



St Mark's Review

A journal of Christian thought & opinion

No. 227, February 2014 (1)

Preaching before a watching world

St Mark's Review

No. 227, February 2014 (1)

Preaching before a watching world

| | |
|--|-----|
| Editorial | v |
| Preaching and Australian public life: 1788–1914 <i>Michael Gladwin</i> | 1 |
| Preaching on national commemorations <i>Tom Frame</i> | 15 |
| Interpretative strategies for Jesus' 'Sermon on the Mount' (Matthew 5–7) <i>Geoff Broughton</i> | 21 |
| An introduction to the Beatitudes: a sermon to Christian university undergraduates <i>Brad Lovegrove</i> | 31 |
| Blessed are the cheesemakers: the Beatitudes with attitude for children and youth <i>Rebecca Morris</i> | 37 |
| Introducing the Beatitudes: a sermon addressing poverty of spirit <i>Ian Lambert</i> | 41 |
| The moral vision of Jesus in Matthew 5 <i>David Neville</i> | 46 |
| Preaching a many-splendoured God <i>Jeanette Mathews</i> | 62 |
| The futility of our minds <i>GR McLean</i> | 75 |
| Book Reviews | 94 |
| A tale of dramatic changes in studying the Bible | 94 |
| Can a reader of biblical literature contribute to its meaning? | 96 |
| Mannix: setting the record straight | 99 |
| Familiar paths revisited or unknown adventurous journeys? | 101 |
| Asking redemptive questions | 104 |
| Life-changing moments | 107 |

Editorial

The Beatitudes from Jesus' 'Sermon on the Mount', as recorded in Matthew's Gospel, are among the more widely known and warmly regarded verses of New Testament Scripture. Some might attribute their popularity and appeal to their apparent mystical quality. Others might, perhaps, be fascinated by their somewhat contradictory character. But could it be that readers like the Beatitudes because they do not regard them to be as demanding as Jesus' instructions such as 'Go now and leave your life of sin' (John 8:11) or 'Sell everything you have and give to the poor' (Luke 18:22)?

But demanding they most assuredly are, when read or heard as Jesus intended them to be understood and enacted. The Beatitudes, which introduce Jesus' message to his disciples delivered on the mountain (Matthew 5–7), present key components of what life will be like when the Kingdom of God comes in its fullness. They take the form of moral and ethical demands of all people who decide to follow Jesus, then and now. It is to the benefit of the readers of this edition of *St Mark's Review* that so many complementary perspectives on this element of Jesus' teaching are presented to inform and inspire us.

Five of the articles in this edition examine the 'Sermon on the Mount' and illuminate Jesus' challenging teachings. The interpretive strategies outlined by Geoff Broughton are illustrated by the three articles that follow, presenting sample sermons and a children's talk. These reveal yet other perspectives on the Beatitudes and how they may be applied creatively for different age groups across an array of contexts.

From where, we might ask, did Jesus draw these eight 'Blesseds' (Matthew 5:3–10)? There is an evident repetition of the Hebrew Scriptures in some of them but not all are re-statements or paraphrases of what had been taught. 'Enemy-love' and a call to radical discipleship are clearly two facets of the unique message of Jesus the Messiah. More can be found in the article by Geoff Broughton.

The article by David Neville takes the reader from the Beatitudes through the other two major sections of Jesus' 'Message on the Mountain'. This, together with David Neville's earlier article on 'Things new and old: Preaching from Matthew in Year A'¹, pilot a preacher through the full span of Matthew's Gospel.

Another article which builds on and should be read in conjunction with its predecessor is that by Graeme McLean: 'The futility of our minds'. Graeme McLean's earlier article, 'The imagination of our hearts',² contributed to our arsenal of tools for the day-to-day work of apologetics; this second article is equally as useful, just as thought-provoking and certainly as encouraging.

This edition of *St Mark's Review* begins with two articles which could be grouped under a heading: 'Preaching as public engagement'. Michael Gladwin has researched sermons delivered in Australia from the beginning of European settlement to the early twentieth century and discusses their contribution to public conversation. These resources have been under-examined by historians and scholars. Michael Gladwin suggests they provide significant insights into facets of Australian cultural, intellectual and social history. Tom Frame's article addresses twenty-first century 'community homiletics' with suggestions as to how we might approach an opportunity to speak a word from God in community commemorations, taking a lead from the Apostle Paul.

St Mark's Preaching Seminar (which was to have focussed on the Beatitudes) did not proceed in 2013, a consequence of events which had nothing to do with the presenters' readiness to deliver their papers. We intend that this edition of *St Mark's Review* reaches you well before the Year A Lectionary's appointed time for chapter 5 of Matthew's Gospel to appear in Sunday readings. My request is that you do not put it aside in favour of less-demanding holiday reading but rather that, in your Christmas reading list, this edition be afforded highest priority. May keener spiritual insights be your reward.

Endnotes

1. David Neville, *St Mark's Review*, No. 216, May 2011 (2), pp. 25–41.
2. GR McLean, *St Mark's Review*, No. 221, September 2012 (3), pp. 1–13.

Preaching and Australian public life: 1788–1914

Michael Gladwin

Introduction

What could be more full of meaning? – for the pulpit is ever this earth's foremost part; all the rest comes in its rear; the pulpit leads the world. ... Yes, the world's a ship on its passage out, and not a voyage complete; and the pulpit is its prow.¹

So wrote Herman Melville in his iconoclastic novel, *Moby Dick*. Writing in 1851, Melville was commenting on the power of the pulpit in the United States, which for two hundred years of its colonial and national history had been profoundly shaped by the British preaching traditions it imported and adapted. Australian colonies, like those in North America, inherited and transplanted British preaching traditions when they were established just seventy years before Melville penned these words. As in North America, preaching and sermons were a key form of public conversation in Australian colonies and were, perhaps, the most widely used platform for public

Michael Gladwin teaches history within Charles Sturt University's School of Theology at St Mark's National Theological Centre.

speech throughout much of Australian history. Yet the pulpit and preaching have received remarkably little attention from Australian historians, while sermons are rarely cited as historical sources. This stands in contrast with a rich literature on the history of early modern and modern preaching in Britain, Europe and the United States. Given such a vast and largely unexplored subject, the aim and scope of this article is modest: to begin to map the historical importance of the sermon and preaching in Australian public life during the sermon's peak years of public prominence before the First World War. It concludes by suggesting future avenues of research.

Historical sources

Australian historian Ken Inglis laments that although sermons have been the predominant form of public speech in Australian history, they have been little noticed by Australian historians.² Joanna Cruickshank adds that although some historians have examined the British Empire in sermons, few have examined sermons in the Empire.³ Beyond the Puritans and the Great Awakening in North America, preaching and sermons in the British settler colonies – those dominions that historians are now more likely to call Greater Britain or the British World – have likewise been unduly neglected by historians and literary scholars.

Yet the sermon and preaching constitute some of the most important shared cultural experiences in British and Australian history. If the term 'sermon event' is used for the experience of a congregation hearing a preacher, historians have estimated conservatively that in Great Britain and her colonies there were probably about a quarter of a billion sermon events between 1689 and 1901. An estimated eighty thousand of these were published.⁴ Turning to the colonies, if we consider only colonial Anglican clergymen in the middle of our period, 1851, the quantity of sermon events is astounding. The exact number of colonial Anglican clergy in Britain's colonial and foreign dependencies in that year, excluding chaplains in Europe, was 1,183. If, on a very conservative estimate, a clergyman preached two sermons per week during the year, then there were at least 123,032 Anglican sermon events in British colonies in 1851. In the Australian colonies, the 161 Anglican clergy would have produced at least 16,744 sermon events in 1851. And this is a very conservative estimate that does not take into account thousands more at occasional services and in a wide range of settings: in churches, through open-air preaching and at occasional sermons that were preached

at funerals, executions, state occasions, missionary meeting, assizes, charity schools, Sunday Schools, philanthropic societies and hospitals.

In terms of historical sources, Australian clergy and laypeople have also bequeathed a rich vein in the form of thousands of extant sermons in manuscript and published form, while sermon audiences have commented on sermons ranging from diaries to letters, newspaper articles and books (an ecclesiastical version of the Australian sporting tradition of ‘Monday’s experts’).

One of the few historical studies of sermons and preaching in colonial Australia is by Joanna Cruickshank.⁵ Her incisive account provides a useful backdrop to considering the wider importance of sermons and preaching in colonial Australian public life. Cruickshank notes that collections of sermons arrived with the First Fleet and began to proliferate more widely in the colonies after the 1820s, catering for a wide variety of theological outlook and churchmanship. Sermon collections that circulated in the decades following 1820 include those by well-known metropolitan preachers with pedigrees stretching back to the Reformation, including Andrew Thomson, John Jortin, Hugh Blair, Jean Baptiste Massillon, Isaac de Beausobre, John Tillotson, George Whitefield, Robert Murray McCheyne, George Burder, James Archer and, in Gaelic, James Gallagher.⁶ Sermon publication also began early in Australia. One of the first home-grown publications was a 1792 treatise sometimes described as a sermon, entitled *An address to the inhabitants*, written by the continent’s first clergyman, the Reverend Richard Johnson. The regular publication of sermons did not begin, however, until after 1830, the year in which William Grant Broughton, Sydney’s first bishop after 1836, published the first of many sermons. Sermons mimicked practices of the metropole in marking key events in the church’s life including bishop’s visitations, the consecration of churches, rites of passage and key events in public life such as the deaths or births of royalty or high government officials.⁷

Colonial concerns

But sermons were also preached as direct responses to peculiarly colonial public concerns such as, for example, cyclical drought in the world’s driest inhabited continent. Solemn fasts, on which sermons were preached in churches and often published, were being proclaimed by New South Wales administrations in response to drought as late as 1895. Sanctioned by colonial

governments and administered initially by a quasi-established Church of England, such forms of observance were disseminated through sermons, public proclamations and the popular press. Such arrangements soon gave way, however, to multi-denominational control over these religious observances. This was a further reflection of the increasingly pluralistic nature of religion in the colonies after the passing of various 'Church Acts' in all colonies between 1836 and 1847. This put the four major denominations (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist) on an equal footing in terms of official recognition and funding until the withdrawal of state aid in the 1860s. In this sense, national days reflected a broadening of civil religious participation beyond initially Anglican and Protestant confines.

Pulpits were used by preachers to address a range of pressing colonial issues. Clergy of all theological tempers stressed the importance of attendance at public worship. For high and broad church clergymen, sermons were rational, earnest and decorous, emphasising duty to God and man, practical piety and charity. After the 1830s colonial Anglo-Catholics shared with high churchmen and Roman Catholics a stress on the sacraments and prayer as channels of grace and communion with Christ, the keeping of the feasts and festivals, the apostolic succession and the authoritative beauty of their respective church liturgies.⁸ Evangelical preachers, who were the most numerous of colonial Chrysostoms, saw the pulpit as the primary vehicle of Gospel proclamation and subsequent conversion. 'The public announcement of God's holy will from our pulpits,' declared Irish Evangelical Anglican William Stack, 'is the highest and most important duty of our ministry.' Stack neatly summarised Evangelical verities in his declaration that no preaching was worthy of that Christian pulpit that did not first presuppose both minister and congregation as fallen, guilty beings wanting pardon, renewal and enlightenment. Second, it should vindicate Trinitarian doctrine and the application of that doctrine to the sinner's soul; and third, it should provide:

full exhibition of the Father's love in sending his Son into the world, of his justice satisfied by his Son's atoning sacrifice ... and of the Spirit in his sanctifying influences upon the disordered and criminal heart of man. No other foundation than this must any man lay.⁹

Moral themes were prevalent in colonial preaching, especially in relation to colonial vices of drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, materialism, hedonism,

immorality, theft and idleness. Cruickshank notes how outspoken Presbyterian minister and political activist, John Dunmore Lang, used an 1838 fast-day sermon to warn of God's judgment on New South Wales for its treatment of Aboriginal people, to which he added colonial vices of Sabbath-breaking and treatment of the poor (particularly convicts):

not only have we despoiled [Aborigines] of their land, and given them in exchange European vice and European disease in every foul and fatal form, but the blood of hundreds, nay thousands of their number ... still stains the hands of many of the inhabitants of the land!¹⁰

Also striking is the imperial scope of sermons. Sermons in the metropole and in other British colonies were reported widely in colonial Australian newspapers, particularly in relation to wars such as those in New Zealand, India or the Crimea; births, deaths and attempted assassinations of royalty or national figures; and political and economic crises (including poor harvests) in England and Ireland. Such occasions of national worship thereby gained significance beyond their immediate locales, serving to reinforce a shared imperial and religious identity. These observances were also used to forward various concerns, whether theological, apologetic, economic, sectarian or political. Such occasions inspired both conservative support and liberal critiques of government, at times provoking heated discussion of the churches' proper relation to the colonial and imperial state. The occasions were also used by others on the periphery of the colonial establishment, such as Roman Catholics and Jews, to both critique and affirm their loyalty to the state and its ideals.

Another homiletic tradition with particular relevance for early colonial Australia was that of the 'execution sermon' or 'condemned sermon': the sermon preached to a condemned criminal just prior to execution. After gaining popularity in England from 1660 to 1800, the practice of preaching (and later publishing) execution sermons was transported to the colonies, most notably in the New England colonies, where by the eighteenth century they were the predominant form of criminal narrative. The practice was carried over to Australian colonies which were, of course, primarily penal in character before the 1840s. One of the most famous accounts of an Australian execution sermon was that for convicted murderer, John Knatchbull, outside Darlinghurst Gaol in February 1844. It was also notable for the sermon's

direct impact and because his was one of the last public executions to be held in Sydney, attended by an estimated 4–5,000 people of all classes. Up to his last days Knatchbull protested his innocence and appealed his sentence of death for the murder, with a hatchet, of a shopkeeper. When, however, Knatchbull had received the official instructions for his execution, he gave up hope and, as *The Sydney Morning Herald* account puts it:

applied himself to preparation for another world. In this he was assisted by the Chaplain and various persons, whose efforts on his behalf, and influence on himself, produced, if appearances may be believed, the most satisfactory results ... On Sunday last, the Rev. Mr. Elder preached before him the 'condemned sermon,' and this appears to have had a most extraordinary effect upon [Knatchbull]. Immediately on being conducted to his cell he wrote ... in the following terms: 'Condemned Cell, Woolloomooloo Gaol, 10th February, 1844. In the presence of Almighty God, Amen. I am guilty of the horrid deed for which I am to suffer death; and may the Lord have mercy on my soul. Amen. JOHN KNATCHBULL.' This, we believe, is the only formal confession which he has made as to his last crime.¹¹

In a sense the various newspaper accounts acted as further sermons, resembling the execution sermon genre, noting Knatchbull's repentance before and after the sermon and adding a cautionary biographical tale. 'The character of the unhappy culprit,' reported *The Australian*,

from boyhood upwards, appears to have been brutally tyrannical ... From tyranny he passed to petty larceny, from larceny to forgery, from forgery to the blackest treachery, from treachery to murder, and from murder to the gallows!¹²

Intellectual challenges

Colonial churches, like their metropolitan counterparts, faced significant intellectual challenges after the 1860s. Proponents of higher biblical criticism displayed a growing tendency to distrust the pronouncements of church tradition on difficult issues such as authorship of the Pentateuch. JE Renan's *Life of Jesus* (1863) attempted to portray Jesus simply as a human

person. English theologians such as Benjamin Jowett sought to remove divine inspiration from the creative process of New Testament writers. Liberal Protestant thinkers questioned the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures in addition to doctrines of biblical infallibility, miracles, hell and eternal punishment. Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) raised questions of how scriptural interpretation related to the findings of biological science and whether theories of 'natural selection' opened the door to removing ideas of purpose (teleology) from science and substituting them with blind chance. Yet many Christians integrated Darwinism along with their Christian beliefs, discerning a larger scheme of design in the evolutionary process. These developments, representing the late onset of Enlightenment intellectual currents, led to intense debate in Australian intellectual life. Disbelief in the existence of a revealed God began to gain traction among the business and professional classes between the 1860s and 1890s. This was accompanied by sporadic interest, albeit among a very small number, in spiritualism, freethought, secularism and philosophical materialism.¹³

Sermons act as a bellwether for these changes in the intellectual atmosphere. Doctrines of providence and prayer, for example, were debated in the context of challenges to revealed religion. After mid-century, debates about the material efficacy of prayer erupted around the question of irrigation and drought in Australia. Some clergymen, journalists and scientists increasingly challenged the appropriateness of public displays of penitence in the face of drought, seeing such events as a stimulus to scientific research rather than as just matters of divine retribution. Broad church liberalism, intellectual curiosity and an interest in water engineering and irrigation lay behind the alleged quip of Anglican Bishop of Melbourne (1877–86) James Moorhouse to fellow clerics: 'Don't pray for rain, dam it!'¹⁴

Sermons and preaching in civil and political society

The few Australian historians to have studied sermons and preaching are in no doubt about their importance for an emerging civil and political society. Alan Atkinson has evocatively labelled these a 'commonwealth of speech', grounded in 'common conversation'.¹⁵ Historian Joy Damousi argues that:

perhaps the most significant use of language in the public arena in colonial Australia was that employed in sermons.

Oratory from the pulpit was the main source of moral teaching and instruction for religious adherents; it provided the ethics, meaning and framework for church members.¹⁶

Damousi argues with some force that churches played 'a central role in efforts to educate young men to speak in a manner that was correct and fluent.' Proper speaking was, in turn, linked with good citizenship, public spirit and a liberal education. Eloquence emerged as an indicator of social standing in a colonial society that, after mid-century, saw the rapid expansion of public speaking and recognised the importance of the public lecture, debating societies and oratory culture.¹⁷ In the Australian context, concludes Damousi, these practices continued to operate in the sermon and in the parliament:

Cultural values were embedded in politics, in religious sermons and in debating societies. But these were not simply a medium for the spread of empire. While much English literature and many British traditions were transposed, these institutions also allowed for an emerging and uneven cultural independence.¹⁸

There is ample evidence that sermon preparation and preaching were an important nursery for public and political careers. The evangelical social conscience in particular was a key driver of organised labour both in Britain and the Australian colonies. It is no coincidence that many key figures in the formation of the Australian Labor Party were Methodist ministers. Their preaching experience, both in open air and in churches, proved a valuable training ground for the raucous colonial hustings. Nine of the Party's first 35 parliamentary members were Methodists and their dominance of the party was so obvious that the Roman Catholic *Freeman's Journal* observed in an 1896 article that '[t]he Labour Party is largely composed of pulpit-punchers and local preachers.'¹⁹ On the heterodox end of the theological spectrum, one of the more famous careers was that of Catherine Helen Spence, whose work as a preaching minister in the Unitarian Church was a useful training ground for her inveterate public speaking and campaigning for electoral reform and for women's political franchise.

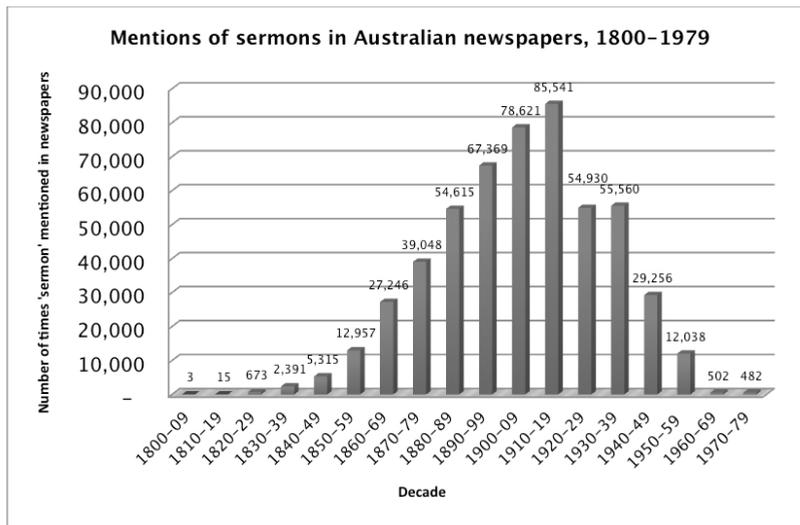
Historians have rightly questioned the extent to which pulpits in any age are 'tuned' by the government of the day. Does this hold for colonial Australian pulpits? Given their establishment links and association with

the state and the ruling classes, colonial Anglican clergy offer an interesting case study. They generally followed the conventions of the day in avoiding politics in their preaching and in holding to a fundamentally conservative social and political theory. Yet in the first half of the nineteenth century, Anglican clergy consistently and unambiguously subordinated the kingdoms and governments of this world – colonial and imperial – to the kingdom of Christ. Thus Anglican clergyman William Macquarie Cowper preached that no '[e]mpires exist, but to further in some way the salvation of His people.' Moreover, God's sovereignty and providence over-ruled the affairs of the world: men died, kingdoms were overthrown, dynasties perished, races became extinct or mingled with others but the purposes of God were carried on, to 'ripen and unfold themselves from age to age'.²⁰ At times Anglican clergymen displayed remarkable independence and occasionally politicised the pulpit, especially in relation to issues such as the role of the church in education. On several occasions the sermon became a site for protest against government action, policy or interference. Sometimes the impact could be far-reaching, such as when Tasmanian clergyman Gregory Bateman publicly washed his hands at the gallows after a convict execution, declaring that he was innocent of the man's blood. His provocative gesture, a silent sermon clearly alluding to Pontius Pilate and a miscarriage of justice, incensed the local magistrate, drew condemnation from his bishop and eventuated in Bateman's dismissal and discussions in the British Parliament of the implications for colonial church-state relations.²¹

The public prominence of sermons and preaching in colonial Australia

To what extent can we measure the public prominence of sermons in colonial Australia? A related question concerns how many people were listening to sermons in colonial Australia. Historians have estimated a rise in church attendance from the mid-nineteenth century to a peak in 1870 of 38 per cent who regularly attended (compare this to Anglicans today, among whom 10 per cent regularly attend church). This declined until 1886, at which point attendance rose again and by the turn of twentieth century about one-third of the population were regular churchgoers with the majority (99 per cent) naming the faith to which they were connected.²² Jackson discerns the beginnings of an almost continuous decline in churchgoing (relative to population) among Protestants for a century but it did not begin until the mid-1890s.²³

It is interesting to correlate Kingston's figures with a very crude index of mentions of sermons in Australian newspapers (in the National Library's *Trove* database of Australian newspapers). This data has to be heavily qualified because not all papers have been indexed, especially in the twentieth century, which tends to skew the data. Likewise there were very few papers until after the 1830s, after government censorship and restrictions were relaxed, so we would expect relatively fewer mentions of sermons in the early years. There are, however, striking patterns in the data:



The peak years and subsequent decline fit with historians' estimation of the high point of churchgoing in colonial Australia – from the 1870s to the early twentieth century. But the figures also lend support to historian Atkinson's argument that it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, most clearly of all, during World War I that the newspaper began to take over from morning prayers and sermons as 'the private, and yet mass, ritual which set the tone for many men (if not women) at the start of each day'. By that time, contends Atkinson, newspapers were establishing 'a moral and existential supremacy over shared imaginings' and beginning 'to orchestrate a deep sense of national community'.²⁴ There are parallels in the metropolitan British context, as Keith Francis points out:

For communicating religious, moral, and ethical ideas the pulpit was still king in 1850 though it was facing serious

challenge from the lecture stand and the serial novel. The same can be said of the sermon as entertainment: if venues such as the theatre had not surpassed the pulpit by 1901, the signs were apparent that this would soon be the case.²⁵

Conclusion

It is clear, from even this brief survey, that sermons and preaching were of immense importance in colonial Australian public life. A wide variety of homiletic traditions, largely derived from Britain, were transplanted to Australian soil. They were adapted to peculiarly colonial concerns, whether on national days of prayer for sustained drought or as execution sermons that were part of the theatre of convict death that punctuated colonial Australian life in its penal phase. Sermons and preaching also illuminate the broader contours of intellectual debate in the second half of the nineteenth century, as metropolitan scientific endeavour and the French and German Enlightenments posed a challenge to received understandings of revealed religion among the chattering professional and business classes. Preaching was also influential for the emergence of civil society and representative government after 1850, acting as a nursery for the oratory culture and public conversation that was deemed essential to public life and political leadership. Sermons were prominent in the public conversation of this period, as suggested by their pervasive presence in newspapers and the fact that at least a third of colonists listened to sermons on a regular basis. Although churchgoing rates remained high throughout the period, as did a widespread consensus about the Christian foundations of the religious, social and moral order, it appears that the period between 1850 and World War I was the high point of preaching's presence in Australian public life.²⁶ There is also evidence media such as newspapers were both a powerful channel through which reported sermons took on a second life and a potential rival for colonial hearts and minds. References to sermons in colonial newspapers can provide only a crude index of this presence; there is clearly a need for future research on preaching and public life in the twentieth century.

This article has explored one tiny band of a vast spectrum that awaits research. Australian scholars are yet to explore in any depth how sermons and preaching can illuminate important but neglected connections between religion and Australian culture and society. As Cruickshank points out, studies of the reception of sermons in the Australian colonies will 'reveal

much about colonial orality and aurality', while issues of race, gender and class are worthy of greater attention (including women's and indigenous Australian preaching traditions) for expanding our understanding of both the sermon and colonialism.²⁷ Reception studies of sermons in Britain, Europe and the United States of America for example have fruitfully explored the relationship between printed sermons and the events they recorded, interactions between preachers and hearers, ways in which people listened and responded to sermons and how preachers tried to engage them.²⁸ In terms of historical sources, Australian clergy and laypeople have bequeathed a rich vein in the form of thousands of extant sermons in manuscript and published form, while sermon audiences have reacted to sermons in ego-documents such as diaries and letters and in newspaper articles and books.

The historical study of sermons and preaching will also have much to say on national and imperial identity; on Australian intellectual life, popular culture, literature, publishing, manners and identity; on traditions of public oratory and rhetoric amid recent popular and scholarly interest in Australia's 'great speeches' as evidenced by the multiple anthologies in Australian bookshops; on Australian religious life including popular religious expression such as revivalism and holiness traditions, theology, churchmanship and missionary impulses; and on issues of secularisation. To quote the most influential preacher to preach in an imperial context (and to change the metaphor): 'the harvest is plentiful ...'.

Endnotes

1. Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*, (first published 1851), chapter 8.
2. Ken Inglis, *Speechmaking in Australian history*, Allan Martin Lecture, Canberra, 2007, pp. 17, 24. A notable exception is Joanna Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies', *Oxford Handbooks Online*, <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199583591.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199583591-e-31>, accessed 22 November 2013.
3. Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies'.
4. William Gibson, 'The British Sermon 1689–1901: Quantities, Performance and Culture', *Oxford Handbooks Online*, <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199583591.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199583591-e-1>, accessed 16 September 2013.

5. Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies'
6. Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies'
7. Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies'
8. Thomas Cooper Makinson, *A rule of Christian stewardship: a sermon preached in St Stephen's Church Penrith, on Friday April 16 1841*, pp. 3–5; Henry T Stiles, *Sermon*, pp. 4, 10–13; Henry T Stiles, *A sermon preached in St. John's church, Parramatta, May 20th, 1838, on the occasion of the death of the Revd Samuel Marsden, of Parramatta, senior chaplain of the colony of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1838, p. 16; Henry T Stiles, *A sermon preached in St. Matthew's church, Windsor, on Sunday, December 1st, 1839, previously to the opening of a new Wesleyan chapel in that town*, Sydney, 1840, pp. 7, 14, where he emphasises apostolic tradition over against Methodist 'schism'; Robert Allwood, *Sermon*, pp. 4, 5, 9–12; Charles Pleydell Neale Wilton, *Sermons. By the Revd Charles Pleydell Neale Wilton*, Gloucester, 1824, pp. 32–7; Stephens, 'Tasmania', pp. 49–50; Cox, *Perseverance*; William Horatio Walsh, *Our duty under recent perversions to the Church of Rome. A sermon, preached at Christ Church, St. Lawrence, On Sunday, the 27th February, 1848*, Sydney, 1848, p. 9.
9. William Stack, *A sermon, preached in the church of St. James, at the primary visitation of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Australia. June 5th, 1839*, Sydney 1839, pp. 7–8.
10. John Dunmore Lang, quoted in Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies' (from which I also borrow this example).
11. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 February 1844, 'EXECUTION OF KNATCHBULL'
12. *The Australian*, 15 February 1844.
13. Hugh Jackson, *Australians and the Christian God: an historical study*, Mosaic Press, Melbourne, 2013, pp. 211–12.
14. Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2000, p. 292.
15. Alan Atkinson, *The commonwealth of speech: an argument about Australia's past, present and future*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 2002.
16. Joy Damousi, *Colonial Voices: A Cultural History of English in Australia 1840–1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, p. 70.
17. Damousi, *Colonial Voices*, pp. 61, 71–75.
18. Damousi, *Colonial Voices*, p. 75.

19. Robert D Linder, 'The Methodist Love Affair With the Australian Labor Party, 1891–1929; Lucas 23 & 24 (1997–1998), 35–61, <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/Lucas/nos23-24-dec-1997-june-1998/02-the-methodist-love-affair-with-the-australian-l/>, accessed 30 November 2013.
20. Macquarie Cowper, *A sermon preached in St. Phillip's church*, Sydney, 1862, pp. 8–10.
21. Michael Gladwin, *Clergy, colony and empire: Anglican clergymen in Australia and the British Empire, 1788–1850*, Royal Historical Society, Boydell & Brewer, Suffolk, 2014, forthcoming.
22. Damousi, *Colonial Voices*, p. 70.
23. Jackson, *Australians and the Christian God*, p. 212.
24. Alan Atkinson, 'The Rise of the Newspaper and the Fall of the Sermon: The Case of World War One', delivered at Preaching Australia Conference, Canberra, 19 September 2013, to be published.
25. Keith Francis, in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon: 1689–1901*, Keith A Francis and others (ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012.
26. Ian Breward, *A history of the churches in Australasia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2001, p. 428.
27. Cruickshank, 'The Sermon in the British Colonies'.
28. Rosamund Oates, 'Sermons and Sermon-going in Early Modern England', *Reformation*, Vol. 17, 2012, pp. 199–212, at p. 200.