

**The role of the laity in Anglican evangelicalism
with particular reference to the Diocese of Sydney,
1960 – 1982**

**by
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CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work, to the best of my knowledge and belief, understanding that it contains no material previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Charles Sturt University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgment is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by colleagues with whom I have worked at Charles Sturt University or elsewhere during my candidature is fully acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, historians have emphasised the clerical, constitutional, and institutional dimensions of Australian Anglicanism. The history of the laity has been generally overlooked. This thesis therefore seeks to fill this lacuna partially by examining the role of the laity in the ministry and mission of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, during the 1960s and 1970s. This may be seen as a watershed period in both the church and the nation. The focus is on how and why that role changed over time, as well as on how the role of the laity was understood and articulated. The study begins with the first Australian Billy Graham Crusade in 1959, which galvanised lay participation in the Sydney Diocese, and concludes with the end of the episcopate of Archbishop Marcus Loane in 1982, by which time the role of the laity, and the role of the clergy also, had undergone an important shift in focus.

The concentration on the evangelical tradition within Anglicanism is necessary because its traditional ecclesiology makes evangelicals more likely to embrace greater lay participation in ministry than High Church or Anglo-Catholic traditions. By studying the contribution of the laity from a historical perspective, the research will inform our understanding of Australian church history in at least three ways: first, in terms of different approaches to ministry; second, in terms of the impact of empowering laypeople for ministry and mission; and third, in terms of the character and influence of the charismatic movement in Australian Anglicanism.

The principal argument of this thesis is that a considerable body of evidence confirms the increased involvement of the laity during the period of this study which brought a creative and hitherto unrecognized response, and an impressive release of energy into the predominantly evangelical Sydney Diocese. Larger parishes showing significant growth moved from a clergy-centred focus to a team leadership and whole-church ministry approach that encouraged the ministry of all believers. The Sydney Diocese expended considerable energy on training and educating its laity in the ministry roles of teaching, preaching, parish administration, and in the work of personal evangelism and social welfare assistance in their communities. This also encouraged and enabled laypeople to

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perform significant roles: in ministry leadership, in giving pastoral care to members of their congregations, and in mission to the wider community.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAPB	An Australian Prayer Book
ACA	Anglican Church of Australia
ACL	The Anglican Church League
ACR	The Australian Church Record
ACWC	Australian Christian Women's Convention
AHB	Australian Hymn Book
ARV	Anglican Retirement Villages
BCA	Bush Church Aid Society
BCP	The Book of Common Prayer
BD	Bachelor of Divinity
BGC	Billy Graham Crusade
CBD	Central Business District
CCC	Campus Crusade for Christ
CEBS	Church of England Boys' Society – now CEBS – the Anglican Boys' Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSAC	Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity
CSSM	(Scripture Union's) Children's Special Service Mission
EE	Evangelism Explosion
EU	Evangelical Union
GBRE	(General Synod's) General Board of Religious Education
GFS	Girls' Friendly Society
HMS	Home Mission Society
ISCF	Inter School Christian Fellowship
LIFE	Lay Institute For Evangelism
LHMU	Ladies Home Mission Union
MTC	Moore Theological College
MU	Mothers' Union
NSW	New South Wales
NT	New Testament
RI	Religious Instruction (in schools)
RC	Roman Catholic

RSL	Returned and Services League of Australia
SPTC	Sydney Preliminary Theology Certificate
SRE	Special Religious Education
SU	Scripture Union
ThC	Certificate in Theology
ThL	Licentiate in Theology
UK	United Kingdom
UNSW	University of New South Wales
USA	United States of America
WCC	World Council of Churches

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

‘The old joke is that the clergy are paid to be good and the laity is good for nothing. The joke is only funny because it hits a nerve of reality in our experience.’

Neil Cole¹

Stories have been recounted in country parishes of a preacher not turning up and of those who had gathered deciding to go home instead of meeting for worship.² The old joke about the clergy being paid to be good and the laity being good for nothing resonates with some of the key themes of this thesis. In the first place, historians canvassing the institutional and constitutional development in the church have largely concentrated on the leadership of the clergy and have downplayed the importance of the laity. This perception was referred to recently by the historian Marcia Cameron, who recalled that her mother, the wife of a Sydney Anglican clergyman, saw through clergy eyes when she referred to the idea of lay people running their own Bible studies as ‘pooled ignorance’.³ Secondly, developments within the Sydney Diocese during the period 1960–1982 provide an important case study for uncovering the neglected history of lay involvement in the ministry and mission of the church.⁴ This was a time when laypeople began to play an increasingly important role in the diocese, providing an example of creative responses to challenges then facing Australian churches, not least of which were increasing secularisation and a significant decline in church membership and attendance. This study invites further questions about whether the Anglican Church has misinterpreted the New Testament (NT) model in its adherence to the traditional emphasis on the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons at the expense of harnessing the gifts of laypeople and empowering them to serve in ministry and mission.

¹ Neil Cole, “Who should be paid to serve in the church?” *Church Multiplication Associates (CMA) Resources*, <http://www.cmaresources.org/node/209>, accessed on 18 June 2016, paragraph 8. Cole is associated with the Grace Brethren Fellowship of Churches in the California-Arizona region.

² During the 1970s the author of this thesis heard one such story from a parishioner of St Paul’s Bargo in the parish of Picton, south of Sydney.

³ Marcia Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney: Anglicans in a time of change 1945–2013* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2016), 126. Cameron explains that this was her mother’s term.

⁴ Hereafter, reference to ‘our period’ means the period of this study from 1960 to 1982.

Our period may be seen as a watershed in the history of lay involvement in the ministry and mission of the Anglican Church of Australia. It encompasses the episcopates of Archbishops Hugh Rowlands Gough (1959–1966) and Marcus Lawrence Loane (1966–1982) in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney. The Sydney Diocese has been chosen as the focus of this thesis because it strongly and uniquely characterises the Evangelical tradition within Anglicanism. The tradition's conservative ecclesiology associates evangelicals with the 'Low Church', which emphasises personal conversion and the supremacy of Scripture. They give a 'low place' to the importance of the episcopal form of church government, the sacraments, and liturgical worship, and they are more likely to embrace greater lay participation in ministry and mission than members of other traditions in Anglicanism. This has resulted in a greater tendency to be more proactive in personal evangelism and to offer an energetic response to ministry needs in parishes. The awareness of the importance of laypeople in the church's mission and ministry was brought into sharp focus when what has been described as a 'tsunami' of social and cultural change swept through Australia after the early 1960s.⁵

In the face of significant challenges through a lessening of the church's social authority and a decline in commitment, this thesis argues that there was a growing realisation among the church's leadership that the threats of secularism, the dismantling of the nation's Christian cultural consensus, the accompanying rapid decline in church attendance, and marginalisation of the church in Australian society required new initiatives in evangelism, parish structure, and patterns of ministry. Leaders also acknowledged a growing awareness of the need to rely less upon the practices of the past and seek new approaches, especially that of team ministry, which encouraged a stronger presence of laity in the ministry and mission of the church. By examining this period from a grass-roots perspective, this thesis has unearthed a large body of evidence that demonstrates the increased involvement of the laity, which brought a creative and hitherto unrecognised response by Australian Anglicans and a release of vitality into the church.

The Sydney Diocese actively set about educating laypeople in the hope of helping them to be more aware of the foundations of their faith through a strong commitment to the centrality of the Bible. This was accompanied by an intensive programme of educating laypeople in the skills of administration and various aspects of ministry. In the parishes

⁵ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 8.

a widespread and expanding role for the laity was found in a move from clergy-centred to team ministry, while the development of small group ministries created a greater sense of belonging by facilitating prayer, pastoral care, and nurture. Greater lay participation also occurred in the areas of youth ministry, evangelism and outreach, preaching, teaching, training, community activities, and social welfare programmes, plus the inclusion of women in ministry teams. These various roles form the key themes of the chapters in this thesis. Also of importance is the Reformed ‘twist’ given to Sydney Anglican evangelicalism that began in the 1960s and became characterised by resistance to theological change as it embraced much of the ‘Reformed’ theology of the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) of 1662 and the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* contained therein.⁶ While this strengthened the theological rigour of the diocese and the quality of preaching, it was one of a number of constraining factors which placed limitations on the expanding role of the laity within the church and in its identification with the wider community. These limitations included a hierarchical view of leadership, a stronger focus on the clergy at the local parish level in some places, and reluctance among some clergy to pursue opportunities for team ministry and whole-church ministry. Some clergy were concerned that laypeople were encroaching on their traditional bailiwick of overseeing ministry and mission, especially in preaching and leadership. During our period, evangelicalism was also chastened for its restrained commitment to social involvement in mission and a suspicion, even opposition, towards any form of emphasis on lay ministry associated with the charismatic movement.

In the long term, the intensive efforts of the Sydney Diocese were clearly not enough to stem the tide of decline. Nevertheless, they suggest a creative and hitherto unrecognised response of Australian Anglicans to the formidable challenges they faced, and which helped the Sydney Diocese to hold its ground in many aspects of its mission.

This thesis seeks, therefore, to answer two main questions:

1. What was the role of the laity in the ministry and mission of Australian Anglican evangelicalism, particularly in the Sydney Diocese during the period 1960–1982, and how did the role of the laity change during this period?
2. How has the role of the laity been understood and articulated within Australian Anglican evangelicalism?

⁶ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 11.

Defining Anglicanism, evangelicalism, laity, and ministry

The term ‘Anglican’ derives from the Latin *Anglicanus* meaning ‘English’. It was first applied in 1838 to refer to colonial churches which looked both pastorally and canonically to Canterbury, and followed the post-Protestant Reformation doctrine of the established Church of England which focussed on ‘the supreme authority of Scripture, justification by faith, and the legitimate role of the laity (embodied in the sovereign and parliament) in the government of the church.’⁷ Since the eighteenth-century, evangelicals have comprised that section of the Church of England which emphasised personal conversion, the supremacy of Scripture, gospel-based preaching, and reassertions of the doctrine of justification by faith.⁸ These emphases or ‘marks’ are clearly articulated in what is perhaps the best and most widely recognised definition of evangelicalism—the quadrilateral of historian David Bebbington:

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.⁹

Evangelicals were in tension with the ‘High Church’, which stressed the historic apostolic ministry and the Apostolic Succession of the Anglican episcopacy and a more ritualistic attitude to liturgy. Furthermore, the High Church stressed baptism, confirmation and reception of Holy Communion as the means of sacramental grace.¹⁰

The Anglican system of government, with its threefold order of bishops, priests and deacons, makes a clear delineation of clergy as being those who have been ordained into these ministry roles. This pattern arose from ancient tradition and was an inheritance from the Anglican Church’s Catholic roots. Evangelical Anglicans have tended to look to the NT as a guide to structuring their church government which suggests greater

⁷ Paul Avis, “What is Anglicanism?” in *The study of Anglicanism*, ed. Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight (London: SPCK, 1988), 460–1, 465.

⁸ Perry Butler, “From the early eighteenth century to the present day,” in *The study of Anglicanism*, ed. Stephen Sykes, John Booty and Jonathan Knight (London: SPCK, 1988), 34.

⁹ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in modern Britain: a history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2–3. W. R. Ward claims that, ‘The most quoted sentence in the whole historiography of evangelicalism is Professor Bebbington’s magisterial definition of what evangelicalism is’. See W. R. Ward, “The Making of the Evangelical Mind,” in Geoffrey R. Treloar and Robert D. Linder, eds. *Making history for God: essays on evangelicalism, revival and mission* (Sydney: Robert Menzies College, 2004), 309.

¹⁰ Roy Hazelwood, “Characteristics and correlates of Anglican religiosity in the Dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle: an historical and sociological study,” (MA diss., Edith Cowan University, 2008), 9.

authority being given to the local congregation. Historian Kenneth Hylson-Smith observes that:

From the day of Pentecost to at least the end of the first century AD, Christianity was essentially a lay movement ... [H]ugely important as the apostles and other itinerant evangelists were in providing the main initial missionary thrust to the Jesus movement, they did not exercise any controlling rights over local Christian fellowships ... The New Testament makes it clear that all Christians have a calling to some form of ministry in the church.¹¹

Accordingly, for our purposes ‘the laity’ is defined as the non-ordained members of the local congregation who, not only participate in the worship of the church and sacramental functions, but also contribute in leadership, preaching, teaching, pastoral activities and social activities. Significantly, laypeople also function in evangelistic ministry and mission as bearers of the gospel of Jesus Christ to the wider community.

The enabling Anglican Youth Department Ordinance of 1975 outlines a similar concept of lay Christian ministry as understood specifically by the Sydney Diocese in our period.¹² While this definitive statement is necessarily more limited by its focus on youth, it is helpful in conveying the diocese’s broad understanding of the scope of Christian ministry expected of laypeople. In summary, ministry includes proclaiming the Christian gospel; teaching Biblical truths; caring for and encouraging one another in the Christian faith; and teaching people to engage effectively in these aspects of ministry. Ministry also involves training laypeople for Christian leadership; encouraging Christian activities amongst youth; and the acquisition, maintenance and development of facilities to provide for these activities, as will be demonstrated with reference to laypeople in this thesis.

Literature Review

This study of the role of the evangelical laity in the Sydney Diocese stands at the intersection of four bodies of overlapping literature. First, there is the *history of the laity generally*, which until recently has tended to be overlooked by historians of Christianity. A second literature concerns the *general religious history of Australia in this period*, especially the context of increasing secularisation during the twentieth century. Ian Breward has termed the decades of the 1960s and 1970s the ‘hinge years’ because they

¹¹ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The laity in Christian history and today* (London: SPCK, 2008), 1–2.

¹² “Anglican Youth Department Ordinance 1975,” No. 43, 14 October 1975, http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1975/43.%20Anglican%20Youth%20Department%20Ordinance%201975_43_1975.Pdf, accessed on 9 March 2016.

were marked by the emergence of political and social pressures which combined to erode ‘a century-old consensus about the foundations of religious and social order’.¹³ The third body of scholarship is a growing literature on *Australian evangelical Anglicanism* that has given significant attention to the Sydney Diocese. Sydney has the largest concentration of Anglican Christians in Australia, is the wealthiest and most powerful diocese in the nation, and since the Second World War has attracted international attention in Anglicanism because of its strong evangelical ethos and its influence in international evangelical fora such as the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation in 1974.¹⁴ The fourth literature concerns the *history of the Sydney Diocese* and its unique conservative Evangelical character, which, since the Second World War, has become increasingly aligned with Reformed traditions of theology.¹⁵ This has resulted in increased alienation from some segments of the wider Australian Anglican community.

The history of the laity generally

Historians of the Western Church have only recently begun to examine the role of the laity and, although scant reference is made to the Church in Australia, these studies provide a broad understanding of the importance of the laity in church growth. Stephen Neill and Hans-Reudi Weber’s edited collection, *The layman in Christian history* (1963), was the outcome of a project of the Department of the Laity of the World Council of Churches and was one of the first modern studies to consider the laity in any sustained way.¹⁶ Neill observed that, while historians had paid a great deal of attention to the ordained ministry of the Church, the laity tended to be taken for granted.¹⁷ In his chapter on ‘The British layman in modern times 1780–1962,’ F. C. Mather concluded that during the twentieth century it came to be realised with increasing conviction that only through a fully active laity could the Christian faith make any real impression upon

¹³ Ian Breward, *A history of the churches in Australasia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 [2004]), 428.

¹⁴ Donald Robinson, “Bicentennial address,” Anglican H.M.S. Annual Festival, 29 April 1988, 2. Miley claimed in 2002 that the Sydney Diocese contained about half of all Anglicans in Australia. Caroline Miley, *The suicidal church: can the Anglican Church be saved?* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2002), 120; Muriel Porter, *Sydney Anglicans and the threat to world Anglicanism: the Sydney experiment* (Farnham, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 1.

¹⁵ Stuart Piggin, “The properties of concrete,” *Meanjin* 65, 4 (December, 2006): 187.

¹⁶ Stephen Charles Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber, eds. *The layman in Christian history* (London: SCM Press, 1963).

¹⁷ Neill, “Introduction,” in *The layman in Christian history*, 15.

the contemporary world.¹⁸ Mather's insight, as we shall see, was certainly applicable to the Sydney Diocese.

The Second Vatican Council, which involved a series of gatherings from 11 October 1962 until 8 December 1965, changed the course of Christian history in the twentieth century.¹⁹ Central to these changes were the opening up of communications with other churches and a commitment to liturgical revision. This featured the use of the vernacular instead of Latin in the Mass and the encouragement of greater lay participation in the life of the Church.²⁰ Michael Winter observed that despite a reluctance to change in key areas such as mission, education, lay, and clerical structures, the emergence of much greater freedom of speech in the Roman Catholic Church has been a sign of great hope for the future. He asserted that since Vatican II 'the laity cannot be coerced in any way, and therefore they cannot be silenced'.²¹

A more recent historical study of the laity has been Hylson-Smith's *The laity in Christian history and today* (2008) which provided a broad overview of the contribution of the laity mainly in the British, European and North American context. He asserted that an analysis of the role of the laity in contemporary world Christianity has been almost totally neglected.²² Later in his study Hylson-Smith astutely observed that clergy appear to be over-cautious in sharing true leadership with the laypeople and that an important factor in the exponential growth of Pentecostal churches in the USA was that they were predominantly lay in membership and in leadership; '[t]hey have ministries but they are not hierarchies'.²³ A major recent historical study of the laity is the seven-volume *A people's history of Christianity*, in which over one hundred scholars have

¹⁸ F. C. Mather, "The British layman in modern times 1780–1962," in *The layman in Christian history*, 233.

¹⁹ Breward, *A history of the churches in Australasia*, 325–6. John Pope, "Vatican II changed the Catholic Church—and the world," http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/11/vatican-ii-catholic-church-changes_n_1956641.html, accessed on 8 September 2016; John Moorman, *Vatican observed: an Anglican impression of Vatican II* (London: Dartman, Longman and Todd, 1967), 182. Moorman, Bishop of Ripon, was an Anglican observer throughout Vatican II.

²⁰ Brian Fletcher, *The English Church in Australian soil: Australian society and the English connection since 1788* (Canberra: Barton Books, 2015), 192. See also Gerald O'Collins, *The Second Vatican Council: message and meaning* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2014.) O'Collins, an adjunct professor at the Australian Catholic University, taught at the Gregorian University of Rome for 33 years, and has monitored the reforms arising from Vatican II; Raymond Nobbs, "Vatican II and after—Anglican responses" (paper presented at the St James' Institute, Sydney, 17 August 2013, <http://sjks.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Raymond-Nobbs-Vatican-II-and-After-Anglican-Responses.pdf>, accessed on 21 April 2017. Nobbs' paper, presented on the 50th Anniversary of Vatican II, observes 'a general and solid silence about Vatican II in most of Anglican Sydney'.

²¹ Michael M. Winter, *Whatever happened to Vatican II?* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1985), 19. At the time of writing Winter was the Dean of St Edmund's House, Cambridge.

²² Hylson-Smith, "Preface," in *The laity in Christian history*, v.

²³ Hylson-Smith, *The laity in Christian history*, 166, 172.

uncovered this neglected side of church history as they have explored the religious ideas and consciousness of people in Christian communities.²⁴ The final volume in the series *Twentieth century global Christianity* (2008), edited by Mary Bednarowski, offers a range of essays containing stories examining the daily life of Christians in diverse communities during the twentieth century, although none of these relates to the Australian context. This volume informs this thesis in its observation of the decline of the Church and loss of cultural relevance in developed nations and the acknowledgment that the laity—and especially women—have been for the most part absent from written history, despite their huge contribution to the life of the Church.²⁵

The general religious history of Australia

During the last two decades there has been a resurgence of scholarly interest in the history of Australian Anglicanism as well as in other denominations.²⁶ A number of historians have broadly canvassed the Australian religious scene, although only a few have reflected on the role of the laity.²⁷ By way of example, a more ‘grass-roots’ approach has been demonstrated by the contributors to *Making history for God: essays on evangelicalism, revival and mission*. They have achieved a greater focus on the laity by seeking to address the under-representation of the contribution of evangelicals to church growth in several Protestant denominations in Australia.²⁸ While these scholars offer profiles of some prominent Australian lay people their essays are limited in their coverage of the Sydney Diocese during our period, especially in the areas of ministry and mission.

Since the 1960s there has been an attempt by historians and sociologists to understand the impact of widespread social and religious change in Western nations, most of which

²⁴ Denis R. Janz, gen. ed., *A people's history of Christianity* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fortress Press, 2010). The seven volumes include: Vol. 1. Richard Horsley, ed., *Christian origins* (2005); Vol. 2. Virginia Burrus, ed., *Late ancient Christianity* (2005); Vol. 3. Derek Kruger, ed., *Byzantine Christianity* (2006); Vol. 4. Daniel Bornstein, ed., *Medieval Christianity* (2009); Vol. 5. Peter Matheson, ed., *Reformation Christianity* (2007); Vol. 6. Amanda Porterfeld, ed., *Modern Christianity to 1900* (2007); Vol. 7. Mary Bednarowski, ed., *Twentieth century global Christianity* (2008).

²⁵ Mary Bednarowski, ed., *Twentieth century global Christianity* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fortress Press, 2008), 5.

²⁶ Reviews of this historiography also include Hilary Carey et al., “Australian religion review, 1980–2000, part 1: surveys, bibliographies and religions other than Christianity,” *Journal of Religious history* 24, 3 (October 2000): 296–313; Hilary Carey et al., “Australian religion review, 1980–2000, part 2: Christian denominations,” *Journal of Religious History* 25, 13 (February 2001): 56–82.

²⁷ Key studies include Ian Breward, *A history of the Australian churches* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993); Roger C. Thompson, *Religion in Australia: a history* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia: a cultural history of religions* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996).

²⁸ Treloar and Linder, eds. *Making history for God*.

have generally experienced a substantial drift away from religious adherence.²⁹ Much of the literature has focussed on Britain, Europe and North America. Early theorists saw secularisation arising from the Enlightenment and the larger processes of modernisation.³⁰ Secularisation theory has since been challenged but is considered to have value as a theory of ‘general orientation’ in explaining a period of radical social change.³¹ Scottish historian Callum Brown has engaged with British historian Hugh McLeod’s detailed studies of secularisation in the “‘long sixties’ lasting from about 1958 to 1975’ and has claimed that there remains a lack of investigative historical analysis of the external religious apathy, alienation and hostility which eroded Christian culture in Western nations.³² More recently there has been a resurgence of interest in re-examining the relationship between the secular and the religious in Australian history. This literature has suggested that there are important historical nuances in the Australian case that have been overlooked by the international literature.³³

In studying the response of the churches to decline and secularisation in the Australian context, however, religious historians have focussed on leaders or institutions. This thesis takes a different approach, suggesting that there have been creative responses by laypeople at the forefront of re-engaging with contemporary society. Hugh Chilton’s doctoral dissertation on ‘Evangelicals and the End of Christian Australia: 1959–79’, examines, *inter alia*, the impact of the Billy Graham Crusades (BGC) on Australia.³⁴ Chilton demonstrates that the 1959 BGC was a catalyst for both the participation of laypeople as counsellors and the development of small group ministry in homes as Bible Study and prayer groups became common to most parishes. By examining the work of laypeople at the micro level of parish ministry and mission, the findings of the following

²⁹ Tom Frame, *Losing my religion: unbelief in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), 9.

³⁰ Key studies include: Bryan Wilson, *Religion in secular society: a sociological comment* (London: Watts, 1966); Peter Berger, *The sacred canopy* (New York: Doubleday, 1967); Peter L. Berger, ed., *The desecularization of the world: resurgent religion and world politics* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center / Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1999); Bryan Wilson, *Religion in sociological perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); David Martin, *A general theory of secularization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978); Hugh McLeod, *The religious crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³¹ Charles Taylor, *A secular age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 2007), 308.

³² Callum G. Brown, “What was the religious crisis of the 1960s?” *Journal of Religious History* 34, 4 (December 2010): 469, 475–6. See also McLeod, *The religious crisis of the 1960s*, 1. McLeod makes brief references to Australia in his work and draws heavily on the research published by the Australian historian, David Hilliard.

³³ Stephen Chavura and Ian Tregenza, “Introduction: Rethinking Secularism in Australia (and Beyond),” *Journal of Religious History* 38, 3 (2014): 300, 306. See also, Stephen Chavura and Ian Tregenza, “A Political History of the Secular in Australia, 1788–1945,” in *Religion after secularisation in Australia*, ed. Timothy Stanley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 3–31.

³⁴ Hugh Chilton, “Evangelicals and the end of Christian Australia” (PhD diss., Sydney University, 2014).

thesis resonate with Chilton's findings at the macro level regarding the harnessing of laypeople. In turn, this thesis suggests that there have been creative responses with laypeople at the forefront of Australian churches' attempts to re-engage with contemporary society.

Australian evangelical Anglicanism

There exists a large scholarship on evangelical Anglicanism worldwide but in Australia during our period this was largely overlooked.³⁵ Until recent times research on the history of Australian evangelicalism has focussed on the clergy.³⁶ However, there has been a significant attempt to move beyond this emphasis in the first national study of Australian Anglicanism by Bruce Kaye and several other historians in *Anglicanism in Australia*.³⁷ The contributors to this work covered a range of issues, including diocesan differences and national identity, Australian Anglicanism in the world-wide context, concerns about the ordination of women and the concept of lay presidency in the celebration of Holy Communion, the response to secularism in Australian society, and the changing role of clergy. Nevertheless, relatively little was written on the role of the laity. A contributor to this volume, historian Brian Dickey, expressed the discontent he experienced when drafting his chapter for the volume where he had inserted words such as 'Christians', 'members of the congregation' and 'Anglican supporters' because the term 'laity' was only used in relation to synods (the governing councils of the church). He later claimed that the volume was 'still shot through with the clerical/lay dichotomy and for the most part says far too much about the clergy and denies the "laity" their most important identity, that of being Christians *tout court*'.³⁸ Separate studies have, however,

³⁵ See, in particular, R. T. France and A. McGrath, eds. *Evangelical Anglicans: their role and influence in the church today* (London: SPCK, 1993); Richard Turnbull, *Anglican and evangelical?* (London: Continuum, 2007); Rob Warner, *Reinventing English evangelicalism 1966–2001: a theological and sociological study* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007); J. I. Packer, *Anglican evangelical identity: yesterday and today* (London: Latimer Trust, 2008); Andrew Atherstone and John Maiden, eds. *Evangelicalism and the Church of England in the twentieth century: reform, resistance and renewal* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2014).

³⁶ This is particularly evident in James Grant, *Episcopally led and synodically governed: Anglicans in Victoria* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010); Michael Gladwin, *Anglican clergy in Australia 1788–1850: building a British world* (Woodbridge, UK: Royal Historical Society / Boydell Press, 2015).

³⁷ Bruce Kaye, gen. ed., *Anglicanism in Australia: a history* (Carlton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002).

³⁸ Brian Dickey, "Lay or Christian: revisiting some Australian religious history" (paper presented at the Anglican History Seminar, Brisbane, September, 2003), 2–3.
www.anglican.org.au/docs/community/conferences/SEMHISTDickey2003.pdf, accessed on 17 May 2014.

provided significant exceptions to this scholarly trend.³⁹ David Hilliard, for example, has surveyed the diverse ways in which lay people have shaped the church, such as in diocesan synods, in the hope that this would stimulate further reflection by historians. Stuart Piggin in his essay “‘Not a little holy club’: lay and clerical leadership in Australian Anglican evangelicalism, 1788–1988,” asserts that the scholarship on the role of religion in Australia ‘largely ignores the role of the laity’.⁴⁰ This work is broad in its sweep, and although lacking case studies, offers a broad overview of the importance of lay initiative in Sydney and Melbourne. Piggin claims that Sydney, with its more clerical bias, ‘has been able to produce areas characterized by genuine evangelical sub-cultures’, whereas Melbourne evangelicalism ‘seems to be far more committed to permeating the mainstream culture’.⁴¹

As key lay organisations have matured and reached milestones their contribution to the Church has been assessed.⁴² Meredith Lake, in her *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord: a history of the Sydney University Evangelical Union* (2015), observed that as it became difficult to engage with students on large scale outreach events in the early 1970s, the EU placed greater emphasis on promoting members’ involvement in gaols, children’s homes, and community drop-in centres; and with the assistance of Rev. John Chapman and Rev. Paul Barnett and the staff of St Barnabas Broadway, it benefited from training in personal evangelism for mission on campus.⁴³ This thesis will build on these contributions by exploring the valuable work of the laity in the ministry and mission of the church, and by mapping the contours of how this role functioned and changed during our period.

³⁹ David Hilliard, “How Anglican lay people saved the church,” *St Mark’s Review*, 207 (March 2009): 1. See also David Hilliard, “A short history of lay Anglicanism in Australia” (paper presented at the Australian Anglican History Seminar, Brisbane, Australia, 20–21 September, 2003); Stuart Piggin, “‘Not a little holy club’: lay and clerical leadership in Australian Anglican evangelicalism, 1788–1988,” in *Studies in church history*, 26, ed., W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

⁴⁰ Piggin, ‘Not a little holy club’, 369.

⁴¹ Piggin, ‘Not a little holy club’, 367–8, 382–3.

⁴² See especially Brian Dickey, *Not just tea and biscuits: the Mothers’ Union in the diocese of Adelaide 1895–1995* (Adelaide: The Mothers Union, 1995); and Meredith Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord: a history of the Sydney University Evangelical Union* (Sydney: The EU Graduates Fund, 2006.)

⁴³ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 36–7, 86.

History of the Diocese of Sydney

a. General diocesan histories

Finally, there has emerged in recent years a considerable body of literature on Sydney Anglicanism and the diocese itself.⁴⁴ Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable's *Sydney Anglicans: a history of the diocese* provided the first modern scholarly assessment of Sydney Anglicanism and its unique evangelical character.⁴⁵ This study concentrated on the leadership of clergy and growth of the institutional framework of the church. Judd and Cable acknowledged the growing importance of lay-led home groups which had their origins in the follow-up programs of the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade, as well as the renewed interest of the laity in the affairs of the church during the 1970s.⁴⁶ However, Judd and Cable's consideration of lay participation in the church's ministry was impressionistic. It ignored, for example, the role played by the influential Mothers' Union (MU) in the Sydney Diocese and the considerable impact of the charismatic movement. Both of these movements were among several marked by lay involvement as this thesis will demonstrate.

More recently, with the benefit of time for mature reflection, three historical studies by 'insiders' of the Sydney Diocese have been published. The first, by Marcia Cameron, entitled *Phenomenal Sydney: Anglicans in a time of change 1945–2013*, has documented the character of the diocese as a bastion of Evangelical Anglicanism, and sought to discern why, relative to population growth, it has maintained its position better than the Anglican Church elsewhere in Australia which is generally in decline.⁴⁷ Cameron has attempted to consider both the strengths and the weaknesses of the

⁴⁴ Recent studies have included theses by Bruce Ballantine-Jones, "Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney 1966–2013: the political factor" (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2013); Chilton, "Evangelicals" (2014); Paul Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, with special reference to the Healing Ministry at St Andrew's Cathedral 1960–2010" (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2012); Chase Kuhn, "The ecclesiology of Donald Robinson and David Broughton Knox: a presentation, analysis and theological evaluation of their thought on the nature of the church" (PhD diss., University of Western Sydney, 2014); Andrew Reid, "Evangelical hermeneutics and Old Testament preaching: a critical analysis of Graeme Goldsworthy's theory and practice," (PhD diss., Ridley Melbourne Mission and Ministry College, 2011.) Michael P. Jensen's *Sydney Anglicanism: an apology* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2012), which defended the Diocese of Sydney's biblical theology, preaching and practice, provoked an engaging dialogue from a number of scholars in *St Mark's Review*, 226 (November 2013). See also Kevin Giles, "An outsider's response to an insider's defence of the Anglican diocese of Sydney given by Michael P. Jensen in his book, 'Sydney Anglicanism: an apology,'" <http://sjks.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Giles-Looking-at-Sydney-from-the-inside.pdf>, accessed on 23 March 2017.

⁴⁵ Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: a history of the diocese* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1987).

⁴⁶ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 291, 311.

⁴⁷ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 3–4.

diocese. Her volume canvasses the diocese's response to homosexuality, women's ordination, lay presidency at Holy Communion, and its increasingly awkward relationship to the wider Anglican movement in Australia and internationally. Nevertheless, its focus is predominately clerical.

A second study was recently published by Bruce Ballantine-Jones and entitled *Inside Sydney: an insider's view of the changes and politics in the Anglican diocese of Sydney, 1966–2013*. It is written from the viewpoint of one who has been the rector of one of its largest parishes and has been closely involved with the leadership of the diocese, especially through his work with the Australian Church League (ACL).⁴⁸ While this volume is useful in confirming the sustained commitment of the diocese to educating its laypeople and providing increased opportunities for their active participation, it remains limited in detail in this regard.

A third study by Michael Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism: an apology* is a response to several critical assessments of the diocese by a key 'insider'. Jensen, who is the son of the recently retired Archbishop Peter Jensen, was a past member of the Moore College faculty. He attempts to bring some balance to the debate by justifying the continuity of Reformed Anglicanism and the importance of the local congregation, but makes only passing reference to the role of the laity.⁴⁹ Jensen is instructive for this thesis in explaining the diocese's position on lay presidency.

There has been relatively little written on the role of laywomen in Anglicanism. Elaine Lindsay and Janet Scarfe's book, *Preachers, prophets and heretics: women in the Anglican Church of Australia*, is a collection of essays on the historical struggle of Australian women seeking ordained ministry in the Anglican Church in Australia.⁵⁰ In particular, it criticises the sustained resistance of the Sydney Diocese to the ordination of women. Scarfe's oral history work is useful as an indication of the extent of participation of women as deaconesses in lay pastoral ministry, those who succeeded in becoming professional chaplains, and those who eventually were ordained as priests. The contribution of women to the church has also been canvassed by Hilary Carey in

⁴⁸ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney: an insider's view of the changes and politics in the Anglican diocese of Sydney, 1966-2013* (Sydney: Bruce Ballantine-Jones, 2016), ix. This volume is based on Bruce Ballantine-Jones' thesis entitled "Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney 1966–2013: the political factor".

⁴⁹ Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism*, 128.

⁵⁰ Elaine Lindsay and Janet Scarfe, eds. *Preachers, prophets and heretics: women in the Anglican Church of Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2012).

Believing in Australia: a cultural history of religions.⁵¹ In her broad overview of Australian religious history since European colonisation, Carey emphasises the importance of women in the social welfare work of the church and the leadership role of clergy wives in parishes.⁵² The Anglican historian Janet West in *Daughters of freedom: a history of women in the Australian Church*, seeks to uncover the largely unrecognised achievements of women in the Australian church, and in a chapter covering 1939 to the 1990s she briefly observes the decline of the Mothers' Union (MU) and the changing expectations of clergy wives in our period.⁵³ Anne O'Brien, in *God's willing workers: women and religion in Australia*, concentrates on the years 1880–1960, which she describes as 'the modernising period of Australian history ... [when] women became the Church's most prolific workers'.⁵⁴ In surveying the work of various women's organisations, O'Brien examines the contribution of women to both the missionary movement and the MU. She suggests that the work of women enabled the Anglican Church to play a much more important and variegated role in the working class than earlier studies had indicated.⁵⁵ This thesis will seek to canvass aspects of the wider ministry of women—such as in diversional therapy in nursing homes, social work, running playgroups, teaching RE, and helping migrants and refugees to settle, particularly in the Sydney Diocese—not encompassed by these volumes.

During our period the growth of the charismatic movement had an impact on the laity in Sydney Anglicanism and is now the subject of an emerging scholarship. Mark Hutchinson has studied aspects of Anglican charismatic renewal in Australia, noting the resistance of the Sydney Diocese in particular, and has expressed the need to mobilise ministry among the laity. He observed that by the end of the 1970s, when parishioners left the mainline denominations in search of a more inspirational life in the charismatic churches, they provided 'an important base of experienced and enthusiastic churchgoers on which the new [charismatic] congregations could be built'.⁵⁶ Piggitt's *Evangelical Christianity in Australia* explored Anglican evangelicalism in Sydney and Melbourne, and identified in Sydney an exclusivist dogmatic evangelicalism that rejected both

⁵¹ Carey, *Believing in Australia*.

⁵² Carey, *Believing in Australia*, 111, 132–4.

⁵³ Janet West, *Daughters of freedom: a history of women in the Australian Church* (Sutherland, NSW: Albatross Books, 1997), 17, 36, 396.

⁵⁴ Anne O'Brien, *God's willing workers: women and religion in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005), 13.

⁵⁵ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 42.

⁵⁶ Mark Hutchinson, "Anglican charismatic renewal: aspects of its rise and fall," in *CSAC working papers*, Series 1, No. 14, [circa] 1993, 8.

women's ordination and the charismatic movement.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Piggin claimed that the role of the Holy Spirit had been understated by the Sydney Diocese and that the contribution of the charismatic movement had been overlooked.⁵⁸ Paul Egan has also argued that the uncompromising theological position of the Sydney Diocese resulted in a deliberate diminution of the charismatic ethos. He has observed the growing importance of lay initiative in the wider mission of the healing ministry in church life.⁵⁹ By focussing on the input of laypeople across the diocese, this thesis will further consider the impact of this policy of charismatic containment on the role of the laity in the Sydney Diocese.

b. Parish histories

There have been several parish histories published, which have focussed largely on the clergy but still provide important glimpses of lay involvement in ministry and mission.⁶⁰ These represent a variety of parishes ranging from those in depressed inner-city areas to those located in more prosperous middle-class suburbs, and they encompass traditions ranging from evangelical to high church. In particular, Florence L. Jones's *The parish of St Clement Marrickville: centenary history, 1886–1986* examines an inner-city parish which despite significant demographic change was revitalised by an 'activation' programme together with participation in the 1968 Billy Graham Crusade (BGC).⁶¹ Similarly, in another inner-city parish challenged by demographic change, Paul Egan documents the importance of a lay-initiated ministry to Asian university students and of a scheme involving lay leadership in communal living in terrace houses.⁶² Keith

⁵⁷ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: spirit, word and world* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996). This attracted a combative review from Peter Jensen, "New vision for evangelical history," *The briefing* 178 (1996): 3–10.

⁵⁸ Stuart Piggin, *Spirit, word and world: evangelical Christianity in Australia*, Revised (3rd) Edition (Brunswick East: Acorn Press Ltd, 2012), 186–7.

⁵⁹ Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 4, 115.

⁶⁰ Parish histories include Ruth Frappell, *One church one faith: centenary history of St Peter's Anglican Church Cremorne, 1909–2009* (Cremorne: St Peter's Anglican Church, 2010); Eunice Ramsay and Lynette Ramsay Silver, *On this rock: the church of St Peter, Hornsby: 1898–1998* (Hornsby, NSW: St Peter's Anglican Church, Hornsby, 1998); Nigel Hubbard, *Only the years: the centenary history of the Anglican parish of St Alban Epping* (Epping, Sydney: Nigel Hubbard, 2005); Keith Percival, *They will be changed like a garment: a history of St Stephen's Anglican Church Normanhurst 1920–2000* (Normanhurst, NSW: St Stephen's Anglican Church, 2000); Florence L. Jones, *The parish of St Clement Marrickville: centenary history, 1886–1986* (Marrickville, NSW: St Clement's Church of England, 1986); Stephanie Walsh and Peter Robinson, *St Thomas' Church, Mulgoa 1838–1988* (Mulgoa, NSW: The Anglican Parish of Mulgoa, 1989); Jill Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989: An historical perspective* (St Ives, NSW: Christ Church St Ives, 1990); and Paul Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst: 'Serving the Cross' A Short History* (Elizabeth Bay, NSW: Paul Egan, 2000).

⁶¹ Jones, *The parish of St Clement Marrickville*.

⁶² Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*.

Percival's *They will be changed like a garment: a history of St Stephen's Anglican Church Normanhurst 1920–2000* depicts a parish in a prosperous middle-class suburb which, during our period, appointed a woman with professional training in counselling work and theology as a part-time staff worker who initiated a 'Care Force' outreach into the local community. The parish also established a network of Bible study 'nurture' groups to engage with respondents to the 1979 BGC involving lay leadership. Jill Sadler in *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989* emphasised a tradition of strong lay involvement in various church groups and team-ministry which resulted in it becoming one of the largest parishes in the diocese.⁶³ Together, these studies help to document patterns in vibrant ministry methodology and the importance of having well-educated laypeople active in ministry and administration. However, while parish-level studies are valuable for details of laypeople in ministry, they do not address the issue of lay ministry development and the identification of patterns and changes at the broader diocesan level that this thesis explores.

c. Biographies

In the historiography of the Sydney Diocese there has been a strong emphasis on biographies of archbishops, bishops, and leaders of Moore Theological College (MTC). While these studies have provided a broad understanding of the diocese's leadership, they have been exclusively about clergy and have generally provided little detailed information on the contribution of the laity in ministry and mission.⁶⁴ In the case of the archbishops of Sydney, several of these biographies have been criticised for lacking objectivity because their authors have been closely associated with their subjects and have not had the advantage of a broader evaluative outlook provided by a considerable relational distance.⁶⁵

⁶³ Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989*.

⁶⁴ Prominent biographies include Marcus Loane, *Archbishop Mowll: the biography of Howard West Kilvinton Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1960); J. R. Reid, *Marcus L. Loane: a biography* (Brunswick East, Victoria: Acorn Press, 2004); Allan M. Blanch, *From strength to strength: a life of Marcus Loane* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015); Marcia H. Cameron, *An enigmatic life: David Broughton Knox: father of contemporary Sydney Anglicanism* (Brunswick East: Acorn Press Ltd, 2006).

⁶⁵ Cameron comments on Loane's biography of Mowll that 'Loane's beautiful sentences and loving treatment of his subject are heartwarming, but the biography lacks a critical edge.' Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 36.

d. Critics of the diocese

In contrast with the abovementioned ‘insider’ histories, there has emerged a growing literature on the Sydney Diocese by critics, often outsiders, although these have rarely been by professional historians. Muriel Porter has been a strident critic of the diocese, especially concerning its opposition to the ordination of women and the diocese’s interactions with, and influence on, the wider Australian Anglican Church. Her two books, however, have little to contribute to a discussion on the development of lay ministry.⁶⁶ Porter takes an uncompromising, provocative, and populist stand in her portrayal of the Sydney Diocese, and she has failed to give credit to Sydney for the high degree of religious energy that this thesis identifies.⁶⁷

Other critical appraisals of Sydney Anglicans have been authored by Caroline Miley and Archbishop Peter Carnley, both of whom have recommended the embracing of more progressive cultural values in seeking renewed engagement with the Australian community as a response to church decline.⁶⁸ Carnley has reacted to strong opposition from Sydney clergy to his advocacy for progressive cultural values and a more liberal theological approach as a means of repositioning the Anglican Church in Australian society. He has observed that one of the identifying characteristics of Sydney Anglicanism is ‘a tendency to over concentrate on a distinct propositionalist view of doctrine at the expense of religious experience’.⁶⁹ The Catholic academic journalist Chris McGillion also offers a noteworthy commentary on the Sydney Diocese, albeit from an outsider’s perspective, but focusses more on constitutional and institutional developments in the 1990s.⁷⁰ However, a common feature of all these critical volumes is understatement of the role of the laity, specifically in addressing the decline of the church in wider society. This is a significant lacuna that will be addressed by this thesis.

During the later years of our period Sydney Diocese’s proposal to allow laymen, but not laywomen, to preside over Holy Communion raised considerable concern in Australian

⁶⁶ Porter, *The new puritans*; Muriel Porter, *Sydney Anglicanism*. The second work is an expanded, revised and updated version of Porter’s earlier publication.

⁶⁷ Michael Jensen regards Porter’s work as ‘a piece of polemic rather than having any pretence of scholarly objectivity.’ Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism*, 18.

⁶⁸ Miley, *The suicidal church*, 120, 165. Miley criticises Sydney Diocese for failing to share its wealth with other dioceses. She suggests sweeping structural reforms, including the abolition of hierarchy and the adoption of modern attitudes, values and management procedures.

⁶⁹ Peter Carnley, *Reflections in glass: trends and tensions in the contemporary Anglican Church* (Pymble, NSW: HarperCollins, 2004), 68–9.

⁷⁰ Chris McGillion, *The chosen ones: the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005).

Anglicanism and generated a significant body of literature.⁷¹ As will be seen, this distracted historians from focussing on the increasing contribution made by laypeople. The issue of lay presidency was considered by the Anglican Church of Australia's Appellate Tribunal, which in August 2010 opined against lay administration.⁷² The leadership of the Sydney Diocese considered that this was an inconclusive opinion and, having precipitated much further debate, the issue remains unresolved.⁷³

It is clear from the preceding literature review that the laity has been under-examined by historians and that there is scope for a detailed study of laypeople and the important contribution they have made to the ministry and mission of the church. The realisation of the need for team ministry more reflective of the NT church, which harnessed the gifts of the whole people of God, was consistent with evangelical belief and became part of the Sydney Diocese's response to the secularisation of Australian society from the mid-1960s onwards.

Sources

In addition to the abovementioned secondary sources, this study of the role of the laity in the ministry and mission of Sydney Anglican evangelicals draws on an extensive range of primary sources, both manuscript and published. At the beginning of this study consideration was given to the possibility of using Professor Stuart Piggin's large oral history library at the Centre for Christian Thought and Experience at Macquarie University. However, as a project of this size has to limit scope and sources, the oral history option was not pursued. Further studies may benefit from considering oral history sources.

⁷¹ See especially Porter, *Sydney Anglicanism*; and McGillion, *The chosen ones*. A series of essays by leading Sydney Anglicans was also published to assist the Sydney Synod in its discussion of the issue. See Peter G. Bolt, Mark D. Thompson, Robert Tong, eds. *The Lord's Supper in human hands: who should administer?* (Camperdown, NSW: Anglican Church League/Australian Church Record, 2010). This provoked a review by Stephen Pickard, Assistant Bishop of Adelaide, entitled "Whose hands?" in *St Mark's Review*, 207 (March 2009):78–81.

⁷² Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 246.

⁷³ In response the matter was further debated by the Anglican Church League. See Peter G. Bolt, Mark D. Thompson, Robert Tong, eds. *The Lord's Supper in human hands: epilogue* (Camperdown, NSW: Anglican Church League / Australian Church Record, 2010). This work generated dialogue from other scholars in *St Mark's Review* 226 (November 2013). Contributions included A. Atherstone, "Are Sydney Anglicans fundamentalists?," 1–12; G. Broughton, "The significance of biblical theology," 13–24; K. Giles, "Michael Jensen and the Bible as propositional revelation only," 25–35; T. Edwards, "Responding to 'The romance of preaching the Sydney sermon,'" 36–47; E. Loane, "The church," 48–58; R. Forsyth, "Are Sydney Anglicans actually Anglicans?," 59–70; S. Judd, "Church politics and the Anglican Church League," 102–111; and in reply M. Jensen, "Sydney Anglicanism: a response," 112–126. See also John Pryor, "Lay presidency and the organized ministry today," *St Mark's Review* 138 (1989): 12–17; John Roffey, "The theology and practice of lay ministry," *St Mark's Review* 138 (1989): 18–21; John Woodhouse, "Lay administration of the Lord's Supper: a response," *St Mark's Review* 162 (1995): 15–19.

The sources on which this thesis is based include reports to Sydney Synod; *Southern Cross*, the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney; and Anglican newspapers and Christian magazines, mainly published in Sydney and Melbourne. Prominent reports published by the Sydney Diocese include *Move in for action* (1971), which focussed on declining attendances after the mid-1960s.⁷⁴ It responded to the gradual realisation of the church that the threats of secularism and marginalisation of the church in Australian society required new initiatives in evangelism, parish structure and patterns of ministry. It was followed by *Looking into the parish* (1972), which acknowledged a growing awareness of the need to rely less on practices of the past and to seek new approaches, especially team ministry, and also encouraged a stronger presence of laity in the ministry and mission of the church.⁷⁵ This provoked a counter-report, *Take another look at the parish* (1973), which addressed what were considered to be inadequacies in the report of 1972 and essentially sought to preserve the status of the clergy.⁷⁶ The *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney* has charted these major initiatives, and the Diocesan Secretariat's website has provided information on the management of Synod, a summary of its decisions and details of approved legislative canons.⁷⁷ These sources indicate a growing awareness that the diocese needed to find more effective ways of responding to the rapidly changing Australian culture without compromising its commitment to a Reformed Anglican evangelical orthodoxy.⁷⁸

Southern Cross commenced publication in June 1961. It aimed to draw the diocese together by reporting on the life of the church and provided articles of instruction in matters concerning Christian faith and practice.⁷⁹ *Southern Cross* focussed on evangelical doctrine and the activities of clergy. Nonetheless, every issue featured a letter from the archbishop and its articles were often contributed by staff of MTC. It also provided a glimpse of the work of the Home Mission Society (HMS) and news of the

⁷⁴ Alan Nichols, ed. *Move in for action: report of the Commission on Evangelism, Church of England, diocese of Sydney* (Sydney: ANZEA Publishers, 1971).

⁷⁵ Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission, *Looking into the parish* (Sydney: Diocese of Sydney, 1972).

⁷⁶ Sydney Anglican Clerical Society, *Take another look at the parish* (Sydney: Sydney Anglican Clerical Society, 1973).

⁷⁷ See *Year Books of the diocese of Sydney, 1960–1983* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1960–1983), <https://www.sds.asn.au/>.

⁷⁸ See Andrew Dircks, ed. *Pressure points: papers presented to the EFAC Australian Consultation, Sydney, 27–30 July 1993* (Armidale, NSW: The Evangelical Fellowship in the Anglican Communion, 1993). The major papers published were presented by Graham A. Cole, *Sexuality and its expression: with special reference to homosexuality*, 3–13; John McIntosh, *Biblical exclusivism: towards a Reformed approach to the uniqueness of Christ*, 14–23; and David Peterson, *Evangelicals and the future of liturgy*, 24–31.

⁷⁹ Hugh Gough, "Archbishop's letter," *Southern Cross* 1, 1 (June 1961): 1.

departments of Youth and Evangelism, which were strongly supported by lay volunteers.

Christian newspapers have been a prominent primary source of material, but their articles must also be interpreted cautiously and corroborated by other available sources.

Concerning church newspapers as historical sources, Jennifer Clark observes that:

Historians regularly use the daily papers to find coverage of important events or to look for the ways in which those events may have been interpreted. The church newspapers are equally as useful. They chronicle the life of a denomination and at the same time provide an interpretation of major secular events and developments.⁸⁰

The Australian Church Record (ACR) was established in July 1880. It proclaimed itself as ‘an evangelical newspaper in the Reformed Anglican tradition of the historic creeds as in the *Thirty-nine Articles of Faith*, and the standard of teaching and of practice in the Book of Common Prayer’.⁸¹ While it took a prominent interest in the Sydney Diocese, it reflected the official voice of its evangelical leadership.⁸² Bishop John Reid claimed that during the Gough years the ACR was heavily influenced by Broughton Knox and Donald Robinson of MTC.⁸³

The Anglican is another important source drawn upon extensively for this study. It provided a more ‘broad church’ perspective on the world-wide Anglican Church. It was a Sydney-based weekly newspaper founded by Francis James in 1951. James was a courageous Battle of Britain Spitfire pilot, social activist and then a journalist on the staff of *The Sydney Morning Herald*.⁸⁴ He was also a parishioner of St James’, King Street, Sydney. It has been claimed that James founded *The Anglican* after the closure of the *Church Standard*, which had been Australian’s Anglo-Catholic newspaper, and that *The Anglican* followed a more liberal line. It was frequently in the news for its political opinions and for its plain speaking about more domestic ecclesiastical concerns.⁸⁵ *The*

⁸⁰ Jennifer Clark, “The soul of Australia: using church newspapers to open up Australian history,” *NLA News*, March 2002, National Library of Australia, 4.

⁸¹ “About us,” *The Australian Church Record*, www.australianchurchrecord.net, accessed on 23 March 2016.

⁸² Brett Hall, “A record of the past: the 1933 election,” *The Australian Church Record*, 22 July 2013, www.australianchurchrecord.net/category/heritage, accessed on 23 March 2016. Cameron claims: ‘While it was difficult to know how many Sydney Diocesan people read the ACR, it was without doubt a formidable organ promoting the conservative evangelical position.’ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 47.

⁸³ Bishop John Reid also observed that as Principal, Knox ‘had claimed for himself, under the College Ordinance, the sole right to select students and commend them for ordination, thus creating a tense situation with the College at odds with the Archbishop’. Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 54.

⁸⁴ Fletcher, *The English Church in Australian soil*, 232.

⁸⁵ “The Anglican closes down,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1457, 19 February 1970, 1. The ACR also reported that *The Anglican* announced on 5 February 1970 that it was closing down. Subsequently

Anglican gave coverage of activities in other dioceses in Australia, albeit with a significant focus on the ordinations, activities and opinions of bishops and other leading clergy, but was lacking in its coverage of youth organisations.

James came to national prominence when he entered China without a visa, was arrested, allegedly for being a spy, and was imprisoned for about three years.⁸⁶ His influence in Sydney's Anglican community is evident from his first public appearance after his release when he preached to 800 people in St James' Church, King Street, on 11 March 1973.⁸⁷

As managing editor of *The Anglican* (his wife, Joyce, was the official editor), James soon became a thorn in the side of the establishment, and in relation to Archbishop Hugh Gough, he pursued a campaign of sustained hostility.⁸⁸ A contemporary described of James as 'an eccentric in the tradition of Gordon, Lawrence and Biggles: part-hero, part-mystic, part-scholar, part-schoolboy'.⁸⁹

Historian Brian Fletcher has noted that when *The Anglican* ran into financial difficulties and ceased publication in 1970, it was replaced by *Church Scene* (based in Melbourne), which he describes as 'a less fiery but nonetheless caring paper that willingly took up difficult issues'.⁹⁰ *Church Scene* commenced publication on 25 February 1971 and remained in publication until 1997.⁹¹ It promoted itself on its masthead as the 'National Anglican Newspaper'. For many years *Church Scene* was edited by Gerald Davis. Davis had been a reporter for *Stock and Land* and has been described as 'a moderate evangelical'.⁹² Prior to his association with *Church Scene* he had edited the Melbourne Anglican diocesan newspaper *See*.⁹³ *Church Scene* gave a generally balanced view of

The Anglican resumed weekly publication in August 1970, but closed down after four issues. "Church paper closes," *The Australian Church Record*, 1474, 15 October 1970, 1.

⁸⁶ Bob Larsen, "Overview of the China Francis James has left," *Church Scene*, 49, 1 February 1973, 4. The article stated that Larsen was then Editor of World Vision's Asia Information Office.

⁸⁷ "Francis James pleads for Christian revolution," *Church Scene*, 53, 29 March 1973, 8.

⁸⁸ Stuart Barton Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon* (Brunswick East, Victoria: Acorn Press, 2004), 71–72. Similarly Hilliard cited Nikki Barrowclough when he described Francis James as 'an eccentric and a master of self-mystery, who delighted in being a gadfly and in swimming against the prevailing tide'. Hilliard, "How Anglican lay people saved the church," 57. See also Nikki Barrowclough, "The Francis James Factor," *Good weekend: the Sydney Morning Herald magazine*, 21 May 1994, 24–33; "In the quest for Francis James ... at last an heroic wife appears," *Church Scene*, 51, 1 March 1973, 8.

⁸⁹ Babbage, *Memoirs of a loose canon*, 72.

⁹⁰ Fletcher, *The English Church in Australian soil*, 232.

⁹¹ Fletcher, *The English Church in Australian Soil*, 232.

⁹² Chilton, "Evangelicals," 331.

⁹³ Gerald Charles Davis, "Australia's religious press," in Dorothy Harris, Douglas Hynd and David Millikan, eds. *The shape of belief: Christianity in Australia today*, (Homebush West, NSW: Lancer Books, 1982), 189.

the Anglican Church in Australia and its interaction with various Christian movements and Australian society generally. It provides information useful in case studies of lay ministry and mission.

In 1955, *St Mark's Review* was first published by St Mark's National Theological Centre in Canberra and has continued to be published on a quarterly basis. It has been a leading journal of Christian thought and opinion on matters of importance to the Christian community in Australia.⁹⁴ This journal also provides a 'mixed commentary' on the Diocese of Sydney and its interactions with other dioceses in the Australian Anglican Church. Its edition of June 1977 aimed to introduce to members of the General Synod and the Australian Church generally the contents of *An Australian Prayer Book* (AAPB), to prepare for the debate in Synod.⁹⁵ In a landmark decision the Synod endorsed the AAPB, thus enabling greater participation by laypeople in worship services and bringing a major change into the life of the Church.⁹⁶

Finally, the Melbourne-based evangelical magazine *On Being* commenced publication on 1 December 1974. It was published by Kevin Smith, pastor of West Hawthorn Baptist Church. While it adopted a mainly interdenominational focus and claimed not to advocate radicalism, it was more reflective of the 'new evangelical left embodied in the Jesus People'.⁹⁷ *On Being* was also more likely than other evangelical periodicals to report on developments in the charismatic movement as it impacted the mainline denominations.

Introduction to the Diocese of Sydney

Before commencing the study proper, the historical background and context of Sydney Diocese should be sketched. Christianity arrived in Australia in 1788 with the First Fleet of English settlers and convicts. Although it was Church of England, it was heavily influenced by the evangelical revivals that began in the 1730s which, by the late eighteenth century, were penetrating the upper echelons of British society.⁹⁸ Powerful

⁹⁴ "About St Mark's Review," <http://www.stmarks.edu.au/review>, accessed on 29 May 2017.

⁹⁵ George Garnsey, "Editorial," *St Mark's Review*, 90 (June 1977): 1.

⁹⁶ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), 128–9.

⁹⁷ Chilton, "Evangelicals," 355; Tony Molyneux, "The baby's born," *On Being* 1, 1 (December 1974): 3.

⁹⁸ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 1. See also Michael Gladwin, "The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, abolition and English public life, 1816–1833" (MA diss., Australian National University, 2007), 12. This thesis accepts the definition of 'revival' as 'a spontaneous spiritual awakening by the Holy Spirit among professing Christians ... which results in deepened religious experience, holy living, evangelism and missions, the founding of educational and philanthropic institutional and social reform'. J. D.

British lay evangelical patrons, such as Anglicans William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton, influenced the selection of evangelicals as the first generation of Australian clergy.⁹⁹

In 1836 the Diocese of Australia was created with the ‘old fashioned High Churchman’ Archdeacon William Grant Broughton being consecrated its first and only bishop (in England in 1836); he briefly moved the church away from its evangelical beginnings.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, a milestone event for the major church denominations was the passing in NSW of *The Church Act* of 29 July 1836.¹⁰¹ This supported the funding of clergy in urban areas and provided impetus for a number of building projects across the colony. It led to the introduction of lay involvement in Anglican Church government and the ending of any establishment pretensions. Laypeople soon came to feel that they deserved a greater role in church government, including having a role in the choice of clergy.¹⁰² The Sydney Diocese was created in 1847 when the continent was carved up into four dioceses to serve the expanding colonies.¹⁰³ Broughton remained Bishop of Sydney until his death in 1853.

The establishment of synodical government within Australia during the 1850s and 1860s allowed active participation by the laity in the synods and this had the effect of creating a separate identity for each diocese. However, the laity gradually became involved in the ministry of the church by being ‘engaged in conducting Divine Service and in otherwise assisting the Clergy of the Diocese’.¹⁰⁴ Bishop Frederic Barker, who succeeded Broughton, arrived in Sydney in 1855. During his episcopate of twenty-five years he

Douglas, ed. “Revivalism,” in *The new international dictionary of the Christian church*, 2nd Edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1978), 844.

⁹⁹ Piggitt, *Spirit, word and world*, 5. There is an abundance of literature on these personalities and the Clapham Sect but they generally do not focus on lay ministry and mission within the church. A recent example is by Gareth Atkins, “Anglican evangelical theology: c. 1820–1850: The Case of Edward Bickersteth,” in *Journal of Religious History* 38 (1), 2014, 1–19. See also Gareth Atkins, “Wilberforce and his milieu: the worlds of Anglican evangelicalism, c. 1780–1830” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2009).

¹⁰⁰ Brian Fletcher, “The Anglican ascendancy,” in Bruce Kaye, ed. *Anglicanism in Australia*, 21–2. See also K. J. Cable, “Broughton, William Grant (1788–1853),” *Australian dictionary of biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broughton-william-grant-1832/text2107>, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 6 May 2016.

¹⁰¹ State Library of NSW, *The Church Act, 1836*, http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/religion/places/act.html, accessed on 13 January 2013.

¹⁰² Breward, *A history of the churches in Australasia*, 74.

¹⁰³ The Diocese of Tasmania was formed in 1842 and the new Dioceses of Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle and Adelaide were formed in 1847, with three new bishops being consecrated in Westminster Abbey on 29 June 1847. See Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 44–5.

¹⁰⁴ Harry Rodgers, “Notes on the Office of Reader and the Readers’ Association, Diocese of Sydney 1955,” (Sydney: Reader’s Association, Diocese of Sydney, 1955), 8.

established the strong clergy-led evangelicalism which still characterises the Sydney Diocese. This was facilitated in 1856 by the establishment of Moore College for the training of clergy.¹⁰⁵ An Association of Lay Readers was formed on 30 November 1875 which was presided over by Barker.¹⁰⁶ Barker was impressed both by the role lay preachers played and by the fact that they were formally licensed but had no expectation of clerical status.¹⁰⁷

The quest for dominance between those of Anglo-Catholic, High Church, and Evangelical parties within the Church continued in both Sydney and Melbourne. Piggin observes that:

In the period from 1870 to 1919 the evangelical diocese of Sydney became increasingly isolated among Australian dioceses and inward-looking on social issues. There was a conspicuous net inflow of strong evangelical clergy to the diocese. Melbourne went pluralistic, and evangelical enterprise passed to laymen who, untroubled by denominational boundaries, sensitive to the power of nonconformity which was stronger in Melbourne than in Sydney, and increasingly disappointed in their parochial experience, channelled enthusiasm into non-denominational conventions and evangelistic campaigns.¹⁰⁸

A major turning point came with the election in 1933 of Howard West Kilvinton Mowll as Bishop of Sydney. He was then well-known as the missionary Bishop of West China. Mowll was a man of impressive physical stature and a leader of great determination and ability. In 1935 he made the strategically important appointments of Thomas Chatterton (known as TC) Hammond, as principal of MTC, and Richard Bradley Robinson (father of Donald Robinson), as General Secretary of HMS. He was also strongly supported by David James Knox (father of Broughton Knox) who was at the helm of the Anglican Church League (ACL), an influential clergy-led party formed in 1909 as a ‘watchdog’ of conservative evangelicalism.¹⁰⁹ The ACL used *The Australian Church Record* as a means of disseminating its views to a wide audience and was influential in the pre-

¹⁰⁵ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 37. Moore College is also widely known as ‘Moore Theological College’.

¹⁰⁶ Rodgers, “Notes on the Office of Reader and the Readers’ Association,” 8.

¹⁰⁷ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 79.

¹⁰⁸ Piggin, “Not a little holy club,” 375.

¹⁰⁹ All of these leaders had a considerable influence on Marcus Loane who described D J Knox as ‘like a father’ and who married his daughter Patricia. Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 112; Bruce Ballantine-Jones, “What must not change in a changing church!: the future of evangelicals in Sydney and the national church and the role of the Anglican Church League” (Presidential Address presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Anglican Church League, Sydney, 20 July 1995), http://acl.asn.au/old/pres_addr95.html, accessed on 29 May 2017.

selection of candidates for elected positions in the diocese.¹¹⁰ This fostered an entrenched conservative evangelicalism which further isolated the diocese from the wider Australian Anglican Church. Much to the chagrin of many Sydney Anglicans, Mowll was snubbed when the Australian Anglican Church elected Archbishop Henry Le Fanu of Perth as its Primate, and it was not until Le Fanu's death in 1947 that Mowll was elected Primate.¹¹¹

Church and society in the 1960s and 1970s

In the wake of the misery of the Great Depression and the turbulence of the Second World War, the immediate post-war period in Australia was characterised by an emphasis on middle class prosperity, getting married and having children (resulting in the so-called 'baby boom'), and this was accompanied by an impressive growth in church congregations. Births had increased during the Second World War and the 1950s and peaked in 1961 (3.5 babies per woman), then fell rapidly until 1966 (2.9 babies per woman) and thereafter remained at a similar level.¹¹² From 1949 to 1966 federal politics was dominated by the conservative government with Sir Robert Menzies, Australia's longest serving Prime Minister, at the helm. He was the son of James Menzies, a general storekeeper from Jeparit in Victoria, who had become a dedicated and highly emotional Methodist lay preacher, and who later entered state politics.¹¹³ Although Robert Menzies had left the Methodist Church in his younger days and only occasionally attended a Presbyterian church, he sought to preserve Christian moral values and so his political ideology 'emphasised the value of the home, of moral values and of individual thrift'.¹¹⁴ Moreover, in his first cabinet all of his ministers subscribed to the importance of Christianity as buttressing the social order.¹¹⁵

David Hilliard, a prominent Australian historian of post-war religious change, has portrayed the 1950s as a time of religious confidence:

Since the mid-1950s in every denomination all the measurable indices of religious life—church membership, Sunday school enrolments, the number of new congregations, church income and enrolments in theological colleges

¹¹⁰ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 167–8.

¹¹¹ Piggitt, "Not a little holy club," 380.

¹¹² Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Year Book Australia, 2007: Births," <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/C5F935614146DE94CA2572360000E3D4?opendocument>, accessed on 29 January 2016.

¹¹³ Allan Martin, "Sir Robert Gordon Menzies," in *Australia's prime ministers*, ed. Michelle Grattan (Sydney: New Holland Publishers, 2000), 177.

¹¹⁴ Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, 100.

¹¹⁵ Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, 100.

and seminaries—had gone steadily upwards. The churches were confident of their special role of moral leadership. The opinions and prejudices of their leaders received respectful attention in the news media.¹¹⁶

From 1931 denominational membership in Australia had risen steadily and, while not keeping pace with population growth, peaked in the early 1960s.¹¹⁷ Some of the increased membership was as a result of the increased migrant intake coming mainly from Great Britain, which had doubled in the period 1959–60.¹¹⁸ The 1981 Census indicated that 1,086,625 Australians had been born in the United Kingdom (UK) and comprised 36.5 per cent of the total population.¹¹⁹ In 1949 the Sydney Diocese had 259 active clergy and 173 parishes, and by 1959 this had increased to 290 active clergy (Melbourne had 250), with 188 parishes and 234 branch churches.¹²⁰

From the mid-1960s there began a decline in membership in most mainline denominations but this was not fully realised at the time. Perhaps the seriousness of the situation was first confirmed by the landmark ‘Religion in Australia Survey’ of 1966 conducted by sociologist Hans Mol, which for ‘the first time empirically detailed and sociologically interpreted religion on a broad national scale’.¹²¹ From tables mainly based on Census data, Dorothy Harris calculated that:

Between 1961 and 1976 the Christian component of the population grew by 15 per cent while the general population increased by 20 per cent. Between 1971 and 1976 there was a rapid 9 per cent fall-off in the number even nominally associating themselves with the label ‘Christian’.¹²²

¹¹⁶ David Hilliard, “The religious crisis of the 1960s: the experience of the Australian churches,” in *The Journal of Religious History* 21, 2 (June 1997), 211. See also David Hilliard, “Australia: towards secularisation and one step back,” in Michael Snape and Callum G. Brown, eds., *Secularisation and the Christian world: essays in honour of Hugh McLeod* (London: Routledge, 2010 [2016]), 75–91.

¹¹⁷ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 172. See also Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, 113. By way of contrast, Ian Breward observes that, between 1961 and 1996 Australian Pentecostals increased from 16,572 to 174,720, just under 1 percent of the total population. Breward, *A history of the churches in Australasia*, 393. Hilliard also observes that, although the Baptists in the 1960s were relatively small in number, they were strongly conversionist in their religious outlook, and were more successful than other denominations in holding their ground. Hilliard, “The religious crisis of the 1960s,” 227. Another exception was the Roman Catholic Church, which had overtaken Anglicans as the largest Christian denomination in 1986, benefitting from the nation’s immigration programme bringing people from predominantly Roman Catholic cultures.

¹¹⁸ John Henderson, “A new look at British migrants,” *Southern Cross* 5, 3 (March 1965): 12.

¹¹⁹ Janet Phillips and Michael Klappdor, “Migration to Australia since federation: a guide to the statistics,” <https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/migrationpopulation.pdf>, accessed on 27 January 2017.

¹²⁰ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 68, 94. Cameron cites *Sydney Year Books*, 1950 and 1960.

¹²¹ Chilton, “Evangelicals,” 147. Chilton observed that ‘later sociologists and historians of the 1960s and 1970s frequently cited the Survey, and pointed out that nothing of its scale or depth was attempted again until the Australian Values Study Survey in 1983’. Chilton, “Evangelicals,” 170.

¹²² Dorothy Harris, “Counting Christians,” in *The shape of belief*, ed. Harris et al., 233. In her analysis of the period 1960–1980 Harris points to the dilemma about how to assess the number of Christians in

The decline in membership was acute in country dioceses, with the rural economy deteriorating and a drift of people to the cities causing the amalgamation of many parishes, but with an accompanying loss of efficiency in the ministry.¹²³

Moreover, television transmission had been introduced into Australia to coincide with the Olympic Games in Melbourne, which commenced on 22 November 1956, and by the mid-1960s the majority of Australian homes had a television set.¹²⁴ Many clergy claimed that the decline in evening services between 1959 and 1965 was caused by the screening on television of a feature-length movie each Sunday night.¹²⁵ The appeal of television also made it increasingly difficult to conduct week-long parish evangelistic missions, because people became reluctant to leave the comfort of their homes to attend meetings on successive nights.¹²⁶ Fletcher has also suggested that after the 1970s the print media and commercial television stations increasingly inculcated secular values and turned their back on the Christian church, scornfully dismissing its members as representing no more than a ‘moral minority’.¹²⁷

Another social influence distracting people from church attendance was the doubling of the number of motor vehicles during the 1960s, leading to a more mobile population engaging in leisure-time pursuits. Religious views were challenged not only in a more secular media, but also by the expansion of universities and the ideas of radical theology and liberal Protestantism – especially following the publication in early 1963 of the controversial and widely-read *Honest to God*, by John Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, London, which challenged traditional theological perspectives.¹²⁸

Bishop John Reid was influential in the Sydney Diocese as an archdeacon during Gough’s episcopate and was consecrated Coadjutor bishop of the diocese on 25 July 1972. With the benefit of thirty years’ hindsight Reid described the 1960s as ‘a decade of social and political ferment ... a period of constant instability’ in which ‘every convention, value and practice was questioned, particularly evident in university student

Australia. She claims that of the 24 Anglican dioceses, 13 published no consistent statistics and that children are rarely included in denominational statistics.

¹²³ Gerald Muston, “The country crisis,” *Southern Cross* 10, 5 (May 1970): 5.

¹²⁴ Hilliard, “The religious crisis of the 1960s,” 211; Melbourne Olympics Fact Sheet 57, National Archives of Australia, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs57.aspx>, accessed on 9 March 2015.

¹²⁵ Tom Frame, *Losing my religion*, 66; “Move in for action,” *Southern Cross* 11, 10 (October 1971): 12–13.

¹²⁶ Michael Orpwood, *Chappo: for the sake of the gospel: John Chapman and the Department of Evangelism* (Russell Lea, NSW: Eagleswift Press, 1995), 103.

¹²⁷ Brian H. Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia: church, society and nation* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Broughton Publishing, 2008), 217.

¹²⁸ Hilliard, “The religious crisis of the 1960s,” 211–13.

papers. Institutions were seen to be strongholds of prejudice and conservatism and therefore in need of dismantling'.¹²⁹ Furthermore, Reid claimed that, despite a vigorous programme for youth in the 1940s and 1950s, in the 1960s the numbers declined and the Youth Department floundered under a lack of direction.¹³⁰ However, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, to its credit the diocese maintained a strong commitment to youth work.

As the decade of the 1960s closed there was a palpable mood of anger among university students and a tendency to react strongly against anything they saw to be traditional, conservative, hierarchical and authoritarian. The message of the Church was greeted with derision.¹³¹ Society in general was at a turning point, especially over conscription and Australian involvement in the war in Vietnam.¹³² When the Australian Labor Party led by Edward Gough Whitlam was elected to government on 2 December 1972, it ended twenty-three years of continuous conservative Liberal–Country Party government, which was to be a watershed in Australian politics and society generally. During its short but dramatic incumbency (1972–1975) the Whitlam government enacted radical legislation, especially the Family Law Act (1974), which permitted ‘no fault’ divorce, and the Racial Discrimination Act, both of which facilitated major social change over subsequent decades.¹³³

Divorce was perceived by many Christians as a serious threat to the welfare of society, and the probability of divorce increased significantly from 3.1 per 10,000 in 1961 to 18.4 in 10,000 in 1981.¹³⁴ Within the Anglican community the Mothers’ Union (MU) had precipitated much angst by its refusal to admit divorcees to its membership. On 4 July 1973 the MU Central Council in Britain finally ended this policy of exclusion.¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 89.

¹³⁰ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 98.

¹³¹ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 123. See also Marcus L. Loane, “The Archbishop of Sydney writes in conclusion,” in Alan Nichols and Warwick Olson, *Crusading down under: the story of the Billy Graham crusades in Australia and New Zealand* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: World Wide Publications, 1970), 140; Billy Graham, *Just as I am: the autobiography of Billy Graham* (New York: Harper Paperbacks, 1997), 496.

¹³² Gerard Henderson, *Menzies’ Child: The Liberal Party of Australia: 1944–1994* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 210.

¹³³ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 115. Cameron states that the Racial Discrimination Act quickly precipitated the NSW Anti-Discrimination Act (1977), which included sexual discrimination, and here homosexuality and transgender were specified.

¹³⁴ O’Brien, *God’s willing workers*, 58: “Festival of Light urges changes to divorce law,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1637, 9 June 1977, 1.

¹³⁵ “MU to admit divorcees: vital central council decision,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1542, 26 July 1973, 1; O’Brien, *God’s willing workers*, 73.

During the 1970s the Federal Government took greater responsibility for social welfare work. The passing of the 1974 Family Law Act made divorce easier to obtain and greatly impacted family life in Australia as solo-parent families became more common and the demands on church welfare agencies increased.¹³⁶ Consequently, the church found itself challenged by how to care pastorally for divorcees and by the issue of the remarriage of divorcees.¹³⁷ By the end of the decade, along with the other major Protestant denominations, the Anglican Church of Australia (ACA) was faced with a prolonged decline in membership and increasing social and political marginalisation.¹³⁸ Fletcher observes that:

The picture varied within and between dioceses, but in overall terms the percentage of Australians who labelled themselves Anglicans on census returns declined sharply from 34.9% to 24.0% between 1961 and 1981. ... There was also a sharp drop in attendance in Sunday services particularly among younger people, fewer of whom went to Sunday School.¹³⁹

In his book *Can God survive in Australia?* (1983), Bruce Wilson examined the religious decline in Australian society during the previous two decades and admitted that this decline was far easier to document than to explain.¹⁴⁰ Wilson lamented that:

In the wider Australian society itself, the public role of the clergy continues to be eroded by the invention of new, 'scientific' specialists. One relatively recent arrival is the professional 'marriage guidance consultant'. ... So far in Australia there has been very little resistance by the clergy to the erosion of their public role. The majority are simply bewildered and don't really understand the causes of Christian decline.¹⁴¹

While observant of the wider church becoming marginalised in the social context and withdrawing from public debate, Wilson was more concerned with better training of clergy than with the development of the laity.

From the 1970s there were a number of enquiries set up by the diocese and tasked with investigating the issues arising from the secularisation of society and how the Church might respond. These included an investigation of the role of women in society and in

¹³⁶ "Services to youth in chaos in NSW," *Southern Cross* (September 1981): 15. The HMS Pulse Supplement article claimed that during the next decade 30%–40% of the children in Sydney would grow up in solo-parent families.

¹³⁷ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 276.

¹³⁸ Frame, "Local differences, social and national identity 1930–1966," in *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, ed. Bruce Kaye (Carlton South, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 120.

¹³⁹ Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 215.

¹⁴⁰ Bruce Wilson, *Can God survive in Australia?* (Sutherland, NSW: Albatross Books, 1983), 28. Wilson was then Rector of St George's Anglican Church, Paddington, Sydney and in 1984 was appointed Principal of St Mark's College of Ministry, Canberra, and from 1989 to 2000 was Bishop of Bathurst.

¹⁴¹ Wilson, *Can God survive in Australia?* 140–1.

the church, which led to debate on the ordination of women. Judd and Cable list ‘unemployment, poverty, Aboriginal land rights, crime and punishment, medical ethics, domestic violence, the status of the family in modern life and peace and disarmament’ as key issues confronting the church.¹⁴² Another key issue raised was the role of laity in the church. Judd and Cable suggest that, from the 1960s, a principal reason for a renewed interest in the laity in the affairs of the Church was ‘a greater belief that laypeople were not the passive observers in a Church which was clergy-led and clergy-run, but were rather the life-spring of every Christian community, with great gifts and responsibility in every area of ministry.’¹⁴³ Moreover, as nominal attendance decreased there was a more vigorous commitment from those church members who remained, especially when professional laypeople were increasingly sought after for Church boards and councils.¹⁴⁴

At the same time, the Sydney Diocese became more isolated and monochrome in outlook. The evangelical ethos strengthened partly because of demographic changes, as after 1966 many of the influential High Church parishes in inner-city areas declined. Subsequently, fewer candidates for MTC came from these parishes, and the diocese replaced retiring clergy with evangelicals.¹⁴⁵ Further changes in the shape of ministry occurred under D. B. Knox’s leadership of MTC where, from 1959 until 1985, he acquired a reputation as an uncompromising champion of Reformed doctrine.¹⁴⁶ His emphasis on scholarship replaced the earlier, more pietistic evangelicalism of Mowll and Loane.¹⁴⁷ Knox emphasised evangelism, the simplicity of worship, and the importance of the local congregation as the central expression of the Church.¹⁴⁸ This fostered experimentation of the following kinds: disregarding priestly vestments at particular services (with congregational sanction); rejection of traditional hymns; and emphasising the preaching of Scripture over the role of the sacraments in Anglican services.¹⁴⁹ Piggin has suggested that, ‘[p]erhaps the greatest perceived weakness in Knox’s theology was in the area of the Spirit ... the agency of God the Holy Spirit in

¹⁴² Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 276–7.

¹⁴³ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 277.

¹⁴⁴ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 277.

¹⁴⁵ Ballantine-Jones, “Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney 1966–2013,” 50.

¹⁴⁶ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 135.

¹⁴⁷ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 87.

¹⁴⁸ McGillion, *The chosen ones*, 7.

¹⁴⁹ David Hilliard, “Pluralism and new alignments in society and church,” in Bruce Kaye, gen. ed. *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, 135.

human history is not emphasised.’¹⁵⁰ As will be seen, the over-emphasis of the intellectual over the experiential, of being ‘too concerned with the head and not with the heart’, was to become a defining characteristic of the Sydney Diocese.¹⁵¹ This had implications especially for laypeople in the charismatic renewal movement who were seeking an experiential understanding of the gifts of the Holy Spirit more consistent with their portrayal in the NT.

On a more positive note, historians such as Hilliard and Piggin have observed Sydney Diocese’s ‘high degree of religious energy’.¹⁵² In this regard Piggin’s broad summation of the Diocese is notable and may be applied to our period:

The energy of Sydney Anglicans is in stark contrast to the pitiable lack of it in many other branches of Australian Anglicanism. ... [T]he number and commitment of lay people in parish after parish pays a social dividend in communities not found in other Australian cities. It is hard to deny that Sydney Anglicans are busy doing something because they believe something.¹⁵³

Moreover, despite the ongoing concerns about declining youth attendance, in the decades 1969–1980 the number of parishes in the diocese actually increased from 188 to 238.¹⁵⁴ Sydney has also been described by an insider as ‘the most dynamic diocese in the Anglican Church in Australia’.¹⁵⁵ As will be seen, the role of laypeople, and the energy released from their involvement in various aspects of ministry and mission, was to become much more prominent during our period.

Structure of this Thesis

This thesis explores, in a thematic way, aspects of ministry and mission that involved laity—in youth ministry; in training and in provision of teaching/preaching; in evangelism; in religious education; and in opportunities for women.¹⁵⁶

Chapter 2 focusses on Sydney Diocese embracing change during our period. It examines evidence of a growing awareness of the importance of the need to encourage the laity and make far greater use of trained and qualified laypeople in parish ministry.

¹⁵⁰ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 184, 186.

¹⁵¹ Piggin, “The properties of concrete,” 189.

¹⁵² Piggin, “The properties of concrete,” 190; David Hilliard, “Throwing light on the major fault-line within Australian Anglicanism,” *The Melbourne Anglican*, 437 (May 2006): 21.

¹⁵³ Piggin, “The properties of concrete,” 190.

¹⁵⁴ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 124.

¹⁵⁵ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 286.

¹⁵⁶ For an overview of the structure of the diocese and its various ministries see Appendix A.

The chapter argues that this change came partly from within but was mainly driven by formidable challenges emerging from technological advances, expectations and attitudes in Australian society and increasing secularisation. It was a time when the ACA became more self-consciously Australian and when many parishes in the Sydney Diocese, in particular, moved from being clergy-centred to having a greater focus on team ministry and a significant move towards encouraging the involvement of laypeople.

Chapter 3 canvasses youth ministry in the diocese and observes how the diocese maintained a solid infrastructure to enable the Youth Department to facilitate a vigorous programme of conferences, weekend ‘house parties’ and other activities organised at a parish level, as well as the Camp Howard youth camps. A significant initiative occurred in 1976 when the diocese launched a ‘Full-time Youth Worker’s Course’ that aimed to place more laypeople in parish ministry teams. These efforts encouraged lay participation and created opportunities for lay ministry. However, it is evident that the diocese was less successful at the parish level in addressing the severe decline in youth attendance.

Chapter 4 on evangelism and outreach argues that the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade had a major impact on the Sydney Diocese and became a facilitator of lay involvement in parishes, especially in small group ministry. The introduction of programmes such as the Lay Institute for Evangelism (LIFE) and Evangelism Explosion (EE), and the unique ‘Dialogue Evangelism’ scheme, indicated the diocese’s continuing commitment to developing practical skills in laypeople for personal evangelism.

Chapter 5 examines preaching, teaching, and training ministries, and argues that the Sydney Diocese remained strongly committed to educating laypeople, especially through the already established Sydney Preliminary Theology Certificate (SPTC) correspondence course. The diocese facilitated courses to better equip lay preachers, Sunday School teachers, and Religious Instruction (RI) teachers. It is also argued that parish life was enriched as a result of the diocese organising conferences for wardens and parish councillors. These were courses for general church workers, which sought to teach practical administration and accounting skills, and training courses for the leadership of meetings, home groups, and Bible studies.

Chapter 6 considers community activities and the concern to address social issues, especially in helping the marginalised in society. The chapter argues that Sydney

Diocese was reluctant to embrace a radical reconsideration of social and political action that was debated at the international Congress on World Evangelisation held at Lausanne, Switzerland in 1974. However, the diocese did extend its work through HMS in its mission to assist the settlement of migrants and refugees in Sydney, and laypeople were at the forefront of these activities. The St Andrew's Cathedral Healing Ministry, which began in 1960, also became a catalyst for personal initiatives by laypeople in ministry and mission. Despite the fact that the Healing Ministry promoted increased involvement of laypeople and became an internationally recognised ministry, it was discouraged by the diocesan leadership because it embraced the charismatic movement.

Chapter 7 surveys women's ministry in the church and concludes that during our period women were given a greater role in the diocese, though not in an ordained capacity. The growth of the interdenominational Women's Convention Movement provided opportunities for Anglican laywomen to develop their ministry gifts in preaching, education and mutual support. Meanwhile, during the 1970s, the significant potential for Christian outreach and service offered by the 'Playgroups' movement was realised, and churches increasingly used home groups for fellowship and the development of women's ministry. While women's hopes of ordained ministry in the Sydney Diocese were to remain frustrated by the leadership holding the line that the ordination of women was in conflict with their understanding of the biblical doctrine of 'headship and authority', women's roles were nevertheless expanded through greater access to theological education, specialist lay ministry, and the opportunity to become churchwardens.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis and draws together the preceding lines of enquiry. The findings of these chapters demonstrate that our period marked a watershed in Australian society and an accompanying devaluation of religious beliefs, which provoked a reassessment of the importance of laypeople in the Church's mission and ministry at the parish level. The Sydney Diocese responded vigorously to the threats of marginalisation and increasing secularisation. This included a determination to educate its laypeople in theology, doctrine, and skills to encourage their involvement in personal ministry, team ministry within the parishes to an extent hitherto unparalleled in Australia. This also enabled increasing engagement with the wider community. Through this strategy the Anglican Church in this diocese attempted to at least hold its ground.

It is now appropriate to begin exploring in detail how the Sydney Diocese sought to dispel the myth that ‘the laity is good for nothing’.

CHAPTER 2

A Diocese Embracing Change

‘It is only since the 1960s, when Anglicans have depended upon evangelism and outreach for the survival of their church that these initiatives have received the attention they are accorded in Scripture.’

Tom Frame¹⁵⁷

Introduction

This chapter examines the 1960s–1970s as a period when the Sydney Diocese experienced probably the strongest impetus for change in its history.¹⁵⁸ During the 1960s the Anglican Church became more self-consciously Australian, especially with the election of the first Australian-born archbishop. By the mid-1960s it was faced with an observable drop in Sunday church attendance and Sunday School enrolments and, of critical concern, a drifting away of young people. With the evaporation of religious confidence the question of the role of the laity immediately became more prominent, as it did in other dioceses in Australia.¹⁵⁹ This chapter canvasses the response of the leadership and the Sydney Diocese Synod to the need for change. This response was driven partly by pragmatic motives when it was realised that very little evangelism was actually going on in the diocese, and it appeared to threaten many clergy in its demand for a less autocratic leadership style. Considerable energy was devoted to examining the traditional concept of the nature of the Church, to redefining the role of ministry to better incorporate the laity and to moving towards a more egalitarian parish structure. However, as will be shown, the realisation that laypeople were on the front line in the mission of the Church provoked a move towards the concept of team ministry, which, it was believed, would stimulate future growth.

The captains at the helm

After leading the diocese with great determination for over twenty-four years, Archbishop Mowll died of a heart attack in October 1958. The election of his successor,

¹⁵⁷ Tom Frame, *A house divided? The quest for unity within Anglicanism* (Brunswick East, Victoria: Acorn Press, 2010), 261.

¹⁵⁸ Bruce Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 102.

¹⁵⁹ David Hilliard, “The organised opposition: ‘How can a woman?’” in Lindsay and Scarfe, eds., *Preachers, Prophets and Heretics*, 101.

Hugh Rowlands Gough, Bishop of Barking, was confirmed in November 1958. Gough's main strengths were his gifts as an administrator and his strong evangelical credentials, particularly his chairmanship of the 1954 BGC in London.¹⁶⁰ Gough arrived in Sydney just after the 1959 BGC had left an indelible mark on the city. One of his major initiatives was the establishing of a commission to survey the financial and administrative condition of the diocese. This commission took almost five years to present a final report but precipitated a major financial reorganisation of the diocese.¹⁶¹ It has been claimed that the changes introduced in 1965 resulted in a greater stewardship of assets which benefited the diocese financially.¹⁶² On the other hand, Gough's autocratic manner and lack of theological scholarship quickly alienated him from the Sydney leadership, especially that of D. B. Knox and D. W. B. Robinson, Principal and Vice Principal respectively of MTC. As previously noted, Gough received constant criticism in *The Anglican*.¹⁶³ While on leave in England in early 1966, Gough resigned unexpectedly on the grounds of ill health, while also complaining of those in the diocese who put their evangelicalism ahead of their Anglicanism.¹⁶⁴ However, there is also evidence to suggest that he had been exposed for having been in 'an improper relationship' with a married woman.¹⁶⁵ His coadjutor bishop, Marcus Loane, was 'caretaker' during Gough's absence.

The first Australian-born archbishop brings a change of focus

A special Election Synod was convened on 15 July 1966 to elect Gough's successor. *The Anglican* newspaper claimed that, 'The Synod was remarkable for the determination of lay members, who were present in strength, to resist an effort to "steam roller" them into eliminating all names but one at the earliest stage. They insisted upon a full and fair hearing for every name brought forward.'¹⁶⁶ Finally, after four days of protracted debate and having received a strong vote, Marcus Loane was elected.¹⁶⁷ He was enthroned in St Andrew's Cathedral on 13 August 1966.¹⁶⁸ Loane's election was symbolically important because he became the first Australian-born archbishop of the Church of England in

¹⁶⁰ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 264; Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 79.

¹⁶¹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 264, 267.

¹⁶² Alan Beavis, "The Late Archbishop Hugh Gough," *Synod proceedings book*, Resolution 10/98 (1998), www.sds.asn.au/site/101340.asp?ph=sy, accessed on 12 May 2016.

¹⁶³ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 81; Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 71–2.

¹⁶⁴ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 177.

¹⁶⁵ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 105–7.

¹⁶⁶ "Seven nominated for See of Sydney: laymen stop early election," *The Anglican*, 728, 21 July 1966, 1. See also "Wide support for new archbishop," *The Australian Church Record*, 1368, 28 July 1966, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Hilliard, "Pluralism and new alignments in society and church," 127.

¹⁶⁸ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 59–60.

Australia, at a time when the Church was becoming more self-consciously Australian, and more autonomous from its English progenitor.¹⁶⁹ With Loane at the helm, the fervour of evangelicalism in Sydney increased, and this was particularly seen in the development of policy aimed at harnessing the gifts of the laity.

Loane's biographer, Bishop John Reid, reflected that:

The Archbishop was not, himself, a great innovator ... Many of the initiatives of his years in office came from others ... Several laymen, in particular, played an important role in drawing his attention to the opportunities of the day.¹⁷⁰

In particular, Reid acknowledged Sir Harold Knight, Governor of the Reserve Bank of Australia, and Mr Bruce Davies, Registrar General and Undersecretary for Lands, and applauded the fearless and frank advice they offered on the complex issue of restructuring the finances of the diocese.¹⁷¹ Stuart Barton Babbage, who was Dean of Sydney from 1947 to 1953, claimed that Loane governed the diocese with a steady hand, but that his regime lacked innovation: 'There was no venturing out into uncharted waters, no bold and dramatic initiatives, no breaking of new ground. He preserved the inviolate *status quo*.'¹⁷² As will be seen in a later chapter, this was particularly the case in his reaction to the emerging influence of the charismatic movement. Contrary to Babbage's claim, however, there is evidence of the willingness of leaders of the diocese to embrace change, particularly in relation to the role of the laity.

Lay issues building up a head of steam

During this period, in the wider context of the Anglican Church, the need for empowerment of the laity became increasingly apparent. Hitherto, bishops had been inclined to blame the absence of enthusiasm of the laity for the lack of church growth. Experimentation with modern liturgies generated numerous 'Letters to the Editor' in Anglican newspapers and a steady dialogue about lay issues continued unabated. For instance, in response to an article in *The Anglican* from a clergyman complaining about the apathy of the laity, Adrian Archinall of Canberra responded with the following rebuttal:

¹⁶⁹ David Hilliard, "Australian Anglicanism and the Radical Sixties," in *Mapping the landscape: essays in Australian and New Zealand Christianity: festschrift in honour of Professor Ian Breward*, ed. Susan Emilsen and William W. Emilsen (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2000), 100.

¹⁷⁰ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 65.

¹⁷¹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 269–271.

¹⁷² Babbage, *Memoirs of a loose canon*, 202.

For Mr Beaverstock's further information there are problem priests too ... I suspect that instead of reading 'co-operation with ... the parish priest,' we should read that the rightful place of the laity is to turn up, pay up, and shut up. The fact is, that apart from Sunday school teaching, joining the fellowship, Mothers' Union etc. raising and canvassing money and that vague and woolly concept 'witnessing' no one has really got down to earth enough on a wide scale to show the laity what other functions they are to exercise.¹⁷³

This echoed the feelings of many Sydneysiders as well. There was enough concern in the Diocese of Melbourne to precipitate a Special Synod which was held at Monash University from 17 February to 1 March 1970. The synod made far-reaching recommendations for the development of a diocesan structure suited to the contemporary needs of a large city diocese. In its leading article report on the Special Synod, the ACR stated:

The role of the laity seems to be bound to have increasing significance in the life of the church and the government of the diocese. [This included] participation in new ways in the conduct of worship, involvement in lay evangelism, rights of nomination for parishes on a much more liberal scale, equality of representation on the Council of the diocese and a much more significant role for that Council.¹⁷⁴

Meanwhile, in Sydney there was a questioning of the role of the ordained ministry and a growing realisation of the important role of the laity in the life of the Church. In a major article in 1970, 'The Ordained Ministry in the Church of England,' the Rev. Victor Cole of St Mary Magdalene, St Mary's (a western suburb of Sydney) observed:

The New Testament lays down no clear system for leadership of the church. Our system of bishops, priests and deacons (and deaconesses) [*sic*] is workable providing that we add to it the non-professional ministries of lay-reader, Sunday school and school scripture teachers and group leaders and also leave much of the administration to elected church officers ... It is hoped that new developments will strengthen the scriptural concept of the ministry of the whole people of Christ and weaken the divisive sense that an ordained man has special grace and special rights.¹⁷⁵

The resuscitation of the concept of the priesthood of all believers is evident in the metaphor of 'the whole people of Christ,' but in Sydney Evangelical Anglican practice the concept was somewhat removed from the more 'egalitarian' nature of ministry suggested in the NT.

¹⁷³ Adrian Archinall, "Problem Laymen," *The Anglican*, 749, 15 December 1966, Letters to the Editor section, 8.

¹⁷⁴ "Melbourne looks ahead," *The Australian Church Record*, 1460, 2 April 1970, 1. Author's editing.

¹⁷⁵ Victor R. Cole, "The ordained ministry in the Church of England," *The Australian Church Record*, 1462, 30 April 1970, 6.

Difficulties in achieving and managing major change

Bruce Ballantine-Jones, a leader in the Sydney Diocese during this period, has observed that ‘there was significant confusion over the capacity (or incapacity) of the central authorities to manage change and manage its resources to bring about change’.¹⁷⁶ He asserted that the rectors and parish councils of around 270 parishes comprising the diocese had absolute control over their operations, and that the diocesan organisations such as MTC, the Youth Department and Anglican Retirement Villages (ARV) could not be easily controlled from the centre.¹⁷⁷ As an ‘insider’ Ballantine-Jones claimed that:

It is generally true to say that if MTC, ACL (Australian Church League) and the Archbishop are in alignment, it is very difficult for any other force to have its say. But if they are divided, it usually means the Diocese is divided and likely to experience a period of considerable turmoil or tension.¹⁷⁸

This was particularly noticeable in the response to the *Move in for action* report which is considered below.

At the same time, Sydney Diocese became more isolated from other Australian Anglican dioceses, especially as a result of the trend towards ‘objective evangelicalism’ and Reformed theology, which guarded against an ‘experiential’ emphasis and was accompanied by a resistance to the growing tide of those desiring the ordination of women.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps this provoked women to look elsewhere for fellowship and opportunities for ministry, an issue which will be canvassed later, in the chapter on women’s ministry.

Commission on Evangelism’s *Move in for action* Report

The growing awareness of the need to better equip laypeople in the Sydney Diocese is evidenced in the *Report of the Commission on Evangelism*, chaired by Archdeacon John R. Reid, which was the outcome of three years of deliberations. The report was produced in a 146-page booklet entitled *Move in for action*, presented to the 850-member Synod in October 1971. The Commission on Evangelism was tasked ‘to survey the whole area of the church’s duty to proclaim the gospel both in our own Diocese and in the areas of our immediate neighbours in Asia’.¹⁸⁰ It claimed to be a call to clergy and laity for involvement, not as spectators in the distant grandstand but as players on the

¹⁷⁶ Ballantine-Jones, “Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney,” 22.

¹⁷⁷ Ballantine-Jones, “Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney,” 23.

¹⁷⁸ Ballantine-Jones, “Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney,” 39.

¹⁷⁹ Piggin, “Not a little holy club,” 381.

¹⁸⁰ Nichols, *Move in for action*, 7.

field in a team.¹⁸¹ The report observed that, despite the Board of Diocesan Missions' outreach through its new initiative of 'Dialogue Evangelism' over the previous two years, most Christian people had little meaningful contact with non-churchgoers; in fact, very little evangelism was going on.¹⁸² Moreover, the report asserted that evangelistic initiative had been taken away from the individual Christian either by the local clergyman or the church, and claimed that:

Many Christians have been made to feel that they should not continue to use their home for evangelism without the permission of the rector or unless the parish decide to 'do-it-again'.¹⁸³

Dialogue Evangelism was championed by the Rev. John Chapman and involved the training of counsellors and laypeople to make face-to-face contact with non-churchgoers in private homes.¹⁸⁴ The scheme is examined in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Move in for action encouraged the church to invest in evangelism through mass media—particularly in television—and to seek new directions in evangelism, especially the need to harness untapped congregational resources.¹⁸⁵ The report quoted a profound observation by the British Anglican priest, evangelist, and apologist, Michael Green:

The virtual autocracy of many a parish priest today is good neither for him nor the parish; it is clearly at variance with the pattern of the priesthood in the New Testament; and it obscures the fact that he is called to serve.¹⁸⁶

Green also emphasised that all of Jesus' followers are called to serve and claimed that, '[t]here is no suggestion in the New Testament that one could possibly be a Christian without having a call in some form of ministry within the Church'.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, the report suggested that the authoritarianism of the minister restricted the congregation from expressing the gifts of the Spirit which they had been given, that the clergyman should be more like a playing coach and that more than one person should be involved in the spiritual eldership of the congregation.¹⁸⁸

The ACR concluded that, '[t]he report will be widely studied for a long time to come for it is contemporary and is the most thorough examination of the whole question of

¹⁸¹ Nichols, *Move in for action*, 9.

¹⁸² Nichols, *Move in for action*, 112–14.

¹⁸³ Nichols, *Move in for action*, 112.

¹⁸⁴ "Intensive plan of evangelism," *The Australian Church Record*, 1482, 11 March 1971, 1.

¹⁸⁵ "Far-reaching reports on evangelism and mass media," *The Australian Church Record*, 1499, 21 October 1971, 1.

¹⁸⁶ Nichols, *Move in for action*, 128. The Report cites E. M. B. Green, *Called to serve* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), 41.

¹⁸⁷ Green, *Called to serve*, 18.

¹⁸⁸ Nichols, *Move in for action*, 129.

evangelism to appear in Australia'.¹⁸⁹ The Sydney Synod received *Move in for action* with enthusiasm. While nothing came of the report in the short term, within five years evangelism in the universities and inner-city was being revitalised.¹⁹⁰ The initial lack of implementation of the report's recommendations to revitalise evangelism in the parishes stands as testimony to the difficulties of implementing major change by the leadership of the diocese. As will be seen below, this clearly seemed to be the case. Resistance to change was generated by the clergy, who perceived that their jobs and parish authority were under siege.

Looking into the Parish: another lost opportunity?

Move in for action prompted research by Broughton Knox and Donald Robinson of MTC into the traditional concept of the nature of the Church. They perceived a need to place greater importance on the parish as a unique community of believers and to move towards greater autonomy at the parish level.¹⁹¹ Accordingly, at the 1970 session of Synod a Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission was established under the chairmanship of Bishop John Reid. This involved a major review of parish ministry and organisation, which took three years of investigation by eight ministers, seven laymen, and one woman.¹⁹² The Commission's report, was published in a booklet, entitled *Looking into the parish*, and tabled in the Synod of October 1972. The report recommended comprehensive and large-scale reforms, especially in calling for an end to clerically-oriented parish ministry and encouraging the laity to exercise their gifts in team ministry.

The summary of the findings included the following recommendations:

Point 2: Leadership making provision for strengthening interpersonal relationships by the development of smaller groups.¹⁹³

Point 14 (d): Lay leaders such as Sunday School Superintendents and Bible study leaders should be recognised as elders in a particular congregation so that they can join with the minister for consultation and planning.¹⁹⁴

Point 15: The minister should be regarded as 'first among equals' in parochial ministry.

¹⁸⁹ "Far-reaching reports on Evangelism and Mass Media," 1.

¹⁹⁰ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 138.

¹⁹¹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 289–90.

¹⁹² "Sweeping reforms in the parish ministry," *The Australian Church Record*, 1523, 19 October 1972, 1.

¹⁹³ Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission, *Looking into the parish*, 4.

¹⁹⁴ Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission, *Looking into the parish*, 6.

Point 19: There should be more widespread employment in parochial ministry of full-time lay men and women, especially those trained in specialist fields such as school teaching, counselling, management, finance, youth work etc.¹⁹⁵

As this thesis will show in subsequent chapters, while initially few of these recommendations were adopted, they were reflected in significant changes to the central administration of the diocese and to ministry in those parishes, which facilitated greater participation of laypeople.¹⁹⁶ As team ministries became common, larger parishes were able to create full-time positions for specialist youth and children's workers, and these increasingly included women.¹⁹⁷ Not surprisingly, *Looking into the parish* was controversial and provoked much debate, as well as political intervention by clergy.

The institutional inertia of the church and a fear of an attack on traditional Anglicanism and its threefold order of ministry was evident in the resistance of a group of clergy that formed the Sydney Anglican Clerical Society and who produced a counter-report entitled *Take another look at the parish* (1973).¹⁹⁸ While conceding that many of the ideas in the original report were well worth trying—especially that of a much greater use of trained and qualified lay people in full-time parish work—the members of this society claimed that the report contained serious methodological weaknesses and ‘was ambiguous in its use of “ministry” and “the ministry,” which could be taken as meaning that an unordained person has a right to exercise the same functions as an ordained person’.¹⁹⁹ In reflecting on *Looking into the parish*, the counter-report vividly portrayed the mood of many lay people:

There are laymen who are chafing under constitutional restrictions on the development and exercise of their own gifts and ministries. They feel largely tied down to ‘serving tables’ and spectator participation in the real life and spiritual responsibilities of the ministry and parish. They tend to become unsettled and disillusioned, feeling that they are being permanently relegated to a very much subsidiary and secondary role, or they seek a freelancing ministry somewhere else.²⁰⁰

In the wake of these reports, Judd and Cable observe that although some parishes encouraged considerable lay participation, most parishes maintained a strongly clerical orientation and this wave of reform dissipated. The synod adopted a minimalist

¹⁹⁵ Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission, *Looking into the parish*, 7.

¹⁹⁶ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 17.

¹⁹⁷ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 21.

¹⁹⁸ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 291.

¹⁹⁹ Sydney Anglican Clerical Society, *Take another look at the parish*, 4-5.

²⁰⁰ Sydney Anglican Clerical Society, *Take another look at the parish*, 16.

approach, ensuring that the clergyman remained the focus of ministry but gradually permitted greater use of laypeople in services.²⁰¹

The expanding role of the laity was also evident in the remarks of the report of the Australian Anglican General Synod's Commission on Ministry that recommended a radical change in ministry which, it claimed may be essential to the survival of the church. Moreover, the Commission 'strongly criticised the idea that only the ordained clergy are ministers' and 'stressed that every Christian, whether ordained or lay, is a minister and is called by God to minister both within the Church and the community as a whole'.²⁰² As will be seen later in this chapter, the General Synod proceeded to take decisive action in this regard with the development of outreach and renewal programmes.

The St Andrew's Cathedral Healing Ministry—a case study

An example of the move from clergy-centred to team ministry was seen in the St Andrew's Cathedral Healing Ministry which, because of its association with the charismatic movement, met with resistance from the diocesan leadership. This ministry was established by Canon 'Jim' Glennon in 1960 and in our period became the largest church-based healing ministry in the international Anglican Communion.²⁰³

During 1960, while spending recreational time at 'Gilbulla', the Anglican Conference Centre in semi-rural Menangle, south of Sydney, Glennon read *The healing light* by Agnes Sanford, an Episcopalian evangelist. He became deeply convinced that healing was for today. On his return to Sydney he asked the Dean, the Rev. Eric Pitt, if he could hold a healing service. Glennon was granted permission. Egan further explains:

Both Pitt and Glennon acted with a measure of innocence, not knowing what such permission would lead to. Next Glennon approached a group of several women for whom he had been conducting a Bible study at 6 pm on a Wednesday ... He asked these women if they would be agreeable to prayers for healing and they were. On 29 September the first 'healing service' was held, and a lady asked for prayer for some problem, and the next week she

²⁰¹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 292.

²⁰² "Commission suggests change on ministry," *The Australian Church Record*, 1618, 2 September 1976, 2.

²⁰³ Lance Shilton, *Speaking out: a life in urban mission: the autobiography of Lance Shilton* (Sydney: Centre for Study of Australian Christianity, 1997), 181.

reported that she had been healed, and that is how the Healing Ministry at St Andrew's Cathedral started, in 1960.²⁰⁴

From this small group, the healing service developed. It was characterised by members of the congregation praying for each other and by a desire for people to depend on God in prayer.²⁰⁵ Initially Glennon did all the praying, but from 1964 onwards, a core of elders was established and their role was to pray with those wanting prayer. This was accompanied by a 'mushrooming' of the numbers attending the services.²⁰⁶ In 1968 Glennon claimed that the Healing Ministry's Wednesday evening meetings at 6.00 pm were being attended by a congregation of about 300.²⁰⁷

Glennon practised a form of the priesthood of all believers, describing it as follows:

We believe in, and we practise, the ministry of all believers ... because the ministry here is exercised by the rank and file of the congregation ... It is the business of us all to minister in an informed, scriptural and effective way.²⁰⁸

Sydney evangelicalism has been criticised for being too concerned with the head and not enough with the heart, and this ministry was fulfilling a deep need in the diocese for pastoral care and, at the same time, became a catalyst for evangelism.²⁰⁹ The background to the Cathedral Healing Ministry is instructive in understanding the tension between the evangelical biblical-theological approach advocated by Knox and Robinson at MTC and experience-oriented Christianity.

The roots of Glennon's influential healing ministry have been traced to James Moore Hickson, an English layman. Hickson was one of the most significant evangelists to visit Australia in the 1920s, and his visit in 1923 attracted huge crowds without the crudity and manipulation of fundamentalist and Pentecostal healers from the USA.²¹⁰ Although virtually every Anglican parish was revitalised by Hickson's visit, it did not immediately produce a large home-grown healing ministry and its impact on the churches is difficult

²⁰⁴ Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 31–2.

²⁰⁵ "History of the healing service," <http://sydneyheal.com/service/history-of-the-healing-service/> accessed on 10 June 2015.

²⁰⁶ Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 73.

²⁰⁷ "Healing in Tasmania," *The Australian Church Record*, 1420, 22 August 1968, 3.

²⁰⁸ Jim Glennon, *Healing is a way of life: practical steps to healing: talks by Canon Jim Glennon*, ed. Zillah Williams (Canberra: Zillah Williams, 2009), 188.

²⁰⁹ Piggan, "The properties of concrete," 189. Piggan stated that, 'In 1973 the Sydney Anglicans condemned the Charismatic movement in their Synod, while in the same year the Assemblies of God endorsed it and prepared their churches to receive those who felt spurned by the mainline churches.' Piggan, *Spirit, word and world*, 233–4.

²¹⁰ Paul Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 19–20; Breward, *A history of the Australian churches*, 119.

to gauge.²¹¹ Hickson was welcomed by Archbishop John Wright of Sydney, and his visit led to the establishment of healing ministries as part of the ministries at the inner-city churches of St James King's Street and Christ Church St Laurence, which followed the High Church and Anglo-Catholic traditions respectively. This made the concept of healing ministries more suspect to their conservative evangelical colleagues. Glennon was destined to face opposition, especially when he embraced charismatic beliefs.²¹²

In his book *Your healing is within you*, Glennon described the relationship of clergy and laypeople in the ministry of the Church:

We are realising more and more that it is not only the clergy who represent the church. Certainly, by reason of their ordination, the clergy have a special role in leadership, but other believers are equally [as] much the church because we are all equally joined to Christ.²¹³

He also cautioned about the problems created by misguided but well-intentioned laypeople who operated outside the discipline and guidance of the rest of the church. Glennon therefore encouraged believers to minister in cooperation with their priest, minister or elders.

An indication of the importance Glennon accorded laypeople is in his recollection of his ministry to a young man sick with depression who came to him at regular intervals over a period of at least two years but seemingly without change. At this stage two members of the Healing Ministry had approached Glennon with the suggestion that perhaps they should fast and pray for the person. In due course, with the young man's approval, six people fasted for twenty-four hours and prayed for healing—seemingly without result. A week later they fasted again and gathered together. The man was healed and reportedly remained healed ever since. Reflecting on this incident, Glennon stated that:

It showed me afresh how interdependent we all should be as the body of Christ. And it made me see again the reality of the ministry that God gives to the laity of the church. Indeed, some lay people have a greater capacity for ministry in certain areas than the clergy.²¹⁴

The diocese's response to the charismatic movement is reminiscent of the active resistance to the Wesleyan Revival in the second half of the eighteenth century. This

²¹¹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 199. Grant observed that, 'It was to be almost 50 years before healing services became regular events in Anglican parishes and cathedrals'. Grant, *Episcopally led and synodically governed*, 166.

²¹² Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 53–5.

²¹³ Jim Glennon, *Your healing is within you* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), 113.

²¹⁴ Glennon, *Your healing is within you*, 124.

was driven by the fear of ‘enthusiasts’ by the Church of England in which one of the principal threats to hinder clergy from turning evangelical was the certain loss of reputation and preferment.²¹⁵ Similarly, Stuart Piggin explains the Sydney evangelical perspective to those drawn to the charismatic movement in our period:

Finding the systematic theology of the Reformed rationalists an indigestible and ultimately unnourishing fare, many evangelicals sought an emotionally richer diet in the Charismatic movement. Pentecostals tended to jettison the Word as the authoritative basis of their belief and instead sought that authority in increasingly emotional and esoteric experiences.²¹⁶

The antagonism of the diocese towards the Cathedral Healing Ministry is indicated by Brian Medway, who now leads an independent charismatic church in Canberra. In a recollection of his student days at MTC from 1971 to 1973 he states:

Moore College was an interesting place at the time. There were only two of the ninety students there who were ‘charismatic’ ... They used to get hold of Canon Jim Glennon’s sermons (Wednesday night charismatic healing service at St. Andrew’s Cathedral in the CBD) on Thursday morning and pick them to pieces. It was hot and running—and I was amazed that they were so stirred by what was happening. I must have quoted Gamaliel’s advice to them fifty times I reckon.²¹⁷

The extent of control that the diocesan leadership tried to exert is evident in correspondence from Archbishop Marcus Loane to the Rev. Lance Shilton, Dean of the Cathedral, on 13 April 1976, which stated:

I am quite willing for Mr. T. A. B. Dakin and Mr. George Parkes to assist Canon Glennon with the administration of Holy Communion at the Healing Ministry Service on Wednesday, 14th April, on the understanding that this consent is for this occasion only.²¹⁸

The nature of this correspondence implies an attempt to keep a tight rein on Canon Glennon’s conduct of worship in the context of the Healing Ministry and the participation of laypeople in the services. Arthur Dakin, in addition to working as an accountant with the Maritime Services Board, was a lay canon at St Andrew’s Cathedral, a member of the diocesan Standing Committee and a treasurer of the CMS.²¹⁹ The policy of Marcus Loane has been referred to in some quarters as one of ‘benevolent

²¹⁵ Iain H. Murray, *Evangelicalism divided: a record of crucial change in the years 1950 to 2000* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2000), 169; Butler, “From the Early Eighteenth Century to the Present Day, 31.

²¹⁶ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 176.

²¹⁷ Brian Medway, e-mail message to author, 1 April 2016.

²¹⁸ Cathedral Church – Dean’s Correspondence – 1973–1978, Ministry of Healing, Sydney Diocesan Archives, [1989/006/002], Letter from Archbishop of Sydney to Dean of Cathedral, 13 April 1976.

²¹⁹ Egan, “The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney,” 98.

containment' whereby he was happy for the ministry to continue but cautious of a 'Pentecostal foothold' being established in the cathedral.²²⁰

A further example of lay initiative is in the involvement of Arthur and Elizabeth Dakin in the Healing Ministry. During the 1960s Mrs Dakin had developed a plantar wart on her foot which after prayer had been healed immediately. She then became actively involved in the Healing Ministry in administrative and hostess functions and, from 1962, the Dakins opened their home at Roseville as a venue for young people to gather for prayer and fellowship. In the early 1970s, the couple moved to a large rented apartment at Collaroy Beach where up to six people could come on a daily basis to stay overnight to receive support and prayer. They continued with this ministry until 1978 when their own health made it impossible to carry on. Glennon acknowledged them as the forerunners of the Healing Ministry Centre that was established at Golden Grove in 1985 in the inner-city suburb of Newtown.²²¹

Deaconess Gwyneth Hall, who came to the Healing Ministry in 1961 and stayed for nearly thirty years, provided another example of significant lay initiative. At first she took handwritten notes of sermons to circulate, but Glennon suggested that the sermon be taped for her to transcribe. In July 1963 these were distributed to the whole congregation and eventually some 7,000 copies were produced weekly, with 1,000 being taken by congregation members and the rest sent to some thirty countries. In the early 1970s this was extended to a cassette tape distribution programme.²²² This helped to develop international recognition of the ministry.

It is ironic that the Healing Ministry's growth became indispensable for ensuring the financial viability of the Cathedral.²²³ This signalled another matter of embarrassment to the diocesan leadership, and was largely responsible for the degree of 'tolerance' shown

²²⁰ Rory Shiner, "Donald Robinson's response to Neo-Pentecostalism in the 1970s" (paper presented at a Seminar at the Centre for the History of Christian Thought and Experience (CTE), Macquarie University, Sydney on 2 June 2016).

²²¹ Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 98–9.

²²² Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 94.

²²³ Egan, "The development of, and opposition to, healing ministries in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 93, 115. Egan cited the St Andrew's Cathedral Chapter Minutes, 31 December 1984, when he observed that in 1965 total Healing Ministry offertories were \$2,400 (the Cathedral's other services contributed \$1,800) and by 1984 had risen to \$65,100 (versus the Cathedral \$49,600). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to further investigate the tensions between the Cathedral Chapter and the Cathedral Healing Ministry.

to the Healing Ministry by the Cathedral Chapter.²²⁴ Piggin has asserted that in the Sydney Diocese ‘pragmatism was secondary to theology ... The instructive feelings about what makes for congruity with the unchurched and utility for them were overborn by a concern for a pure church’.²²⁵ In its commitment to the primacy of evangelism the diocesan leadership appeared to overlook the importance of the Healing Ministry as an evangelistic mission encouraging lay participation, mainly because it involved association with the charismatic movement.²²⁶

Lay ministry has a wider impact across Australia

A major feature article in *Church Scene* of 13 September 1973 reported on the Australian General Synod’s General Board of Religious Education (GBRE) announcement of a new initiative for the years 1974 to 1977. In collaboration with all of the Anglican dioceses of the Church it was proposed to arrange for up to seventy-two pilot congregations where parishes would undertake a two-year programme of congregational development, and seek to incorporate the concepts of shared ministry and team leadership in the life of each congregation.²²⁷ This was to make a significant contribution to the development of lay participation in the Church’s mission. The article quoted from the report of the Mission and Ministry Conference 1971, convened at the request of General Synod, which stated that, ‘this church must recover the doctrine of the whole church as the people of God. Priest and People together are the *laos* (laity), together they are to exercise the royal priesthood committed to them’.²²⁸ Significant activity to train laypeople in many aspects of pastoral care was evident in over four hundred seminars conducted in the *Outreach ’74* programme conducted by the Diocese of Gippsland.²²⁹ Furthermore, various diocesan programmes of outreach and renewal were under the banner of ‘Encounter ’75’, and the Diocese of St Arnaud’s ‘Celebration

²²⁴ The Government of the Cathedral is vested in the Chapter which consists of eight Clerical Canons (3 nominated by the Archbishop, 3 elected by the clergy and 2 elected by the Synod) and nine Lay Canons elected by the Synod with the Archbishop, Dean, Bishops Coadjutor and Chancellor as *ex officio* members. Leslie Jillett, “Addressing the clergy,” *Southern Cross* 5, 1 (January 1965): 4.

²²⁵ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 186.

²²⁶ In the mid-1980s a small group within the congregation of St Stephen’s Normanhurst who had been influenced by the charismatic movement sought to establish a Healing Service. The Rector, the Rev. John Livingstone, ‘agreed to hold the service once per month on the understanding that the emphasis would be on spiritual healing rather than physical healing’. Disappointed with this half-hearted approval a few of the proponents transferred to more ‘congenial churches’. See Percival, *They will be changed like a garment*, 151.

²²⁷ “New Era for G.B.R.E.,” *Church Scene*, 65, 13 September 1973, 7.

²²⁸ “New Era for G.B.R.E.,” *Church Scene*, 65, 13 September 1973, 7.

²²⁹ “Outreach ’74 Gippsland,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1585, 1 May 1975, 2–3.

'75' programme emphasised 'lay participation rather than clergy domination'.²³⁰ While it is difficult to evaluate the long-term effects of these programmes, there was a continued decline in most dioceses in Australia during subsequent decades. This thesis suggests that the institutional inertia of the church and its rigid adherence to the traditional concept of ministry remained a major hurdle to the expansion of lay ministry.

Moves to enable laypeople to assist in the administration of Holy Communion

At the Synod held from 14 to 18 October 1968, Archdeacon John Reid and Canon Donald Robinson had moved for the setting up of a committee to inquire into the question of authorising lay people for the administration of Holy Communion.²³¹ In regional areas facing declining incomes and dwindling congregations, almost everyone agreed that for theological and practical reasons pastoral leadership should in future be based in the local congregation. Additionally, Bishop Peter Chiswell of Armidale was an early advocate of lay presidency in isolated rural congregations that did not have a resident priest.²³² While the Diocese of Armidale was also willing to consider this innovation, progress was dampened by the almost universal opposition throughout the ACA and by the reluctance of Sydney's archbishops to 'rock the boat'.²³³ The matter was controversial, fiercely opposed by the Anglo-Catholic dioceses, and much ink was spilt in ensuing debates. Lay presidency had the potential to open a 'Pandora's Box' that was perceived to undermine the role of clergy while it elevated the role of the laity. While giving a first impression of championing the priesthood of all believers, this was far from what was anticipated; it was restricted to men in accordance with the principle of male headship, which the Sydney hierarchy regarded as inviolable. Nicholas Taylor, a theologian from the Scottish Episcopal Church, stridently criticises the position taken by the Sydney Diocese:

The entrenchment and concentration of power in the hand of an ordained, exclusively male, and theologically monolithic, cadre in the diocese of Sydney represents a fundamental contrast to the expansion of lay ministry in Anglican parishes elsewhere in the Communion over the past century and more. Preaching and administration of holy communion [*sic*] by lay people would seem not to be about empowerment by lay people for ministry; rather the semi-clericalization of selected lay people, who in many other parts of the Anglican Communion would almost certainly be ordained, would

²³⁰ "Diocese of St Arnaud's – Celebration '75," *The Australian Church Record*, 1584, 17 April 1975, 7.

²³¹ "Two new dioceses from Sydney," *The Australian Church Record*, 1425, 31 October 1968, 1.

²³² Hilliard, "Pluralism and new alignments in society and church," 144.

²³³ McGillion, *The Chosen Ones*, 7.

perpetuate their subjugation to a repressive and exclusive, theologically monolithic, ecclesiastical regime.²³⁴

Taylor considers that the authorisation of lay presidency would not only require a fundamental redefinition of Christian priesthood but would alter the character and orientation of lay ministry.²³⁵ A detailed discussion of these theological and practical implications, that still remain unresolved, is not possible within the parameters of this thesis. It is noteworthy that in 1983 the Synod of the Sydney Diocese received a report in response to the examination of the General Synod Diocesan Doctrine Commission's Report, *Towards a theology of ordination* which identified areas of theological dispute. Following further detailed consideration, the Doctrine Commission's subsequent report of 1993 concluded that there were no sound doctrinal or theological reasons for the continued prohibition of lay presidency.²³⁶ However, in refusing assent to Sydney Synod's endorsement of the proposal in 1993, Archbishop Harry Goodhew expressed that his 'uncertainties lie in the area of order, what the long term consequences may be for the ordained ministry' and its impact on other dioceses.²³⁷ For these reasons Goodhew and subsequent archbishops of Sydney have shown reluctance formally to institute lay presidency in the Sydney Diocese. As will be discussed in Chapter 6 below, the issue also became embroiled in the debate over women in the priesthood because the diocese was still not promoting the role of women in the leadership ministry of the church. Meanwhile, other significant changes were also occurring in the culture of the church, which will now be considered.

Music ministry and liturgy—a change in focus

During our period, changing attitudes towards the laity at both diocesan and parish levels were also reflected in changes to the style of music and the liturgy. Just as the 1960s ushered in a new genre of popular music, the church music scene also became more diverse. At the time new hymns and hymn books were being produced in great numbers, especially in Britain and North America, and the rise of the charismatic

²³⁴ Nicholas H. Taylor, *Lay presidency at the Eucharist? An Anglican approach* (London: Mowbray, 2009), 196. See also Nicholas Taylor, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/nicholashtaylor/>, accessed on 20 February 2017.

²³⁵ Taylor, *Lay presidency at the Eucharist*, 264.

²³⁶ "Lay presidency at the Lord's Supper," Report of the Diocesan Doctrine Commission of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1993, www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/reports/L/LayPresidencyAtTheLordsSupper.1993.pdf, accessed on 14 November 2016.

²³⁷ Archbishop R. H. Goodhew, "Presidential address" (Sydney: Diocese of Sydney Synod, 11 October 1993), www.sds.asn.au/site/101739.asp?ph=sy, accessed on 1 November 2016.

movement was becoming influential in church music.²³⁸ The advent of the new Australian Anglican Constitution in 1962 was important in facilitating the inclusion of new forms of church music because it opened the door not only to liturgical change but also the possibility of producing a new hymnal.²³⁹

During the 1960s schools and churches began to use overhead projectors as a convenient way to display hymns and songs. This had an impact on church music because it gave opportunities to select newly published material from a variety of sources. The advent of ‘rock bands’ featuring guitars and drums and the availability of portable electronic organs also facilitated the drift away from sole use of traditional hymns accompanied by pipe organ or harmonium. Dating from the 1960s the radical shift in musical preference by the majority of churchgoers under the age of fifty has been described as ‘a phenomenon in itself’.²⁴⁰ As church attendances declined, so did the size of choirs. Worship became more informal, especially after the General Synod approved publication of the much awaited *An Australian Prayer Book* (AAPB).²⁴¹

The publication of the ecumenical *Australian Hymn Book* (AHB) on 26 September 1977, which was approved for use throughout the Anglican Church in 1978, brought a more distinctly Australian flavour to worship.²⁴² By 1980 new styles emerged which were directed partly towards young people; the new hymnody was influenced by Christian rock and other forms of popular music and was given impetus by the growth of Pentecostal churches.²⁴³ This created opportunities for a different form of lay involvement in leadership of worship using keyboards, guitars and drums.

An Australian Prayer Book finally arrives

The increasing role of the laity in worship was also adumbrated by the Liturgical Commission of the General Synod, which from 1966 onwards produced a range of draft liturgies and consulted widely with congregations across the spectrum of theological understanding.²⁴⁴ *St Mark’s Review* of June 1977 was aimed at ‘introducing to members of the Anglican Synod and the Australian Church generally the contents of *An*

²³⁸ Brian H. Fletcher, *Sing a new song: Australian hymnody and the renewal of the church since the 1960s* (Barton, ACT: Barton Books, 2011), 11.

²³⁹ Fletcher, *Sing a new song*, 3.

²⁴⁰ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 99.

²⁴¹ Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, 128–9.

²⁴² Fletcher, *Sing a new song*, 88, 95.

²⁴³ Fletcher, *Sing a new song*, 131.

²⁴⁴ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 293.

Australian Prayer Book (AAPB), thereby preparing for the debate in Synod'.²⁴⁵ Jack Horner, one of two laymen who contributed articles, made the following incisive comment:

The intercessions in both Orders for Holy Communion tend to follow medieval social politics. Power flows down—from God to rulers, thence to representatives, parliaments, those in authority. Here the prayer for power STOPS. No power for the people! Little wonder that younger people often turn to Mao for source of daily power, when the Church forgets the Holy Spirit's guiding presence in the liturgy and daily word.²⁴⁶

The General Synod finally authorised AAPB in 1977. While its use was made conditional on its adoption by individual dioceses, AAPB was an instant success, with its greater variety of forms of service and its provisions for greater participation by laypeople in such areas as leading prayers for intercession and reading of the Scriptures. As a result, AAPB brought a major change in the life of the Church.²⁴⁷ By 1981 some 370,000 copies of AAPB had been printed as well as 46,000 in the 'special bindings' edition.²⁴⁸

Liturgical reform had been enthusiastically embraced under Archbishop Loane and Donald Robinson, his successor, played an important role in producing AAPB. This was a massive change, because it brought to an end over three hundred years of exclusive use of the 1662 BCP, and eventually led to its almost complete demise.²⁴⁹ According to Frame, Robinson believed that 'the demand for highly specialised local variations would relegate most prayer books to vestry cupboards, where they would remain. He was right'.²⁵⁰ As services were now often projected on screens, local variations became the norm, and Anglican worship became less hierarchical with more involvement by members of the congregation in leading parts of the services of worship.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ Garnsey, "Editorial," 1.

²⁴⁶ Jack Horner, "New versus old," *St Mark's Review* 90 (June 1977): 48. [Original emphasis.]

²⁴⁷ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, 128-9.

²⁴⁸ "How many of us go to church?" *Church Scene*, 2, 144, 2 October 1981, 1. From these statistics the Rev. Kevin Engel, Literature Consultant to the Australian Christian Literature Society, estimated the number of worshippers during any given Sunday to be 643,598. He stated: 'I have presumed that the purchase of the pew edition of the AAPB indicates the expected number of worshippers at the service with the largest average number of people on an ordinary Sunday, as distinct from major festivals such as Christmas and Easter'.

²⁴⁹ Ballantine-Jones, "Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 43.

²⁵⁰ Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, 129.

²⁵¹ Hilliard, "How Anglican lay people saved the church," 53. See also Hilliard, "A short history of lay Anglicanism in Australia," 1.

Conclusion

Although clergy remained at the helm of the Sydney Diocese throughout our period, there was clearly a significant move towards greater involvement of the laity, especially at the parish level. Archbishop Gough's lasting legacy was the reorganisation of the financial structures of the diocese, but his episcopate was also a time of unease among the diocesan leadership. During Archbishop Loane's episcopate, the Church became more self-consciously Australian and there was an increasing reliance on the laity, especially those who had specialist vocational and administrative skills to offer in helping the diocese respond to the complexities of modern society. The Report of the Commission on Evangelism, entitled *Move in for action*, presented to Synod in October 1971, claimed that there was little effective evangelism happening in the diocese. It encouraged the church to invest in evangelism through mass media. More importantly, this report recommended that each congregation be encouraged to express the gifts of the Spirit, with greater involvement of the laity. The intention was that the minister should be more like a playing coach so that more than one person would be involved in the spiritual eldership of the congregation.

The subsequent report by the Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission (1972), entitled *Looking into the parish*, was of more lasting significance. This report recommended comprehensive reforms, and called for a more egalitarian approach, with an end to clergy-centred parish ministry. It especially recommended the encouragement of laity and a much greater use of trained and qualified laypeople to exercise their gifts in team ministry in full-time parish work. The report persuasively rebutted the idea that the laity was 'good for nothing', and some of its recommendations were gradually adopted as many parishes moved towards team ministry.²⁵² The importance of this trend will be further confirmed as other aspects of diocesan activity in the late 1970s and 1980s are considered. Personal evangelism came to be seen as everyone's responsibility and some congregations started to organise teams for parish visiting once again.²⁵³

Another indication of change was in the growth of the St Andrew's Cathedral Healing Ministry. Although discouraged by the diocesan leadership, because it embraced the charismatic movement, the Healing Ministry developed a strong focus on lay ministry

²⁵² Ballantine-Jones, "Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 42.

²⁵³ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 300.

and an awareness of spiritual gifts being used to energise evangelism and personal ministry.

Finally, the release of *An Australian Prayer Book* in 1977 meant that Anglican worship throughout Australia became less hierarchical with more involvement by laity and a greater openness to more informal forms of worship, both in liturgy and more contemporary music. This was further encouraged in 1978 by the approval for use throughout the Anglican Church of the recently released ecumenical *Australian Hymn Book* which brought a more distinctly Australian flavour to worship.

These important changes facilitated a gradual change in parish ministry from a less clergy-centred to a more team-centred approach that increasingly incorporated laypeople, not only into leading parts of worship services, but also into the broader ministry of the church. Arguably, they were to become a defining characteristic of the larger, more dynamic parishes.

While the diocese had been vigorous in its commitment to programmes for youth, it was now facing a crisis of youth leaving the church. This required new strategies at both diocesan and parish levels, which we will now consider.

CHAPTER 3

Ministry to Youth

‘The ministry aims to teach the children true Christian values and train many of them for leadership in youth work, thereby attempting to ensure that constructiveness rather than chaos will be the order of the day among the Green Valley population some five years hence.’

David Cameron²⁵⁴

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the substantial involvement of laypeople in the Sydney Diocese in ministry to youth. Despite an ongoing commitment to youth ministry after the Second World War, during the 1960s the diocese was confronted by a serious decline in church attendance, particularly in youth groups, and the Youth Department was criticised for floundering under a lack of direction.²⁵⁵ As the decade of the 1960s closed, the radical social changes experienced in Australia and other Western nations were clearly seen in the tendency of young people to react strongly against anything they saw to be traditional, conservative, hierarchical or authoritarian. The message of the Church was being greeted with derision.²⁵⁶ The diocesan response to these challenges will be explored with particular reference to Camp Howard and the introduction of a ‘Full-time Youth Workers Course’, which provided an entry point for laypeople into team ministry in parishes. This chapter will also canvass the strong commitment of Sydney Anglicans to the interdenominational Scripture Union Camps and Beach Missions, which operated in school vacations and were conducted annually over the Christmas and New Year period, respectively. It will be argued that laypeople benefited from this interdenominational activity through the training and experience in personal evangelism that it offered.

The introduction of ‘Playgroups’ in the mid-1960s created opportunities for reaching families with pre-school aged children. These served mainly as a ministry by women to young families and are discussed in the later chapter on women’s ministry. An intensive

²⁵⁴ David Cameron, “A town of teenagers: church helping Green Valley to tackle many problems,” *The Anglican*, 4, 10 September 1970, 4.

²⁵⁵ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 98.

²⁵⁶ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 123. Marcus L. Loane, “The Archbishop of Sydney writes in conclusion,” 140; Billy Graham, *Just as I am*, 496.

campaign to train laypeople as Religious Instruction (RI) teachers in state schools is considered in a later chapter on preaching, teaching, and training.

A renewed diocesan commitment to youth

The Church of England Youth Department was established by the Sydney Diocese on 8 November 1949 ‘with a view to strengthening youth commitment to and involvement in local congregations’.²⁵⁷ During the early 1940s the diocese had purchased two bushland properties, ‘Chaldercot’ and ‘Rathane’, along the Port Hacking River, south of Sydney. In 1958 the diocese purchased ‘Blue Gum Lodge’ at Springwood in the Blue Mountains, west of the city, and ‘Southern Cross Ski Chalet’ at Smiggin Holes, in the Snowy Mountains. Further acquisitions were ‘Telford’ (1963), between ‘Rathane’ and ‘Chaldercot’, and ‘Camira Conference Centre’ on the NSW south coast (1968).²⁵⁸ These properties facilitated the organisation of youth camps and conferences as well as a vigorous programme of weekend house-parties organised in association with various parish youth groups. A vital aspect of youth ministry at these properties during school vacations was the Camp Howard programme. Camp Howard had been operating since 1947 but had been greatly expanded by the mid-1960s, and will be discussed later in this chapter. These programmes all encouraged lay participation and created opportunities for lay ministry.

New initiative in youth leadership training

In 1960 a Youth Leadership Training Course was introduced in the Diocese of Sydney. The course was sponsored by the Church of England Boys’ Society (CEBS), the Girls’ Friendly Society (GFS) and the Youth Department. During the second year of its operation, it was reported that the course was attended by 120 young people from metropolitan parishes and that plans were being made to offer a similar course in outer parts of the diocese in Wollongong and in Western Sydney later in the year.²⁵⁹ In the second semester of 1965 thirty students completed studies in a Youth Group Leadership course, which was then being offered through the Certificate in Theology programme at

²⁵⁷ Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, “The Youth Department Ordinance of 1949,” No. 14, 8 November 1949, http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1949/The%20Youth%20Department%20Ordinance%20Of%201949_14_1949.Pdf, accessed on 9 March 2016.

²⁵⁸ Diocese of Sydney, “Youthworks: our history,” <https://www.youthworks.net/about/our-history>, accessed on 11 March 2016.

²⁵⁹ “Sydney training for youth leaders,” *The Australian Church Record*, 25, 5, 16 March 1961, 8.

MTC.²⁶⁰ This introduced a new thrust in the ministry of some larger parishes, as trained lay youth leaders joined ministry teams. Many lay Anglicans were also involved in the Children's Special Service Missions (CSSM), commonly called 'Beach Missions', coordinated by the interdenominational Scripture Union (SU). In 1960 Beach Missions were conducted at twenty-nine beaches in NSW.²⁶¹ This also involved training sessions, but in a more decentralised way, because each team worked autonomously in structuring and preparing for its programme.

By the 1970s a decline in youth attendance in the diocese had clearly set in despite the resources directed to the Youth Department.²⁶² While the Anglican Church was not alone in experiencing this declining attendance of young people, it was slow to recognise the magnitude of the problem. Similarly, in Melbourne, in his Presidential Address to the Synod in 1965, Archbishop Frank Woods observed: 'Youth work among the 13 to 15 year olds was gradually developing but the picture among the 15 to 25 years group was a sad one'.²⁶³

An article by the Rev. Alan Nicholls published in February 1969 in *Southern Cross*, entitled 'A youth revolution', drew considerable attention from the Sydney press. Having sought the views of a number of young people, Nicholls reported that they complained of monotony and lack of variety in the conduct of church services. They were frustrated by a lack of warm fellowship when Christians met together, a lack of relevance and challenge in preaching, and they were critical of the cost of elaborate church buildings.²⁶⁴ Young people were also drawn away from Anglican churches by the Pentecostal movement, whose services were characterised by exuberant meetings, bright singing, and a happy atmosphere.²⁶⁵ Bishop Reid considered Nicholls' words to be 'sadly prophetic'.²⁶⁶ In due course Archbishop Loane authorised the training and

²⁶⁰ "Certificate in theology examination," *The Anglican*, 703, 27 January 1966, 11. "Anglican Youth Department annual report, Diocese of Sydney, 1968–1969," (Church of England in Australia, Diocese of Sydney, Youth Department, 1969), 3.

²⁶¹ "Extensive holiday programmes," *The Australian Church Record*, 24, 8 December 1960, 1. Another form of education was through the annual CMS Summer Schools in Katoomba. It was reported that the Summer School held from 7 to 15 January 1966 attracted one thousand people. "Big summer crowds," *The Australian Church Record*, 1355, 27 January 1966, 1.

²⁶² J. R. Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 98.

²⁶³ "Presidential address to Melbourne Synod," *The Australian Church Record*, 1349, 21 October 1965, 1.

²⁶⁴ Alan Nichols, "A youth revolution," *Southern Cross* 9, 2 (February 1969): 8; Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 99; "Attention focussed on church youth revolt," *The Australian Church Record*, 1432, 20 February 1969, 1.

²⁶⁵ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 100–101.

²⁶⁶ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 99.

licensing of youth workers in parishes.²⁶⁷ As will be seen, however, it was not until 1976 that the Full-time Youth Worker's Course was launched.

Youth organisations serving at the parish level

Many of the larger parishes operated informal fellowship groups, especially for teenagers who had advanced beyond Sunday School age, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to canvass this aspect of youth ministry in detail.²⁶⁸ The Church of England Boys' Society (CEBS) and the Girls' Friendly Society (GFS) were semi-autonomous youth ministries based in parishes of the Anglican Church. In many ways they mirrored the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements. By way of background, the GFS, which was founded in England by Mary Elizabeth Townsend on 1 January 1875, was introduced to the Sydney Diocese in 1880. In 1975 there were 113 GFS branches operating in the diocese, but by 1979 this had declined to 85 branches with a membership of 2,500.²⁶⁹ Laypeople were prominent in the leadership and operation of each branch.

CEBS had commenced in Australia in 1914 at Holy Trinity, Kew, in Melbourne, and gradually spread throughout Australia. It aimed 'to nurture the spiritual development of boys to maturity and encourage their lifelong involvement in the Church'.²⁷⁰ In 1964 the CEBS First National Camp was held under canvas at Loftus, NSW. As the membership of youth groups and sporting clubs had declined from the mid-1960s, so did the number of branches of CEBS.²⁷¹ For instance, in the parish of St Peter's Hornsby, the decline had begun in 1960 when the Returned Services League (RSL) established a youth club, which was able to provide many more attractions for the youth of the district than local church clubs.²⁷² The CEBS Group at St Peter's Hornsby disbanded a few years later,

²⁶⁷ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 99.

²⁶⁸ In the Sydney Diocese young people concluded Sunday School when they were presented to a bishop at a Confirmation Service at the approximate age of fifteen years and thereby became full members of the Anglican Church and entitled to receive Holy Communion. In the author's experience, in the 1960s–1970s being confirmed was a prerequisite for a young person becoming a member of the youth fellowship or being able to teach a Sunday School class at a larger church such as St Peter's Hornsby.

²⁶⁹ Marcus Loane, "The archbishop writes," *Southern Cross* 15, 4 (April 1975): 8; June Bosanquet, "One hundred years of G.F.S.," *Southern Cross* (July 1979): 16.

²⁷⁰ Anglican Church of Australia, "Outline of the structure of the Anglican Church of Australia," <http://www.anglican.org.au/home/about/Documents/1391%20Outline%20of%20the%20Structure%20of%20the%20Anglican%20Church%20of%20Australia%20-%20Website%20Version%20020713.pdf>, accessed on 29 June 2016. The Church of England Boys' Society changed its name in 1981 to 'CEBS–The Anglican Boys' Society'.

²⁷¹ Hilliard, "Pluralism and new alignments in society and church," 131.

²⁷² Ramsay and Silver, *On This Rock*, 130.

but the GFS kept functioning until 1966.²⁷³ It was reported that CEBS in NSW had declined at a rate of five per cent per annum since 1971, and by the end of 1975 the membership was 1,000.²⁷⁴

One example of an initiative to address the broader decline of CEBS came from the Sydney Director of CEBS, Mr George Atkinson, a layman who had also been a Camp Howard stalwart, whose vision was that the Sydney to Hobart Yacht Race would present an interesting challenge to the boys. This was realised in 1979 when Mr Theo Taylor made his yacht *Destiny* available to CEBS and Atkinson was able to set up a training programme for about twenty boys to sail competently in the long race.²⁷⁵ The programme was repeated in 1980 and, as a result of the training of senior youth, led to the development of yachting camps run by laypeople. However, the size of most CEBS groups shrunk resulting in less opportunity for lay ministry because fewer leaders were needed. In attempting to combat this decline, as will be seen, larger parishes began employing specialist workers for children's and youth ministry, thus creating alternative opportunities for some laypeople.²⁷⁶

Developments in ministry to youth

In December 1970 the Youth Department appointed Mr Tony Molyneux as full-time Director of Camping, and it was expected that during the summer vacation of 1970-71 over 1,500 boys and girls would attend Camp Howard.²⁷⁷ By 1974 the Youth Department in Sydney had a full-time staff of eighteen people and seemed to be entering a more positive phase with the appointment of the Rev. Terry K. Dein as its new director.²⁷⁸ It was reconstituted as the Anglican Youth Department in 1975.²⁷⁹ It was apparent that the organisation was regaining momentum.

In early 1976 significant change was embraced with the Youth Department's launch of the Full-time Youth Workers Course. This initially attracted eight applicants (including

²⁷³ Ramsay and Silver, *On This Rock*, 130. The author was a member of the St Peter's Hornsby CEBS Group from the age of eight until about age fifteen and recalls that, having been quite active with Junior and Senior Groups in the mid-1950s, had dwindled significantly before it was disbanded in about 1964.

²⁷⁴ Susan Dearin, "CEBS—No easy way forward," *Southern Cross* (December 1975–January 1976): 5.

²⁷⁵ "Sydney to Hobart: what place has a Christian group for training people for yacht racing that only the rich can enjoy?" *The Australian Church Record*, 1722, 27 January 1981, 1.

²⁷⁶ Hilliard, "Pluralism and new alignments in society and church," 131; "Response to call for full-time youth workers," *The Australian Church Record*, 1607, 15 April 1976, 5.

²⁷⁷ "Full-time director of camping," *The Australian Church Record*, 1478, 10 December 1970, 8. During 1966–1967 the author of this thesis was a counsellor at several Camp Howard camps at Port Hacking and one at Gerroa south of Wollongong.

²⁷⁸ "New director for Youth Department," *The Australian Church Record*, 1556, 21 February 1974, 8.

²⁷⁹ "Anglican Youth Department Ordinance 1975," No. 43, 14 October 1975.

one woman) and involved studying courses at MTC similar to those offered to ministers-in-training. The courses also included more practically-based training on the principles and practice of youth leadership with the Youth Department. They were located in selected catechists' positions (that is ministers-in-training) in parishes as part of their practical training.²⁸⁰

Ken Harrison, writing in *On Being* magazine, applauded the course:

For probably the first time in Australia a new breed of minister is being trained with new practical skills at his and her fingertips in an attempt to come to grips with the youth scene and the whole counter and drug cultures which have grown up in society over the last decade.²⁸¹

The practical component of the course included instruction in leadership training, counselling, surfside evangelism, the youth culture, youth group organisation, modern Bible studies, religious dialogue in schools, use of the media to communicate, and practical skills such as canoeing. The ages of the participants ranged from 19 to 25 and they were drawn from diverse backgrounds, which included a factory worker, university students, a school teacher, an industrial clerk and a retail store manager.²⁸² From this beginning some larger parishes created positions for specialist youth ministry. By 1978 there were thirteen students enrolled in the course and the Youth Department was encouraged that the course had attracted enquiries from many parts of the Australian Church.²⁸³ While this was an important beginning with the potential to increase lay participation in parish ministry teams, the take-up was slow: in 1982 there were only four youth workers employed in the diocese and in 1983 this had increased to eight.²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the longer-term growing importance of youth ministry was apparent by 1999 when the Youth Department (renamed 'Youthworks') established its own training college at Loftus, south of Sydney, and by 2009 had seventy-four full-time students enrolled.²⁸⁵

In 1979 St Matthew's Manly, a large parish north of Sydney, appointed Geoff Welsman as a full-time youth worker. He aimed to contact youth who normally did not make contact with the institutional church by spending time with them on the streets and on

²⁸⁰ "Response to call for full-time youth workers," 5.

²⁸¹ Ken Harrison, "Youth work—a special ministry," *On Being* (December 1976–January 1977): 62.

²⁸² Harrison, "Youth work—a special ministry," 62.

²⁸³ "Anglican Youth Department annual report, Diocese of Sydney, 1976–1977," (Church of England in Australia, Diocese of Sydney, Youth Department, 1977), 2.

²⁸⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1983* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1983), 188; *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1984* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1984), 199.

²⁸⁵ Ballantine-Jones, "Changes in policy and practices in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," 50.

the beaches. Welsman also visited pinball parlours, the Fun Pier adjacent to Manly Wharf, and taught Religious Education in five high schools in the area.²⁸⁶ His colleague Dave Bradley reported that:

By going into the kid's [*sic*] territory, we provide a link for them with Christianity. St Matthews is no longer 'the big church on The Corso', no longer simply a boring place for strange people but a place they feel a tangible connection with: 'my mate Geoff works there'.²⁸⁷

St Matthew's Manly was typical of larger parishes in the diocese, characterised by having a broad vision for outreach to their local communities, and able to provide worthwhile ministry opportunities for laypeople.

The experience at Manly was not repeated in the majority of smaller parishes, and the average age level of congregations rose steadily as members of the younger generation in growing numbers, especially those of high school age, were lured away from the churches by other activities.²⁸⁸ The overall outlook for youth ministry in the diocese remained tenuous for decades: a survey conducted by the Anglican Youth Department in 1994 found that one quarter of the parishes in the Sydney Diocese had no youth fellowship and that only a quarter of the diocese's churches had a healthy growing youth group that provided solid teaching and encouragement. Furthermore, it was claimed that the Billy Graham Association had long insisted that 80 per cent of all Christians are converted by age eighteen and that young people were usually the church's best evangelists.²⁸⁹

Camp Howard—evangelism of youth in the Sydney Diocese

Camp Howard, named after Archbishop Howard Mowll, had been operating since 1947, mainly using the church properties along the Port Hacking River. Additionally, a 'study camp' for senior high school students providing a mixture of fellowship and coaching in core school subjects, was conducted at 'Gilbulla' Conference Centre during the September holidays.²⁹⁰

By 1964 over 2,000 school-aged young people were attending Camp Howard each year, and this required over three hundred volunteers to serve as counsellors and helpers in

²⁸⁶ "St Matthew's Manly: in the midst of activity—a report from the parish," *Church Scene*, 2, 78, 5 June 1980, 15. See also Dave Bradley, "You in your small corner," *On Being* 9, 1 (February 1982): 21–3.

²⁸⁷ Bradley, "You in your small corner", 22.

²⁸⁸ Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 236.

²⁸⁹ "Youth Ministry—foundations for the future," *Southern Cross* (November 1994): 25.

²⁹⁰ R. C. Ctercteko, "Gilbulla," *Southern Cross* 4, 12 (December 1964): 6.

the kitchens.²⁹¹ Although attendances peaked in 1972, with over 2,500 campers, the number of high school boys declined and it was suggested that this reflected the Church's declining contact with this age range of boys.²⁹² The Youth Department conducted training sessions for counsellors in preparation for the camps. A counsellor was allocated to each cabin, which housed seven or eight campers. The counsellor led devotions and accompanied the campers on hikes and activities associated with the camp programme. Daily activities included instruction in archery, swimming and life-saving, sailing, boating, canoeing, ball games and camp craft.

It is difficult to gauge the effect of Camp Howard. Unlike the Billy Graham Crusade with its measure of the number of enquirers coming forward at each meeting, perhaps the best measure of the camping programme's effectiveness was the full utilisation of facilities during school vacations. A case study of one of the Youth Department's best known leaders indicates the importance of the role Camp Howard played in youth ministry.

Rex Harris leaves an indelible imprint on the youth of the diocese—a case study

Captain Rex Harris was an officer of the Church Army - a small autonomous, evangelical Anglican society working in several dioceses across Australia. The Church Army was founded in 1882 by Wilson Carlile in London. Its purpose was for the training of lay evangelists for parish work, and it had been operating in Australia since 1934.²⁹³ In 1968 the Church Army had opened a new training college at Belrose, north of Sydney, where men and women completed a two-year course in evangelism, teaching and pastoral work, and where special emphasis was placed on being able to equip laypeople for all these areas of mission.²⁹⁴

Harris was appointed to the Youth Department to coordinate youth work in the two city 'Rural Deaneries' of Balmain and Cook's River, incorporating twenty-two parishes. His commissioning service was held at St Andrew's Cathedral on 10 October 1962.

²⁹¹ John Turner, "Camp counselling," *Southern Cross* 4, 6 (June 1964): 20.

²⁹² "Anglican Youth Department annual report, Diocese of Sydney, 1972-1973," (Church of England in Australia, Diocese of Sydney, Youth Department, 1973), 6.

²⁹³ Peter Mickelborough, "Jack-of-all-trades: the Church Army in Australia," *On Being* 9, 2 (March 1982): 52.

²⁹⁴ "Preparation for ministry with the Church Army," *Southern Cross* (December 1979-January 1980): 20.

The Anglican's profile of his background provides a revealing snapshot of the range of lay training needed for involvement in youth work:

Mr Harris was for many years a youth leader in the Parish of St Phillip's Auburn, as a branch governor of the Church of England Boys' Society, assistant scout master ... a Camp Howard councillor [*sic*], and he has attended numerous leadership training courses such as those conducted by the Church of England Youth Department (C.E.B.S.), Outward Bound and National Y.M.C.A.

For the past five years he has been employed by the Sydney Kindergarten Union of N.S.W. as a playground supervisor and has worked at Surry Hills, Pyrmont, Redfern, Woolloomooloo and Chippendale.²⁹⁵

In 1970 Harris was appointed full-time Youth Worker in the Green Valley area west of Sydney. David Cameron colourfully described church and welfare work in Green Valley being 'rather like that of a handful of cowboys trying to divert a herd of stampeding steers from the brink of a deep chasm'.²⁹⁶ In five years the new housing area was expected to have probably the greatest concentration of teenagers of any community in the Southern Hemisphere—about 12,000 young people.²⁹⁷ Harris lived with one other church officer and two ministry students in a typical local house, which served as a work-base for ministry activities that included teaching RI classes and offering coffee club meetings and fellowship groups. The work also involved the organisation of youth clubs, weekend camps for churches in the area, vacation Bible schools, and recruitment of lay volunteers to assist in this ambitious programme.²⁹⁸

Harris emphatically stated his rationale for the work: 'The most important thing is that we're seeing kids won for Christ'.²⁹⁹ Being able to play the piano, Harris started the Green Valley Young People's Choir with six members. By 1975 it had grown to seventy members. A report from the New Areas Committee of the Sydney Diocese, published in 1975, stated:

²⁹⁵ "Inner-city work—youth leader for Sydney," *The Anglican*, 530, 4 October 1962, 1. The author of this thesis served under Harris's leadership as a counsellor at Camp Howard, Gerroa for grade 5 and 6 children in the summer of c. 1967. Harris was known to Camp Howard campers as 'Windsor', which referred to the royal association with his Christian name. One weekend, during a gathering in Sydney for training counsellors for Camp Howard at Gerroa, the author was in a group who assisted Rex Harris in relocating a piano on the back of a utility vehicle across the Sydney Harbour Bridge to an inner-city location. As we sat in the back of the 'ute' Harris played the piano all the way across the bridge to the great amusement of all!

²⁹⁶ Cameron, "A town of teenagers," 4.

²⁹⁷ Cameron, "A town of teenagers," 4.

²⁹⁸ "Anglican Youth Department annual report, Diocese of Sydney, 1968–1969," 6.

²⁹⁹ Cameron, "A town of teenagers," 4.

For many of the children involved this choir has opened a completely new way of life. For the first time people are applauding them, they gain confidence in themselves, they travel. They receive and exercise a Christian ministry, which, without the interest and attention paid to them by the Church, they would rarely receive from any other area.³⁰⁰

Subsequently, the choir came to national prominence when its voices were heard in the recording of popular entertainer Peter Allen's 'hit' song, *I still call Australia home*, which was also used as the theme for a national television network series called *The Australians*. Then the choir appeared with Allen before Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh at the *1980 Royal Charity Concert* at the Sydney Opera House, their fourth appearance at the Opera House. In October 1981 the choir had fifty active singers ranging from eight to twenty-one years old and released a Christmas album.³⁰¹ In 1982 the choir went on tour in the USA, performing the musical *Nehemiah*.³⁰² The management of a large choir typically involved the support of musicians and other lay personnel in costume, wardrobe, catering, transport, supervision, administrative and management roles.

Harris initiated the first Camp Howard Disabled Children's Camp in 1969 and also directed the 1982 camp at 'Blue Gum Lodge', Springwood. These camps were conducted in cooperation with the Crippled Children's Society and the Sydney Anglican Youth Department. They were a major logistical exercise and counsellors were required to have 24-hour care of the children. Sister Pat Free explained: 'Of necessity the 1:7 ratio of counsellors to campers has been increased to a counsellor and an assistant counsellor for every four children. ... Therefore when a camp caters for 40 children, a staff of 37 or 38 is necessary!'³⁰³ Notably, the staff consisted mostly of laypeople.

Rex Harris was awarded the British Empire Medal (Civil) 'for service to youth, the aged and the community' in the Queen's New Year Awards List of 31 December 1981.³⁰⁴ He was a layman of exceptional abilities who exercised a remarkable ministry. This case study also points towards the energy and service that the laity contributed to youth ministry during this period.

³⁰⁰ "Mission in outer Sydney," *Church Scene*, 108, 5 June 1975, 21.

³⁰¹ "Heart and voice now on record," *The Australian Church Record*, 1741, 19 October 1981, 6.

³⁰² "Travelling musical," *Church Scene*, 2, 191, 24 September 1982, 5.

³⁰³ Sister Pat Free, "The incredible dream comes true," *Church Scene*, 147, 16 December 1976, 23.

³⁰⁴ "'Drop-in' visit to Camp Howard's disabled children's camp," *The Australian Church Record*, 1746, 25 January 1982, 1; Australian Government, "It's an honour," https://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/honours/honour_roll/search.cfm?aus_award_id=1061067&search_type=advanced&showInd=true, accessed on 29 June 2016. Supplement to the London Gazette, 21st December 1981, 36.

Involvement in interdenominational outreach

During the 1970s the increased ownership of cars enabling social mobility of the population was accompanied by a willingness of Sydney Anglicans to seek ministry in interdenominational evangelistic outreaches, especially those operated by SU. This evangelistic organisation has been described as ‘a strongly voluntary-worker grass-roots oriented movement, having virtually no hierarchy’, and it was claimed that this was a significant factor in its growth.³⁰⁵ In the summer vacations during the 1970s many Anglicans were involved in SU Inter School Christian Fellowship (ISCF) high school groups and in SU camps that were attended by some 1,200 high school students.³⁰⁶

Similarly, many Anglican parishes were involved in the Children’s Special Service Missions (CSSM), which were usually called ‘beach missions’. CSSM was established in England as an outreach to youth by Josiah Spiers in 1867, and commenced the daily Bible reading system called ‘Children’s Scripture Union’ in 1879.³⁰⁷ Archbishop Mowll had led beach missions in his youth and from 1938 had been World President of CSSM.³⁰⁸ In 1964 it was estimated that about 1,300 young people, over half of whom came from the Anglican Church, were taking part in beach missions in NSW that summer.³⁰⁹ By 1970 there were some forty-seven beach mission teams operating at all major camping resorts on the NSW coast, which involved the training and participation of some 1,611 team members. Around 11,000 teenagers and children were catered for by fifty beach missions over 1970–1971.³¹⁰ Like the Anglican Church, however, SU was also impacted by the decline in the Church’s ability to attract and retain young people. David Claydon, the Federal Secretary of SU, observed that in 1976, with the absence of new ministries emerging, SU’s youth ministry appeared to have peaked. He claimed that in local churches only the big fellowships seemed to be getting anywhere.³¹¹ Nevertheless, there remained a strong commitment of parishes to beach missions.

³⁰⁵ Michael Wilson, “David Claydon: At the helm of Scripture Union,” *Southern Cross* 11, 7 (July 1971): 7.

³⁰⁶ “Beach mission teams,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1460, 2 April 1970, 8.

³⁰⁷ “The Scripture Union story,”

<http://www.scriptureunion.org.uk/AboutScriptureUnion/TheScriptureUnionstory/452.id>, accessed on 25 November 2016.

³⁰⁸ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 67.

³⁰⁹ John Turner, “Christian unity and youth,” *Southern Cross* 4, 8 (August, 1964): 20.

³¹⁰ “Beach mission teams,” 8; “Beach mission: new records along coast,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1482, 11 March 1971, 8. A report from SU notes that in 1982 nearly 1,300 volunteers were involved in SU’s 61 Summer Missions and Camps Programs in Victoria. “Scripture Union summer outreach ... ‘these Christians are genuine’,” *Church Scene*, 2, 156–57, 22 January 1982, 10–11.

³¹¹ David Claydon, “A cutting edge needed! The youth scene today,” *Southern Cross* (October 1976): 10.

Conclusion

Since the Second World War the Sydney Diocese showed both a genuine concern for youth and a willingness to invest significant financial resources in establishing and expanding an infrastructure of camps and conference centres to support youth ministry. Throughout our period the diocese relied on the substantial involvement of laypeople in evangelism and ministry to youth.

At the parish level CEBS and GFS continued to operate but their membership fell substantially. Despite the development of yachting camps led by laypeople this was not enough to halt the general decline in CEBS membership. Positions for laypeople on ministry teams were facilitated through the Youth Department launching a Full-time Youth Workers Course in 1977. This had the potential to benefit youth work in parishes, but it was mainly the larger parishes that were able to create positions for youth workers and the take-up of graduates was slow. The Diocese also demonstrated a willingness to work with other agencies to reach young people. This included the Church Army, which focussed on parish ministry by laypeople, and the encouragement of the leadership of the diocese for laypeople to participate in evangelism by working with ISCF groups in high schools and attending SU youth camps and beach missions.

With the support of over three hundred lay volunteers serving as counsellors and helpers, attendance at Camp Howard youth camps during school vacations remained stable through a time when youth attendance in the parishes was declining. The case study of Captain Rex Harris of the Church Army highlights new initiatives in youth work led by laypeople, especially with the Green Valley Young People's Choir and with the Camp Howard Disabled Children's Camp. Harris was an example of a committed layperson with extraordinary talent who played an important role in youth evangelism in the Sydney Diocese. However, many other committed laypeople, even if not as talented and dynamic as Harris, were also involved in youth evangelism.

Despite an enormous amount of activity in maintaining the diocesan youth programme, the overall outlook for youth ministry remained uncertain for decades, with many parishes having no youth fellowship and only a quarter of the diocese's churches operating youth groups. This was regarded as a serious threat to church growth. During our period the Church had realised the need to explore new approaches to personal evangelism and changes in methods of outreach. It is now logical to turn to consider in

greater detail how the Sydney Diocese attempted to equip its laypeople to be an integral part of its evangelistic mission to the general community.

CHAPTER 4

Evangelism and Outreach

‘Marked lack of enthusiasm for spreading the Gospel is a conspicuous feature of the Anglican church, with the exception of those parts of which are specifically Evangelical.’

Caroline Miley³¹²

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on developments in lay personal evangelism as part of the church’s mission within the Sydney Diocese. We begin by considering the stewardship campaigns which commenced in the mid-1950s to help ‘grow’ the church. There emerged concerns about their effectiveness as a method of evangelism. The 1959 Billy Graham Crusade had had a huge impact on Australia, and the Sydney Diocese embraced its promotion of small group ministry in parishes, which helped to nurture the laity and develop confidence in personal evangelism. The 1968 and 1979 Sydney crusades were shorter and their diminished total attendances indicated a growing antipathy towards this form of evangelism. They reflected a rapidly changing political climate and considerable social change, which included the rise of a counterculture during the 1960s and 1970s in Australia. It was a time when media coverage concentrated heavily on the Vietnam War (in which Australia participated from 1962 to 1975) and generated anti-American sentiment in Australia, especially amongst university students.³¹³ This chapter will consider new forms of evangelism that emerged as part of the response of the diocese to the decline in church attendance. These new initiatives included the Lay Institute for Evangelism, and Evangelism Explosion, both of which involved personal evangelism in the community, and Dialogue Evangelism, which featured the extensive use of meetings in private homes and facilitated greater involvement of laypeople in evangelism.

³¹² Miley, *The suicidal church*, 110.

³¹³ Vietnam Veterans Association of Australia, “Chronology of Australian involvement in Vietnam,” <http://www.vvaa.org.au/calendar.htm>, accessed on 29 June 2016.

Mixed messages from stewardship campaigns

In October 1957 the Sydney Synod created the Department of Promotion ‘to promote the work of the Church by the teaching of stewardship’, mainly through the provision of literature, publicity and training courses.³¹⁴ It provided advice to parishes on the ‘Every Member Canvass’ and stewardship programmes, some of which utilised the ‘Wells Way’.³¹⁵ This was a method designed by the Wells Organisation from the United States of America (USA), a private company which specialised in church and charity fundraising. The Wells Organisation argued that ‘if Anglicans on the fringe of church life were urged to contribute [financially], they would become more interested in what the church had to offer’.³¹⁶

Nigel Hubbard describes the launch of a particularly successful ‘Wells Way’ campaign at St Alban’s Epping, which was then situated in a new housing area in a leafy part of Sydney. The campaign attracted many young upper-middle-class families:

All Anglicans were invited to a Loyalty Dinner at the Epping School of Arts. No appeal(s) for funds were made at these dinners but men later visited 975 homes. About half of these parishioners were persuaded to pledge a specific amount, a further 217 promised some specific gift. The women’s role in the campaign was to help with the catering and the huge volume of clerical work necessary.³¹⁷

A further campaign, that was slightly less high powered, was held in 1956 under the auspices of the diocesan Department of Promotion; it was sometimes referred to as ‘Wells without Wells’.³¹⁸ As a result of the campaign the annual income of the Epping parish rose from slightly over £2,000 to more than £9,000 in just over three years. The parish proceeded to erect a magnificent parish hall capable of seating 600 people and in 1958 was able to employ a full-time assistant priest. However, Hubbard also notes that controversy was caused by the use of alleged ‘high pressure American selling,’ high start-up cost (£2,000), and an over-emphasis on money.³¹⁹

³¹⁴ Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, “Sydney Department of Promotion Ordinance 1957,” No. 35, 1 October 1957, http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1957/Sydney%20Department%20Of%20Promotion%20Ordinance_35_1957.Pdf, accessed on 30 May 2016.

³¹⁵ Individual parishes were able to choose whether to participate in the Every Member Canvass. See Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 69.

³¹⁶ Hubbard, *Only the years*, 56

³¹⁷ Hubbard, *Only the years*, 56.

³¹⁸ Hubbard, *Only the years*, 56.

³¹⁹ Hubbard, *Only the years*, 56. Hunt observes that this form of stewardship canvass also became more or less universal in Methodism as in other denominations and generated similar controversy to that

In 1963 the Sydney Synod set up a committee to investigate the role of the laity in the life of the Church.³²⁰ In welcoming the committee's arranging of an informal gathering to gain the views of 'synodsmen', one observer writing in *The Anglican* emphasised that lay visitation initiatives had previously occurred in connection with stewardship campaigns (for the purpose of pledging, increasing, and maintaining regular offertories), but also suggested that lay visitation would be more effective as a continuing activity. The article also asserted that '[o]nly a comparatively few laymen may have the spiritual gifts to aspire to the highest order of service—within the ministry'.³²¹ This displayed an apparently clericalist attitude. The Every Member Canvass was also criticised for its failure to lead to increased evangelism because the primary function of the local church was seen to be material, not spiritual.³²² Stewardship campaigns generally proved to be a blunt instrument of evangelism so their use gradually declined. In September 1971 Bishop Frank Hulme-Moir, Chairman of the Department of Promotion, announced that the Standing Committee had agreed to close the department and transfer its literature section to the Information and Public Relations Office.³²³ The bishop had requested the closure because department-directed fundraising campaigns had fallen from a peak of fifty-nine in 1963 to two in 1970. The diocese was realising that there were more effective means of generating church growth, especially in the wake of the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade, to which we now turn.

The Billy Graham Crusades and increased involvement of the laity

A more successful catalyst for lay involvement in the diocese was the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade (BGC).³²⁴ The initiative for the 1959 BGC came from Archbishop Mowll who from 1954 had sought to have the American evangelist Billy Graham visit Australia, but unfortunately did not live to see the fruitful outcome of his invitation.³²⁵ The 'Southern Cross Crusade', as it came to be known, ran from 15 February 1959 until

experienced by the Anglicans in Sydney. Arnold D. Hunt, *This side of heaven: a history of Methodism in South Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985), 370.

³²⁰ "Priests from the working laity," *The Anglican*, 627, 13 August 1964, Church and Nation section, 4.

³²¹ "Priests from the working laity," 4.

³²² Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 261–2.

³²³ "Anglican Department of Promotion to close," *Southern Cross* 11, 9 (September 1971): 30.

³²⁴ The Billy Graham Crusade is a well-documented movement. In addition to the books by Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, John Pollock and Stuart Piggitt already noted, the standard works featuring the 1959 Southern Cross Crusades include Stuart Barton Babbage and Ian Siggins, *Light beneath the cross: the story of Billy Graham's Crusade in Australia* (Melbourne: The World's Work, 1960); and Nichols and Olson, *Crusading down under*. A recently completed dissertation by Chilton, "Evangelicals," also investigates the impact of the BGCs on Australia.

³²⁵ John Pollock, *Billy Graham: the authorized biography* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966), 265. Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 258.

31 May 1959, taking in both Australia and New Zealand. Graham preached in every capital city in Australia and New Zealand.³²⁶ The Crusade made a bigger impact in Sydney than in the other capitals, with 980,000 total attendees and 56,780 enquirers (that is, people who came forward at each Crusade meeting in response to Graham's invitation to commit their lives to Jesus Christ). Melbourne, by comparison, had 719,000 total attendees and 26,440 enquirers.³²⁷

Some 9,000 counsellors were trained for the Sydney Crusade, and while the Baptists supplied nearly 30 per cent of them, the Anglicans were strongly represented.³²⁸ Graham's biographer, John Pollock, records that 'of the 6,000 people selected as counsellors or advisers, over half were Anglicans, from 160 parishes'.³²⁹ Usually the counsellor approached an enquirer of the same sex and approximate age, and led him/her through a prayer of commitment. Together they noted the follow-up information on a counselling card. The counselling card would then be mailed within twenty-four hours to a pastor in a church near where the enquirer lived.³³⁰ The counsellor training was largely led by Charles Riggs and Dan Piatt who had come from the Billy Graham Association in late 1958, specifically for that task. Riggs had also prepared recorded tapes that were circulated widely to country workers, with lectures on understanding the Scriptures and on counselling.³³¹

The rise of small group ministries had its roots in the 1959 Graham Crusade, and follow-up programmes validated the role of laypeople in the evangelistic and nurturing roles of the local church. At the parish level, follow-up programmes were initially Bible Studies conducted by parish clergymen, but many laypeople found this too formal and started meeting for Bible study and prayer in homes.³³² As mentioned previously, some clergy were apprehensive about laypeople running their own Bible studies and allegedly

³²⁶ Billy Graham Centre Archives, "Billy Graham Australia and New Zealand Crusades," <http://www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/docs/bgeanzaustralia59/intro.htm>, accessed on 1 February 2016.

Note: Darwin was not included.

³²⁷ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 168. Piggin, "Not a little holy club," 381.

³²⁸ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 166. By comparison, Piggin stated elsewhere that there were 5,000 counsellors trained for the Melbourne Crusade. Piggin, "Not a little holy club," 381.

³²⁹ Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 265.

³³⁰ Beliefnet, "Billy Graham Crusades: Frequently Asked Questions," <http://www.beliefnet.com/faiths/christianity/protestant/2004/01/billy-graham-crusades-frequently-asked-questions?p=2>, accessed on 23 June 2016.

³³¹ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the cross*, 15, 76. Babbage and Siggins also observe that administration of children's counselling was placed in the hands of senior men from the Children's Special Service Mission (CSSM) to 'sift counsellor applications' and 'conduct thorough and searching instruction' to ensure strictest integrity in handling young enquirers.

³³² Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 298.

referred to this activity as ‘pooled ignorance’!³³³ These home groups became a lasting legacy of the BGC and were mostly led by laypeople. Those involved were numbered in the thousands, and encouraged many enrolments in courses such as the SPTC.³³⁴ As indicated in a previous chapter, the importance of small groups within the larger life of the parish was emphasised in the *Looking into the parish* report of October 1972. The provision of ‘face to face’ contact was seen to facilitate meaningful relationships and a personal sense of belonging to a parish, which was crucial to its health and well-being.³³⁵ Leadership programmes were therefore established to train laypeople to lead these groups, which in turn facilitated prayer, pastoral care, nurture, and social enjoyment in church life and evangelism.³³⁶ This ministry, generated by the BGC, also buttressed evangelicalism at a time when the tide of religious commitment was ebbing and mainline denominational membership numbers were beginning to fall.³³⁷

The impact of the Crusade on parishes was considerable. One indicative case study is that of St Luke’s Liverpool, south-west of Sydney. It has been claimed that St Luke’s had been in a state of ‘spiritual somnolence’ for many of its 140 years and had had a negligible impact on the community.³³⁸ The parish was awakened, however, after it became actively involved in prayer groups, nights of prayer and counsellor training classes. In partnership with the Liverpool Baptist Church, St Luke’s hired a bus for every meeting of the Crusade, and over the four weeks of the Crusade, St Luke’s alone received 215 referrals. The rector, the Rev. John Ross, held a dedication service a month after the Crusade and 150 people – both young and old – came forward as a public witness to their faith. Subsequently, St Luke’s opened a new adult Sunday School; the mid-week prayer meeting more than doubled; more volunteers offered for service in the Sunday School; and the parish experienced a ‘new outgoing enthusiasm and initiative’ among laypeople, that included visitation of the sick in their homes and at the local hospital. Moreover, the first parishioner in more than fifty years became a candidate for the ordained ministry.³³⁹

³³³ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 126.

³³⁴ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 21; Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 127.

³³⁵ Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission, *Looking into the parish*, 4. See also Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 299.

³³⁶ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 299.

³³⁷ Piggitt, *Spirit, word and world*, 172.

³³⁸ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the cross*, 159–60.

³³⁹ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the cross*, 161. The Rev. John Ross was Rector from 1956–1981. St Luke’s Liverpool, “St Luke’s Liverpool History,” <http://www.stlukesliverpool.org.au/history/>, accessed on 10 February 2016.

Even the less enthusiastic parishes committed to the Crusade and felt its impact. For example, the parish of St Alban's Epping was one of the moderate 'High Church' parishes in the diocese. While its Rector, Canon William Rook, had expressed reservations about 'decisions for Christ' in the atmosphere of an outdoor religious rally, he made it clear that the Crusade had his personal support and set up an organising committee to arrange parish participation.³⁴⁰ As a result of the Crusade some 200 Decision Cards were referred to St Alban's, about a quarter representing young people from eight to sixteen years of age, and a band of twenty counsellors endeavoured to follow-up each of these enquirers.³⁴¹ While conceding that the impact on parish life is very difficult to measure, Hubbard commented that the participation of St Alban's was rather more restrained than in many Anglican churches.³⁴² Nevertheless, the involvement of twenty counsellors in follow-up ministry resulting from the Crusade is noteworthy.

The 1959 Crusade was also a catalyst for big increases in the number of men and women undertaking theological training. In 1960 MTC enrolled forty-four men—the biggest intake in its history.³⁴³ Although enrolments declined in the later 1960s and early 1970s, sustained growth occurred towards the end of the 1970s, especially through the diocese supporting the initiatives of Broughton Knox, Principal of MTC from 1959 to 1985, which included property acquisition, expansion of facilities, introduction of a fourth year of study, and the raising of academic standards.³⁴⁴

By contrast, the Crusades of 1968–1969 were not as well attended, received less publicity than the 1959 Crusade, and had less of an impact on Australians.³⁴⁵ The 1968 Sydney Crusade attracted 455,000 people with 22,000 enquirers and was described as 'the almost forgotten '68 Crusade,' due to its brevity as it only ran for one week.³⁴⁶ Despite the overall disappointing result, the Crusade's impact on some parishes, such as St Clement's Marrickville, was significant. As a result of new parish initiatives and the Crusade, attendees at St Clement's increased from 250 on 4 February 1968 to 500 on 28 September 1969, and increased numbers were joining the choir, attending the Sunday

³⁴⁰ Hubbard, *Only the years*, 57. Hubbard states that Canon William Rook was Rector from 1949 to 1969.

³⁴¹ Hubbard, *Only the years*, 57.

³⁴² Hubbard, *Only the years*, 57.

³⁴³ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 302.

³⁴⁴ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 87.

³⁴⁵ Hilliard, "The religious crisis of the 1960s," 220; Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 217.

³⁴⁶ Bruce Wilson, "Two decades Mr Graham," *Church Scene*, 2, 19, 22 March 1979, Letters Section, 2; Piggins, *Spirit, word and world*, 190.

School and enrolling in confirmation classes.³⁴⁷ During the 1969 Melbourne Crusade a deliberate attempt was made to disrupt the meeting in the Myer Music Bowl by ‘University students who apparently resented the strong emphasis of Billy Graham on right moral standards’.³⁴⁸ This demonstrated the growing secularisation of Australian society, accompanied by the diminishing influence of a Christian moral consensus.

John Chapman, director of Sydney Diocese’s Department of Evangelism, expressed doubts about preparations for the 1979 Billy Graham Crusade:

I was very unsure as to whether we ought to put our effort into another crusade. The ‘climate’ was very different from 1959. We had seen how hard it was to reach the non-churchgoer in our dialogue evangelism work. There was a massive gap between getting non-churchgoers to dialogue meetings and trying to get them to guest services on the following Sunday – very few fronted.³⁴⁹

As noted earlier in this thesis, by then there was considerable resistance in Australian society to traditional beliefs, as well as an aversion to authority and religious institutions.³⁵⁰ Media coverage was concentrating heavily on the Vietnam War and generating anti-American sentiment in Australia, especially amongst university students who saw Billy Graham as an apologist for US imperialism.³⁵¹ In his autobiography Graham lamented that ‘America in itself was in the midst of cataclysmic social upheaval. Stories of violent student protests against the Vietnam War filled the media ... for many [these protests were] a striking symbol of the anti-establishment feeling of a whole generation of rebellious youth’.³⁵² This was a contributing factor to the decline in impact of post-1959 Crusades in Australia.

The 1979 Sydney BGC was held at Randwick Racecourse from 29 April to 20 May, with total attendances of 491,500, of which almost 22,000 came forward in response to Graham’s invitation to accept Jesus Christ.³⁵³ Sydney’s population had grown from 2,016,620 in 1959 to 3,193,300 in 1979, but Crusade attendances had halved and the

³⁴⁷ Jones, *The parish of St Clement Marrickville*, 23.

³⁴⁸ Marcus L. Loane, “The Archbishop of Sydney writes in conclusion,” 140.

³⁴⁹ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 114, 141.

³⁵⁰ Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 217.

³⁵¹ Geraldine Doogue, “The sum of a preacher man: Billy Graham’s pretty faith was not enough,” *The Australian*, 28 February 2009, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/inquirer/the-sum-of-a-preacher-man/story-e6frg6z6-111118987716>, accessed on 27 June 2016. Doogue cites the historian Judith Clark, an interviewee in the Compass ABC TV programme.

³⁵² Graham, *Just As I Am*, 496.

³⁵³ “Billy Graham Crusade thank you,” *Australian Church Record*, 1698, 28 January 1980, 2. See also Orpwood, *Chappo*, 144.

number of enquirers was less than half of the 56,786 who responded in 1959.³⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the importance of counsellor training and of encouraging enquirers to join small groups in their local churches was emphasised. John Chapman, as Chairman of the Follow-up Committee, reported that over 2,000 leaders had attended ‘Nurture Group Training’ for small follow-up groups, and that further ‘Nurture Group Leaders Seminars’ were also being organised for post-Crusade consolidation.³⁵⁵ This demonstrated the Sydney Diocese’s continuing commitment to small group ministry.

Another significant innovation in this crusade came as a result of the Rev. Phillip Jensen and others who convinced the organisers of the Crusade to direct referrals to student Christian groups for follow-up. This involved training in giving seven basic Bible studies with people who had given their names for referral, and it was claimed that it generated enthusiasm for evangelism and developed ministry skills as well. Furthermore, the Rev. Allan Blanch, then Rector of St Barnabas Broadway, and his student worker Rosie Waugh trained a group of Evangelical Union (EU) students to teach a six-week personal evangelism course to another 100 students, which energised future missions on campus at Sydney University.³⁵⁶

An example of the importance of nurture groups is seen in St Stephen’s Anglican Church at Normanhurst, a northern suburb of Sydney. As a part of the follow-up effort for the 1968 BGC, the church had allocated congregation members as carers for each of the thirty-two enquirers referred to the parish. After the 1979 BGC, St Stephens received seventy-nine referrals, which included children as well as adults.³⁵⁷ Subsequently, fifteen independent Bible study groups were established in the parish. Seven years later, in 1986, there were about one hundred and fifty people regularly attending fourteen of these groups, which by then were called ‘Growth Groups’.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ Wilson, “Two decades Mr Graham,” 2; Australian Bureau of Statistics, *The Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia No. 45–1959*, 286, [http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/349D52FE5927C796CA257AF40014770E/\\$File/13010_1959_bk45.pdf](http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/349D52FE5927C796CA257AF40014770E/$File/13010_1959_bk45.pdf), accessed on 8 July 2016; and Australian Bureau of Statistics, *The Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia No. 65–1981*, 85, [http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/68083A7E91641A24CA257AF700126CE2/\\$File/13010_1981_bk65.pdf](http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/68083A7E91641A24CA257AF700126CE2/$File/13010_1981_bk65.pdf), accessed on 8 July 2016.

³⁵⁵ John Chapman, “Counselling the converts,” *Australian Church Record*, 1677, 5 March 1979, 2.

³⁵⁶ Meredith Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 91–2.

³⁵⁷ Percival, *They will be changed like a garment*, 107.

³⁵⁸ Percival, *They will be changed like a garment*, 144.

Christ Church St Ives uses visitation and small groups for evangelism

The parish of Christ Church in St Ives, a northern suburb of Sydney, had traditionally encouraged the active participation of laypeople and had engaged creatively with its local community. In 1972 the parish commenced home visitation programmes and established a central church office, with Mrs Clarice Reid as the assistant, to coordinate numerous lay volunteers. In 1973 Mrs Nana Green initiated a ‘Good Neighbours Group’, which reached out to support members in the church family or the general community who were experiencing a difficult period in their lives.³⁵⁹

Miss Mary Lou Roth, an accomplished organist and choir conductor from America, was appointed Music Director in 1975. She proceeded to develop an adult, youth and children’s choir of one hundred and fifty voices. The choir often visited other churches.³⁶⁰ Weekend Festivals of Missions were introduced with the goal of involving the whole congregation in mission.³⁶¹ This was also seen in a visitation programme conducted in association with the diocesan ‘Encounter 75’ mission. The extent of lay involvement is evident when one considers the logistics of the parish being divided into thirty-two units of about 200 homes, each of which had eighteen visitors with twelve homes to visit. The people encountered were invited to attend one of three home meetings in their area for Bible discussion and fellowship as part of the Dialogue Evangelism programme.³⁶² The parish also became involved in the Evangelism Explosion programme, which together with Dialogue Evangelism, will be considered in greater detail later in this chapter.

The Rev. Dudley Foord, Rector of the parish from 1972 to 1984, encouraged the establishment of small group ministry within the parish, and by 1979 there were about seventy-five groups catering for adults, young adults and youth, each with about ten to twenty members.³⁶³ The parish trained one hundred ‘Disciplers’ for the 1979 BGC. It was claimed in 1981 that Christ Church St Ives had become Australia’s largest Anglican parish. It continued to be a thriving example of Evangelical Anglicanism for the ensuing decades.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989*, 77–8.

³⁶⁰ Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989*, 82.

³⁶¹ Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989*, 80.

³⁶² “Encounter ’75,” *Southern Cross* 15, 5 (May 1975): 15.

³⁶³ Marjorie Hawken, “Grouping together gets to root of need,” *Church Scene*, 2, 23–24, 26 April 1979, 11.

³⁶⁴ “Come alive,” *Southern Cross* 21, 10 (October 1981): 22.

Prosperous parishes explore opportunities to assist new housing areas

The Church faced more serious challenges in the Mount Druitt area, west of Sydney. In 1965 the NSW Housing Commission commenced building low-cost housing on a large tract of land near Mt Druitt, and between 1965 and 1973 over 35,000 people moved into the area. By 1980 the population had reached about 80,000.³⁶⁵ A layman, Mr Garth Hustwit, had moved into the area with his family towards the end of 1977 and operated a bus ministry. He claimed that ‘virtually nothing was happening in the area of Youth Work when we arrived’.³⁶⁶ After three years Mr Hustwit was coming into contact with around 900 teenagers per week—mostly through scripture classes in high schools. At this stage he was suffering from cancer and died just as an article about his work was being prepared for publication.³⁶⁷

By the mid-1970s five established churches had made large grants to enable ‘daughter’ churches to be constructed in the Green Valley and Mount Druitt areas. They were St James’ Turramurra, St Stephen’s Willoughby, St Luke’s Liverpool, St Clement’s Mosman and St Andrew’s Wahroonga. The strong level of commitment was demonstrated in an initiative by the parish of St James Turramurra, an established northern suburb of Sydney, where sixty men were commissioned to visit the homes of parishioners to ask for financial help to support the establishment of a church in the new housing area at Mount Druitt. Turramurra folk were also helping to establish parish activities, such as Sunday School teaching, religious instruction, youth groups, and women’s guilds. At Whalan, one of the seven sections of the Mount Druitt area, it was clear that families moving into this community lacked the financial and leadership abilities needed to establish new ministries.³⁶⁸ It was also evident that this initiative provided opportunities to develop lay ministry and leadership skills in both congregations. During this period another major housing area was being established in the Campbelltown area south of Sydney. This had a population of about 38,000 in 1972 that was expected to reach 186,000 by 1981. In 1976 a large modern rectory was built

³⁶⁵ Rob Ware and Martin Woods, “Our very own missionary front: ‘The Salt Company’ and Sydney’s working class kids,” *On Being* 7, 5 (June 1980): 20.

³⁶⁶ Ware and Woods, “Our very own missionary front,” 20.

³⁶⁷ Ware and Woods, “Our very own missionary front,” 21.

³⁶⁸ “Sydney parish will help new area—plans to build church at Whalan,” *The Anglican*, 784, 3 August 1967, 3; “Mission in outer Sydney,” 20.

by the diocese on land leased from the NSW Housing Commission in Airds; it contained a large room at the front of the house to be used for church services.³⁶⁹

The Mount Druitt parish of St James' Whalan was established in 1967 by the Rev. Allan Whitham, a former journalist with creative and artistic flair, from his base in a Housing Commission house. The growth of the parish is evident in an article in *Church Scene* of 21 June 1979 advising that the parish had received 107 referrals after the Billy Graham Crusade.³⁷⁰ The church had recruited and trained thirty counsellors to participate in the crusade. Marjorie Hawken observes:

Eight nurture groups had been set up and were all ready, in addition to the two existing Bible study groups, to take in the enquirers, but ten were not enough. Eighteen were needed!

So groups had to divide and take in more and more and the four lay readers and some counsellors came in as additional leaders.³⁷¹

This expansion is also testimony to the depth of commitment to the training and involvement of laypeople in ministry and the mission of the church. This is examined in more detail in the following chapter.

Interdenominational regional crusades

As a result of the rapid growth of Sydney through the 'baby boom' and post-war migration, the development of new housing areas was proving a challenge for the churches. In meeting this challenge, evangelical denominations regularly combined in various regional missions. Parish missions and cooperation with other Protestant churches in evangelical regional crusades were modelled somewhat on the BGC. They were another feature of the Sydney Diocese's evangelistic ministry throughout the 1960s and 1970s. By way of example, the Youth Crusade organised by the Protestant churches of Sutherland (south of Sydney) was sponsored by the Ministers' Fraternals within the shire. Regional crusades created opportunities for intensive involvement of the laity, especially for the training of youth leaders, and this is clearly evident in this Youth Crusade. The Sutherland Crusade opened on 6 March 1966 with a procession of some 400 young people from organisations such as the Boys' Brigade, CEBS and GFS,

³⁶⁹ "New face for new parish in new area," *Church Scene*, 129, 8 April 1976, 17–18.

³⁷⁰ Marjorie Hawken, "Giving the arts their full rein," *Church Scene*, 2, 32, 21 June 1979, 6.

³⁷¹ Hawken, "Giving the arts their full rein," 6.

preceding its first meeting at Miranda Fair, a large regional shopping mall.³⁷² The first meeting attracted an overflow crowd of 5,000, and by the end of the Crusade 700 enquirers had come forward in response to appeals at each meeting. More than 2,000 people were involved in preparation for the three-week Crusade, representing fifty churches.³⁷³ They also participated as ushers, musicians, chorus members, and counsellors during the Crusade. The Crusade evangelist, Mr Brian Willersdorf, was associated with the Youth for Christ organisation and was an ordained member of a Baptist Church.³⁷⁴ The ACR claimed that Sutherland Shire then had the most dense teenage and young adult population per hundred, per square mile, of any area in Australia.³⁷⁵

Lay Institute for Evangelism makes an impact

Under Archbishop Howard Mowll the Board of Diocesan Missions, later renamed the Department of Evangelism, was revived in order to stimulate the diocese into a visible evangelistic witness with a strong focus on youth.³⁷⁶ The Board of Missions tended to be underfunded and understaffed, and was euphemistically called ‘the Cinderella of the Diocese’, partly because from the mid-1960s the demand for parish missions had begun to wane. It was customary for the Diocesan Missioner to lead parish-based crusades. Accordingly, during the 1950s George Rees and Bernard Gook had sought the involvement of students from MTC, through which many of the newly ordained clergy had acquired a vision for evangelism.³⁷⁷ The Rev. Geoff Fletcher, Sydney Diocesan Missioner from 1 May 1966 to 1 July 1969, perceived that the average parishioner was not equipped to engage people in conversation about spiritual issues, so he began to focus on training laypeople.³⁷⁸

³⁷² Boys’ Brigade was primarily an outreach of the Protestant churches. It was started in Glasgow, Scotland on 4 October 1883 by a young Sunday School teacher named William Alexander Smith and first introduced to Australia in 1890–91. “Short history of Boys’ Brigade,” <http://boys.brigadeaustralia.org/about/history/35-short-history-of-boys-brigade>, accessed on 19 May 2016. Girls’ Brigade was pioneered by Margaret Lyttle and commenced in Dublin, Ireland in 1893. It was introduced into Australia in the 1920s. “History: 120 years of mission amongst girls!” <http://girlsbrigadeaustralia.org.au/about-us/history/>, accessed on 19 May, 2016. In 1963 there were ninety-eight Boys’ Brigade Companies in the Sydney area, eight of which were attached to Anglican Churches. Alan Hansell, “The Boys’ Brigade,” *Southern Cross* 3, 10 (October 1963): 9.

³⁷³ “Sutherland crusade draws over 42,000,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1360, 7 April 1966, 1.

³⁷⁴ Brian Willersdorf, <http://www.goko.com.au/Latest/rev-dr-brian-willersdorf.html>, accessed on 4 February 2016.

³⁷⁵ “Major youth drive in Sutherland Shire,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1357, 24 February 1966, 3.

³⁷⁶ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 245; Orpwood, *Chappo*, 50.

³⁷⁷ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 45, 73, 87.

³⁷⁸ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 89. See also Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, “Diocesan Missions Ordinance of 1927,”

On his way home from the World Congress on Evangelism in Berlin in 1966, Fletcher attended the first Pastors' Institute for Evangelism convened by the Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC) organisation in California. This organisation, which concentrated on university campus ministry, had been founded by Dr William (Bill) Bright in the early 1950s and had grown into an international ministry. Subsequently, Fletcher adapted techniques used in evangelism and discipleship training developed by CCC.³⁷⁹ Fletcher launched the Lay Institute for Evangelism (LIFE) at a house party at Katoomba during the long weekend of January 1967. House parties were weekend evangelistic camps targeted at youth of high school age and young adults. Central to the programme was training people to evangelise personally or in door-to-door LIFE visitation in the community with the use of two small booklets. One was entitled *Have you heard of the four spiritual laws?*, which was used as a conversation starter and offered an explanation of people's need for, and means of, salvation; the other was entitled *Have you made the wonderful discovery of the Spirit-filled life?*, which explained to people who considered themselves to be Christians how to experience a more effective and integrated Christian life.³⁸⁰

St Alban's Church of England at Lindfield, a suburb on Sydney's North Shore, was the venue for a LIFE course held from Monday 19 June to Sunday 25 June 1967. Despite bad weather, some 300 people attended this course and at the weekend 200 people returned to Lindfield for the follow-up visitation programme.³⁸¹

In May 1968 Fletcher, who was by that time Director of the Sydney Diocesan Board of Evangelism, announced that a city-wide Lay Institute would be established in Sydney.³⁸² The listed venues for these programmes were in Baptist, Presbyterian and Anglican

http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1928/Diocesan%20Missions%20Ordinance%20Of%201927_14_1927.Pdf, accessed on 1 July 2016.

³⁷⁹ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 91. See also Bill Bright, "Campus Crusade for Christ International," <http://billbright.ccci.org/public/multimedia/5060campus.pdf>, accessed on 15 August 2015, 1.

³⁸⁰ See Campus Crusade for Christ International, "The four spiritual laws," <http://www.4laws.com/laws/englishkqp/default.htm>, accessed on 27 May 2017. See also Campus Crusade for Christ International, "Have you made the wonderful discovery of the Spirit-filled life?" <https://www.cru.org/train-and-grow/spiritual-growth/the-spirit-filled-life.html>, accessed on 27 May 2017. This booklet was not charismatic in orientation but instead promoted a richer Christian experience through the believer being more aware of the leading of the Holy Spirit.

³⁸¹ "Lay Institute for Evangelism," *The Australian Church Record*, 1393, 27 July 1967, 8. See also *Campus Crusade for Christ, International*, <http://www.cru.org/about/our-leadership/our-founders.html>, accessed on 15 August 2015

³⁸² The Department of Evangelism was formally created on 28 August 1978 and was formerly known as The Board of Missions which had been established in 1927. "Department of Evangelism Ordinance N. 25, 1978," http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1978/25.%20Department%20of%20Evangelism%20Ordinance%201978_25_1978.Pdf, accessed on 9 March 2016.

churches. This was another example of the willingness of evangelical Protestant churches to join together in mission and to create opportunities for lay involvement. Evangelical Anglicans had already established a tradition of involvement in interdenominational outreach in their participation in SU camps and beach missions, as noted in the previous chapter. Commenting on the programme, Fletcher asserted his belief that:

[L]ay evangelism training is becoming increasingly important in church ministry. All over the world, in all denominations, this emphasis has become insistent to the point where it seems to be one of the most vital things the Spirit is saying to the churches in our day.³⁸³

This intentional facilitation of greater lay involvement in ministry in the context of the local parish was evident in the LIFE programme. The author of this thesis participated himself in door-to-door community visitation using the *Have you heard of the four spiritual laws?* booklet in the parish of St Mark's Picton. The church's members went 'door knocking' in pairs in this form of evangelistic outreach, with the result that a number of new people were added to the congregation. This method of evangelism was used for a number of years but was eventually abandoned once other forms of evangelism were adopted.

Dialogue Evangelism

Fletcher's successor as Diocesan Missioner was the Rev. John Chapman, who had grown up in the Sydney suburb of Oatley and had become a lay preacher in the local multi-church parish, was led to Christ in his second year of high school by a boy who sat next to him in class.³⁸⁴ Chapman was initially employed in 1952 as a teacher in the Diocese of Armidale, and on 21 December 1957 was ordained as a clergyman in that diocese.³⁸⁵ During the early 1950s as a means of evangelising young people, he organised camps and house parties held in shearing sheds.³⁸⁶ On 1 October 1968 he commenced duties in Sydney as a Missioner with the Board of Diocesan Missions. In 1969 he initiated a major evangelistic diocesan programme called 'Dialogue

³⁸³ "Lay Institutes for Evangelism," *The Anglican*, 825, 30 May 1968, 11. Orpwood notes that following Archbishop Loane's approval of John Chapman commencing duties with the Department of Evangelism as a Missioner, on 1 October 1968, in December 1968 the Board agreed to Fletcher resigning as Director to allow Lay Institutes to become a separate body with interdenominational focus, while continuing to work part-time on lay training in evangelism in the Sydney Diocese. Orpwood, *Chappo*, 96.

³⁸⁴ John C. Chapman, *Know and tell the gospel: the why and how of evangelism* (Rydalmere, NSW: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981 [1994]), 38.

³⁸⁵ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 23, 31.

³⁸⁶ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 22, 42.

Evangelism', which he had developed in the Armidale Diocese, out of his concern to evangelise adults.³⁸⁷ This initially involved the training of nearly one hundred counsellors to make face-to-face contact with non-churchgoers in private homes.³⁸⁸ As Adrian Lane explains, Dialogue Evangelism had a format where:

Trained evangelists were invited to meetings in a home attended only by those Christians who had accompanying non-Christian friends. After a short five-minute gospel presentation, questions were taken exclusively from the non-Christians present, and an evangelistic dialogue ensued.³⁸⁹

The subsequent Christ Cares campaign of 1971 involved nearly fifty parishes. More than 400 hosts and hostesses attended classes on how to use their homes for evangelism.³⁹⁰ As a result of the huge involvement of laypeople, over six weeks the Christ Cares campaign achieved 316 meetings in private homes with an average of fifteen visitors per home.³⁹¹ Dialogue Evangelism meetings were often held in conjunction with parish missions.³⁹² As part of the Jesus Mission '72, an Anglican outreach in the Sutherland Shire south of Sydney, the Bate family of Caringbah opened their home for a Dialogue Evangelism meeting. Mrs Rewa Bate reported that, '[o]f the 47 people invited only 13 came to our home, but we were delighted that practically all our closest neighbours gave an affirmative reply and these people were all non church attenders'.³⁹³ Moreover, three MTC students attended the meeting and engaged enthusiastically with the Bate's neighbours, who in turn expressed a desire to attend another meeting of a similar nature. Whether or not these desires came to fruition is not known.

Chapman continued to conduct parish missions and during the 1970s began annual 'dialogue leader training' lectures at the interdenominational Sydney Missionary and Bible College. These lectures at Croydon continued for over twenty-five years.³⁹⁴ Chapman was able to introduce Dialogue Evangelism to many parts of Australia as well as to parts of North America and the UK.³⁹⁵ A course booklet produced by John Chapman, entitled *Apologetics and personal evangelism*, contained lecture outlines on

³⁸⁷ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 92, 96.

³⁸⁸ "Intensive plan of evangelism," 1.

³⁸⁹ Adrian Lane, "Learning from the legacy of John Charles Chapman: Australian evangelist, preacher, teacher and writer," *St Mark's Review* 230 (December 2014): 91.

³⁹⁰ "Intensive plan of evangelism," 1.

³⁹¹ "7000 Attend Diocesan Lenten Campaign," *The Australian Church Record*, 1486, 22 April 1971, 1.

³⁹² "Intensive plan of evangelism," 1.

³⁹³ Rewa Bate, "Something happened in our home," *The Australian Church Record*, 1527, 14 December 1972, 1.

³⁹⁴ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 114.

³⁹⁵ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 114.

Apologetics; Reliability of the NT documents, the Gospel and the Sovereignty of God; Why God allows suffering; How to Witness; and a chapter written by the Rev. Victor Roberts entitled ‘Aren’t All Religions the Same?’³⁹⁶ Chapman’s biographer observes that in the regional missions he conducted during 1984, the contribution of laypeople in sharing personal testimonies became a more prominent part of the programme: ‘Testimonies were included because John wanted people to see that the truth of what he was claiming was clearly demonstrated in the lives of ordinary unexceptional men and women’.³⁹⁷ As noted previously, during the lead-up to the 1979 BGC Chapman had lamented the changed social climate since 1959 and expressed how hard it was to reach non-churchgoers and persuade them to attend church services. Nevertheless, he played an important role in promoting the evangelical ethos of the diocese and the training of laypeople in personal evangelism and ministry.

Evangelism Explosion

‘Evangelism Explosion’ (EE) was a more highly structured evangelistic visitation programme. It was developed by D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, USA, and was introduced to Australia in 1977.³⁹⁸ Representatives from many parishes in the Sydney Diocese, plus those from a number of other Protestant denominations, participated in EE leadership clinics.³⁹⁹ The programme provided intensive training of laypeople and developed the ability of individuals to share their faith in engagement with members of the general community. In a feature article in *Church Scene* on the EE programme at St Mark’s West Wollongong, in the southern region of the Sydney Diocese, Alan Alcock reported that:

At St Mark’s, 35 lay people have been trained to go out in teams of three to share the gospel in people’s homes. And now over 70 percent of Anglican parishes along the south coast are involved in EE strategy, as well as a number of parishes of other denominations.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶ John C. Chapman, *Apologetics and personal evangelism* (Adelaide: Trinity Publishing Society, 1974). In subsequent years Chapman authored *A fresh start: how to enter a new life with God* (Rydalmere, NSW: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983 [1994]); *Know and tell the gospel: the why and how of evangelism* (Rydalmere NSW: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981 [1994]); and *Dialogue Evangelism* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1993).

³⁹⁷ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 149.

³⁹⁸ See D. James Kennedy, *Evangelism Explosion*, Third Edition (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 1983).

³⁹⁹ “Evangelism Explosion grows,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1755, 31 May 1982, 7. The article reported that representatives came from Anglican, Baptist, Reformed and Uniting Churches. See also Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 300.

⁴⁰⁰ Colin Alcock, “Wollongong ‘explodes’!” *Church Scene*, 2, 154, 11 December 1981, 15.

In association with the EE programme, Christ Church St Ives organised seminars such as ‘Reach Out and Grow’ in April 1978. This seminar featured a training clinic on the topics of evangelism, discipleship, and nurture in the local congregation.⁴⁰¹ In October 1982 the parish hosted its fifth annual Church Alive Conference ‘for ministers and key laymen (and their wives)’, featuring Bishop Harry Goodhew and Canon John Chapman as principal speakers. This offered practical experience in various aspects of evangelism and discipleship.⁴⁰²

Larger churches were able to benefit from the EE programme because additional visits were made possible with the training of people from neighbouring parishes. They also had the ability to arrange follow-up visits and to set up social service programmes and support ministries in response to needs. While EE was valuable in forming relationships in the community, smaller congregations found it difficult to maintain a core group of people to commit to the programme on a regular basis.⁴⁰³

Conclusion

From the preceding discussion it is clear that the Sydney Diocese remained committed to evangelism but, as mass evangelism became less effective, it was realised that equipping laypeople for personal evangelism needed to be emphasised in order to reach non-churchgoers. The Stewardship Campaigns that commenced in the mid-1950s to help grow the Church—which were derived from the ‘Wells Way’—appear to have focussed on fundraising rather than on a real concern for evangelism. Although they provided opportunity for lay ministry, they were not driven by a genuine intention to develop ministry skills.

The 1959 BGC had a major impact on Sydney, and of the 6,000 people selected as counsellors, over half were Anglicans. While the Crusade was a catalyst for a big increase in the number of men and women undertaking theological training, it also helped to generate a stronger involvement of lay ministry in parishes, especially through the ongoing Bible study and small group meetings that became a regular feature of

⁴⁰¹ Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989*, 85–8.

⁴⁰² Sadler, *Christ Church St Ives 1909–1989*, 91–4.

⁴⁰³ The author attended an Evangelism Explosion course at St Mark’s West Wollongong in 1983, along with a small group from St Mark’s Picton. The Rector gave the programme a try, but the small core leadership of the parish was already ‘stretched’ and it was difficult to sustain motivation for such an intensive activity.

parish life. The small group ministry also buttressed evangelicalism when the level of religious commitment began to decline during the mid-1960s.

The encouragement given to such programmes as Lay Institute for Evangelism, Dialogue Evangelism, Evangelism Explosion, and Regional Missions and Crusades demonstrated the commitment of the diocese to training laypeople in personal evangelism in an attempt to reach the non-churchgoers in the community. The intense effort put into evangelism and outreach was significant in enabling much greater lay involvement in parish life and ministry, and helped bolster the Sydney Diocese against the threat of secularisation and the marginalisation of the church. This was also challenging for the wider ACA and most other mainline denominations. An integral component of this evangelistic effort was an ongoing commitment to training in the areas of preaching, teaching, and evangelism, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER 5

Preaching, Teaching, and Training

‘If the experience of the sixties had made one thing plain ... it was that missions were valuable insofar as they were supported by personal evangelism.’

Meredith Lake⁴⁰⁴

Introduction

Traditionally, men have been prominent as lay readers, churchwardens and parish councillors in the Anglican Church, especially since it was planted on Australian soil. It was not until 1978 that women were first permitted to become churchwardens in the Sydney Diocese and, with the exception of deaconesses, women were not officially permitted to preach until 1981.⁴⁰⁵ Although laymen have been active in Sunday School teaching and Religious Instruction (RI) in NSW government schools, these important areas of ministry have been traditionally dominated by women. During our period the Sydney Diocese consistently sought to better equip lay preachers, Sunday School teachers, and church workers through the SPTC course operated by MTC. During the 1960s and 1970s there was also an increased commitment to the training of laypeople through the introduction of Churchwardens’ Conferences and Youth Leadership and RI Teacher Training courses. This chapter will examine these activities and training initiatives in order to determine whether or not the role of laypeople changed in the areas of preaching, teaching, and training. It will be argued that the equipping of laypeople for personal and pastoral ministry was vital for active engagement with the changing community culture and for reaching ‘unchurched’ people.

⁴⁰⁴ Meredith Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 86.

⁴⁰⁵ Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, “Sydney Church Ordinance (Women as Churchwardens) Amendment Ordinance No. 38, 1978,”

[http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1978/38.%20Sydney%20Church%20Ordinance%20\(Women%20as%20Churchwardens\)%20Amendment%20Ordinance%201978_38_1978.Pdf](http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1978/38.%20Sydney%20Church%20Ordinance%20(Women%20as%20Churchwardens)%20Amendment%20Ordinance%201978_38_1978.Pdf), accessed on 17

March 2016;

Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, “Deaconesses, Readers and Other Lay Persons Ordinance, No. 36, 1981,”

http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/ords/1981/36.%20Deaconesses%20Readers%20and%20Other%20Lay%20Persons%20Ordinance%201981_36_1981.Pdf, accessed on 15 September 2016.

Impact of lay readers' ministry in parishes

The importance of lay readers in establishing and maintaining parishes has often been understated by historians. David Hilliard has noted that 'very little has been written about the ... diverse ways that lay people have shaped the church at the local and diocesan level'.⁴⁰⁶ He has also observed that since colonial days, in places where there were no resident clergy, lay Anglicans learned to assume leadership and they often included professional men such as lawyers, bank managers, and school teachers who primarily conducted worship using the liturgy contained within the BCP.⁴⁰⁷ Bishop Frederic Barker arrived in Sydney in May 1855 to find a well-established practice in lay ministry and, as mentioned in Chapter 1, he was impressed by the many examples of laymen as ministers. In 1875 Barker set up the Association of Lay Readers.⁴⁰⁸ Prior to receiving a licence from the bishop, each lay reader was required to be recommended by two clergymen of the diocese and to pass a simple examination on his knowledge of Holy Scripture and the BCP. These men served on a voluntary basis with no expectation of clerical or teacher status. Their active role in ministry took some of the strain from the minister's routine while in no way disputing his leadership role.⁴⁰⁹

The undervaluing of the mentoring role of lay readers was reinforced when the author of this thesis sought to acknowledge the profound influence upon him of Peter Mathews (1927–92) in the parish of St Peter's Hornsby during his formative teenage years. Mathews had been baptised, confirmed, and married in the parish. In addition to working as an engineer and raising a young family he was a leader of young people, a lay reader, parish councillor, and a member of Hornsby Shire Council (1971–80). Unfortunately, his family retained few biographical records after his death. A tribute published in a St Peter's Bulletin in December 1992 noted that over 350 people attended his funeral thanksgiving service.⁴¹⁰ Apart from a brief reference to his chairmanship of

⁴⁰⁶ Hilliard, "How Anglican lay people saved the church," 49.

⁴⁰⁷ Hilliard, "How Anglican lay people saved the church," 52.

⁴⁰⁸ William Cowper, ed., *Episcopate of the Right Reverend Frederic Barker, D. D. Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australia: a memoir* (London: Hatchards, 1888), 321; Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 79. The Diocese of Sydney Lay Readers' Association is currently being wound up because the licensing of Diocesan Readers, Parish Readers, and Lay Ministers is being devolved to the rector of the local parish. Ernest Burgess, e-mail message to author, 27 March 2017.

⁴⁰⁹ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 79.

⁴¹⁰ Dianne Boyages, e-mail message to author, 21 July 2015.

the 1969 stewardship campaign, his enduring Christian service was largely overlooked in the centenary history published by the parish in 1998.⁴¹¹

Lay readers continued to be a vital part of parish ministry and had an important mentoring role, particularly in multi-church parishes, and provided opportunities for men to learn preaching skills.⁴¹² For most laypeople, the ability to preach was ‘caught’ through modelling of parish clergy, missionaries or visiting preachers, and also through practical experience, rather than taught. Occasionally this led to a call to enter the ministry. For example, John Chapman was given such opportunities in the then multi-church parish of St Paul’s Oatley in the early 1950s, and his experience in lay preaching became for him part of the confirmation of his call to the ordained ministry.⁴¹³

In 1966 it was reported in *Southern Cross* that there were seventy fully licensed Diocesan Readers who conducted, on average 600, services annually. Some of these men visited neighbouring parishes to provide support in leading and preaching at Morning Prayer services each Sunday. This enabled continuity of services at each centre in multi-church parishes.⁴¹⁴ This was certainly the case in the parish of Picton, which attracted men from Sydney who sought opportunities to preach further afield because the pulpits in their home churches were well-filled. Additionally, there were about 240 Parochial Readers who were actively engaged in their own parishes.⁴¹⁵ At the close of our period there were 239 Diocesan Readers (including three women) and 119 Parish Readers (including six women) registered by the Sydney Diocese.⁴¹⁶ By comparison there were 370 Diocesan Readers (including twelve women) and 368 Parish Readers (including thirty-one women) by 1992, which indicated a significant involvement of laypeople in this area of ministry.⁴¹⁷

During the mid-1960s, the style of preaching in the Sydney Diocese also began to change, with a move away from the traditional text-based (focussing on a single verse of scripture), lectionary-based, and thematic styles. The art of expository preaching, based on the sequential exploration of passages of Scripture in context, was revived in Sydney

⁴¹¹ Ramsay and Silver, *On this rock*, 136.

⁴¹² An example of the mentoring role of lay readers in a multi-church parish is noted in Judith A. Carrick, *Dreams, the parish of All Saints’ Austinmer: an history of a church continually striving after its dream* (Austinmer, NSW: Judith A. Carrick, 2001), 179.

⁴¹³ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 13.

⁴¹⁴ L. R. Wood, “1866–1966 Readers in Sydney,” *Southern Cross* 6, 6 (June 1966): 18.

⁴¹⁵ Wood, “1866–1966 Readers in Sydney,” 18.

⁴¹⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1983* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1983), 183–8.

⁴¹⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1991* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1991), 215–25.

after the English evangelist John Stott modelled this style at the 1965 CMS Summer School. This inspired John Chapman to help found the College of Preachers (formally established by Synod in 1970), and in a scheme operating from 1984 to 1994, he personally mentored twenty-four catechists. Each one accompanied Chapman once per month and had an opportunity to preach evangelistically.⁴¹⁸ Expository preaching was later incorporated into training at MTC and has remained influential in the diocese ever since.⁴¹⁹

The importance of lay readers in multi-church parishes during our period is reflected by a vignette of the semi-rural parish of St Paul's Emu Plains, west of Sydney. During the 1970s this parish was comprised of small congregations in a rural village setting. The parish benefitted from the involvement of student ministers from MTC as catechists plus several lay readers to cover all of the services each Sunday.⁴²⁰ The rector, Canon Jim South, had paid tribute to a very active layman, Milton 'Tony' Walker, who was killed in the disastrous Granville train crash of January 1977, along with eighty-three residents of Penrith, Emu Plains, and the lower Blue Mountains. South recalled: 'His roles as Bible class teacher, lay reader, organist, secretary of the St Paul's Church Committee and member of the Parish Council meant that he probably had ministry to a wider range of people than anyone else in the parish, apart from the rector'.⁴²¹ Furthermore, on the morning of the accident, Walker's wife Judy was at a meeting convened to discuss the establishment of a small collection of Christian reference books for use by Sunday School teachers and others, another of her husband's passions. A Resource Centre now stands as a fitting memorial to Tony Walker. While intensive lay reader ministry was probably driven by practical necessity due to semi-rural demographics and clergy shortages, this vignette is also a telling example of the importance of whole-church ministry, especially in semi-rural parishes.

A personal testimony of lay ministry in the parish of St Mark's Picton

On 21 May 1968 the author of this thesis commenced duties as Assistant Teacher at Buxton Public School in the picturesque semi-rural Picton district on the southern fringe of the Sydney Diocese. Having purchased a car, I started attending St Mark's Picton in

⁴¹⁸ Jonathan Holt, "The emergence of expository preaching in the Sydney Anglican Churches," *St Mark's Review*, 230 (December 2014): 80; Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism*, 63. Orpwood, *Chappo*, 224–5.

⁴¹⁹ Holt, "The emergence of expository preaching," 80.

⁴²⁰ Canon Jim South, *Reflections of parish history—St Paul's Emu Plains* (Emu Plains, NSW: St Paul's Emu Plains, 1998), 8.

⁴²¹ South, *Reflections of parish history*, 33–4.

early 1969. The Rector, J. B. (Barry) Schofield, had recently led the parish through charismatic renewal that was not typical of other parishes in the Diocese. In his sermons Schofield regularly emphasised the importance of the spiritual gifts mentioned in 1 Corinthians 12, and he explored the use of these gifts in the Wednesday night Parish Prayer Meeting that I regularly attended. At this prayer meeting lay people were given the opportunity to participate in ministry and, by doing so, find where their main areas of gifting might be. There was a constant stream of people coming from parishes in Sydney for counselling and to receive ministry for healing. This was by word of mouth; to my knowledge they were never advertised. The parish service of Evening Prayer was conducted every Sunday night at St Mark's Picton, at which laypeople regularly led the service, read the lessons, prayed, and assisted in the distribution of Holy Communion. I often played the pipe organ for services. Sometimes, in a very orderly way, speaking in tongues (glossolalia) occurred during the Sunday evening service, and the Rector invited senior members of the congregation to give prophetic interpretation.

In addition to the parish church at Picton, there were six village centres (Bargo, Buxton, Tahmoor, Thirlmere, Douglas Park, and Wilton). On Sundays, all centres held a service of Morning Prayer at 10.00 am. The Rector presided at Holy Communion at whichever centre he went to. There was a team of local lay readers who led services in the village centres; all of them were men and few of them were licensed.⁴²² Some members from the Lay Readers' Association in Sydney also led services in village centres from time to time. The local lay readers included a former missionary, teachers, university graduates, a mechanical engineer, a clerk who had studied at Ridley College in Melbourne, a policeman (who later became an Anglican clergyman), local tradesmen and businessmen, and the local butcher. In about 1973 I was asked to lead the Morning Prayer service and preach at Thirlmere and thereafter preached regularly at the various centres until I moved away from the district in January 1984 to take up a school appointment on the NSW South Coast. Schofield never asked us to preach on any topic or passage in particular; we preached on what we believed God impressed upon us, and he regularly commented that our lay preachers could preach better than many clergy. Moreover, Schofield required lay readers to use the 1662 BCP when conducting services, even into the 1980s, and he used the traditional service format because he was

⁴²² Schofield was in dispute with a senior member of clergy who wanted each lay reader to travel to Wollongong to read from the BCP and preach a sermon as a test. To the best of my knowledge, during his incumbency this issue remained unresolved, with the result that few of the local lay readers were licensed by the Sydney Diocese. Perhaps there was also a pragmatic issue at stake: the practical difficulty of training and licensing so many people to satisfy diocesan requirements.

emphatic that the charismatic movement and ministry was not a gimmick or a slick new trend. While the extensive use of lay readers was driven partly by pragmatism, it created many ministry opportunities. In my case helped to develop abilities in leadership and personal communication as I interacted with a significant number of people throughout the parish.

Moore Theological College and training of the laity

When the Sydney Preliminary Theological Certificate (SPTC) was introduced by Archdeacon T C Hammond in 1941 it aimed ‘to provide a basic foundation in Christian teaching for prospective candidates for the college, for Sunday School teachers, other church workers and Christian people generally’.⁴²³ The course was offered by correspondence and focussed on developing lay understanding of the Scriptures, doctrine, church history, and Anglican liturgy. It quickly became recognised in the Sydney Diocese as the minimum requirement for lay readers. Being accessible to laypeople, it also became influential throughout Australia and beyond.

The level of lay participation in the SPTC course gives an indication of the extent of laypeople’s interest in theological education. *The Anglican* of 2 September 1965 published the names and location of candidates who had recently passed Introduction to Old Testament (85 passed and 2 failed) and, on 9 September 1965, the results for Introduction to NT (172 passed and 31 failed).⁴²⁴ The vast majority were men and women located in the Sydney metropolitan area, but a small proportion came from regional NSW and interstate – mainly Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland. Additionally, on 1 September 1966, *The Anglican* published examination results for Old Testament 1 (155 candidates of whom 135 passed) and on 27 October 1966 NT 1 (176 candidates of whom 149 passed).⁴²⁵ The ACR of 15 June 1981 published the names of 143 students who had completed the SPTC: 94 candidates came from NSW, 38 from

⁴²³ “S.P.T.C. course celebrates its 25 years,” *The Anglican*, 707, 24 February 1966, 11. The Diocese of Melbourne was also actively training lay people through its Department of Youth and Religion and in cooperation with the General Synod’s General Board of Religious Education (GBRE). “Courses for lay leaders; increased need in Melbourne,” *The Anglican*, 421, 2 September 1960, 9. See also “Distance does not matter,” *The Anglican*, 713, 7 April 1966, 8.

⁴²⁴ “Th.C. examination results,” *The Anglican*, 682, 2 September 1965, 11; “Th.C. examination results,” *The Anglican*, 683, 9 September 1965, 9.

⁴²⁵ “Certificate in Theology, Old Testament 1—examination results,” *The Anglican*, 734, 1 September 1966, 11; “Certificate in Theology, New Testament 1—examination results,” *The Anglican*, 742, 27 October, 1966, 10. See also “Th.C. exam results—Old Testament 1,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1370, 2 August 1966, 8; “Th.C. exam results—New Testament 1,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1374, 30 October 1966, 7.

interstate and 11 from overseas.⁴²⁶ Although the reporting of results in *The Anglican* and the ACR was somewhat haphazard and did not always include the gender or location of participants, enrolments remained buoyant throughout the period. This indicates a strong and sustained commitment on the part of the Sydney Diocese to educating its laypeople. A noteworthy letter to the editor of *The Anglican* of 4 August 1966 from the Rev. Ward Powers, Secretary for External Studies at MTC, claimed that:

During the current term more than two thousand laymen and laywomen are engaged in studying the subjects of the Th. C. [Certificate in Theology] course, including missionaries, deaconesses, university students, wives of clergy—some clergy themselves, who are doing it as a ‘refresher course’.⁴²⁷

While comparison is difficult, mainly because the SPTC subjects were also part of the award of the Certificate in Theology (ThC), the ACR of 15 June 1981 reported that of the 35 students awarded the ThC, 18 came from NSW, 13 from interstate and 4 from overseas.⁴²⁸ While the ThC course extended the SPTC programme it did not constitute a prequalification towards ordination. Nonetheless, it was significant in educating the laity to assist in Christian ministry and evangelism, and its influence clearly extended well beyond the Sydney Diocese.

Conventions and churchwardens’ conferences involving training of laity

A significant innovation in parish administration within the Sydney Diocese was seen in the first diocesan convention for clergy and laity held at ‘Gilbulla’, Menangle, during the Anzac holiday weekend of 1960.⁴²⁹ The programme aimed to ‘give insight into the triumphs and trials of the Christian life,’ with Bishop Marcus Loane leading devotions on the epistle to the Colossians and other clergy, plus one lay leader, speaking on such topics as ‘A More Friendly Church’ and ‘How can I know the will of God?’ The teaching concentrated on Sabbath keeping, practical biblical Christianity, and evangelical understanding of the Scriptures. The scheme was later extended in the form of Sydney Churchwardens’ Conferences to include men from parish councils and church committees.⁴³⁰ The Churchwardens’ Conference programmes included basic training sessions on rights, duties and powers; the keeping of church accounts; conduct of

⁴²⁶ “Moore Theological College: 1981 External Studies Award,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1732, 15 June 1981, 7.

⁴²⁷ Ward Powers, “Th.C. course,” *The Anglican*, 730, 4 August 1966, Letters to the Editor section, 11. At this time deaconesses were not ordained and were considered by the Sydney Diocese to be a lay ministry. Their work is discussed in a later chapter of this thesis.

⁴²⁸ “Moore Theological College: 1981 External Studies Award,” 7.

⁴²⁹ “Successful Gilbulla convention,” *The Australian Church Record*, 24, 9, 12 May 1960, 1.

⁴³⁰ “Scope of men’s conferences wider,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1375, 3 November 1966, 3.

meetings and associated matters. Although for most of our period the conferences did not admit women, who were not allowed to become Churchwardens until 10 October 1978, the conferences' significance for laity should not be understated, primarily because they signalled greater realisation of the importance of laypeople in the ministry and mission of the church.⁴³¹

The Sydney Synod of October 1964 restored the annual allocation of money to the Department of Promotion to enable 'a continuous flow of fresh stewardship literature and self-help guidance' and also to provide 'Leadership Training Courses' for laymen.⁴³² In 1965 the Board of Education's Adult Education Officer, the Rev. Ken McIntyre, led four six-week courses in lay leadership in various parts of the diocese. In all 120 people attended these courses which were designed so that more men could 'be brought to a state of proficiency to provide leadership and drive in local self-run programmes'.⁴³³ The topics covered included 'Understanding of Group Methods'; the 'Role of the Leader'; 'Use of Material'; and a final session on 'Preparation of Christian Education meetings held in homes'. Although all parishes in the diocese were invited to participate in the course, only thirteen parishes were represented and none came from the western part of the diocese, which for the organisers was disappointing.⁴³⁴

Religious Instruction teacher training courses

During our period, the Sydney Diocese also made a concerted effort to offer RI Teacher Training Courses, which were conducted by the Board of Education. The NSW Public Instruction Act of 1880, which was still in force, had given the churches the right to teach RI. Clause 17 of the Act stated that:

In every Public School four hours during each school-day shall be devoted to secular instruction exclusively and a portion of each day not more than one hour shall lie set apart when the children of any one religious persuasion may be instructed by the clergyman or other religious teacher of such persuasion.⁴³⁵

After 1880, clergy were assisted by laypeople in this task. As a result of migration and the 'baby boom', which, as mentioned previously, was the result of the increase in

⁴³¹ See Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, "Sydney Church Ordinance (Women as Churchwardens) Amendment Ordinance No. 38, 1978."

⁴³² "Sydney Department of Promotion report," *The Australian Church Record*, 1333, 11 March 1965, 1.

⁴³³ "Courses in Sydney on lay leadership," *The Australian Church Record*, 1344, 12 August 1965, 8.

⁴³⁴ Kenneth McIntyre, "Adult education in the Anglican situation," *Southern Cross* 5, 10 (October 1965): 17.

⁴³⁵ Crown Colony of NSW, "NSW Public Instruction Act 1880,"

http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/num_act/piao1880n9275.pdf, accessed on 18 August 2015.

fertility during the Second World War and had peaked in 1961, government schools were expanding at such a rate that there was a severe shortage of RI teachers. The growth of Anglican schools has not been examined in detail in this thesis because they were staffed mostly by teachers trained in State teachers colleges and universities, and their chaplains in our period were mostly clergy. Some schools were under the direct control of the diocese and others operated under their own ordinances. The Christian schooling movement gained considerable momentum in the 1980s and by 2008 ‘the Sydney Anglican Schools Corporation ran 15 schools with 10,600 pupils and a total staff of 1,400’.⁴³⁶ In addition there were seventeen diocesan schools which operated independently under their own ordinances. Their contribution to the growth of the diocese and their provision of increased opportunities for lay ministry is worthy of further research.⁴³⁷

In 1967 a survey based on returns from 135 parishes in the Sydney Diocese indicated that lay teachers taught 67 per cent of all primary and infants classes and 43 per cent of all secondary classes.⁴³⁸ The accompanying table indicates the enormity of the task facing the Church of England as Anglican student numbers in NSW State Schools more than doubled between 1946 and 1967; clergy numbers had increased from 215 to only 286, while the number of lay teachers had increased from 30 to 1,000. With so few clergy to meet this demand, there was clearly a crucial need for lay teachers.

Table 1: Anglican Population in State Schools Since 1946

Year	Total No. Clergy	Total No. Lay Teachers	Total No. Anglican Children	No. Secondary	No. Metrop. Secondary	No. Primary. Infants	No. Metrop. Infants
1946	215	30	110,000	23,000	20,700	87,000	72,000
1956	230	75	165,000	39,000	35,200	126,000	100,800
1964	275	675	216,000	65,000	57,800	151,000	120,800
1967	286	1,000	234,000	72,000	63,600	162,000	129,800
*1970	300	1,350	254,000	78,000	68,800	166,000	136,800

* Estimations by courtesy NSW Department of Education.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁶ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 9. The Anglican Schools Corporation started with five schools in 1995 and by 2016 there were 20 schools and over 14,000 pupils. Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 224; Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 9, note 15.

⁴³⁷ Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 246.

⁴³⁸ A. A. Langdon, “Scripture in schools: The church’s great opportunity,” *Southern Cross* 8, 1 (January 1968): 15.

⁴³⁹ “Anglican population in State schools since 1946,” *Southern Cross* 8, 1 (January 1968): 15.

By the 1970s RI had become piecemeal in many schools. The problem was not confined to the Anglican Church. In an article provocatively entitled ‘RI is probably worse than useless’, Alan Brownlie reported that the Methodist Church of NSW had called on all Methodists to consider the matter ahead of their annual conference in 1972.⁴⁴⁰ It was becoming increasingly difficult to recruit lay teachers, while the task was becoming burdensome to clergy from most mainline churches. Brownlie observed that in the early 1970s many clergy had to teach twenty or more RI periods per week and that a number of denominations were considering pulling out of RI in schools completely. This underscores the important contribution of laypeople in this aspect of the Church’s mission. In response to this challenge, the Sydney Diocese certainly did not view RI ‘as worse than useless’.

At the first Annual Dedication Service of the Religious Instruction Teachers’ Fellowship in May 1961, Archbishop Hugh Gough presented certificates to fifty teachers who, during the previous year, had passed the examination conducted by the Board of Education in ‘Introductory Principles of Teaching’. It was reported that about 400 lay people were then representing their local parishes and giving religious instruction in schools.⁴⁴¹ Some 112 lay women and men had completed the twelve-week course held in various centres throughout the diocese in 1963.⁴⁴² In a report on the annual Scripture Teachers’ Dedication Service at St Andrew’s Cathedral on 24 February 1964, it was noted that:

More than 600 lay people help the clergy in the schools and of this number 300 have now passed one or more of the seven voluntary examinations in the certificate course. Almost all lay teachers have attended a course of instruction in the principles of teaching.⁴⁴³

By 1967 the Board of Education had given introductory training to more than 1,200 lay teachers, of whom about 700 were currently teaching, and the Board was hoped to train another 800 lay teachers by 1968, bringing the available number of teachers (including clergy and deaconesses) to 2,000.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁰ Alan Brownlie, “RI is probably worse than useless,” *Church Scene*, 10, 8 July 1971, 4.

⁴⁴¹ “Scripture teachers’ service in Sydney,” *The Australian Church Record*, 25, 9, 11 May 1961, 3. The article stated that many of these laypeople had also attended the courses provided at Sydney and Balmain Teachers’ Colleges provided by the Council for Christian Education in Schools.

⁴⁴² “Sydney teacher training,” *The Anglican*, 580, 19 September 1963, 11.

⁴⁴³ “Presentation of diplomas,” *The Anglican*, 6054, 12 March 1964, 3. See also “New advance in training lay scripture teachers,” *Southern Cross* 4, 4 (April 1964), 16.

⁴⁴⁴ “Sydney expands R. I. in schools—700 lay teachers now at work,” *The Anglican*, 771, 4 May 1967, 12.

In a related area of education, in 1965 the Sydney diocesan Board of Education had launched the first part of its new ‘Sunday School Teacher Training Scheme’. This was to facilitate the introduction of ‘new techniques for training teachers to gain additional knowledge of principles and method in Christian education’. The scheme received enrolments of 135 from 70 parishes.⁴⁴⁵ There were approximately 8,000 Sunday School teachers in the diocese in 1966.⁴⁴⁶

In the late 1970s the churches found the provision of RI in schools a challenge as the population increased through the establishment of new housing areas. In 1976 the combined churches of the Como, Jannali, and Oyster Bay areas appointed a full-time RI teacher to each of the Jannali Boys’ and Jannali Girls’ High Schools because it was impossible for the local clergy to cover all the classes effectively.⁴⁴⁷ Some of the larger Anglican parishes employed youth workers who spent part of their time teaching RI in schools. As mentioned previously, in 1979 St Matthew’s Manly appointed a full-time Youth Worker who spent part of his time teaching RI in five local high schools.⁴⁴⁸ In 1981 it was reported that nine Sydney high schools had full-time RI teachers appointed by local churches.⁴⁴⁹

Despite the considerable resources and energy directed to this aspect of lay ministry in the diocese, the size of the task in responding to the rapidly expanding government school system remained formidable. In his Presidential Address to the Election Synod on 26 March 1982, Bishop Jack Dain identified the whole area of evangelism and church planting in new housing areas as a key area of concern. He stated that:

Men and women of our clergy and laity are going to be in frontier situations needing the personal encouragement and counsel of diocesan leadership as they struggle to find suitable forms of evangelism, ministry and worship which are biblical and Anglican, but still relevant.⁴⁵⁰

Another concern was the dwindling Anglican population in inner-city parishes, particularly as a result of migration of people from nations where Roman Catholicism or the Orthodox Church predominated. Dain’s address did not give the impression of

⁴⁴⁵ “Growing work of Sunday school teacher training,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1347, 23 September 1965, 5.

⁴⁴⁶ “Training today’s teachers and leaders,” *Southern Cross* 6, 10 (October 1966): 19.

⁴⁴⁷ “Success in school scripture,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1699, 11 February, 1980, 1.

⁴⁴⁸ “St Matthew’s Manly: In the midst of activity,” 15.

⁴⁴⁹ “Growth in full-time high school scripture work,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1735, 27 July 1981, 3.

⁴⁵⁰ Jack Dain, “Presidential Address: Archbishop’s Election Synod,” *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1983* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1983), 198.

confident progress. Furthermore, in his Presidential Address to Synod in October 1983, Archbishop Donald Robinson reminded members that some 90 per cent of Anglican children were then educated in government schools, that withdrawal from ‘Special Religious Education’ (SRE), as it had been recently renamed, was ‘a form of religious suicide’.⁴⁵¹

Evangelism and training of university students

The Sydney University Evangelical Union (EU) was established on 20 March 1930 following the visit of Dr Howard Guinness, a member of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship in Britain. This was motivated by the concern that theological liberalism had taken hold in the Student Christian Movement in Britain.⁴⁵² Sydney Anglicans were prominent in leadership and these included Gordon Begbie, Marcus Loane, Graham Delbridge, and Dr Paul White. Marcus Loane and T C Hammond had been regular speakers at EU events during the later 1930s and 1940s. They also included Donald Robinson, who later served as Sydney’s archbishop during 1982-1993. He was elected three times to the EU executive as Secretary (1941), Vice President (1946) and President (1947).⁴⁵³ In subsequent years a close cooperation emerged between St Barnabas Broadway and the EU, especially after Archbishop Howard Mowll appointed Howard Guinness as Rector in 1949. Although the involvement was scaled down after Guinness’s departure in 1957, many leading Sydney Anglicans were involved in the missions conducted by EU.⁴⁵⁴

The 1960s and 1970s were challenging for EU members because students were not responding to traditional large-scale missions run on campus. Meredith Lake emphasised that ‘[i]f the experience of the sixties had made one thing plain ... it was that missions were valuable only insofar as they were supported by personal evangelism.’⁴⁵⁵ To this end, in June 1971, the Reverends John Chapman, from the Department of Evangelism, and Paul Barnett, Rector at St Barnabas Broadway, ran a series of seminars designed to equip EU members with a framework for evangelism. After a lapse of six years the EU Executive approached Chapman and Barnett to be missionaries at the ‘Go Back–You’re Going the Wrong Way’ mission of 1977. On the

⁴⁵¹ Donald Robinson, “Presidential Address to Synod,” *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1983* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1983), 216–7.

⁴⁵² Meredith Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 15–16.

⁴⁵³ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 23, 26.

⁴⁵⁴ Stuart Braga, “Guinness: Howard Wyndham,” *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/ojs/index.php/ADEB/article/view/1197/1194>, accessed on 26 November 2016.

⁴⁵⁵ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 86.

first day Chapman drew a crowd of more than one thousand students on the front lawn of Sydney University. In an associated ‘dialogue’ meeting at Women’s College, about twelve people were reported to have become Christians and twenty others decided to join Bible study groups. The mission became a turning point in EU’s evangelism strategy.⁴⁵⁶

As discussed in the previous chapter, another significant development in training for personal evangelism on university campuses came as a result of the Rev. Phillip Jensen and others convincing the ‘decision organisers’ of the 1979 Sydney BGC to direct referrals to student Christian groups for follow-up. The initiative of the Rev. Allan Blanch from St Barnabas Broadway and Rosie Waugh, his student worker, in training a group of EU students to teach a personal evangelism course to another 100 students was also acknowledged for its impact on future missions.⁴⁵⁷

Having worked with Chapman in the Department of Evangelism, Phillip Jensen became influential as Chaplain of the University of NSW from 1975 to 2005. While retaining this position he became Rector of St Matthias Centennial Park (1978-2003), and where the congregation grew from about thirty to over 1,000, and which, by 1993, spread over seven congregations and involved 103 home Bible study groups.⁴⁵⁸ From 1983 he was involved in a number of ‘church plants’, that by 2003, under the ‘Unichurch’ banner, embraced sixteen congregations ministering to a variety of ethnic groups and different sociological groupings such as families, students, youth, and workers.⁴⁵⁹ In the early 1980s Jensen introduced a Ministry Training Strategy (MTS) that would reach its acme in terms of numbers and growth by the early 1990s. This was akin to an apprenticeship for lay university students to be trained in evangelism and Bible exposition, leading to significant growth and recruitment of clergy and an ongoing source of enrolments for MTC.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁶ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 87–8. Paul Barnett was then minister of Holy Trinity Anglican Church in Adelaide.

⁴⁵⁷ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 91–2. Allan Blanch was minister of St Barnabas Broadway from 1974 to 1982. Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 126.

⁴⁵⁸ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 192.

⁴⁵⁹ “About Phillip Jensen,” <http://www.phillipjensen.com/about/>, accessed on 8 August 2016, paragraph 10.

⁴⁶⁰ “About Phillip Jensen,” paragraph 8; Michael Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism*, 117–18. Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 194.

Conclusion

The evidence marshalled in this chapter challenges a previous historical narrative that has largely ignored the contribution of lay readers. In particular, their role in maintaining services and continuity of ministry was vitally important in multi-church parishes. With its strong commitment to educating the laity, the Sydney Diocese made significant gains in better equipping lay readers, RI teachers, Sunday School teachers, and church workers generally—and, to a limited extent, those engaged in youth ministry. The task of training some 2,000 RI teachers by 1970 for ministry in government schools was formidable. By the early 1980s there was still a deficit in meeting the challenges of decline in inner-city parishes and an inability to respond to the rapid growth of new housing areas to the south and west of Sydney.

The diocese held conferences to equip wardens and parish councillors in the day-to-day running of parishes. These went beyond instruction in practical administration and accounting skills to include teaching on the leadership of meetings, home groups, and Bible study groups. In doing so the evangelical ethos and biblical understandings driving the theological thrust of the diocese were inculcated in its leaders at all levels. This had ongoing benefits for the development of ministry gifts in the administration of parishes, as well as for leadership ability among the laity. Moreover, the commitment to the Sydney Preliminary Theology Certificate correspondence course, supplemented by the introduction of the Certificate in Theology, not only helped to educate people within the diocese, but it also extended this education to other dioceses within Australia and beyond. While never envisaged as a path to ordained ministry, these courses were facilitators of better knowledge of the Scriptures, of Anglican Church history and of doctrine, and they helped to mobilise laypeople to take a more significant role in parish life, pastoral ministry, and personal witness.

Finally, the Sydney Diocese had a strong association with the Evangelical Union which was established at Sydney University in the early 1930s. Also influential was the work of Phillip Jensen, as Chaplain to the University of NSW (1975–2005) and Rector of St Matthias Centennial Park (1978–2003). This included teaching and training students in the context of campus evangelism, church planting and establishment of the MTS.

Overall, the role of lay readers in maintaining continuity of ministry remained important, especially in multi-church parishes, but the numbers officially involved in

this form of ministry remained static. The realisation of the importance of developing a biblically-literate laity with leadership and teaching skills was clearly evident in the education programmes operated by the diocese. The energy devoted to training RI teachers was significant, enabling a huge increase of laypeople to be involved in assisting clergy in this important area of mission to the wider community. However, the church failed to keep pace with the challenges of growth and to meet the demand for RI teachers in new housing areas. The energy directed to university campus ministry and training of laypeople in techniques of personal evangelism contributed to the growing strength of the diocese.

In order to assess further the effectiveness of this training of laypeople, the focus of the next chapter is on their active participation in the mission of the Church as it sought to connect with the community.

CHAPTER 6

Community Activities and Social Concern

‘Go forth into the world in peace; be of good courage; hold fast to that which is good; render to no man evil for evil; strengthen the fainthearted; support the weak; help the afflicted.’

Order of Confirmation: Final Blessing, AAPB⁴⁶¹

Introduction

Having explored the emphasis placed by the Sydney Diocese on training laypeople for more active involvement in parish administration and ministry, it is now appropriate to examine the important area of social responsibility in the ministry and mission of the Church. At the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation in 1974, where evangelicalism grappled with its identity as a fast-growing, worldwide movement, its leaders were challenged to reconsider the role of social and political action as an expression of Christian belief and as an intrinsic dimension of the church’s mission. The leading English evangelical, John Stott, who had already made an impact on the Sydney Diocese with his introduction of expository preaching at the 1965 CMS Summer School, confronted his colleagues at the Lausanne Congress about their neglect of social and political engagement. Some of Sydney’s leading evangelicals were cautious about Stott’s challenge because of the legitimacy it tended to give to the social gospel of ‘liberal’ theologians at the expense of soul-winning. This chapter examines the increasing awareness of social responsibility demonstrated by many laypeople in evangelical Anglicanism during our period, despite the reticence of their leaders about emphasising social concern. Some parishes were experimenting with living in community and supporting Home Mission Society (now known as ‘Anglicare’) initiatives to assist migrants and refugees settling in Sydney. Brief consideration will also be given to two other large Anglican-based organisations that were dependent on laypeople: Hammond’s Pioneer Homes (now known as ‘HammondCare’) and Mowll Village (now known as ‘Anglican Retirement Villages’). The chapter will underscore the importance of parishes establishing strong connections with their community through committed lay involvement in social outreach programmes.

⁴⁶¹ *An Australian Prayer Book* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1978), 540.

The Sydney Diocese wrestles with issues of social action

Although Archbishop Mowll was the inaugural president of the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the increasing theological liberalism and radical political actions of the movement greatly troubled the leaders of the Diocese of Sydney.⁴⁶² Controversy was generated by the direct political action undertaken by the WCC to combat racism, especially in its opposition to white minority rule in southern Africa, and its direct support of liberation movements.⁴⁶³ In April 1971 there was considerable angst expressed when the WCC appointed a Buddhist as its Executive Secretary, and in October 1971 the Sydney Synod expressed grave concern about WCC grants to resistance movements in South Africa.⁴⁶⁴ In an editorial reflecting the diocesan position, the ACR stated: ‘It becomes evident ... that the World Council was rapidly becoming another expression of liberal theology which had moved from its biblical foundations.’⁴⁶⁵

The issue of socio-political engagement surfaced again at the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelism in July 1974. The Congress was called by a committee headed by Billy Graham. It was held in Lausanne, Switzerland, and was attended by more than 2,300 evangelical leaders from 150 countries; with Bishop Jack Dain of the Sydney Diocese its Executive Chairman.⁴⁶⁶ The Lausanne Congress was important for establishing evangelicalism as a strongly networked world-wide movement. At the time, there were strong concerns that Christianity and Christian missions were in crisis and, in particular, were under threat from theological liberalism and secularism in the West and Communist atheism in many other parts of the world.⁴⁶⁷ The Congress wrestled with two major issues: the expansion of evangelicalism in the ‘Global South’ (a descriptive term that includes developing nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania) and

⁴⁶² Chilton, “Evangelicals,” 309. See also Beward, *A history of the Australian churches*, 138. “WCC fund to aid Portuguese army deserters (\$400,000 over 5 yrs),” *The Australian Church Record*, 1546, 20 September 1973, 1.

⁴⁶³ J. D. Douglas, “Delicate W.C.C. meeting,” *Southern Cross* 11, 3 (March 1971): 3.

⁴⁶⁴ “WCC appoints Buddhist executive secretary,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1486, 22 April 1971, 1; “Synod: a turning point on major issues,” *Southern Cross* 11, 11 (November 1971): 28.

⁴⁶⁵ “WCC—Its first 25 years,” *The Australian Church Record*, 1546, 20 September 1973, 2.

⁴⁶⁶ “Lausanne 1: the international congress on world evangelisation,”

<https://www.lausanne.org/gatherings/congress/lausanne-1974>, accessed on 30 November 2016; Chilton, *Evangelicals*, 302.

⁴⁶⁷ Robert A. Hunt, “The history of the Lausanne movement, 1974–2011,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol 35, 2, April 2011, <http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/2011-02/2011-02-081-hunt.html>, accessed on 30 November 2016.

the liberalisation of the modern ecumenical movement.⁴⁶⁸ A controversy erupted at the Congress when the leading English evangelical, John Stott, confronted Graham about not taking seriously his argument that the Great Commission demanded that Christians care about social responsibility and politics as well as evangelism.⁴⁶⁹

The Congress provoked an increasing awareness of social responsibility in evangelical Anglicanism, but the leaders of Sydney Diocese reacted cautiously. Chilton claimed that, shortly after the Congress, Broughton Knox of MTC argued that there was no NT basis for pursuing ‘social justice’, pointing to Jesus’ silence when asked for justice.⁴⁷⁰ Phillip Jensen was noted for his ‘passion for evangelism [that] seemed to overwhelm sensitivity to social issues’.⁴⁷¹ John Chapman, then Sydney Diocesan Missioner, stated to his biographer that giving legitimacy to an emphasis on socio-political action was equivalent to the social gospel of the liberals and hence was an assault on the primacy of evangelism.⁴⁷² In Chapman’s experience, social welfare work was much easier to do than evangelism, and he believed that if the principal focus of the parish was on the proclamation of the gospel, everything else would naturally fall into place.⁴⁷³ A survey of the ACR during our period indicates the absence of a systematic critique of the broader social and economic issues in the state or the nation, and reluctance on the part of leaders of the diocese to debate these in the public arena. Towards the close of the 1970s Archbishop Loane had stopped giving formal interviews to the media because of concerns about misrepresentation.⁴⁷⁴ Despite this reluctance of the diocesan leadership to speak out on social justice issues, the Sydney Diocese maintained a strong commitment to social welfare through the expansion of HMS programmes, which we will now consider.

⁴⁶⁸ Chilton, “Evangelicals,” 312. The ‘Global North’ includes Europe and North America and the ‘Global South’ includes Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania. Since 1970 Christianity as a percentage of the population in the Global North has been declining at a dramatic rate but has been growing more rapidly in the Global South. “Christianity in its global context, 1970–2020,” <http://www.gordonconwell.edu/ockenga/research/documents/ChristianityinitsGlobalContext.pdf>, accessed on 28 November 2016, 6, 9.

⁴⁶⁹ Trevin Wax, “When John Stott confronted Billy Graham,” <https://blogs.thegospelcoalition.org/trevinwax/2013/05/08/when-john-stott-confronted-billy-graham/>, accessed on 27 August 2016.

⁴⁷⁰ Chilton, “Evangelicals,” 339.

⁴⁷¹ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 196.

⁴⁷² Orpwood, *Chappo*, 209.

⁴⁷³ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 210, 213.

⁴⁷⁴ Blanch, *From strength to strength*, 357.

The Home Mission Society

In response to the demands of a rapidly increasing population in Sydney, the Home Mission Society—which was renamed ‘Anglicare’ in September 1997—was established in 1911 by order of Synod and was formerly known as the ‘Church Society’.⁴⁷⁵ Lay ministry was integral to the social service work of HMS and became a vital part of the Sydney Diocese’s mission to the city. Mrs Dorothy Wright, wife of Archbishop J. C. Wright, founded the Women’s Auxiliaries of the HMS in 1911. Over forty branches with a total of more than 800 members were formed in less than a year. One of the primary concerns of the Ladies’ Home Mission Union (LHMU), forerunner of the Women’s Auxiliaries Division of HMS, had been the ‘Mission Zone’, which included fifteen of the poorest and most populous suburbs of Sydney. In seeking to bring the Gospel to non-churchgoers through visits and meetings, ‘the LHMU maintained a constant flow of clothing and other useful items for distribution by clergy and other agents in these areas’.⁴⁷⁶ The LHMU had contributed financially to the founding of Chesalon, Summer Hill, the first of the Chesalon Nursing Homes opened in November 1952, and by 1986 some fourteen Chesalon Auxiliaries were operating throughout the diocese. The first Opportunity Shop (Op-shop) was opened by the HMS at Petersham in 1959 and LHMU members were among the first to volunteer to assist in the new shops as they opened.⁴⁷⁷

HMS had a combined staff of 450 in 1976.⁴⁷⁸ By 1983 the number of paid staff had increased to 600, with over 800 voluntary staff, most of whom were laypeople. The annual budget was then over nine million dollars. HMS received additional support from many auxiliary and parish groups.⁴⁷⁹ The programmes included the Carramar home for unwed mothers, Charlton Boys’ Home, Carinya Girls’ Hostel, Chesalon Nursing Homes, Chesalon Parish Nursing Service, and the op-shops that provided clothes for needy families.⁴⁸⁰ Another programme was the Counselling Service. Wilbur Gates’ experience offers insight into the nature of this work. Having been a Group Captain in the Royal

⁴⁷⁵ Heather Wright, *Looking back: 75 Years of the women’s auxiliaries of the Home Mission Society: A brief history 1911–1986* (Sydney: The Anglican Home Mission Society Women’s Auxiliaries Division, 1986), 3. See also Piggins, *Spirit, word and world*, 81; Anglicare, “Anglicare: Our History,” <http://www.anglicare.asn.au/about-us/our-history>, accessed on 23 August 2016.

⁴⁷⁶ Wright, *Looking back*, 4–5.

⁴⁷⁷ Wright, *Looking back*, 8–9.

⁴⁷⁸ “120 years of concern: Sydney HMS,” *Church Scene*, 131, May 1976, 9.

⁴⁷⁹ Margie Cook, “Freely you have given: a look at the caring agencies of the church,” *Southern Cross* (May 1983): 5.

⁴⁸⁰ “120 years of concern,” 9.

Australian Air Force, Gates joined the HMS Counselling Service in 1963 as a Court Worker. He attended the metropolitan court and worked alongside magistrates and Child Welfare Department workers to help rehabilitate young boys in trouble. When they came out of detention, he counselled them, helped to find them accommodation, and placed them in employment. He retired in August 1973 in order to do parish and hospital visitation in connection with St Stephen's Penrith, west of Sydney.⁴⁸¹

In 1969 HMS invited parishes to nominate two people who were interested in attending a ten-week training course in social service work. It was conducted at the Church of England Counselling Service headquarters in Surry Hills during March, April and May, and was undertaken by eighty-five men and women representing a wide cross-section of society. The course included discussions on parish responsibility to needy people; the complications of age and poverty; mental health; addictions to drink and drugs; and the problems of single-parent families. It was hoped that these laypeople would relieve clergy of much of the burden of dealing with people in local parishes who were affected by these issues.⁴⁸² In subsequent years, to assist local parishes, HMS moved to re-locate Counselling Services in regional bases close to new housing areas. For instance, in July 1980 four social workers were placed in Campbelltown to focus especially on groups for young people after school, family counselling and family support.⁴⁸³

Another example of this lay social concern is revealed in an article in *Church Scene* of 22 May 1980 about the parish of St Matthew's Manly, on Sydney's northern beaches, that was caring for an extended family of twelve Vietnamese refugees. A house was provided and parishioners purchased food supplies for the family. It was part of the Refugee Community Scheme, a pilot project under the direction of HMS 'Care Force'.⁴⁸⁴ The parish had also established a 'community tea room'—an idea developed by the rector's wife, Mrs Marlene Cohen, in which parishioners were rostered to serve two mornings per week. Additionally, this initiative included fundraising in support of the HMS Chesalon Nursing Homes, and led to community concern expressed through the formation of a hospital visiting team. Other parishioners assumed responsibility for visiting the various convalescent homes within the parish boundaries.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸¹ "Friend at court," *Southern Cross* 13, 9 (September 1973): 20; "Court worker retires," *The Australian Church Record*, 1548, 18 October 1973, 8.

⁴⁸² "Training parishioners in social work," *Southern Cross* 9, 6 (June 1969): 18.

⁴⁸³ "Focus Campbelltown: Care Force opens new field of service," *HMS Pulse*, 31 July 1980, 3.

⁴⁸⁴ "A rice way of saying 'welcome'," *Church Scene*, 2, 76, 22 May 1980, 1.

⁴⁸⁵ "St Matthew's Manly: In the midst of activity," 14.

HammondCare and Anglican Retirement Villages

HammondCare and Anglican Retirement Villages were large, but independently operated social welfare organisations that were actively supported by Anglican laypeople. In 1908 Archdeacon R. B. S. Hammond established the first ‘Hammond Hotel’ in the inner-city to accommodate seven destitute men. During the Great Depression his work expanded, to provide food, clothing, and accommodation to the poor and the aged.⁴⁸⁶ In 1932 Hammond established Pioneer Homes near Liverpool, south-west of Sydney, in response to the eviction of inner-city, rent-paying families during the Depression. Although Hammond had the support of Archbishop Mowll, he set up the organisation as an interdenominational independent charity.⁴⁸⁷ Following Hammond’s death in 1946, HMS took over Hammond’s Social Services, but not Hammond’s Pioneer Homes. The need for care of the elderly prompted the establishment of Hammondville Homes for Senior Citizens during the early 1950s. The Rev. Bernard Judd led HammondCare for four and a half decades until November 1989.⁴⁸⁸

In 1959, as a memorial to Archbishop Mowll and his wife, Dorothy, the Sydney Diocese purchased a property in the rural surroundings of Castle Hill, north-west of Sydney, and opened Mowll Village. This was the first of what would become one of the largest aged-care organisations in the state: Anglican Retirement Villages (ARV).⁴⁸⁹ Both HammondCare and ARV sought to employ Christian people in tasks requiring professional qualifications, such as registered nurses, enrolled nurses’ aides, and physiotherapists. They also encouraged laypeople to visit residents in nursing homes and to assist with art and craft groups, bus trips, and music programmes, as well as to provide support to aged residents in their own ‘village’ homes.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 197.

⁴⁸⁷ HammondCare, “HammondCare: Our History,” <http://www.hammond.com.au/about/history>, accessed on 26 August 2016. See also Meredith Lake, *Faith in action: HammondCare* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2013), 111.

⁴⁸⁸ Lake, *Faith in action: HammondCare*, 205–6. Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 232.

⁴⁸⁹ Lake, *Faith in action: HammondCare*, 137.

⁴⁹⁰ Anglican Retirement Villages, “Anglican Retirement Villages,” <https://www.arv.org.au/get-involved/become-a-volunteer/>, accessed on 27 August 2016; HammondCare, “HammondCare: Become a Volunteer,” <http://www.hammond.com.au/about/volunteer>, accessed on 26 August 2016. HammondCare currently has in excess of 670 volunteers.

Innovation at St John's Darlinghurst

The St John's Darlinghurst Overseas Fellowship was initiated in 1959 by Mrs Gwenda Powys together with the Rector, the Rev. Dr Archibald Morton. It was an outreach to some 5,000 overseas students studying in Sydney, many of whom were Asians who had come to Australia under the auspices of the Colombo Plan.⁴⁹¹ The St John's Darlinghurst Overseas Fellowship offered assistance to students who had difficulty finding accommodation and with other personal problems. In April 1964 Mrs Powys wrote to *The Anglican* and the ACR to seek financial help from readers to establish a Loan Fund to assist those students experiencing financial problems. This was an example of an outreach instigated by lay initiative and relying on lay volunteers.⁴⁹²

Mrs Powys lived in the northern suburbs and had a vision for some sort of Christian outreach amongst overseas students, but she had not found support from another parish. She then encountered Morton, who had been appointed Rector of St John's Darlinghurst in 1956 by Archbishop Howard Mowll. The Archbishop's intervention was because the parish had declined, largely due to major demographic changes precipitated by the deterioration of terrace houses and the escalation of property prices. As families moved out of the city into the suburbs, hotels and some fifty 'backpacker' hostels were built in the inner city to cater for the increase in tourism. The parish faced a considerable challenge because the Kings Cross district had witnessed escalating crime and a growing population involved in prostitution, illegal gambling, and drug trafficking.⁴⁹³ Although shy by nature, Morton was an impressive preacher with an ability to gather around him people of high calibre, to win their respect, and to delegate responsibility.⁴⁹⁴ Morton, together with Mrs Powys, inaugurated the Overseas Fellowship. Egan recounts their typical activities:

Normally from 30 to 50 students would gather each month in Mrs Powys' Chatswood home for a Saturday evening meal and chat followed by a talk by a Christian guest speaker. As well, there was a purely social outing arranged each month. Morton's involvement was minimal, but he willingly offered

⁴⁹¹ National Museum of Australia, "The Colombo Plan,"

http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/collection_interactives/endurance_scroll/harvest_of_endurance_html_version/explore_the_scroll/colombo_plan, accessed on 4 February 2016.

⁴⁹² Gwenda Powys, "S. John's Overseas Fellowship," *The Anglican*, 612, 30 April 1964, Letters to the Editor section, 5; Gwenda Powys, "Overseas students," *The Australian Church Record*, 1312, 7 May 1964, Letters to the Editor section, 5.

⁴⁹³ Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*, 108–10.

⁴⁹⁴ Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*, 117. Egan adds (p. 131) that Morton resigned from St John's in February 1967 to become Dean of St Andrew's Cathedral Sydney and held this position until his death in February 1973.

support when required. Some who were members of that group are now leaders in the church life of several Asian countries.⁴⁹⁵

This outward-looking social awareness became a significant feature of parish life in future years.

St John's Darlinghurst – community houses experiment

In 1972 Moreton's successor, the Rev. Bernard Gook, became associated with the charismatic movement. Gook had been encouraged by some lay folk to investigate the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which they had experienced at a Pentecostal church. He subsequently talked to, and prayed with, Pastor Paul Collins of the Christian Life Centre at St Leonards.⁴⁹⁶ Gook's encounter led to his inviting guest speakers to St John's to proclaim the charismatic message. This attracted people from beyond the parish to join the congregation. One speaker was the Rev. Michael Harper from England, who spoke of the success that a church in Houston, Texas, was having with communal houses.⁴⁹⁷

St John's Darlinghurst then began to establish communal houses as part of the church's mission in response to the need for accommodation for people, including students from country areas, the unemployed and those on the margins of society, by purchasing some terrace houses and flats and renting others. The communal houses were established on a single-sex basis and targeted single young people. Tenants included a mixture of professions, trades, and family backgrounds representative of a broad section of the community. The aim was to have a committed Christian married couple as 'house parents' and Bible studies were conducted on Tuesday nights, usually led by laypeople, but the Rev. Gook also ran an introductory study group in one of the lounges in the Church Hall. Reportedly, some eighty people met in the various groups and there was considerable interaction between the groups.⁴⁹⁸ Furthermore, Egan observed:

Friday night 'Prayer and Praise' in the [church] hall was also a feature of these years, when up to 90 people would gather to sing, pray, exercise the

⁴⁹⁵ Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*, 125. See also Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 81.

⁴⁹⁶ Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*, 140. The Rev. Bernard Gook was Rector of St John's from 1966 to 1984.

⁴⁹⁷ Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*, 140.

⁴⁹⁸ "All the nations of the world ... church outreach," *Church Scene*, 138, 12 August 1976, 23. Note: The St John's community housing was not associated with the interdenominational 'House of the New World' communes established by the Australian Jesus Movement commencing in the Sydney suburb of Ryde in April 1970. See Kevin Smith, "How contemporary youth work has evolved," *Church Scene*, 58, 7 June 1973, 6-7.

charismatic gifts and hear from a member of St John's or a guest speaker. This period had the highest consistent congregation numbers [in] 40 years.⁴⁹⁹

The Friday night gathering aimed to build up people in the Christian faith and to build up a gradual transfer of attendees to Sunday services at St John's.⁵⁰⁰ In the mid-1970s the parish also experimented with a community centre that included offices and a counselling room.⁵⁰¹ In addition to the rector and a curate, the Church employed a social worker, male counsellor, and a full-time secretary.⁵⁰² The parish was atypical of most Sydney Anglican parishes in its embrace of the charismatic movement that actively promoted lay involvement in ministry and mission synonymous with the final blessing used in the Order of Confirmation. Yet St John's also stands as a striking example of the development of a high level of lay involvement driven by a lay social conscience.

Conclusion

From the mid-1960s Sydney evangelicals became increasingly concerned about the World Council of Churches embracing liberal theology and giving monetary grants to liberation movements. The discussions at the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelism in 1974 led to the leadership of Sydney Diocese reviewing the place of social action in the mission of the church. Some diocesan leaders were suspicious of the focus on social action because they believed it undermined the primacy of evangelism. However, in their media publications the diocesan leadership showed little evidence of a systematic critique of the economic system and its impact on the marginalised in society. While largely avoiding involvement in political action, segments of the Sydney Diocese nevertheless exhibited an increasing consciousness of the need for social action to be an integral part of its mission.

The HMS was the principal agency of the Sydney Diocese facilitating community engagement. Its new initiatives included the provision of counselling services and, with the assistance of lay volunteers from the parishes, the implementation of practical support for migrants and refugees settling in Sydney. Another area of community engagement in the work of HammondCare and ARV, which operated independently of the diocese. At the grass-roots level an army of volunteers provided practical and pastoral support for the elderly in the growing network of aged-care centres and

⁴⁹⁹ Egan, *St John's Darlinghurst*, 143–4. Author's editing.

⁵⁰⁰ "All the nations of the world," 23.

⁵⁰¹ During the 1970s St Barnabas Broadway rented a dilapidated terrace house for a weekly youth drop-in centre. Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 127.

⁵⁰² "All the nations of the world," 23.

retirement villages being established by these organisations. They employed many lay Anglicans in jobs that required professional qualifications such as registered nurses, enrolled nurses' aides, and physiotherapists.

St John's Darlinghurst pioneered its Overseas Fellowship as an outreach to some 5,000 overseas students studying in Sydney, and the inception of this ministry was largely due to the faith, vision and determination of a laywoman, Mrs Gwenda Powys. It was atypical of most Sydney Anglican parishes because it embraced the charismatic movement. In later years the parish established community houses led by laypeople with a high social conscience as a part of its commitment to ministry and mission. The development of a Community Centre, that included offices and a counselling room, assisted the growth of its social outreach programme.

Larger parishes typically had well-organised programmes that incorporated social welfare work as a means of developing strong links with their communities as part of their mission. As will be seen in the next chapter, much of this work was done by laywomen who were increasingly gaining qualifications in social work and being employed by larger parishes in administrative and ministry roles.

CHAPTER 7

Women's Ministry

'Anglicans of catholic persuasion opposed to the ordination of women do not want women to preside at the altar ... The evangelical opponents of women's ordination, in contrast, want to keep women out of the pulpit.'

The Rev. Kevin Giles⁵⁰³

Introduction

It has been acknowledged that since the late nineteenth century women have been the backbone and the main source of labour in the Christian Church.⁵⁰⁴ Of particular interest for this thesis is the role played by the Mothers' Union as a movement in Australian Anglicanism that brought leadership and ministry opportunities to churchwomen. From the 1960s women increasingly ministered to women through such agencies as the Women's Convention Movement. During the late 1960s there was a growing participation by women in university education and the workforce. The granting of access to the same training as men at Moore College had profound outcomes for those women who eventually gained access to ordination in other dioceses.⁵⁰⁵ This chapter will explore how increased educational opportunities gave women access to paid 'specialist' lay ministry positions within the diocese in social work and counselling, thus enhancing their status in the church's mission. They also became more prominent as Religious Instruction teachers in state schools. The rapid growth of playgroups occurred during our period and brought a new focus for women in the work of parishes in their local communities. In 1978 women were finally permitted to become churchwardens but, as will be seen, the Sydney Diocese remained strongly opposed to the ordination of women so that their role remained limited in the preaching ministry of the church.

⁵⁰³ Kevin Giles, "Disagreements about the ordination of women," *Australian Religion Studies Review* 4, 2 (1991): 27.

⁵⁰⁴ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 115, 220; O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers*, 11, 13; Piggin, *Spirit, word and world*, 120.

⁵⁰⁵ Janet Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry: First generation of ordained women," in Lindsay and Scarfe, eds. *Preachers, Prophets and Heretics*, 343; Hilliard, "The religious crisis of the 1960s," 211.

Women's changing role in Australian society

During the 1890s there was a shortage of men in the Church so women were needed to do tasks ranging from working as missionaries to fundraising and teaching Sunday School.⁵⁰⁶ The Great War had a devastating impact on Australians. A total of 414 clergymen were appointed as army chaplains over the war's four years and this had considerable impact on the churches.⁵⁰⁷ In multi-church parishes, for example, there were fewer lay readers to assist in taking services because this was restricted to men, and many laymen entered military service. A further consequence of the Great War was fewer female volunteers to do parish visitation as they increasingly became involved in activities such as knitting socks, balaclavas, and mittens for soldiers.⁵⁰⁸ Women also increasingly filled vacancies as clerks, entered the professions, or were employed in ammunition factories.⁵⁰⁹

During the decades following the Great War, women in Australian churches came to greater prominence in community-based women's organisations such as the church auxiliaries, the Red Cross and the Country Women's Association.⁵¹⁰ Following the Second World War, the voluntary church work done by women continued to fulfil an important but largely unrecognised local welfare role in church communities.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, it has been suggested that without their efforts, especially in fundraising, many small and medium parishes could not have survived.⁵¹²

Through the 1960s this was to change. One of the consequences of economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s was increased car ownership and an accompanying 'elasticity' of parish boundaries once people became more mobile.⁵¹³ As demonstrated in a previous chapter, increased interdenominational activity resulted, not only from the Billy Graham Crusade but because women were able to be involved in conventions, beach missions, and youth camps, all of which created ministry opportunities.

⁵⁰⁶ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 39.

⁵⁰⁷ Michael Gladwin, *Captains of the Soul: A history of Australian Army chaplains* (Newport, NSW: Big Sky Publishing, 2013), 32. Piggitt adds another 138 clergy who enlisted in the ranks out of frustration at not being appointed chaplains. See Piggitt, *Spirit, word and world*, 86.

⁵⁰⁸ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 178–9.

⁵⁰⁹ Manning Clark, *History of Australia*, abridged by Michael Cathcart (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1996), 514.

⁵¹⁰ Carey, *Believing in Australia*, 123.

⁵¹¹ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 66.

⁵¹² Hilliard, "A short history of lay Anglicanism in Australia", 8.

⁵¹³ Hilliard, "The religious crisis of the 1960s," 211.

Mothers' Union and ministry opportunities for women

It has been claimed that MU was once the most widespread and best known organisation in the Australian Church.⁵¹⁴ MU aimed to display the Christian faith in action and especially sought to promote stable marriage and family life.⁵¹⁵ The movement was introduced to Sydney in 1896 and, while it championed motherhood as a woman's destiny and focussed on family values, during the 1960s it was criticised for being blind to human suffering through its rigid adherence to institutional structures, especially in the case of its refusal to allow divorced women to be members.⁵¹⁶ Nonetheless, MU provided opportunities for women to meet weekly for prayer and fellowship and the chance of hearing interesting speakers.⁵¹⁷ The community work of MU members included donating food, household goods and clothing to assist new arrivals in Australia, hospital visitation, and retirement village support.⁵¹⁸ During International Women's Year in 1975, Archbishop Marcus Loane commended MU members especially for their commitment to hospital and nursing home visitation and for a new initiative supporting the juvenile justice system. Some 200 volunteers were rostered every weekday of the year to provide refreshments when the three Children's Courts servicing the Sydney region were operating.⁵¹⁹ This was an impressive commitment by laypeople.

In the 1950s the tensions over membership of divorced women precipitated the formation of the 'Young Wives' groups as an offshoot of the MU Young Members Department, which had more relaxed membership rules, and by 1960 had branches in 80 suburbs.⁵²⁰ The collateral damage from the issue of divorce was evident in the fact that there was little movement from the Young Wives to the MU as had been intended.⁵²¹ Australian women were at the forefront of agitating for change in MU with respect to divorced women. Cordelia Moyse observes:

[A]t a World Wide Council in July 1968 Australian members voiced a range of views on the relationship between the objects and membership. While the commission sat it became clearer that most Australian members and bishops

⁵¹⁴ Hilliard, "A short history of lay Anglicanism in Australia," 8.

⁵¹⁵ Mothers' Union, "Mothers' Union: about us," <http://www.mothersunion.org/about-us>, accessed on 16 September 2016; Mothers' Union Australia, "Mothers' Union Australia: history," <http://www.muaustralia.org.au/about-us/history>, accessed on 16 September 2016.

⁵¹⁶ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 92. Brian Dickey points out that this issue was much debated worldwide within the MU. Dickey, *Not just tea and biscuits*, 44.

⁵¹⁷ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 69.

⁵¹⁸ Dickey, *Not just tea and biscuits*, 50.

⁵¹⁹ Loane, "The archbishop writes," 8. The Children's Courts were Albion Street (in Sydney), Yasmer (at Haberfield, an inner-city suburb) and Minda (at Lidcombe, west of Sydney).

⁵²⁰ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 69.

⁵²¹ O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 73.

were in favour of a more inclusive organisation ... The Australian MU was unanimous in desiring autonomy and was amongst the first to obtain it in 1974.⁵²²

It was not until mid-1973 that the English MU central council resolved to grant full power to councils around the world to regard divorced women as eligible for membership.⁵²³ However, while MU throughout Australia moved swiftly to admit divorced women to membership, the issue of divorce and remarriage continued to be unresolved by the wider church and in 1980 was still provoking letters to the editors of Anglican newspapers.⁵²⁴ In 1981 the Australian General Synod passed a provisional canon permitting the remarriage of divorced persons, but when the Marriage of Divorced Persons Ordinance 1985 came before the Sydney Synod in 1986, the Synod passed the Ordinance but, for technical reasons, Archbishop Donald Robinson withheld his assent.⁵²⁵

After the granting of autonomy the central aim of MU was simplified to '[t]he advancement of the Christian religion in the sphere of marriage and family life,' which was significant in terms of achieving greater inclusiveness.⁵²⁶ Writing about women's movements in 1975, Archbishop Marcus Loane commended the tremendous amount of voluntary work being undertaken by churchwomen throughout the diocese. He noted that there were 97 branches of MU in the Sydney Diocese with some 2,000 financial members.⁵²⁷ However, the damage over the membership of divorcees had already been done, and by the 1980s, when 'the flow of women into the paid workforce became an irresistible tide', support for MU continued to decline perceptibly.⁵²⁸

The interdenominational Women's Christian Conventions movement

Another important movement affecting laywomen in ministry was the Australian Christian Women's Convention (ACWC). Its aim was to help women become better equipped to work in their churches and serve God in the community. There was a strong

⁵²² Cordelia Moyse, *A history of the Mothers' Union: women, Anglicanism and globalisation, 1976–2008* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2009), 217.

⁵²³ "MU opens to divorcees," *Church Scene*, 61, 19 July 1973, 1.

⁵²⁴ See "Your say," *Church Scene*, 2, 92, 11 September 1980, 2; Dickey, *Not just tea and biscuits*, 58.

⁵²⁵ Cameron, *Phenomenal Sydney*, 170.

⁵²⁶ Loane, "The archbishop writes," 8.

⁵²⁷ Loane, "The archbishop writes," 8. In the 1950s membership of Mothers' Union was just over 3,000. O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 69.

⁵²⁸ West, *Daughters of freedom*, 390; Dickey, *Not just tea and biscuits*, 53. A feature article in *Church Scene* in May 1978 was more affirming of the work of MU, which was at that time planning to host the inaugural World Conference on the Family in Brisbane in July 1979. "Mothers' Union is on the move," *Church Scene*, 181, 4 May 1978, 16. In 1994, 92 years after its inception, the St Peter's Hornsby branch of MU was disbanded through lack of support. Ramsay and Silver, *On this rock*, 158.

emphasis on missionary work.⁵²⁹ As a ministry for women by women, this movement provided opportunities for laywomen to develop gifts in public speaking, leadership of prayer groups and to share insights in practical ministry-related activities. After the first convention held at Thornleigh, NSW, in June 1959, the movement spread to most Australian states. The growth of the movement was evident in the attendance of 200 women at a new convention centre at Mittagong in the Southern Highlands of NSW on 15 October 1964.⁵³⁰

The Seventh Central (Sydney) Women's Christian Convention, held at Narrabeen Lakes National Fitness Camp during 5–7 March 1965, attracted record attendances of 1,100. Speakers from the Anglican Church included Mrs Alan Begbie, wife of the Rector of St Stephen's Willoughby. Highlights included an address by Miss Elaine de Rusett, a returned missionary from the Congo, and a moving testimony from Mrs Doreen Mitchell.⁵³¹ The extent of lay involvement in the organisation of the convention is evident from the claim that it was preceded by weeks of prayer as women gathered in some eighty groups throughout Sydney. Later that year the Women's Convention held at St Matthew's Manly on 5 August 1965 was attended by 400 women.⁵³²

When 2,000 women attended the ACWC at Stanwell Tops, south of Sydney, in March 1971, the striking growth of Christian unity among the denominations was observed.⁵³³ Helen Kerle and Dorothy Hulme-Moir, well-known wives of leading clergy from the Sydney Diocese, spoke regularly at ACWC meetings. The Stanwell Tops Convention in March 1977 featured five women speakers of wide experience in Christian service and received strong support with 2,000 women in attendance.⁵³⁴

The 'Playgroups' phenomenon

Playgroups were a new concept of church mission, mainly involving the leadership of laywomen, in reaching families with pre-school children. The playgroup movement

⁵²⁹ June Bosanquet, "The Australian Christian Women's Conventions: a ministry for women by women," *Southern Cross* 6, 6 (June 1966): 10. In March 1971 about 1,500 women of all denominations attended the ACWC at Belgrave Heights, Victoria. "Australian women find a new unity in Christ: exciting growth of the conventions movement," *The Australian Church Record*, 1487, 6 May 1971, 1.

⁵³⁰ "Women's convention movement growing," *The Australian Church Record*, 1327, 3 December 1964, 5.

⁵³¹ "Hottest March day for 95 years but ... 1,100 attend Women's Christian Convention," *The Australian Church Record*, 1334, 25 March 1965, 1.

⁵³² "Third anniversary of women's conventions," *The Australian Church Record*, 1345, 26 August 1965, 1.

⁵³³ "Australian women find a new unity in Christ," 1.

⁵³⁴ "2000 women at CWC convention at Stanwell Tops," *The Australian Church Record*, 1631, 31 March 1977, 1.

started in the UK as a self-help device for disadvantaged families and was introduced to Sydney in 1972.⁵³⁵ Jennifer Turner, writing in *On Being* in 1977, encouraged her readers to consider the formation of home-based playgroups as a means of evangelism and fellowship, making them a ministry to the whole family and not just to the child. This, she claimed, would also create a greater ministry role for women and group life.⁵³⁶

St Alban's Lindfield, in a northern suburb of Sydney, was one of the first Anglican parishes to form a playgroup. It was started by Enid Davis, the rector's wife. It was advertised through the Sunday School and, on its first morning, was attended by 40 children and 30 mothers. It was reported that as a result of the playgroup 'young women, depressed and lonely, have come ... and found a new interest in life'.⁵³⁷ The programme catered for mothers and children five years of age and under, and was run on Wednesday and Thursday mornings during 9.30–11.30am. Outside activities were conducted in the rectory garden and included sand pit, dress-ups, and art and craft. Inside the hall and adjoining rooms, mothers chatted as they watched their children dress dolls, look at books, or play with play-dough'.⁵³⁸ Several women of the parish came to help and some men provided paper and sand. Coffee and juice were provided, and, after packing up, mothers and children sang around the piano with percussion instruments before going home. By May 1973 over 100 children and 70 mothers came regularly, and the playgroup was generating new enrolments in the Sunday School.⁵³⁹ This lay ministry made a positive connection with the local community and generated church growth.

Playgroups provided the church with excellent opportunities for positive interaction with the local community and for lay ministry. It was estimated that by May 1976 there were some 700 registered playgroups in NSW alone.⁵⁴⁰ By mid-1979 the Playgroup Association of NSW covered over 800 associated groups representing about 30,000 families—nearly 70 per cent of these met in church halls.⁵⁴¹ In the case of St Giles'

⁵³⁵ Rachel Baker, "OBE awarded to Pre-school Learning Alliance founder, Belle Tutaev," <http://www.daynurseries.co.uk/news/article.cfm/id/1557352/obe-awarded-to-pre-school-learning-alliance-founder-belle-tutaev>, accessed on 2 February 2017; Jennifer Gibson Turner, "Playgroups for outreach and service," *On Being* (August-September 1977): 36.

⁵³⁶ Turner, "Playgroups for outreach and service," 36.

⁵³⁷ June Bosanquet, "St Alban's playgroup," *Southern Cross* 13, 5 (May 1973): 11.

⁵³⁸ Play-dough was a form of modelling compound that was by then being commercially produced for children.

⁵³⁹ Bosanquet, "St Alban's playgroup," 11.

⁵⁴⁰ Turner, "Playgroups for outreach and service," 36.

⁵⁴¹ Colin Alcock, "Playgroups open door for local communities," *Church Scene*, 2, 32, 21 June 1979, 12.

Greenwich, north of Sydney, the church had established a very large playgroup involving 135 families each week with many of the children involved in the playgroup also attending Sunday School. Significantly, it was claimed that a number of parents had begun to see the church as a centre for community and family life through their contact with the playgroup.⁵⁴²

Moves towards 'specialist' lay ministry by women

The ministry of women in the work of the Department of Evangelism has been described by one commentator as a 'slowly evolving one'.⁵⁴³ While women had first served voluntarily in a secretarial capacity, remunerated appointments only applied to office work. Significant developments included the appointment of two women members to serve on the Board in October 1975. In mid-1986 Janet Kearsley, the Department's secretary for the previous six years, was appointed Outreach Projects Officer with responsibility for organising the conduct of regional missions. The restriction of women to the stereotypical office and secretarial roles finally ended when Elizabeth Foord, who was theologically trained, became the Department's first woman evangelist from 1990 to 1993.⁵⁴⁴

Mention was made in the previous chapter of the role of HMS in social welfare work within the Sydney Diocese. By the mid-1970s new positions were being filled by women trained in nursing and social work, in addition to the widespread involvement of volunteers in the social welfare areas of Church ministry. In 1979 the welfare division of HMS took on the new name Care Force, with headquarters in the Sydney suburb of Ashfield. This work was described as 'a new coordinated child and family support service' which included work among new settlers in Australia. To develop this work, especially among Asian newcomers, two Asian social workers were employed: Theresa Shue-Ching Tokura and Linda Tansiryakul.⁵⁴⁵

At the same time, the Care Force family support scheme was also establishing a pilot project at St Marys, an outer western suburb of Sydney, with nine volunteers drawn mostly from local Anglican churches who, after an extensive four-week training course,

⁵⁴² Alcock, "Playgroups open door for local communities," 12.

⁵⁴³ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 229.

⁵⁴⁴ Orpwood, *Chappo*, 229.

⁵⁴⁵ "New approach to welfare in Sydney dio," *Church Scene*, 2, 26, 10 May 1979, 5.

assisted families that had been referred to Care Force by providing advice on parenting and home management skills.⁵⁴⁶

In the areas of Crisis Help, Long Term Care, and the Op-shops, women were the mainstay in ministry and filled most of the professional roles required for counselling and nursing services. Contributions to the HMS General Fund and various activities of the Society indicated a rapid escalation of donations from \$7,000 in 1966-67 to \$22,873 in 1977-78 and reaching \$43,274 in 1985.⁵⁴⁷ This huge increase indicated the growing awareness by the women of the diocese of the vital importance of the society's work. Another sign of increasing professionalisation of women in the workforce and in paid work within the Anglican Church was indicated in 1980 in a report that there were over twenty diversional therapists working in Sydney's ARV.⁵⁴⁸ The concept of 'Diversional Therapy' had been pioneered by the Australian Red Cross and during the mid-1960s became more professionalised in response to a growing awareness of the need to improve the quality of care of the increasing aged population with appropriate craft, recreation and social activities.⁵⁴⁹

Finally, the parish of St Stephen's Normanhurst felt it was inappropriate for male clergyman to be expected to deal with specifically female problems.⁵⁵⁰ In June 1979, in response to the need for a deeper ministry to women, in the Parish Council appointed Mrs Elizabeth Redshaw as a staff worker for three days per week. She was well-known by most of the congregation and had received professional training in counselling work and theology. She was instrumental in the reorganisation of the parish's 'Care Force' programme in 1980 to assist people in the parish with short-term material needs. Between April and July 1982, seventy-eight services were performed for eight different people with fifty-eight helpers providing meals, transporting children to and from school, mowing lawns, shopping, cleaning, and laundering.⁵⁵¹ The benefits of lay participation in ministry teams and the move towards 'specialist' lay ministry by women were apparent.

⁵⁴⁶ "New deal for migrants' programme launched," *Church Scene*, 2, 31, 14 June 1979, 3.

⁵⁴⁷ Wright, *Looking back*, 11. The booklet stated that 'The Auxiliary' became the 'Women's Auxiliaries Division' of the HMS in 1984 and that by 1986 there were 78 branches in the diocese. (10).

⁵⁴⁸ Colin Alcock, "The key to life is fun and activity," *Church Scene*, 2, 75, 15 May 1980, 10.

⁵⁴⁹ "History of the Diversional Therapy Association of Australia from 1976-1996," <http://diversionaltherapy.org.au/About-DTA/History>, accessed on 17 March 2016.

⁵⁵⁰ Percival, *They will be changed like a garment*, 141.

⁵⁵¹ Percival, *They will be changed like a garment*, 141.

Deaconesses and moves for women to enter the ordained ministry

The role of deaconess was introduced to the Sydney Diocese in 1886 when Mary Schleicher was set apart to work as a deaconess in the parish of Newtown. Formal training of deaconesses commenced in 1891 at a Deaconess Institution in a rented house in Balmain set up by the Rev. Mervyn Archdall and a group of churchmen. The facility moved to Redfern in 1896. The deaconess was to be the helper of the parish clergyman in the areas of teaching and evangelising parishioners and in the provision of Christian nursing and social services.⁵⁵² Unlike male lay readers and catechists, deaconesses could not preach but only 'address the congregation' and read services in the absence of the clergyman.⁵⁵³ Their work was more directed towards parish visiting and practical ministry such as running mid-week women's groups and teaching Sunday School.⁵⁵⁴ Women who sought a more prominent leadership role in the Church tended to enter missionary service. They served either overseas or in remote parts of Australia, often with the Bush Church Aid Society (BCA). BCA had been established by a number of Sydney-based Church of England evangelicals in Sydney on 26 May 1919, primarily to provide an evangelical pastoral ministry to people in the Australian outback.⁵⁵⁵ It was soon realised that there was a need for women to become hostel sisters, deaconesses, and nurses in these remote areas. BCA was independent of the Sydney Diocese but as an evangelical society it drew much support from it.⁵⁵⁶ Increasingly deaconesses also served with the evangelical Church Missionary Society in Northern Australia and East Africa, especially as the Australian missionary society took on more responsibility and independence from its parent organisation.⁵⁵⁷

From the mid-1960s there was a growing participation of women in university education and the workforce. The new emphasis on lay ministry and, related to that, the availability of theological education for laypeople was highly significant in providing opportunities for women in ministry.⁵⁵⁸ The high profile of Deaconess House in Sydney

⁵⁵² Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 153–4.

⁵⁵³ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 216.

⁵⁵⁴ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 217.

⁵⁵⁵ "Bush Church Aid: our history," <http://www.bushchurcaid.com.au/content/our-history/gjjhrd>, accessed on 20 September 2016; Hilary M. Carey, "Bushmen and bush parsons: the shaping of a rural myth. The 2010 Russel Ward Annual Lecture University of New England, 15 April 2010," *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 14 (2011): 24.

⁵⁵⁶ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 217. Education of children in outback communities was almost exclusively provided by the Roman Catholic convent system and the BCA set up hostels in larger centres where children could live while attending a state primary school.

⁵⁵⁷ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 219. O'Brien, *God's willing workers*, 122.

⁵⁵⁸ Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 343.

has been attributed to the indefatigable Mary Andrews, its principal from 1952 to 1975.⁵⁵⁹ By comparison, Deaconess House in Melbourne was smaller and it closed in 1978. Significantly, women at Deaconess House in Sydney from the mid-1960s received the same training as the men at Moore College, studying for the Licentiate in Theology (ThL) and for the University of London's Bachelor of Divinity (BD), from which several women graduated with honours.⁵⁶⁰ However, from 1975 to 1985 enrolments at Deaconess House in Sydney declined because Melbourne's Ridley College offered more support for women's ordination and attracted Anglican women who were interested in theology or professional ministry.⁵⁶¹

In Sydney, deaconess work remained limited, but elsewhere greater responsibility was being granted to women working in parish ministry. The appointment in 1969 of Elizabeth Alfred as a full-time chaplain at the Royal Women's Hospital in Melbourne was significant because it was a precursor to the emergence of women being appointed as chaplains in Anglican girls' schools in the 1970s. This created a new professional ministry for women in which they enjoyed considerable freedom and authority.⁵⁶² Also noteworthy is that twelve women who studied at Sydney's Deaconess House in the late 1960s and early 1970s were part of the first generation of women to be ordained in other dioceses, six of whom became priests. However, this process did not commence until 1985 when General Synod passed the *Ordination of Women to the Office of Deacon Canon*.⁵⁶³ While most dioceses adopted this canon and proceeded to ordain female deacons, it was not until 1991 that the Appellate Tribunal finally overruled the objections of the Sydney Diocese to the ordination of women to the priesthood. The Archbishop of Perth broke new ground and ordained ten women priests in Perth on 7 March 1992.⁵⁶⁴ In the Sydney Diocese deaconesses were not ordained until after the

⁵⁵⁹ Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 344. Deaconess House later became Mary Andrews College which was merged with MTC in January 2008, "Mary Andrews College and Moore Theological College to be merged," Sydney Anglicans Media Release, 11 October 2007, http://sydneyanglicans.net/mediareleases/mary_andrews_college_and_moore_theological_college_to_be_merged, accessed on 30 July 2016. See also Margaret Rodgers, "The road less travelled," 10 June 2005, http://sydneyanglicans.net/blogs/indepth/history_the_road_less_travelled, accessed on 30 July 2016.

⁵⁶⁰ Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 345.

⁵⁶¹ Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 346.

⁵⁶² Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 350. Scarfe also emphasises that professional chaplaincy was associated with an intense sense of 'calling' to ordained ministry. (261).

⁵⁶³ Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 345. See "Ordination of Women to the Office of Deacon Canon, Canon 18, 1985," <http://www.anglican.org.au/governance/documents/canons/canon%201985-18%20women%20deacons.pdf>, accessed on 25 May 2016.

⁵⁶⁴ Scarfe, "Veterans of professional ministry," 83, 86, 345.

Deaconesses, Readers and Other Lay Persons Ordinance 1981 Amendment Ordinance 1994 was passed on 19 October 1994, but they still could not be priested.⁵⁶⁵

Moves for women churchwardens

Wardens are generally responsible for administering the financial and property affairs of the church or parish. In the Sydney Diocese there are usually three wardens in each parish; two are appointed at the Annual General Meeting of the parish and one is nominated by the rector at that meeting or shortly after. In consultation with the rector, they play an important part in the day-to-day management of the parish and the conduct of meetings.⁵⁶⁶

It was not until the 1975 Diocesan Synod that substantive action was taken to enable women to be elected or appointed to the office of churchwarden.⁵⁶⁷ In response to a motion brought forward by a layman, Mr R. G. Davies, the Sydney Synod of October 1975 voted by a three-to-one majority to ask for legislation to be prepared so that women could become churchwardens in Sydney. In the debate, Bishop Donald Robinson argued that 'since the ministry of a warden was primarily that of order, it was a pre-eminent contemporary example of an "elder" in New Testament terms and therefore inappropriate to women'.⁵⁶⁸ However, in October 1976 the Synod did an about-face: the laity found 126 votes in favour to 101 against, while the clergy found 59 in favour and 72 were against. The requirement to pass in both houses was not achieved.⁵⁶⁹

Significantly, some developments in the context of providing more opportunities for lay ministry were to cause a crack in the ice that would give women greater authority. First, a resolution of the 1977 General Synod urged that 'diocesan Synods examine their legislation so as to enable the expression of spiritual gifts of every member of the body, men and women alike, and that women be encouraged to accept positions of

⁵⁶⁵ "Deaconesses, Readers and Other Lay Persons Ordinance 1981 Amendment Ordinance 1994, No. 44, 1994," <http://www.sds.asn.au/site/102747.asp?a=a&ph=cp>, accessed on 8 March 2016.

⁵⁶⁶ "Responsibilities of wardens,"

<http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/churchwardens%20and%20parish%20councillors/PC%20and%20Warden%20Brochure%202013.pdf>, accessed on 3 March 2016.

⁵⁶⁷ "Sydney Synod reports," *The Australian Church Record*, 1597, 16 October 1975, 3.

⁵⁶⁸ "Moves for women churchwardens," *Church Scene*, 118, 23 October, 1975, 3.

⁵⁶⁹ "Sydney reverses trend—no women wardens," *Church Scene*, 143, 21 October 1976, 3. "Anglican synod rejects women as churchwardens," *Southern Cross* (October 1976): 13. Hilliard, "A short history of lay Anglicanism in Australia," 6, states that '[t]he admission of women to diocesan synods began in the 1920s—Newcastle was the last diocese to allow women members, in 1977—but women did not sit on diocesan committees in significant number until the 1980s'.

responsibility'.⁵⁷⁰ In response, the issue was re-examined by the Sydney Synod and on 10 October 1978 the *Sydney Church Ordinance (Women as Churchwardens) Amendment Ordinance No. 38, 1978*, was passed. It enabled women to become churchwardens of a church. Furthermore, in 1981 the Sydney Synod approved an ordinance which allowed laypeople, both men and women, to preach.⁵⁷¹ The ACR was critical of Synod's decision, pointing out the tensions which would be created if a minister giving approval for women to preach in his parish were to leave. His successor might find himself in difficulties if he was not in favour of women preaching and so refused to apply for the renewal of a licence.⁵⁷² Nevertheless, Synod's decision was significant because until then women (excluding deaconesses) had not been officially allowed to preach.

Debates over the ordination of women and lay presidency

In the wake of the debate over lay participation in the ministry of the parish came the questions of the role of the clergy and the purpose and function of ordination. Judd and Cable concisely sum up the dilemma for many clergy:

With lay readers, lay assistants, full-time lay workers in team ministries, lay leaders and teachers in small groups, laypeople undertaking theological education and lay presidency in the offing, what was the clerical role?⁵⁷³

However, this debate became submerged in the controversial issues of the ordination of women and lay presidency.

In canvassing the worldwide Anglican scene of the 1970s, Nicholas Taylor claims that 'the ordination of women emerged as perhaps the dominant and most divisive issue of Anglican ministry and became entwined with the expansion and growth of lay ministry'.⁵⁷⁴ Controversy also began to erupt in Australia over women's ordination, which Sydney Diocese and several predominantly Anglo-Catholic dioceses, especially the dioceses of the Murray and Ballarat, strongly resisted.⁵⁷⁵ In his presidential address

⁵⁷⁰ Sydney Diocesan Secretariat, "Sydney Church Ordinance (Women as Churchwardens) Amendment Ordinance No. 38, 1978."; "Doctrine Commission Calls for Women Priests," *The Australian Church Record*, 1633, 28 April 1977, 1.

⁵⁷¹ "Deaconesses, Readers and Other Lay Persons Ordinance," No. 36, 1981.

⁵⁷² "Editorial: 1981 Synod Comment," *The Australian Church Record*, 1741, 19 October 1981, 2.

⁵⁷³ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 303.

⁵⁷⁴ Taylor, *Lay presidency at the Eucharist?* 129.

⁵⁷⁵ Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 233. At the request of the 1968 Lambeth Conference, the 1969 Australian General Synod asked its newly formed Commission on Doctrine to study the ordination of women. See Hilliard, "Pluralism and new alignments in society and church," 133.

to Synod in 1968, Archbishop Marcus Loane made plain his views on the ordination of women:

I can see no New Testament precedent for the ordination of women, nothing to even hint at such a development. On the contrary, the ordination of women seems to me to be in conflict with the doctrines of 'headship' and 'authority' which are rooted in the Godhead.⁵⁷⁶

It has been claimed that Loane's opposition to women's ordination was 'on the basis of a doctrine that had already taken root among the teaching staff of MTC and was to remain the cornerstone of Sydney Anglican thinking on the subject'.⁵⁷⁷ Furthermore, by the end of the decade a new fault line was appearing in the Australian Church whereby the traditional rivalry between Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical factions was overtaken by unity in their opposition to the ordination of women.⁵⁷⁸ Brian Fletcher paraphrases Kevin Giles's pithy observation that, 'while the Anglo-Catholics sought to keep women away from the altar, evangelicals want to keep them from climbing into the pulpit'.⁵⁷⁹ This intense debate ran parallel to the growing emphasis the Church was placing on the importance of lay ministry.

During this period there was another pressing issue in parts of the Anglican Communion—a conspicuous decline in clergy numbers. Taylor observes that in response to these developments several of alternative patterns of ministry were considered. He quotes the following from C. J. Cocksworth, Bishop of Coventry:

Despite commitment to the priesthood of all believers, Evangelical tradition has remained, for reasons which were as much sociological and practical as theological, quite satisfied with a restriction of a eucharistic [*sic*] ministry to those ordained as priests. However, as the sociological and practical ground shifted, the theological issues began to be discussed.⁵⁸⁰

This observation is applicable to the Australian scene. The shortage of clergy was not so acute in Sydney but was becoming an issue in rural areas in Australia.⁵⁸¹ Bishop Peter

⁵⁷⁶ "Ordination of women a theological issue—Archbishop's address to Sydney Synod," *The Anglican*, 845, 17 October 1968, 1. See also Reid, *Marcus L. Loane*, 135.

⁵⁷⁷ Hilliard, "The organised opposition: 'How can a woman?'" 95.

⁵⁷⁸ Hilliard, "The organised opposition: 'How can a woman?'" 101.

⁵⁷⁹ Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 230. Fletcher is paraphrasing Giles, "Disagreements about the ordination of women," 27.

⁵⁸⁰ Taylor, *Lay presidency at the Eucharist*, 131. Taylor cites C. J. Cocksworth, *Evangelistic Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 168. See "The Diocese of Coventry: biography and roles,"

http://www.dioceseofcoventry.org/Bishop_of_Coventry/about_Bishop_Christopher, accessed on 2 December 2016.

⁵⁸¹ Bishop James Grant commented that, 'The clergy's preference for Eucharistic worship precluded the taking of services by lay officiants and entailed hectic driving on Sunday mornings for the rectors of multi-centre parishes. But since Anglicans, unlike Roman Catholics, were still able to provide ordained

Chiswell of Armidale was an early advocate of lay presidency in isolated rural congregations without a resident priest. In regional areas facing declining incomes and dwindling congregations, there was widespread agreement that for theological and practical reasons pastoral leadership should in the future be based in the local congregation.⁵⁸² Acceptance of the proposal was dampened by the almost universal opposition throughout the Anglican Communion, resulting in the reluctance of Sydney's archbishops to 'rock the boat' on this particular matter. Although the Sydney Synod had set up a committee in October 1968 to inquire into the question of lay presidency and first endorsed the principle in 1985, the issue remains unresolved.⁵⁸³ Lay presidency has been controversial and, like women's ordination, has been fiercely opposed by predominantly Anglo-Catholic dioceses.⁵⁸⁴ While lay presidency gave a first impression of championing the priesthood of all believers, it had the potential to open a 'Pandora's Box' in elevating the role of the laity and diminishing the prestige of the clergy. In the Sydney Diocese it has been restricted to men; there was certainly no intention to promote the role of women in leadership in this aspect of ministry.

Conclusion

Following the Second World War, women continued to fulfil an important but largely unsung voluntary local welfare role in church communities. Through the 1960s there emerged a new emphasis on lay ministry and, related to that, the availability of theological education for laywomen. Women at Deaconess House in Sydney were then receiving the same training as the men at Moore College, studying for the Licentiate in Theology and for the University of London's Bachelor of Divinity, in which several women had shown a capacity for higher academic work by graduating with honours. Deaconesses continued to serve as lay ministry assistants in parishes in the Sydney Diocese while some moved to other dioceses in pursuit of ordination. In addition to training for the more traditional occupations of nursing and teaching, women became

ministry, clergy were not driven to take lay ministry seriously.' Grant, *Episcopally led and synodically governed*, 316.

⁵⁸² Hilliard, "Pluralism and new alignments in society and church," 144.

⁵⁸³ "Two new dioceses from Sydney," 1; McGillion, *The Chosen Ones*, 7; Taylor, *Lay presidency at the Eucharist*, 8.

⁵⁸⁴ By way of example, in 2009 eight diocesan bishops from Wangaratta, Bathurst, Bunbury, Riverina, Rockhampton, Grafton, North Queensland and Willochra plus twenty clergy and laity from thirteen dioceses outside of Sydney appealed to the Appellate Tribunal, the highest court of the Australian Anglican Church, to decide on the issue of Lay Presidency. Linda Morris, "Legal challenge brewing over Holy Communion row," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October, 2009, <http://www.smh.com.au/national/legal-challenge-brewing-over-holy-communion-row-20091018-h2yo.html>, accessed on 7 March 2016.

increasingly focussed on professions and were consequently employed in greater numbers in specialist lay ministry, particularly in the areas of social work and counselling.

As well as providing a forum for women speakers, for leadership in parish welfare work and in hospital visitation, MU members were involved in working with youth in Sydney's Children's Courts. However, the issue of divorced women being denied membership remained unresolved for decades and restricted the growth of MU. Similarly, the interdenominational Women's Convention Movement provided opportunities for some Anglican laywomen to develop their ministry gifts in preaching, education, and mutual support. By the 1970s large numbers of women were attending these conventions. However, the significant potential for Christian outreach and service offered by playgroups had been quickly realised and, during the 1970s, parishes increasingly used home groups for fellowship and the development of women's ministry.

Finally, the issue of ordination of women became entwined with the expansion and growth of lay ministry. In the Sydney Diocese, women's hopes of ordained ministry were to remain frustrated by the leadership's insistence that the ordination of women was in conflict with an understanding of the biblical doctrines of 'headship' and 'authority'. The significance of laywomen being given greater access to theological education during our period should not be discounted. Sydney Synod granted permission for women to become churchwardens and supported their being included in paid positions in parish ministry teams, but women still needed to look to other dioceses if they sensed a calling to pursue ordained ministry opportunities.

On balance, over our period women in the diocese were given greater opportunities for lay ministry, both as members of parish ministry teams and as paid professionals in HMS services directed towards youth, aged-care nursing, social work and counselling. Women also expended immense energy as volunteers in parish ministry or HMS activities, as RI teachers in state schools, and in volunteer pastoral ministry work in hospitals and nursing homes.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

The principal aim of this thesis has been to canvass the laity's role in the ministry and mission of Australian Anglican evangelicalism, and to observe how this role changed, with particular reference to the Sydney Diocese during the period from 1960 to 1982. As has already been noted, this period was chosen because it marked a watershed both in the church and in Australian religious history, and it coincided with the episcopates of Archbishops Gough and Loane during which the Australian Anglican Church officially became more independent of its English origins. As the tide of religious commitment quickly ebbed after the signs of 'revival' generated by the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade, the Christian social and moral consensus in Australian society began to evaporate. The rapid decline in church attendance in most mainline denominations in Australia during the 1960s and 1970s was a symptom of the increasing secularisation of society and the devaluation of religious beliefs. This provoked a reassessment within the church of the importance of the laity in its ministry and mission. This reassessment has been considered in light of paradigmatic shifts in cultural, social, and political attitudes in Western nations during this period.

This thesis has explored a number of themes that have revealed the gradual realisation of the importance of laypeople for the church's ministry and mission. The growth of lay involvement in parishes gained impetus with the training of counsellors for the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade, which was well supported by Sydney Anglicans. The subsequent growth of small group ministries in parishes created opportunities for pastoral care and for nurturing people in the Christian faith, and was foundational to facilitating the Church's mission to the community, which we will now highlight.

Moving from clergy-centred to a 'team-leadership' and 'whole-church' ministry

At the strategic level of diocesan leadership an increasing reliance on the laity emerged when the Report of the Commission on Evangelism, entitled *Move in for action* (1971), confirmed that there was little effective evangelism happening in the diocese. More importantly, it recommended that each congregation be encouraged to express the gifts of the Spirit with greater involvement of the laity. It suggested that the clergyman should be more like a playing coach and that more than one person should be involved

in the spiritual eldership of the congregation. However, the Report's proposals did not gain much traction initially, especially with the clergy.

Of greater significance was the subsequent Report of the Parochial Ministry and Organisation Commission entitled *Looking into the parish* (1972), which recommended comprehensive reforms. It called for a more egalitarian approach with an end to clerically-centred parish ministry. This would be facilitated by the encouragement of laity and a much greater use of trained and qualified laypeople to exercise their gifts in team ministry in full-time parish work. While at first many clergy felt threatened by the proposals and, some of the Report's recommendations were gradually adopted. This thesis has shown that the parishes that embraced this model were better at facilitating the involvement of laypeople and were far more dynamic in ministry and mission than parishes that did not embrace the model.

Ministry to youth

By maintaining existing infrastructure and acquiring additional properties, the Youth Department of Sydney Diocese encouraged the substantial involvement of laypeople in evangelism and ministry to youth. Attendance at Camp Howard during school vacations remained stable throughout our period, and the case study of Captain Rex Harris of the Church Army highlighted new initiatives in youth work led by laypeople. During the 1960s and 1970s the Church of England Boys' Society and the Girls' Friendly Society, although continuing to operate at the parish level, experienced a substantial fall in membership and in this area the opportunities for lay involvement declined.

Significant changes were also embraced when Archbishop Loane authorised the training and licensing of youth workers (1969) and the Youth Department launched the Full-time Youth Workers Course (1977). These initiatives enabled laypeople to be included in ministry teams and had the potential to benefit parishes across the diocese, but it was mainly the larger parishes that were able to create positions for youth workers, and the take-up of graduates was slow.

Despite an enormous amount of activity expended by the Youth Department at the diocesan level, the overall outlook for youth ministry in parishes remained uncertain during these decades. With the encouragement of the leadership of the diocese, many lay Anglicans sought evangelism and ministry opportunities, and gained valuable practical experience through attending interdenominational Scripture Union youth camps and

beach missions. At the parish level, the problems associated with retaining youth attendance appear to have been beyond the ability of the Church to overcome.

Evangelism and outreach

The 1959 Billy Graham Crusade had a major impact on Sydney and was well supported by Sydney Anglicans, especially as counsellors at Crusade meetings and through their involvement at the parish level in following-up 'enquirers' who had made faith commitments. This thesis has argued that its main legacy was to generate a stronger involvement of lay ministry in parishes through small groups. These initially focussed on Bible study, but more importantly they engendered a sense of belonging and became vehicles for pastoral care, nurture, social enjoyment in parish life, and evangelism.⁵⁸⁵

The encouragement given to new initiatives, such as the Lay Institute for Evangelism, Dialogue Evangelism, Evangelism Explosion, and regional missions and crusades demonstrated the commitment of the diocese to training laypeople in personal evangelism in an attempt to engage with non-churchgoers. The intense effort put into evangelism and outreach was significant in facilitating much greater lay involvement in ministry and mission.

Preaching and teaching

This thesis presents compelling evidence for the importance of lay readers in establishing and ensuring continuity of services and ministry, especially in multi-church parishes. This finding challenges received accounts that have understated the role of lay readers. With its strong commitment to educating the laity, the Sydney Diocese made significant gains in better equipping lay readers, teachers of Religious Instruction in Schools, and Sunday School teachers. The challenge of training some 2,000 RI teachers by 1970 for ministry in government schools was formidable, and the determination of the diocese to reach this target has been acknowledged. Nevertheless, the diocese was unable to provide sufficient personnel to meet an increasing demand for RI teaching, especially in new housing areas to the south and west of Sydney.

⁵⁸⁵ Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 299.

Training

The Sydney Preliminary Theology Certificate correspondence course offered by Moore College was extended to include the Certificate in Theology and was accessed by laypeople throughout Australia and beyond. These courses were facilitators of laypeople gaining better knowledge of biblical theology in a Reformed key and a deeper understanding of Anglican Church history and doctrine. This was significant in educating both laymen and laywomen to assist in Christian ministry and evangelism.

In addition to the intensive training component of the various evangelistic programmes, missions, and RI teaching initiatives mentioned above, the diocese initiated conferences to equip wardens and parish councillors in the day-to-day running of parishes. The teaching sessions went beyond instruction in practical administration and accounting skills to include teaching on the leadership of meetings, home groups, and Bible studies. In so doing, the evangelical ethos and theology of the diocese were inculcated in its leaders at all levels. This emphasis on training had ongoing benefits: for the development of ministry gifts in the administration of parishes; and for the cultivation of lay leadership ability. Thereby laypeople were enabled to take a more significant role in parish life, pastoral ministry, and personal evangelism.

A detailed study of the training of laypeople and their contribution in the helping professions associated with the Home Mission Society, HammondCare, and Anglican Retirement Villages was beyond the scope of this thesis but is worthy of future research. The energy directed by the Sydney Diocese towards training its laypeople must not be understated.

Community activities and social concern

The HMS continued to be the Sydney Diocese's principal agency for mission in the area of social welfare, especially in its attempt to identify with marginalised members of the wider community. In collaboration with the HMS some parishes showed innovative ways of helping migrants and refugees settle in Sydney. These relied on considerable support from the laity. Larger parishes were characterised by embracing the concepts of team-leadership and a whole-church approach to pastoral ministry and evangelism, with well-organised community outreach programmes. They were able to employ social workers to engage with people experiencing ill-health or family difficulties and to coordinate the assistance of volunteers. This was also a time when, following the

Lausanne Congress on World Evangelism in 1974, evangelical churches reviewed their understandings of the place of social and political action in the worldwide mission of evangelicalism. The Sydney Diocese responded by expanding the role of the HMS, particularly in programmes utilising the assistance of laypeople to facilitate practical support for migrants and refugees. However, at the leadership level there did not seem to be the same social concern that was evident in lay initiatives, but rather suspicion arising from the perception of increasing liberalism of the World Council of Churches and resistance to calls for social justice that were made by Stott and others at the Lausanne Congress.

Women's ministry

Following the Second World War, women continued to fulfil their important but largely unsung voluntary local welfare roles in parish life. Through the 1960s there was a growing participation of women in university education and the workforce, which tended to limit their availability for voluntary work in the parishes. While the number of women teaching RI classes increased, their participation in Sunday School and GFS groups decreased. Deaconesses continued to serve as lay ministry assistants within parishes in the Sydney Diocese. Women's hopes of ordained ministry were to remain frustrated by the diocesan leadership's insistence that it was not compatible with their understanding of the biblical doctrines of 'headship' and 'authority'. Those women desiring to pursue ordained ministry opportunities moved to other dioceses.

In addition to training for the more traditional occupations of nursing and teaching, women became increasingly focussed on gaining professional qualifications and their skills were harnessed by the Church, especially in administrative positions in the diocese and in larger parishes. The significance of women's contributions was evident in their being given greater access to theological education; specialist lay ministry in youth work, aged-care nursing, social work, and counselling services; and the opportunity to become churchwardens. The increasing professionalisation of women was also seen in the pioneering of diversional therapy and social work positions in HMS Nursing Homes, HammondCare, and ARV.

In the Sydney Diocese the influence of MU diminished, especially as a result of divorced women being denied membership until 1973, but its members remained committed to working with youth in Children's Courts, running playgroups, counselling,

marriage preparation, and personal relationship courses. The growth of the interdenominational Women's Convention Movement provided opportunities for some Anglican laywomen to develop their ministry gifts in preaching and education, and by the 1970s large numbers of women were attending these conventions. The significant potential for Christian outreach and service offered by the 'Playgroups' movement was quickly realised and, during the 1970s, this resulted in a number of parishes increasingly using home groups for fellowship and the development of women's ministry.

The charismatic movement

The character and influence of the charismatic movement in Australian Anglican evangelicalism has also been explored in this thesis. Despite the active resistance of the Sydney leadership, the charismatic movement continued to have an impact in some parishes and more noticeably through the St Andrew's Cathedral Healing Ministry. While clergy-led, the Cathedral Healing Ministry featured a strong focus on lay ministry that sought to provide opportunities for laypeople to gain an awareness of their spiritual gifts, and this facilitated its growth into an internationally recognised ministry. The diocese's conservative evangelical theology was not accepting of this more experiential expression of Christianity, and its leaders failed to appreciate the lay 'enthusiasm' generated by the charismatic movement. The findings of this thesis resonate with those of scholars such as Mark Hutchinson, who has argued that Sydney's policy of containment of charismatic activity in parishes resulted in many energetic laypeople leaving the Anglican Church altogether for Pentecostal and independent charismatic churches, robbing the diocese of innovation and ministry opportunities.⁵⁸⁶

Conclusions

Taken together, these findings enable an assessment of the role of the laity in the ministry and mission of the church, with particular reference to the Sydney Diocese in the period 1960–1982. This thesis suggests that any full-orbed account of a diocese or its parishes needs to include insights from the grass-roots level as well as from 'top-down' vantage points. Such approaches are needed to fill out the historiography of the Anglican Church specifically and church history generally.

It has been shown that the larger parishes showing significant growth were led by clergy with the preparedness and ability to move from a clergy-centred focus to a team-

⁵⁸⁶ Hutchinson, "Anglican charismatic renewal," 3, 8.

leadership and whole-church approach. In these parishes laypersons were encouraged to exercise a significant role in ministry leadership, in the giving of pastoral care to members of the congregation, and in mission to the wider community. These became essential elements in bringing vibrancy to parish life.

During our period Australian society became more secular, and young adults in particular became more anti-institutional and largely forsook traditional beliefs. A more nuanced approach to the debate over the impact of secularisation has been facilitated by considering grass-roots issues and by canvassing the impact of laypeople in parish mission and ministry. There nevertheless remains a need for further study of issues such as the impact of diocesan schools on church growth, especially in the area of youth ministry.

This thesis has also demonstrated that in our period the Sydney Diocese educated its laypeople in theology and doctrine to an extent hitherto unparalleled in Australia. The intense effort put into evangelism and outreach, especially at the diocesan level, was significant in facilitating much greater lay involvement in parish life and ministry and helped bolster the diocese against the threat of secularisation, even if its results were less than what had been hoped for. Also acknowledged are the significant gains achieved by the diocese in better equipping lay readers, youth workers, teachers of Religious Instruction in public schools and Sunday School teachers, and its sustained commitment to training in a variety of administrative and practical applications for parish and personal ministry served to make ministry positions open to laypeople. As a result of better training, churchwardens and parish councillors were far more able to manage the day-to-day running of parishes.

It was in the late 1960s that the issue of the ordination of women intensified and women re-evaluated their role in ministry within the church. By the end of our period, although the diocese continued to resist the ordination of women, those women with training in areas such as social work and counselling were being employed in parish ministry teams. After 1977 there was controversy in the Sydney Diocese over lay presidency in the administration of Holy Communion. The concept indicated an increased understanding of the significance of the role of laity in ministry within the diocese but remained unresolved for decades. In the resistance of the diocese to the charismatic movement and the ordination of women, conservative theology and practice prevailed; whereas in entertaining the concept of lay presidency at Holy Communion (for men at

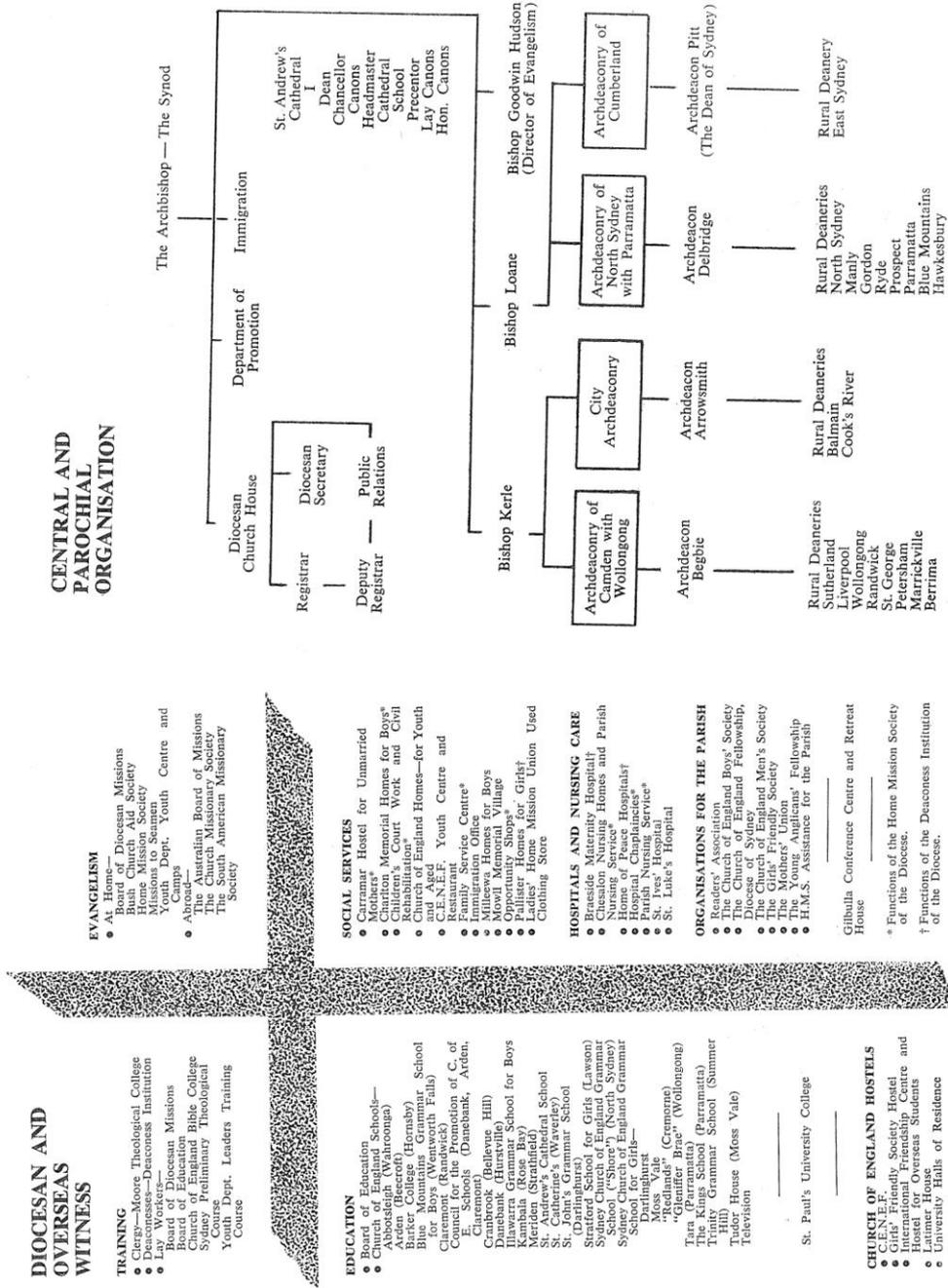
least), concern for the unity of Australian Anglicanism was considered to be more important.

Finally, this thesis has demonstrated the process by which the role of the laity in Sydney Diocese expanded in parish ministry and mission. It has confirmed that the number of laypeople in parish ministries, and their commitment, not only contributed to the Anglican Church's mission to the people of Sydney, but also helped to buttress the diocese in facing the formidable threats of a radically changing and increasingly secular society. While it appears that the motivation for change was driven largely by external threats, Sydney Diocese's huge effort in educating and training its laity towards greater involvement in evangelism, ministry and mission helps to explain why it was considered 'the most dynamic diocese in the Anglican Church of Australia' during the ensuing decades.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁷ Ballantine-Jones, *Inside Sydney*, 286.

APPENDIX A

Figure 1: Structure of the Diocese of Sydney in 1961⁵⁸⁸



⁵⁸⁸ Diocese of Sydney, *Sydney Diocesan Digest* 3 (1961), 6–7. The Anglican Information Office was established on 25 October 1976; the Board of Diocesan Missions was reconstituted as the Department of Evangelism on 28 August 1978; and the majority of Anglican schools were controlled by the diocese but others associated with the Sydney Diocese operated autonomously.

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