and their priests. According to Naomi Turner, governors and politicians had been wearied, sometimes to the point of disgust, by the denominational rivalries manifested in Australia up to the 1860s.[22] Decades of intense discussion in New South Wales about state aid for church buildings and ministerial stipends were bordered by the 1836 Act granting aid and the 1862 Act abolishing aid. Turner is correct in arguing both these acts were 'basically social rather than religious or economic'.[23] The ugly side of sectarianism, exposed during the debate over state aid to religion, reinforced the will of those who made New South Wales education

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21 *Catholic Press*, 16 October 1897, p. 8; cf. 10 July 1897, p. 6; 17 July 1897, p. 6; 24 July 1897, p. 9; 7 August 1897, p. 13; 14 August 1897, p. 7; 11 September 1897, p. 13; 2 October 1897, p. 13.

22 Naomi Turner, *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare? State Aid in New South Wales, 1836-1862* (Canberra, 1972).

23 See the review of Turner's volume by Kevin Livingston in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 97-99. Cf. Eris M. O'Brien, *The Foundation of Catholicism in Australia*, two vols (Sydney, 1922), Vol. 2, p. 181.

nominally 'free, secular and compulsory' in 1880. But Catholics could not rejoice that the 1862 Act tried to safeguard the religious equality which they so greatly desired, or that the 1880 Public Instruction Act guaranteed their clergy access to public schools and protected their children from Protestant doctrine. Rather, the events of 1862 and 1880 left many of them feeling cheated of their rights as taxpaying citizens, and embittered by the triumph of 'godless' education. That the education issue has been one of the most vexing problems faced by the Catholic Church in Australia is beyond question. That this problem evoked the clear expression of Catholic values and aspirations is one of the positive results of an acrimonious debate.

According to Ronald Fogarty, the 1880s witnessed one of the major turning points in the history of Australian Catholic education. Whereas Pius IX (1846-1878) had opposed liberalism, Leo XIII determined he would lead his church out of the cul-de-sac into which the policy of Pius had taken it. He purposed to show Catholics how to live in a liberal world as principled Christians; his papal documents were directed to that end, as were his policies and the men he chose to implement them. Hence, with the appointment of a largely-new hierarchy in Australia, including Archbishop Thomas Carr in Melbourne and Moran in Sydney, an era of new ideas and strategies was initiated. This fresh approach reached into the area of education, bringing a measure of respect and co-operation between Catholic and state educational authorities.[24] In addition, the obligation to develop Catholic primary schools was laid anew on both laity and clergy by the 1885 Plenary Council, and the Diocesan Synod of Sydney took steps to ensure Catholic schools were 'truly religious in spirit and discipline, no less than in their name and material ornamentation'.[25]

In his *History*, Moran devoted an entire chapter to 'The Education Question in the Australian Church', with a principal focus on primary schools. His litany of complaints included the nature of early colonial schools as an 'immense agency of proselytism', and the paucity of funding for Catholic schools at a time when others were 'munificently endowed or aided by the state'. As more colonial schools became public

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[24] [Brother] Ronald Fogarty, *Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950*, Vol.II: *Catholic Education Under the Religious Orders*, two vols (Melbourne, 1959), pp. 421-423; cf. Gregory Haines, *Lay Catholics and the Education Question in Nineteenth Century New South Wales: The Shaping of a Decision* (Sydney, 1976).

[25] Fogarty, *Catholic Education*, pp. 309, 409, cf. Decree 11 of the Diocesan Synod, Sydney, 1891.

rather than church institutions, Moran claimed that active discrimination against Catholics continued: in the appointment of teachers, in the actions of inspectors, and in the policies of the Government. Finally the 1880 Act 'decreed that secularism, though without a name, would rule supreme in the public schools of New South Wales'.[26]

Catholics felt deeply threatened by Protestantism on the one hand and secularism on the other. Secularism was, for them, the 'cruel Moloch of the Nineteenth Century, on whose reeking altar our most promising young men are being daily offered in abominable sacrifice'.[27] But to have Christianity taught by a non-Catholic was totally unacceptable. Nor was it safe for a Protestant to read the Scriptures to Catholic children. To have instruction without Catholic religion, or to have Christianity compartmentalised to a period of religious instruction by a priest, was unthinkable. Education must be pervasive in its influence, enlightening the child's conscience by Divine truth, and quickening the whole being by 'those graces and blessings which religion alone imparts'. Moran quoted approvingly the joint pastoral address issued by the Catholic bishops during 1879. They condemned what they labelled 'secularist education' as contravening the principles of the Christian religion, and as forming 'seedplots of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence and to corrupt the political, social, and individual life of future citizens'. Instead of 'wild, uncurbed children', Catholics wanted the graces and influences of Christianity to operate upon the child's inner life. Thus the heart, the conscience and the will would be moulded for life, and the entire person and personality would become 'saturated by a civilization of which Christianity alone can be the origin'.[28]

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[26] Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 851-871.

[27] *Catholic Press*, 23 November 1895. This view is congruent with many extant letters and is given fuller expression in numerous newspaper articles, e.g., *Catholic Press*, 7 December 1895; 18 January 1896; 22 February 1896; 25 April 1896; 1 September 1900.

[28] Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 872-874. Cf. Carr to Moran, 21 July 1897; Maher to Moran, 10 August 1899. Note the readiness with which Moran affirmed papal authority, as in his reference to 'The teaching of the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IX, in his golden Encyclical', p. 872.

The conscience of the Catholic community was not only enlightened by this 'famous' pastoral, but parents were warned of 'serious guilt' which no confessor could absolve should they 'expose their children's souls to the blighting influences of an alien creed or a secularist system'. It was, therefore, with evangelistic zeal that Moran and his people multiplied the number of Catholic schools, aiming thereby to turn what they saw as a political defeat into 'an abiding moral victory'. And they savoured the way in which Dalley, 'the most eloquent champion of the Catholic cause', defended them so valiantly against 'the gentlemen who have been raking the gutters and emptying the cesspools of Protestant history with such amazing industry'.[29]

Moran's reign witnessed the trebling of the number of Catholic schools in Sydney.[30] This gave Catholics the hope of winning a twofold victory. Unjustly taxed (as they believed) for what they could not possibly enjoy,[31] they were being visibly successful in educating their children despite the antagonism and deadly hostility they had experienced from the state, the Protestants and the secularists. But more than this, their moral victory would, in the end, be so convincing that 'the rude mosaic of a bit of blasphemy and a bit of misrepresentation, a bit of invention and a bit of intolerance' would be destroyed forever. Surely, the tide of public opinion would turn in favour of the Roman Catholic cause, bringing justice to the Irish and the profound benefits of their faith to Australia.[32]

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29 Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 871, 874-888. Cf. B.T. Dowd, 'William Bede Dalley: Scholar, Orator, Patriot and Statesman, 1831-1888', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 31 (1945), pp. 201-248.

30 *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 4 (1977), p. 228.

31 This perceived injustice evoked a refrain of protest in Catholic letters and literature of the period. Doyle to Moran, 10 August 1893; Walsh to Moran, 15 December 1893; Walsh to Moran, 22 June 1895; Bowditch to Moran, 5 August 1900; *Catholic Press*, 18 January 1896; 13 January 1900.

32 Cf. Eris O'Brien, 'Cardinal Moran's Part in Public Affairs', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, XXVIII (1942), pp. 1-28; Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 879. It is clear that Moran agreed with his predecessor 'that though the [education] question was discussed on Australian soil, it was, to the fullest extent, an Irish grievance', p. 876. Note the continued attention given to the education issue in the three Australian Catholic Congresses. Murtagh, *The Catholic Chapter*, pp. 150-151; *Proceedings of the First Australasian Catholic Congress* (Sydney, 1900), pp. 311-496; *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress* (Melbourne, 1904), pp. 137-228; *Proceedings of the Third Australasian Catholic Congress* (Sydney, 1909), pp. 120-231.

Education for the Australian priesthood was also addressed with a new sense of purpose during the reign of Cardinal Moran.[33] The Australian bishops who were present at the 1885 Plenary Council endorsed the founding of St Patrick's College at Manly, already mooted by Moran as 'the finest Institution in the Australias'.[34] Deference for things Roman was evident in the planning and procedures of St Patricks, as was Irish practice and experience. In everything the proposed 'ecclesiastical university of a united Australia' was to be compatible with Moran's composite vision for the Australian church. The site was 'the finest that can be imagined', valued in the vicinity of one hundred thousand pounds. The building itself, costing some seventy thousand pounds, was the 'noblest ... of its kind in Australia', a truly 'imperial' structure befitting the ideals of a prince-bishop whose church was 'triumphantly progressing under divine providence'.[35] Moran constructed his own palace on the same site, thus ensuring he could receive examination results and wield administrative control as he thought fit.[36]

Moran believed a nation needed its own priests in order for it to attain religious maturity; an idea which demonstrated the elasticity of his Irishness. His Manly men, 'having grown up around the altars and sanctuaries of their own native land' could now (he declared on the opening day) store their minds and discipline their hearts in 'an institution peculiarly Australian'.[37] While 23 of its students were ordained during the first decade after the opening of St Patricks, the Sydney priesthood was still 87 per cent Irish in 1901. Indeed, it took until 1986 for every diocese in New South Wales to attain a majority of

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33 See 'The Founding of Patrick Moran's Manly, 1885-1895,' and 'The Declining Years of Manly, 1895-1905,' in K.T. Livingston, *The Emergence of an Australian Catholic Priesthood* (Sydney, 1977), pp. 104-207.

34 Livingston, *The Emergence of an Australian Catholic Priesthood*, p. 108.

35 Livingston, *The Emergence of an Australian Catholic Priesthood*, pp. 111, 120, 114, 113, 112.

36 Livingston, *The Emergence of an Australian Catholic Priesthood*, pp. 118, 153-154. Probably in 1990 values, these figures represent well over $30 million.

37 *Freeman's Journal*, 26 January 1889.

Australian-born priests.[38] But this long and difficult road seemed but a short journey to some Catholic eyes in the 1890s.[39] Of course, they did not wish to distance themselves from Ireland, but only to implement the best of Erin unhindered by those problems for which Catholics in Ireland were not responsible.

St Patrick's College was very much the cardinal's institution, both in its conception and in its implementation. Moran said he funded it entirely from his personal resources, although the land was a Government grant and construction monies included proceeds from the continuing sale of land at Lyndhurst, plus small and sometimes unwilling gifts from as far away as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in France.[40] Perhaps Moran's dominance in the Manly venture was a fundamental reason why it failed to meet his expectations. His role in fostering education for Catholic children was less spectacular, but it involved more people, and was more successful in terms of Catholic objectives.

It was the 'Christ above culture' stance with which Catholics solved the dilemma of education; a similar stance expressed their attitude toward trade and labour unions. A keener appreciation of Christian social responsibility was developing within Catholicism in various parts of the world during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[41] *Rerum Novarum*, the encyclical letter by Leo XIII dated 15 May 1891, defined papal teaching concerning the rights and duties of labour in a more progressive way.[42] The body of doctrine on which the encyclical was based began to be formulated from the outset of Leo's

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38 [Father] W.J. Wright, 'The Development of a National Priesthood in Australia: The First Manly Generation', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 8 (1987), pp. 35-39; [Father] Kevin Livingston, 'First Steps Towards An Australian Priesthood; 1835-1885', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 1-16.

39 For a buoyant progress report, see 'Manly College', *Catholic Press*, 9 November 1895.

40 James Waldersee, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith and Australia, 1837-1977* (Sydney, 1983), pp. 325-332.

41 See *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), Vol. XIII, p. 321.

42 Jean-Yves Calvez, SJ, and Jacques Perrin, SJ, *The Church and Social Justice: The Social Teaching of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII, 1878-1958* (London, 1959), pp. xi-xvi, 1, 75-82, especially pp. 76, 81, 80; A.R. Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism* (London 1964), pp. 154-159; John F. Cronin, *Christianity and Social Progress* (Baltimore-Dublin, 1965), pp. 5-9.

reign in 1878. Leo entered his pontificate with a keen awareness of social and economic issues, and he observed carefully the vigorous movements taking place in Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, France, Italy and the United States. Socialism, anarchism and Marxism were stimulating Catholics to ask numerous related questions: In what way do Scripture, tradition and reason define a Christian view of the world, of man and of human relationships? To what extent does religious faith have social implications? What is the role of the church in solving the social problems brought into focus by industrialisation, capitalism and socialism? Even though *Rerum Novarum* went through many revisions before its promulgation, it was inevitable that, in addressing many aspects of Catholic social responsibility, it would also raise fresh practical problems for subsequent popes to confront. Thus this encyclical, the major statement on social matters by a pope of 'exceptional significance', was accorded a 'tremendous' reception, 'immense' in both its 'hostility and enthusiasm'.[43]

In the archdiocese of Sydney, the boom times of the 1880s were replaced by industrial confrontation and economic depression during the 1890s. Capital and labour were to trial their respective strengths during a series of strikes in various colonies, with the first major confrontation in Australia between employers and unionists beginning with the maritime strike on 16 August 1890. Moran was (as already noted) a long-time personal friend of Leo XIII from as far back as their years together in Rome, so he was aware of the tenor of Leo's thinking and the dilemmas of predominantly working-class Catholics in Australia. On 17 August 1891, a year after the event which came to be known as the 'Great Strike', the cardinal was on a public platform before a 'great assembly' in Sydney, along with political and civic dignitaries, popularising the 'magnificent Encyclical on the conditions of labour' addressed by 'the present illustrious Sovereign Pontiff' to all Catholics.[44]

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[43] Joseph Husslein, SJ, *Social Wellsprings: Fourteen Epochal Documents by Pope Leo XIII* (Milwaukee, 1940), pp. 164-204. See Claudia Carlen, IHM, *The Papal Encyclicals, 1878-1903* (Raleigh, 1981), pp. 257-261 for a list of the extensive literature bearing on this encyclical.

[44] The Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, *Lecture on the Rights and Duties of Labour* (Sydney, 1891), pp. 3-23.

Since Moran had kept in close touch with the cluster of forces which were creating *Rerum Novarum*, he was ready to lay carefully the foundations for his future relationship with the labour movement during the initial crisis phase in 1890. His attempt to resolve the conflict between capital and labour proceeded on several fronts, involving judicious contacts with public figures, negotiations with representatives of both capital and labour, plus public statements delivered orally and in print. Throughout these endeavours he sought to enunciate those Christian principles which he believed were applicable to the situation, meanwhile exercising care that the Catholic Church was not drawn into needless controversy. The content of Leo's encyclical and Moran's exposition argued for responsible toleration of labour and capital.

Throughout his Australian career, Moran frequently confided in those public figures which he considered to be trustworthy, and these confidences were often reciprocated. The period of the Great Strike aptly illustrates his experience in this regard. Sydney Burdekin, the Mayor of Sydney, wrote to the Labor Defence Committee on 28 August 1890 inviting the Grand Executive Committee to contact him at any time they might find it convenient to do so, but the sooner the better. Burdekin looked 'with the deepest concern on the present unhappy conflict between two of the most important sections of this community', and presented himself as not only the guardian of the people's health and comfort, but also as morally responsible for their happiness and prosperity, socially and commercially. Evidently he knew Moran would be impressed by his offer 'to mediate and so avert those miserable results which must inevitably ensue from social and commercial disturbances', for he sent Moran a copy of his letter. Moran replied on 1 September 1890, making clear his desire to assist in the reconciliation process, and outlining the principles he was to enunciate often in the future. In his prompt reply, Burdekin promised to keep Moran 'informed of every phase of the question'.[45]

Moran's approaches to employers did not elicit a co-operative response. In a letter to the Secretary of the Employers' Union on 12 September 1890, Moran sought an interview with 'some representatives of your Committee on the matter of the strike',

[45] Burdekin to Secretary, Labor Defence Committee, 28 August 1890; draft, Moran to the Mayor of Sydney, 1 September 1890, together with a handwritten list of 'Rights' which Moran probably included with his letter; Burdekin to Moran, 2 September 1890.

emphasising he bore 'no commission except that which charity imposes', and that he had 'no interest in the present unhappy conflict' except as a citizen and as 'the spiritual pastor of many of those who are at present in dire distress'. In response, Henry Hudson first conversed with Moran, and then replied in writing on 16 September 1890. Hudson clearly viewed 'the present unsatisfactory position of affairs in this colony' differently from the cardinal. He doubted any good would come from an interview between Moran and the employers. Instead, he supported 'the general opinion ... that ere long the intelligent workmen of this colony will see that employers' interests and their own are so knit together that it is to their immediate injury and ultimate disadvantage to maintain the present attitude of hostility'.[46] The gulf between employer and employed also meant Moran would be attacked uncharitably by those newspapers which dismissed his attempts at impartiality, and located his sympathies with the working classes amongst whom most Catholics were numbered.[47]

More appreciated by far were Moran's attempts to reach out to the representatives of labour. His request to confer with 'a few Representatives of the Labour Defence Committee on the important subject which at the moment engrosses the public attention' elicited a reply on the same day, stating a deputation of seven members 'will wait upon His Eminence tomorrow at 11.0 a.m. at the Presbytery'. The Labour Defence Committee took the trouble to inform Moran of its actions, and to consider his representations carefully. Even though the cardinal appealed to the workers on 21 October 1890 to end the strike, before the month was out they were conveying 'their sincere thanks to the Cardinal for his repeated efforts to effect a settlement of the Labour Dispute'.[48]

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[46] Moran to Secretary, Employers' Union, 12 September 1890; Henry Hudson to Moran, 16 September 1890. For a review of the attitude of one group of employers, see F.S. Piggin, 'New South Wales Pastoralists and the Strikes of 1890 and 1891', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 56 (April 1971), pp. 546-560.

[47] *Brisbane Courier*, 8 September 1890; [Hobart] *Mercury*, 20 September 1890; [Brisbane] *Telegraph*, 29 October 1890.

[48] Draft, Moran to 'Sir', 9 September 1900; Secretary, New South Wales Labour Defence Committee to Rev. Dr D. O'Haran, 9 September 1890; W.G. Spence to Moran, 12 September 1890; Secretary, New South Wales Labour Defence Committee to Moran, 22 October 1890; draft, Moran to 'Gentlemen', 21 October 1890 [*Australian Star*, 25 October 1890 indicates this letter was addressed to the President, Labour Defence Committee]; Secretary, New South Wales Labour Defence Committee to Moran, 29 October 1890.

Much public attention was focused upon these negotiations in that Moran and others spoke about them quite freely in public and published letters and statements in secular and church newspapers. Moran received beneficial advice, confidentially, from Catholics who themselves knew 'safe and prudent' church members in the various trades organisations.[49] Even though his principles did not allow him to conform to all the desires nor approve all the actions of the workers, the substantial respect some felt for his position is illustrated by a long dialogue in *Truth* between 'Pat Green and Bill Orange'. Even a short excerpt shows the way in which Moran's values were seen as softening the enmity between Catholic Irishmen and Protestant Orangemen.

> *Bill Orange*: Since you seem so anxious to know my opinion, Paddy, I'll give it to you fair. You know I'm of another color to you and the Cardinal, and always shall be; but I'm not goin' to let my religious principles or sectarian prejudices blind me. I'm bound to admit that in this Labor crisis the Cardinal's showed himself a brick, and no mistake, and has showed that he's got a heart to feel for and a hand to help a poor human brother in trouble.
>
> *Pat Green*: Bill give us your hand, it does me real good to hear you talk so generous; you, above all others, to put in a good word for the cardinal, the head of our Church, which I know you don't like, and fights against.
>
> *Bill Orange*: There's no generosity about the matter. Here we are as man and brother fighting for our rights, and for the very bread and beds of our families, with the Capital, the Press, Parliament, and nearly the whole of society against us. Now it struck me that this was the time for the parsons to come out of their shells, and stop talking 'Tommy-rot,' and give us some common-sense about the rights of man. Well, I don't mind telling you, Paddy, that I was not at all satisfied with the way some of the well-paid parsons of our Church pretended to take the part of the poor man against the rich. They have gone about it in such a half-hearted, milk-and-water fashion, and have toadied in such a bare-faced manner to the rich men of their congregations, that it made my blood fairly boil with rage, and made me half-inclined to become an infidel; and I couldn't but feel grateful to the cardinal for his plucky stand on our side.[50]

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[49] Slattery to O'Haran, dated 'Sunday night', located in Moran Correspondence file for 1890.

[50] 'The Church and the People. Cardinal Moran's Utterances. Parsonical Pretenders. A Dialogue Between Pat Green and Bill Orange', *Truth*, 5 October 1890. Cf. Associate Editor, *Truth* to Moran, 30 October 1890; 'The Labor Crisis. Cardinal Moran's Views', *Truth*, 2 November 1890.

Hence, by 1891, Moran was acutely aware that he was in a delicate position. He was not averse to disagreeing vigorously with the non-Catholic clergy, numbers of whom were disposed to either stand on the sidelines, or to support the cause of the capitalists who were visible in their congregations. But Moran sensed the possibility of continuing political strife which would be damaging for the Catholic church should its cardinal-archbishop identify in a partisan way with either of the warring factions.[51] Therefore, his speech on 17 August 1891, twelve months after the first strike, emphasised that although he was making an address 'on one of the burning political questions of the hour', he was doing so not in any political sense, but 'in the light of the great moral principles which are the bulwark of society', issues upon which the church might justly claim to be heard.[52]

The cardinal digressed at several points during his speech to recount the sorry facts of England's past failures: slavery, child labour, insufficient wages, workhouses, inadequate housing, and more. Whether he set out to denigrate 'Darkest England' or not, he succeeded in doing so. By contrast, the Catholic church throughout its long history was presented as the champion of liberty and equality for all God's children. Wrongs could be redeemed by just laws, or even by a revolution should such be necessary. But in Australia, Moran said, the just claims of labour were so well recognised that nothing as radical as revolution appeared to be warranted.

Moran left no doubt in his hearers' minds that labourers had specific personal and public duties. They should be diligent and sober. They should select, as leaders, men of honour, intelligence and integrity.[53] They should support the legitimate interests of capital,

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51 During 1891 Moran had fruitful contact with groups as diverse as the *Pastoralist and Farmers' Gazette*, the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Strikes, and the Sydney Jewish community. Smith to Moran, 18 and 20 August 1991. For an archbishop's concern over 'people beginning to say that an Alliance has been formed between the Catholic body and the labour party', see Carr to Moran, 27 August 1891.

52 Moran, *The Rights and Duties of Labour*, p. 3.

53 Note W.H. McNamara's letter to Moran on behalf of the Unemployed Executive pressed for the clergy 'to carry out the principles of true Christianity'. Moran's reply emphasised that 'blatant impiety', if proved, would prevent all communication between himself and McNamara. See McNamara to Moran, 3 March 1892; draft, Moran to Secretary, Unemployed Executive, 15 March 1892.

strictly and faithfully keeping the law, shunning strikes and promoting boards of conciliation and arbitration. Finally, ending as he had begun with a reference to *Rerum Novarum*, he called for a 'plenteous outpouring of charity'.

Moran's manifesto made it clear that (in his mind) religion lays both privileges and obligations upon the labourer. But it also addresses the capitalist, warning him not to trust in riches and power, for 'his wealth is given him in deposit that as a faithful steward he may employ it in the service of the Divine Master'. Among the saints, none will be found who 'attained the aureola of sanctity' by 'grinding the labourer and oppressing the poor'. Rather, 'those are sanctified who were just and generous, merciful and charitable, and who being endowed with wealth made use of it as benefactors of their fellow men'.

What kind of society, then, did Moran's address propose? It would be one in which workers fulfilled their duty by honest toil, and were remunerated by fair wages. In that society, citizens would be free to partake of generous privileges and advantages accorded by the state. They would fulfil the responsibilities inherent in freedom of contract (a bitter pill for the unionists), and reap the benefits to be derived from freedom of association (a bitter prescription for the employers).[54] They would possess effective mechanisms for negotiating the settlement of differences. Amidst healthy, moral surroundings, all workers would tend to become homeowners and thus, in a sense, capitalists. The resources of the country would be developed responsibly, and national aspirations would be given a new impulse. Australia would thus become the prosperous Christian civilisation about which the cardinal dreamed and for which he worked.[55]

One sentence from Moran's address stands out in bold relief when viewed in relation to the politics of the 1890s: 'May I not congratulate Australia in that, though the youngest on the roll of nations, she has been the first to add the strength and vigour of a labour party to her Parliamentary representation'. Leo XIII expressed Catholic values for the world; Moran was translating these into terms

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[54] Cf. Piggin, 'New South Wales Pastoralists and the Strikes', pp. 554-560; R.B. Walker, 'Violence in Industrial Conflicts in New South Wales in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* Vol. 22, No. 86 (April 1986), pp. 54-70.

[55] Observe Moran's attempt to ensure St Patrick's Day celebrations were religious rather than political events. Cf. McConville, *Croppies, Celts and Catholics*, pp. 92-93; *Freeman's Journal*, 14 March 1896 and 12 February 1898; *Catholic Press*, 21 March 1896.

applicable to the Australian situation as he saw it.[56] But this was never an easy task. Adherence to his principles caused Moran to stand apart from the Labor Party when it appeared to identify with the socialism which Leo XIII condemned, and then to support the Labor Party at considerable personal cost when he deemed that was necessary.[57] More than a decade later, Alfred Deakin suggested that the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation instituted a people's peace and initiated 'a new phase of civilisation'. That court's 'greatest judge and social philosopher', Henry Bournes Higgins, 'echoed in a striking fashion, not only the ideas, but even the phraseology' of Pope Leo XIII and Cardinal Moran.[58] But, for Moran, the dilemma was very real throughout the closing decade of the nineteenth century and in the first years of the twentieth century.

Although during 1891 Moran claimed that he eschewed politics in his position as a churchman, yet he conceived his role partly as that of a statesman in a Christian state. In his mind were two related models: the ages of medieval piety when the church enjoyed her God-designed place in society, and Ireland where the possibilities were so powerful even though the problems were so distracting. Religion, that is, Catholicity, was ever the central component of Moran's ideal state. While Australia's first century had been 'quickened by the beneficent influence and genius of Christian civilisation', so that instead of a 'wild, uncultured waste' it had become 'a civilised land, clothed with loveliness as a garden', this was merely the beginning. This nation was destined 'to become at no distant day the great Christian nation of the southern world, and the centre of civilisation for all the races of the east'.[59]

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[56] Moran was encouraged in the stance adopted in his lecture by letters from Australia and overseas. See Carr to Moran, 27 August 1891; Kirby to Moran, 17 June 1891; 5 August 1891; 6 October 1891; 24 December 1891.

[57] See footnote 74 for the supporting evidence.

[58] Murtagh, *The Catholic Chapter*, p. 144; cf. Higgins, *A New Proviso for Law and Order* (London, 1922), p. 150; A.E. Cahill, 'Catholicism and Socialism: The 1905 Controversy in Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (December 1960), pp. 88-101.

[59] The Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, 'On the Importance of Cultivating the Higher Studies', *Commemoration Discourses*, pp. 3-4. Cf. Moran's repeated references to the 'grand' and 'glorious' destiny of Australia in 'The Cardinal's Manifesto to the Electors of New South Wales' and in his address to the Bathurst Convention, *Cardinal Moran and the Federal Convention*, pp. 10-29.

This note of optimism had reverberated with Moran's voice in the Dublin City Hall as early as 1888.[60] It was to sound repeatedly during the 1890s. Patriotism had a valid place in such ideal states, in both 'the trained valour of their patriotic sons' and in their proud loyalty to an imperial flag.[61] Yet there was an even greater consideration. Those nations enjoying 'the blessings of Christian civilization justly acclaim the wisdom and enlightenment of the illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII, who with true paternal affection has invited all wanderers to be gathered into the one spiritual fold'. Already, Moran believed, the 'non-Catholic world bows down before his moral grandeur and reverences him as the promoter of Christian civilization'.[62] In the Holy Father, then, resided that moral leadership which was destined to prevail in the grand civilisation of the future. The *Catholic Press*, the paper 'established largely out of the limited means, and by the earnest exertions of the priests of Sydney', felt events during the 1895 Plenary Council indicated the church in Australia was moving toward effective 'Christian Re-Union' in which there would be 'but one Church and one Faith in this new country - the true Church of Christ'.[63]

This background helps to explain why clerical precedence at public functions was so important for Moran. A problem since the 1830s, this issue bedevilled church-state relationships during the 1890s and at the proud moment when federation was consummated. Moran raised the question politely during 1891, suggesting that although the matter was undoubtedly trivial, 'principles are involved in it in regards to which I cannot be expected to be a consenting party'.[64] A year later, months after a conversation between the governor and the cardinal, a confidential letter from Jersey[65] indicated his official desire 'to place the question of the precedence of Your

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60 His Eminence Cardinal Moran, 'Ireland and Australia', address delivered at City Hall, Dublin, 4 October 1888, in *Occasional Papers* (Dublin, 1890), p. 255.

61 *Freeman's Journal*, 26 December 1891.

62 Moran, 'The Reunion of Christendom', *Australasian Catholic Record*, pp. 22-23.

63 *Catholic Press*, 22 February 1896; 30 November 1895.

64 Draft, Moran to the Principal Under Secretary, 13 May 1891.

65 The Seventh Earl of Jersey, Victor Albert George Childs-Villiers (1845-1915) was Governor of New South Wales from 15 January 1891 to 2 March 1893.

Eminence and the Bishop of Sydney as Primate of Australia on an intelligible basis'. Toward that end, a proposed minute was enclosed for Moran's consideration:

> A difficulty having arisen as to the relative precedence which should exist between the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney and the Bishop of Sydney, Primate of Australia, owing to the two offices being considered to be of equal rank, it has been decided that the holders for the time being shall rank inter se according to the dates of their respective consecrations to these offices.[66]

Jersey rightly sensed this was 'a somewhat delicate question'. Upon his arrival in Sydney he had found at Government House a table of precedence in which the Catholic and Anglican prelates 'were bracketed as of equal rank', presumably as the leaders of 'the two great Churches in Australia'. Moran suggested during his conversation with Jersey that 'the readiest course would be to adopt the rule laid down in Ireland subsequent to the disestablishment of the Protestant Church', meaning that precedence would be given 'according to seniority in date of consecration or appointment'. Clearly this would have solved the problem advantageously for the Catholic Church, at least during Moran's lifetime, since Moran was appointed in 1884 and Smith was not elected until 1889. However, Moran felt it was important to point out that the proposed minute was quite unsatisfactory, since the Anglican primate should not be ranked with a cardinal. He used as evidence the protocol of the what he called the 1888 Pan-Anglican Synod which ranked Dr Alfred Barry, then the bishop of Sydney, after the archbishops. More that that, he said that since the position of cardinal was recognised by most of the courts of Europe, it was not in his power to compromise it. After all, 'a Marshal cannot admit that his rank is on a par with that of General'.[67]

But even the mutual desire of Moran and Jersey to be accommodating failed to settle the issue in the longer term. Moran had been almost embarrassed to have to raise the matter, for he confided to Jersey: 'I must scarcely assure you that I truly regret your having any trouble about a matter which appears to be personal in my regard, and about which nevertheless I personally am quite indifferent'. Prior to his departure from the colony, Jersey acknowledged Moran's 'too

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[66] Jersey to Moran, 11 May 1892.

[67] Jersey to Moran, 13 May 1892; Moran to 'Your Excellency', 13 May 1892.

generous remarks' contained in a very kind letter, and recalled 'the many proofs of your goodwill towards Lady Jersey and myself', and 'the noble and hearty support I have received from Your Eminence and the chief dignitaries of the Catholic Church in the charitable and educational work of the Colony'.[68] Moran and his colleagues seemed to genuinely want a reciprocal relationship with public officials, and to even more ardently desire their approbation. But the issue of precedence pointed up a dilemma which was beyond explanation to Anglican officials.

How could the Supreme Pontiff's apostolic delegate sit in a less prestigious position than a mere Anglican, or walk behind the representative of a divided and declining Protestantism? This struggle was not a matter of pride or ecclesiastical churlishness. Rather, it was a minimal recognition of the true order of things. The powerful influence of the Holy Ghost had (in Moran's imagination) brooded over the vast continent since it was named *Australia del Espiritu Santo* and claimed for Catholicity during the significant visit by de Quiros to the coast of Queensland in 1606.[69] In view of the rapid emergence of Australia as an ideal Christian nation it was right even for Catholic soldiers to fight in a foreign war under a flag 'gemmed with the Southern Cross'.[70] It was fitting for His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney to help frame a constitution for the even greater

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68 Moran to 'Your Excellency', 13 May 1892; Jersey to Moran, 31 January 1893.

69 Moran, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 1-25; Patrick F. Cardinal Moran, 'The Discovery of Australia by the Spanish Navigator De Quiros in the Year 1601', *Australasian Catholic Record* (1900), pp. 153-172. In the *Australasian Catholic Record* article Moran corrects statements made in his *History*, but defends his basic theory against severe criticisms by 'three able writers', including the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society in Melbourne. Note Moran returned to this topic with added enthusiasm and further data in his Commemoration Discourse at St John's College, 14 November 1906, and his theory was republished yet again by the Australian Catholic Truth Society (Vol. 5, No. 5, Melbourne, 1908), pp. 1-32. However, Moran failed to convince the Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics. See its *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia* (Melbourne, 1909), p. 185, which says that 'in 1606, de Quiros, on reaching Espiritu Santo, thought that he had come to the great land of the South, and therefore named the island La Austrialia del Espiritu Santo'.

70 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 March 1885. Repeated references by Catholics to the constellation of the Southern Cross imbued this group of stars with symbolic value, indicative of Australia's Catholic destiny. Moran's earlier attitudes toward war were to be tested severely in response to the Boer War, 1899-1902.

Christian Australia of the near future.[71] But rather than compromise the true role of Catholicity, Moran opted out of the celebration of the Commonwealth he had done so much to create. Along with his people he demonstrated his loyalty and his joy outside St Mary's Cathedral as the grand procession went by on 1 January 1901, without compromising his conscience.[72]

It needs repetition that, despite his essential optimism, in Moran's mind the 1890s did possess serious threats. In addition to secularism, Protestantism, although discredited and decaying, retained a significant nuisance value, especially in such overt sectarianism as that espoused by members of the Loyal Orange Lodge.[73] Socialism, a relatively new and immediate European problem, was menacing both the Catholic faith and Australian civilisation. Thus as socialism became a household word during the 1890s, Moran's earlier support for labour changed to vigorous opposition between 1893 and 1897, when he believed labour was being seduced by a political movement and a political philosophy with non-Christian views on man's nature and destiny. These five years of militant opposition, like his tacit approbation of labour between 1898 and 1901, were motivated chiefly by his sense of moral values. The same values caused another change between 1902 and 1907. During those years Moran defended labour, while prosecuting his continuing battles on several other fronts: for example, with Protestantism in the

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71 *Cardinal Moran and the Federal Convention* (Sydney, n.d., circa 1897), pp. 10-16. As early as 1894, the belief was growing that Moran's stance on Federation would 'give a great lift to the movement', Ryan to Moran, 28 May 1894. Cf. Wise to Moran, 17 July 1894; Ryan to Moran, 6 August 1894; Hutton to Moran, 13 August 1894; Sir Henry Parkes, *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, Folio 2194/5, 13 November 1894; Astley to Moran, 17 October 1896; Machattie to Moran, 5 and 14 November 1896; Cohen to Moran, 22 November 1896; O'Dowd to Moran, 23 November 1896; draft, Moran to 'Dear Sir', 24 November 1896; Gibney to Moran, 17 December 1896; Huston to Moran, 3 March 1897; Bird to Moran, 5 March 1897; Higgins to Moran, 6 March 1897; Wise to Moran, 13 April 1898.

72 *Catholic Press*, 5 January 1901.

73 In a letter to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, 22 February 1897, Moran deplored the anti-Catholic bigotry which has been for years 'a source of disunion and discord among our citizens'. He was confident, he said, 'that every respectable colonist, whatever his denomination may be, must desire to see it banished from amongst us forever'.

person of Dill Macky, with European socialism, and with the free-trader Sir George Reid.[74] Thus issues relating to education, economics and politics were intertwined.

Moran's address to the Catholic soldiers of the South African contingent, delivered in St Mary's Cathedral on 14 January 1900, clearly revealed his attitudes toward war. The conflict in South Africa was, in his view, an arduous, hazardous enterprise, bristling with difficulties and dangers seldom met in the annals of Great Britain. Thus he called for the soldiers to combine Christian piety and military valour.[75]

The cardinal congratulated the soldiers for the spirit of piety which they evinced by gathering around St Mary's sanctuary 'to invoke the blessings of the God of battles for yourselves and your companions in arms'. He made no suggestion that the God of battles might question the justness or rightness of the Empire's objectives in the Boer War. By allusion or by direct statement, Moran linked the outcome of the war to the well-being of the British Empire, Ireland and particularly 'Australia, who, with a mother's fond affection and a mother's pride, will watch from afar your deeds of heroism'.

Moran portrayed the soldier's life as involving discipline, self-sacrifice, daily hardship, love of country and the perils of warfare. Such an experience, he explained, was an apt preparation for 'the heroism of a religious life'. Many a priest has been prepared, by a military career, for 'a life of discipline and self-denial, and sacrifice, and of devotedness to the noblest and most sacred cause'. From his lifelong involvement with Christian history, Moran drew on the exploits of the soldier-saints as proof that a military life, although

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74 Patrick Ford, *Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P.* (Melbourne, 1966), pp. 279-285. Cf. Cahill, 'Catholicism and Socialism', pp. 88-101; P.J. O'Farrell, 'The History of the New South Wales Labour Movement, 1880-1910. A Religious Interpretation', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (December 1962), pp. 133-151; Bede Nairn, 'The New South Wales Labor Party, the Legislative Council and Catholics, 1891-1926', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 71 (April 1986), pp. 235-254; W.G. McMinn, 'The Federal Policy of G.H. Reid: A Rejoinder', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 51 (March 1965), pp. 23-27. McMinn drew his conclusions on the Moran-Reid conflict from newspaper reports and the pro-Moran *Catholic Press*. See also his biography of Reid, *George Reid* (Melbourne, 1988). During its third Plenary Council (1905) the Australian Catholic hierarchy defined and condemned Socialism. See Murtagh, *The Catholic Chapter*, pp. 148-149. Note the 1905 Council referred again to the 'immortal encyclical on the Condition of Labour' by 'our late glorious Pontiff Leo XIII'.

75 *Address ... to the Catholic Soldiers of the S. African Contingent, At St. Mary's Cathedral, 14th January, 1900* (Sydney, 1900), pp. 3-10.

beset by dangers, was consistent with the attainment of sanctity. Heroic valour on the battlefield could be linked with heroic virtue in God's service. Religion sanctified, elevated and ennobled the profession of arms, purifying the heart, enlightening the conscience, and, in the day of trial, strengthening and quickening the soldier for glorious deeds. The last sentences of his address expressed both challenge and benediction. 'May fidelity to duty be your guiding star', he enjoined them, for thus they would prepare themselves 'for a heritage of heroic deeds', and enrich their hearts with 'the true adornment of the Christian soul'. The cardinal desired his soldiers to have in their heavenly crowns the splendour of 'the genuine virtues of the Christian soldier', for such 'peerless gems and jewels of Paradise' would enhance their praise by their fellow men as they rejoiced in their heavenly reward.[76]

The soldiers were assured by Moran's eloquent address that the cause of Empire was a righteous one, and that as soldiers it was their duty to follow the expectations of their country and the demands of the military situation. But the cardinal affirmed, in addition, the superior demands of Christianity, itself embracing all that a soldier may be called upon to do, demanding piety of soul and holiness of life. The deity Moran presented was the God of creation and of providence, the controller of the fortunes of war and of the blessings of eternal life. The Christian soldier was encouraged to engage loyally and patriotically in the struggle, meanwhile keeping an eye on the even more desirable goal of priestly service after the war, or glorious entry into immortality should his life be taken during combat.

There is no evidence that Moran changed his interpretation of war as such, but as the Boer War raged on it became more and more problematical for Australian Catholicism. From the beginning of hostilities during 1899 the *Catholic Press* raised problems relating to this particular conflict. The issue of the *Press* for 13 January 1900 allowed 'An Australian' to declare the problem in South Africa was one of 'paramountcy', and that the war was being fought for 'the same reason that English soldiers had been slaughtering Irishmen in Ireland for centuries'. There was a strong Irish element in this interpretation, but there was also loyalty to the empire:

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[76] *Address ... to the Catholic Soldiers*, pp. 9-10.

> Australia was stained with the blood of convicts in the early days; now, after a century of enlightenment, we are staining our country with the blood of a free people, with whom we have no quarrel... I am no disloyalist. I would lay down my life tomorrow in defence of the British Empire, but like many patriotic Englishmen I shudder when I read the accounts of this terrible war, and think of the degeneracy of Irishmen who excuse it.

Even though the *Press* headlined Moran's 14 January 1900 address as 'A Beautiful Sermon by the Cardinal', the same issue published a long declaration by an English statesman that this war was 'a crime against civilisation'. Further, an editorial, citing Sir Henry Parkes' opposition to the sending of the Sudan contingent in 1885, warned the Lyne Government it must be very judicious, for 'no outrages ... will be tolerated'.[77]

The *Catholic Press* had much to say in news items and editorial comment about the causes of the war. For 'J.P.' the cause was 'grasping, greedy and unscrupulous British toryism', and before the conflict ended a Catholic priest could write that for honest men it was 'a criminal blunder from the start, and a criminal bungle on our side'.[78] The source of the most compelling dissonance on the sorry affair was Father Francis Timoney, a chaplain who ministered courageously to Catholic soldiers in the field even though he frequently disapproved of the looting, destruction and inhumanity which he witnessed. Timoney's perceptive accounts glowed at first with enthusiasm and patriotism, but with the passage of time they increasingly portrayed the injustice of this particular war and the heroism of Boer soldiers and women. Whereas the Australian Bushmen believed they were going to South Africa to fight for the Empire, Timoney came to believe they were fighting for the vast monetary and territorial holdings of Cecil Rhodes.[79]

Moran also received disquieting input on the war from Rome, Ireland and South Africa, so, despite his desire to be loyal to the Australian cause he could not move to silence the Catholic protest.[80] During 1900 the Catholic Press reiterated to its readers the view that

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77 *Catholic Press*, 20 January 1900.

78 *Catholic Press*, 27 January 1900; 5 April 1902.

79 *Catholic Press*, see issues from 19 May 1900 onwards.

80 Mulhall to Moran, 8 February 1900; Doyle to Moran, 1 September 1900; Timoney to Moran, 20 October 1900.

all was not well in South Africa. Some supposed victories were actually reverses. Australians might be good as scouts, but they also excelled as looters, and in some respects they were worse than the Turks.[81] Nearer the close of the conflict the *Press* was speaking of the Boer War as 'Hideous and Appalling'. For supporting it, Barton was 'weak-kneed', whereas Chamberlain's role qualified him for the name 'Judas'. In view of the carnage and the brutal concentration camps, the editor hoped 'some of our cowardly politicians and jaundiced journals will soon come to heed and jingoism will eventually die in this country'.[82] Concern for Australia's future also motivated the editor, for he believed 'every footstep that rings on the pavements of our seaports as its owner goes down to the ships for South Africa is a note in the knell that is tolling our country's ruin'.[83]

At last the 'War of Disaster' ended, very much to the disadvantage of the victors, with the glory on the side of the vanquished Boers who forever after would be able to recount with due pride 'their immortal fight for liberty'. Hence the Boer War had intensified a continuing dilemma for Australian Catholics. They were a people deeply anxious to affirm their loyalty to Australia primarily, and to the British Empire as well. They believed that it was legitimate for Christians to engage in war. But the country in which they wanted to believe was engaged in a futile and unjust cause, and was using damnable and inhumane methods to achieve unrighteous ends. The fact that they agreed with viewpoints expressed in Ireland gave rise to charges that they were merely persevering in the Irish-versus-English antipathies of the past. The Boer War thus aptly illustrates the dilemma which can so easily confront the person who desires to place Christ above culture.[84]

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Such were the interim solutions which Moran and his followers proposed for specific problems between their Christianity and their culture: educate so that the values of Christ are effectively

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81 *Catholic Press*, 14 July 1900; 20 October 1900; 24 November 1900.

82 *Catholic Press*, 11 January 1902; 5 April 1902.

83 *Catholic Press*, 7 June 1902.

84 *Christ and Culture*, pp. 116-148.

transmitted, permeate economic life with Christian principles, recognise Christian realities in the political sphere, wage war under the banner of righteousness. But the ideal solution toward which they struggled was constantly reiterated in the phrase 'a Christian civilisation'.

The most extended word-picture of Catholic utopianism at the end of the nineteenth century was drawn in James T. Donovan's magnificent volume, *His Eminence: Australia's First Cardinal, Prince of the Church and Public Man.* Designed as 'An Appreciation of Cardinal Moran's Work as Prelate, Philanthropist, Scholar and Statesman' and to celebrate his 'Sacerdotal Golden Jubilee', this monograph told the story of recent Australian Catholicity as Moran and the faithful wanted to remember it.[85] With luxuriant prose, Donovan recounted in vivid detail the spectacular welcome accorded to Moran as Australia's first Irish archbishop in 1884, the even more splendid reception he was given as Australia's first cardinal in 1885, and then the unparalleled success of the cardinal-archbishop as 'the master builder' of churches, schools, colleges and convents. The narrative relived some of the most inspiring triumphs of Catholicism under Moran: in education, in public affairs, and in the splendid celebrations when public men not only entered St Mary's Cathedral in the full regalia of their respective offices, but actually praised the cardinal and the Catholics for their remarkable achievements. In His Eminence there was, assuredly, the epitome of all that was worthy, from an intimate relationship with His Holiness to an attitude of sympathy for the humblest Australian working man.

While Donovan's attitude of celebration was more extravagant than any other similar expression, it was not atypical in its era. The congress of bishops, clergy and laity called for 1900 was inspired by a similar spirit. Its stated aim was to unite the voice of Australian Catholicity with that of their brethren in the great Catholic centres throughout the world, in expressing 'religious fealty and devout homage toward the Divine Redeemer, and ... affection sympathy and unflinching union with the successor of St Peter, the Redeemer's Vicar upon earth'.[86] It has been noted already that Moran, architect of the

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[85] Donovan's volume was edited by P.E. Quinn, M.L.A., and printed in Sydney, 1902.

[86] Moran, circular letter, 2 March 1899.

congress, entered 1900 devoted 'wholly to the love of our Blessed Lord and to His fervent service on the battlefields of the Faith'.[87] The grandeur of the congress, like the aura of Moran's leadership, epitomised the mood of the church at the time. The cardinal had 'heroically' met the need of the Australian church, to the point where Bishop Lanigan deemed Moran's translation to Sydney was 'the most valuable incident in the history of the Church in Australia'.[88] By July 1900 the 'great enthusiasm' shown toward the coming congress gave promise that it would be a 'complete success'.[89] Of course the magnificence of the congress 'evoked the very dregs of bitterness in our orange arch enemies', but still in retrospect it seemed 'unique in our annals here' and 'an immense success'.[90] It could scarcely have been otherwise, with a leader who 'would do anything that man could do or attempt for advancing the Cause of religion', and who knew well how to focus the finest aspirations of his people.[91] The congress was a fitting celebration for a century marked by religious triumphs, yet it formed a vantage-point from which to view 'a new nationhood ... a new century and ... a new era in the history of our world'.[92] Catholic aspirations soared under the stimulus of 'Bishop Gallagher's Brilliant Discourse':

> Our first duty is to make Australia Catholic - to infuse the doctrines and practices of our Holy Religion as salutary sap and life into every nerve and muscle and vein and fibre of our beloved country. Never, perhaps, did any country present to Holy Church a more glorious opportunity of proving her divine mission. Inherited prejudices against our faith are fast dying away. As a religious system Protestantism of every form ... is in the rapid process of dissolution. This then is the age and the country for Holy Church. Catholicity is here to perfect

87 Moran, diary entry, January 1900.

88 Lanigan to Moran, 11 March 1900.

89 Moran, diary entry, January 1900.

90 O'Haran to Kelly, 20 October 1900.

91 Carr to Moran, 29 November 1900; *Catholic Press*, 14 July 1900 and 15 September 1900.

92 'The Cardinal on the Life of the Century', *Catholic Press*, 16 June 1900.

> our civilisation, and to add this fair land to the empire of Jesus Christ on earth. We Catholics hold the spiritual destiny of Australia in our hands.[93]

As far back as 1896 a priest had expressed to Moran his opinion that 'our holy religion has been raised one hundred per cent since the appointment of your Eminence and the Archbishop of Melbourne to your respective Sees'.[94] By 1900 it was clear that 'the greater Ireland abroad' was demonstrating the innate strength of Catholicity, and giving promise that within a few years even such problems as Government aid for church schools would be solved.[95] Why did many Catholics, themselves federated since the Plenary Council of 1885, anticipate the birth of the Commonwealth with such high hopes?

Catholics during the 1890s were captivated by the weight and beauty of a great teaching, and orientated around a theological hub. Most of them were in accord with their cardinal who argued passionately for the central teachings of Christianity: the trinity, the authority of Scripture, creation, sin, salvation, and for the distinctive features of Catholic faith. But their Catholicity, like Moran's prolific output, had an identifiable centre from which all else radiated: the doctrine of the church.[96]

The church was, in Catholic thinking of the time, the creation of God in Christ, the expression of Scripture, and the vehicle of redemption. Without it there was no salvation. Within it there was security. All history could be defined in terms of the relation of men and of governments to the church. Not only could the gates of hell never prevail over it; the church was destined for glorious triumph. All

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93 *Catholic Press*, 16 June 1900 and 15 September 1900.

94 Dunne to Moran, 3 September 1896; cf. Hennessy to Moran, 19 February 1897; Carr to Moran, 29 March 1898.

95 Kelly to Moran, 27 March 1897; Bowditch to Moran, 24 August 1900. Not all Catholics shared Moran's enthusiasm. Two prominent Catholic politicians, Tom Slattery and Louis Heydon, were strong opponents of the 1899 Federation Bill in New South Wales.

96 A similar use of a doctrine as an organising principle occurs in Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics*, no doubt 'the weightiest contribution to Protestant theology since Schleiermacher', according to J.B. Webster. While the many flawed analyses of Barth's work should caution those apt to make facile judgements, even Barth would be likely to agree that Christology formed the heart of his method and the principal substance of his entire enterprise, being for him 'the centre from which all other Christian doctrines radiate'. J.B. Webster, 'Karl Barth', in Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, 1988), pp. 76-80.

Catholic distinctives, especially the sacraments, Mary and the papacy found their truest definition and greatest significance in relation to the church and its mission. Upon this central doctrine Moran and his flock forged their understanding of people and institutions, be they familial, social, religious, or political.

Moran's ecclesiology is basic to any interpretation of his vision for the future of Catholicity within Australian culture. Because this doctrine was so crucial for both his historiography and his church leadership, he chose to present it frequently to the clergy and laity in his oral and written presentations. A typical major article on this theme appeared in the first volume of the journal Moran founded as a means of in-service training for the clergy, the *Australasian Catholic Record.* Billed as 'A Quarterly Publication Under Ecclesiastical Sanction', the *Record* began publication by St Mary's Cathedral during 1895.[97]

The positive side of Moran's doctrine of the church was based on Christ's prayer for his followers recorded in John 17 ('that they all may be one'), reinforced by Ephesians 4 ('one Lord, one faith, one baptism'), the usual Petrine passages, and the Church Fathers' emphasis on the unity which forms a distinctive feature of the true church. This divinely instituted body, Moran believed, 'can no more cease to be one than it can cease to exist'. The visible centre of its sacerdotal unity is the pope, successor of St Peter, the church's chief pastor and the 'promoter of Christian civilization'. For Moran, his church was 'the Jerusalem of peace - the City of God on earth', and like Noah's ark it would 'pursue its heavenward course on the ocean of a sinful world till the children of God are gathered into the haven of eternal rest'.[98]

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97 Patrick F. Cardinal Moran, 'The Reunion of Christendom', *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol. 1 (1895), pp. 473-497. It is evident Moran's concept of the church needs to be interpreted in the light of Vatican I. E.J. Yarnold, SJ, General Editor's 'Preface' in Peter Hebblethwaite, SJ, *The Theology of the Church* (Cork, 1969). While Moran glimpsed the church's eschatological nature, his steady view was not of 'a developing Church, a Church of hope, always imperfect in this world, but journeying toward its promised perfection in the next'.

98 Moran, 'The Reunion of Christendom', pp. 474-479. Note the way in which Moran restated, extended and defended his elaboration of this theme by comparing the *Australasian Catholic Record* article with his lecture under the same title delivered at the Guild Hall, Sydney, 17 June 1895, published the same year by F. Cunninghame. See also his 207-page book, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics* (Sydney, 1896). The book repeated the 17 June 1895 lecture, plus six replies to his critics delivered by Moran as lectures between 8 September 1895 and 23 August 1896.

The negative side of Moran's ecclesiology was aptly summed up in his depiction of 'modern Babylon, the city of confusion and discord which the conflicting sects of Protestantism present'.[99] He declared that the various Protestant heresies which arose 300 years ago had run their course, and were progressively flinging away those sacred truths which they carried with them from the Catholic fold. He found even the Anglican High Church party to be seriously wanting. While the High Church party yearned, he said, to be restored to union with its mother, the one true church of Christ, it made impossible claims - that it was orthodox, and that its 'Episcopate and Orders' were 'legitimate and valid'. Proposals made by the Pan-Anglican Synod of 1888 were in conflict with Moran's understanding of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and in any case these proposals failed to win the support of the Eastern and Greek churches. Further, in subsequent conferences, Anglican and other churchmen had aired diverse, even mutually-exclusive viewpoints. Thus it was that Moran saw the disunity of Protestantism, along with its non-Catholic doctrines, as a major reason why it could not be considered as a valid part of the true church.[100]

Thus Moran placed before the readers of the *Catholic Record* an unequivocal choice. On the one hand he portrayed an increasing number of conflicting Protestant sects vainly claiming to be the church of Christ. On the other hand he presented the Holy Catholic Church, marvellous in the unity of its heavenly truth, sacramental life and spiritual authority, giving 'abiding proof' of a divine wisdom and divine power amongst 'all the scattered tribes of mankind, amid the vicissitudes of time and the succession of ages'. Hence, Moran believed, prayers for the reunion of Christendom 'are at present offered up with the greater fervour in obedience to the exhortations of the

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[99] The term 'Protestant' in Catholic literature of the time described first and foremost the Church of England. Hence it was used in a way quite different from its current definition. Cf. Ninian Smart, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, third ed. (New York, 1984), pp. 478-481.

[100] Moran, 'The Reunion of Christendom', *Australasian Catholic Record*, pp. 479-497. Cf. 'Discourse of the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney at the Dedication of St. Mary's Church, West Melbourne', *The Heritage of Blessings in the Catholic Church* (Sydney, 1900), pp. 3-5, and the *Pastoral Letter ... to the Clergy and Faithful of the Diocese, on the Unity of the Church* (Sydney, 1894), pp. 3-27. Moran wrongly equated the High Church party with the Anglo-Catholics.

Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., who has given the cheering assurance to the Christian world that the present time is most favourable to attain the desired result' - union in the one and only true Church.[101]

The logic of deciding for the Catholic church was reinforced by Moran's use of symbolism and a profusion of descriptive phrases. The Protestant cause was portrayed as a 'tiny canoe', or a 'foundering vessel', or 'a fruitless and withered branch ... to be lopped off from the living vine which is the one true church', or 'spurious associations' playing fast and loose with such Christian verities as 'the divinity of Christ, the nature of the atonement, the efficacy of the Sacraments, the inspiration of the Bible, the eternal reprobation of the finally impenitent'. Other lists of Protestant problems included Higher Criticism and 'indifference to supernatural religion', in addition to the bane of disunity, well illustrated by (Moran claimed) 'Anglicanism with its 700 sects at the present day'.[102]

By contrast, 300 million Catholics were in the ark of salvation, or the one true saving fold, with all the doctrinal, social and devotional blessings that accrued from being inside God's city, worshipping in his temple amongst mankind, constituting his imperishable kingdom, and experiencing security within the brotherhood of one family.[103] In Catholicity alone was the security of the ark which no tempest could shipwreck. Only therein was truth unadulterated; only there could

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[101] Moran, 'The Reunion of Christendom', *Australasian Catholic Record*, pp. 473-476. Moran frequently referred to and affirmed papal teachings, particularly from the documents of Leo XIII. See 'The Reunion of Christendom' which Leo promulgated on 20 June 1894, in *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* (New York, 1908), pp. 303-319. This is an 'apostolic letter' rather than an 'encyclical'. [Sister] M. Claudia, *Dictionary of Papal Pronouncements, Leo XIII to Pius XII, 1878-1957* (New York, 1958), pp. 1-6, 179-181.

[102] Moran, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics*, pp. 41-42, 145, 136, 100, 159-160; Moran, *The Heritage of Blessings*, p. 25; Newman to Moran, 7 January 1895; draft, Moran to Newman, 15 January 1895. Bishop Jeremiah Doyle of Lismore wished Moran to 'put into book form those admirable papers on the Reunion of Christendom & the complete route of the Anglican party'. Doyle to Moran, 29 October 1895. Cf. Lanigan to Moran, 29 August 1896.

[103] Cf. G.H. Joyce, 'The Church', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1908), Vol. III, pp. 744-761; Moran, 'The Mystery of the Incarnation: A Lenten Lecture', *The Austral Light*, Vol. VIII (April 1899), pp. 189-204. Joseph Purcell interpreted the attack which caused Moran's defeat in the 1897 election as 'a blow aimed at the "Invincible Bark" of Peter', Purcell to Moran, 5 March 1897. For a recent understanding of the church, see Herwi Rikhof, *The Concept of the Church: A Methodological Inquiry into the Use of Metaphor in Ecclesiology* (London, 1981). Observe that Moran computed the number of Catholics variously, sometimes as 250 million.

Scripture be reliably interpreted, for (Moran said) historical studies prove Rome to be 'the bulwark of orthodoxy, the exterminator of error, the cement of unity, the advocate of peace, the defence of the weak, the promoter of the highest civilization'.[104] The church, in fact, was seen as 'a living reality perpetuating Christ's presence and Christ's voice upon earth'. Indeed, bishops and other Protestants who were 'remarkable alike for integrity and learning' have recognised this fact, and thus they have frequently 'renounced their heretical tenets to find rest and salvation in the Catholic Church'.[105]

Within such a schema, heresy was seen to have a cleansing and purifying function. It was so in the Arian controversy, and again at the time of the Reformation. During the sixteenth century, Moran declared, those with seared consciences, or whose pride and passions were restless under the demands of Christian morality, purified the church by leaving it. The history of the church is thus a constant record of unbroken unity and victory. Another dimension of the church's strength is apparent from the earlier time when Europe was suffering ruin and devastation from barbarian conquerors. It was the church who led these hordes to redemption. She alone is constant, always able to overcome the threat of heresy and the attacks of hostile military powers.[106]

So convincing was Moran's eloquent apologetic for Catholicity that the faithful must have thought only a dull mind or a callous heart would fail to respond positively. The power of his testimony sprang directly from his deep conviction 'that it is impossible to know the Catholic Church as she in reality is, without recognizing her divine mission and embracing the heavenly tenets which she proposes'. The church's features were so divine in their beauty, its light and life so heavenly that even its deadly enemies have cried out with Augustine, 'Too late have we known thee, too late have we loved thee'. For Moran, much history, as it was generally understood, was a conspiracy against truth. It was an important part of his role to make tangible the rich

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[104] Moran, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics*, pp. 41, 65, 124, 135-136, 141-142, 43, 83. Cf. Moran's elaboration of the holiness of the church, for example, in *The Sanctity of the Church* (Sydney, n.d.).

[105] Moran, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics*, pp. 92, 118, 41-42; cf. the sermon by John Gallagher, Coadjutor Bishop of Goulburn, at the opening of the Plenary Synod, *Catholic Press*, 23 November 1895, pp. 13, 10-11.

[106] Moran, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics*, pp. 155-164; cf. pp. 3-39.

meaning of Catholic doctrine and history, as when he expounded and applied the Nicene Creed. 'Catholic truth', he declared, 'needs only to be known that it may be revered and embraced'. Furthermore, given the triumphs of St Patrick and of Irish Catholicism in Erin, Europe, the United States and Australia, an all-encompassing victory seemed imminent for Catholicity within Australian civilisation.[107]

Given an understanding of Catholic doctrine, in particular its ecclesiology, it is possible to discern how Catholic minds were governed, and the way in which their deeds were constantly both motivated and constrained. To be true to Catholic convictions required Moran to ensure foundlings were duly baptised into Holy Church, that chaplains served the military forces, that schools were established and maintained, that churches and cathedrals were built, that the true faith was declared in councils and congresses, that precedence was accorded the authentic representative of God, that the emerging nation was given the principles of righteousness. To say or do less than he did would have been to compromise his commission as a cardinal-archbishop. To do what he did was certain to nudge the church toward its day of triumph. Few indeed were the clerical and lay cautions which restrained Moran's expression of what it meant to be a Christian within Australian culture during the 1890s.[108] To relate statements by Moran in 1891 and 1900 is to observe the consistentency with which he expressed his ideals in differing circumstances.

Ostensibly, Moran's address at St John's College of Sydney University on 3 October 1891 focused 'On the Importance of the Accurate Study of Mediaeval History'. In reality it was a Christian statesman's portrayal of an aspect of his vision for Australian

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[107] Moran, *The Reunion of Christendom and Its Critics*, pp. 141, 78-80; Moran, *The Apostolate of St Patrick*, pp. 28-32.

[108] The continuing debates between 1895 and the end of the nineteenth century relating to the 'Reunion of Christendom' and Christian missions gave ample scope for Catholics to suggest Moran might adopt different directions. All of the expressions extant are favourable to the stance Moran adopted; on only a few occasions were gentle suggestions made that an aggressive posture might not be in the best interests of some Catholics. Cf. Moran to 'Reverend Sir', 22 February 1895; Carr to Moran, 5 March 1895; Galton (or Gatton?) to Moran, 21 June 1895; Vidal to Moran, 5 September 1895; Doyle to Moran, 29 October 1895; Lanigan to Moran, 29 August 1896; Dunne to Moran, 3 September 1896; Hennessy to Moran, 19 February 1897; Lanigan to Moran, 11 May 1898; Balmain correspondent [signature not decipherable] to Moran, 26 July 1899; Hepburn to Moran, 27 July 1899; Matthews to Moran, 29 July 1899; Lanigan to Moran, 31 August 1899.

civilisation. The body of his speech contrasted two champion emperors, one personifying medieval times and the other representing the era of modern enlightenment. Napoleon, whose last testament declared he would die in 'the Apostolic and Roman religion', placed his faith below temporal considerations, as when he proclaimed himself a Mohammedan in Egypt. By contrast, the ideal ruler was Charlemagne, who throughout his long reign was faithful to every practice of Christian piety. His coronation was a religious act; his wars were missionary expeditions; he was outstanding in stature, personal strength, bravery, letters, the sciences and languages. This 'model hero of the heroic age in which he lived', the most eloquent and powerful man of his time, was 'truthful in speech and faithful to his promises, so that his very name became the terror of his enemies and the pride of his people'. Napoleon caused literature to decline and he plundered the treasures of art. Charlemagne fostered art and promoted education, making Paris into the Athens of Christ.

Moran's conclusion arose inevitably from his portrayal of these two great statesmen. The representative of the present age built his power on sand; his wars brought only ruin and desolation. By contrast, Charlemagne 'built his mighty enterprise on the foundation of religion'; 'The enduring blessings of Christian civilisation marked the course of his victories.' Moran knew he was speaking to an educated audience who would experience the breath-taking opportunities of twentieth-century Australia. He desired them to have the ages of medieval piety as their guiding star, for therein was the finest pattern for Australia's future. It is useful to place this address alongside major ideas which Moran expressed elsewhere. Soldier-saints might need to fight and die in righteous wars, for there could be enemies outside as well as within the nation. But in a state founded on the principles of Catholicity and controlled by men of sterling Christian character, the future would be a glorious one. Moran closed his address at St John's by asserting that from the careful study of medieval history his hearers might glean many lessons to guide them in the path of progress, enlightenment and true wisdom. To his discerning listeners, he was functioning as the architect of the glorious Australia they and their Catholic colleagues were to build. While his other 'Commemoration Discourses' at St John's College expressed his ideals for Catholic higher education, it was the 1891 address which set the jewel of education in the diadem of

nationhood.[109]

It is fitting to climax this consideration of Catholic hopes for the new nation by noting an expression published by Moran as federation became a reality, 'The Cardinal's Commonwealth Prayer' dated 31 December 1900.[110] This prayer, expressed in nine eloquent paragraphs, portrays the public face of the church and of Moran. It was general enough to have meaning for the masses, yet its allusions conveyed a far greater significance for those who were marching in step with Catholic optimism at the end of the colonial period.

The God Moran addressed was 'the Creator and Supreme Lord of all', but he was also the giver of 'all good and perfect gifts, ... graces and blessings'. Such language must have evoked, for the faithful, memories of *The Heritage of Blessings in the Catholic Church*, and many other written and oral presentations by their cardinal.

The human life envisioned in this prayer was materially prosperous and internationally secure. It was important that prosperity should 'smile upon Australia's wide-spreading plains', and that 'the energy of her people in the triumphs of her industry' would 'be worthy of the traditions of our race'. Australia, under a 'most gracious sovereign, who rules over the vastest colonial empire that the world has ever known', needed a brave and loyal people, guarded shores, union and peace.

But the prayer did more than focus on such external blessings. 'Australia in the freshness of freedom and the vigour of youth' had before her 'a glorious destiny', a 'great work', a 'crowning mission'. More important than prosperity and security was 'religion with its blossoms of hope, its riches of wisdom, its works of mercy', which could 'abound every day more and more, till, with the accompaniment of true happiness, it shall become the heritage of every homestead throughout the length and breadth of the land'. The pleasant fruits of piety were essential for Australia to 'become a model nation', 'to ever wield the sceptre of Christian civilisation', 'to pull down the barriers that irreligious discord and racial strife would raise, and to erect on their

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[109] The Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, *Commemoration Discourses at St. John's College, for the Years 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891* (Sydney, 1891).

[110] 'The Cardinal's Commonwealth Prayer' is preserved as a broadsheet, and in *Catholic Press*, 3 January 1901.

ruins a glorious temple of abiding accord and long-enduring peace'. Hence the supreme value for the emerging nation was religion, that is, Catholicity.

The faithful could not fail to hear their shepherd's voice calling them to bear witness to the self-authenticating truth about the Catholic Church. Given a fair chance to reveal its actual nature (and Providence was giving the church in Australia that needed opportunity!), people now in the frail canoes or on the foundering vessels of Protestantism would board the ark, the barque of Peter. Homes, schools, churches, national life - art, literature, legislation, justice - all would grasp the possibilities of life under the benign influence of Holy Church, and participate in the unparalleled blessings conferred by citizenship in the kingdom of God on earth.

Thus, in a geographic location far removed from the long-standing problems of Europe, within a mere hundred years from the unfavourable founding of white Australia, Catholics felt that they had progressed from an oppressed minority to a powerful force within Australian society. The economic optimism of the 1880s reinforced the upward mobility and the expectations of a people still deeply conscious of the poverty in their beloved Ireland and the deprivation of their early years in New South Wales. While there were disturbing factors present for the church during the 1890s, there were also cheering signs of vibrant hope. Indeed, optimism was pervasive amongst the people of the younger Ireland which was fast developing its new catalogue of saints and scholars in the Antipodes.

It is easier to expound the view of Catholicity within Australian culture as seen through Catholic windows near the close of the nineteenth century than it is to determine all the reasons why these particular windows were coloured as they were. Various matters of culture were important, especially because Catholics were a significant minority of chiefly Irish people within a predominantly English culture. There were influences still persisting from convict times, and continuing problems that had been transported from the Northern Hemisphere by both convicts and free settlers. Several of these factors contributed to the formation of Roman Catholics as a quite readily-identifiable subculture with a fairly coherent sense of identity. But religious reasons account for the largest share of what made these people a distinctive part of Australian culture. Put more explicitly, to a great extent their doctrines shaped their attitudes, defined their values and specified their courses of action. Catholic dogma is

identifiable as a dynamic force both motivating and constraining Catholic deeds, and ecclesiology was the principal organising element within that body of doctrine.

To say this is not to sit in judgement upon Catholic belief of the time as right or wrong in terms of biblical criteria, or Christian orthodoxy, or even present-day Catholicism. Rather, it is to describe the orientation of the cardinal and his closest followers during the 1890s. The sense of unjust suffering which Moran saw in Catholic heritage galvanised his people's sense of purpose. They believed their faith had provided the external rationale for the attacks of their enemies. But more importantly, it had given the faithful the inner strength they had needed to survive in the past. Now that faith was lighting new beacons of hope, making their future horizon brighter than it had ever been before. Above all other considerations, their church had the truth, and this truth was divinely destined to prevail.

Being sure that they knew truth from error, and feeling certain that their brand of Christianity would triumph, gave to Catholics a sense of optimism, even a mood of invulnerability. The working classes would be nurtured in the bosom of the church. The children of the nation would be educated in righteousness despite the attempts of the state to make education secular. Those Catholics who had the extra benefit of higher education would be able to take leading roles in the ushering in of the new order. A constitution created by men of good will would ensure a commonwealth in which church and state together would implement the wisdom of the past and realise the finest prospects of the emerging Australian nation. Catholicity would be more than vindicated; it would enable Australia to demonstrate to the world, but in a particular sense to Asia and the Pacific, the latent possibilities of a truly Christian civilisation.

These were some of the dreams of Moran and the optimists amongst his people, visions which their faith made tangible within Australian culture during the 1890s. Moran was to lead his flock toward their promised land for almost three decades. But, unlike Moses, by the time of his death there was no panoramic vision promising the imminent realisation of Catholic hopes. O'Farrell's depiction of Catholics in 1911 being 'bivouacked on the outskirts of a hostile civilisation'[111] is instructive, even if it is too sweeping to be taken literally.

[111] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, p. 296. For all the usefulness of (Footnote continued)

Catholic ideas were the catalyst for that separation. Moran and those who shared his vision saw the church as the invincible barque of Peter, which, by reason of its sacraments and its sacerdotal authority, offered a safe passage to eternal life. The other forms of Christianity were tiny canoes or foundering vessels, inadequate as means of salvation. Thus, between Catholics and all other Christians, there was a great expanse of stormy sea. There could be no effective co-operation in rescuing humanity or in addressing the problems of society. The boundaries of Catholicism marked the limits of authentic Christianity. All who would be saved must board the invincible barque by accepting the authority of Rome.

But Catholics had other metaphors in addition to the church as the ark. The kingdom of God, constituted by those who were Catholics already, would soon be augmented by a mass influx as the general population recognised the validity of the one true church. Once again the Irish, under the aegis of Rome, would convert 'barbarian' hordes. Thus the problems of mixed marriages would be solved, and no longer would the nation offer up its children on the reeking altar of secularism. The respect and praise given to the Catholic church by men in high public office presaged the future. Australia, long ago claimed for the Holy Spirit, was about to become a Christian civilisation. This would effect the ultimate resolution of the problem between Christianity and society for Christ would truly reign above culture.

(Footnote 111 continued from previous page)
his chapter on 'The Reign of Cardinal Moran', pp. 194-297, O'Farrell falters in the last two paragraphs. His 'Moran seems not quite to fit himself, to both rattle within and protrude outside, his essential being', chiefly because O'Farrell fails to allow Moran to believe the doctrine of the church and to act in view of this conviction.

CHAPTER 6

WILLIAM SAUMAREZ SMITH: AN ANGLICAN SOLUTION

Anglican solutions to the problem of Christianity and culture could be explored in terms of the diversity which fostered the development of parties in the Australian church late in the nineteenth century and beyond. Archbishop Donald Robinson pioneered the mapping of this development in the Second Moore College Library Lecture delivered during 1976. Robinson credits the five years which Bishop Alfred Barry spent in the Diocese of Sydney (1884-1889) with considerable achievements but also with polarising the diocese.

> It alerted evangelical churchmen to the possibilities of episcopal infringement of what many regarded as the rights of clergy and laity in synod, and also to the possibilities of an increase in ritualism and in the spread of a high church ethos within the diocese.[1]

The result was that more Sydney Anglicans joined parties to forward the various concerns which they considered to be important. Models were available to them in England: Anglo-Catholic interests had been fostered by the English Church Union since 1860; the Church of England Association had opposed ritualism and represented

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1 'The Origins of the Anglican Church League', 9 April 1976, p. 5. The lecture is available in typescript in the Australiana collection of the Moore College Library, Newtown.

Protestant ideals of faith and worship since 1865. Another society, the Churchmen's Union was founded in 1898 to promote liberal thought and the comprehensiveness of the Church of England. Indeed, the range of concerns felt within Australian Anglicanism found representation in five parties during the 1890s.[2] Robinson cites the opinion of the *Church of England Record*, that the English Church Union represented an 'extreme right' position and the Church of England Association an 'extreme left' position, whereas 'right central' and 'left central' positions were taken by the Churchman's Institute and the Churchmen's Alliance respectively.[3] During 1898 two of these parties ceased to exist when the Protestant Church of England Union was formed, incorporating the Evangelicals from the Association and the Alliance.

Stephen E. Judd reviewed and extended Robinson's research in the opening chapter of his doctoral thesis completed in 1984, and then traced the party influences in the Diocese of Sydney from 1909-1938. Judd suggested that the orientation for denominational research may vary from one denomination to another, but that 'the logical orientation of research for Australian Anglicanism is the Diocese'.[4] He contended that in Australia, 'the absence of Establishment, together with other historical and environmental factors, was responsible for the emergence of a self-determining Anglicanism in which mere lobbying for influence was metamorphosed into an outright struggle for power'.[5] Thus, in the Diocese of Sydney, the 1890s witnessed the activities of the polar opposite parties, the Church Association and the English Church Union, joined by the High Churchman's Institute in 1891 and the Evangelical Churchmen's Alliance in 1893. During 1898, according to Judd, when 'the two evangelical organisations merged into a new Protestant Church of England Union' an organisation was developed which, for nineteen years, was largely 'the active extension of the convictions and beliefs of its excitable first President', the

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2 Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney, 1987), pp. 143-144. There was a strong official aversion to 'sacerdotalism'. *The Church Standard*, 16 February 1901, pp. 9-10.

3 Robinson, 'The Origins of the Anglican Church League', p. 11.

4 Stephen E. Judd, '"Defenders of the Faith": Power and Party in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1901-1938' (PhD thesis, The University of Sydney, 1984), p. 5.

5 Judd, 'Defenders of the Faith', pp. 6-7.

Reverend Mervyn Archdall.[6] Judd sees the development of the legislative function of synod during the last two decades of the nineteenth century as being 'essentially divisive', and he confirms that 'the product of this divisiveness' was the emergence of the various party organisations which are listed above.[7]

Chapter three has noted already the contribution of William J. Lawton to the study of Anglicanism in the Diocese of Sydney. Lawton, an ordained clergyman then on the staff of Moore Theological College, states that his 1985 doctoral thesis had 'as its major preoccupation the implications of eschatology for social questions', and he contends that it 'opens up a history of the denomination very different from the triumphalism of so many episcopal biographies'.[8] The case which Lawton presents is a convincing one, that the Diocese of Sydney was progressively captured by 'world-denying' forces unleashed in various ways: through the campaigns of an Irish evangelist George C. Grubb; through the formation of clergy by Nathaniel Jones as the Principal of Moore College; and through the activities of clergy such as Mervyn Archdall.[9]

This chapter will return to the research of Robinson, Judd and Lawton, after exploring the evidence from a different perspective in search of answers to a series of related questions. How did the Diocese of the Sydney, the largest diocese of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania, a colonial segment of the established Church of England, relate to such issues as education, economic stress and political exigency (including war) during the 1890s? Consequently, how did this particular church define itself and declare its mission within New South Wales culture? How did it relate that identity and purpose to the presence and mission of other Christian denominations? What the Diocese of Sydney did or failed to do to educate the young, to ameliorate human distress and to influence political decisions, arose

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6 Judd, 'Defenders of the Faith', pp. 86-88.

7 Judd, 'Defenders of the Faith', p. 98.

8 William James Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be: The Kingdom of God and Social Reform. Anglicans and the Diocese of Sydney, 1885 to 1914' (PhD thesis, The University of New South Wales, 1985), p. 25. For an 'entirely rewritten' version of his thesis, see Lawton's *The Better Time to Be: Utopian Attitudes to Society Among Sydney Anglicans, 1885-1914* (Kensington [Sydney], 1990).

9 Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be', pp. 67, 103, 115, 123,172, 173, 205, 209, 226, 365-366.

from an Anglican definition of what it meant to live the Christian life during the 1890s. Evidence will be gathered in particular from the annual and special synods convened by the Diocese of Sydney, presided over by its bishop/archbishop or his representative. In softer focus will be the deliberations of the Provincial Synod of New South Wales and the General Synod of Australia, both of which were presided over by the bishop/archbishop of Sydney and included representatives of the Diocese of Sydney.

There is a limited parallel between the situation of the Anglicans and that of the Roman Catholics, in that both churches are hierarchical in their form of governance. But the links with Canterbury were not as strong as those with Rome, and the ranking Anglican churchman in Australia lacked the personal flair and the princely adulation of the cardinal-archbishop. However, given the episcopal polity and constitutional nature of the Church of England, the bishop/archbishop of Sydney in his role as president of the synods of the diocese was the most important spokesman for Sydney Anglicans throughout the 1890s. During this period, the bishop/archbishop of Sydney was also the senior Anglican churchman in the colony of New South Wales and in the emerging nation. Hence, while his words and deeds as president of the Diocese of Sydney must be given primary attention, his role in the Provincial Synod of New South Wales and the General Synod of Australia cannot be ignored. But, beyond the bishop/archbishop were the clergy who were exercising their ministry in parishes and synods, and the people, living as Christians, reading the church papers, perhaps joining church parties and representing their parishes in the various synods.

The leading figure within the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania was William Saumarez Smith (1836-1909), elected the Bishop of Sydney in 1889 and thus *ex officio* Metropolitan of New South Wales and Primate of Australia.[10] Born in the Channel Islands, educated at Cambridge, a teacher, linguist and 'orthodox evangelical scholar',[11] Smith epitomised in his person and in his administration the Christian scholarship and inclusive attitudes prized by many

[10] Ruth Teale, 'Party or Principle? The Election to the Anglican See of Sydney in 1889-90', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 55 (June 1969), pp. 141-158; Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 139-141.

[11] K.J. Cable, 'William Saumarez Smith', in Geoffrey Serle (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 11: *1891-1939* (Melbourne, 1988), pp. 675-677.

Anglicans. After lengthy discussions in Sydney and ratification by the Lambeth Conference, Smith assumed the title of Archbishop of Sydney on 22 September 1897, and continued thereafter to give conciliatory evangelical leadership in the diocese, until his death from a cerebral haemorrhage at Darlinghurst on 18 April 1909.[12] The most perceptive historian of the Sydney diocese suggests that Smith 'was unlucky to preside over the Church of England at a time when a cultured Christian gentleman, of retiring disposition, with a distaste for popular controversy and a horror of aggressive confrontation, was unlikely to find his virtues greatly appreciated'.[13]

If Smith provides a useful model of cautious and wise Anglican episcopal leadership, the career of Francis Bertie Boyce (1844-1931) exemplifies the reformist options available to a committed evangelical in charge of a city parish. Born in Devon, Boyce arrived in Australia with his family in 1854. Trained in evangelicalism at Sydney's Moore Theological College,[14] ordained as a priest by the outstanding evangelical Bishop Frederic Barker[15] in 1869, Boyce served parishes in western New South Wales until his return to Sydney in 1882. Two years later, Boyce was appointed to St Paul's, Redfern, a parish which for forty-six years challenged his enthusiasm for integrating Christianity with social concern.[16] While it is true that, in the main, Anglicans chose to tolerate Boyce rather than to support him and his causes vigorously,[17] his denomination allowed him to engage in a life-long moral crusade. In addition, it confirmed his ministry by making him a canon of St Andrew's Cathedral in 1901 and archdeacon

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12 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 April 1909.

13 Cable, 'William Saumarez Smith', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 11, p. 676.

14 Marcus Loane, *A Century History of Moore Theological College* (Sydney, 1955).

15 Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 67-82; K.J. Cable, 'Frederic Barker (1808-1882)', in Douglas Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 3, pp. 90-94; K. Cable, 'Bishop Barker and His Clergy', First Moore College Lecture, 17 April 1975.

16 Francis Bertie Boyce, *Fourscore Years and Seven: The Memoirs of Archdeacon Boyce, For Over Sixty Years a Clergyman of the Church of England in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1934); *The Church Standard*, 5 January 1901, p. 13; Robert Withycombe, 'Francis Bertie Boyce (1844-1931): Clergyman and Reformer', Moore College [Library] Lecture, n.d., trypescript.

17 Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, p. 149.

of West Sydney in 1910, and by maintaining him for decades as a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Sydney and as one of its General Synod representatives.[18]

But the Diocese of Sydney also included churchmen who identified more fully with the controversial interests of the Anglican Evangelicals, one of which has already been mentioned. Mervyn Archdall (1846-1917)[19] was born at Groan near Clonmel, Ireland, and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1869 and a Master of Arts degree in 1882 at Cambridge. Ordained as a priest in Ireland during 1870, Archdall became in 1873 the organising secretary in the north of England for the London Jews' Society. Bishop Barker during an overseas visit heard Archdall preach in Harrogate, and went into the vestry immediately after the service to ask Archdall to come to his diocese in Sydney. From 1882 until 1907, Archdall's Irish tenacity and pastoral skills were focused by his role as Rector of St Mary's, Balmain. His was a parish set in the midst of a problematical transition. From being a fashionable suburb, Balmain was becoming one of the main industrial centres of Sydney. There Archdall read his Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, studied the writings of the sixteenth-century reformers, prepared sermons which were often above the grasp of many in his congregation, and wrote vigorous articles in defence of the true faith.

Archdall's parish maintained longer than most others a successful day school for primary children. His work in the crowded streets of Balmain led him to see a need for women to be trained as church workers, and thus, in company with other evangelical clergy, he founded the Deaconess Institution in the Diocese of Sydney.[20] But another organisation was also needed, in Archdall's mind. Deaconesses could exemplify practical Christianity, but the political ambitions of the Church of Rome must also be confronted. For this

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18 Boyce, *Fourscore Years and Seven*, p. 131; K.J. Cable, 'Francis Bertie Boyce', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 7: *1891-1939*, pp. 368-369.

19 Henry Kingsley Archdall, 'Biographic Introduction' in *Mervyn Archdall: A Memorial of the Late Reverend Canon Mervyn Archdall, M.A.* (Sydney, 1922), pp. 10-20.

20 Margaret Rodgers, 'Attitudes to the Ministry of Women in the Diocese of Sydney: An Historical Study, 1884-1939', *The Reformed Theological Review*, Vol. XXIX (September-December 1980), pp. 73-82; Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 152-155; *The Church Standard*, 18 March 1899, p. 9, 2 September 1899, p. 14.

reason in 1898 he helped to establish the Protestant Church of England Union, to protect the congregation of the faithful, the gathered church, that 'spiritual organism which awaits its proper manifestation and form at the advent of our Lord'.[21] He opposed the union of churches as a mere linking of organisations, an objective far less worthy than the idea of the church as embracing 'the unity of true Christians'. Only the appeal of the pure gospel, he maintained, could draw people into such a body. Hence on the one hand, Archdall criticised 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoons' as a travesty of evangelism, and on the other he fought against what he described as the pomp and ceremony of the Oxford Movement. His was a message far removed from that of Tractarianism; it was centred in the experience of conversion, and suffused with an urgent eschatology in accord with that of Nathaniel Jones: 'In the look to Christ, the Coming One, the Last Person (not "the last things") all the faith, love, hope, the work and knowledge of the Church, come to their consummation and crown.'[22]

While an evangelical stance was the pervasive one in Sydney, especially after the long incumbency of Bishop Barker (1854-1882), the rich diversity of Anglicanism included clergy with definite High Church convictions. Addressing the synod as its president in 1893, Smith said 'party feeling' was 'in some ways inevitable in a comprehensive Church body like ours', and he reiterated a principle which he stated in various ways on different occasions, that he was not 'desirous of any undue limitation of the comprehensiveness and tolerance of variety, which obtain in our historic branch of the Church Catholic'.[23] Thus it was that a parish like Christ Church St Laurence

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21 Mervyn Archdall, 'The Doctrine of the Church', *Mervyn Archdall*, pp. 47. The entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 7, pp. 85-86, notes that Archdall was also leader of the Australian Protestant Defence Association. For his vigorous opposition to 'ritualism', see *The Church Standard*, 4 February 1899, p. 12. *The Churchman*, 15 May 1900, p. 211 said that it objected to all 'popery', including that of Archdall. But Archdall was at times stoutly defended. *The Church Standard*, 27 October 1900, p. 11.

22 Mervyn Archdall, 'The Doctrine of the Church', *Mervyn Archdall*, p. 52; Mervyn Archdall, *The Vestments of the Church of England, Not the Vestments of the Mass: An Historical Enquiry* (Sydney, 1903).

23 *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Ninth Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, 8-16 August 1893* (Sydney, 1893), pp. 24-25, hereafter abbreviated as *PDS*. Smith was President of the Synod for all its sessions during the 1890s, except for 1897, when he was in England. The Proceedings of the Provincial Synod of New

(Footnote continued)

could be led from 1878 to 1894 by its third rector, Charles Frederick Garnsey (1827-1894), a High Churchman interested in the Tractarians and the Oxford Movement, during whose incumbency 'Altar Lights were first introduced (1885) as were Eucharistic Vestments, and the daily Eucharist'.[24] Garnsey, acclaimed by some as 'possibly ... the best classical scholar in Australia', committed himself to literally obeying the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*, a stance which (according to a parish historian) stimulated 'the usual bitter attacks', misrepresentations and accusations of 'Romanism and idolatry', and so made him grateful of support from the 'powerful' Guild of St Laurence after its founding during 1882.[25] Key words at St Laurence, such as 'Guild', 'Mass', 'Confession', 'Incense', seemed to some Evangelicals to savour of Romanism, but liturgical interest did not mean disinterest in the the poor and neglected in the slums of the parish. Indeed, the 'Forward Movement' led by Garnsey fostered Men's and Boys' Clubs, Bible Classes, Girls' Sewing Classes, a Mothers' Meeting and Religious Instruction amongst the poor living close to Darling Harbour. Before his untimely death from heart failure on 3 December 1894, Garnsey was well known as a consistent if controversial priest, as a thinking 'Ritualist' responsible for candlesticks being used in four Sydney churches, and as a faithful adherent 'to Anglicanism and true Catholicism'.[26] Gerard Trower, Garnsey's successor from 1895-1900, was an English cleric with a similar High Church commitment. Trower introduced a sung Eucharist every Sunday, plus 'the most beautiful and costly Vestments then known in Australia'. As time went by, Christ Church St Laurence often advertised 'the need of fasting and early Communions, attendance on days of obligation and the daily Celebration of Holy Communion'.[27]

Hence, in the urbane leadership of Archbishop Smith, in the evangelical activism of Boyce, in the evangelical militancy of Archdall, in the reverent catholicity of Garnsey, formative strands of the

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(Footnote 23 continued from previous page)
South Wales and the General Synod of Australia are abbreviated as *PPS* and *PGS* respectively.

[24] Laura Mary Allen, *A History of Christ Church S. Laurence Sydney* (Sydney, 1939), p. 54. For useful definitions of the terms 'Anglo-Catholic' and 'High Churchmen', see 'Glossary', in David Garnsey, *Arthur Garnsey: A Man for Truth and Freedom* (Sydney, 1985), p. xv.

(Footnote(s) 25 - 27 will appear on a subsequent page)

Anglican attitude toward society were embedded. These strands could be separated and frayed easily, or they could be united as a strong lifeline of Christian witness and action. Smith was dedicated to the difficult task of leading the disparate parties in his diocese, together with those who knew no party and scarcely knew Anglicanism, to 'Christianise' society.

In his address to the 1894 Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, Smith exhorted his people to integrate their religion with every function of their common life, making 'all religion practical, and all business religious'. In his view, all were 'Church workers', whether they were called evangelists, pastors, teachers, parents, students, professional men, politicians, philanthropists, merchants, or citizens in all their diversified capacities. A vivid realisation of 'the essential interdependence of the Church, the Family, and the Nation, the linking together of Christian faith and worship, with Christian education and Christian life' would, he suggested, limit selfishness, enhance harmony and 'the real desire to promote the total welfare of the community'. Any decay of religion would lead to 'the disintegration of social and national life'.[28]

With this ideal of a pervasive religion in sharp focus, Smith called for the church and the world to 'not be aliens, but allies', and for the church to overcome '"worldliness", not by denouncing, but by leavening, all aspirations after social progress'. His was an irenic evangelicalism, and his doctrine of grace accorded with his gentlemanly manner and genteel methods:

> To leaven human life with love and hope, as the fruits of God's 'philanthropy' in Christ, is the prime function of the whole Church of Christ. Let us see to it that, in our particular branch of the Catholic Church we do our part as well, as wisely, and patiently as possible; and this, not in an arrogant and exclusive spirit, but combining grateful and intelligent appreciation of the historic and comprehensive position of the Church of England with a respectful regard for all that promotes Christian knowledge, and Christian feeling anywhere.

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25 Allen, *A History of Christ Church*, pp. 54-55.

26 *The Churchman*, 4 January 1895, pp. 53, 56; 1 March 1895, pp. 68-69; 2 August 1895, p. 10. Allen, *A History of Christ Church*, pp. 56-66.

27 Allen, *A History of the Christ Church*, pp. 67-76.

28 *PDS*, 1894, pp. 17-18.

Smith's description of the church's mission as the leavening of human life did not imply he was a devotee of the 'presence heresy', the idea that Christians only have to be present in society in order to Christianise it. He went on to say that formal reunion for all the varied organisations making up the Christian Church may be 'an unattainable dream, although a fascinating one', but he declared that 'a closer fellowship of fraternal co-operation in things that make for righteousness is possible to us all'. The personality of the bishop and his inclusive doctrine of the church were united in his expressed desire that God would 'so guide and inspire us that we shall always join together where we *can*, and only stand aloof where we *must*'.[29]

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Persons outside the churches who were in financial difficulties, like the unemployed workers who implored churchmen to act on their behalf during March 1892, often imagined the churches were vigorous and wealthy organisations, and as such were havens for upper-class people. This view needs to be moderated by perceptions within the churches. Smith reported in 1892 that the diocese had ninety-three ministers serving ninety-two parishes, and, in addition, one Reverend Warden of St Paul's College at the University of Sydney. Thirty-seven of the parishes were in the country, forty were suburban, and the rest were located in the city. Although a year later about three-eighths of the population were nominally adherents of the Church of England, this figure was not an accurate measure of the church's effective membership, for a much smaller proportion were communicants. Confirmees were at a low of 1,346 in 1892, and reached a high of 2,166 in 1900. It was usual for the bishop to note, in his reports of confirmations, that less males than females presented themselves for this rite; for example, three males to five females in 1891, 856 males to 1,310 females in 1900. The total confirmation figures were relatively small for a diocese which claimed 270,000 nominal members by the middle of the decade. It was a constant struggle to maintain parishes, sustain St Andrews Cathedral, reach into new areas, and support missions, let alone instruct the young. Parochial primary schools were often lauded, but usually in the same breath it was acknowledged they were becoming more and more impossible from a financial point of

[29] *PDS*, 1894, pp. 18-19.

view. Anglicans accepted with gratitude the Government's provision for religious instruction to occur in public schools, and the Diocese of Sydney faithfully elected a committee at its annual synods to ensure paid teachers, as well as clergy and volunteers, conducted classes. But there was a constant shortage of funds and of clerical manpower for even this limited involvement with religious education. Thus the mood within Anglicanism was one of hope and struggle, of vision tempered by a sense of vulnerability.

However, there were numerous causes in which Anglicans engaged; some of these found extension into the political sphere. In some endeavours the Anglicans felt able to join together with other Christians; Smith highlighted one of these in his address to the 1894 Synod. The Reverend F.B. Boyce was, he said, 'a very constant and earnest worker in the temperance cause' who had recently published 'a careful compendium of facts and comments which claim notice from everyone who feels interested in the great conflict which we are bound to wage with the evils of drunkenness and with the abuse of the liquor traffic'.[30] In the first part of his volume, Boyce outlined the role of liquor in creating 'manifold evils', such as poverty, crime, lunacy and premature death. The second part called for the use of 'moral suasion' to combat the problems caused by intemperance, whereas the third part argued for 'legislative enactment'. 'While it is desirable to keep people away from the drink', Boyce proclaimed, 'it is important to keep the drink away from people'.[31] He was unequivocally in favour of limiting the availability of liquor by curtailing the hours for hotels to be open and by reducing the number of outlets. But his long-term objective was prohibition, without compensation for publicans who thereby lost their licences to sell liquor. Boyce's crusade called for support from all persons of good will, be they men, women or children. His volume ran to 324 pages, including an appendix and an index, and

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[30] *PDS*, 1894, p. 29. In his Anniversary Sunday sermon dated 2 January 1905, Boyce declared that a 'trinity of evil' was to be fought: impurity, intemperance and gambling. *What the Church of England Has Done for New South Wales* (Sydney, 1905), p. 16. Cf. his sermon, *The Open Sore of New South Wales* (Parramatta, 1892), preached in St Andrews Cathedral at the annual service of the Church of England Temperance Society.

[31] Francis Bertie Boyce, *The Drink Problem in Australia, or, The Plagues of Alcohol and the Remedies* (London, 1893), p. 109.

it closed with a call for reason, prayer, faithfulness, persistency and enthusiasm to hasten the demise of King Alcohol, 'the glorious day ... when ... the drink problem in Australia will be forever solved'.[32]

Boyce, the most visible temperance advocate amongst the Anglicans and the hero of the Wesleyans, received only qualified support in his own communion. The General Synod of 1891 carried a motion recommending that branches of the Church of England Temperance Society be formed in those dioceses of Australia and Tasmania where it was not already functioning, or, alternatively, that 'societies be formed with the same basis and objects'.[33] The following year Smith promoted the society as having been, in England, 'a mission agency of a most useful kind', and he lamented 'that the branch of it here does not flourish'. Indeed, he declared the apathy of the general body of the church was 'a reproach and a weakness', and that his clergy should more heartily and generally support this organisation.[34] The 1894 synod reaffirmed its regard for the Church of England Temperance Society, and earnestly recommended the formation of a branch in each parish.[35] The next synod was troubled by the language of a motion which proposed that in view of 'the manifold evils through intemperance' it was desirable for a branch of the Temperance Society to be established in every parish. When that motion was withdrawn, the synod voted that clergy 'be requested to most earnestly consider whether the promotion of Temperance cannot be advanced by introduction into their Parishes of a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society'.[36] Progress toward the basic ideal was, however, slow. The bishop lamented to the 1896 synod that the colony's drink bill indicated 'wild and reckless extravagance', and he was sorry that a Sydney incumbent was reported to have stated that he would vigorously oppose a Temperance Society should one be started in his parish. A motion before the synod, greatly regretting about fifty parishes in its territory had neither a juvenile nor an adult

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32 Boyce, *The Drink Problem*, pp. 296-297.

33 *PGS*, 1891, p. 85; cf. *PDS*, 1898, pp. 36-37.

34 *PDS*, 1892, p. 27.

35 *PDS*, 1894, p. 36.

36 *PDS*, 1895, pp. 54-55.

branch of the society, lapsed.[37] The 1897 synod regarded 'intemperance in drink as one of the chief hindrances to the spread of the Gospel', and once again it recommended a branch of the Temperance Society be formed in every parish, a refrain heard again at the 1898 synod.[38]

This narrative indicates that a real concern about intemperance amongst a minority of Anglicans met a small amount of direct opposition and a large amount of apathy. Legislation seemed to be favoured, but it was promoted in a rather ambivalent manner. The cause of temperance had in some minds a natural kinship with the matter of 'purity', and such individuals valued the dual emphasis of the Church of England Temperance Society in combating impurity and intemperance. The Diocese of Sydney appointed a 21-member Social Reform Committee in 1892 to confront 'questions affecting the moral and physical well-being of the people'.[39] It also conducted a farm where male inebriates could be 'rescued'. By 1896 its 'Church Home' stood 'in a more satisfactory condition', and it was given a name deemed to be more appropriate, the 'Church Rescue Home'.[40] Three years later the synod took time to recognise and approve its Church Rescue Home, and to commend it to 'the sympathy and support of all members of the Church of England in this Diocese'.[41] With some sense of triumph, the archbishop opened new and commodious premises for the Church Rescue Home on 25 April 1900, including a room to be used by the inmates as a temporary chapel.[42]

The confrontation of intemperance thus went hand in hand with the social concern which attempted to eradicate kindred evils, and with the Christian interest which promoted spiritual conversion. Temperance was a subject in regard to which there was 'little to say, and much to do', but, even so it elicited far more discussion than the delicate matter of purity. The presidential address to the 1898 synod

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37 *PDS*, 1896, pp. 39-40, 68.

38 *PDS*, 1897, p. 57; 1898, pp. 36-37.

39 *PDS*, 1892, p. 50.

40 *PDS*, 1896, p. 40.

41 *PDS*, 1899, p. 56.

42 *PDS*, 1900, pp. 40-41. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 3 November 1900, p. 13.

urged parents, teachers and clergy 'to inculcate among boys and men the solemn responsibility which our Christian faith imposes upon them to cultivate habits of manly self-control in all that relates to bodily appetites and desires'. The theme of purity, Smith continued, needed more attention than was often given to it: 'Those who yield to temptation of self indulgence and sensuality not only injure themselves, but bring rottenness into domestic and social life.'[43] To confront such problems, by 1899 the archbishop was publicising both the Christian Social Union and the White Cross League, and the next year his synod considered the work of the White Cross League to be deserving of increased attention. The League's work was 'educational and preventative', aiming 'to awaken in the minds of boys and young men a manliness and purity of view regarding the relations between men and women'.[44] The Christian Social Union, through literature and conferences, encouraged the application of moral truths and Christian principles to social and economic problems. So the White Cross League and the Union both addressed aspects of the church's religious and social objectives: 'the universal spread of the Gospel of Christ' and 'the thorough application of Christian principles to social problems'.[45]

As has been noted, Boyce's volume on *The Drink Problem in Australia* called for the use of moral suasion, an option which was used by Anglican rescuers and institutions. But by pen, voice and example, Boyce agitated for retrictive legislation.[46] To this cause the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney gave more coherent support. The 1892 synod, in its discussion of the liquor traffic, reaffirmed its adherence to the principle of full Local Option, and requested its president to petition Parliament in favour of a Local Option Bill.[47] Eight years later, the synod was still urging the Government to give the people control of the traffic in liquor by a direct vote, and to amend the Liquor Act so that the clause referring to Sunday trading was made more effective.[48] The

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[43] *PDS*, 1898, pp. 36-37. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 24 June 1899, p. 9.

[44] *PDS*, 1900, pp. 40-41.

[45] *PDS*, 1899, pp. 40-41. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 22 December 1900, p. 13.

[46] *PDS*, 1893, p. 29.

[47] *PDS*, 1892, p. 75.

[48] *PDS*, 1900, p. 61.

1892 synod also warmly supported 'legislation by Parliament to secure the Suppression of Vice', and again its president was 'respectfully requested ... to petition both Houses of the Legislature in the name of the Synod in favour of any measure on this subject which meets with the approval of the Standing Committee'.[49] Worrying vices, confronted by those concerned about social purity, included the 'social cancer' of 'sexual immorality, utterly careless views about marriage, [and] objectionable advertisements'.[50] The church disapproved of its buildings, marriage rites or clergy being involved in 'the performance of the marriage ceremony in the case of any person who has been divorced for any other cause than that of adultery, or any person against whom a decree has been obtained on the ground of adultery'.[51] In this country, Smith told the General Synod of 1896, there were fifty divorces in 1890, 247 in 1893, and 391 in 1894. So the church's response to this 'disregard of the sanctity of marriage' employed its own legislation and pressed the Government to legislate as well; but it also publicised the role of The Mothers' Union in 'upholding the Sanctity of Marriage; of awakening a sense in mothers of their responsibility in training their children; and of organizing bands of mothers who will unite in prayer and seek to be examples of purity and holiness of life'.[52] The Mothers' Union had twenty-seven branches and 600 members by 1900. Further, the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Sydney left the Government in no doubt that it approved the passage of an Indecent Publications Bill.[53]

Hence, committed Anglicans worked energetically to rescue and convert the individual, to educate and to galvanise their constituents against evil, and to promote the public good through legislation. Their consciences were stirred on numerous fronts other than those already mentioned: the reparations owed to Aborigines in view of 'the barbarities which have often characterised the dealings of

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49 *PDS*, 1892, p. 80.

50 *PDS*, 1899, pp. 40-41.

51 *PGS*, 1896, p. 60.

52 *PGS*, 1896, pp. 20-22; *PDS*, 1898, p. 37; 1899, p. 55. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 25 November 1899, p. 13.

53 *PDS*, 1900, p. 41; 1899, p. 62. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 27 January 1900, pp. 9-10.

the white settlers with the despised blackfellows'; the poverty and distress of old persons in need of pensions; 'the increase of lawless Sabbath desecration which prevails in our midst', plus the threat of Royal Agricultural Society entertainments on Good Friday and of trading on Sunday; and 'the social and industrial problems of the day'.[54] The church responded to these problems in many ways: through a worthy but weak 'experiment in social philanthropy', a Labour Home where unemployed men could be helped without damage to their self-respect; by inserting a Fair Wage Clause in its contracts for printing, building and repairs; by petitioning the Government to enact laws to promote justice and righteousness.[55] Smith's address to the 1891 Synod called an important part of the tune heard throughout the decade:

> ... the Church, in relation to the world of society, ought to be a strong moral force, by being a constant vehicle of Christian principles, a constant proclaimer of Christian truth, and a constant maintainer of Christian worship. Viewed specifically in relation to religion, the Church's function is to witness unto Christ, and to prepare a welcome for our returning Lord. It is to the return of Christ to consummate the Kingdom of God that Christians look for a solution to the perplexities that vex the world.[56]

So the church gave attention to an interim solutions for the problems of this world, but it also kept its eye on the ultimate solution in the eschatological kingdom of God.

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[54] *PGS*, 1891, pp. 30, 33-34, 38; *PDS*, 1895, p. 79; 1900, p. 62; *PGS*, 1900, pp. 48, 64; *PDS*, 1898, p. 69; 1899, p. 62; 1897, p. 70; 1898, pp. 29-30; *PGS*, 1900, pp. 60, 63. Note the attention given to social and industrial issues by the Lambeth Conference of 1897, *PDS*, 1897, pp. 32-34; 1898, pp. 29-30. *The Churchman* and *The Church Standard* constantly supported the sanctity of Sunday and Good Friday.

[55] *PDS*, 1893, p. 29; 1899, pp. 57, 59. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 14 October 1899, p. 6; 17 November 1900, p. 13.

[56] *PGS*, 1891, p. 31. The Rector of Mittagong in the Diocese of Sydney, Reverend David D. Rutledge, dedicated an 806-page volume to Smith in 1903, with Smith's permission. Entitled *Christ Anti-Christ and Millennium* (London), Rutledge's book presented pre-millennialism of the Futurist type, in opposition to pre-millennialism of the Historicist type, p. 6. It proclaimed an imminent 'Messianic kingdom upon the destruction of the Gentile world-powers', pp. 726-757. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 2 December 1899, p. 11.

It has already been noted that eschatology and its powerful influence in the Diocese of Sydney between 1885 and 1914 provided the focus for Lawton's doctoral thesis.[57] This chapter gives attention to the public deliberations of the Church of England in its synods, an area largely outside the sphere of Lawton's interest. The focus of this chapter is the 1890s, when Jones and Moore College were beginning to fashion 'a clergy whose sole task was to interpret the mind of God to the people of God, but who failed to interpret that mind to a secularised society'.[58] Compared with the Adventist passion for eschatology described in chapter eight, Grubb's evangelism had only imbued Sydney Anglicans with a mild case of eschatological enthusiasm by the turn of the century.[59] Nor did the party activities of Archdall and his colleagues, during the early period, enjoy a wide following. No doubt Archdall's sermons were beyond the understanding of his ordinary parishioners, and the influence of the two evangelical organisations which merged into the Protestant Church of England Union during 1898 was balanced by other church parties and the centrist leadership of the denomination. Boyce, 'the sword of the Lord now, against legislators, brewery owners and injustice', gave slight indication of millennial concern.[60] In effect, the plants which flowered by the end of the period which Lawton reviews so effectively were only being set out and acclimatised during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

While Anglicans did not always agree with the Government, they gave priority to the maintenance of a good relationship with rulers. This relationship of respect and trust included Queen Victoria, her representatives and legislators.[61] The Queen was admired for her sympathy with all classes and conditions of her subjects, as 'a wise, successful, righteous ruler' who, 'in fostering by example and by

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57 Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be'.

58 Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be', p. 123.

59 Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be', p. 172. Eschatology was not a major emphasis in G.C. Grubb, *Notes of Sermons and Bible Readings* (Hobart, 1893).

60 Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be', pp. 67, 166, 209.

61 *PGS*, 1891, p. 30. When Queen Victoria's illness was announced in churches during 1901, 'people were heard to sob and tears came to many an eye'. *The Church Standard*, 26 January 1901, p. 9.

influence all that belongs to virtue and religion, has made her people rejoice'. Thus, the members of a General Synod could rise in their places, and carry by acclamation, their 'thankfulness to Almighty God for the marvellous developments during one beneficent reign of a British Monarch, in industrial, scientific, and above all, in moral and religious directions'. Hence, the Synod of Sydney could hear of this 'Queen of lofty and noble aspirations ... ruling in the fear of God', and of well-attended thanksgiving services to mark her Diamond Jubilee. It seemed inevitable that the progress of the church, 'one of the brightest chapters of modern history', would be enhanced by such a reign:

> Most gladly have we heard of the extension of territory, and of new colonies planted, of the wonderful discoveries of science, of the progress of education, commerce, industrial arts, of great national questions settled by arbitration, of useful legislation, especially of a domestic and social character, of the development of civil and religious liberty, of the humane treatment of the infirm in body and afflicted in mind, of the generous treatment of the young in reformatories, and, in some cases, of inferior races under British rule.[62]

From an Anglican perspective, the values of Christianity were embodied effectively in the British Empire.

Such an ideal ruler as Queen Victoria, presiding over a righteous empire, could only evoke respect in the person of her governors. So, as governors came, died, or returned to England, the church found frequent opportunity to give thanks to Almighty God for them, and to express its respect and esteem in eloquent addresses marking their arrivals and departures.[63] A synod in session could usually 'rejoice' in a visit from the governor. His Excellency would likely stay until the next adjournment, perhaps seated at the right hand of the president of the Synod. Thanks were often due to the governor for other acts of kindness: the entertainment of members of synod at Government House, the encouragement of religious and philanthropic enterprises, or 'his Churchmanship when presiding at

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[62] Venerable Archdeacon Gunther, President of the Synod, *PDS*, 1897, pp. 29-31; cf. *PGS*, 1896, pp. 19, 64.

[63] *PDS*, 1891, p. 57; 1893, p. 65.

our Church Society Festival, and at other gatherings'.[64] The governors were usually men who belonged to the Anglican church, and shared its conviction that 'the better Christians men are, the better citizens they will be'.[65]

But the matter of precedence for the Church of England at public events controlled by the governors was a sensitive issue. In reply to a question during the 1893 synod, whether any change had taken place in recent years 'in the order of precedence hitherto recognised at Government House as between the Church of England and the Church of Rome', Smith reviewed actions taken over several years.[66] Clearly the governors found it was impossible to meet the wishes of both Anglicans and Catholics, let alone the protests of other churches. A motion, withdrawn from the 1899 synod, protested 'the present arrangement by which precedence at Government House is granted to the head of the Roman Catholic Church before the head of the Church of England in this Colony'. Perhaps one intent of the motion, to involve the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the debate, was too much for the synod to accept, even though a basic concern over precedence was common.[67] At stake were rival ecclesiologies: the exclusive view of the Roman Catholics and the inclusive view of such Anglicans as Smith and those who stood with him. The political decision to put archbishop Smith before cardinal Moran in the celebrations marking the birthday of the Commonwealth meant the cardinal organised his own function outside St Mary's Cathedral on 1 January 1901, rather than allowing the 'one Catholick and Apostolick Church' to be seen in second place.

At his first General Synod in Australia, the primate applauded 'the movement for political federation of the Colonies into one great commonwealth' as 'noble in its idea and pregnant with important issues for the great island continent in which we live'. He suggested the motto, 'Unity with necessary variety', suited any federation, and that the General Synod of the Church of England had itself anticipated

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64 *PDS*, 1892, pp. 22, 29; 1893, p. 45; 1896, pp. 33-34; 1897, p. 44; 1899, p. 51; *PGS*, 1900, pp. 29, 45.

65 *PDS*, 1899, p. 41.

66 *PDS*, 1893, pp. 38-39.

67 *PDS*, 1899, p. 57.

the movement for federation.[68] The Anglican 'patriotic ideal' was for the nation's life to be 'permeated with religious reverence connected with religious worship, and not severed from religious education'. Put simply, Smith believed 'National life requires national religion if the nation is to prosper'.[69] When federation was at last a certainty, the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney relayed to the premier its hope that, at the inauguration of the Commonwealth, 'the invocation of the blessing of Almighty God will form part of the Official Ceremony'. It was also the desire of the synod 'that the larger life of the new born nation may throughout be characterised by breadth of view, love of righteousness, and the recognition of the sovereignty of God'.[70]

It was not easy for the Anglican church to be critical of the Government. A motion put to the 1893 Synod of the Diocese deplored 'the lack of honour, Christian principle and patriotism that exists among a large proportion of our Legislators; and also the culpable negligence of Parliament in neglecting to deal with questions affecting social and moral well-being of the people'. But the motion, including a call for Church of England electors to 'return honourable, God-fearing patriotic men', lapsed.[71] It was no problem for a synod to 'deprecate' a proposal before the Government, such as the abolition of public school fees, involving the unnecessary loss to the country of £75,000 per annum.[72] The church did not hesitate to press the premier to exempt its lands from taxation.[73] But the attitude of the church toward the Government was most often characterised by co-operation, gratitude and goodwill. This fact may explain the withdrawal of an amendment to a motion put to the General Synod of 1900, deploring the continuance of the Boer War, and resolving 'to pray more earnestly for its speedy termination'. Instead, on 28 August 1900 the synod carried the original motion:

> That the members of this Synod desire to convey to their fellow Churchmen in South Africa an expression of their deep sorrow at the calamities which have befallen them through the present war. They deplore the interruption caused to missionary work and the intensifying of racial

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68 *PGS*, 1891, pp. 18-19.

69 *PDS*, 1899, p. 41.

70 *PDS*, 1900, pp. 68-69.

(Footnote(s) 71 - 73 will appear on a subsequent page)

> animosity, but they earnestly hope that extended British rule will give increased facilities to the Church in her missionary work, and that equitable government exercised over mixed races will assist the Church to promote righteousness and peace among all people.[74]

There was no strong disposition within the official deliberations of the church to ask if the war might be unjust, or to question the way in which it was being prosecuted. Such matters were assumed to be the province of those good people who were in the sphere of Government; surely they had already assessed the situation and they were taking the appropriate action. It was for the church to support the objectives designed for the common good of the Empire and the emerging nation, to engage in prayer, to observe the growth of good from evil, such as in 'a spirit of healthy and unifying patriotism' elicited by the war.[75] For centuries, Article XXXVII had reminded the faithful: 'It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.' It seemed unnecessary or too difficult to question whether or not the right thing was being done in the South African conflict.

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During 1895, events in New South Wales gave Smith a pressing need to define the parameters of Anglicanism more explicitly. In his 'triple office of Bishop, Metropolitan and Primate', he was well placed to observe the controversy which arose between certain Roman Catholic dignitaries and some Anglican bishops and clergy. This 'outburst' of 'a very old controversy' arose, he said, from 'the introduction into public notice of the topic of the "Reunion of Christendom"'. Although this conflict included unpleasant aspects,

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71 *PDS*, 1893, p. 61.

72 *PDS*, 1898, p. 71; 1899, p. 62.

73 *PDS*, 1900, p. 35.

74 *PGS*, 1900, p. 28. Cf. many articles in *The Church Standard*, including 1 July 1899, p. 10; 4 November 1899, pp. 10-11; 2 December 1899, pp. 10-11; 28 December 1899, p. 10; 20 January 1900, pp. 11, 13-14; 10 February 1900, pp. 9-10; 21 April 1900, p. 10; 16 June 1900, p. 10; 5 January 1901, p. 10; 19 January 1901, p. 11.

75 *PDS*, 1900, p. 27; *The Churchman*, 1 March 1900, p. 165; *PPS*, 1901, pp. 23-24.

and the expression of antagonism might appear to some as needless, mischievous, or as a reason for outsiders to scorn or reproach Christians, for Anglicans the controversy had been like 'a healthy, bracing breeze', arousing 'a true, and useful Protestant feeling, and had led to able vindications of the position of the Church of England as truly Catholic because definitely Protestant against mediaeval accretions of false doctrine and superstitious ritual'.[76]

This conflict was prosecuted with vigour by Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran, and it received wide coverage in Roman Catholic literature. The controversy was by no means limited to Sydney. For instance, William Lanigan as the Catholic bishop of Goulburn publicly crossed swords with William Chalmers, his Anglican counterpart.[77] Smith again defined, in his opening address to the 1895 synod, the nature of the Church of England and the limits of inter-church co-operation. In his view, the desire for reunion and the tendency towards it were good, as was the softening of asperities and the increase of forbearance when differences had to be maintained. Effective union should be based on 'a rectification of serious doctrinal differences'. The real problem, from the Anglican viewpoint, lay in the additions made to the two early creeds by the Creed of Pope Pius IV. Scripture must arbitrate religious questions, not the pope. Smith declared that the reunion controversy had brought good out of evil by contributing to rather than hindering the truth.[78]

Because the official Anglican attitude toward Roman Catholicism was a militant one, the 1895 controversy between the two denominations could be interpreted as 'a healthy, bracing breeze'. But the breadth of opinion in the Church of England caused the same essential issues to be debated inside the church, thus creating a far more emotional conflict. When Smith's 'bracing breeze' blew upon the

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[76] *PDS*, 1895, pp. 26-27; 36-37.

[77] Observe the documentation cited in chapter five. See also W. Charles Pritchard, *A Memoir of Bishop Chalmers: A Record of Thirty-Five Years of Work for the Church in Australia* (Melbourne, 1904), pp. 113-117; Ransome T. Wyatt, *The History of the Diocese of Goulburn* (Sydney, 1937), pp. 61-63. Wyatt presents Chalmers as a churchman who 'held the balance fairly and firmly between the Catholic and Protestant elements of Anglicanism', p. 63. Cf. *PDS*, 1892, pp. 22-23; 1893, p. 16.

[78] *PDS*, 1895, pp. 37-38. Note Smith's address to the Provincial Synod in July 1895 canvassed this issue more fully.

Lambeth Conference and ruffled the deliberations of the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney, it is clear that he often viewed it as a destructive wind. Smith set out for Lambeth in 1897, 'that remarkable assembly of Bishops of the Anglican Communion', after presiding over twelve synods in Australia, and thus with firm views of the church's 'spiritual warfare, which is at the same time a defence of the faith of the Gospel, and an endeavour to win the world for Christ'.[79] At the first Lambeth Conference, only seventy-six bishops had attended; in 1897, there were 199 bishops present to discuss a range of issues, many with special import for Australia: 'foreign missions, Church unity, the duties of the Church to the colonies, critical study of the Holy Scripture, and industrial problems'.[80]

The Anglican pattern was not to stifle debate, but to ensure it was carried forward in a Christian manner and with the correct outcome. The dilemma of the Athanasian Creed illustrates these principles. A significant section of the Australian Church of England was no longer comfortable with the Athanasian Creed, especially because of its '"damnatory" clauses, otherwise termed minatory, monitory, denunciatory, and commending clauses'. While 'the liturgical use of this remarkable document' with its 'warning' clauses was 'felt to be a stumbling-block in the path of many Christians', the creed was affirmed in the Articles of Religion, and prescribed for frequent use. Thus, there was a keen sense of discomfort which was stated with great reserve, lest pillars of the church be undermined. Smith was bold enough to express the hope, to the General Synod of 1896, that Lambeth might re-translate the Athanasian Creed, or even 'relax or alter the requirements of its liturgical use - it is not [he said] in the form of a brief personal creed, but presents technical exposition in what has been called a "tremendous severity of framework"'.[81] The 'Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church' at Lambeth authorised their new archbishop to have the creed re-translated. But, while this had the potential to remove part of the problem, it could not 'satisfy those who wish to see this symbol removed from the public services of the Church'. Some of these people could not interpret the language of the creed as the 'calm breathed warning of the kindliest love', so its use for

[79] *PDS*, 1896, pp. 44-46.

[80] *PDS*, 1897, pp. 31-34.

[81] *PGS*, 1896, pp. 22-24.

a thousand years in the Western church and over 300 years in the Church of England posed a real problem.[82] Yet, when the Precentor of St Andrews Cathedral twice omitted the Athanasian Creed from services during 1898, his action provoked a question in the next synod, and a request from the archbishop to be careful in future that the Athanasian Creed 'be recited when required by the Rubric'.[83]

The debate over the Athanasian Creed was due to an increasingly liberal nineteenth century becoming uncomfortable with an expression of faith formed in the fourth century. This problem was loosely related to a much larger issue, where should Anglicans draw the line between their catholicity and their protestantism? This matter had precipitated debates, martyrdoms, and revisions of the Articles of Religion during the sixteenth century; it now manifested itself often amongst Sydney Anglicans during the bloodless but spirited struggles of the 1890s. Some feared that the inclusion of the Kilburn Sisters in the mission of the church was a move toward Roman Catholic patterns; their problem seemed to be the existence of a sisterhood or women's religious order, not the specific functions which these women would fulfil.[84] Also, it was vital to some Anglicans to safeguard 'the ritual, conduct of the service, and furniture of the Churches' from Rome-like elements: 'lighted candles used on the Communion Table when not required for the purpose of giving light, and Mass-vestments, that is, the Chasuble, Alb, and Tunic or Tunicle'.[85] A similar importance attached to the selection of textbooks for the use of theological students, with calls being made for volumes which included High Church sentiments to be discountenanced as 'unhistorical, doctrinally unscriptural, and retrogade'.[86]

Such problems may not have been fundamental to Christianity but they seemed to be so for many in the Church of England, and they frequently manifested themselves in the Northern Hemisphere in ways which were important for the Australian church. Smith made an extended statement to the 1899 Synod about 'the Church crisis', or the 'remarkable ferment' then taking place in the Church in England. He

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82 *PDS*, 1897, pp. 31-34.

83 *PDS*, 1898, pp. 64-65.

84 *PGS*, 1891, pp. 29, 60-61; *PDS*, 1895, pp. 78-79.

(Footnote(s) 85 - 86 will appear on a subsequent page)

believed the crisis was 'caused by excess in ritual (having not merely an aesthetic, but a doctrinal, tendency), and by excessive claims of clerical authority'. The gravity of the situation had called forth episcopal rebukes for the invocation of saints, the worship of Mary, the reservation of the sacrament, fasting communion, confession to a priest, the ceremonial use of incense and processional lights. Protestant reaction, Smith declared, was necessary to curb excesses which moved not in a Catholic direction but in a Roman Catholic one, and 'to check the self-willed perversity of some Clergy who by unauthorized services and interpolations, and ritual, disturbed the common order of the Church, and who seemed as if their aim was to contravene the principles of the Reformation'.[87]

The definite line of demarcation between Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Sydney was made stronger by a heated controversy over missions which climaxed at the end of the nineteenth century. The General Synod of 1900 was presented with a motion calling for it 'to place on record, its emphatic protest against the unwarranted attack on Christian Missions, lately made by the Cardinal Archbishop of the Roman Church'. The accusations included the charge that a mission vessel sailing from Sydney was laden with liquor. Christians of several denominations were deeply offended, not least because 'the accusations having been so clearly proved to be untrue, the Cardinal did not accept the gentlemanly position of acknowledging that he had been misinformed, and unreservedly withdrawing the statements made'.[88] The General Synod motion was withdrawn, easing the debate in the synod, but the feeling of outrage persisted. The Anglican versus Roman Catholic climate of conflict was exacerbated when a Catholic archbishop skipped a section of his script during a public service in St Mary's Cathedral, but newspapers printed 'the strange invective against all Protestants' which he had prepared for the occasion. Smith was provoked to use strong words in repudiating such 'a libellous and gratuitous insult' which defamed Protestant Christianity and, in its

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85 *PDS*, 1898, p. 48; 1899, pp. 58-59. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 28 October 1899, pp. 9-10.

86 *PDS*, 1900, p. 65.

87 *PDS*, 1899, pp. 42-43. Cf. *The Church Standard*, 13 January 1900, p. 11.

88 *PGS*, 1900, p. 25. For earlier phases of this controversy, see *The Church Standard*, 22 July 1899, p. 9; 29 July 1899, p. 11; 12 August 1899, p. 12; 9 September 1899, pp. 11-12; 16 September 1899, p. 9.

'arrogant exclusiveness' was 'an offence against truth and charity'. Over against the 'lamentably narrow and despotic' position of Rome was that taken by the Church of England:

> We desire to be comprehensive and liberal; we combine the claims of authority and liberty; we venerate all that is really Catholic in the development of the Christian Church; and we maintain our protest against the unwarranted claims of the Papacy, and vindicate the authority of Holy Writ, and the liberty of conscience against sacerdotal tyranny. It is competent to us of the Church of England to highly estimate our historic status, but we cannot in our principles denounce, or disregard those outside our pale, as if we alone represented the Church of Christ.[89]

Thus, while the Anglican idea of the church fostered a benign attitude toward the existence of most other Protestant churches, it maintained a persistent distrust of Roman Catholicism.

The parameters of co-operation between Anglicans and other Protestants became clearer when in New South Wales during 1890, a Council of Churches was formed to protect the observance of the Lord's Day. In the absence of a bishop, the Dean of Sydney as diocesan administrator nominated three clergy and three laity to act in concert with members and ministers of other denominations. The efforts of the council were rated as successful, especially when it won a test case in the Supreme Court against the opening of theatres on Sundays. The honorary secretary proposed an enlargement of the scope of the council's activities, to deal with questions of public and social morality, such as gambling and impure literature, and thus 'to exercise an influence upon those in authority'. Smith, speaking at the 1891 synod, discerned three principal difficulties with this 'fascinating' idea: the churches were unequal in numbers and in social weight; only a few questions could be referred to the council; differences may be given prominence. On the other hand, he deemed such a council could mould public opinion, approach the Government, make public morality a prominent question in parliamentary elections, bear testimony to the essential unity of the churches, and draw Christians together. The bishop was in favour of friendly relations with other Christians, without 'obliterating the distinctive lines within which we feel it our

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89 *PGS*, 1900, pp. 43-44. The main diocesan newspaper gave considerable space to the ongoing controversy. *The Church Standard*, 22 September 1900, pp. 10-13; 29 September 1900, pp. 9-10; 6 October 1900, p. 15; 17 November 1900, p. 9.

duty to define our churchmanship as regards church government and order of public worship'. But he found room for grateful recognition of 'all that we hold and prize in common touching the essentials of Christian teaching', and space for co-operation in 'the endeavour to bring to bear upon the social problems around us the force of Christian ethics'.[90] By 1893 the council's monthly meetings focused on such issues as Sunday trading, gambling, the sale of impure literature, prize fighting, glove contests and larrikinism. Smith told the synod the council was useful in forming 'carefully-grounded opinions as to the right way of dealing with social problems on the ethical side, in relation to law and government'. Also, it provided 'a convenient and friendly rallying point for representatives of different ecclesiastical organizations where they can unite to make protest and effort in behalf of national righteousness and purity'.[91] Five years later, the synod was told that the council was still dealing with the same matters, plus such other issues as the recognition of God in the Federal Bill, and the problem of matrimonial agencies.[92] To protect the sanctity of marriage, Smith convened a special meeting of clergy which agreed to define a 'minister of religion' as 'one who regularly ministers to an established congregation connected with a recognised religious body, or one whose status is guaranteed by the heads of the recognised churches'. Thus, through actions of the Anglican archbishop, the Registrar-General was able to shorten his list of ministers authorised to perform marriages.[93]

The Synod of the Diocese in 1891 felt able to vote its sympathy for Charles Haddon Spurgeon in his illness, but declined to express the hope he would be restored so as to resume his ministry in London. A year later, in noting Spurgeon's reply, Smith eulogised the preaching of the Baptist evangelist, adding: 'From some of his opinions we necessarily differed, but we praise God for the spiritual benefits which Mr. Spurgeon was unquestionably enabled to render to the Church of

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90 *PDS*, 1891, pp. 25, 31.

91 *PDS*, 1893, pp. 23-24.

92 *PDS*, 1898, p. 58.

93 *PDS*, 1900, p. 41. Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Primitive Methodists and the Salvation Army joined with the Anglican initiative; the Wesleyan president was unavoidably absent.

Christ.'[94] A member of the clergy in the 1896 synod asked whether an Anglican, who assisted in conducting a Presbyterian mission in Penrith, 'holds your Lordship's license', and sought or received 'your Lordship's permission before assisting in such a Mission'. The intent of the question was to press the bishop to declare the steps he had taken or proposed to take 'in order to prevent any repetition of such grave irregularities'. Smith's brief reply stated that the curate in question had not held a license since his resignation the previous year, but 'he has officiated occasionally with my sanction'. The bishop of Sydney closed the matter abruptly: 'not being prepared to say that any grave irregularity was committed, I decline to answer the latter part of the question'.[95]

The Synod of Sydney Standing Committee felt free to report that during 1897 the Primate had received resolutions of sympathy from the Council of Churches, the Presbytery of Sydney, the Congregational Union, and the Baptist Union, acknowledging the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[96] While such messages could be given and received, there were recognised limits to the inter-communion amongst the denominations. The Select Committee on Church Unity which reported to the General Synod in 1896 seemed grateful for the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888, yet hopeful that the 1897 Lambeth Conference might relieve it of the responsibility to make decisions relating to this matter. The Australian bishops, in their pastoral letter following the General Synod of 1891, had re-emphasised Anglican teaching 'on the Ministry and the Sacraments, the attitude to be taken to the Church of Rome, and the various Protestant bodies'.[97] It was harder still for the Church of England to be conciliatory toward the Roman Catholic Church after Pope Leo XIII announced a negative decision relating to Anglican orders. The problems were said to be several: papal claims defied the verdict of history; the Apostolical letter revealed 'an imperfect knowledge of English or of Latin, or probably of both'; Anglican orders were 'identical with and derived from those of the primitive Church'. 'Strange it is', the president told his synod in

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[94] *PDS*, 1892, pp. 18-19.

[95] *PDS*, 1896, pp. 54-55. Cf. *The Churchman*, 1 March 1895, pp. 68-69, 74; 5 April 1895, pp. 76-77, 81-82.

[96] *PDS*, 1897, p. 72.

[97] *PGS*, 1891, pp. 21-22; 1896, Appendix X; *PDS*, 1897, pp. 36-37.

1897, 'that men who have studied the history of the Church of Rome should for a moment suppose, that she would be willing to be united to a Church so loyal to Evangelic truth, as well as Apostolic order, as the English Church'.[98]

This discussion underlines the fact that the Diocese of Sydney invested a great deal of time and effort in its attempt to solve such perennial problems of Christianity as commonality over against denominationalism, and constancy over against adaptation. Its ideas of salvation were rooted in evangelicalism for a majority of its adherents, yet in sacramentalism for others; its notions of the church were also various. The Anglican struggle was a microcosm of the dilemma facing the entire Christian church, since it embraced parties akin to Rome, Geneva, and Anabaptism. In the Diocese of Sydney, the church's leadership during the 1890s adopted a 'centrist' position, attempting to foster an inclusive ecclesiology, while at the same time maintaining a protest against Roman Catholic adaptations of historic Christianity, and a milder reserve in its relations with other Protestants.

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Christianity was a profound influence upon Smith and those who were close to him as committed members of the Church of England in the Diocese of Sydney as they encountered the world during the 1890s. They were confident in 'Christ's Religion' as they heard the Scriptures, repeated the creeds, and observed the sacraments. They were conscious of a heritage which, through their beliefs and their orders of ministry, reached back to Jesus Christ and the Twelve Apostles. But they believed that the catholic faith had been renewed amidst the tumultuous events of the sixteenth century, and now they were custodians of it in a form authentically reformed because truly protestant against the excesses of Rome and the more radical branches of the Reformation. Hence, there was an element of distinctiveness in their rejection of extremes, be they manifested in medieval accretions or in the narrowness of sectarianism. Theirs was a comprehensive church: catholic, protestant, reformed, evangelical, sustaining a co-operative relationship with a benign state. So the church embraced

98 *PDS*, 1897, pp. 38-39.

differing forms of polity and piety as it pursued its mission in harmony with the state and in a measure of co-operation with other Protestant Christians who were devoted to the same Christ.

It was never easy for Smith and his supporters to maintain this stance. There was need to question, constantly, the nature of the church's responsibilities to Queen Victoria and her ecclesiastical courts, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lambeth Conferences, the *Book of Common Prayer* and all it included, for the church was responsible to each of these authorities as well as to Scripture itself. The necessity for faithfulness was intensified because of threats from without and from within. Outside there were the errors of Roman Catholicism, pressing the church to move away from the purity of its catholic faith. But even more constant attention had to be given to problems on the inside. There was no disposition in the episcopal leadership of Sydney Anglicans to crush parties, but there was a constant campaign to mollify party spirit.[99] Smith needed to invest enormous energies in the task of maintaining co-operation amongst people whose convictions differed widely. Present, but less pressing, were the problems arising within society and threatening the church in the forms of Higher Criticism and Modernism.[100]

Sydney Anglicanism included strong-minded individuals who were doctrinally and liturgically comfortable with most elements of Roman Catholicism. Others were theologically and liturgically akin to Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Baptists and Brethren. Many were intensely evangelical. But an uncounted number were either apathetic or too broad-minded to worry about details. To

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[99] This is one of the most constant themes in the presidential addresses which opened the diocesan, provincial and general synods throughout the 1890s. Cf. *PGS*, 1900, pp. 4-17 with William Saumarez Smith, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney, 1893), pp. 12-16, and the editorial, 'Comprehensiveness of the Church', *The Church Standard*, 22 December 1900, pp. 9-10. A recent seminal article observes: 'What was distinctive about the Anglicanism that evolved in Australia was that "churchmanship" came to vary from diocese to diocese.' David Hilliard, 'Anglicanism', in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds), *Australian Cultural History* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 15-32, especially p. 16. The struggle which occurred in Sydney was paralleled in other dioceses; predominant but varied styles of churchmanship could be found in all dioceses.

[100] Smith held a confident view that modern scholarship was usefully correcting details, but not threatening the substance of the church's interpretation of Scripture. The attitudes he revealed during the 1890s were established in England, and intimated in his *Lessons on Genesis. For the use of Sunday School Teachers, and other Religious Instructors* (London, n.d. [c. 1890]), pp. 3, 10-12. Cf. 'Anglicanus' [Lambert Thompson], *The Trend of Modern Theology and Sermons* (Adelaide and London, 1896), pp. 3-6.

facilitate co-operation between such discrete personalities, many of whom found great meaning in a particular church party, required a remarkable feat of churchmanship. It may be that Archbishop Smith's contribution in this regard was underestimated by those evangelicals who thought of him as 'this faithful, pious "perfect non-entity"'.[101]

The mission in the world of this comprehensive church was a complex one. It included the public proclamation of the gospel in evangelistic meetings, and the ministry of Scripture and the sacraments in worship. But it could embrace very diverse issues: the need to understand and support the work of the New South Wales Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; continuing education for the clergy; the incorporation of married women amongst the growing number of the laity able to vote in annual vestry meetings; 'the consociation of many members in One Body - the confederation of many churches in one Church Catholic' for evangelism, the expression of social ethics and philanthropy. Always there was the pressing need of missions: to seamen, to Chinese, to Aborigines, to the peoples of the Pacific Islands. There were practical issues to solve: how to conduct a newspaper 'fairly representing the various schools of thought' present in the church; how to formulate rules so 'union' churches would operate smoothly. There was the responsibility to show 'that with the maintenance and extension of Christ's religion is bound up all that tends to the highest progress of the nation and the healthful harmony of all classes of society'.[102]

The primary goal before Smith's Church of England in Australia and Tasmania was 'the Christianizing of society', meaning the conversion of individuals, the suppression of social evils, and the promotion of national righteousness.[103] In the heart of Anglicanism was 'one common desire to promote "true religion" in the land by striving to keep combined those scriptural, ecclesiastical and comprehensive principles of Church life which have been combined for

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[101] Judd, 'Defenders of the Faith', p. 98-99; Lawton, 'The Better Time to Be', p. 58.

[102] W. Saumarez Smith, *The Metropolis of God's Kingdom*, (Sydney, 1901), pp. 3-4, 10-11. This is the text of Smith's sermon preached in St Andrews Cathedral on Commonwealth Sunday, 6 January 1900. The 'chief seats' in the cathedral were 'resplendent with the scarlet and gold of Court, official, and military uniforms', and the service concluded with the National Anthem. *The Church Standard*, 12 January 1901, pp. 13-14.

[103] *PDS*, 1899, p. 39.

us in the history of our Church in the motherland'.[104] There were 'largely conceived reforms' too often left 'to private enterprise and newly-created Christian sects' which the entire Australasian church should address.[105] Anglicans were 'trustees', 'possessors of a glorious inheritance' in a day of unprecedented opportunity:

> It is thought by many that the English race will become the ruling race of the future, and that the Church of England will be the Church of that race. Her position is certainly unique in Christendom, and she is well fitted to be a rallying point of a united for a united Empire.[106]

The objectives of such a church were far-reaching:

> May it be granted to us to amid much social disorganisation and distress, and much political perplexity, to do our part as Christians and Church people in holding forth the Word of Life and Love, and in aiding the needy and distressed, in promoting righteousness, equity, and purity in the land, and in so living out our Christian principles as to show the world around us that Church work is not merely the maintenance of an Ecclesiastical system, but is an important and indispensable factor in the highest progress and welfare of the community.[107]

From the perspective of its episcopal leadership, such was the mission of the Anglicans who constituted the Diocese of Sydney.

What does it mean to live in the world as a Christian? Given its diversity, the Church of England in the Diocese of Sydney during the 1890s could not answer with one voice. One minority, dedicated to High Church principles, prized the dignity and beauty of sacramental worship, and offered to society the security of belonging to a subculture visibly linked with the church of the New Testament. Many of this persuasion found meaning in the radical English Church Union or the moderate Churchman's Institute. On the opposite wing was another minority, a lay group more dedicated to anti-popery than to addressing the needs of society. The militant members of this second subgroup belonged to the Church of England Association, whereas the moderates

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[104] *PGS*, 1891, p. 19.

[105] Henry Hutchinson Montgomery, 'A Sermon Preached in St. Andrews Cathedral', *PGS*, 1891, p. 8.

[106] *PDS*, 1897, pp. 49-50.

[107] *PDS*, 1893, p. 30.

found comfort in the Churchmen's Alliance, until 1898 when the two groups formed as the Protestant Church of England Union.[108] The two opposite minorities advocated incompatible definitions of both soteriology and ecclesiology. Between them were the broad-minded, the apathetic, and those who identified with the official stance of the denomination, epitomised by its episcopal leadership, and given primary attention in this chapter. These were an anti-papal body of Christians believing in 'Scripture as the supreme rule in religious truth', a reformed church, believing itself to be 'Catholic because it is Protestant, and Protestant because it is Catholic'.[109]

Thus, amongst the Sydney Anglicans all Niebuhr's categories were represented, from world-denying followers of Grubb and Archdall on one hand, to liberal-minded accommodators of Christ to culture on the other. In between were those like Smith who dedicated themselves to the difficult task of marshalling a comprehensive church to Christianise society. This centrist position was the solution ardently promoted amongst Sydney Anglicans by their archbishop at the end of the colonial period. Smith struggled to balance the tensions of commonality over against extreme denominationalism, and of Christian constancy over against Roman Catholic adaptation. Within this process, his idea of personal salvation, his definition of the church, and his notions of eschatology were important, as were three other factors: his imaging of the church's past, his stance in its relations with the state, and his attitude towards dominant thought patterns in society.

Smith was evangelical in his theology and broad in his Christian sympathies. He had earned a Doctor of Divinity degree by examination at Cambridge University, engaged in missionary service in India, and found success as an educator in England. In Sydney he opted to strive for a comprehensive church; his reward was to become 'nobody's hero'.[110] Evangelicalism was destined to triumph in the

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[108] Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, pp. 143-144. For a thorough exploration of the role of parties, see the entire thesis by Judd, 'Defenders of the Faith'.

[109] *PDS*, 1899, pp. 41-42; cf. 1900, p. 43. Smith's stance has been delineated mainly from *PDS* because of his role in the Diocese of Sydney. The *PPS* and *PGS*, portraying him as Metropolitan and Primate, enlarge but do not change the picture drawn in this chapter.

[110] Robinson, 'The Origins of the Anglican Church League', p. 6, applies the quoted phrase to Smith at the beginning of his episcopate, but it remained applicable to the end.

diocese, at the expense of the idea of comprehensiveness and the emphases of the other parties. Its eschatology would cause the church to focus upon spiritual salvation and holiness of life, preparatory to the second coming of Christ. So the vision of a comprehensive church faded; Australian society was secularised rather than Christianised.

CHAPTER 7

THE ADVOCATE AND *THE METHODIST*: A WESLEYAN SOLUTION

The most important primary source for this chapter is the Wesleyan Methodist weekly newspaper in New South Wales, known as *The Weekly Advocate* until the end of 1891, and thereafter as *The Methodist*.[1] The eight or twelve pages of this paper carried feature articles, news, editorial comment and copious amounts of advertising. It interpreted Wesleyan history and identity; it defined Christian mission and enjoined Christian duty; it mediated the discussions and decisions of annual and general conferences to ministers and laity; it commented on local, national and international events. There was no one dominant Wesleyan spokesperson in New South Wales during the last decade of the nineteenth century in that the Wesleyans were without a cardinal, an archbishop or a prophet. Their weekly newspaper was the most effective means to inform and exhort the faithful; to read the *Advocate/Methodist* is to view both Christianity and culture through Wesleyan eyes.

There was a sense of immediacy in the constant stream of editorial comment carried in the *Advocate/Methodist*. Since its positions were often taken in haste they were sometimes revised in the light of further information, subsequent events, or under the impact of

[1] Hereinafter abbreviated to *Advocate* and *Methodist*.

correspondence to the editor. The Wesleyans gave their conference president a level of respect and authority approaching that of a cardinal or an archbishop, but, since a president's term was for one year only, the duration of his influence was strictly limited.[2] Thus, the *Advocate/Methodist* was the prevailing vehicle in New South Wales for expressing Wesleyan opinion over time. Throughout the 1890s it evinced a high level of internal consistency, a fact which may be explained by reference to several considerations.

First of all, the Wesleyans were held together by their devotion to Scripture and 'common Christianity' as expressed in the early Christian creeds and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England which John Wesley respected and abridged for continuing use by Methodists. Secondly, their denominational identity was defined and defended by their collective memory of John and Charles Wesley, especially the sermons and hymns of the Wesley brothers, and the subsequent Wesleyan stream of Methodist heritage. Thirdly, in New South Wales between 1888 and early in twentieth century the Reverend Paul Clipsham (1849-1924) probably had the most profound influence upon the Wesleyans due to his role in the production of their weekly newspaper for New South Wales.

Clipsham was born in England, converted at fifteen years of age, became a lay preacher and then trained for the ministry at Richmond, a Methodist theological college near London. During 1874 he began connexional ministry in Queensland, was ordained in 1878, and transferred to the Bourke Street Circuit in Sydney from 1884 to 1886. Disadvantaged by a continuing illness which he later identified as 'heart weakness', Clipsham found the rigours of connexional service too difficult, so he became editor of the *Advocate* during 1888, and founded The Epworth Printing and Publishing House in Sydney during 1893.[3] Thereafter the Wesleyan annual conferences retained Clipsham as manager of their publishing activities until his retirement in 1919. It was his business acumen which made the *Advocate/Methodist* financially viable and built a fledgeling publishing venture into a

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2 Presidents of the New South Wales Conference from 1891 to 1900 were as follows: George Brown, 1891; Charles Stead, 1892; J. Egan Moulton, 1893; Joseph Spence, 1894; J.E. Carruthers, 1895; W.G. Taylor, 1896; James Woolnough, 1897; Edward J. Rodd, 1898; John Gardiner, 1899; William H. Beale, 1900.

3 *Methodist*, 13 May 1893, p. 7; 3 June 1893, p. 7.

recognised church department by 1898.[4] Although for several years during the 1890s the editorship was assumed by a three-man committee or by the Reverend George Martin, Clipsham was sole editor during 1892 and 1893, and from 1898 until 1907. Even when he was not named as editor he remained as the head of the publishing enterprise so his thinking more than that of any other person moulded Wesleyanism through its weekly newspaper.[5]

The Wesleyans frequently spoke in military terms of their mission. They expected believers to be decidedly 'on the side of righteousness'.[6] Modern warfare used 'all modern appliances of war, together with the thorough drill and discipline of the human material'. This was the approach of the Sunday-school Union as it welded 'every modern appliance into a complete whole that could be launched against the abounding iniquity of the land'.[7] Yet, so pervasive were 'the deadly influences of sin' that 'the whole of the Church's strength' was required to counteract them.[8] Sometimes the *Methodist* identified a particular organisation which epitomised evil, for instance, 'popery' was seen to be 'the world's direst curse'; but the 'kaleidoscopic theories' or 'baneful teachings' or 'heathenish philosophy' of other 'sheep stealers' (Seventh-day Adventists, Christadelphians, Theosophists) also required confrontation.[9] Often a feature of the Christian faith was declared to be under direct threat, as when the Sabbath was deemed 'likely to be in a still greater degree, the point of conflict between the

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4 *Methodist*, 2 April 1898, p. 7.

5 For summary accounts of Clipsham's life, see The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Conference, *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Annual Conference Since Methodist Union in 1902* (Sydney, 1925), p. 93. (Hereinafter this source is abbreviated to *Conference Minutes*.) Cf. *Methodist*, 29 November 1924, pp. 1 and 10; 27 December 1924, p. 3. Earlier biographical notes appeared in the *Advocate*, 5 February 1878, p. 358; 16 February 1878, pp. 370-372; 24 April 1886, p. 35; *Methodist*, 22 February 1919, p. 9; 5 April 1919, p. 6. Clipsham's birth-date is sometimes given as 1850.

6 *Methodist*, 27 June 1896, p. 7.

7 Methodist, 11 March 1899, p. 4.

8 *Methodist*, 3 March 1894, p. 8.

9 *Methodist*, 24 November 1900, pp. 2-3; cf. 22 July 1893, p. 1; 29 July 1893, p. 8; 24 February 1894, p. 7; 31 December 1898, p. 1. See also the issue dated 31 March 1894.

powers of good and evil'.[10] Constantly 'a trinity of evils' was assailed: the fleshly sins of drunkenness ('intemperance'), immorality ('impurity') and gambling in its various forms.[11] Society itself was seen to be threatened by 'declension' and lawlessness; the nation and even the British Empire suffered from the threat of disloyalty from within and conquest from without. A prevailing mood amongst Wesleyans throughout the 1890s might be packaged in a sentence from an editorial on 'The Sabbath Question' late in 1900: 'There is not a shadow of a doubt that we are on the eve of a great conflict, and we shall have to carry the battle into the ranks of the enemy or the enemy will carry it into ours.'[12] It was characteristic for a conference president in his retiring address to summarise the Wesleyan *raison d'etre*. For the Reverend John Gardiner the Wesleyans existed to leaven federated Australia with influences which were the opposite of the evil which they identified so clearly, that is, 'with the sanctity and grace of a Christian religion':

> Our national life must be built on the foundations of righteousness, for it is righteousness that will give sweetness to our friendship and make our honour something more than a name; give security to our throne and protection to the people; teach our senators wisdom and our counsellors equity; righteousness will exalt our land and be a greater protection than the glittering sword or our girdle of ocean.[13]

In a recent essay, Lance Morrow argues that evil changes its priorities, targets and cast of characters; indeed, he claims that 'Each era gets its suitable evils.'[14] The Wesleyans late in the nineteenth century believed that they could identify with a high degree of certainty the various protagonists in evil's cause, and expose their malevolent objectives unerringly. While a wide range of indicators might be noticed in order to fully describe the encounter between

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10 *Methodist*, 10 November 1900, p. 7; 9 September 1893, p. 1; 31 December 1898, p. 1.

11 *Methodist*, 18 August 1894, p. 1.

12 *Methodist*, 24 November 1900, p. 7; 10 November 1900, p. 7; 20 March 1897, p. 7; 19 January 1895, 7; 15 September 1894, p. 1.

13 *Methodist*, March 3, 1900, p. 3.

14 *Time*, 10 June 1991, pp. 46-51.

Wesleyan Christianity and New South Wales culture, the present discussion selects matters related to education, economics and politics (including war). Thus a degree of comparability will be maintained with the discussion of the other denominations which are under review. It will be contended that the Wesleyans aptly illustrate the transformationist stance identified by H. Richard Niebuhr.[15]

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Since education was one of the fundamental concerns of John Wesley[16], it was to be expected that his spiritual descendants in nineteenth-century New South Wales could not escape having this issue on their agenda. As early as 1743 Wesley published a tract entitled *Instructions for Children*, setting out 'the true principles of the Christian education'. His voluminous journals and correspondence contain numerous references to Kingswood, the school which he designed to be 'fit for the apostolic age' and opened on 24 June 1748. In a hymn for the opening of Kingswood, Charles Wesley suggested that the purpose of the school was to 'Unite the pair so long disjointed, Knowledge and vital purity.'[17]

The Wesleyans in early Australia saw the provision of education as an important aspect of their responsibility as Christians. Their initial endeavours in this regard were directed toward meeting a need which otherwise might not be supplied by the Government in colonial New South Wales, or competing with the other churches. However, as the Government withdrew financial support from the denominational schools which had proliferated after the Church Act of 1835, the Wesleyans rather quickly closed the schools which they had struggled to establish in competition with the Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians. If a basic education was being provided by 'State Schools [which] stand probably unrivalled in the world',[18] they believed

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15 *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. 190-229.

16 H. F. Mathews, *Methodism and the Education of the People 1791-1851* (London, 1949), p. 21. Australian Wesleyans noted that the Wesleys were commonly pictured as 'gownsmen', and that the name 'Methodist' was 'coined' in the University of Oxford. *Methodist*, 30 June 1894, p. 7.

17 A.G. Ives, *Kingswood School in Wesley's Day and Since* (London, 1970), p. 21.

18 *Methodist*, 16 November 1895, p. 7.

that their limited resources could best be used for the religious instruction which the churches were invited to provide in the Government schools, and for the church's Sunday Schools. However, the Wesleyans still yearned to have at least some representative schools to foster the development of future citizens and clergy; they could not bear to think that other denominations outstripped them in this regard. Also, they needed to retain an important argument against the Roman Catholic drive for Government money to be allocated for church schools, by financing institutions of their own.

The Reverend John Allen Manton (1807-1864) articulated the Wesleyans' longing in 1861, urging the establishment in New South Wales of a 'Wesleyan Collegiate Institution' embracing 'all the branches of a sound Commercial, Classical and Mathematical Education'.[19] When the Australasian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church convened in Hobart Town during January of 1863, it appointed Manton as principal of its hoped-for college, Newington. For the next seventeen years the institution operated west of Sydney near the Parramatta River at Silverwater, using Newington House as its main domicile. Finally, during 1880, the institution transferred to a more suitable site in the Sydney suburb of Stanmore. Enrolment by that time had grown to some seventy students, including four theological students.

The founders of Newington were motivated by educational, moral and spiritual purposes.[20] Similar concerns moved the Wesleyans to establish their Ladies College at Burwood in January 1886 with ten pupils; by the end of the first year the school boasted an enrolment of 54.[21] The Ladies College offered its nineteenth-century students the opportunity to pass university junior and senior examinations. Thereafter, some took university studies, most became wives and mothers.

Wesleyan values made it difficult to find leaders who were

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19 Peter L. Swain, *A Quarter Past the Century: A History of Newington College 1863-1988* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 2, 5.

20 John W. Hill, 'The History and Administration of the Methodist System of Secondary Education in New South Wales, With Particular Reference to the Period 1919-1960' (MEd long essay, The University of Sydney, 1975), p. 7. Cf. *Methodist*, 30 June 1894, p. 7; 16 January 1897, p. 7.

21 *Methodist Ladies College Burwood: Jubilee Souvenir 1886-1936*, p. 14.

adequate for such institutions. Newington from 1863 to 1899 had a 'dual control' system which called for a clergyman to be its president and an educator to be its headmaster. To ensure adequate oversight, the church's annual conferences throughout the 1890s appointed separate councils of clergy and laity for both colleges. Characteristically, both of these councils were large: for instance, the Newington College Council had 65 members in 1892; the Ladies College Council in the same year had 50 members. It was inevitable that the leadership structure which the Wesleyans chose would nurture relational problems; this structure was further complicated by the fact that the president was appointed by and remained responsible to the annual conference, whereas the headmaster was responsible to the college council. The progressives on Newington's council favoured 'a system which concentrated control, supervisory and academic, in the hands of one capable man'.[22] This issue was particularly problematical throughout 1892, until seven more years of 'dual control' were facilitated when a well-known returned missionary, the Reverend James Egan Moulton was nominated as president, a position which Moulton was to hold until his retirement in 1899.[23] Thereafter a new system was introduced, with the Reverend Charles J. Prescott being appointed both president and headmaster. At last the Wesleyans had found a man who was a competent educator as well as a trusted clergyman.[24] Only such a person could be relied upon to meet the Wesleyans' ideals for Newington: the Bible must be foundational; moral, ethical and spiritual values must be fostered; but the curriculum must possess academic integrity.

There were frequent reports of both colleges in the columns of the *Advocate/Methodist* throughout the 1890s.[25] Both the colleges were a ready focus of what seemed to be an appropriate denominational pride. It was, from the reports, expected that male and female students

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22 David S. Macmillan, *Newington College 1863-1963* (Sydney, 1963), p. 63.

23 Moulton reported that Newington had 190 pupils in 1896, nearly fifty of whom were boarders. *Methodist*, 9 May 1896, p. 1.

24 *Conference Minutes*, 1900, p. 113.

25 See, for instance, the Newington reports in the following issues of the *Methodist* for 1896: 11 January, p. 1; 4 April p. 7; 2 May, p. 6; 9 May, p. 1; 27 June, p. 7; 1 August, p. 6; 19 September, p. 10. Cf. James Colwill, *The Illustrated History of Methodism* (Sydney, 1904), pp. 555-604.

would achieve superior results in university junior and senior examinations; that Newingtonians would excel in cricket, football and marksmanship; that the Ladies College would produce outstanding musicians. There were enthusiastic alumni meetings when distinguished former students renewed their associations with each other, or shared their wisdom and even some of their wealth with their Alma Mater. What more fitting place could there be than a Newington Speech Day for Wesleyans to observe actual examples of their idealised Christian citizen? Note the overtones in this report of the Speech Day held on 12 December 1895:

> Then rose the tall, fine form, ample brow, and bright face of Sir Joseph Abbott, the chairman, a gentleman in every way, a splendid specimen of a N. S. Wales colonist and public man; and who delivered an admirable speech, in matter, wisdom and manly ease a profit and a pleasure to listen to. Curiously enough, while Sir Joseph was uttering some of his stirring sentences the life size portrait of the Rev. W. H. Fletcher, which hangs in the hall confronting the dais, seems to stand out, and the former principal appeared to be confronting the chairman with an interested and approving look.[26]

Newington was a hot-house for growing ideal citizens; its religious emphases, meritorious academic results, sporting prowess, shooting skills, athletics and physical training programmes had this ultimate end in view. Wesleyans wished it 'to become ... the best school in the colony--equal to all and second to none', with the Bible as its basis, morality and spirituality as its hallmarks.[27] But, in the harsh economic climate of the 1890s it had a struggle to survive, for there were more important battlefronts for the Wesleyans to man in order to prosecute their war with evil. Despite an oft-expressed fervour, Newington and the Ladies College were seen as a serious drain on denominational funds. Clearly, the Wesleyans were not as motivated to establish and maintain schools as were the Catholics, the Adventists, or even the Anglicans. This is an important fact which must be explained.

The need for 'charity' which impelled Wesley in England and the Wesleyans in early New South Wales no longer motivated the church

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[26] *Methodist*, 21 December 1895, pp. 2-3. Cf. *Methodist*, 24 March 1894, p. 2; 9 March 1895, p. 12; 9 May 1895, p. 1. See also the feature article, 'Representative Laymen', 18 June 1898.

[27] *Advocate*, 28 December 1890, pp. 329-330. Methodism 'has always claimed education as the handmaid of religion'. *Methodist*, 9 May 1896, p. 7.

near the end of the nineteenth century. The Government had 'practically settled'[28] the education question: it had committed itself to providing education for all, and it allowed rather generous amounts of time for religious instruction to occur in public schools. The Government was an extension of the reign of God through the British Empire; although it was imperfect, it was founded on the principles of righteousness and needed correction and support rather than condemnation and rejection. Pragmatism suggested that the church could best devote the bulk of its limited financial and human resources to the provision of religious instruction in Government schools and to the multiplication and maintenance of Sunday Schools,[29] with a consequent limited involvement in institutions such as Newington and the Ladies College. The aura of these institutions was desirable; their existence proved the Wesleyans were keeping up with the other denominations; the fact that the Wesleyans did not depend upon Government aid proved Catholic claims for such aid were wrong. Such considerations made the colleges desirable options, not absolute necessities. Education was no longer an important focus of the Wesleyans' battle with evil; the Government and its institutions were benign allies, not threatening enemies.

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Wesleyans had a decided interest in economic affairs, and their theology helped them to describe the ideal relationship between employer and employee. They took pains to identify the causes of industrial strife during the 1890s, determine the effects of strikes in Queensland and New South Wales, and proclaim biblical solutions for these industrial difficulties. The ideal situation was readily definable: 'God intended that capital and labour should be inseparable',[30] or 'mutual friends'.[31] A cluster of causes for unrest was identified within

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28 *Methodist*, 23 January 1897, p. 7.

29 Samuel Leigh was warmly remembered for his role in founding and developing Sunday Schools. *Methodist*, 28 August 1897, p. 1. Such 'noble work' was now continued by the Sunday-school Union. *Methodist*, 11 July 1896, p. 7.

30 *Advocate*, 13 June 1891, pp. 522-523.

31 *Methodist*, 14 July 1894, p. 1. This comment was made at a time when, somewhat to the dismay of the *Methodist*, Labor candidates were as 'plentiful as blackberries in autumn'.

the analyses printed by the *Advocate* at the beginning of the decade. The Reverend W. Clarke, President of the Wesleyan Conference until early in 1891, as part of 'one of the best addresses ever delivered from the President's chair', reviewed 'the commercial depression' and subsequent strike, finding 'faults on both sides'.[32] But it was rather usual for the workers and their unions to bear the greater responsibility for causing industrial difficulty, in Methodist eyes. It was seen as beyond dispute that strikes were 'largely owing to idle demagogues, who tyrannize almost as ruthlessly over the working classes as they would do over their employers'. Yet the real and deeper evil was 'a widespread spirit of godlessness in this country', an unholy alliance between Socialism and the Romanism of 'a large Irish-Catholic element in the ranks of industrialism'.[33] An earlier number of the *Advocate* had blamed 'the attitude and arrogance of modern trades unionism', which 'filches from the industrial workman his inherent right of disposing of his own labour as to him seems best', and 'denies the employer the right of managing his own business in such a way as will make that business at once permanent and remunerative'.[34] It was the responsibility of the individual to be frugal and diligent, and thus to receive the blessing of God. The possession of wealth was, therefore, a testimony to human accountability and divine approval.

Given their perspectives on the leadership and motivation of trade unionism, Wesleyans felt free to diagnose the results of union activity in a definitive manner. Under the guise of unionism, 'organized lawlessness' was seen to be 'concentrating itself in Central Queensland' during 1891.[35] The spirit and attitude of trade unionism shook business confidence, checked the investment of capital, and rendered employment scarce instead of plentiful. Not only were all kinds of ill feelings stirred up, but hundreds of thousands of pounds

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[32] *Advocate*, 7 March 1891, pp. 413-414. Seven years later the paper still advocated 'moderation and conciliation so as to secure a reasonable and righteous settlement' rather than such 'foolish and wicked' actions as a lock-out or a strike. *Methodist*, 8 October 1898, p. 1.

[33] *Advocate*, 2 May 1891, pp. 472-473; see also *Methodist*, 28 August 1897.

[34] *Advocate*, 21 February 1891, p. 389.

[35] *Advocate*, 2 May 1891, pp. 472-473. Two years later the paper still complained that 'the striker is abroad in his war paint and feathers, and threatens to sink us to a still lower depth of disaster'. *Methodist*, 10 June 1893, p. 1.

were wasted, the credit of the colony was reduced abroad, scores of men were gaoled, and strikers after months of struggle were reduced to begging bread from the Government.[36] Yet at the same time, as 'an agent for the expression of Methodist opinion upon subjects which affect the social and religious welfare of the people of this colony', the *Advocate* stated that its 'sympathies are ever with men struggling against adverse circumstances', and it lamented the 'almost intolerable' burden of dealing with 'strangers and wanderers' in distress.[37]

According to the Wesleyans, however, there were definitive solutions available for the labour movement. Whereas the bush unions had alienated themselves from public sympathy and damaged the whole cause of unionism by striking, a fitting solution was to be found in the representation of labour in Parliament. It was the duty of every citizen to uphold constituted authority in its effort to protect property, and to ensure liberty of action to individual workmen in the pursuit of their lawful employment. More was needed than the Government's 'commendable promptitude and decision in sending a strong and determined force to prevent an outbreak of violence, and to uphold law and order' early in 1891.[38] Indeed, the cause of righteousness should be helped forward by honest words and righteous deeds.[39] The great need was for both 'the Divine Spirit' and an 'admirable spirit' between shearer and pastoralist.[40] As the president of the Wesleyan Conference, Clarke declared emphatically that 'the remedy for this social warfare was to be found in the principles embodied in the Sermon on the Mount'.[41] The *Advocate* hailed appreciatively indications that 'henceforth in the disputes between labour and capital

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36 *Advocate*, 21 February 1891, p. 389; 27 June 1891, p. 533; cf. *Methodist*, 22 July 1893, p. 7.

37 *Advocate*, 11 April 1891, pp. 448-449; 20 June 1891, p. 525; *Methodist*, 11 February 1893, p. 1; 15 July 1893, p. 1.

38 *Advocate*, 4 April 1891, p. 437.

39 *Advocate*, 27 June 1891, p. 533; cf. *Methodist*, 8 July 1893, p. 1; 29 July 1893, p. 7.

40 *Advocate*, 2 May 1891, pp 472-473; 15 August 1891, p. 589; cf. *Methodist*, 11 February 1899, p. 1.

41 *Advocate*, 7 March 1891, pp. 405-406.

reason and conciliation will take the place of stubborn folly and brute force'. It also believed 'the days of strikes, with their wretched futilities and their wide-spread bitterness and misery', might be drawing to their end.[42]

The struggles of the decade proved this hopeful prophecy was far too optimistic; the *Methodist* found it was necessary to address the conflict between the employed and employers on many occasions. There was no shortage of sympathy for the evident distress of individuals and families, and the church often felt that its corporate resources and those of its individual members were taxed beyond reason and capacity. It was intensely aware of the various socialistic options which were being proposed, of the activities of various unions and the objectives of the emergent Labor Party. The Wesleyan dilemma was very real: its conscience could never allow it to support a 'Godless' system which it believed Socialism to be; it could never support union activities led as they seemed to be by professional agitators and 'demagogues' who felt free to use unchristian methods in order to achieve their ends; it could not condone party politics which might become a divisive and diversionary force in the church. The Wesleyan opinion that essential resources and employment possibilities were adequate, provided a given individual was industrious and frugal, was constantly challenged by the obvious distress of the unemployed people whom they encountered during the labour disputes, economic depression and drought of the 1890s. At stake were religious, social, moral and financial values. Perhaps God was punishing the people of New South Wales that they might learn in adversity what they had failed to learn during prosperity?

Thus hope and anxiety jostled each other as the 1890s progressed, for the decade seemed to have more than its share of 'financial crises', 'labour troubles', 'unsettled political conditions' and 'an unhealthy lack of enterprise'.[43] The problem of 'greed on the part of some employers' confronted 'the vicious influence of irresponsible and professional agitators'.[44] It seemed 'incredible' that miners' spokesmen preferred 'subsistence on charity and even starvation' to 'wages that will render

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[42] *Advocate*, 15 August 1891, p. 589.

[43] *Methodist*, 6 May 1893, p. 1.

[44] *Methodist*, 8 July 1893, p. 1.

the working of the mine practicable, without loss to the proprietors'.[45] The Christian sensibilities of the Wesleyans were deeply offended when the 'Active Service Brigade' of the Sydney unemployed chose to interrupt a prayer meeting;[46] and it seemed to be a sacrilege for the unemployed to carry a cross through the streets of Sydney.[47] By 1900, the *Methodist* expected that the Compulsory Arbitration Bill would 'prevent the great majority of trade disputes from ripening into war', yet during the next month it warned that the Bill would be a serious encroachment upon personal liberty, and would inevitably and seriously hamper the industries of the colony.[48] Clearly, the situation needed a better solution than the distribution of bread and soup, the founding of charitable homes and settlements, and appeals to the contending parties to exemplify Christian principles. Society was threatened by the illegitimate programs of unions and political parties. Its transformation demanded that the cause of national righteousness be given the attention it deserved.

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It was inevitable, then, that economic issues and political affairs often intersected for the Wesleyans. They viewed themselves as 'true lovers of law, of order and of good government', a people ranking amongst 'the best citizens and patriots which the country possesses'. There was, in their understanding, a firm biblical basis for each feature of their stance in this regard. Of course their 'supreme allegiance' was due to Christ as King of kings and Lord of lords, whose kingdom exists in the world even though he declared it not of this world.[49] An important focus of their political and religious loyalties was the British Empire; indeed, so great was their loyalty to the

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45 *Methodist*, 23 September 1893, p. 7.

46 *Methodist*, 2 December 1893, p. 1.

47 *Methodist*, 25 November 1893, p. 1, complained that the unemployed 'neither admit nor realise that they are to blame'. During the previous month (28 October 1893, p. 1) the paper had called for employers to 'employ by preference married men with families, and those whose wages are not wasted in drink'.

48 *Methodist*, 14 July 1900, p. 1; 4 August 1900, p. 7; cf. Wm Kelk's letter, *Methodist*, 11 August 1900, p. 7.

49 *Advocate*, 20 June 1891, pp. 528-529.

British Empire and its sovereign (including that part of her Empire which was expected to become the Commonwealth of Australia) that other features of Wesleyan belief were disadvantaged on that account.

Queen Victoria was a 'greatly-beloved' ruler 'who, during her life was always on the side of liberty, truth and peace'.[50] Providence had long smiled upon her Empire;[51] hers was a 'Record Reign' in far more than its exceptional length.[52] The 'beneficial changes' which had occurred were many, from 'the more humane treatment of convicts, debtors, criminals and lunatics' to 'the vast improvement in public health and morals'.[53] The Queen had been a 'beacon light lifted up on high', shedding the radiance of example in 'ethical Christianity', morals, domestic life, sobriety, good works, Sunday-keeping and many other respects.[54] It was natural, then, that 'the great audience' at an annual conference could, without planning or warning, interrupt the presidential address by singing the National Anthem 'with a wonderful heartiness and unanimity'.[55]

The Wesleyans were, in the main, similarly enthusiastic about both the Queen as the symbol of the Empire, and the Empire itself as an expression of the divine ideal. It was this profound yet perhaps uncritical loyalty which made them protective of the ties between Australia and the Empire, undergirding their attitudes to the South African War and inspiring their vision of a glorious future for the emerging Commonwealth.

Events of the 1890s gave Methodists frequent opportunities to express their political ideals. God and country expected every member to be actively involved in 'the development of His kingdom in this land'. Part of the Wesleyan challenge was, then, to elect men to the legislature who would 'fear God and work righteousness'. Thus the strife and excitement of a general election could be identified as 'a great and important crisis of our national life'. Amidst agitation and party excitement, as the tides of feeling ran strong and high, it was

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50 *Methodist*, 26 January 1901, p. 7.

51 *Methodist*, 8 September 1894, p. 1.

52 *Methodist*, 29 May 1897, p. 7; 19 June 1897, p. 9.

53 *Methodist*, 26 June 1897, p. 7.

54 *Methodist*, 26 June 1897, pp. 1, 2, 7; 3 July 1897, p. 7; 10 July 1897, p. 2.

55 *Methodist*, 6 March 1897; cf. the issue dated 20 March 1897.

sometimes the case that passion and not reason stood at the helm. So it was important for believers to remember 'Christianity is not a political system, and every attempt to make it such has resulted in spiritual disaster'. 'Methodism is not a political church, it is not even a semi-political system, plotting and agitating for political place and power'. But, on the other hand, it was true to say that 'the Methodist Church has rendered good service to the State'.[56] Indeed, Methodists are 'a loyal people' who 'understand the value of strong and free government under which enterprise of every kind flourishes'.[57]

This theology of church and state made the Wesleyan newspaper bold in its exhortations to both believers and politicians. Politics, closely identified as it was with 'great social questions', gave Christians the opportunity to 'do so much to further or hinder the coming of God'. On the other hand, it was the obligation of Christian politicians to form an intelligent judgement upon political questions, and to act from conscientious conviction, giving a first place to the interest of morals.[58] Thus statesmen should not be men pleasers but servants of Christ, above the influence of personal friendship. The same divine direction applied to both private life and public affairs: 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness'. It seemed impossible to comprehend 'the prosperity of a state unless its people are progressing toward the image of God'. In short, 'the more democratic a state becomes the more theocratic it should be'![59]

Thus a solution to the conflict between capital and labour was to be found in the ballot box, not in strikes.[60] Further, a stringent law was needed against 'baby-farming', otherwise the present terrible destruction of infant life could not be checked. Also, the welfare of children required appropriate legislation so they could be 'removed from the custody of dissolute or criminal parents whose abodes are often dens of drunkenness and infamy'.[61] Matters such as marriage,

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56 *Advocate*, 20 June 1891, pp. 528-529.

57 *Methodist*, 26 June 1897, p. 7.

58 *Methodist*, 20 July 1895, p. 7; 28 September 1895, p. 7; 3 July 1897, p. 7.

59 *Advocate*, 20 June 1891, p. 529; cf. *Methodist*, 26 June 1897, p. 1.

60 *Advocate*, 27 June 1891, p. 533; cf. *Methodist*, 7 April 1894, p. 1; 7 July 1894, p. 7. In addition, commerce was declared to be 'a wonderful civiliser'. *Methodist*, 14 July 1894, p. 1; cf. 24 February 1894, p. 1.

61 *Advocate*, 28 November 1891, p. 709; cf. *Methodist*, 20 June 1896, p. 7.

divorce and prostitution demanded regulation by the law of the land as well as definition by the Word of God.[62] Careful and well-advised legislation was necessary to ensure the support of the aged and infirm by their relatives, so that the state did not bear the whole burden.[63] Also, the towering evil of strong drink called for vigorous legislative action. On the one hand, national troubles might be sent by 'a wise Providence to chasten us for our misdoings and non-observance of His laws'.[64] On the other hand, New South Wales wanted what the 'old country' already possessed - 'a moral sense, which shall go down to the bottom of all social stratifications, and purify the springs and fountains of our political and religious life'.[65] Federation, provided God was duly recognised, seemed to promise a bright future in this respect.[66]

Attitudes such as these predisposed Wesleyans to support the recognition of God at state functions and in the proposed Federal Constitution.[67] Failure to give 'direct recognition of the Sovereign of all peoples' at the 'august' Federal Convention, like the omission of the time-honored grace at a great banquet was regrettable, even though it was considered to be a short and easy way to settle the difficulty as to whether the Anglican primate or the Catholic cardinal should officiate.[68] Further, the idealised 'great and glorious Australian Dominion' made it desirable for the Commonwealth Parliament to be opened with prayer; and it was exceedingly desirable that the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of the Commonwealth should include both a humble and reverent acknowledgement of

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62 *Methodist*, 22 March 1902, p. 9; 14 October 1893, p. 1; 10 October 1896, p. 7; 31 December 1898, p. 1.

63 *Advocate*, 5 December 1891, pp. 720-721.

64 Letter to the editor by Henry French, *Advocate,* 21 November 1891, p. 705. National prosperity was frequently linked to national righteousness: 'We cannot expect that even material prosperity will be general in a community where Sabbath breaking, gambling and drinking, are so widely prevalent.' *Methodist*, 31 December 1892, p. 7.

65 *Advocate*, 20 June 1891, pp. 528-529; cf. *Methodist*, 29 May 1897, pp. 1, 2.

66 *Methodist*, 14 October 1893, p. 1; 2 April 1898, pp. 1, 2; 7 May 1898, p. 1.

67 *Methodist*, 21 September 1895, p. 7; 3 April 1897, p. 3; 29 May 1897, p. 1; 31 July 1897, p. 3.

68 *Advocate*, 7 March 1891, p. 406; cf. *Methodist*, 13 March 1897.

Almighty God, and prayer requesting his divine blessing.[69] Since the British Empire was redolent with truth and righteousness, not only its sovereign but also the person it appointed as the Governor General of Australia was revered.[70] Even Romanists, 'under suitable conditions', would not call forth Methodist objections to fair representation in Parliament. But recent 'exhibitions of hatred and unscrupulousness' and 'unmistakable proofs of innate disloyalty' made it 'the duty of every elector in Australia to shut out, if possible, from the first Federal Parliament every candidate upon whose forehead is [the] "mark of the beast"'.[71] Yet the *Methodist* could, almost in the next breath, rejoice that 'under the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, perfect religious equality is assured'.[72]

Constantly the Wesleyans emphasised that to achieve their purpose to transform society, spiritual weapons were primary, but it was also necessary for the church to employ political means. At the Wesleyan Conference for 1891, the Reverend Rainsford Bavin 'pointed out how earnestly the Methodist Church seeks to deal with great social problems'. Without doubt, the issue which consumed the greatest amount of Methodist time and energy was one which linked social, political and religious concerns, 'the liquor traffic'. Not only did Australian Methodists acknowledge themselves to be 'very active teetotalers',[73] they also sought constantly to impose their ideal of sobriety upon society, using the power of the pulpit, the press, and the

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69 *Methodist*, 1 September 1900, p. 1; cf. 14 July 1900, p. 1.

70 *Methodist*, 22 December 1900, p. 1. It was difficult for a Colonial Governor to merit other than eulogy. *Methodist*, 29 June 1895, p. 1; 7 December 1895, p. 1. Even the death of Sir Henry Parkes could attract an overflow audience to a sermon on 'Patriotism and Religion'. *Methodist*, 9 May 1896, p. 3.

71 *Methodist*, 15 December 1900, p. 7; 13 March 1897, p. 9.

72 *Methodist*, 12 January 1901, p. 1.

73 *Methodist*, 17 March 1900, p. 3; 7 July 1900, p. 1; Michael Roe, *The Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851* (Melbourne, 1965), pp. 165-171; J.D. Bollen, 'The Temperance Movement and the Liberal Party in New South Wales Politics, 1900-1904', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (June 1961), pp. 160-182. Cf. the 'Do Everything Policy' of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 'a comprehensive attack ... on a wide range of social and moral issues, including drugs, prostitution, gambling, delinquency, sabbath desecration, and woman suffrage', described by Ian Tyrrell, 'International Aspects of the Woman's Temperance Movement in Australia: The Influence of the American WCTU, 1882-1914', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (June 1983), pp. 284-304.

franchise. They felt deeply about intemperance and its cognate evils, declaring that 'the statistics of immorality and vice are all on the side of the demon king - Alcohol'. They believed medical science to be 'almost unanimous in its condemnation of alcohol', and that social reformers recognised 'the bulk of existing crime and poverty arises from strong drink'. Not only were the advocates of temperance 'supremely and massively strong' on the moral side of the question, but 'the great humane sentiment of the world is in sympathy with the effort to remove the cause of temptation and sorrow from the path of the weak, and of the helpless, and frequently innocent sufferers'.[74]

Methodist theology affirmed the natural depravity but potential perfectibility of the individual. Therefore it was part of every Christian's duty to help close 'the hundreds of infamous drinking dens which line the streets of our city and suburbs', and to thus lessen, as far as possible, the temptations to drunkenness that stand at the street corners.[75] The *Advocate* held an unequivocal stance in 'The Temperance Controversy' for 'it has been fully shown that it pays every way, morally, physically, and financially, to be an abstainer'. Thus on Temperance Sunday it would be 'a grand gain to our social Christianity if from the eleven hundred pulpits of colonial Methodism there ring out clear and strong testimonies ... against drinking and the drink traffic'.[76]

While prohibition was the ultimate goal of the Wesleyans' temperance efforts, they saw this as a long-term possibility rather than a short-term probability. Local Option, 'the opportunity to vote upon and determine the issue of all licenses, whether original or renewals', was their immediate objective. This would 'result in greatly diminishing the traffic in drink', and 'ripen public sentiment and opinion to the point of prohibition'.[77] Thus readers of the *Advocate*

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[74] *Advocate*, 14 November 1891, pp. 696-697; *Methodist*, 2 June 1900, p. 1. Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London, 1971), devotes chapter 8 to 'Temperance and Religion'. Also, in his biograhpical analysis of teetotal leadership, Harrison notes 'a formidable range of public concern--even by nineteenth-century standards', p. 177. The religious and social ideas of British temperance movements were an important seed-plot for Weslyeans in New South Wales.

[75] *Advocate*, 3 January 1891, p. 333; *Methodist*, 3 February 1900, p. 7.

[76] *Advocate*, 14 November 1891, pp. 696-697; 28 November 1891, p. 709.

[77] *Advocate*, 21 February 1891, p. 389; cf. *Methodist*, 15 March 1902, p. 1.

were told of the need for the Local Option League to have branches all over the colony, and they were urged to hold public meetings, petition Parliament, and to do their duty by voting for Local Option.[78] Temperance work was declared to be a necessary part of the Wesleyan organisation, embracing everything from a Band of Hope to secure and train the young, to a Church Temperance Society to secure the old. At suitable meetings the pledge book was brought forward and non-abstainers were urged to throw in their influence on the side of total abstinence.[79] Thus the Methodist concept of the reformation of both the individual and society was aptly illustrated by their temperance activities.

Similar patterns of individual, social and legislative action were adopted by Wesleyans as they confronted other evils.[80] The drink traffic was a threat to the sanctity of the Sabbath as well as to other prized values, and so the Wesleyans supported the successor of the Local Option League, the New South Wales Alliance, in its appeal that 'every lover of the Lord's Day and of sobriety be actively on the war path that existing conditions might end'.[81] Since 'the Boer party in the Cape Colony is the liquor party', perhaps the sad strife in South Africa might further the temperance work.[82] During 1900 the Methodist Conference heard its committee on Temperance and Morals declare its resistance at every stage to the Totalisator Bill, and its accord with a range of social reforms: regulation of dancing, saloons and music halls; the advocacy of Temperance Sunday and municipal local option; opposition to legalised gambling and extended closing hours for public bars.[83] Methodists stood with the Local Option League in 1891 for the principle of full Local Option without compensation. A decade later

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78 *Advocate*, 14 February 1891, p. 383; 14 November 1891, pp. 696-7; 28 November 1891, p. 709; 3 October 1891, p. 645; *Methodist*, 7 July 1900, p. 1; 11 August 1900, p. 1; 27 October 1900, p. 7; 3 November 1900, p. 1.

79 *Advocate*, 3 January 1891, p. 327.

80 *Methodist*, 15 September 1894, p. 8.

81 *Methodist*, 17 February 1900, p. 1; 7 April 1900, p. 7; 12 May 1900, p. 7.

82 *Methodist*, 28 April 1900, p. 1. That the editor quoted this letter in 'The Outlook' section implies some support for its contents.

83 *Methodist*, 24 March 1900, p. 2.

their purpose in such matters remained steadfast, their objectives embracing both the restoration of the individual and the promotion of national righteousness.[84]

The fourth of the Ten Commandments and its 'glorified Christian interpretation', in Methodist thought, called for Sabbath quiet and sanctity devoid of amusement, sport and trading. Wesleyans believed that true Christians would follow Moses and Christ in this matter, opposing any contrary influences, for the sanctity of the Sabbath was 'one of the strongest foundations on which our Christian civilization rests', and it formed a continuing 'point of conflict between the powers of good and evil'. Hence, police and governmental action were demanded and applauded, and Protestants and Roman Catholics could stand close together in upholding the national observance of the Sabbath.[85] Temperance and Sunday sacredness were central Methodist objectives.[86] But the Wesleyans also sought to prevent gambling and racing; they affirmed 'social purity' with enthusiasm; they deplored the 'vile periodical literature that spits its venom on everything that is good'; they were against 'worldliness', and the 'modern gods' of business, pleasure and speculation. More positively, New South Wales Wesleyanism stood for 'improved social conditions, stricter prison discipline, but above all increased regard for morality and religion'.[87] While they repudiated party politics, they affirmed political activism to protect and enforce Christian values.[88]

John Wesley's statement to his preachers, 'You have nothing to do but to save souls', was a basis for lively Wesleyan debate during the 1890s. On the one hand this dictum was blamed for Methodist 'lopsidedness' which weakened immeasurably its influence as 'a social force in its progress throughout the world'. Others, however, claimed it expressed the true purpose of Christianity. Soul-saving, in the

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84 *Advocate*, 16 May 1891, p. 485; 13 June 1891, p. 518.

85 *Methodist*, 14 July 1900, p. 7; 8 September 1900, p. 1; 10 November 1900, p. 7; 17 November 1900, p. 1; 1 December 1900, pp. 1, 7; 8 December 1900, pp. 8-9; 15 December 1900, p. 1. Cf. *Advocate*, 13 June 1891, p. 521.

86 *Methodist*, 3 July 1897, p. 7.

87 *Advocate*, 21 November 1891, pp. 704-705; *Methodist*, 21 May 1898, p. 7; 24 March 1900, p. 7; 5 May 1900, p. 1. According to the *Methodist*, 22 July 1893, p. 1, 'gaols should be made unattractive with suitable terrors'.

88 *Methodist*, 22 September 1894, p. 1; 21 May 1898, p. 1; 11 June 1898, p. 7.

Advocate's opinion, quickened human intelligence, aroused a sense of individual responsibility, engendered respect of law and love of justice, and influenced the social and political life of the state.[89] The Central Methodist Mission inaugurated a Social Reform League during 1891. Its chief objectives included dealing with temperance, gambling, and social purity questions; stimulating and combining the efforts of its membership; mobilising public opinion on the subject of direct social reform. While Wesleyans felt free to hold public meetings, to distribute literature, and to petition Parliament, their 'defensive and aggressive operations' were both motivated and restrained by their doctrine. They could envision that they might give more heed to social problems in the new century than they had given during the nineteenth century. They believed they bore a message not for the individual alone, but also for the nation. Yet their message was no mere social gospel. Methodism was not, in their view, a political agency, and it protested against the demands of 'so-called religious socialists'. It wanted to avoid seeking 'to cure the deep-seated evils of society by the establishment of huge soup-kitchens', or by covering 'the sores of injustice with the thin cloak of charity'. Rather, the Christian pulpit must again take its 'rightful place in the foremost of the battle'. Wesleyans wanted humanitarian agencies to be 'lifted from the low level of "charities" to the higher platform of "Brotherhood" as taught in the earlier chapters of Acts'.[90]

While the transformationist stance of Methodism must avoid the pitfalls of mere socialism, its business was 'to permeate the nation with the spirit of Jesus Christ, to so educate the generation in the ethical principles of the kingdom of God, as to enable men to reconstruct the institutions of the State, on a Christian basis'.[91] The Wesleyans' ideal was, 'Give us good men first, and good measures will follow.'[92] Thus the church was to leaven the world by embodying the

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89 *Advocate*, 14 February 1891, pp. 384-385; cf. p. 377.

90 *Advocate*, 14 February 1891, p. 385; 4 July 1891, p. 541; *Methodist*, 25 November 1893, p. 7; 25 June 1898, p. 1; 2 July 1898, p. 1; 17 September 1898, p. 1; 26 May 1900, pp. 3-4.

91 *Methodist*, 26 May 1900, p. 7.

92 *Methodist*, 14 July 1894, p. 7; 21 July 1894, pp. 1, 7. Wesleyans who entered Parliament during the 1890s included Thomas Bavister (1850-1923), George D. Clark (1848-1933), John Lionel Fegan (1862?-1932), and David Watkins (1865-1935). See Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Searle and John Ritchie (eds), *Australian*

(Footnote continued)

principles of the gospel in common life. According to the *Advocate*, the church was 'Christ's society for bringing the kingdom of God on earth', and its gospel must be broad enough to cover every department of human life. Such positions were not taken free of opposition. While some said the pulpits of Christianity were too often 'occupied by moralists, essayists and social reformers', the progressives believed if John Wesley was still 'at the head of Methodism to-day, he would have made General Booth and the social wing of the Salvation Army unnecessary'.[93]

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From the beginning of the 1890s there was evident in Wesleyanism a crusading zeal, a type of military fervour in its pervasive struggle with evil. At the end of the decade, the South African War provided a context which would cause the Wesleyans to enunciate at length some of their most cherished attitudes and values.[94] Henry Rack has described Wesleyanism in England at the end of the nineteenth century, and claimed it was ambivalent toward 'the world' at that time.[95] Robin Walker has surveyed Australian Wesleyanism from its origins to its union with the other Methodist bodies in 1902, pointing out that by the end of the colonial period the

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(Footnote 92 continued from previous page)
Dictionary of Biography (Melbourne, Vol. 7, 1979; Vol. 8, 1981; Vol. 12, 1990). 'From the beginning of representative government in New South Wales in 1856 at least 44 Methodists were elected to Parliament up to 1901.' Eric G. Clancy, 'Methodism and the New South Wales Parliamentary Labor Party in the Early 1890s', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1991), pp. 13-35. Note from chapter five of Clancy's MA thesis ('The Primitive Methodist Church in New South Wales, 1845-1902') that the Primitive Methodists were more deeply involved in social reforms than the Wesleyans.

93 *Methodist*, 26 May 1900, p. 7; *Advocate*, 3 January 1891, p. 334; 21 February 1891, pp. 392-393; 26 September 1891, p. 641; 28 November 1891, pp. 709, 712-713; 26 December 1891, p. 742; *Methodist*, 18 August 1894, p. 1; 28 May 1898, pp. 6-7; 17 March 1900, p. 12; 14 April 1900, p. 7; 7 July 1900, p. 1.

94 See Arthur N. Patrick, '"A Dreadful but Absolute Necessity": The Boer War According to the *Methodist*', in Robert S.M. Withycombe (ed.), *Australian and New Zealand Religious History 1788-1988: A Collection of Papers and Addresses* (Canberra, 1988), pp. 113-119; also in *Church Heritage*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (September 1990), pp. 109-121.

95 Henry D. Rack, 'Wesleyanism and "The World" in the Later Nineteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XLII, Part 2 (September 1979), pp. 35-54.

denomination was conscious of crucial internal changes which were taking place.[96] It is important to keep in mind the pictures which Rack and Walker have drawn; indeed, we shall return to them in due course. But the South African War provides a prism through which Wesleyan perspectives on religion and culture can be viewed effectively. This conflict shows that the processes which Rack identifies in English Methodism were not well advanced in New South Wales, and that Wesleyanism up to 1902 still maintained the sense of mission which Walker discerns as beginning to change.

Late in the nineteenth century, variant interpretations of war were proclaimed energetically in Australia. Two of the forty minor wars fought during the reign of Queen Victoria (1838-1901) were followed with particular enthusiasm in this country; public debate about war focused on the Sudan conflict in 1885, and on the South African War between 1899 and 1902. Many Christians accepted the pro-war arguments, but some were deeply troubled by the causes which provoked both conflicts, and, in particular, by the way in which the South African War was prosecuted. The religious fervour of the Wesleyans was paralleled by their enthusiastic support for the British war effort. According to the *Methodist*, by 1901 the South African conflict had 'produced more literature than probably any other military undertaking in the history of the world'.[97] The *Methodist* made its own contribution to this literature by frequent reports and comments, declaring boldly the reasons why the Wesleyans interpreted the British cause as a crusade for values which they cherished.

When hostilities began in 1899, many Australians recalled the conflict, also on the African continent, during the previous decade. Events in the Sudan had gained much space in Australian newspapers before the British defeat at Khartoum on 22 January 1885, and the death of General Charles Gordon. Immediately thereafter the Wesleyans idealised Gordon as a model Christian soldier. They noted his favourite book was *The Imitation of Christ*; they declared he 'as firmly believed that God was his guide and helper on the battle-field or

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[96] R.B. Walker, 'The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales, 1812-1901', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (December 1971), pp. 331-347.

[97] *Methodist*, 26 January 1901, p. 1.

in the besieged city as in the privacy of his chamber or in the invisible contests of his soul'; and they reported the way in which he faced death with an iron heroism.[98]

W. B. Dalley, the acting premier of New South Wales, quickly grasped the political opportunity afforded by the news of Gordon's death. Dalley telegraphed London, offering to aid the Empire with a contingent of soldiers. His offer was accepted without delay; a contingent was rapidly made ready and dispatched, the first to be sent overseas from Australia. For the mayor of Sydney, this sending of soldiers was 'the greatest event' that had taken place in the history of the country. For the young barrister and politician, Edmund Barton, it was the fulfilment of Australia's duty, and declared to the whole world that this nation belonged to the greatest Empire under the sun. But the ageing philanthropist, Thomas Walker, warned that the sending of the New South Wales contingent was giving support to an unjust conflict. The *Bulletin* declared Dalley's then-famous telegram was motivated by political expediency. In Henry Lawson's hindsight, the Sudan affair would be 'a blot on our history for ever'.[99]

The Wesleyans, however, soon transferred some of Gordon's best characteristics to the Australian contingent, 'our gallant volunteers', men worthy of special praise for their physique, appearance, behaviour and discipline.[100] The cause espoused by these heroes was eminently worthy: they were protecting dearly-won rights and liberties, resisting encroachments upon justice and humanity, checking slave-dealing Arabs and rapacious Pashas, establishing an Egyptian government strong to protect life, property and the security of English commerce through the Suez Canal. While religious patriotism called for an upright character and loyal support from every citizen, its ideals were profoundly important for the Christian in uniform:

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98 *Advocate*, 21 February 1885, pp. 378-379; 11 April 1885, p. 19; 16 May 1885. p. 63.

99 Frank Crowley, *A Documentary History of Australia*, Vol. 3: *Colonial Australia, 1875-1900* (Melbourne, 1980), pp. 172-177, 572-573.

100 *Advocate*, 28 February 1885, pp. 386, 387; 16 May 1885, p. 61; 23 May 1885, p. 70. Note the praiseworthy characteristics often attributed to the Anzacs during and after the First World War, were identified in the Australian soldiers who didn't get to fight a battle during 1885.

> The reasons which will justify a Christian being a soldier are not hard to furnish. Christianity and war, from one point of view, are not far separated. A Christian may, and should, fight from motives different from those which inspire irreligious men, but his Christianity should help rather than hinder his fighting. Two great forces are constantly at war in this world - the armies of God and the armies of Satan. Spiritual powers they certainly are, but these conflicts are not confined to the spiritual world... With regard to the soldiership of Christians, we believe they are ... used as God's servants when fighting to free the slave, to defend the oppressed, to uphold the cause of righteous laws.[101]

The Wesleyans had carefully drafted their pattern for the idealised Australian soldier during the Sudan affair; thus it was ready for the *Methodist* to pull from its editorial drawers and to use whenever the next crisis might occur. It was during 1899 that decades of conflict between Boer and Briton in southern Africa erupted into the Second Boer War, a struggle which it was thought would soon be over, but which dragged on until 1902. As the first wave of public enthusiasm for the British cause swept across the colonies, Lawson decried 'the craving for the sensational born of the world's present social system' which made some Australians 'willing - wilfully, blindly eager, mad! - to cross the sea and shoot men whom we never saw and whose quarrel we do not and cannot understand'. To send troops to the Transvaal was, for Lawson, ten times more shameful than the sending of the Sudan contingent.[102] More reasoned argumentation was soon available in the public sphere. For instance, a newspaper debate between two University of Sydney professors laid out the pro and con arguments in detail.[103]

The majority of Australian churchmen did not view either the Sudan conflict or the Boer War through jaundiced Lawsonian eyes. Walter Phillips portrays the Sudan contingent leaving Sydney praised and exhorted by both the Roman Catholic cardinal and most

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[101] *Advocate*, 28 March 1885, pp. 2-3; 27 June 1885, pp. 108-109. Cf. the eulogy of 'Sir Henry Havelock, the Christian soldier', *Methodist*, 26 November 1898.

[102] *Bulletin*, 21 October 1899.

[103] L.M. Field, *The Forgotten War: Australian Involvement in the South African Conflict* (Melbourne, 1979), pp. 34, 150; C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, six vols (Melbourne, 1962-1987), Vol. 5, pp. 169-216.

Protestant clergy.[104] But the Boer War, much longer and more demanding than the Sudan conflict insofar as Australia's involvement was concerned, gave the churches time and cause to express their understandings of war in greater detail, and to experience the trauma of divided opinions in the colony and, especially for the Catholics, within their denomination. Yet the Wesleyans steeled their minds against evidence which was negative to the Empire and the heroic Australians which they felt certain were fighting in God's army. Not only did they maintain a strong loyalty to the British cause; they were intensely critical of the Catholic debate over the rationale for the war and the methods being used to win it.

During 1891 the *Advocate* had declared that although war may be 'infinitely bad' it is 'sometimes a dreadful but absolute necessity';[105] when the Boer War was over it would suggest that 'war often accomplishes the highest purposes, and even prepares the way for the coming of the Prince of Peace'.[106] As the 1890s progressed, the *Methodist* kept its readers alert to the various threats of war which it discerned, posed by Germany, Russia and other nations.[107] Thereafter, not only did the *Methodist* constantly inform and exhort Wesleyans about the Boer War between 1899 and 1902, in so doing it elaborated Wesleyan convictions concerning a number of related issues: the role of God in human affairs, the mission of the British Empire, the theology of war, the parameters of human responsibility in time of war, and the criteria for an effective peace. Methodist optimism and idealism was highlighted vividly against the dark background of this conflict and its consequences.

Comment on the Boer War was appropriate from the Bible text, 'For there fell down many slain, for the war was of God', according to the *Methodist*.[108] Since national and individual destinies are in the hands of God, provided the British Empire remained faithful to those

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[104] Walter Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country': Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After* (St Lucia [Brisbane], 1981), pp. 241-243.

[105] *Advocate*, 11 April 1891, p. 445; 11 July 1891, p. 549; *Methodist*, 27 January 1900, p. 1. It also spoke of 'the dire arbitrament of war'. *Methodist*, 1 February 1896, p. 7.

[106] *Methodist*, 14 June 1902, p. 1.

[107] *Methodist*, 29 September, 1894, p. 1; 15 December 1894, p. 1; 11 January 1896; 1
(Footnote continued)

(Footnote(s) 108 will appear on a subsequent page)

principles which had made it great, God would ensure that no military power, or combination of powers, would drag its glory into the dust.[109] The doctrine of Divine providence made it natural and consistent for Christians to ask for God's intervention and the success of British arms in South Africa, irrespective of the 'sneering' of the Sydney press.[110] A day of national intercession was credited with turning the tide of battle, enabling Wesleyans to exclaim, 'His right hand and His holy arm hath gotten us the victory', and to feel 'like indulging in a good old Methodist shout of "Glory to God"'.[111] Such a victory was an appropriate reason for jubilation, for singing the *Te Deum*, for staging thanksgiving services, for eulogising Australian soldiers, for loudly applauding the Minister of Defence, and for breaking forth into the Hallelujah Chorus.[112] Wesleyans believed that their assessments and responses were seeded and nurtured by 'the calmly expressed convictions of competent and conscientious observers on the spot - men who fear God, honour the King, and respect the truth.'[113]

Since, in their view, the rulership of heaven had manifested itself in such a precise way upon earth, the Wesleyans felt able to identify in specific terms those earthly powers which exemplified the divine will. The British Empire was not only 'the greatest organized power the world has ever known', but its strength and its wealth were 'associated with the purest form of the Christian religion'. Especially during the nineteenth century, the Empire was 'the champion and promoter' of Christianity. The increase of both its territories and its population was such that all reverent and intelligent persons might discern in this development the hand of God.[114] The *Methodist* could declare with enthusiasm that the war had welded the Empire into a

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(Footnote 107 continued from previous page)
February 1896, p. 1; 14 March 1896, p. 12; 25 April 1896, p. 7; 5 June 1897, p. 7; 29 January 1898.

[108] *Methodist*, 12 April 1902, p. 1.

[109] *Methodist*, 18 August 1900, p. 7.

[110] *Methodist*, 10 February 1900, p. 7.

[111] *Methodist*, 24 February 1900, p. 1; cf. 17 February 1900, pp. 3-4.

[112] *Methodist*, 19 May 1900, p. 1; 16 June 1900, pp. 1-2.

[113] *Methodist*, 2 June 1900, p. 1.

[114] *Methodist*, 5 January 1901, pp. 6-7.

new unity, 'deepened the sense of our Imperial mission, and made Britishers everywhere conscious of a Divine calling in the interests of universal justice and freedom'.[115]

The British were 'the saviours of the native people from the beginning', so it would please the Great Master now to urge English Christians to go on with the conflict.[116] Through Wesleyan eyes, there was 'an impressive unanimity as to the justice and righteousness of the cause our men are enlisted to promote'.[117] Profound thankfulness was due to God that the whole Empire had risen to a sense of its unity and duty; God could be asked with confidence 'to go forth with our armies and to give our enemies into our hands'.[118]

Equal rights, freedom, justice, liberty, magnanimity, rectitude, righteousness and other virtues were on the side of Britain, so loyalty to God demanded commitment to the righteous cause of the Empire.[119] The end of such a conflict was inevitable, for the English were 'incontestably the agents of Providence'.[120] This 'eminently just' war was 'at bottom a conflict between institutions of the Middle Ages and the modern spirit', thus those who failed to support the Empire were disloyal, they were fanatics, the misguided, Jesuits, or Irish rebels.[121] The cost in 'blood and treasure' must continue 'until the flag of freedom and justice waves over every part of the land from the Zambesi southward'.[122] Fortunately, according to the Wesleyan view, British colonisation was clear of the mistakes made by other nations, and in the restoration of peace under British rule there would be 'equal justice to citizens of every nationality and freedom and life to the oppressed and enslaved native races'.[123]

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[115] *Methodist*, 10 February 1900, p.1; cf. 6 January 1900, p. 7.

[116] *Methodist*, 27 January 1900, p. 1.

[117] *Methodist*, 20 January 1900, p. 1.

[118] *Methodist*, 6 January 1900, p. 7.

[119] *Methodist*, 20 January 1900, p. 1; 24 February 1900, p. 1; 31 March 1900, p. 1; 14 June 1902, p. 1; 1 February 1902, p. 7; 16 June 1900, pp. 1-2.

[120] *Methodist*, 31 March 1900, p.1; 7 April 1900, p. 1.

[121] *Methodist*, 4 August 1900, p. 1; 7 April 1900, p. 1; 12 April 1902, p. 1; 19 January 1901, p. 1; 3 August 1901, p. 3; 9 June 1900, p. 3.

[122] *Methodist*, 12 April 1902, p. 1.

[123] *Methodist*, 14 June 1902, pp. 6-7; 24 February 1900, p. 1.

Clearly, then, the Wesleyans could enunciate their theology of war with precision and confidence, insofar as the South African conflict was concerned. Their weekly periodical agreed enthusiastically with what it perceived to be the prevailing British sentiment, that the nation had 'never been more unanimous as to the justness of any war which the mother country has found it necessary to engage in than that in which she is now engaged with the Boers of South Africa'. This spirit of 'loyalty, unanimity and devotion' was declared to be 'magnificent'. The Wesleyan credo included the belief that 'God rules over the armies of the earth', and that 'we are called upon to defend our people and territory and to overthrow tyranny and slavery and the corrupt rule of the Boer'.[124] Since the enemy was 'an intolerant oligarchy' which stood for oppression, corruption, aggression, arrogance, liquor, religious fanaticism, injustice, unsrupulousness, hypocrisy, unspeakable and heartless cruelty, falsehood, blasphemy, slavery, and the destruction of Christianity, there was no room to doubt the Christian's duty.[125] Over against this evil regime, the Wesleyans knew they supported 'a government founded on the Word of God, and administered according to the free Protestant constitution of the realm of England'.[126] Such rebukes and reverses as the Empire's effort had experienced were 'worth all they have cost us in throwing us back upon our only effective Source of strength and in bringing the nation to the feet of God'.[127]

In such a context, neutrality was impossible.[128] It was necessary to prosecute the war with dispatch and vigour, and even though its grim horrors afforded an opportunity to display 'the softer qualities of human nature', this fact did not mean victory should not be pursued relentlessly.[129] The ordeal of war would, in the end, educate and elevate the nation's life. Soldiers in the field bear witness to both

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[124] *Methodist*, 6 January 1900, p. 7.

[125] See, amongst other comment, *Methodist*, 6 January 1900, p. 7; 13 January 1900, p. 1; 7 April 1900, p. 1; 19 May 1900, p. 7.

[126] *Methodist*, 27 January 1900, pp. 1-2.

[127] *Methodist*, 17 February 1900, p. 7.

[128] *Methodist*, February 1900, p. 1.

[129] *Methodist*, 3 February 1900, p. 1; 22 June 1901, p. 1.

human courage and Christian faith.[130] Not only was 'the character of British military operations ... permanent and constructive', refugees received unstintingly food and shelter from the British.[131] This unhappy struggle would have educational value for the soldiers involved in it, and it would develop a 'more martial and heroic quality' within Australian life.[132] Hence 'The South African Trouble' would enhance some of the finest human attributes: bravery, devotion, heroism, honour, loyalty, patriotism, respect for law and trustworthiness.[133]

What kind of peace would issue from the Empire's fulfilment of its sacred responsibility? A 'Divine calling in the interests of universal justice and freedom' would be met; an 'unquestionable form of British supremacy' in Africa would mean the enfranchisement of the whole population, and freedom and justice to the native races.[134] In due course, it became 'fitting' to emphasise 'the religious aspects of the peace now established in South Africa'.[135] Since the peace which the Wesleyans envisaged held such potential, it is not surprising that they lamented every 'wasteful' delay. During the years of anxiety it was an encouragement to believe that 'the hand of Kitchener is an iron hand, and under that firm grasp the forces of rebellion must melt away, and the day of peace be ushered in'.[136]

The South African War gave the Wesleyans an opportunity to state at length and in a variety of ways the principles of the kingdom of God. Those who failed to identify with those values were the enemies of God and the Wesleyans, and belonged on the wrong side in

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[130] *Methodist*, 20 July 1901, p. 1; 11 August 1900, p. 1.

[131] *Methodist*, 3 August 1901, p. 4.

[132] *Methodist*, 20 July 1901, p. 1.

[133] *Methodist*, 6 January 1900, p. 7; 28 April 1900, p. 7; 11 August 1900, p. 1; 2 June 1900, p. 3; 9 June 1900, p. 7; 3 August 1901, p. 4; 1 February 1902, p. 7; 15 February 1902, p. 1.

[134] *Methodist*, 10 February 1900, p. 1; 20 July 1901, p. 1; 21 December 1901, p. 1.

[135] *Methodist*, 7 June 1902, p. 1; 14 June 1902, p. 1.

[136] *Methodist*, 28 December 1901, p. 1; 3 August 1901, p. 4. The Wesleyans frequently idealised military and political leaders. Sometimes, as in the case of W.E. Gladstone, this provoked lively debate inside the church. *Methodist*, 28 May 1898, pp. 1, 6-7; cf. 23 April 1898, p. 7; 25 June 1898, p. 7.

the struggle between good and evil. The 'soldiership of Christians' was directed toward the protection or extension of God's kingdom. While their Christian warfare in New South Wales was not as dramatic as the conquest of the Boers in South Africa, the conflict on the home front for the Wesleyans was no less real, the outcome scarcely less important. Thus it was vital for the Wesleyans to often identify their friends and foes, to state the rationale for the battle in which they were engaged, and to declare the methods which would finally issue in victory.

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What organisation, in Wesleyan eyes, was best fitted to lead this crusade against the forces of evil? Late in the nineteenth century, the Wesleyans in New South Wales characteristically viewed themselves as an expression of Protestantism *par excellence*, entrusted with a precise mission. They identified with the biblical notion of being 'a chosen people', in their case, the church destined to bring Australia to Christ.[137] Their theology and church structures were, they argued, ideally suited to Australian conditions. The editor of the *Advocate* exhorted his readers to study 'the rise and progress of their church, which has grown from a sneeringly-designated "Holy Club" to be the greatest Protestant Church in Christendom'. Such attention to their history would give them 'what some modern Methodists appear to very much need - faith in the system of doctrine to which they consent and in the organization which they profess to work'. From its origins, the editor continued, Methodism has been 'essentially a mission'.[138] The world's need was for 'the moral influences of Christian belief', or, otherwise expressed, for 'the religion of Jesus Christ'. Only thus could society attain 'its best and most enduring developments', only this spiritual force could allay the world's 'unrest and its volcanic throes of discontent'.[139]

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[137] *Methodist*, 21 January 1892, p. 7; 25 February 1893, p. 1; 10 February 1894, pp. 6-7; 8 October 1898, p. 7.

[138] *Advocate*, 28 February 1891, pp. 400-401; cf. *Methodist*, 11 May 1898, p. 7; 9 July 1898, pp. 6-7; 29 October 1898, p. 8; 10 December 1898, p. 1; 31 December 1898, pp. 6-7.

[139] *Advocate*, 9 May 1891, p. 47. Therefore, the Wesleyans were outspoken advocates of co-operation between denominations, e.g., to protect the 'Lord's Day' and for 'united prayer'. *Methodist*, 11 March 1899, pp. 6-7; 4 March 1899, p. 1.

The 'labours' of its missionaries were the part of their church's work of which Wesleyans could be most justly proud, and 'the right men in the right places working on the lines on which John Wesley worked' would wipe out the 'disgrace to Sydney Methodism that any church should be poorly attended'.[140] The 'prevalence of so much sin and crime' in Sydney demanded 'robust and vigorous' church life, according to Reverend W. G. Taylor, the most visible leader of the Central Methodist Mission in Sydney during the 1890s. Such a need required that spiritual power which could only be adequately marshalled as the churches grasped and practised the doctrine of entire sanctification, Taylor declared.[141] His prescription for believers might appear narrow, but the Central Methodist Mission included, in addition to its evangelism, a broad range of activities: inducing persons to sign temperance and anti-gambling pledges, a Seamen's Mission, Boys' Club, and an Employment Agency, amongst others.[142] Yet the church's supreme function was 'to fearlessly and faithfully preach to all classes the complete Gospel of God'. Only thus could it 'resist the paralysing influence of the Time-spirit on itself, and prove itself a regenerating power in every part of human society'. The fearless proclamation of the gospel of the grace of God which brings salvation, however, imposed upon those receiving it 'the obligation to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God'.[143]

The biblical basis and evangelical integrity of Methodism were constantly emphasised in editorials and the editors' comments. While the churches were declared to be 'the salt that keeps us from moral putrefaction',[144] and 'the spirit of the age' was affirmed to be 'most

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[140] *Methodist*, 8 September 1900, p. 7; cf. *Advocate,* 10 January 1891, p. 345; 3 January 1891, p. 337.

[141] *Advocate*, 9 May 1891, p. 479. The Methodist doctrine of holiness had a number of descriptive titles: 'Entire Sanctification', 'Perfect Love', 'Entire Consecration', 'Purity of Heart', 'Perfect Holiness', 'Christian Perfection'. *Methodist*, 28 July 1894, p. 2; 1 September 1894, p. 3.

[142] *Advocate*, 4 April 1891, pp. 441-442; cf. *Methodist*, 3 December 1898, p. 1. Don Wright's *Mantle of Christ* (St Lucia [Brisbane], 1984) is the best history of the Central Methodist Mission.

[143] *Advocate*, 21 February, 1891, pp. 392-393. Cf. 'Has Methodism a Mission?', the address by the Retiring President, *Methodist*, 4 March 1899, pp. 1-2.

[144] *Methodist*, 3 November 1894, p. 1.

certainly in favour of unity',[145] Wesleyans were certain that their church was 'the greatest evangelical Church in Christendom'.[146] Constantly such fundamental questions were asked as 'What is a Christian?', or what are the essentials of 'Imperative Christianity'?, or 'How Shall We Act?'[147] Any given year was sure to carry numerous complete articles or pithy definitions of evangelical faith.[148] Methodist self-understanding is illuminated usefully by such assessments of its own identity and doctrines, but also by its analyses of the faith and practice of other religious bodies. In theory, Wesleyans affirmed the principle of religious liberty for all, and gave tacit approval to the notion of denominational equality. Their weekly newspaper declared that 'Protestant Christianity is essentially tolerant', and that 'every Protestant Power gives equal rights to its citizens ... not through fear, but from a sense of duty'.[149] Tolerance did not, however, permit a Methodist preacher to teach doctrines contrary to those of the body. Indeed, during 1891, a Wesleyan minister delivered 'a vigorous speech in defence of modern Methodism', and declared that while an Anglican bishop had spent £20,000 'in endeavouring to correct a doctrinal error in one of his clergy', a Methodist in this situation 'would be removed at once, and his pulpit would be occupied the following Sunday by another man, and 20s. would cover the expenses'.[150]

The Wesleyans were ardent Arminians, but they were able to submerge their concerns about Calvinism enough to affirm repeatedly their acceptance and support of the Presbyterians. Hence 'the increasing consolidation of the religious forces of Australasia' was seen

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[145] *Methodist*, 20 October 1894, p. 1.

[146] *Methodist*, 20 July 1895, p. 1.

[147] *Methodist*, 22 January 1898, p. 7; and the editorials in the issues dated 26 March 1898 and 30 April 1898.

[148] For instance, see *Methodist*, 13 October 1894, p. 7; 24 November 1894, p. 1; 11 May 1895, p. 1; 25 January 1896, p. 7; 22 February 1896, p. 7; 1 August 1896, p. 7; 8 August 1896, p. 7; 21 November 1896, p. 7; 28 November 1896, p. 7; 13 February 1897, p. 7; 24 April 1897, p. 7.

[149] *Methodist*, 22 September 1900, p. 7.

[150] *Advocate*, 31 January 1891, p. 365; cf. *Methodist*, 10 December 1898, p. 9. One of the most prolific matters of debate throughtout the 1890s amongst Wesleyans was the projected union of the various Methodist bodies. See E.G. Clancy, 'The Struggle for Methodist Union in New South Wales', *Journal and Proceedings of the Australasian Methodist Historical Society*, No. 95 (September 1975), pp. 1360-1378.

as a significant development, and 'a compact and undivided Presbyterianism' would find an ally rather than a rival in 'a compact and undivided Methodism'. After all, these were 'two forms of organized church life and religious effort that will make powerfully for spiritual freedom and evangelistic aggression in the new and great commonwealth of the southern world'.[151] Further, the *Advocate* could comment approvingly on the centenary of Australian Presbyterianism, since the foundation of that great church in this country was one of the most important events that ever happened here. Dispassionate language could also be used to report on the Evangelical Alliance of New South Wales, or on an interdenominational watch-night service at which a Baptist gave an 'appropriate' address in a Wesleyan church.[152] A Congregationalist could rightly claim a share in the promulgation of the central truths taught by Jesus Christ, so long as he did not include a disquisition on the superior virtues of his denomination or imply that it in some way possessed special prominence.[153]

But it was not easy for the Wesleyans to be as tolerant of certain other religious groups. The *Advocate* gave a vivid and uncomplimentary account of the first visit to the South Pacific islands by the 'Pitcairn', a Seventh-day Adventist missionary vessel. This intrusion was seen to be productive of no good purpose, in any case Adventism made 'a pretty free use of scissors for clipping [Bible] verses'.[154] From a Wesleyan perspective, Christadelphians, Mormons and Theosophists had an annoying nuisance value. All these groups were new and small enough to merit only moderate amounts of space in Wesleyan reports of the struggle with evil.[155]

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[151] *Methodist*, 7 April 1900, p. 1. Cf. *Methodist*, 28 July 1894, p. 2.

[152] *Methodist*, 1 February 1902; *Advocate*, 11 and 18 April, 1891, pp. 445, 453; 10 January 1891, p. 343.

[153] *Methodist*, 5 May 1900, p. 7; cf. 29 September 1900, pp. 1-4, which reported a 'monster demonstration' against Catholicism that overflowed from the Town Hall into the Pitt Street Congregational Church, and concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

[154] *Advocate*, 8 and 15 August 1891, pp. 586-587, 594-595. Cf. *Methodist*, 29 December 1894, p. 7; 16 May 1896, p. 7.

[155] See the editorial perspectives in the 'Current Topics' and 'Notes and Comments' sections of the *Advocate* and the *Methodist*, for example, 22 July 1893, p.1; 6 October 1894, p.1; 3 November 1894, p. 7.

Far more space and even some strong condemnation was given to the Church of England, but on different grounds from the smaller groups. Methodists desired 'to live in peace with all evangelical churches and to cooperate with them on terms of Christian equality'. This made them unwilling to allow, even for a moment, the 'exclusive' claims of 'Anglican arrogance'. When a Church of England senior army chaplain set aside altogether a Wesleyan chaplain, he violated the principle of religious equality, and led the *Advocate* to lament 'how persistent our Anglican friends are in asserting their untenable claims to an exclusive precedence in matters official and military'.[156] That Anglicans could not join in 'a common prayer meeting' made it impossible for Methodist soldiers to be entrusted to their spiritual care, or for Wesleyans 'to recognize them as in any way representing us in the religious life and social work of the age'. Even though 'the exclusiveness of the large majority of its clergy, and the ritualism of a large section of that majority' would in the near future bring the Anglican Church down from its leading position, the *Methodist* could gently approve the approach of an Anglican Synod toward 'Christian Social Union',[157] and it often applauded Anglican evangelicalism as represented by the Reverend Mervyn Archdall or Archbishop Saumarez Smith.[158]

However, the Wesleyans aimed their severest denunciations at Roman Catholics.[159] The 'Papal Church' was described as 'an Ecclesiastical System which the Word of God has pronounced accursed, and which all history has proved to be the mother of blasphemy and crime'. For sixteen centuries, 'Romanism' has polluted the fountains of truth, menaced liberty, and mothered sedition and murder. But there was the expectation of greater peril in the future: 'In a thousand ways Romanism is preparing for another great conflict with Protestant civilization.'[160] This perceived threat gave Wesleyan rhetoric its most

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[156] *Methodist*, 28 April 1900, p. 1.

[157] *Methodist*, 20 January 1900, p. 1; 28 July 1900, p. 7; 8 September 1900, p. 1; cf. 14 January 1899, p. 1; 21 January 1899, p. 1.

[158] *Methodist*, 27 October 1898, p. 1; 1 October 1898, Editorial; 29 October 1898, p. 1. The Reverend Francis Bertie Boyce was frequently mentioned as an advocate of temperance *par excellence*.

[159] *Methodist*, 12 October 1895, p. 7; 29 February 1896, p. 7; 22 October 1898, p. 2; 10 December 1898, p. 1; 24 December 1898, 'The Watchtower' column.

[160] *Methodist*, 11 August 1900, p. 7.

militant quality.[161] A *Daily Telegraph* editorial was taken as evidence of 'religious partisanship' by the secular press, and, while Protestants would not 'stoop to ask for its favour', they were not slow to condemn what they perceived as the *Telegraph*'s attempts 'to bolster up Romanism at the expense of Protestant Christianity'.[162]

The churches might expect to unite on essentials, and to allow the unessentials to be hidden from sight, for their differences lay 'chiefly in the realm of ecclesiasticism, and not in that of religion'.[163] But this magnanimity did not include 'that treasonable and seditious organization known as the Roman Catholic Church'. Whereas 'all sects came out of Christianity by emphasizing some one thing unduly', they could simply 'go back to Christianity by overleaping their limitations and becoming one with the full circle of religion'. Yet this tolerance did not include 'the temples of Romanism ... full of idolatry, blasphemy and lies', and those serving in them, either 'deluded devotees or wilful perverters of New Testament truths'. Methodists ventured under the very shadow of St Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, where, with Peter and the other saints gazing down upon them, they declared the good news of a free, full, and present salvation. These street preachers, according to the *Advocate*, were worthier successors of St Peter than 'those arrogant men, who cloistered, and secluded, and indolent too, boast of their apostolic succession'. After all, in Catholic districts, 'drunkenness, and all forms of sin are rampant'; it would be 'worse than namby-pambyism' to affect a sympathy with Romish agents and institutions, 'the devil's caricature of Christianity'. Protestants, outnumbering Catholics four to one, had retained Australia as part of the British Empire. Hence they were 'galled ... almost beyond endurance' to see a Roman Catholic cardinal 'unconstitutionally placed in positions of honour over the heads of Protestants'. Was not he 'the representative of a Church which is a breeder of sedition and hatred against our glorious Empire'? No Irish Catholic would be given a Wesleyan vote, for the first Federal Parliament must at any cost be a

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[161] Cardinal Moran was regularly attacked, often in colourful language. For instance, an 'utterance' by the cardinal could indicate that 'he has had still another attack of mandibular irresponsibility'. The cardinal was viewed as the 'arch disturber of the peace' of the churches, accused of either 'actual or pre-arranged mendacity, or merely ... audacious ignorance'. *Methodist*, 25 February 1899, p. 1; cf. 19 November 1898, p. 7.

[162] *Methodist*, 15 September 1900, p. 7.

[163] *Methodist*, 15 September 1894, p. 7.

Protestant one. Wesleyans dared not trust their liberties or the welfare of a united Australia to anyone dominated by a Catholic hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Moran.[164]

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Far more detail could be added on all the issues discussed so far in this chapter. But further citation of the articles, editorials and news reports carried in the *Advocate/Methodist* would not alter the picture, although they could readily etch its major lines much more deeply. Our purpose has been to allow the Wesleyans to articulate their solution for the problem of living the Christian life during the 1890s with particular reference to educational, economic and political issues. They believed society could be transformed by the Christian message combined with the work and witness of citizens who enlisted as Christian soldiers to fight against the many embodiments of evil. While this solution will be viewed from a longer historical perspective in the concluding chapter, at this point a number of considerations emerge from the ample evidence.

First of all, the Wesleyans chose to make an eclectic definition of Christianity, and this fact created their sense of identity and defined their role in the culture of New South Wales. To be a Christian meant to identify with the catholicity of early Christianity and its historic creeds, to be as Protestant as Martin Luther, as evangelical as the Anglican Evangelicals, and as Puritan as the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists. The Wesleyans were sure that this selective form of Christianity was the purest on the earth; it had found definitive expression in the religion of the Wesleys, and the Wesleyan Methodists were its most authentic heirs. The Wesleyans imaged Christian history and their own heritage in such a way as to determine the limits of commonality and the parameters of the adaptation which was allowable for the Christian.

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[164] These attitudes pervade the 1890s, but the quotations cited are from *Advocate*, 24 November 1890, p. 7; *Methodist*, 22 September 1900, p. 1; *Advocate*, 3 January 1891, p. 337; *Methodist*, 12 January 1901, p. 7; 1 December 1900, p. 1. Cf. *Methodist*, 25 June 1898, p. 7; 29 September 1900, pp. 1-4; 6 January 1900, 'The Watchtower' section.

Secondly, this eclectic Christianity centred in the idea of the kingdom of God, a reality hidden and visible, present and future.[165] It was unseen in that it was led by God and both defended and extended by invisible armies. Yet individuals and nations expressed its earthly form, or were a legitimate focus for either its peaceful colonisation or its military conquest. All human beings and their political systems could be classified on a continuum, from allies to foes of God's kingdom. It was a present reality, yet only incipiently; it would be manifested far more fully upon earth in the near future.[166]

Further, the British Empire was the finest international expression of the kingdom of God; its allies were in league with that kingdom, and its foes were the enemies of that kingdom. The transformation of human society was initiated by primitive Christianity, reconstituted in the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, refocused by the Wesleys, and demonstrated by the extension of the Empire during the nineteenth century. The continuance of a nation and its provision of quality life for its citizens was inextricably linked with the inevitable triumph of righteousness.

Again, the kingdom of God was viewed as a kingdom of grace in which the transforming power of the gospel converts and progressively transforms the individual, and, through Christian witness, together with social and political action, regenerates the whole of society. Christianity involves the living of a life which is ethical and diligent. Indeed, religion applies to every dimension of life: the home, the church, the community, the city, the nation and the world. It favours commerce and the development of national resources, but in harmony with the ethics of Scripture.

Further, while the kingdom of God is an extensive reality, its purest form is restricted in scope and clearly definable. Its most authentic citizens are those individuals who are full members of Wesleyan Methodism. In concentric circles of diminishing acceptability are others: persons on trial awaiting full membership; members of other Methodist churches; evangelical Christians; those who attend Wesleyan services, and so on. While there are flawed and

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[165] Note the expression of this idea in the thought of F. D. Maurice, *Christ and Culture*, pp. 218-229. Niebuhr suggests that for Maurice the kingdom of God is 'both actuality and possibility', p. 227.

[166] While Wesleyans could opt for either pre-millennialism or post-millennialism, a consummative second advent of Christ was not strongly emphasised by either group.

aberrant forms of Christianity in the no-man's-land between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of evil, the powers of darkness are most fully represented on earth by Roman Catholicism.[167]

Again, the Christian life is a disciplined existence, marked by diligence, frugality and sobriety. The rewards of such a life are spiritual growth and material prosperity. Good Methodists were, therefore, upwardly-mobile persons who characteristically increased the distance between themselves and the 'lower orders' of society. Such people eschewed civil disorder and political anarchy.[168]

Finally, an inclusive symbol of the ardent Wesleyan was a military one, that of the Christian soldier. This idea illustrated the necessity of a disciplined life, facilitated the differentiation between allies and foes, and focused the identity of authentic Christians as crusaders. It gave Wesleyans a way to understand problems as far apart as the South African War and their role in colonial New South Wales.

But 'the soldiership of Christians' was not as simple as it might appear to be at first. It is a demanding thing to develop and sustain what Henry Rack calls 'a distinctive theology and a particular view of what Christian holiness entails', and a consequent vision of what society might be. Whereas Methodism began with the determination to promote holiness, the scope of the permissible was constantly being broadened as the nineteenth century progressed; many boundaries were destined to fall in the twentieth century. Rack illustrates this process with reference to culture, recreation, the programme of the church, and the matter of education. Wesleyanism, he contends, 'moved away from a closed culture, outside the main stream of English society and well away from the levers of political power, to the point where it had relaxed its censorious and self-enclosed attitudes'. Rack suggests that in effect, for the Wesleyans, 'the solution seemed to be to

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[167] Niebuhr aptly notes that the conversionist stance may involve 'an ambivalent attitude'. For the Wesleyans, the New South Wales Government and its institutions were at times both reprehensible and a valid part of the kingdom of God, the British Empire. Cf. *Christ and Culture*, p. 202.

[168] This attitude can be traced back to the early Methodist feeling of being cast out of the Church and England, and thus in need of demonstrating loyalty to the Crown. It was reinforced by the Gordon Riots of 1780. 'From Riots to Revivalism: The Gordon Riots of 1780, Methodist Hymnody, and the Halevy Thesis Revisited', *Methodist History*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (April 1988), pp. 172-187. It was nourished by annual conference and other expressions of loyalty.

install a limited and cleaned-up version of the world within the church', a fact which made them 'less Wesleyan and more like other denominations'.[169]

Robin Walker documents the extent to which this change in English Wesleyanism was being paralleled in Australia. Matters of dress drew only rare comments from ministers, a Conference cricket match could at least be proposed in 1895, regular attendance at prayer meetings and class meetings was extolled but was no longer normative.[170] By 1901, according to Walker, Wesleyanism was being rounded into the pattern of Protestant nonconformity: with a better-educated ministry, a more sophisticated pietism, an individualism tempered by the social gospel, and a lessened emphasis upon perfectionism and revivalism.[171] But the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that these processes of change had not, by the 1890s, eroded the self-understanding of Wesleyans in New South Wales as soldiers of Christ with specific responsibilities to fulfil. Their best-loved and most prolific hymnist had taught them to sing:

> Soldiers of Christ arise,
> And put your armour on...
> Stand then against your foes,
> In close and firm array;
> Legions of wily fiends oppose
> Throughout your evil day;
> But meet the sons of night,
> But mock their vain design,
> Armed in the arms of heavenly light,
> Of righteousness divine.[172]

The Wesleyans were religious optimists who proclaimed the power of grace to facilitate victory in the struggle with the evils which they identified as present in society. An unregenerate person could be saved by that grace, overcoming sensuality and sin, and becoming a stalwart soldier of Christ. But the blessings of that grace were

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[169] Rack, 'Wesleyanism and "The World" in the Later Nineteenth Century', pp. 35-54.

[170] Cf. *Methodist*, 14 November 1896, p. 7; 18 September 1897, 3.

[171] Walker, 'The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales', pp. 345-347.

[172] George Osborn (ed.), *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, thirteen vols (London, 1868-1872); *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (London, 1876), p. 254. Hymns 265 to 298 inclusive were 'For Believers Fighting'.

available to transform all the structures of society and to effect national righteousness. In the British Empire righteousness was winning the war with unrighteousness; New South Wales was part of that ongoing triumph. Wesleyans were chosen agents of the transforming grace which would, in a federated Australia, progressively subdue all things under the reign of Jesus Christ. That permeation of all life by Christianity and and its principles would achieve the ultimate resolution of what the Wesleyans perceived to be a conflict between Christianity and culture.

CHAPTER 8

ELLEN GOULD WHITE: A SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST SOLUTION

Chapters six and seven have observed two related but different evangelical responses to the problem of Christianity and culture; this chapter analyses the response of Ellen Gould White (1827-1915) as a Seventh-day Adventist thought-leader in Australia from 1891-1900.[1] There are cogent reasons why White might be expected to adopt a stance similar in kind to that of the Evangelical Anglicans or the Wesleyans. However, the evidence points to a radically-different formulation, a fact which this chapter seeks to explain. In this endeavour, its major primary sources are White's voluminous writings currently available in a hundred published books, five thousand periodical articles, and fifty thousand pages of assorted manuscript materials which include diary entries, letters, addresses, sermons and articles. However, White's ideas must be contextualised by a much

1 For an uncritical biography based on primary sources, see Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White*, six vols (Washington, D.C., 1981-1986). Vol. 4, subtitled *The Australian Years*, covers the period 1891-1900. Cf. Gary Krause, 'White, Ellen Gould (1827-1915)', in John Ritchie (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 12: *1891-1939* (Carlton, 1990), pp. 465-466. For a comprehensive bibliography of books, theses and articles about White, see Gary W. Shearer, 'Ellen G. White: Her Life and Teachings, and the Gift of Prophecy in the Seventh-day Adventist Church' (Angwin, 1991), 118 pages.

larger body of materials produced by the Adventists, especially the books and periodicals published by the denomination's presses in the United States and Australia up to 1900.

Adventism only arrived as a permanent presence in Australia during 1885, with the coming of eleven people from the United States: five men, two women and four children.[2] The official missionaries were three ministers, a colporteur (book salesman) and a printer; two of the ministers were each accompanied by a wife and two children. The group visited Sydney en route to Melbourne, where they knew Adventism had taken root briefly through the witness of Alexander Dickson, a missionary sent home from Africa when he converted to Adventism under the influence of an American missionary serving in the same field. So it was in Victoria that the Adventists conducted their first official series of evangelistic meetings during 1885 and started their initial periodical, *The Bible Echo*, in January 1886. It remained for recent converts from New Zealand and a colporteur from Victoria to establish an Adventist presence in Sydney, the capital of New South Wales. A minister was appointed to Sydney in January 1890; during September that year twelve persons were baptised by immersion in the Domain Baths; thereafter the church commenced its largely westward development in such areas as Newtown, Parramatta, Castle Hill, Ashfield and Stanmore. Strengthened as the headquarters of the Australian Tract Society in 1892 and of the New South Wales Conference in 1895, the Sydney region had by the middle of the decade a number of small congregations spearheading Adventist outreach: Newtown, 88 members; Parramatta, 90; Ashfield, 75; Kellyville, 24; Prospect, 10. By 31 December 1900 there were ten churches in New South Wales with 564 baptised members, and 744 Sabbath School members spread amongst twenty-two locations. Thus, the Adventists were a very small but growing presence in a society marked by competitive denominationalism. It was in such a pioneering context that White lived and ministered, sharing her ideas frequently in conversations, addresses and sermons, but more permanently in letters, periodical articles and books.

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2 See Noel Clapham (ed.), *Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific, 1885-1985* (Warburton, n.d. [1985]), pp. 8-15, for a narrative account. Arthur J. Ferch (ed.), *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific: 1885-1918* (Wahroonga and Warburton, 1986), includes extensive references to primary sources. For a pioneering but still useful thesis, see Milton J. Krause, 'The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia, 1885-1900' (MA thesis, The University of Sydney, 1968).

It is important to stress that the Australian arm of the Seventh-day Adventist church cannot be understood in isolation from its North American head.[3] If the other denominations in Australia were dependent upon their parent bodies in the Northern Hemisphere during the 1890s, the Adventists were more so. It was within the United States that the initial development and expression of key Adventist ideas took place. These concepts formed and continued to be the rationale for the movement's existence and mission. The United States supplied about thirty missionaries who planted Adventism in the Australasian colonies and administered its formative years between 1885 and 1900. North America nurtured Australia with the books which were scattered widely and the movement's leading periodicals: *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, The Signs of the Times, The Youth's Instructor, The Health Reformer* and *The American Sentinel.* These periodicals stimulated Australians either directly or through the republication of articles in *The Bible Echo, The Southern Sentinel, The Herald of Health, The Gleaner* and the *Union Conference Record.*[4] The General Conference sessions in the United States, the Australian Conference and Union Conference sessions, the flow of personnel from one part of Australia to another, plus voluminous publishing, kept a strong sense of unity in the movement's thought and action in the various parts of Australia. When the *Bible Echo* recognised Sydney-versus-Melbourne rivalry, it was as a feature of Australian society, not of the Adventist church.

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3 The historiography relating to the Catholics, Anglicans and Wesleyans is reviewed briefly in the foregoing chapters. This task is more complex for the Seventh-day Adventists due to the fact that until 1976 primary sources were not readily available, and until 1985 only a few theses (not easily accessible) sought to present the Adventists' Australasian history in a way which was of interest to historians outside the church. Therefore, despite their preliminary nature [see the review by Sara H. Sohmer, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June 1991), p. 359], the papers presented at the Adventist History Symposium held at Monash University during 1985 broke important new ground. See Arthur J. Ferch (ed.), *Symposium on Adventist History in the South Pacific, 1885-1918* (Wahroonga and Warburton, 1986). As the only published review of sources relating to Adventist history in the South Pacific area, a copy of an article is included with each of the four initial copies of this thesis, or may be consulted as follows: Arthur N. Patrick, 'Seventh-day Adventist History in the South Pacific: A Review of Sources', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1987), pp. 307-326.

4 For descriptive entries see Don F. Neufeld (ed.), *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C., 1976).

In this sense, the encounter between Adventists and their culture in one part of Australia has interpretive value for their experience in all other parts. The evidence is clear that despite the powerful control of their eschatology, Adventists could not withdraw from society as did some earlier millenarians, to await in isolation the coming of the Messiah. Because they believed fervently and literally in the fourth commandment, they feared and fought the Australian sabbatarianism which strove to protect the sacredness of Sunday.[5] They believed intensely in God, yet they battled vigorously the earnest desire of other Christians to recognise him in the Australian constitution. They were zealous advocates of temperance, yet they faltered even in their support of the Woman's (also called Women's) Christian Temperance Union. They campaigned and sacrificed to help the poor, yet they declined to support the Labor Party's struggle in difficult economic times. They sought sanctuary from the threat and evil of the world in Cooranbong, yet they staged successful camp meetings in the cities of Australasia. They were a people obsessed with spreading what they believed to be 'the everlasting gospel', defending religious liberty, developing Christian education, and promoting various life-style reforms. To understand them it is essential to keep in sharp focus the theological motivations and constraints which strongly controlled their encounter with their world.

Christianity has frequently set up a hierarchy of values to govern its relations with culture, and this the Adventists felt very free to do. Often the question for Christians has not been whether certain activities were good, but whether others were so much better that they crowded out those which held less significance for the kingdom of God. Taking a high view of Scripture as the Christian's 'only rule of faith and practice',[6] the Adventists affirmed literally and specifically what they believed the Bible said. Therefore their doctrines restrained them from participation in certain good things, and motivated them to support what they saw as matters of greater eternal consequence. It will become evident that their distinctions between the good and the better, made on a theological basis, were highly subjective. While a long list of issues could be marshalled in order to identify the values

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5 Walter Phillips, 'The Churches and the Sunday Question in Sydney in the 1880s', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1970-71), pp. 41-61.

6 *A Word to the 'Little Flock'* (Brunswick [Maine], 1847), p. 13. This early pamphlet was issued by James White, Ellen White and Joseph Bates.

which controlled the Adventists in their encounter with Australian culture, for reasons of comparability those relating to education, economic matters and political issues (including war) will be given prominence. As the Adventist *par excellence* of the period, Ellen White's formulations will be in sharpest focus.

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White's most comprehensive volume on educational theory and practice was entitled simply *Education*, and was not published until early in the twentieth century.[7] But *Education* merely expanded positions which she had enunciated in 1872,[8] or which were implicit if not explicit in her earlier writings. During 1923 the General Conference Department of Education published a volume containing 74 major articles by White on the subject of education which were first printed between 1872 and 1915.[9] It is significant that 38 of these articles first saw the light of day during White's residence in Australasia, indicating that during the 1890s she gave major attention to the matter of education. A number of theses provide a context within which to understand this strand of White's writings,[10] but the following brief analysis will summarise the major ideas which characterised her formulation.

The concept of 'harmonious development' is the foundational idea in White's philosophy of education. While this notion was inherent in all her writings on this topic, its most-quoted form occurs in the first paragraph of *Education*:

> Our ideas of education take too narrow and too low a range. There is need of a broader scope, a higher aim. True education means more than the pursual of a certain course of study. It means more than a preparation for the life that now is. It has to do with the whole being,

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7 Ellen G. White, *Education* (Mountain View, 1903). Her trustees claim that this volume is 'a masterpiece in the field of character education'; see their 'Preface' in Ellen G. White, *Counsels to Parents, Teachers, and Students Regarding Christian Education* (Mountain View, 1913), p. 5.

8 Roy E. Graham, *Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (New York, 1985), p. 98; cf. A.G. Lindsay, 'The Influence of Ellen White Upon the Development of the Seventh-day Adventist School System in Australia' (MEd thesis, the University of Newcastle, 1978), pp. 24-27.

(Footnote(s) 9 - 10 will appear on a subsequent page)

> and the whole period of existence possible to man. It is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual powers. It prepares the student for the joy of service in this world and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come.[11]

To speak in these terms of 'true' education is to imply that there is also 'false' education.[12] In White's thought, valid education is that which prepares the student for authentic living on this planet and for participation in the eternal kingdom of God thereafter. To achieve these purposes, education must address all the dimensions of personhood from a biblical perspective, be they physical, mental, social or spiritual.[13] Effective service is the result of such education; if it is 'true' it must lead to involvement in the other-centred, redemptive activity of God in the here-and-now.[14]

The implications of this notion of 'harmonious development' could be delineated at length from White's writings,[15] but our present purpose will be better served by noting the way in which her concept governed the founding and early development of the institution now

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9 Ellen G. White, *Fundamentals of Christian Education: Instruction for the Home, the School and the Church* (Nashville, 1923).

10 See, for example, Ernest G. Krause, 'The Educational Ideas of E.G. White' (MA thesis, Massey University, 1969); Milton Raymond Hook, 'The Avondale School and Adventist Educational Goals, 1894-1900' (EdD dissertation, Andrews University, 1978).

11 Cf. p. 13 with Ellen G. White, *Special Testimonies on Education* [(Battle Creek, 1897]), p. 47, written 15 May 1896.

12 White's various writings use the term 'false education' at least 37 times.

13 The words 'moral' and 'spiritual' are sometimes used synonymously by White, but at other times they are distinguished. See Ellen G. White, *Christian Education* (Battle Creek, 1893), p. 8; cf. *Review and Herald*, 16 January 1894, p. 33, which speaks of 'physical strength, mental clearness, moral power, and spiritual discernment'.

14 See Ellen G. White, *Instruction for Effective Christian Service* (Washington, D.C., 1947), one of the many volumes compiled from White's writings under the provisions of her will.

15 The words 'harmonious development' only occur about 33 times in White's published writings, but the necessity for a balanced development of the physical, mental and spiritual powers pervades her entire corpus. Sometimes the notion of threefold development (physical, mental, spiritual) is extended to fourfold development (physical, mental, social, spiritual) to include the idea which Adventists believe is suggested by Luke 2: 52, 'Jesus increased in wisdom [mental development] and stature [physical development] and in favour with God [spiritual development] and man [social development].' See *The Seventh-day*

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known as Avondale College. The most toilsome and costly project undertaken by the Adventists during the 1890s was the setting up and running of their Avondale School for Christian Workers. Begun in temporary premises in Melbourne during 1892, a long search for a permanent site led to the purchase of 1,500 acres in the New South Wales village of Cooranbong during 1894. Intermittent teaching sessions culminated in the first regular academic year on the new site during 1897. A cluster of White's ideas were illustrated by the search for the land and the form of the new institution.

First of all, Avondale was located away from the perceived corruption and potential interference of Australia's cities. Urban areas seemed to White to be associated with an unhealthful life-style, the temptations of human wickedness and the probability of disruption by people or organisations opposed to Adventist principles. Therefore, the desire to avoid the evils of the cities went naturally with other important values. Avondale must be placed where restrictive laws, especially Sunday laws, would not impede its work; it must also be on a large tract of land where a comprehensive work-study programme could be conducted. However, it must be near enough to centres of population to facilitate missionary witness and commerce. Also, in a time of economic depression, it had to be affordable for the small number of Adventists scattered around Australia and New Zealand, with limited help from North America and elsewhere. Thus, even in its location, Avondale epitomised the Adventists' determination to seek sanctuary from the world, and yet to bear their gospel to every human being.[16]

Secondly, the curriculum was designed to invigorate the body, develop the mind, and nurture the religious life. All students participated in the physical work which was made necessary by the determination to establish a co-educational boarding college in the bush. Timber was sawn for the buildings, bricks were made and cisterns were dug. Land was cleared for agriculture; orchards, vineyards, vegetable gardens and pastures were established. Students learned a range of Arcadian pursuits while they earned fees for their

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(Footnote 15 continued from previous page)
Adventist Bible Commentary, seven vols (Washington, D.C., 1953-1957), Vol. 5 (Hagerstown, 1980), pp. 711-712.

16 Milton R. Hook, 'The Avondale School: A Holy Experiment', *Adventist Heritage: A Journal of Adventist History*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 34-45.

education. 'God's farm' surrounded the educational establishment; together the farm and the school enabled students to engage in the varied activities which facilitated personal and institutional survival in hard economic times: carpentry, painting, blacksmithing, beekeeping, cropping, dairying, and so on.[17] While the academic part of the curriculum included the 'common branches' of literacy and numeracy, history and science, it was suffused with the ideas and values of Scripture. Avondale's immediate goals included the conversion of students; its intermediate goal was their equipping as effective exponents of salvation to a dying world; its ultimate goal was the peopling of the eschatological kingdom of God.[18] Since the schools of New South Wales could not be expected to share these ideals, Avondale was a crucial experiment for White and the young Adventist church.[19]

The physical isolation of Avondale did not mean that White and her associates wished to be hidden from the eyes of the world. Indeed, it was White's determination to make the new institution a model for all Adventists, world-wide, to observe and replicate. The founders also desired favourable notice and comment from prominent Australian citizens; they believed they were exemplifying a self-authenticating

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17 For an account by a non-Adventist visitor, see W.S. Campbell, 'The Seventh Day [sic] Adventists' Settlement and Industrial College at Cooranbong', *The Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* (February 1899), pp. 200-204.

18 Hook's thesis, 'The Avondale School and Adventist Educational Goals, 1894-1900' is the most thorough study of White's goals for Avondale in counterpoint with those of the institution's other founders. It deserves notice that attention should be given both to White's ideas and the way in which the Adventists have interpreted them. This interpretation can be gleaned from the theses cited above, and from E.M. Cadwallader, 'Principles of Education in the Writings of Ellen G. White (Lincoln, 1951); W.J. Gilson, 'The History of Seventh-day Adventist Education in Australia and New Zealand' (MEd thesis, University of Melbourne, [1961]). In addition, three more-recent theses give mature intimations of contemporary Adventist educational thought, as well as perceptive accounts of how earlier educators sought to implement White's concepts. See Allan G. Lindsay, 'Goodloe Harper Bell: Pioneer Seventh-day Adventist Educator' (EdD dissertation, Andrews University, 1982); Gilbert Murray Valentine, 'William Warren Prescott: Seventh-day Adventist Educator' (PhD dissertation, Andrews University, 1982); Arnold Colin Reye, 'Frederick Griggs: A Seventh-day Adventist Educator and Administrator' (PhD dissertation, Andrews University, 1984).

19 E.M. Cadwallader, 'A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education' (Lincoln, 1958; 4th edition, Payson, 1975) charts the rapid development of elementary (primary) education late in the nineteenth century. In 1880 Adventist primary schools had only 15 pupils; in 1890, 350 pupils; in 1900, 5,000 pupils, p. 290. Because the church in Australia was in its infancy, it was seen as vital to

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way of life which would commend itself to 'the honest in heart'. During the economic depression of the 1890s life was difficult in Cooranbong, not least because the status of the village was progressively changed after 1887 by the construction and eventual opening of the Sydney-to-Brisbane railway. Thus, Cooranbong's busy hotels closed one by one; there was insufficient need for overnight accommodation on what had been a main artery of transport to the west of Lake Macquarie. Further, the population was slowly drained eastward to be near the new railway stations at Morisset and Dora Creek. White was very active in seeking to relieve the distress of people in the geographical area which could be reached by horse-drawn vehicles, bounded by Wyee, Martinsville, Awaba and Mt Vincent. It was ever a source of satisfaction to the Adventists when the perceived prejudices of local residents were broken down and replaced by appreciation for Avondale and the way of life it exemplified.

Niebuhr suggests that in the 'Christ against culture' stance, 'the loyalty of the believer is directed entirely toward the new order, the new society and its Lord'.[20] This comment aptly depicts the Adventists' attitude toward educational matters, in that the process of education focused on the transmission of Adventist identity. A deep commitment to exacting personal standards protected the Adventists from (according to their perception) the contamination of the evil world in which they lived as witnesses. Their day of worship was perhaps the most visible symbol of this commitment, but their separateness was reinforced by the careful selection of their food, drink, dress, recreation and reading. Seventh-day Adventist belief fostered, even required, a distinctive life-style Adherents were either vegetarians or lacto-ovo vegetarians if they followed the recommended dietary pattern; they were required to be non-smokers and total abstainers from all alcoholic beverages prior to becoming members by baptism, and they faced church discipline and loss of membership should they lapse into the use of tobacco or alcohol. Milder addictive stimulants such as tea and coffee were also proscribed. A thoroughly-Christian life-style called for the sanctification of all aspects of life. Ideally this meant no card-playing, chess, cricket, tennis, football, theatre-going,

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(Footnote 19 continued from previous page)
establish Avondale on a sound footing before establishing primary schools elsewhere. However, Avondale itself included a 'primary department'.

20 *Christ and Culture*, p. 48.

horse-racing, or gambling. Personal adornment with jewellery, expensive clothing and flamboyant hair styles was declared to be unfitting for the Christian woman. The plays of Shakespeare, novels and the writings of 'infidel authors' were considered to be unsuited to the solemnity of the times or unnecessary when compared with the surpassing worth of 'truth-filled literature'. Marriage was seen as a binding commitment; marriage to an unbeliever was discouraged, and divorce was proscribed. Clearly, Adventist education did not fit people to identify with the Australian culture which Vance Palmer describes in *The Legend of the Nineties*, or which more reputable historians have since delineated.[21] However, thoroughgoing members would not so much as hint that the Adventist life-style engendered a wistful longing for transient pleasures; their lives were strongly oriented toward a better, heavenly country. Exacting personal standards distanced the Adventists from the unbelieving world and reinforced their identity as part of 'a peculiar people zealous of good works', ardently 'looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ'.[22] Their early educational experiments must be interpreted in the light of these perceptions.

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The Adventists exhibited an antipathy towards the activities of trade unions, yet this did not mean that they were unmoved by the human trauma which was so apparent in Australia during the late nineteenth century. The strikes, depressions, floods, fires and untimely deaths of the 1890s called believers to exercise what Ellen White termed 'disinterested benevolence' on a personal level; they lovingly nurtured fellow Adventist members whose employment was lost through keeping Saturday as the Sabbath; and they paralleled the work of the Salvation Army in a minor way by establishing Helping Hand missions in various cities.[23] But here again there were clear restraints on Adventist humanitarian efforts. For one thing, their

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21 Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties* (Melbourne, 1954), pp. 31-51.

22 The words quoted are from one of the texts which Adventists memorised (Titus 2: 11-15) and regarded as an indication of their identity.

23 See Ellen G. White, *Welfare Ministry: Instruction in Christian Neighborhood Service* (Washington, D.C., 1952); Letter 113, 1897; Letter 111, 1898; Letter 48, 1899; Letter 45, 1900.

theology tended to eject them from the needier areas of such cities as Sydney; for another, their good deeds were always held in restraint by a greater commission. They believed that other Christians could rescue 'fallen women' and inebriates effectively, but no other religious body had responded to the clarion call of Scripture to herald the threefold message of Revelation chapter 14.[24] So the Adventists curtailed their good deeds lest they should fail to achieve the greater good: going into all the world, preaching 'the everlasting gospel' that the end of the world might come.[25]

Late nineteenth-century Adventists had more to say about the evils of trade unionism than the perils of capitalism, partly because of the impact that unions had on individual freedom and relationships, and mostly because of Adventist eschatology sharpened by the Epistle of St James, chapter 5, and the Revelation of St John. 'Civil war' was but 'thinly disguised' and was 'continually becoming thinner' in such strikes as those during 1894 in Queensland and New South Wales, the *Echo* declared. Since this 'war element' was becoming 'more pronounced', *Echo* readers were invited to see what the Bible said of these disturbances. However, 'the right side of the question is, that they are not to continue long', the *Echo* stated, in a clear allusion to an imminent second advent of Christ. During 1899 the *Echo* declared that 'the Scriptures recognize there will be oppression of the poor by the rich in the last days'. Yet the cure of this condition was in the Lord's judgement of the poor and their cause:

> The Lord hates oppression, but when the labourers organize that they may oppress their oppressors, they take their case out of the Lord's hand. He cannot approve or support their cause.[26]

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[24] The most important biblical passage, for Adventist identity, is Revelation 14:6-12. Thus the term 'Third Angel's message' (embracing, they believed, those of the other two angels) was used as a synonym for Seventh-day Adventism.

[25] The growing tension during the 1890s between the approaches of Dr John Harvey Kellogg and Ellen White aptly illustrates this concern. See Arthur L. White, 'Adventist Responsibility to the Inner City', *Review and Herald*, 5 November 1970 to 26 November 1970.

[26] *Echo*, 19 June 1899, p. 204.

These concerns were reinforced by events in the United States; thus, by 1902 loyal Adventists were readied for White's most vigorous denunciation of organised labour:

> These unions are one of the signs of the last days. Men are binding up in bundles ready to be burned. They may be church members, but while they belong to these unions, they cannot possibly keep the commandments of God; for to belong to these unions means to disregard the entire decalogue.[27]

This injunction confirmed the existing Adventist withdrawal from this aspect of their culture. White believed that the study of biblical prophecy clearly delineated the future,[28] and that already in every city satanic agencies were 'busily organizing into parties those opposed to the law of God'.[29] This meant that 'erelong there will be such strife in the cities, that those who wish to leave them will not be able'.[30] She was certain that 'The trades unions will be one of the agencies that will bring upon this earth a time of trouble such as has not been since the world began.'[31] Therefore, she emphasised the need for Christians to preserve their individuality, to avoid membership 'with secret societies or with trades unions', and to move to rural areas 'where the houses are not crowded closely together, and where you will be free from the interference of enemies'.[32] The Adventists perceived unions as 'oppressive', 'a snare', and 'one of the signs of the last days'.[33] While concern about the methods which unions used to achieve their aims was important, the role of unions in last-day events was decisive. Violence and pressure tactics were unchristian; the possibility of being

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27 Letter 26, 1903. For this and similar statements in their historical context, see Carlos A. Schwantes, 'Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists: The Formative Years 1877-1903', *Adventist Heritage: A Journal of Adventist History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter 1977), pp. 11-19.

28 Letter 210, 1902.

29 *Testimonies*, Vol. 8 (1904), p. 42.

30 *General Conference Bulletin*, April 6, 1903.

31 Letter 200, 1903; cf. Letter 26, 1903.

32 *Testimonies*, Vol. 7 (1902), p. 84; Letter 5, 1904; *Country Living: An Aid to Moral and Social Security* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 9-12.

33 Ellen G. White, Letter 5, 1904; Letter 26, 1903; *General Conference Bulletin*, April 6, 1903.

hindered in the practice of the Christian faith or in Christian witnessing was grave; the likelihood of being in the wrong bundle of humanity at Christ's coming was unthinkable. White and those who believed her warnings came to believe that unions were part of the evil confederacy which was being readied for the battle of Armageddon.

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That Adventists of the 1890s idealised separateness from their culture is reinforced by their stance in political matters. *The Australian Woman*, a popular-level periodical of the 1890s, was affirmative of chaste moral behaviour, marriage and good family relationships. Furthermore, it felt free to support female suffrage in order to confront and cure a complex set of problems: drunkenness, prostitution, slums, seduction, the laws of marriage and divorce, brutality by husbands, adultery, and more.[34] Such objectives might be expected to elicit a hearty Adventist amen. But the *Signs of the Times* criticised the idea of voting rights for women and the *Echo* named this issue one of the 'fads and foibles' to be 'deplored' for 'making women strangers in their home, and uprooting much of their delicacy and refinement'. Moreover, it was declared that the real answer to the evident human problems was not in better legislation but in regeneration. 'It may be all right for women to have the right to vote if they so desire', the *Echo* suggested, but 'it is a mistake to suppose when this right is obtained that all wrongs will be set right.' Clearly, there were more important values demanding attention: 'The soul that desired [sic] to do good can find a whole lifework without the franchise.'[35]

There was an element of ambivalence in the Adventist attitude on voting, even for men. North American Adventists had been told by Ellen White in 1881 that 'advocates of temperance fail to do their whole duty unless they exert their influence by precept and example - by voice and pen and vote - in favour of prohibition and total

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34 'What Female Suffrage Will Do', *The Australian Woman*, 4 April 1894, p. 8.

35 E.W. Whitney, 'Evolution of Women's Suffrage', *Signs of the Times*, 10 September 1894, pp. 692-693; *Echo*, 5 August 1898, pp. 252-253, 10 April 1899, p. 128; 2 July 1900, p. 440. Cf. Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 3 (1885), p. 565.

abstinence'.[36] Even so, during her nine years in Australia, White emphasised that Christians will not 'dabble in politics', engage in 'political speeches, either in or out of the pulpit', or make 'apparent their prejudices for or against political men or measures'. Key sentences from her 1899 'Special Testimony Relating to Politics' illustrate the tenor of the whole document:

> The Lord would have his people bury political questions... We cannot with safety vote for political parties; for we know not whom we are voting for... Let political questions alone... It is a mistake for you to link your interests with any political party, to cast your vote with or for them... God calls upon the teachers in our schools not to become interested in the study of political questions.[37]

Ever since, some Adventists in Australia and elsewhere have viewed this counsel as so far-reaching that they have been casual about voting, or have avoided it for reasons of conscience. Such believers think that the person whose real citizenship is in heaven has a far more excellent way to forward God's work than supporting political objectives or party politics. Whereas 'the state restrains crime only by the rigid application of its laws, which can in no way change men's hearts', the atoning sacrifice of Christ established the gospel by which all who so choose might be eternally benefited.[38]

However, there were even more compelling reasons to eschew either interest or involvement in the political sphere. White's writings emphasised that when there was a union of church and state, persecution had often been the order of the day. Also, it was her opinion that the regulation adopted by the early colonists of North America 'led to the most pernicious results' when only members of the

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[36] Ellen G. White, 'Temperance and the License Law', *Review and Herald*, 8 November 1881, p. 290; Ellen G. White, *Temperance, As Set Forth in the Writings of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View, 1949), pp. 253-254; cf. Letter 6, 1881; Letter 278, 1907.

[37] 'Pure Education in Our Churches', a testimony to the Battle Creek Church, 11 January 1897; see White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers*, pp. 131, 331-340; 'Special Testimony Relating to Politics: To the Teachers and Managers of Our School', 16 June 1899; White, *Fundamentals of Christian Education*, pp. 475-486.

[38] *Echo*, 1 July 1890, began a series of articles on 'Religion and State' which, together with White, *The Desire of Ages*, p. 509, packaged the Adventist view on this subject.

church were permitted to vote or hold government positions.[39] The power and prosperity of the United States depended upon its republicanism and its Protestantism,[40] but soon these pillars would be removed: White envisaged a time when there would once more be 'a mingling of church craft and state craft'; when 'statesmen will uphold the spurious Sabbath, and will mingle their religious faith with the observance of this child of the Papacy'.[41] It was imperative, therefore, that God's people should remember that they are 'citizens of the kingdom of heaven', united in Christ, a people 'called out of the world, that they may be separated from the world'.[42] They could not mingle with the strife of the world; their work was to establish the righteous kingdom of God.[43] 'The Lord would have His people a separate and peculiar people, bearing the sign and seal of the Sabbath', drawn 'away from political strife to rest and peace and quietude in God'.[44]

These ideas explain why the Adventists fought with determination against the proposal that God should be recognised in the Australian constitution, and pressed for an explicit statement that the Commonwealth Government should not legislate to establish any religion or to hinder the practice of faith. So prolonged and vigorous was this campaign that, although they were a tiny minority, the Adventists may have had some direct influence upon the final shape of Australia's constitution. Richard Ely, author of the most perceptive report of this struggle, does not detail the Adventist's rationale for the expensive and protracted effort which thrust them into an embarrassing partnership with secularists who opposed the recognition of God on quite different grounds.[45] That there was a concerted effort by Australian Christians to define and defend

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39 *The Great Controversy*, p. 296.

40 *The Great Controversy*, p. 441.

41 Manuscript 63, 1899.

42 Manuscript 67, 1900.

43 Letter 92, 1899.

44 Letter 11, 1897.

45 Richard Ely, *Unto God and Caesar: Religious Issues in the Emerging Commonwealth, 1891-1906* (Melbourne, 1976), pp. 26-30, 161.

Australia as a Christian country,[46] to say nothing of the Catholic vision for a 'Christian civilisation', meant to the Adventists that Revelation 13:11-18 was in the process of fulfilment. They knew well the warnings given to them in White's most recent volume of her *Testimonies for the Church*:

> Men of position and reputation will join with the lawless and the vile to take counsel against the people of God... Not having a 'Thus saith the Scriptures' to bring against the advocates of the Bible Sabbath, they will resort to oppressive enactments to supply the lack. To secure popularity and patronage, legislators will yield to the demand for a Sunday law. Those who fear God cannot accept an institution that violates a precept of the Decalogue. On this battlefield comes the last great conflict of the controversy between truth and error.[47]

Ely is correct in noting the immediate motivation which court appearances and judicial sentences gave to the Adventist campaign for religious liberty in the Sydney region during 1894.[48] But these troubles had not become acute in the United States until the late 1880s; in Australia only a few Adventists were punished under the Sunday statutes. Little real harm was done to the few individuals arraigned before the courts of New South Wales, and sentenced to the stocks or fined; in fact, the church's evangelistic efforts benefited from the short burst of publicity. To identify such events as the actual problem to which the Adventist campaign was responding would be to misinterpret the movement's self-understanding and mission.

On the basis of the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, Adventists had been absolutely certain for half a century that the earth's final crisis was at hand. The scenario was delineated explicitly in their tracts, periodicals and books. In a sense they saw it as good news that the final confrontation was actually beginning, for this was an assurance that the Lord himself would soon descend from heaven audibly, visibly and literally. Yet there was a problem: the gospel had not yet gone to all the world. Therefore, believers had a specific

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46 Walter Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country': Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After* (St Lucia [Brisbane], 1981).

47 Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, nine vols (1855-1909), Vol. 5 (Battle Creek, 1889), p. 451.

48 Ely, *Unto God and Caesar*, pp. 26-28.

responsibility. Heavenly powers were restraining the winds of strife until 'the seal of the living God' should identify all the faithful remnant. That could only occur when the Third Angel's message had been proclaimed in all the world. For Henry Bournes Higgins, the secular *Bulletin*, or even the religious *Southern Cross*, to perceive why the Adventists campaigned so vigorously against the recognition of God in the constitution was unlikely. The problem was an esoteric one, as difficult as it was for Cardinal P.F. Moran to explain the issue of ecclesiastical precedence to the Anglican governors of New South Wales. Only those who knew the invincibility of Catholic truth could hope to understand the cardinal's dilemma. For the Adventists there was an explanatory text in Daniel: 'none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand'.[49]

Therefore, beyond the Sabbath issue were several streams of thought which fed the Adventist determination to preserve the separation of church and state. Their sense of history, intensified by White's narratives of the 'Dark Ages' and the Protestant Reformation, gave them a deep distrust of Catholicism and all state religion. Also, within their psyche was the memory of their rejection by the Protestant churches during the second advent awakening. Even more important was their alleged foreknowledge of a future alliance between Romanism, 'apostate Protestantism' and spiritism. Hence the long-standing Adventist campaign for what they called 'religious liberty' in the United States was simply opened on a new front in Australia during the 1880s; it was motivated by the same principles and employed the same strategies. That some Adventists in the United States found themselves imprisoned and in chain gangs late in the 1880s seemed to directly fulfil the church's predictions and confirm the imminence of the end of the world.[50] When a few Sydney members were sentenced to the stocks or fined during 1894, Adventist expectations were again confirmed. They had long monitored carefully any actions which might restrict religious liberty; they savoured favourable comments from the press or politicians; and they agonised over the best ways to confront the incipient threats which they were

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[49] Daniel 12:10.

[50] *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (26 February 1897), pp. 161-163.

certain would soon escalate. Some of W.A. Colcord's sixteen questions, submitted to the first biennial session of the Australasian Union Conference, illustrate the way the Adventists were thinking by 1896:

> 1. Where religious measures are introduced in Parliament, what are our duties in reference to them? What should our attitude be toward them? What course should we pursue?
>
> 2. Should we oppose them whether they immediately affect us or not; that is, oppose them on principle? If so, how?
>
> 3. In cases of this kind, ought deputations to be formed, and arrangements made if possible to wait on the proper government officials to present our views in the matter, and our reasons why such measures should not be passed?
>
> 4. Ought we to engage in petitions?
>
> 6. Should the petition work, if engaged in at all, be started before persecution against us is commenced?
>
> 7. Would this work give us a favorable opportunity to reach the masses of the people with the truth, or would it have a tendency to unnecessary opposition, and precipitate a crisis?

Colcord and the committee also wrestled with what they saw as other weighty issues. Should they attack religious statutes already in place, in addition to protesting against new religious measures? How could their warning best be given to the world? What methods could best equip Adventists for the inevitable contest which lay in the immediate future?[51] Their sense of crisis had become acute by 1894, as their *Bible Echo* emphasised repeatedly. In the disturbing light of religious events later in the decade, especially Cardinal Moran's candidature and Protestant pressures relating to the constitution, their sense of crisis became intense.

In view of the perceived crisis, the Adventists decided yet another periodical was essential for the colonies, to represent ideas expressed in North America from the 1850s onward. These notions had given birth to *The Sabbath Sentinel* during 1884, and to a Declaration of Principles by the Adventist-sponsored National Religious Liberty Association during 1889. The periodical spearheading these concerns had changed its name to *The American*

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[51] Australian Union Conference Executive Committee Minutes, 28 May 1895.

Sentinel in 1886, and provided the prototype for Australia to follow. By 1895, 5,000 copies of *The Southern Sentinel* were being issued quarterly, and sent to all Australasian newspapers, members of parliament, governors, chief-justices, judges, foreign consuls, and leading public libraries. In addition, Adventist members were urged 'to place the Journal in the hands of Justices of the Peace, solicitors, councillors, physicians, State-school teachers, professional men, and the people generally'.[52]

The strange set of circumstances which linked Adventists and secularists to fight the recognition of God in Australia can be best understood in terms of three Adventist ideas: their commission to go everywhere preaching the gospel, their conviction about the complete ineffectiveness of state religion, and their certainty that Australia and the world would follow the lead of the United States by enacting coercive religious laws. The Adventists believed that their message was for everyone, so nothing could be entertained which might restrict its accessibility 'to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people'. In addition, their vigorous Arminianism made them certain that only a voluntary action of the will could ever bring a human being into a saving relationship with God. Thus any hint of coercion in religious matters was anathema on evangelical premises. But it was their schema of last-day events, anticipating the religious coercion which they were sure Revelation chapter 13 delineated, which gave such intensity to their efforts to maintain the separation of church and state.

It was also impossible for the Adventists, with the book of Revelation as a key part of their religious charter, to ignore the cryptic reference in chapter 16 to Armageddon and 'the battle of the great day of God Almighty'. The concluding verses of Daniel 11 indicated to them that Turkey would come to its end at the onset of 'a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation', Daniel 12:1. Thus the 'Eastern Question', and the fate of Turkey as 'the Sick Man of the East' riveted their attention. The *Echo* commented at length throughout the 1890s upon war as an evil springing from human avarice and lust for power, or as a sign that the end of the world was approaching. Because of its geographical location, the Boer War did

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52 Adventist concerns about the relationship between church and state were in focus in the columns of the *Bible Echo* more than forty times during 1894 alone. See, for example, the special issue on religion and politics, 2 April 1894.

not seem like the beginning of Armageddon as such; earth's last struggle before the coming of Christ was expected to occur in the Middle East. As hostilities began, the *Echo* declared that 'the god of battle in not the God of heaven'. It reminded its readers of the teachings of Christ 'the Prince of Peace', and of the commandment which enjoined 'Thou shalt not kill.' Christians were declared to be citizens of another country: 'It is illogical and unchristian to suppose that he who holds a title to the heavenly inheritance needs to fight for territory in such a world as this.'[53] White severely criticised 'the treachery of the enlightened nations' in Africa which had 'caused the African people to abhor the white man', and she argued that had Adventist mission work in Africa 'been carried forward as it should have been, the present war would not have been as it now is'.[54] In this respect she was alluding to a refrain in her writings, indicating that the Adventists must bear a measure of responsibility for the fact that time had not yet become eternity.

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Despite her obvious affinities with Protestant evangelicalism, Ellen White was clearly demonstrating a different attitude toward Australian culture than that of the Anglicans or the Wesleyans. So great was this difference that, along with the entire Adventist church, she has often been either overlooked or excluded during discussions of evangelicalism.[55] Therefore, in order to achieve a balanced understanding of the influence which eschatolgy had upon White and her followers, it is necessary to emphasise her closeness to the Anglicans and Wesleyans as an evangelical Christian.

White lived in North America continuously except for two years in Europe (1885-1887) and nine years in Australia. She was permanently influenced by the religious culture into which she was born, and within which she was strongly nurtured, as a child in the

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53 'The God of Battle', *Bible Echo*, 20 November 1899, p. 380.

54 Manuscript 178, 1899. Evidently this manuscript was begun in Maitland during November 1899. Cf. Ellen White to Stephen and Hetty Haskell, 13 November 1899; Ellen White to A.G. Daniells, 18 June 1900.

55 Note the variety of the interpretations of Seventh-day Adventism, as referenced in my article, *Journal of Religious History*, (1987), pp. 307-308. See also 'An Adventist and an Evangelical in Australia? The Case of Ellen White in the 1890s', *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review*, forthcoming.

devout Methodist Episcopal family of Robert and Eunice Harmon in the New England state of Maine. While she was still a small child her parents moved from the farming community of Gorham to the city of Portland, and there engaged in a cottage industry as hatmakers. The Harmons were introduced to the Second Advent Movement by the preaching of William Miller (1782-1849) during 1840; therefore, they were part of some 44 per cent of Millerites who shared a Methodist heritage. Their painful experience of expulsion by the Portland Methodists due to their conviction that the second advent of Christ was imminent, permanently shaped the thinking of Ellen White (nee Harmon). However, White not only retained a deep respect for John Wesley; throughout her long career she demonstrated the continuing influence which Methodism had upon her life and thought.

Like Wesley, White was motivated strongly by the concept that Christians should recover or restore the essence of New Testament Christianity. In her extensive writings[56] she presented the teaching and practice of Christ, the apostles and the early Christian church as the ideal toward which Christianity should now strive to return. As already noted, the 'restorationism' of Thomas and Alexander Campbell was a potent influence in North America during her early life, and confronted her directly in the thinking of James Springer White (1821-1881),[57] the Millerite preacher whom she married on 30 August 1846. When James White became a sabbatarian Adventist shortly after his marriage, he retained the determination to restore New Testament belief and practice which characterised his former denomination, the Christian Connexion, during its early decades. While the restorationist impulse was not strongly present in Anglicanism, the Anglicans' respect for the Bible and their desire for continuity with the apostolic era were compatible with it.

The 1888 edition of Ellen White's *The Great Controversy* was widely sold and avidly read by Australian Adventists during the 1890s. In it White interpreted Christian history in terms of its ideal state during the early centuries, its perceived apostasy during the 'Dark

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[56] Currently available in the Ellen G. White/Seventh-day Adventist Research Centre, Avondale College, Cooranbong, New South Wales.

[57] Virgil Robinson, *James White* (Washington, D.C., 1976); David Edwin Harrell, 'Restorationism and the Stone-Campbell Tradition', in Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (eds), *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, three vols (New York, 1988), Vol. 2, pp. 845-858.

Ages', and its restoration by the Protestant Reformation and subsequent religious awakenings. In support of this schema, White presented Martin Luther as a stalwart reformer who fearlessly attacked the doctrine of salvation by works and courageously proclaimed the concept of justification by faith. This, with his fidelity to Scripture, made Luther a shining light in the spiritual darkness of his time, a person through whom God spoke. Other reformers, including Anglicans, were presented as sharing in the ages-long struggle on the side of truth and righteousness; in his day, John Wesley continued the unremitting war against evil. Thus, White created for Adventists a theology of history which invested the leaders of the Reformation and their spiritual descendants with archetypical significance. Her consistent appeal was for her generation to so yield to Christ and his truth that they would experience 'such a revival of primitive godliness as has not been witnessed since apostolic times'.[58] Such emphases were in accord with Wesleyan and Anglican interpretations of the Reformation and its aftermath.

The essence of White's doctrine of Scripture was also derived from the evangelical antecedents of Adventism. Crucial to it was her respect for the Protestant Reformation and and its affirmation of the sufficiency, clarity and authority of the Bible, plus the particular ideas of John Wesley. She also emphasised the responsibility of every person to go directly to the Scriptures for truth, as declared in a statement which she carried over unchanged into successive editions of *The Great Controversy*:

> It is the first and highest duty of every rational being to learn from the Scriptures what is truth, and then to walk in the light, and encourage others to follow his example. We should day by day study the Bible diligently, weighing every thought, and comparing scripture with scripture. With divine help, we are to form our opinions for ourselves, as we are to answer for ourselves before God.[59]

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[58] Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan During the Christian Dispensation* (Oakland, 1888), p. 464. The initial statement of these ideas was written in 1858, and thereafter formed the dominant theme in White's writings. See Joseph Battistone, *The Great Controversy Theme in E.G. White Writings* (Berrien Springs, 1978). Revelation chapters two and three, in the broader context of biblical apocalyptic literature, shaped White's interpretation of the church through the ages, from Ephesus (the church of Christ and the apostles) to Laodicea (the Seventh-day Adventist church).

[59] *The Great Controversy*, p. 598.

The individual responsibility which this passage enjoins, unites the doctrine of Scripture with the Reformation concept of the priesthood of all believers. However, the study of Scripture was given a heightened significance in White's thought-world by her concept of eschatology; she warned that only 'those who have fortified the mind with the truths of the Bible will stand through the last great conflict'.[60] Some Adventists acted as though White's definitions of faith and duty were easier to follow than those of the Scriptures. Such individuals were at times corrected quite severely by their prophet. Speaking to church leaders assembled at a headquarters conference in the United States shortly after her return from Australia, White enjoined them bluntly:

> I do not ask you to take my word; I do not ask you to do it; lay Sister White right to one side. Do you not--never quote my words again as long as you live, until you obey the Bible... But hear the Word, the precious Word, I exalt it before you to-day.[61]

The similarities between White's thought and Wesleyan and Anglican evangelicalism also included many of her proposals for the substance of Christian preaching. It is possible to construct a very long list of White's recommendations for the content of Christian proclamation, or to note dominant themes in her own sermons and addresses. She called upon her contemporaries to focus upon God's love expressed in Jesus Christ, and to present a wide range of Bible teachings such as conversion and righteousness by faith. A major refrain in White's literary output during the 1890s reiterated the centrality of the cross. Calvary was presented as the foundation of the Christian faith, a manifestation of the love of God and the measure of the value of a human soul. All the blessings of the present and future life, White declared, come to humankind stamped with the cross, the centre of all religious institutions on earth, and the subject destined to be the science and song of the redeemed throughout eternity.[62]

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60 *The Great Controversy*, p. 593.

61 Manuscript 43, 1901, cf. 43a and 43b. The three extant stenographic reports vary in minor aspects of expression and punctuation. The form adopted in that of Manuscript Release 115, p. 12.

62 *Review and Herald*, 20 March 1894, pp. 177-178; Letter 86, 1895; Ellen G. White, *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View, 1898), p. 22; cf. Ellen G. White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (Mountain View, 1923), pp. 89-98. The latter quotation was published in 1896.

A painstaking doctoral study recently concluded that the Adventist notion of original sin in the nineteenth century 'developed along Arminian and conditionalist lines and emphasized actual sin more than ontological sin'.[63] Thus it seemed to be natural for some Adventists to emphasise sanctification as embodying the Christian's primary duty: to overcome particular sins. On the other hand, White enunciated a doctrine of human depravity which necessitated justification by faith in Luther's terms. During the early decades of Seventh-day Adventism the movement usually assumed that it had no problem in the area of its soteriology. After all, its mission seemed to pivot on the need to warn Christians about the nature and implications of last-day events. But by the 1890s the church found itself embroiled in an internal confrontation between rival views of salvation.[64]

That context, which first became apparent at the General Conference session held in Minnesota during 1888, helped to make the 1890s 'the decade of Christ' for Ellen White.[65] She refocused the content of her first four decades of literary endeavours, producing a series of major books: *Steps to Christ*, 1892; *Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing*, 1896; *The Desire of Ages*, 1898; *Christ's Object Lessons*, 1900.[66] She also included the essential message of these volumes in other books written during this period, and in her constant stream of periodical articles. On 30 July 1901, White confided to her diary:

> The sacrifice of Christ as an atonement for sin is the great truth around which all other truths cluster. In order to be rightly understood and appreciated, every truth in the word of God, from Genesis to Revelation, must be studied in the light which streams from the cross of Calvary, and in connection with the wondrous, central truth of the Saviour's atonement. Those who

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63 Edwin Harry Zachrison, 'Seventh-day Adventists and Original Sin: A Study of the Early Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Understanding of the Effect of Adam's Sin on His Posterity' (PhD dissertation, Andrews University, 1984), p. 3; cf. pp. 8-12, 396-401, 406-409.

64 Arthur N. Patrick, 'Smith, Butler and Minneapolis: The Problem and Promise of Historical Enquiry', in Arthur J. Ferch (ed.), *Toward Righteousness by Faith: 1888 in Retrospect* (Warburton, 1990), pp. 10-24.

65 John W. Wood, 'The Atonement of Christ in the Writings of Ellen G. White', in Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher (eds), *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 696.

66 These volumes were published by Pacific Press at Mountain View, California.

> study the Redeemer's wonderful sacrifice grow in grace and knowledge. I present before you the great, grand monument of mercy and regeneration, salvation and redemption,--the Son of God uplifted on the cross of Calvary.[67]

Given this orientation, it was inevitable that White would share some of the Evangelical Anglican and Wesleyan perspectives on the problem of Christianity and culture. But again the striking fact is not the similarities but the decided differences. White's definition of the Christian's dilemma was such that she fits principally within Niebuhr's 'Christ against culture' category,[68] rather than with the Anglicans and the Wesleyans who are amongst Niebuhr's 'Christians-of-the-middle'.

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At several points we have alluded to the principal reason for this circumstance; it is now necessary to examine its rationale in more detail. The apocalyptic literature of the Bible, which created and nourished the distinctive self-understanding of Adventism, is said to be rich in 'historical consciousness', future 'direction of mind', and ethical concern.[69] During the 1890s Adventist publications were replete with references to all three of these dimensions. The verse-by-verse commentaries on Revelation and Daniel by Uriah Smith had expressed the classic Adventist interpretation from their first publication in 1867 and 1873 respectively.[70] As a single large volume in its various revisions, Smith's *Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on Daniel and the Revelation* instructed believers and evangelised the general public, as did *Bible Readings for the Home Circle* and *The Great Controversy*. These three volumes, the most prominent overviews of the Adventist message, were sold by Australian colporteurs in the major cities, and in towns wherever shipping and railways penetrated. But such large books were heavy to carry on foot where horse-drawn vehicles could

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67 Manuscript 70, 1901, p. 4.

68 H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. 45-82.

69 Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (London, 1972), p. 130.

70 Smith's first major contribution to Adventist literature, a 35,000 word poem entitled 'The Warning Voice of Time and Prophecy', also breathed apocalypticism. See *Review and Herald*, 17 March 1853 to 12 May 1853 for Part I; 23 June 1853 to 11 August 1853 for Part II.

not go; early in the 1890s Adventists colporteurs found that they could, on horseback, better conquer the problems of flooding and rough terrain.[71]

Yet these three largest subscription books, aggregating 2,100 pages, were only introductions to Adventist ideas, a fact made apparent by many advertisements for more specific literature in the *Bible Echo* and elsewhere.[72] Adventist themes were treated in more explicit detail within a plethora of books in addition to its overseas and Australian periodicals. Prominent were volumes by Alonzo Trevier Jones, portraying the hand of God in history from the Flood of Noah to the end of time.[73] Other volumes by Uriah Smith treated such matters as the age-long struggles over the law of God and the nature of man. John Nevins Andrews' tome on the Bible Sabbath was, in its third edition, the most definitive statement on that theme.[74] The historical consciousness in these publications saw the past as latent with meaning for the present, but especially so for 'the impending conflict'[75] soon to burst upon the world. The imminence of the second advent of Christ was indicated by the political decline of Turkey and a host of other 'signs', including the alleged growth of spiritism.[76]

Thus, in Adventist thinking, the great necessity of the hour was to proclaim the biblical and historical truth which would prepare people to meet their Lord. Adventists saw little need to address directly various concerns important to some other Christians; eschatology easily eclipsed less vital matters. Also, their apocalyptic categories of thought made them pessimistic about both the future of the other churches and the state. A religious group believing that the

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71 Charles Michaels, 'Australia', *The Home Missionary*, December 1892, p. 284.

72 Adventist periodicals and the final pages of their books frequently carried lists of volumes which were available.

73 The titles of five volumes by Jones, varying from 874 to 257 pages in length, infer his perspectives on history: *Empires of the Bible; Great Empires of Prophecy; Ecclesiastical Empire; The Rights of the People; The Great Nations of Today.*

74 J.N. Andrews, *History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week* (Battle Creek, 1887).

75 See the chapter of this title in White, *The Great Controversy*, pp. 582-592; cf. pp. 603-612.

76 H.E. Robinson, *The Eastern Question in the Light of God's Promises to Israel, Prophetic and Historic* (Battle Creek, 1897); Uriah Smith, *Modern Spiritualism: A Subject of Prophecy and a Sign of the Times* (Battle Creek, 1897).

history of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome was symbolised by the wild animals of Daniel 7, that an important part of the history of Christianity was portrayed by the 'beast' symbol in Revelation 13:1-10, that Revelation 13:11-18 delineated the United States as the future leader in a world-wide apostasy, was bound to be suspicious of secular governments and any moves toward interdenominational co-operation.

Australian Adventism was only marginally concerned to adapt itself to new circumstances. The mission of the movement was expressed in those key Scriptures which were alluded to in its administrative meetings and explicated in its literature. There was no uncertainty in the minds of Adventists when they spoke of 'the truth' and 'the message'. People came 'into the light of present truth' when they received 'the Third Angel's message', kept the Sabbath from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday, and signified by baptism their determination to 'keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus'.

The Adventists in Australia had organised themselves into an Australian Conference in 1888, and established the Australasian Union Conference as District 7 of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists during a camp meeting held at Middle Brighton, Victoria, where the inaugural meeting of its executive committee convened on 15 January 1894. Four days later, the committee recorded its conviction 'that there are many evidences that the time has come to open up new fields and push the work with increased vigour in all parts of Australasia', and so it resolved:

> That we hereby express to Almighty God our heart felt gratitude for the blessing He has bestowed upon the efforts made to spread the third angel's message in the Australasian colonies which calls for the organization of the Union Conference.

Then followed a typical intimation of the church's mission:

> Our Lord & Saviour said 'Go ye into all the world & preach the Gospel to every creature' and the rapid fulfillment of the prophecies pointing out present truth & duty & the increasing interest of the people to hear the warning messages which constitute the closing work of the gospel impel us to greater activity in carrying the gospel everywhere...

Therefore, the committee put in place better plans for training 'labourers for Christ' in order to fulfil the task in hand. The thrust of the church's mission did not change during the decade; indeed, the fourth biennial session of the Union Conference, which began on 12 July 1901, was told by its president, G.A. Irwin:

> As we near the end these meetings become more and more important. The Third Angel's message will soon close suddenly and what we have to do must be done quickly. It calls for a new and complete consecration of body, soul and spirit to the Lord, that His will may be done.

Between the arrival of the first missionaries in 1885 and the end of 1900, motivated by this sense of urgency, Adventists penetrated all six of the Australian colonies. They spread themselves thinly across New South Wales, developing congregations in Sydney, Newcastle, Maitland, Broken Hill and a number of other towns. At the same time, their literature was scattered much more widely, even reaching into remote regions. The millenarian ideas which the Adventists derived from the apocalyptic portions of the Scriptures contributed the distinctive elements of their definition of Christianity, and functioned as a potent source of both motivation and restraint in their relations with the culture of New South Wales.

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The doctrine of the church was crucial within the schema of Adventist religious ideas. Their understanding of their identity and mission was influenced deeply by their concept of the pilgrim nature of the church, as a remnant or new Israel called out of a degenerate and hostile world. The 'last generation', the era in which the Adventists were sure that they were living, was believed by them to be beyond corporate redemption in whole and largely in part, for even the most democratic nations were doomed to descend into totalitarianism. The believer's lot was to live in 'a wicked and adulterous' end-time, charged with a special mission: to deliver a saving message couched in tones of urgent warning. Almost every act of God and crisis of man - accidents, celestial phenomena, droughts, fires, floods, inventions, pestilences, religious laxity and religious intolerance, wars - reinforced the Adventist conviction that the end of all things was at hand, and thus stimulated their sense of mission. Against such a cataclysmic

backdrop, many earthly concerns seemed to be worth little contention. The Adventists believed that no ultimate good would be achieved even by just laws, since depravity in all its forms could be cured effectively only by spiritual regeneration.[77] They saw themselves as the 'remnant' of God's faithful of all ages, called to make ready a people to meet Christ in peace at his second coming. True believers had no doubt about which body of Christians was intended by their often-used term, 'The Remnant Church'. They memorised Revelation 12:17; it bore unequivocal meaning in their thinking. Every time they recited it, their minds included the words which expressed the intent of its symbols: 'The dragon [Satan] was wroth with the woman [the true church of all ages], and went to make war with the remnant of her seed [the Seventh-day Adventists], which keep the commandments of God [including the Sabbath of the fourth commandment], and have the testimony of Jesus Christ [the spirit of prophecy].' By comparing Revelation 14:12 and 19:10, the 'identifying marks' of 'The Remnant Church' were evident to them: the seventh-day or Saturday Sabbath was the authenticating seal of the Ten Commandments; the prophetic ministry of Ellen White was a last-day testimony from Jesus.

In view of these considerations, it is important to notice how the Adventists related to the other Christians in their society. They were grateful for assistance given them, as when the Baptists loaned a church with facilities for conducting the rite of baptism by immersion. Their periodicals constantly reprinted what they regarded as the pithiest statements and best devotional articles of other Christian authors. Ellen White's writings drew heavily on Protestant publications, even in her crowning volume on the life of Christ which was published in 1898.[78] Attitudes in Adventism had moved a long way from the exclusiveness of the 'Shut Door' period of 1844-1851, when they considered all but themselves as lost, but they clearly and often defined the boundaries of religious acceptability. Dudley M. Canright (1840-1919) had been a prominent North American evangelist and General Conference committee member, but after 1887, when he became a Baptist, he was considered to be an apostate, and

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[77] Cf. Jonathan M. Butler, 'Adventism and the American Experience', in Edwin S. Gaustad (ed.), *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1974), pp. 173-206.

[78] Fred Veltman, 'Full Report of the Life of Christ Research Project', four vols (Angwin, 1988), Vol. 3, pp. 858-958.

his writings haunted the young church in Australia. C.F. Hawkins entered the light as he left Methodism and went into darkness when he surrendered the landmark truths of Adventism. The pain of Hawkins' experience was, for the Australian Adventists, intensified in the case of a more prominent evangelist, Stephen McCullagh.[79] The 1890s were a time when Adventist soteriology was undergoing clarification, in the wake of their epoch-making General Conference held during 1888.[80] But the wide dissemination of Ellen White's strident warnings in the 1888 edition of *The Great Controversy* kept an explicit assessment of both Protestantism and Catholicism sounding in Adventist ears. So they interpreted every move toward co-operation and union amongst Christians as signs of last-day apostasy. O.A. Olsen told the Union Conference committee on 18 February 1894 that in the broadest sense the church 'includes all who are members of the body of Christ wherever they may be found in all the world', adding that 'they may be among the Methodists or Baptists'. But Olsen might well have added that if these members of Christ's body were 'honest in heart' they would receive the message of the Third Angel when it was delivered to them in written or spoken form.[81]

Adventist separateness from their culture may be further illustrated by their restrained interest in women's issues and temperance reforms, yet their intense interest in medical work. Ellen White was recognised and respected as a co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventist church by her Australian compatriots, and she was

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79 Although Canright left the church in North America, his book *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced: After an Experience of Twenty-Eight Years by a Prominent Minister and Writer of That Faith* (New York, 1889) troubled the Australian church during the 1890s, and provided many of the basic arguments used against Adventists ever since. McCullagh and Hawkins worked only in Australasia. Correspondence portrays the then-current attitudes most clearly. Ellen White to 'Dear Brethren', 30 March 1897; Ellen White to the Adelaide Church, 5 and 22 April 1897; Ellen White to Edson, Emma and/or Willie White, 6 April 1897, 6 and 30 May 1897; Ellen White to Stephen McCullagh, 9 April 1897; A.G. Daniells to Ellen White, 15 April 1897; Ellen White to Fannie Bolton, 25 June 1897.

80 A.V. Olson, *Thirteen Crisis Years: 1888-1901* (Washington, D.C., 1981); Barry D. Oliver, 'Principles for Reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Administrative Structure, 1888-1903: Implications for an International Church' (PhD dissertation, Andrews University, 1989), pp. 222-225; Ferch (ed.), *Toward Righteousness by Faith: 1888 in Retrospect.*

81 Australian Union Conference Executive Committee Minutes, 18 February 1894; White, *The Great Controversy*, p. 522. The Adventists, like the Catholics and others, believed that if their message was presented adequately to honest people there could be only one result.

throughout the 1890s the church's most prominent speaker and its most prolific author. In view of these facts, it is ironical that the Adventists could be generally negative about the wave of feminism which influenced Australia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Since the present author has explored the Adventist response to women's issues elsewhere at some length,[82] this matter is compressed within a paragraph here. The Adventist consciousness was stirred by Ellen White as a female role model, indicating the reception of diverse spiritual gifts by a woman was a fact beyond dispute. The Adventists paralleled the Sydney Church of England move by ordaining women as deaconesses during the 1890s, no doubt encouraged by Ellen White's 1895 injunction to set women apart for Christian service 'by prayer and the laying on of hands'.[83] But the low-key Adventist stance on female status and role is well illustrated by comparing and contrasting the writings and local influence of two conservative Christian women from the United States, both active in Australia during the 1890s: Jessie Ackermann and Ellen White.[84] Both were literate, articulate, Bible-loving, temperance-promoting, evangelical Christians. Ellen White was highly supportive of the ministry of females. Though she did not reveal a clear stance on the ordination of women for ministry,[85] she was outspoken on the principle of equal pay for equal work and various other dimensions of male-female egalitarianism. Yet the contrast with Jessie Ackermann

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82 Arthur N. Patrick, 'Ellen Gould White and the Australian Woman, 1891-1900' (MLitt thesis, The University of New England, 1983); cf. Steven Gerald Daily, 'The Irony of Adventism: The Role of Ellen White and Other Adventist Women in Nineteenth Century America' (DMin professional project, School of Theology at Claremont, 1985).

83 Ellen G. White, 'The Duty of the Minister and the People', *Review and Herald*, 9 July 1895, pp. 433-434; Arthur N. Patrick, 'Founding Mothers: Women and the Adventist Work in the South Pacific Division', *Adventist Heritage: A Journal of Adventist History*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Fall 1986), pp. 3-15; Arthur N. Patrick, 'The Ordination of Deaconesses', *Adventist Review*, 16 January 1986, pp. 18-19; 'The Church of Seventh-day Adventists of Ashfield, New South Wales, Church Record', entries dated 10 August 1895, 24 June 1899, 7 January 1900.

84 Cf. Jessie Ackermann, *Australia From a Woman's Point of View* (London, [1913], 1981); Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 6, written in Australia and published in 1900.

85 Arthur N. Patrick, 'The Ordination of Women in Australia: An "Enduring Problem" in Historical Perspective', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (September 1988), pp. 247-272; 'The Adventist Pastor and the Ordination of Women', *Ministry: International Journal for Clergy*, April 1989, pp. 9-12.

is an instructive one. Miss Ackermann was concerned about New South Wales and society; Mrs White and her people were intent on the saving of souls from the last generation upon which 'perilous times' had come.[86]

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) functioned much in the public sphere, even though the preservation of the home was one of its primary concerns. Due to its anti-liquor stance the WCTU seemed as though it should be a natural fellow-traveller for the Adventists. Ellen White had often spoken to temperance groups in North America, and had shown a sustained interest in temperance work there. This fact is well illustrated by her correspondence with Mrs S.M.I. Henry, an early leader and finally national evangelist of the WCTU in the United States, who converted to Adventism in 1896. Evidently during the Maitland camp meeting late in 1899 the president of the Maitland WCTU branch invited White to speak to her group one evening, which was done 'with freedom ... for one hour'.[87] During the 1890s Ellen White no doubt encouraged Australian women to give the same qualified support to the activism of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which the *Bible Echo* enjoined.

But the WCTU was not without serious problems from an Adventist point of view. While the *Echo* applauded the marshalling of influential and consecrated women who were devoted to a much-needed moral reform, and could accept that temperance work was multidimensional, it both feared and attacked certain basic WCTU objectives. This attitude was apparent in its opposition to a WCTU petition:

> Four things connected with this petition are worthy of note: (1) professed believers in the gospel confessing they have no power to cope with iniquity; (2) A professed Christian organisation appealing to civil power for assistance in prosecuting its work; (3) A conviction expressed that 'pure hearts' may be made, and 'the moral tone of society' raised by civil law; and (4) A petition that the law itself should be raised to the standard of 'Christian morals'.[88]

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86 Arthur N. Patrick, 'Ellen White After a Hundred Years', *Adventist Review*, forthcoming.

87 Ellen G. White, 'Cooperating With the WCTU', *Temperance*, pp. 222-226.

88 *Echo*, 7 May 1894, pp. 138-139; cf. 28 February 1898, pp. 65-66; 15 October 1894, p. 328.

The *Echo*'s greatest concerns with the WCTU surrounded such religious matters as 'fraternising and hob-nobing [sic] with the Catholic Church', seeking to 'unite church and state, or to enforce religious observances [Sunday] by law'.[89] So, once again, due to the soteriology and eschatology which shaped its ecclesiology, Adventism was restrained in its support for an otherwise attractive aspect of social reform.

It was never easy for the Adventists to balance their missionary responsibilities with their desire to come out of the world in order to have the benefit of holy separation. Their early medical institutions in Australia used rented buildings in cities or suburbs; such a situation was, in Adventist thinking, experimental and temporary at best. Their long-term goal was to locate their institutions out of the cities. Like the infant health food industry, the fledgeling 'Medical Missionary' enterprise imported ideas, equipment, and even personnel from Battle Creek in the United States. Soon Australians were sent to North America to train as physicians and nurses, to return and staff 'sanitariums' in the colonies. The financial reverses which Australia suffered during the 1890s made the development of medical work difficult, not least because it was a severe financial drain upon resources badly needed for other evangelistic purposes. The Sydney Sanitarium and Hospital was a local fulfilment of the Adventist dream of the 1890s, but it opened only after the turn of the century. It was located on an eighty-acre site in the northern suburb of Wahroonga, accessible to train transport and thus within reach of Sydney, yet in a bushland setting. In its buildings, equipment and staff it represented the high principles for which the church stood; it epitomised the relation of Christian faith and good health. The people who sacrificed to create the Sanitarium believed 'the gospel of health' was a legitimate part of their distinctive mission:

> When properly conducted, the health work is an entering wedge, making the way for other truths to reach the heart. When the third angel's message is received in its fullness, health reform will be given its place in the councils of the conference, in the work of the church, in the home, at the table, and in all household arrangements. Then the right arm will serve and protect the body.[90]

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[89] *Echo*, 19 June 1899, p. 204.

(Footnote(s) 90 will appear on a subsequent page)

In creating a place where the public and believers might learn how to maintain and recover health, the Adventists were preparing a people for translation into a restored Eden, a place where 'the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick'.[91] It provided, in partnership with their educational, publishing and health food enterprises, another sanctuary for believers from which to sally forth on their mission, and a miniature of the political and spiritual values of the kingdom of God. Such institutions were created by millenarian ideas shaped by specific notions of salvation, the church, the relations of church and state, and the dominant thought patterns of the wider society.[92]

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These examples are instructive in assessing the Adventist encounter with culture, but by no means exhaustive of the subject in hand. This study could fruitfully continue by considering a host of other issues, or more fully examining matters already implied. Adventist education was in its early phase an effective means whereby the church marked off distinct boundaries for its relations with Australian culture, yet, over time, it has facilitated an ever-widening interchange between the Adventists and their culture. The formative influence of Ellen White in fostering a precise Adventist identity has been offset by the way in which she developed an understanding of the thought-patterns of other Christians through her extensive use of their

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90 White, *Testimonies*, Vol. 6, p. 327.

91 Isaiah 33:24.

92 A recent study explores the way in which Adventists have responded to moral dilemmas relating to human sexuality. See Michael Pearson, *Millennial Dreams and Moral Dilemmas: Seventh-day Adventists and contemporary ethics* (Cambridge, 1990). Since Pearson traces this theme from the beginnings of Adventism until 1985, he demonstrates at length the dilemma of a millenarian movement which has been unwilling to isolate itself from the processes of scientific discovery. Another significant study is that by Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (San Francisco, 1989). Bull and Lockhart contend that as America provided sanctuary to generations of European migrants, so Adventism provided an alternative sanctuary to the social and institutional structures of the United States. Adventist communities in Australia which have developed around its hospitals, colleges, health food and publishing enterprises have experienced a comparable phenomenon.

writings.[93] It would also be useful to notice the function of definite membership standards amongst Adventists, with baptism by immersion as the way of entry and disfellowshipment as the means of control; or the effect of strict standards which forbade marriage with unbelievers and even with Christians of other faiths.

But enough has been said to indicate the dilemma of the Adventists' relationship with culture.[94] They could not withdraw from their society, for their theology demanded they must reach out to 'every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people' fervently and continually. Their doctrine dictated their deeds in a precise manner, preventing them from engaging in many activities energetically and sincerely promoted by other Christian groups in late nineteenth-century Australia. There were Puritan genes in the Adventist body, beyond what might be anticipated from the fact that about 44 per cent of Millerite preachers were Methodists. It is often difficult to determine, from both language and content, whether a given statement from the 1890s was made by Ellen White, the *Bible Echo*, or the *Methodist*. But the Wesleyans were dedicated to a different cause: their optimistic millennialism was incongruent with the Adventists' cataclysmic pre-millennialism.

In a perceptive chapter on millennialism, Ernest R. Sandeen observes that all Christian 'millennial theologies involve the triumph of Christ, the vindication of the suffering saints, and the eventual reign of Christ on the earth'. But beyond these common elements are variations which have proved sufficient to separate Christians into 'wildly warring camps'. Sandeen lists three sets of alternatives: Is the triumph of Christ deemed to be 'near or distant'? Will Christ's second coming be 'silent or cataclysmic'? Will the second coming be 'gradual

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93 Cf. my summary of the seven ways in which Ellen White influenced the church, 'The Founding Mothers', in Clapham (ed.), *Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific, 1885-1985*, pp. 116-118.

94 White recognised this as an often-unresolved problem: 'To live in the world and yet be not of the world, is a problem that many Christians have never worked out in their practical life.' *Review and Herald*, 25 February 1896, p. 113. Yet her recommended stance was unequivocal: 'Conformity to the world should be strictly guarded against.' 'The True Higher Education', *Special Testimonies on Education*, p. 30, dated at Cooranbong, 12 June 1896.

or swift'?[95] The most loosely-instructed Adventist would have answered these questions without hesitation: Christ's coming is near; it will be both cataclysmic and swift.

What did it mean for a Seventh-day Adventist to live the Christian life in Australia during the 1890s? On almost a score of Christian doctrines the Adventists hewed the same line as other conservative Christians; on a dozen beliefs the Adventists opted for one of the alternatives chosen by respectable conservative Christians.[96] They did have a distinctive emphasis, due to their convictions about the ministry of Jesus Christ as heavenly high priest and judge. It is evident that doctrine helped them to see an eschatological importance in the seventh-day Sabbath, and their understanding of spiritual gifts was applied to Ellen White in a way not shared by other Christians. But it was as a people suffused with apocalypticism, as ardent millenarians, that their inner character may be identified most fully. This belief caused them to live in the tension between two injunctions: to watch and be ready for the coming of the Lord on the one hand; on the other, to 'occupy' until his return.[97]

The institutions which the Adventists developed in New South Wales to implement their concerns for education and health were not temporary structures. The Sydney Sanitarium and Hospital housed a hundred patient beds in an elegant wooden building only replaced seven decades later on a bigger scale with more lasting materials. At least two of the larger structures built on the Avondale campus between 1897 and 1899 should, with some renovation, last far into the twenty-first century. In some respects what the Adventists did gave the appearance that they planned to occupy this earth for a long time. The two-storey home which Ellen White built near Avondale and occupied from 1895 until 1900 became a museum during the 1960s, a continuing memorial of an era in which apocalyptic attitudes confronted an unwilling society.[98]

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[95] Ernest R. Sandeen, 'Millennialism', in Gaustad (ed.), *The Rise of Adventism*, pp. 104-118.

[96] *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine: An Explanation of Certain Major Aspects of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 21-25.

[97] Matthew 24:42; Luke 19:13.

[98] According to Walter Phillips ['Religious Profession and Practice in New South (Footnote continued)

Adventist pre-millennialism was in direct contrast with the this-worldly concerns of the Sydney *Bulletin*; but it was also deeply suspicious of the fervour of the Protestants, and paranoid about the objectives of Catholicism. The Adventists found it was possible to team up with secularists in order to protect religious individualism, rather than to co-operate with other Christians who were striving to develop a just or a Christian society. Hence the Adventists in Australia, late in the nineteenth century, illustrate the separatist forces which millennialism has frequently unleashed upon segments of Christianity. In her life-style, speaking and writing, Ellen White epitomised the Adventist stance.

Moran idealised 'the ages of medieval piety'; Smith the era when the Church of England corrected the 'errors' of Roman Catholicism; the Wesleyans were inspired by the evangelicalism of Wesley and its prospects for transforming Australian society. For the Adventists, Moran's ideal period was the 'Dark Ages'; the golden pasts of the Anglicans and the Wesleyans were worthy but insufficient. The Reformation churches had now written up their creeds and refused to complete the restoration of New testament faith and practice. Therefore, the 'Remnant Church' was called of God to complete the work of the Reformation. Its members had heard and accepted the call of God to come from darkness into light; thus they possessed and were possessed by a global mission.[99]

Where, then, did Seventh-day Adventists of the 1890s fit within Niebuhr's categories? As convinced believers in every word of the Bible, as Trinitarian heirs of the Reformation and of Puritanism with precise definitions of Christian ethics and a 'remnant' emphasis in their ecclesiology, they were drawn toward the stance of the radical Christian. But the commanding influence of their eschatology

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(Footnote 98 continued from previous page)
Wales, 1850-1901: The Statistical Evidence', *Historical Studies*, 15 (1972-1973), p. 383], Australia 'provided poor soil for the growth of apocalyptic movements and religious enthusiasm'.

[99] The contrasts which (according to Niebuhr) are often stressed by the anti-cultural, non-conforming, radical, exclusive Christian might be illustrated at length from the writings of Ellen White. For instance, on more than four thousand occasions she contrasts 'light' and 'darkness'; in so doing she frequently quotes the Johannine corpus and applies its symbolism to the 'Remnant' people. Cf. chapter one of this thesis (pp. 14 and 15) with *Christ and Culture* (pp. 45-82) and the Ellen G. White articles in the *Review and Herald*, 13 December 1892, 27 February 1894, 16 July 1895.

sometimes pressed them toward dualism; their determination to excel in all things tugged them toward the 'Christ above culture' stance; their motivation toward a 'better-living' life-style impelled them toward the transformationist position. All these features were destined to become more evident as the movement matured. Even in the late nineteenth century, Seventh-day Adventism was too complex to fit neatly into one category, but its strongest currents during the 1890s were within the historical stream which Niebuhr describes as 'Christ against culture'.[100] In this respect Adventism illustrates the powerful influence which eschatology can have upon the relations between a religious movement and its culture.

The problem of Christianity and culture evoked different, indeed, contrasting answers from Catholics, Anglicans, Wesleyans and Adventists. It remains for us to view these four denominational solutions in historical perspective.

[100] Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, pp. 45-82.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

European religion in colonial Australia was derived from Northern Hemisphere Christian denominations whose adherents brought their doctrines, myths, ethical teachings, rituals and social institutions as unlisted baggage when they journeyed to the Antipodes. Christianity was, therefore, divided into a number of subcultures each confident in its own definition of the faith, and eager to sustain itself by the repetition and promulgation of its familiar beliefs and forms of religious experience. For this reason, the institutional aspect of Christianity tended to assume a greater importance than its existential, intellectual and ethical components.

The ethos within each denomination was adapted to meet the needs and interests of its constituency rather than to attract new adherents. Most Northern Hemisphere Christians wanted to preserve familiar thought-forms and liturgies rather than experiment with new patterns. Thus Roman Catholicism nurtured its relationships with Rome and Ireland, emphasising the historic role of the church and the importance of distinctive Catholic doctrines. Anglicans acknowledged that their communion embraced a number of definitions of Christianity each fostered by a particular party; thus any leader who valued the notion of a comprehensive church was committed to the difficult task of

facilitating coexistence (at least) or even co-operation (ideally) between groupings with quite varied perspectives. Each strand of Anglicanism fitted the religious expectations of a particular segment of the New South Wales population which shared an English or Irish heritage shaped by the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The Wesleyans fostered a relatively-unadorned but enthusiastic evangelicalism which emphasised patterns of worship and governance derived in particular from England during the eighteenth century. The Adventists read the apocalyptic portions of the Christian Scriptures through glasses coloured by their North American provenance in the mid-nineteenth century, and sallied forth boldly to proclaim an imminent second advent of Christ. The fact that these forms of Christianity have continued probably indicates that each of them brought a considerable level of existential satisfaction to its adherents; together they were accorded in the census of 1901 at least the nominal allegiance of almost 83 per cent of the residents of New South Wales.

Each of the four denominations promoted education: for Catholics and Adventists this strongly indicated denominational institutions, but for Anglicans and Methodists the Government schools gave acceptable opportunities for religious education as an optional extra. Therefore, the Anglicans and Wesleyans were quite willing to function within the existing structures, which also allowed them to conduct their own institutions when finances permitted. All four denominations were deeply moved by the economic problems which were painfully evident during the 1890s. Despite their numerical strength, the Catholics could do little in the political sphere to change the social order due in particular to the constraints of their ecclesiology. The Adventists felt able to strongly support temperance legislation, but their doctrine of the church and its role in apocalyptic prophecy prevented them from effective partnership with other Christians, and directed their energies toward keeping religion and politics entirely separate from each other. Anglicans and Wesleyans viewed the Government as a partner, an ally to be sometimes applauded, often corrected and constantly pressed to promote national righteousness. The crisis of the Boer War highlighted the problems and promise of each of these perspectives: the Catholics surrendered their doubts about the war in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the Government; the Adventists interpreted it a yet another sign that the end of all things was at hand; the Anglican leadership was confident that the good people who functioned in the sphere of Government were

doing whatever was necessary; the Wesleyans saw it as an attack upon the kingdom of God (the British Empire) and thus declared it to be a righteous crusade to protect and extend cherished values. Three of these Christian subcultures recited the same early creeds as enunciations of their faith; all four of them reverently followed the same Scriptures. Even in their short-term solutions for the tensions between Christianity and culture, outsiders often perceived conflict more than commonality.

This diversity was far more evident in the long-range or ultimate solutions adopted by the four denominations. Within both secular society and the Christian subcultures there were numerous strands of utopian hope. In successive eras humans have idealised an Atlantis, a Camelot or an Avalon;[1] it was no different in colonial New South Wales. Socialism was the saviour of a growing number of the population; many socialists and others based their hopes for a new order on the emergent Labor Party.[2] Yet, due to their disillusionment with the options which were available to them in New South Wales, William Lane and his followers determined to found a 'New Australia' in South America.[3] Federation stirred the idealism of some who envisaged that a united Australia would soon become a large and prosperous nation; others were caught up with the euphoria which the approach of a new century stimulated. The churches were not alone, then, in fostering utopian expectations. Indeed, they viewed the future through the prisms of their faith; to have done less than that would have been to hide their identity and deny their mission.

But the 'manyness' (Albanese) of Christianity was a source of confusion in that each Christian group strove to realise a different utopian vision. Moran and those close to him idealised a Christian civilisation in which the 'true' church would recover the ideal position which they believed it had enjoyed in medieval Christendom and Ireland. Smith and his supporters envisioned a Christianised society facilitated by a 'comprehensive' church patterned on English

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1 James Harpur and Jennifer Westwood, *The Atlas of Legendary Places* (London, 1989), pp. 18-35.

2 'Socialism in our time' was a slogan proclaimed with energy by some during the 1890s; for others, the catch-cry was 'the gospel to all the world in this generation'. On the former, see Verity Burgmann, *'In Our Time': Socialism and the Rise of Labor, 1885-1905* (Sydney, 1985).

3 Such a venture drew strong criticism from Christians loyal to the British Empire. See *Methodist*, 17 June 1893, p. 1; 17 February 1894, p. 1; 12 May 1894, p. 6.

precedents. Clipsham and the Wesleyans' newspaper envisaged the transformation of Australian society led by a 'chosen' church which God had equipped within the structures of the British Empire and Australian society. White and her associates visualised a company of people made ready for the cataclysmic advent of Christ through the witness of the 'remnant' church which had been formed in the crucible of a North American religious awakening.

Many of these Christians pursued their objectives so purposefully that they failed to observe the realities of their immediate religious and secular culture. In other words, the institutional continuity of each form of Christianity generally seemed more important than the ethical responsibilities implied by the Christian faith. The *Bulletin*'s unmerciful criticisms suggest that for the secularists these Christian expectations were mirages in the desert of Australian religious need, or, to change the metaphor, that such Christian proposals were charades by actors whose lines had been prepared for them in other historical circumstances amidst distant geographical settings. With far more accuracy, it can be observed that the religion which so motivated and restrained the thoughts and the deeds of these Christians might be described as

> a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.[4]

The power and pervasiveness of various systems of symbols might be illustrated by conditions inside the various churches or by circumstances in the growing secular elements within Australian society. The brief sortie which chapter two made into the thought-world of the *Bulletin* suggests both the problem and the potential which lay before the churches. The fact that religion was a factor of some importance in Australian life is indicated by a number of independent lines of evidence, including the amount of discussion which Christianity evoked throughout the decade in the pages of the 'Bushman's Bible'. At times the paper claimed that religion was

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4 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London, 1973), p. 90; cf. Ans J. van der Bent, 'Christianity and Culture: an Analytical Survey of Some Theological Approaches', *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (April 1987), pp. 222-227.

inconsequential, but the vigour and extent of its focus on religious themes indicates that it failed to believe its own disclaimers. Again, the ease with which religion can be misunderstood and misrepresented by its critics is apparent from an analysis of the *Bulletin*'s reports and comments, in comparison with the content of chapters five to eight of this study. The *Bulletin* gave priority to the intellectual and ethical aspects of Christianity; this deeply threatened its institutional structures and thus the existential satisfactions which it gave its adherents.

Since the religious and the non-religious people in a given culture may have quite different, even antithetical value systems, some conflict is inevitable between them. Numerous instances might be cited: those Christians who regarded human life as inviolate on the basis of the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill', could hardly be expected to agree with the *Bulletin*'s call for the decision to end human life to be recognised as an individual right. Again, those believers who accepted a literal interpretation of Jesus' statement about divorce, or affirmed the commandment 'Thou shalt not commit adultery', could not agree with the *Bulletin*'s call for divorce to be readily available by mutual consent.[5] A degree of conflict should, therefore, be expected between those who accepted the Christian Scriptures as normative and those who based their values on other considerations.[6] Theoretically the churches might have done much more than they did to minimise their conflicts with secularists and each other; in reality, any changes which they made risked the continuing support of valued adherents.

It appeared to the secularists that certain elements of the Christian religion rendered that religion socially irrelevant. The concepts of apostolic succession and episcopal authority were only a disadvantage, according to the *Bulletin*, as were debates about such issues as vestments, candles, reredos and fine points of theology.

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5 *Bulletin*, 4 July 1891, p. 7; 26 November 1891, p. 7; 6 September 1891, p. 7.

6 The early history of Christianity indicates it was a disturbing presence in various cultures due to a set of interrelated factors. It presented itself as a revealed religion and, for that reason, partly beyond the sphere of rational debate. Its Scriptures limited its capacity to change; its salvation included distinct otherworldly aspects; it often claimed a uniqueness as well as a universal mission. A corollary of such ideas was a sense of exclusiveness; such an attitude was often reinforced by teleological concerns, especially in groups which saw eschatology as paramount or nourished apocalyptic ideas.

Within that section of society which was committed to egalitarianism,[7] hierarchical church structures were problematic. The symbols which appealed to the mind of the devout Irish Catholic or a High Church Anglican seemed alien to 'Jack Cornstalk', presumed to be the authentic Australian.[8] The harsh expressions of the Athanasian Creed necessitated by a fourth-century culture were increasingly unacceptable to the more genteel minds of believers in late nineteenth-century New South Wales. Yet all these elements seemed to be beyond negotiation amongst different groups of the faithful who were convinced that continuity with the past was crucial for the integrity of their religion.

It is a demanding exercise for a religion to maintain continuity with its heritage, and at the same time indigenise itself within a new geographical and cultural setting. The *Bulletin* stood for aggressive Australianism, whereas many Protestant Christians were British Empire loyalists. If they genuinely wished their religion to be attractive within the republican strand of its local culture, such Christians needed to soften their political rhetoric. More than that, English, Scottish, Irish, German and American loyalties and antipathies separated the people of the various denominations from each other. Essentially the problem of these nineteenth-century Christians was akin to that confronted by the Jerusalem council about 49 AD, when the early church decided that national observances must be submerged in order for the essential elements of Christianity to prevail. St Paul claimed that he dismissed peripheral matters in order 'to save some'.[9]

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7 Henry Lawson's writings up to 1900 had this as one of their most consistent themes.

8 The ongoing debate on Australian identity was given significant impetus by Russell Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne, 1958). For two more-recent contributions, see Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980* (Sydney, 1981); John Carroll (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity* (Melbourne, 1982). In his 'Letters to Jack Cornstalk', written in London during September 1900, Henry Lawson made a biased but revealing statement from the viewpoint of a person who spent much time in Sydney during the 1890s. See Leonard Cronin (ed.), *A Camp-Fire Yarn: Henry Lawson Complete Works, 1885-1900* (Sydney, 1984), pp. 784-803. A more complete description of Lawson's idealised Australians, male and female, may be assembled from his prose and poetry. The main characters in his manuscript for an Australian drama, 'Pinter's Son Jim', summarise this idealised notion of Australian identity. See *A Camp-Fire Yarn*, pp. 811-856.

9 1 Corinthians 9: 19-22.

While observations such as these could be multiplied, there is a multi-faceted conclusion even more germane to this study. Each strand of colonial Christianity had before it a daunting agenda if it was to become credible to either the secularists or the other Christian groups which were components of its culture. Christianity was a religion in need of a coherent definition of itself, an enlightened exegesis of its Scriptures, a delimited account of its history, a well-honed enunciation of its doctrines, and a broad social and humanitarian understanding. Instead of such coherent endeavours, this thesis has shown that many people in the churches were dedicated to four quite different objectives: making Australia a Roman Catholic nation; permeating society with evangelical Anglicanism; subjugating evil and transforming society through Wesleyanism; making people ready for the imminent second advent of Christ through Seventh-day Adventism.[10] The lapse of nine decades confirms that none of these ultimate objectives has been realised in the way that its protagonists anticipated. In the light of this fact it is relevant to ask if there were patterns of action which might have minimised the conflict between Christianity and the culture which surrounded it.

The first matter which needed serious attention was the manyness or variety of Christianity. While Catholicism suited a significant minority of the population, it had little hope of imposing its idealised 'Christian civilisation' upon colonial Australia or the emerging Commonwealth. The connection between Australian Catholicism and Rome, a foreign ecclesiastical authority with a record of political involvement, created a chasm between Catholics on the one hand, and most Protestants and secularists on the other. The nurturing of Irishness formed a second barrier; even the minority of English Catholics and the Irish Catholic majority found it was difficult to cross the version of the Irish Sea which was imported to Australia. The extent of adaptation, which Catholic tradition had permitted since New Testament times, gave it a liturgy and a body of doctrine at variance with one of the major impulses in nineteenth-century Christianity: the determination to recapture the faith and practice of the early church. This adaptation also put Catholicism beyond serious consideration by the secularists; it was steeped in cultural forms no longer seen as relevant by such people. Rival interpretations of

[10] There were, in addition, liberal elements in most churches which were disposed toward the 'Christ of culture' stance.

sixteenth-century history were likewise crucial; Catholics who perceived its events as an unprovoked revolution contrasted with those Protestants who interpreted it as a necessary reformation. Under such circumstances, the best that the Catholics could hope for was that some of the declining number of immigrants coming to Australia would strengthen their ranks, that occasionally a few Protestants would change their allegiance, that infrequently an unbeliever would be converted, and that the church would be able to sustain the commitment of a majority of its adherents and educate their children to follow the faith. Catholicism did little more than maintain its percentage of the population during the 1890s; by the end of Moran's reign in 1911, its vision of a Catholic utopia was fading, even amongst its most ardent believers.[11]

Anglicans were severely isolated from the Catholics by reason of their history, national ethos, social class and religious convictions. The Church of England was a microcosm of Christianity, embracing ideas and rituals from Anglo-Catholicism on one perimeter, to an evangelicalism shaped by Puritan strictures or an otherworldly eschatology on the opposite perimeter. Smith set himself to manage the conflict which flourished by reason of this diversity, but his ideal of comprehensiveness was destined to fail even in his own diocese. By his death in 1909, a radical form of evangelicalism was beginning to triumph over the other Anglican impulses in the large and influential Diocese of Sydney. Thus faded the dream of a comprehensive Anglicanism fitted to permeate and Christianise society.[12]

The Wesleyans were able to unite with the other branches of Australian Methodism in 1902, but they found it much more difficult to find acceptable common ground with the Presbyterians. Long before the formation of the Uniting Church in 1977, it seemed that either God had abandoned the British Empire, or the Empire had abandoned God; most of the Methodists lost their distinctive vision of being the chosen people divinely appointed and uniquely equipped to transform Australian society. It became increasingly difficult for them to wear the armour of eighteenth-century British revivalism while battling evil

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[11] Roman Catholics in New South Wales, the colony in which Moran had the greatest influence, only increased their segment of the population by 0.11 per cent between 1891 and 1901, according to the census returns.

[12] Anglicans were, however, able to increase their share of the New South Wales population by 1.26 per cent between 1891 and 1901.

in the changing culture of twentieth-century Australia. Not only did evils which the Wesleyans identified persist, they became stronger. The outlets which made liquor available were increased, as were the times during which they were open; Sunday was progressively secularised; gambling was institutionalised; 'vile' literature became available at every newsagency. The 'suitable evils' of the Victorian age no longer provided the same motivation for Christian warfare; they were largely replaced by other enemies. The Methodists in the new century (like the Anglicans) discovered that it was impossible to maintain their slice of the population, let alone transform the whole of society. Even so, the Wesleyans probably exerted an influence quite out of proportion to their actual percentage of the population, but the Christian nation which they hoped to create did not materialise.[13]

As newcomers to Australia and with an Australian membership of zero until 1885, the Adventists were able to multiply their numbers in the twentieth century, but still they failed to gain the allegiance of more than a tiny minority of the general population.[14] The signs which they interpreted as harbingers of the world's end were also multiplied, but even two convulsive world wars proved not to be the Armageddon which they expected. Institutions which the Adventists initiated with a sense of urgency during the 1890s had to be expanded, and even rebuilt, instead of being consumed by the fires of the last day. Sunday-keeping was liberalised, instead of being enforced by law. An ever-expanding mission opened to the eyes of the Adventists, with the disturbing passage of years and the enlargement of earth's population.

It requires emphasis that these four perspectives are only examples of the solutions for the problem of Christianity and culture which were proposed by groups of zealous believers at the end of the colonial period. They competed with other mostly less-influential perspectives. Some other viewpoints flourished within the same four denominations, particularly amongst Anglicans; but there were more within the Christian groups outlined in chapter four. None of the solutions given prime attention in this thesis illustrated Niebuhr's types in their purest forms. Adventists were most separatist, followed

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[13] As noted earlier, the Methodist bodies increased their segment of the New South Wales population by 0.16 per cent during the 1890s.

[14] The most recent census returns (1986) indicated that 0.3 per cent of Australians were Seventh-day Adventists.

by Catholics. Some Anglicans exemplified the attractiveness of accommodation with society, as did some Wesleyans, especially in their accepting attitudes toward public schools, political offices and involvement in the Boer War. The Catholics, Anglicans and Wesleyans each believed that they could transform society, but their ultimate visions were not congruent with each other. The Adventists represented a form of Christianity which largely eschewed the effort to change society as such; their energies (like those of many recent conservative Christians) were largely directed toward the transformation of individuals.

It was not the variety of these solutions which incensed secularists and some of the people within other Christian groups so much as the exclusive attitudes which were often nurtured within the various subcultures of believers. Criticism of the perceived exclusiveness of religion formed a theme which was emphasised often throughout the 1890s both within and without the churches. There were definitions rather than one single definition of Christianity, and there were histories rather than an integrated history of Christianity. The secularists found it difficult to make sense of the fact that each denomination at times loudly proclaimed the correctness of its ideas and roundly denigrated those of other Christians.[15] This characteristic often sustained a state of war between the denominations; often their weapons were turned upon others who reverently recited the same early Christian creeds. The 'Reunion of Christendom' discussion lost all hope of immediate success with the papal denunciation of Anglican clerical orders. Anglican and Wesleyan relations were disturbed by attitudes which the Wesleyans were apt to call 'Anglican arrogance'. Despite their strong confidence in their Methodism, the Wesleyans were active in the affirmation of a Christianity which crossed denominational boundaries. Even more than the Wesleyans, the Adventists were certain that they were chosen of God for a unique mission. Thus, except amongst some Wesleyans and Anglicans, little more than lip-service could be given by most believers to what certain Christians liked to call 'common Christianity'.

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[15] It is unclear if the person who might be described as 'the average unbeliever' was as disturbed as the *Bulletin* implies. However, it is apparent that certitude and relativism have often been in serious conflict. Cf. C.W. Monnich, 'Christianity', in C. Jonco Blecker and Geo Widengren (eds), *Historia Religionum: Handbook for the History of Religions*, Vol. II, *Religions of the Present* (Leiden, 1971), p. 123.

It would be ill-advised arrogance to minimise, from the safe remoteness of a century, the challenge which such manyness presented in the 1890s. Indeed, Christian history shows that the struggle to define the essence of the faith has never been easy. Jaroslav Pelikan, after noting the volume of the literature on the subject, selects five influential syntheses of Christianity, each conditioned by its time and place, the last being the impressive attempt by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834).[16] When Schleiermacher came to the 'presentation of Christianity in its peculiar essence', he sought for 'the element which remains constant throughout the most diverse religious affections within this same communion, while it is absent from analogous affections within other communions'. His consequent definition, while simply stated, had profound implications for nineteenth-century denominationalism:

> Christianity is a monotheistic faith, belonging to the teleological type of religion, and is essentially distinguished from other such faiths by the fact that in it everything is related to the redemption accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth.[17]

While it would be too rigid to analyse the various denominations only in terms of Schleiermacher's definition, it is clear that their self-understandings fell far short of the coherence which Schleiermacher suggests. They shared a conviction that Christianity is a monotheistic faith, but their teleologies were at variance with each other. The redemption accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth had different implications for each communion. To the secularists who listened to the churches' debates, the churches were deeply concerned about issues which were largely irrelevant to the redemption which Jesus of Nazareth offered.[18]

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16 Jaroslav Pelikan, 'Christianity', in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, sixteen vols (New York, 1987), Vol. 3, p. 362. That Pelikan is qualified to comment on this matter is demonstrated by his publications, including *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, five vols (Chicago and London). Note Vol. 5, *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture* (1989), p. 174.

17 Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith* (Edinburgh, 1928 reprint), p. 52.

18 For Anglicans of the 1890s, the insights of J.B. Lightfoot were more attractive than those of Schleiermacher. In the Preface to his first edition of *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, written 1 July 1868, Lightfoot declared: 'Though the Gospel is capable of doctrinal exposition, though it is eminently fertile in moral results, yet its substance is neither a dogmatic system nor an ethical code, but a Person and a Life.' See the sixth edition (Cambridge, 1881), p. ix.

It is evident, then, that each of the various segments of Christianity in colonial New South Wales during the 1890s failed to convince others that its form of the faith was worth serious consideration, that is, to the point of acceptance. Not only did the Catholics find it impossible to co-operate with the other churches, they believed all forms of Christianity except their own were in a state of terminal decline, and that the adherents of the non-Catholic churches were outside the orbit of the eternal salvation proclaimed by the Christian religion. While middle-of-the-road Anglicans were loath to be dogmatic in saying any other Christians, as individuals, were actually in a 'lost' condition, many of them were unequivocal in decrying the 'errors' of Roman Catholicism. Wesleyans were even more outspoken in their anti-Catholic expressions; but they could accept other Christians who were evangelical in faith and devoid of sacramental ideas and sacerdotal controls. Adventists distrusted all other Christian denominations, even though they believed that 'there are true Christians in every church, not excepting the Roman Catholic communion'.[19] Thus, while the churches dreamed of great success, they nurtured attitudes which made it difficult to maintain even their portions of the *status quo*.

Christianity in colonial New South Wales as a seriously divided religion often emphasised that it shared common elements, but it achieved minimal co-operation between the subcultures formed by its adherents. Of even more importance, there were abiding antagonisms. This meant that although the churches worried much about secularism they could seldom confront it coherently, and even well-meaning politicians were turned aside from supporting Christian objectives due to the unholy competitiveness of the denominations. In this struggle, the competitive element no doubt stimulated Christian effort within the individual groups, but the mission of Christianity was bound to suffer from the fragmented efforts of believers.[20]

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19 Ellen G. White, Manuscript 51, 1899.

20 Michael Hogan has documented the constructive significance of sectarianism in Australia in his volume *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Ringwood [Melbourne], 1987); see pp. 131-169 particularly. Note also Hogan's analysis of the twentieth-century decline of sectarianism in his article, 'Whatever Happened to Australian Sectarianism?', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (June 1984), pp. 83-91.

Beyond the problem of manyness, the use which Christians made of the Bible was a second area of challenge and opportunity. Their Scriptures were often made a means of internal conflict and external reproach, rather than an effective aid in fulfilling the mission of Christianity. This criticism, however, must be stated with great caution, due to the complexity of the science of biblical studies; not least because the person who is engaged in it must be equipped to cross daunting cultural canyons. While the Christian Scriptures are set mainly within Eastern culture, they have been made to embrace Western civilisation. They were born in the experience of Semitic peoples living in the Fertile Crescent between Mesopotamia and Egypt, but they migrated in time and place from the third millennium BC to interact with the cultures of Greece and Rome in the first century AD. Hebraic thought came to be expressed in Koine Greek, giving rise to a perennial dialectic between the thought-forms of Jerusalem and those of Athens. Jesus of Nazareth was first of all a Jewish rabbi, before he was successively re-interpreted in the light of the changing cultural conditions which were encountered by his followers.[21]

Most laity and many clergy in colonial Australia had a poor grasp of the science of biblical studies, and only a minimal understanding of the New Testament in the light of its historical context. The four denominations under consideration each claimed to base their faith and practice upon Scripture. But they stood apart from each other far more than was necessary, due to the impoverished state of their exegesis. The responsible interpretation of a body of literature composed in the Graeco-Roman world during the early part of the Christian era required literary analysis, including the use of lexical, syntactical and historical data. It called for its students to endeavour to divest themselves of Western garb, categories of thought and cultural baggage. Then, having tried to don Near-Eastern dress, language and culture, it would have been more feasible for Christians to ask fruitfully what the Scriptures meant to those who wrote them, and to those individuals and communities to which they were initially addressed. On such an exegetical foundation a more credible history of Christian concepts might have been constructed, and a more

[21] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus Through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 9-20. Pelikan identifies eighteen cultural incarnations of Jesus which his followers created, from early Christian times to the nineteenth century.

responsible application of biblical ideas may have been possible.[22] Too often, Christians of the 1890s failed to use the resources which were becoming available with which to better interpret the Bible.[23] Rather, some of them were determined either to marginalise or destroy anyone who saw value in the difficult task of learning to use new interpretative tools. Their conservatism placed some churches in an overly-defensive position; they chose to seclude themselves both from the sharp arrows of secularist rhetoric and from the missiles hurled by their denominational rivals while they built up the self-confidence of their adherents. Consequently they failed to confront the arguments of their opponents effectively, and they exacerbated rather than minimised the friction between themselves and their culture.[24]

What was Christianity and what were its implications in colonial New South Wales? Historians might explore this question by viewing aspects of New South Wales culture through the eyes of the different groups of believers under consideration. It seems that those believers might have explored this issue far more thoroughly in the light of their Scriptures. In its historic creeds, Christianity constantly affirmed the importance of the Bible. Scripture and tradition guided Catholics, and Protestants traditionally affirmed that the Scriptures were their sole rule of faith and practice. The fact that Catholics included the Apocrypha did not prevent all Christians from addressing the biblical data with some hope of success, via the skills of exegesis. Instead, the more in earnest believers were, the more likely they were to use the Bible to insult each other, and as a way to separate themselves from the 'world'. The maintenance of this internal hostility probably did little for the ultimate mission of Christianity; it was a major reason for discrediting all forms of religion, in the minds of the growing body of secularists. The denominations under review often

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22 That such a prescription is possible but still difficult, especially for conservative Christians, see two recent books by Alden Thompson: *Who's Afraid of the Old Testament God* (Grand Rapids, 1989); *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (Hagerstown, 1991).

23 Smith and some Wesleyans were worthy exceptions. Note *Methodist*, 30 March 1895, p. 7; 6 April 1895, p. 1; 25 May 1895, pp. 6-7.

24 Hindsight suggests that the Christians of the 1890s were strictly limited in the extent to which they could minimise the conflict between their faith and culture. It is far more difficult to defend the notion that encores are legitimate almost a century later. Note the issue which sparked this enquiry, indicated on p. 1.

used the Bible as a way of defining and reinforcing their separateness; they might have better employed it as a way to establish the essence of Christianity.

A third matter was important (but also exceedingly difficult) if the conflict between Christianity and culture was to be minimised: Christian history must be communicated effectively. Each subculture developed and prized favourite myths which were important for its identity, but irrelevant or even obnoxious for other groups of Christians and secularists. Moran's voluminous interpretations of primitive, medieval, Reformation, Irish and Australian history failed to be compelling for those who were not Irish Catholics. Smith failed to win consensus for his version of Anglican history, even within the official deliberations of the Diocese of Sydney. The Wesleyans were chronologically closer to their founders than the Catholics and the Anglicans were to their origins, a fact which helps to explain why the Wesleyans were even more emotionally involved with their Methodism. This made it difficult for them to communicate with Australians who wore other Christian brand names, let alone the sons and daughters of the Enlightenment who read the *Bulletin*. Such an observation is even more applicable to the Adventists. In addition, the Adventists shared the common dilemma of chiliastic movements: their history reinforced the esoteric nature of their thought patterns.

The verbal pictures and striking cartoons with which the *Bulletin* categorised clergy and laity suggest another matter which required constant attention: the gap between profession and practice. This was a concern often addressed within the various denominations.[25] Ellen White, for instance, was outspoken on the issue. She had stated in 1887 that many Catholics 'live up to the light they have far better than many who claim to believe present truth'.[26] During her nine years in Australia, she often challenged the Adventists to exemplify their faith by their attitudes and the quality of their lives, and she chided them for delaying the second advent of Christ by un-Christlike behaviour.[27] Her strictures proved to be very

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[25] *Methodist*, 13 January 1894, p. 7, called for 'a personal consecration so complete that it embraces every faculty of our nature and every aspect of our life'.

[26] Ellen G. White, Manuscript 14, 1887. The term 'present truth' is one of the code expressions for Seventh-day Adventism.

[27] *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View, 1898), p. 633; *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 6 (Mountain View, 1900), p. 450.

difficult ones; they even included the injunction to 'restrain the words which show a harsh spirit' toward Catholics.[28] Of course the problem of relating belief and life adequately is a human problem affecting secularists and Christians indiscriminately.[29] It was an intensely-real dilemma for the first twelve disciples. The apostles were aptly warned by many New Testament sayings of Jesus; the early church chose to remember and record these remarks, which now provide a healthy check for smug judgements about nineteenth-century problems.[30] Both the readers of the Bible and the 'Bushman's Bible' affirmed the Golden Rule; no subculture found its injunction was easy to practice.

Further, the Christians in colonial New South Wales might have minimised the conflicts of the time if their various subcultures had heeded better what outsiders were saying. The debate on the Boer War is a significant case in point. Christianity is an optimistic religion; it is keen to affirm that good may come out of evil, for it believes that 'all things work together for good to them that love God'.[31] But only the dismissal of harsh facts could make plausible the notion that the South African War would engender a more heroic quality in Australian life. Anglicans and Wesleyans failed to apply Christian principles to a grave miscarriage of international justice, and the Methodist crusade illustrates the problem which a religious minority may face in time of war. Britain was not as the Wesleyans described her; the war was a stark demonstration of greed and inhumanity on the part of the British Empire. The Adventists rightly saw it as a great evil; but in the main they chided themselves for an unfulfilled mission, or wrung their hands in sorrow, or interpreted the conflict as a last-day sign. They were conditioned to savour their Master's counsel in relation to last-day signs: 'When you see these things begin to come to pass then

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28 *Evangelism as set forth in the writings of Ellen G. White* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 575-576. This remark was made with specific reference to the *Bible Echo* during 1896.

29 That this problem is coextensive with the human race may be illustrated by examples quite outside Christianity, including the history of the Communist Party during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

30 Matthew 18:1-35; Mark 10:35-45; Luke 12:22-40; John 13:35.

31 Romans 8:28. Note the prevalent view of St Paul's statement during the 1890s may not be sustained by a more accurate translation, according to the Revised Standard Version.

look up, lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.'[32] But the redemption which they anticipated so eagerly was unrelated to the trauma of women and children burning with fever in prison camps on the veldt, nor did it challenge society to respect the religious convictions or the human rights of the Boers. Many Catholics had a more accurate understanding of the conflict, but as a denomination they failed to act on the prophetic witness of Father Francis Timoney and the *Catholic Press*.

It is a salient fact that the Wesleyans, as warm-hearted evangelical Christians, and to a lesser extent the Evangelical Anglicans, failed to heed the voices which questioned the prevailing jingoism within Australian society during the Boer War. This fact is even more sobering in view of the debate of recent decades about Australia's involvement in this aspect of the Empire's affairs, stimulated by the research of Barbara Penny and others.[33] Around the turn of the century, many middle-class Christians of British heritage were quite sure that they knew God's mind on the Empire and its mission in general, and in their thinking the South African conflict formed a small but significant part of this much larger picture.[34] In historical perspective, this interpretation of the Boer War seems ill-conceived, at best.

In a volume on the Vietnam conflict, Paul Menzel suggests a war is 'a fact of the status quo; it probably has come about at least in part through circumstances and the force of events and not through moral reflection'.[35] Whether or not any of the wars of the twentieth century were initiated in response to ethical thinking, they have provoked extended moral reflection. Michael McKernan has recently documented 'the glib, superficial ... party political' responses of most

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32 Luke 21: 28.

33 Barbara Penny, 'The Australian Debate on the Boer War', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 14 (1971), pp. 526-545; C.N. Connolly, 'Class, Birthplace, Loyalty: Australian Attitudes to the Boer War', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 18 (1978), pp. 210-232; L.L. Robson, 'Behold a Pale Horse: Australian War Studies', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 23 (1988), pp. 115-126.

34 B.R. Penny, 'The Age of Empire: An Australian Episode', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 11 (1963), pp. 32-42.

35 Paul Menzel (ed.), *Moral Argument and the War in Vietnam* (Nashville and London, 1971), p. xi; cf. David Sullivan, 'Christianity and the Idea of a Just War', *Foundations*, No. 22 (Spring 1989), pp. 24-35.

Australian clergymen to the First World War.[36] It is possible to trace both the continuation of such thinking and its modification in this country, especially as Australians have engaged in dialogue with those holding conflicting opinions in other parts of the world.[37] Ken Inglis is correct in suggesting that the Sudan conflict during 1885 was a rehearsal for Australia's role in subsequent overseas wars.[38] The Christian responses to the Boer War assume a wider importance in this light. The South African conflict was a second opportunity for believers to question their values and interpretations. Instead, it proved to be another and much larger rehearsal for the inadequate role which, according to McKernan, many Australian Christians played during the First World War.

Again, the conflict between Christianity and culture may have been better contained had the various Christian groups given more attention to the fundamental problems of their time. There was a great deal of energy and money invested by Christians who sought to implement specific solutions for the social ills of the 1890s. In hindsight, it is evident their struggle was productive of much progress in terms of Christian values and aspirations. It was valuable and courageous for Moran and the Wesleyans to declare the relevance of Christian attitudes in the conflict between capital and labour. Canon Boyce and the Methodists well exposed the ravages of alcohol abuse upon family life. It was necessary for New South Wales society to protect children from slave-labour conditions, to regulate 'baby-farming' in the slums of Sydney, to address the problem of prostitution, to protect the sanctity of the home from ill-considered marriage and irresponsible divorce. The list of good things which Christians worked for was very long indeed. They could not isolate themselves from the implications of their beliefs; they saw a need to clear slums, to act charitably toward the indigent and to press for pensions. But during the 1890s, as Judith Raftery found to be the case

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[36] Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches, 1914-1918* (Sydney and Canberra, 1980), pp. 172-178.

[37] Ans J. Van der Bent, *Vital Ecumenical Concerns* (Geneva, 1986), pp. 116-146.

[38] K.S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at war in the Sudan, 1885* (McMahons Point [Sydney], 1985).

in South Australia during a later period,[39] most Christians in New South Wales failed to come to grips with some of the most fundamental causes of the problems in their culture.

There were inequities in New South Wales which drove some men into militant unionism, and forced others to brave stigma and even physical danger as they confronted union pressures by being 'scabs'.[40] The meaninglessness and drudgery which predisposed some people to seek refuge in alcohol were much harder to redress than it was to pursue the idealistic goals of local option and prohibition.[41] Destitution exploited the labour potential of some children and forced some women into prostitution; this was a deeper issue than the regulative legislation recognised.[42] It was a worthy thing to give away bread and soup, to found labour homes and farms, and to establish 'Helping Hand' missions. But entrenched social evils were barely assuaged, let alone overcome, by all the charitable work of all the Christians put together. What was done probably needed to be done; what was left undone may have been even more important for those who wished to demonstrate the essence of Christianity.[43] At least,

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39 Judith Raftery, 'Till Every Foe is Vanquished: Churches and Social Issues in South Australia, 1919-1939' (PhD thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1988), pp. 363-405. Cf. Walter Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country': Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and after* (St Lucia [Brisbane], 1981), p. 275.

40 See Peter Kaldor, *A Gulf Too Deep? The Protestant Churches and the Urban Working Class in Australia* (Chatswood [Sydney], 1983).

41 David Bollen has accurately located temperance as the most pervasive social issue in the thinking of the churches during the late nineteenth century. See J.D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales, 1890-1910* (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 70, 87-112.

42 According to a well-informed author, 'Both Catholic and evangelical communities deplored the sin and secularism of Australian life.' Yet both groups 'identified each other as the enemy', and considered 'economic factors ... irrelevant to the causes of prostitution'. Judith Godden, 'Sectarianism and Purity Within the Woman's Sphere: Sydney Refuges During the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1987), pp. 295, 296, 301, 303.

43 It is at this point that the concerns of religious history (see p. 2) are most relevant for the substance of this thesis. The studies which support the concepts of this and the preceding paragraph are abundant, including the works already cited by Phillips, Ely and Bollen, plus such others as the following: Richard Broome, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society, 1900-1914* (St Lucia [Brisbane], 1980); Kay Daniels (ed.), *So Much Hard Work: Women and Prostitution in Australian History* (Sydney, 1984); Brian Dickey, *No Charity There: A short history of social welfare in Australia* (Sydney, 1980, 1987); Shirley Fitzgerald, *Rising Damp: Sydney, 1870-1890* (Melbourne,
(Footnote continued)

what Christians did usually failed to convince the *Bulletin* and its fellow travellers that Christians exemplified the religion of Jesus Christ.[44]

Such criticisms need, however, to be placed within a coherent historical framework. Bruce Mansfield has suggested that, 'given the timing and circumstances of Australian history', the secular historian is challenged less by 'the existence of doubt and irreligion' than by 'the existence of belief'.[45] That 98 per cent of the people in New South Wales identified with the range of Christian denominations in a nominal way during the year the Commonwealth was born, and that many of these individuals were involved in the mission of Christianity, are facts which should not be passed over lightly. Mansfield's observation challenges those he calls 'Christian handwringers' in the final years of the twentieth century, to avoid despair as they ponder the history of their religion in colonial Australia.

Australia's colonisation was a small part of a large movement of people from long-established societies in the Northern Hemisphere. The inclusion of Christianity in this relocation of human beings was chiefly a peripheral effect, not a well-planned endeavour. The existence of crime, poverty and acquisitiveness were stronger motivations for colonising New South Wales than was the impulse of religious idealism. Australia tended to be settled by gaolers, the gaoled and the avaricious, people who were amongst those least involved with religion in Western civilisation, and who were thus

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(Footnote 43 continued from previous page)
1987); Hilary Golder, *Divorce in 19th Century New South Wales* (Kensington [Sydney], 1985); Neville Hicks, *'This Sin and Scandal': Australia's Population Debate, 1891-1911* (Canberra, 1978); Ann O'Brien, *Poverty's Prison: The Poor in New South Wales, 1880-1914* (Melbourne, 1988).

44 It would be exceedingly difficult to achieve such a change of mind in the *Bulletin*; perhaps as difficult as it would be to convince an Evangelical Anglican to become a Roman Catholic. In other words, the strength of the ideological differences should not be minimised.

45 Bruce Mansfield, 'Thinking About Australian Religious History', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (June 1989), pp. 330-344. This article was developed from a keynote address to the joint annual conference of the Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools and the Australian and New Zealand Association for Theological Studies. See Robert S.M. Withycombe (ed), *Australian and New Zealand Religious History 1788-1988: A Collection of Papers and Addresses* (Canberra, 1988), pp. 3-18.

unlikely to bring Christianity to the Antipodes. Nor did the social and environmental factors in the new land favour the growth of a Christian culture.

It is an easy matter to cite evidence that Christianity in colonial Australia was derived and dependent. It also made its own mistakes: it aimed more at social control than at communicating its essence; on occasion it tilted at the windmills perceived by sectarianism instead of discerning and attacking the greater social evils which stalked the land. Often, believers failed to grasp the opportunities which society offered them, preferring to wrap themselves in a secure blanket of theological and cultural conservatism. They found it all too difficult to transcend the barriers created by their national origins and social classes.[46] It was difficult for them to hear the strident criticisms which were voiced about religion and its role in colonial society. Thus, defensive attitudes were employed all too frequently.

Had Christianity been willing and able to define its essence, had it grasped the challenge to exegete its sacred writings coherently, had it sought to give a sustainable account of its history, had it been more careful to express its doctrines in a credible manner, its impact upon Australian culture may have been enhanced. This effect may have been strengthened had the churches perceived their social role more clearly, or even convinced society that they had a healthy commitment to the principles of personal ethics enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount. That on occasion Christians in late colonial society built impracticable dream-castles is an obvious conclusion, in hindsight. Australia did not become a new Christendom, it was not Christianised, it was not transformed by grace, nor was it arrested by 'the blessed hope' of Christ's glorious return.

The fact remains, however, that the history of Christianity in colonial Australia is, to use Mansfield's words, 'a success story'; almost all of the population listed themselves as part of it and, of that vast majority, the evidence cited in chapters five to eight indicates a

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[46] Walter Phillips, 'The Social Composition of the Religious Denominations in late Nineteenth Century Australia', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (September, 1985), pp. 77-94. Phillips contends that Australian religion of the period was 'largely a middle class affair' (p. 77); Anglicans were 'strongly represented in the upper echelons of law and order, among bankers and pastoralists' (p. 82); 'Catholics were generally weaker in the areas where Catholics were strong' (p. 82). It seemed that 'piety and prosperity went together', and the 'attempts by the churches to reach the working classes began to look feeble in the 1890s' (p. 89).

considerable level of commitment by significant minorities within each communion.[47] That Christianity might have been much more successful is obvious, as one side of the coin. The resilience of religious belief is the other side. Neither side should be ignored.

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One of the considerations arising from this discussion is so important that it calls for further emphasis. In his chapter on philosophical and religious thought after 1870, Michael Biddiss perceives a quest for 'the religion **of** Jesus rather than the religion **about** Jesus'.[48] The 'Bushman's Bible' and its readers, as well as most New South Wales Christians, may have been unaware of the way in which Albrecht Ritschl linked ideas from history and from the writings of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), and related these to the ultimate purpose of redemption, 'the moral integration of humanity in the Kingdom of God'.[49] The staff and supporters of the *Bulletin* during the 1890s probably would not have considered Adolf von Harnack's three-volume *History of Dogma* (1886-1889) worth reading, if they happened to become aware of its existence. Curiously, however, Ritschl and Harnack in the Northern Hemisphere had a similar desire to that of some Christians and secularists in New South Wales. Ritschl and Harnack were trying to relate belief and life in sophisticated Western society. At the same time in the Antipodes, within the emerging Commonwealth of Australia, there were calls for Christian doctrine to be better expressed in the deeds of its adherents. These demands were by articulated in the popular literature of the time which made no

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47 See also the evidence cited by Walter Phillips, 'Religious Profession and Practice in New South Wales, 1850-1901: The Statistical Evidence', *Historical Studies*, 15 (1972-1973), pp. 378-400. According to Phillips, in 1900 about 44.5 per cent of the population 15 years of age and upward attended church; 75 to 80 per cent of infants were baptised; 97.3 per cent of marriages were performed by clergymen; secular funerals were rare. In other words, at the end of the nineteenth century the churches still received 'strong support'. Cf. D.N. Jeans and E. Kofman, 'Religious Adherence and Population Mobility in 19th Century New South Wales', *Australian Geographical Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (October 1972), pp. 193-202.

48 Michael D. Biddiss, *The Age of the Masses: Ideas and Society in Europe Since 1870* (New York, 1977), pp. 76-106, especially p. 103. Note also the nineteenth-century quest for the 'historical Jesus'.

49 'Albrecht Ritschl (1822-89)', in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, revised ed. (Oxford, 1974, 1983), p. 1189.

religious profession and in church publications; they were expressed in the *Bulletin*'s quips and cartoons and in the debate over unemployment. Christians might have been less nervous in their relations with culture and more successful in their witness had they been able to focus greater attention upon 'the religion **of** Jesus'.

During 1891 Henry Lawson wrote of mothers who shared their daughters' shame but who were denied a part in 'the rule that lets it live'.[50] But, in addition to the rights of women, Lawson demanded 'the rights of Labour in the law of God defined'.[51] Later, during 1898, Lawson idealised 'The Christ of the "Never"', placing him in front of those churchmen 'Who feel not, and *know* not--but preach'.[52] Of the Australian Good Samaritan, 'All Christ-like unawares', Lawson believed:

> He'll live while nations find their graves
> And mortals suffer pain--
> When colour rules and whites are slaves
> And savages again.
> And, after all is past and done,
> He'll rise up, the Last Man,
> From tending to the last but one--
> The good Samaritan.[53]

There was a common call in secular Australian culture and amongst Christian groups for the integration of belief and life.[54] This was articulated powerfully by the unemployed people who met at Queen Victoria's statue on 8 March 1892. Such an emphasis no doubt provided the most effective avenue to resolve some of the conflict between Christianity and its believing and unbelieving 'world'. Because the churches considerably failed to grasp the opportunity which this situation presented to them, many Australians turned away from institutionalised religion, investing socialism and the Labor Party

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50 'The Helpless Mothers', in Cronin (ed.), *A Camp-Fire Yarn*, p. 152. This is an allusion to the controversy over voting rights for women.

51 'The Rebel', *A Camp-Fire Yarn*, p. 151.

52 'The Christ of the "Never"', *A Camp-Fire Yarn*, pp. 554-555.

53 'The Good Samaritan', in Leonard Cronin (ed.), *A Fantasy of Man: Henry Lawson, Complete Works 1901-1922* (Sydney, 1984), pp. 204-205. In spite of his commitment to egalitarianism, Lawson failed to transcend racism.

54 Note the similarity between Lawson's perspectives and those of Joseph Furphy in his Australian classic, *Such is Life* (Sydney, 1903, 1990), pp. 111-113.

with religious significance.[55]

It was difficult for Christians in colonial New South Wales to establish a counterpoint between the manyness and the oneness of their faith, and to move beyond the constraints of their ideas about soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology. Their religious heritage held them as hostages; their doctrines often clouded their relations with the Government, and made them afraid to address some of the deepest problems of their society. The world was, in their view, unregenerate. Many of them perceived its ideas to be in fundamental conflict with their utopian ideals. The power and pervasiveness of their system of symbols both informed and inhibited their earnest attempts to resolve the problematic relationship between their religion and their culture.[56]

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Finally, this study must make a further appraisal and application of Niebuhr's insights. Clearly, there is an aptness in his characterisation of the conflict between Christianity and culture as 'the enduring problem'. It is essential to recognise the many-sidedness of the debate which surrounds this problem, and thus to emphasise the fact that history must proceed in dialogue with a number of other disciplines if any measure of coherence is to be achieved. The boundaries between faith and history are often difficult to maintain

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55 See P.J. O'Farrell, 'The History of the New South Wales Labour Movement, 1890-1910: A Religious Interpretation', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (December 1962), pp. 133-151.

56 Cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951), pp. xi and 39. It is again important to stress that any ideology is likely to experience a problem in its relations with the rest of society. This fact could be illustrated from the history of Marxism and Eastern religions. That this thesis has focused on the issue between Christianity and culture does not imply that the problem is unique to the Christian religion, nor does Niebuhr infer such to be the case. Niebuhr's analyses point to the way in which historical studies illumine 'the enduring problem' yet indicate it can never be solved in a definitive manner. That the discipline of history should proceed in partnership with several related disciplines (for example, anthropology, sociology, biblical studies, systematic theology and ethics) is apparent from more recent studies which take Niebuhr as a starting point. Cf. Douglas F. Ottati, *Meaning and Method in H. Richard Niebuhr's Theology* (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 95-133, and Charles W. Scriven, 'The Transformation of Culture: Christian Social Ethics After H. Richard Niebuhr' (PhD dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1984), pp. 275-340.

during such a dialectic.[57] Beyond a description of the problem in any given time and place, it is important to ask what factors may condition a particular group of Christians to perpetuate or even intensify the problem. Why does it persist and flourish?

First of all, the problem persists because it is difficult to arrive at an adequate definition of Christianity. This fact became evident within the New Testament era and has marked every subsequent age of the church. It is illustrated in detail by the apologetic literature which has developed from attempts by Christians to explain the faith to non-Christians, and its reality is reinforced by the schisms and debates which have so frequently occurred. A variety of definitions continued to flourish in nineteenth-century New South Wales.[58] It is appropriate, therefore, to again emphasise the fact that because this problem is a difficult one does not imply it cannot be minimised.

Secondly, the problem persists because of the tendency for each religious group to idealise its interpretation of Christian history. The heritage of each strand of Christianity has too often been presented by its adherents as proof that all other strands are less worthy, if not spurious. Denominationalism, according to Winthrop Hudson, developed amongst people who strove to transcend the narrowness of sectarianism.[59] Had this fact been better remembered, the energy invested in using history to form **denominational** identity in New South Wales may have been used to fashion **Christian** identity; the effect may have been to reduce in a significant way the conflict between Christianity and culture.

Thirdly, the problem persists because ethnic loyalties and antipathies may readily obscure the claims of religion. This dilemma

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57 Niebuhr, for instance, claimed that behind his effort was 'the conviction that Christ as living Lord is answering the question in the totality of history and life in a fashion which transcends the wisdom of all his interpreters yet employs their partial insights and necessary conflicts'. *Christ and Culture*, p. 2.

58 The attempts to achieve Christian unity in New South Wales early in the twentieth century emphasised two options: co-operation, and 'a theoretical comparison and combination of traditions'. C. Uidam, 'Why the Church Union Movement Failed in Australia, 1901-1925', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (December 1985), p. 396. Cf. D.E. Hansen, 'The Origin and Early Years of the N.S.W. Council of Churches', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (June 1981), pp. 452-471.

59 In an article entitled 'Denominationalism', Hudson claims that 'in origin and intention, the concept of denominationalism was the opposite of sectarianism'. Eliade (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 4, pp. 292-298.

is as at least as old as the conflict between Jew and Gentile in earliest Christian times. It is a positive thing for an ethnic group to develop a sense of ownership of its chosen religion; it is a destructive thing for such a body of people to pretend that only individuals with a particular national heritage or skin colour qualify as authentic believers.

The problem also persists because believers often perceive Christian dogmas as far more important than Christian deeds. Of great significance in this regard are ideas about salvation, the church and the future.[60] Catholics could scarcely conceive of salvation outside the church which was under the authority of the pope; Protestants could scarcely conceive of salvation as being possible within the Catholic church. Again, the future of the individual and the planet were conceived so differently that the emphasis varied from a present form of the kingdom of God on earth to a future kingdom of God in heaven. While deeds cannot be isolated from ideas, if New South Wales Christians could have agreed to **act** as Christians they may have been better able to reach a truce in relation to the **doctrines** which kept them at war, as did soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology.[61]

Again, this study suggests that the problem persists because of variant Christian perspectives on the relations between church and state. Catholics desired a state controlled by the church. Anglicans and Wesleyans idealised a benign partnership between church and state. The Adventists were dedicated to the separation of church and state. Each group was blinkered by its assumptions about past history

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60 While all Christians talk about 'salvation', their definitions of this experience are often antithetical rather than congruent. Cf. George Barker Stevens, *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation* (Edinburgh, 1905); Eric J. Sharpe and John R. Hinnells (eds), *Man and His Salvation: Studies in Memory of S.G.F. Brandon* (Manchester, 1973); David F. Wells, *The Search for Salvation* (Leicester, 1978).

61 See Norma Cook Everist, 'The Paradox of Pluralism: A Sociological, Ethical and Ecclesiological Perspective of the Church's Vocation in the Public World' (PhD dissertation, the Iliff School of Theology and the University of Denver, 1988), pp. 246-302. Note p. 302: 'If its vocation is to be claimed the Church will need to develop a method for ministry which strengthens diversity, helps people connect their public and private spheres and enables the Church to do its theology in the many languages of the modern culture.' Such a task would be difficult in the nineteenth-century world of modernism ('the outlook which dominated the West from the seventeenth to (and into) the twentieth century'; it would be even more complex in the world of postmodernism ('the postmodern mind is amorphous. Doubting that a deep structure exists, it settles for the constantly-shifting configurations of the phenomenal world.') Huston Smith, 'Postmodernism's Impact on the Study of Religion', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. LVIII, No. 4 (Winter 1990), pp. 653-670.

and its specific doctrines. If there could have been a sharing and a consequent re-shaping of approaches the outcome may have been quite different. But their traditions predisposed believers to maintain denominational positions, come what may.

Further, the problem persists because Christian groups tend to adopt defensive rather than constructive stances toward thought patterns which are evident within their culture. The effects of the Enlightenment were progressively desacralising Western society; it was no easy thing for Christian supernaturalism to come to terms with the thought patterns which were stimulated by the progress of science. Likewise, believers tended to fear the implications of humanism rather than to discern those elements of it which were congruent with their faith. Therefore, too often the gulf between Christians and their culture was maintained when it might have been bridged.[62]

Finally, however, the problem between Christianity and culture persists because it has an endemic element; in part it presents an inescapable antithesis. While the dilemma can be minimised, it cannot be removed. The 'Christ of culture' stance models a valiant attempt at accommodation which is bound to sacrifice either the integrity of Christianity or the achievement of its goal of harmony. Niebuhr's 'Christians-of-the-middle' have the verdict of history against their idealistic hopes that they can ever achieve better than a creative tension: their positions of 'Christ above culture', 'Christ and culture in paradox', and 'Christ the transformer of culture' are at best partial solutions destined to be forever under review. The 'Christ against culture' model seems to be theoretically achievable, yet in reality it intensifies the problem of meeting the most fundamental injunction given by the founder of Christianity, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' Niebuhr's purpose was to 'set forth typical Christian answers to the problem of Christ and culture and so to contribute to the mutual understanding of variant and often conflicting Christian groups'.[63] This thesis demonstrates that such an endeavour is legitimate, and, indeed, potentially fruitful.

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62 Cf. Gottfried Oosterwal, 'Crossing a Chasm: The Adventist Believer Between Faith and Science', *Andrews University Focus*, Summer 1982, pp. 14-17; Arthur N. Patrick, 'Does Our Past Embarrass Us?' *Ministry: International Journal for Clergy*, April 1991, pp. 14-17.

63 See *Christ and Culture*, p. 2.

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This bibliography is divided into six sections, as follows:

I	General: Religion, Christian History and the Relations Between Christianity and Culture
II	Christianity and Culture in Australia
III	Roman Catholicism
IV	The Church of England
V	Wesleyan Methodism
VI	Seventh-day Adventism

Section I is most directly related to the introduction and chapters one and nine; Section II is most applicable to chapters two, three and four; the other sections focus on the four denominations which are reviewed. Some sources are relevant for more than one chapter of the thesis, but each item is cited only once in the bibliography. Any given item should be sought in the section for which it has the greatest relevance. Primary sources in Sections III to VI are the items dated 1910 and earlier, plus those marked with an asterisk.

I *GENERAL: RELIGION, CHRISTIAN HISTORY AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE*

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