

**THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY:
A History of the Church of England in the
Diocese of Brisbane, 1950 - 1970.**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, at the University of
Queensland in December 2006



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Statement of Originality

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institute of tertiary education. Information derived from published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references are given. I also declare that I am familiar with the rules of the School and the University relating to the submission of this thesis.

Jonathan Holland

date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to all who have assisted me in this thesis. Many people – including those I have interviewed and those who have seen some of the fruits of my research over the last few years – have shown a graciousness to me and an interest in my work that has been very encouraging.

I have much appreciated the insights, encouragement and time of my supervisors, Associate Professors Clive Moore and Marion Diamond. Their direction has been invaluable and they have persisted with me over several years to see this thesis to its completion.

I have also received much support from the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane, in particular a free hand to access material in the Diocesan archives. The archivists, Ms Glenda Morrell and more recently, Ms Desley Soden, have both been tremendously supportive and helpful. They allowed me space to read archival material and attempted to answer my many questions and meet my many requests.

Ms Elsie Manley gave me access to the diaries of Bishop Philip Strong, which are in her possession. I stayed with Elsie for a week reading the diaries and making notes. It was both generous and gracious of her. Reading the diaries and handling some of the mementoes of Strong's life – his prayer book with a bullet hole through its middle – were moving experiences and have left me a feeling of privilege and gratitude.

Finally, my wife Kerry and children have watched this thesis unfold and have made sacrifices in family life to accommodate it. I am as usual grateful and privileged to have such an understanding and patient family.

ABSTRACT

THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY: A History of the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane, 1950 - 1970.

This thesis charts the history of the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane from 1950 to 1970.

The history of the Diocese from its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century could be read as the attempt to address the challenge of three abiding issues: a lack of ordained clergy, of financial resources and of active members. But suddenly, for about a decade from the early 1950s, these shortfalls were transcended. Churches recorded growing participation and parents sent their children to Sunday Schools in record numbers. More young men than ever before attended the theological college – St Francis' College at Milton – and a money raising scheme, called the Wells Way, allowed parishes to tap post-World War II prosperity. Perhaps for the first time in Diocesan history, parishes could plan for the future with some confidence that the financial and human resources were in place for those plans to come to fruition.

The first part of this thesis attempts to explain why this decade of growth occurred. Several answers are given. The Diocese established parishes in the emerging suburbs, which provided social activities for families, and especially for that new class of young people called 'teenagers'. The churches were also seen as upholders of moral standards and one of the bulwarks against atheistic communism. Finally, the Diocese of Brisbane was seen to carry something of the ethos of the Church of England in England at a time of pride in the British heritage, which burst out when the newly crowned Queen Elizabeth II toured Australia in 1954 to tumultuous acclaim.

The second part of this thesis charts the numerical decline which set in from the early 1960s. Coincidentally, this decline began when a new archbishop – Philip Strong – was installed in March 1963 as Archbishop of Brisbane. Strong came to Brisbane with a powerful reputation as a

longstanding, missionary bishop in Papua New Guinea, whose steadfastness in World War II, during the Japanese invasion, evoked much respect and pride.

After examining a number of theories for why numerical decline should suddenly set in, this thesis argues that rapid change – social, cultural, economic and technological – is the principal reason for the decline. Sundays were no longer sacrosanct to the churches alone. A more liberal spirit to moral issues challenged the traditional Christian moral code. Immigration patterns changed. New media, especially television, had a profound effect on the churches, more so than has perhaps been realised. Attitudes to authority figures and authoritative institutions changed in the wake of the Vietnam War, and the inchoate feminist movement challenged traditional church teachings on the role of women in religious institutions.

The speed and scale of change wrong-footed the Diocese (and other churches), and it was unable to read or satisfactorily address social changes. What changes should the church accommodate? What ones should the church resist? The answer to these questions introduced a new divide in the Diocese (as elsewhere) between conservatives and liberals. The capacity of the Diocese to respond to social change was further inhibited by other factors. There was a loss of confidence in traditional teachings, especially after the publication of John Robinson's book, *Honest to God*, in 1963. As well, Diocesan leadership tensions meant that time and energy was directed internally. The Diocese had a powerful registrar, Roland St John and he and other outspoken leaders did not always see eye to eye with the archbishop. Strong, who had spent the previous 26 years in Papua New Guinea, exercising unchallenged authority, found it hard to adjust to these more robust and challenging voices, some of whom were much more liberal than his own conservatism allowed. Finally, Anglo-Catholicism – the Diocesan theological engine room, which had created the passion and direction for Diocesan ministry over so many years – was seriously wounded by social and cultural change and gradually lost its force to inspire and motivate.

The thesis finishes by drawing some conclusions from this history and outlining the legacy of these years.

A Note on Terminology

The terms 'Roman Catholic; and 'Catholic' are used throughout the thesis to refer to that Christian Church which is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. The term 'Anglo-Catholic' refers throughout this thesis to a branch within the Church of England.

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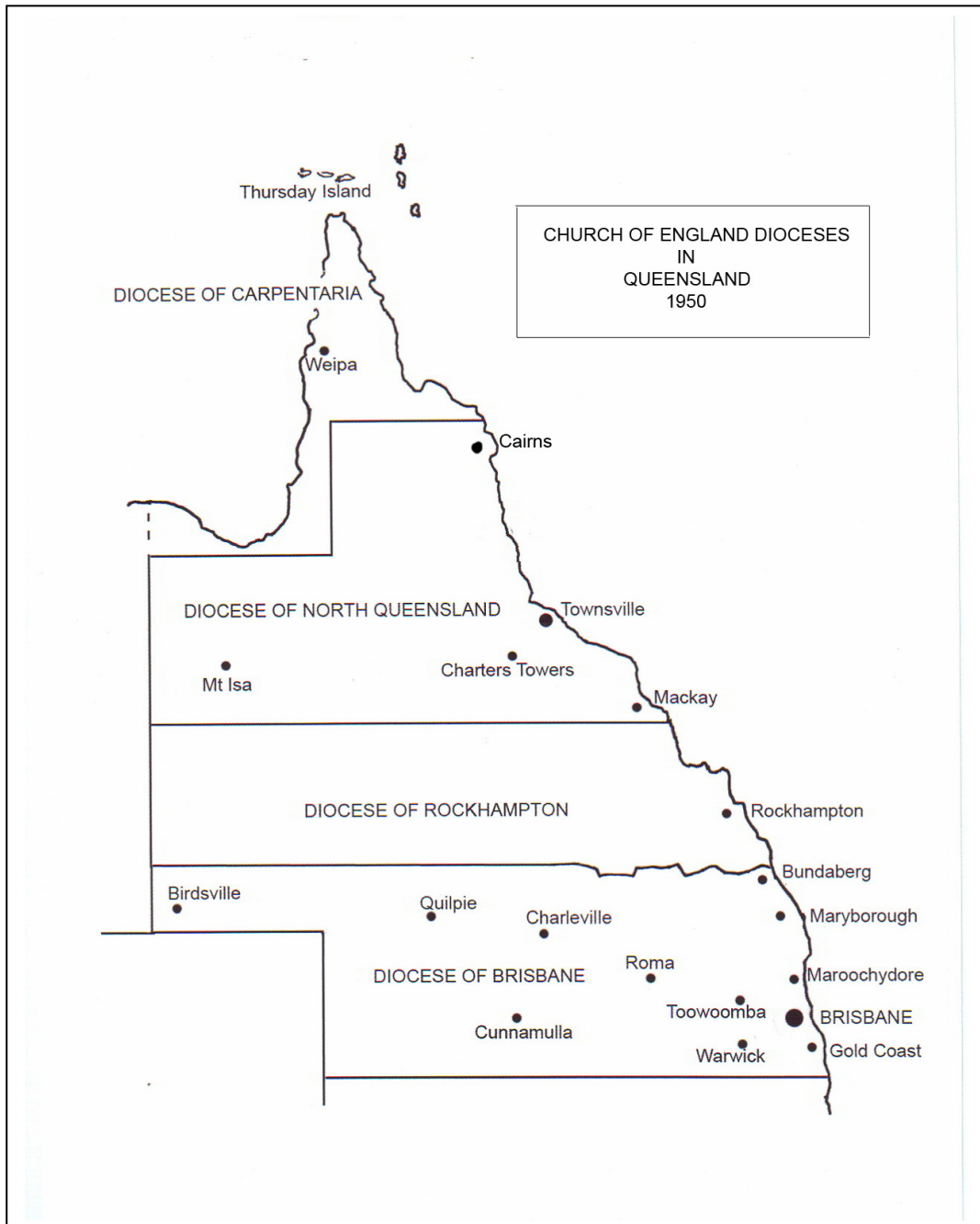


Fig 1. Map of Queensland Dioceses

Introduction

In 1954, the *Church Chronicle* (the monthly paper of the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane) headlined its November edition, 'Congregations Growing!' In excited tones it declared that churches were filled to overflowing and everywhere 'congregations are growing larger'.¹

For a ten year period from the early 1950s, churches of all traditions around Australia experienced an unusual numerical and financial growth, far faster than population growth. The first half of this thesis examines that growth and the reasons for it, in one branch – the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane. The Diocese had been established in 1859, and almost all of its history can be read as the attempt to address the lack of three essentials: a lack of priests, of money and of people. But for a decade from the early 1950s, these three shortages appeared to be surprisingly overcome. Congregations grew larger, money became available and record numbers of young men entered the theological college at Milton. For perhaps the first time in its history, the Diocese was able to make plans for the future with a spirit of confidence that the means might be available for their execution.

Overseeing this movement forward was the elderly, bachelor, rugby-loving Archbishop of Brisbane, Reginald Halse. He had been Archbishop since 1943, but the advance was not so much due to his strategic management as the fortuitous amalgamation of certain social moods and developments. As suburbs emerged around all capital cities in the years after World War II and Australians sought happiness in family life, they looked to

¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1954, p. 321.

the churches to play their part in the emerging social order. With limited organised activities available in the suburbs, especially on Sundays, parish churches happily filled the void with a variety of parish groups for adults, children and that new category between childhood and adulthood, the teenager. The churches championed the family and upheld high moral standards. Anglicanism benefited further from the pride still evident in the early Fifties in Australia's British heritage. As well, the growing prosperity of post-War Australian families meant that greater amounts of money were available and some of that trickled into the churches. By the end of the Fifties, Anglican parishes everywhere were vibrantly alive. Clergy had a secure role. The teachings of the Christian faith were broadly known and accepted, congregations were being established, and churches were being built in all the outlying suburbs. Diocesan leaders looked to the future with confidence and optimism.

But if these halcyon years seemed to represent some kind of springtime for the churches, it was short lived. From the early 1960s there was an equally arresting numerical decline. The second half of this thesis charts and seeks to explain this decline, which in Brisbane corresponded coincidentally with the advent of a new Anglican archbishop, Philip Strong, in 1963. It is worth noting at this point that throughout this thesis, the 'Fifties' means the 'long Fifties' – roughly the years after the end of World War II to about 1962, the year in which Archbishop Halse died. The 'Sixties' refers to those years from 1963 (coinciding with Strong's enthronement) to 1970, when

Philip Strong unwillingly retired, and this marks the end point to the 'Sixties' for this thesis.

This thesis argues that the numerical decline from 1963 was due principally to rapid social, moral, technological and cultural changes, which the Diocese (like all Christian churches) was unable to read or address satisfactorily. The scale and speed of social change caught the churches by surprise. What emerging social and cultural changes were good and should be accommodated into church life? What changes were bad and should be resisted? What was neutral and could be adopted without loss? The answers to these questions introduced a new divide in the Diocese, as in other churches, between conservatives and liberals. The decline was compounded by a range of internal religious matters, including a shaking of confidence in the traditional Christian teachings. *Honest to God*, a book by John Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, became the flag-bearer of a radical questioning of some of the basic tenets of Christian belief and shook the foundations of traditional faith.²

One result of the social changes and the theological ferment was a leaking of passion for that movement which had for so many years been the theological engine room of the Diocese and of many parts of the Church of England: Anglo-Catholicism. Anglo-Catholicism was an outworking of the Tractarian or Oxford Movement of the early nineteenth century, whose legacy was to re-vitalise religious orders, inspire missionary endeavour, give energy to a sacrificial spirit, and re-introduce beauty to Anglican liturgies. From the

² John Robinson, *Honest to God*, SCM Press, London, 1963.

early 1960s, Anglo-Catholicism's power to continue to stimulate such virtues was seriously undermined by social and cultural change. In Brisbane, one other factor inhibited a satisfactory Diocesan response to social change: internal friction among the leadership of the Diocese. Powerful figures, such as Roland St John, the registrar (today's 'business manager'), as well as some archdeacons, did not always see eye to eye with the archbishop, Philip Strong, and the resultant tension further decreased the capacity of the Diocese to respond adequately to social change and numerical decline.

Much of this thesis charts the post-War history of the Diocese of Brisbane for the first time, and therefore makes a distinctive contribution to the study of religious institutional life in Australia. There is a partial overlap with a PhD thesis by Keith Rayner entitled, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', in which he charts the development of the four Anglican dioceses in Queensland (Brisbane, Rockhampton, North Queensland and Carpentaria) from their beginnings in the early nineteenth century to Halse's death in 1962, when Rayner submitted his thesis.³ Rayner's work is thorough, but due to the long historical scope of his thesis and the range of dioceses examined, it lacks a sustained analysis of the Church of England in Queensland in the post-World War II years. More importantly, the passage of time has highlighted certain post-War themes, the significance of which was not so readily apparent when Rayner was writing. A greater distance from the events of the years after World War II now allows for some reassessment of the Diocese of Brisbane in these years. The significance of a youth

³ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962.

generation and culture, the influence of the media (especially television), the impact of community prosperity, changes in State educational policies that impacted on church schools, increased mobility and the engagement of Anglicans in society (in contrast to the Roman Catholic Church), all merit greater examination. As well, this thesis limits itself to one Anglican diocese in Queensland – Brisbane Diocese – which allows a greater analysis of the history of that diocese and makes the thesis more manageable.

No church history can be read in isolation. The history of the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane would be greatly distorted if it was treated without reference to at least three other contexts. First of all, the Diocese was part of the State of Queensland and developments in the Diocese cannot be divorced from political, economic, social and even technological factors in Queensland's history. Secondly, the Diocese was one of many churches in Queensland. The changing relationship between the various churches is one of the most significant aspects of the Fifties and Sixties, as the suspicion of sectarianism gave way to the friendship and hopes of ecumenism. (It is worth noting here that the word 'churches' is used to refer to all church traditions or denominations. The word 'denomination' is used only occasionally, largely because it carries for some people pejorative overtones.) Thirdly, the Diocese was part of the whole Australian Anglican church, itself part of the world-wide Anglican Communion. National and at times international questions and issues sometimes intruded to change the way the Diocese thought and acted. The national constitution, Prayer Book revision and calls for the ordination of

women belong in this category. Throughout this thesis constant reference is made to these wider contexts. It is worth looking in more detail at each in turn.

The political, social and cultural contexts are frequently alluded to and described, allowing the thesis to be read also as a social and urban history of the southern portion of Queensland. In particular, the changing circumstances of Brisbane, which for the Diocese contained about 65 per cent of its constituency, are outlined. City infrastructure, suburban growth, transportation systems, media development, the music and dances of the youth generation, architectural developments, the building of the first shopping centres and social mobility through growing use of cars, are all plotted, and their impact on patterns of church belonging and behaviour in the Diocese of Brisbane observed.

General histories of Australia have all been helpful in understanding the broader social and political context, as has volume five of *Australians: a historical library*, called *Australians: since 1939*, edited by Curthoys, Martin and Rowe.⁴ This is the only general history to give some discrete space to 'religion' since World War II, and even then it is combined with 'politics'. Surprisingly, other general works on Australian society during the Fifties and Sixties also lack interest in the subject of religion. Craig McGregor in his 1966 *Profile of Australia* devotes barely two pages in nearly 400 to 'religion', justifying this omission with the argument that although the churches carried

⁴ For general histories of Australia, see for example, Geoffrey Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia, 1942-1988: the Middle Way*, vol. 5, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990; Fred Alexander, *Australia Since Federation: a narrative and critical analysis*, 4th edn, Nelson, Melbourne, 1982; Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1999; John Rickard, *Australia: a cultural history*, Longman, London, 1988; Ann Curthoys, A. W. Martin and Tim Rowse (eds), *Australians: A Historical Library: Australians from 1939*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Sydney, 1987.

some residual influence, 'Australia is not a very religious country'.⁵ Donald Horne's influential *The Lucky Country* included just six pages in 223 on 'the churches'.⁶ A similar poverty of references to religion or the churches can be found in most other general works on the Fifties and Sixties, such as Stella Lees and June Senyard's, *The 1950s ... and how Australia became a modern society*, James Cockington's, *Mondo Weirdo*, and Gerster and Bassett's *Seizures of Youth*, which has just a single passing reference to the churches.⁷ An exception is John Murphy and Judith Smart's, *The Forgotten Fifties*, which includes a chapter by David Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality in Australia in the 1950s'.⁸ This lack of interest is surprising given that in the period under consideration about 30 per cent of the Australian population attended a church on any given Sunday, making the influence of the churches on the lives of these people a significant feature of the times. This thesis therefore addresses a gap found in these general histories.

Central to understanding Queensland's political, economic and social background have been two works, Ross Fitzgerald's, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, and W. Ross Johnston's, *The Call of the Land: a history of Queensland to the present day*.⁹ These are the only two general histories on Queensland. The former argues that a political

⁵ Craig McGregor, *Profile of Australia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1966, p. 345.

⁶ Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the sixties*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1964.

⁷ Stella Lees and June Senyard, *The 1950s ... how Australia became a modern society and everyone got a house and car*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1987; James Cockington, *Mondo Weirdo: Australia in the Sixties*, Mandarin, Melbourne, 1992; Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, *Seizures of Youth: the sixties and Australia*, Hyland House Publishing, Melbourne, 1991.

⁸ David Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality in Australia in the 1950s', in John Murphy and Judith Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties: aspects of Australian society and culture in the 1950s*, special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 28, no. 109, October 1997, pp. 133-146.

⁹ Ross Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1984; W. Ross Johnston, *The Call of the Land: a history of Queensland to the present day*, Jacaranda Press, Milton, 1982.

commitment to economic progress and development in the State negatively affected the land, environment, institutions and people. The latter focuses less on political events and more on the values and attitudes of the people to explain Queensland history. In both works, there is again only incidental attention paid to the role of the churches in Queensland.

There are many specialised books, articles and monographs on political, economic or social developments in Queensland. Biographies of various premiers, the yearly 'Political Chronicles' in the *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, John Cole's authoritative *Shaping a City* on the growth of Brisbane, the description of the 1959 State centenary celebrations in *Centenary Cavalcade*, and articles such as Humphrey McQueen's influential 'Queensland: a state of mind', in which he underscores the conservative nature of Queensland politics, are a sample and were all useful to gain a knowledge of the context.¹⁰ Even more useful to capture something of the tone of the times have been a few video recordings, which offered a valuable visual commentary on Brisbane or Queensland themes, and two works of fiction, David Malouf's *Johnno*, set in Brisbane in the late 40s, early 50s, and Hugh Lunn's *Over the Top with Jim*, his reminiscences of growing up in Brisbane in the 50s.¹¹

The Diocese was one of many churches in Queensland seeking to commend Christ, and the way the Diocese interacted with these other

¹⁰ John Cole, *Shaping a City: greater Brisbane 1925-1985*, William Brooks, Eagle Farm, Queensland, 1984; *Centenary Cavalcade: a record of the principal events staged in connection with the Queensland Centenary celebrations during 1959, and an abridged history of Queensland*, Penrod, Brisbane, 1959; Humphrey McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, pp. 41-51.

¹¹ David Malouf, *Johnno*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1975; Hugh Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim: Hugh Lunn's tap-dancing, bugle blowing memoir of a well-spent boyhood*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1989.

churches is also part of the Diocesan story. In particular, the Roman Catholic Church, led in Brisbane by the aged archbishop James Duhig, was close to the centre of State political power, at least till 1957, when there was a change of government. The contrast between the Anglican and Catholic approaches to involvement in political issues is noted, as is the movement in Brisbane Diocese from the sectarianism of the Fifties to the ecumenism of the Sixties and the excitement and expectation those early ecumenical years engendered.

The two best books on Roman Catholicism in Queensland are T. P. Boland's *James Duhig*, and John Maguire's *Prologue: a history of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1963*.¹² Boland's work is an excellent biography of the long-serving Catholic archbishop, and offers valuable insights into the history of Catholicism in Queensland over the six decades that Duhig was a bishop and archbishop. Maguire's book is more specific to north Queensland and includes a first-class preface on church historiography, called 'on writing a local church history'. It is worth pointing out here, that there is a surprising absence of interest in Christianity in the general works on Australian historiography. Osborne and Mandle's *New History: studying Australia today* offers a typical example.¹³ This book outlines the issues associated with writing women's history, indigenous history, labour history, the history of sports, and even the history of transport systems, but not a word on

¹² T. P. Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1986; John Maguire, *Prologue: a history of the Catholic Church as seen from Townsville, 1863-1963*, Church Archivists' Society, Toowoomba, Queensland, 1990.

¹³ G. Osborne and W. F. Mandle (eds), *New History: studying Australia today*, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1982.

writing church history in Australia. This absence points up the importance of detailed studies such as Boland's and Maguire's works and also this thesis.

General histories on the churches in Australia are few. Ian Breward's *A History of the Australian Churches* (a substantial re-working of his earlier *Australia: the most godless place under the sun?*) is an attempt to show how Christians in Australia developed their own distinctive theology and how churches adapted successfully to a specifically Australian social and political environment.¹⁴ Roger Thompson has also published a significant history of religion in Australia: *Religion in Australia: a history*, which argues that the churches have had a conservative impact on Australian political life and culture.¹⁵

Surprisingly it was not until 1971 that the first major sociological study of religion in Australia appeared with Hans Mol's, *Religion in Australia: a social investigation*.¹⁶ Using statistics gathered in 1966 he concluded that religious beliefs and practices had been relatively static throughout the 20th century. Other sociological studies followed, which began to plot the enormous changes that began in the Sixties – Mol, *The Faith of Australians*; Bouma and Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life*; Black, *Religion in Australia: sociological perspectives*; Kaldor, *Who Goes Where? Who doesn't Care?*; and Hughes, *Believe It or Not: Australian spirituality and the church in the 90s*.¹⁷ These are just a sample. The Christian Research Association, led

¹⁴ Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993; Ian Breward, *Australia: the most godless place under the sun?*, Beacon Hill Books, Melbourne, 1988.

¹⁵ Roger Thompson, *Religion in Australia: a history*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994.

¹⁶ Hans Mol, *Religion in Australia: a social investigation*, Nelson, London, 1971.

¹⁷ Hans Mol, *The Faith of Australians*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985; Gary Bouma and Beverley Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life*, MARC Australia, Melbourne, 1987; Alan Black (ed.),

by Philip Hughes, continually publishes material providing sociological insights into religion in Australia.¹⁸

The Diocese was part of the national Anglican Church, itself part of the world-wide Anglican Communion, and the history of the Diocese cannot be read without some reference to national and international Anglican issues. It is surprising that there is just one history of the national Anglican Church in Australia, but this can be explained as a consequence of the strongly independent diocesan structure of Australian Anglicanism. A number of diocesan histories can be found, as can the biographies or autobiographies of various diocesan bishops, but the writing of a history of the national Anglican Church has not excited much interest till recently. In 2002, this deficiency was remedied with the publication of *Anglicanism in Australia*, edited by Bruce Kaye.¹⁹ Several chapters were helpful to this thesis, particularly David Hilliard's, 'Pluralism and New Alignments in Society and Church: 1967 to the Present', and Brian Fletcher's, 'Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society'.²⁰

There is a larger body of work on Anglican ecclesiology. Bruce Kaye explores the character of Anglicanism in Australia in *A Church Without Walls*

Religion in Australia: sociological perspectives, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1991; Peter Kaldor, *Who Goes Where? Who Doesn't Care?*, Lancer Books, Homebush West, New South Wales, 1987; Philip Hughes, Craig Thompson, Rohan Pryor and Gary Bouma, *Believe It or Not: Australian spirituality and the churches in the 90s*, Christian Research Centre, Sydney, 1995.

¹⁸ A good example is Philip Hughes, 'A Maze or a System?: Changes in the Worldview of Australian People', *Christian Research Association Paper*, no. 2, 1994, pp. 1-16, in which he argues that those over 50 years have quite a different 'worldview' to those under 40, and correlates this with the advent of television in Australia.

¹⁹ Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 2002.

²⁰ Other useful chapters include Tom Frame, 'Local Differences, Social and National Identity 1930-1966', which gives useful information on the national constitution of 1962; and Anne O'Brien, 'Anglicanism and Gender Issues'.

and argues that the Anglican Church has always seen itself as a 'church-in-society' type of Christianity.²¹ He gives an excellent overview of the theological heritage of Australian Anglicanism, including the Australian constitutional formularies. This is less a history and more an attempt to understand the nature of the Anglican Church in Australia today.

Articles on a wide variety of aspects of Anglicanism in Australia are numerous. The literature on Prayer Book revision and the ordination of women, for example, is vast. No attempt has been made in the bibliography to list all the books related to this wider Anglican scene (or indeed the wider social and religious scenes), only those of major significance, and those specifically mentioned in the text.

It was tempting to build this thesis around the two archbishops – Reginald Halse (1943-1962) and Philip Strong (1963 -1970) – but this would have placed excessive emphasis upon their individual contributions as against the general development of the Diocese through the involvement of a wide range of people. Nevertheless some biographical treatment of these leaders was unavoidable for two reasons. First, episcopacy is fundamental to Anglican organisation and self-definition. An Anglican diocese is centred by definition upon its bishop, who is recognised as being the focus of unity and holding a distinctive moral authority. This places him in a position of significant influence, and Anglicans often relate an event in a diocese by reference to the episcopate in which it happened. Secondly, both Halse and Strong left their mark not only on the local scene, but on the national life of the Anglican

²¹ Bruce Kaye, *A Church Without Walls: being Anglican in Australia*, Dove, North Blackburn, Victoria, 1995.

Church and even national Australian life. Halse assisted the movement towards the united Church of South India and developed cordial relations with the Anglican Church in Japan, in the years after World War II, when antagonism and resentment against the Japanese was still very strong in Australia, while Strong had been Bishop of New Guinea during the War, and later became Anglican Primate of Australia.

There are no biographies of either of Halse or Strong, which is a grave lack. The 'war diaries' of Strong are now published, but these do not provide a biography or interpretation of his episcopate in Papua New Guinea, although footnotes are invaluable in identifying people, places and dates.²² The 'war diaries' represent a primary source for understanding Strong's attitudes and actions in these War-time days. Secondary material specifically on Strong is almost non-existent, so that this thesis makes a unique contribution to the understanding and interpretation of his life, particularly his Brisbane episcopate. Secondary sources for Halse are only marginally better. An entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, an MA thesis on his first six years as Archbishop of Brisbane, by John Pryce-Davies, and an excellent summary of Halse's life in Rayner's thesis are the principal secondary sources.²³

More modest biographical sketches of other leaders in the Diocese are also given, using primary sources. Dean Bill Baddeley was a colourful and extrovert character, who led St John's Cathedral from 1958 to 1967. He

²² David Wetherell (ed.), *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong, 1936-1945*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1981.

²³ Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', pp. 536-542; Keith Rayner, 'Halse, Reginald Charles', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 362-364; John Pryce-Davies, 'Pilgrim and Pastor: the initial years of the episcopate of Archbishop Halse 1943-1949', MA thesis, Griffith University, Queensland, 2000.

provides an excellent example of the type of leadership that could be tapped in England in these years, and suggests the kind of influence a Dean could have in a society in which Christianity was still very much a part of the public consciousness. A cameo summary of his life and contribution to Brisbane is included in Chapter Two. Another key diocesan player was Roland St John, registrar of the Diocese from 1946 to 1974. His 28 years as registrar show how a layman could come to exercise diocesan influence as great as that of any diocesan bishop. His uneasy working relationship with Strong is outlined in Chapter Eight. Writing about these people, and others who crop up more incidentally is a recognition that writing the history of a diocese is not only about tracing its institutional and theological development, but is also about grounding the study of that organisation in the incidents and personalities of those who lived the history and theology of the times.

The secondary sources relevant to the history of the Diocese of Brisbane in the Fifties and Sixties are scanty. Mention has been made of Rayner's thesis. David Hilliard has written a few articles on religious life in Brisbane, including, 'A Church on Every Hill: Religion in Brisbane in the 1950s', 'God in the Suburbs: the religious culture of Australian cities in the 1950s' and 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: a Study of Adelaide and Brisbane'.²⁴ These articles capture well the optimism of the churches on the eve of the Sixties, after which (to quote Adrian Hastings speaking about

²⁴ David Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill: religion in Brisbane in the early 1950s', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 14, no. 6, February 1991, pp. 242-262; David Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs: the religious culture of Australian cities in the 1950s', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 97, October 1991, pp. 399-419; David Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: a study of Adelaide and Brisbane', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1988, pp. 219-235.

the situation in England) the 'religious map ... changed more profoundly, positively as well as negatively, than in the preceding sixty'.²⁵ Hilliard sees the Sixties as a religious watershed for the Christian churches, and his interest in this period is reflected in other articles: 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: the Experience of the Australian Churches', 'Ties that Used to Bind: a Fresh Look at Australian Anglicanism', and 'Australian Anglicanism and the Radical Sixties'.²⁶ Other works by historians such as Brian Fletcher and David Wetherell have treated Anglican themes and issues in Australia more generally and only tangentially touch on the Diocese of Brisbane.

Several secondary sources exist for the Bush Brotherhoods. In particular, Paul Webb, *Brothers In the Sun*, tells the story of the Bush Brotherhood movement in Australia, tracing the beginnings in Rockhampton Diocese in 1897 and its spread into four States.²⁷ Hollingworth and Comben's book, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, is more specific to the Brotherhood of St Paul in Brisbane Diocese.²⁸ There is also a slim history of the sisters of the Society of the Sacred Advent by Elizabeth Moores, a short history of St Francis' College by Bill Stegemann, and a few short articles on the history of St Martin's Hospital.²⁹ But almost all these books and articles suffer from

²⁵ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1990*, SCM Press, London, 1991, p. 585.

²⁶ David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: the experience of the Australian churches', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 21, no. 2, June 1997, pp. 209-227; David Hilliard, 'The Ties that Used to Bind: a fresh look at the history of Australian Anglicanism', *Pacifica* 11, October 1998, pp. 265-280; David Hilliard, 'Australian Anglicanism and the Radical Sixties', in S. Emilsen and W. Emilsen (eds), *Mapping the Landscape: essays in Australian and New Zealand Christianity: festschrift in honour of Professor Ian Breward*, Peter Lang, New York, 2000, pp. 99-117.

²⁷ R. A. F. Webb, *Brothers in the Sun: a history of the Bush Brotherhood movement in the outback of Australia*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1978.

²⁸ Peter Hollingworth and Lyn Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry and the Challenge of the Future*, Anglican Diocese of Brisbane, Brisbane, 1999.

²⁹ Elizabeth Moores, *One Hundred Years of Ministry: a history of the Society of the Sacred Advent 1892-1992*, Society of the Sacred Advent, Brisbane, 1993; W. C. Stegemann, *Striving together for the Faith of the Gospel: a history of St Francis' Theological College 1897-1997*, Riverside Graphics,

being too adulatory and celebratory, and lack the soundness of a reasonable critique of the institution or movement they write about. The same criticism could be made (but even more strongly) of almost all parish church histories. They lack a sufficient critique of the parish and fail to place it in its wider social and cultural context.

Because of the mixed nature of the secondary sources, a substantial portion of this thesis has had to be based almost solely on primary sources. Fortunately the official records for the Diocese in the form of *Year Books*, (which contain significant reports and the annual Diocesan Synod proceedings), the *Church Chronicle*, and official papers have been well kept in the Diocesan archives and have been an invaluable source of information. Parish records have been kept with less uniform thoroughness, and in some cases, hardly at all. A disappointment has been the Minutes of Diocesan Council, which tend to be sanitised. A vigorous and emotive debate might be reduced to a paragraph entry, recording little more than that 'after lengthy discussion', some agreement was reached.

Other primary sources included the local papers, especially the *Courier-Mail*, the national Anglican paper, the *Anglican*, the diaries of Philip Strong, currently in the possession of Miss Elsie Manley (Strong's former secretary in Papua New Guinea and in Brisbane) and various articles and papers delivered in the times. The diaries of Philip Strong from 1962 to 1971 were particularly helpful in uncovering his attitudes about a variety of matters and people. The diaries for these years have not previously been used in

Woolloongabba, Queensland, 1997; Val Donovan, *St. Martin's Hospital: a history*, Boolarong Press, Brisbane, 1995; *The Making of St Martin's Hospital*, Society of the Sacred Advent, Albion, Queensland, no date.

historical research, and filled many gaps and clarified many questions left unanswered by other official records. Although entries are often brief and factual, they nevertheless reveal a man deeply committed to Christ and to prayer, and one who was unworldly, conservative and often frustrated as he struggled to cope with the changing times and, in Brisbane, with priests and lay people who were vocal in expressing their own opinions and beliefs.

A source of much pleasure has been a number of individual interviews with witnesses or participants of the times, both lay and ordained. Their stories and reminiscences supplemented the information from written sources and, at times, offered an alternative perspective. As well, the recollections sometimes added colour to what might otherwise have been a dry analysis of an issue.³⁰ Once or twice interviewees alerted me to events that were not otherwise available in written source material. Although the ability to recall the past was occasionally hazy, and much of the conversations revolved around anecdotes more than analysis, the interviews nevertheless, were a valuable technique to fill in gaps and secure information and understanding. None of those interviewed were in key leadership positions in the Fifties of Sixties – all the key leaders have now died – but some were prepared (albeit circumspectly) to offer their own insights into the character of various leaders, and this too was helpful in interpreting the historical material on them.

It will be noted that each chapter (apart from the first) is given a particular year as its chapter title. The listed years act as springboards for examining various themes. So, the year which stands at the head of Chapter

³⁰ An example of colour being brought to an issue was the story of the fire that was lit at the back of a classroom during a Religious Education class. The story highlighted the difficulties facing RE teachers.

Two – ‘1954’ – is the year notable for both the visit of the Queen and the Petrov affair, and these two events provide a springboard for examining the moods of pride and fear in Australia in the early Fifties and how these moods affected the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane. As well, the year-title is a recognition that history is chronological and while it can be examined thematically, it can only be experienced on a day-by-day, year-by-year basis.

Chapter One sets the social, political and economic scene in Australia, with special reference to developments in Queensland in the Fifties. The necessity for this is underscored by the observation of a number of political, economic and historical commentators who claim that Queensland was (and perhaps still is) different to other States.³¹ The dispersed population, the strong bias to rural areas both economically and politically, the emphasis on primary industries, the lack of widespread educational attainment, and the close links of Roman Catholicism to political power, at least to 1957, were some factors of difference, each of which impacted on the situation of the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane.

Chapters Two to Five are an attempt to understand why the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane made such strides of growth in the Fifties. Chapter Two examines some moods apparent in the post-War years – pride, fear and hope – each of which were conducive to church growth. The mood of pride in a British heritage was particularly evident when the young, newly-crowned Queen Elizabeth II visited Australia in 1954, to a rapturous welcome,

³¹ McQueen, ‘Queensland: a state of mind’; Glen Lewis, *A History of the Ports of Queensland: a study in economic nationalism*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1973; Patricia Smith, ‘Queensland’s Political Culture’, in Allan Patience (ed.), *The Bjelke-Petersen Premiership 1968-1983: issues in public policy*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985.

and of course, she worshipped with 'her people' – members of the Church of England. Australian Anglicanism benefited from this mood since it was seen to carry something of the ethos of the Church of England back 'home'.

Interestingly Rayner's thesis fails to mention the Queen's visit. Other moods conducive to church growth are also examined: the fear of communism and the mood of hope that an increasing standard of living based on growing material prosperity would persist. This prosperity was something the churches sought to tap through a stewardship program called the 'Wells Way' and which led to a burst of church building unparalleled, before or since, in Australian religious life.

Chapter Three examines the emergence of the youth generation, and the churches' role in providing clubs and groups for children and youth. There is also some assessment of family dynamics, including attitudes to divorce, and the churches' role as upholders of moral standards, especially in regard to drinking and gambling. This chapter also provides an opportunity to discuss the work of the Bush Brothers in the far west of the Diocese and especially their ministry to children.

Chapter Four examines Anglicans in society. Anglicans believed that their church had a ministry to all in society, and some ways in which this 'church-in-society' ministry was exercised are traced. Large church rallies, including the Diocesan Good Friday Procession of Witness, were a feature of the Fifties, which prepared the way for the 1959 Billy Graham Crusade. Finally, the relationship between politics and the churches is assessed and a

contrast drawn with the Roman Catholic involvement in Queensland's political life.

The engine room that theologically drove the Diocese forward in these years was the Anglo-Catholic heritage, which had long shaped Diocesan practice and belief. Worship was according to the *Book of Common Prayer* and was ordered, reverent and beautiful. An emphasis was placed on missionary endeavour, especially to Papua New Guinea, and personal sanctity and sacrifice was highly regarded. In Chapter Five, the place and contribution of the sisters of the Society for the Sacred Advent is considered, as well as the sources for the perpetuation of Anglo-Catholic energy.

Chapter Six is a pivotal chapter, which examines the reasons for the numerical decline. Why was the Diocese unable to sustain people's interest and involvement? Several theories are examined. Although much is made of the numerical decline of the churches since the Sixties, little work has been done on tracing the causes. David Millikan, who produced a television documentary called *The Sunburnt Soul: Christianity in Search of an Australian Identity*, followed by a book of the same name, pointed to the failure of the churches to become truly Australian.³² They remained too European and therefore alien to Australians. Bruce Wilson's *Can God Survive in Australia?* claimed the cause was 'industrialisation', by which he meant a form of secularisation, whereby science pushed out formerly spiritual answers to everyday problems.³³ Others point to the convict origins of Australia and a latent hostility to organised religion which erupted in the 1960s. Each of these

³² David Millikan, *The Sunburnt Soul: Christianity in search of an Australian identity*, Anzea Publishers, Homebush West, New South Wales, 1981.

³³ Bruce Wilson, *Can God Survive in Australia?*, Albatross, Sutherland, New South Wales, 1983.

theories is tested, and a critique offered, before proceeding to the suggested reason of this thesis, that society changed so rapidly and on such a scale that the churches were left reacting to changes when and as they occurred. In recent years, the impact of rapid and vast social change has been charted by sociologists such as Hugh McKay (*Reinventing Australia*) and political writers such as Paul Kelly (*The End of Certainty*).³⁴ Chapters Seven to Ten are an outworking of this thesis, and a testing of it against the experience of the Diocese of Brisbane.

Chapter Seven examines some of these social changes and the effect on the Diocese of Brisbane – changing attitudes to Sundays, changing immigration patterns, changing attitudes to moral issues (in particular gambling and alcohol), changing attitudes to authority figures and institutions, the impact of new media, and the beginnings of feminism. In particular, this thesis argues that television has had a much more pronounced and damaging effect on religious behaviour than has been realised. After 50 years of television, its social legacy is now becoming more apparent. The works of Robert Putnam, Pierre Babin, William Fore, Neil Postman and, in Australia, Peter Horsfield and Philip Hughes suggest that television is leaving an ambiguous social legacy, so much so that some refer to the violence, not *on* television, but *of* television.³⁵ Assessing the impact of television on the churches is in its infancy and this thesis makes its own small contribution.

³⁴ Hugh Mackay, *Reinventing Australia: the mind and mood of Australia in the 90s*, Angus and Robertson, Pymble, New South Wales, 1993; Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty: the story of the 1980s*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, New South Wales, 1992.

³⁵ Putnam, Robert, *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2000; Pierre Babin, *The New Era in Religious Communication*, (trans. David Smith), Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1991; William Fore, *Television and Religion: the shaping of faith*,

Chapter Eight moves to internal Diocesan dynamics. Besides social and cultural change, the Diocese suffered because of the rise of scepticism about traditional Christian beliefs, internal conflict and the conservatism of Strong. Each of these is examined.

Yet not all was loss and decline. Chapter Nine moves to more hopeful signs, including the building of the second stage of the cathedral and the excitement of the ecumenical movement. The Church of England was one of four main churches in Queensland, the others being the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Each had its own organisation and structure, and while a certain sectarianism existed throughout the Fifties, this chapter charts the thaw in relationships, especially after Vatican Council II, and how ecumenism expressed itself in Brisbane in the Sixties. The friendship between the two archbishops in Brisbane – the Anglican Halse and the Roman Catholic Duhig – provided a platform from which ecumenical goodwill could flourish.

Chapter Ten outlines some continuing issues, including the ‘sacking’ of two curates at St Luke’s Toowoomba, which excited great media interest and became symbolic of the clash between generations in the Diocese, and the beginnings of a long and at times, bitter resolution of the future of St Martin’s

values and culture, Augsburg, Minneapolis, 1987; Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: public discourse in an age of show business*, Penguin, New York, 1985; Peter Horsfield, ‘Larger Than Life: the religious functions of television’, *Media Information Australia*, no. 47, February 1988, pp. 61-66; Philip Hughes, ‘A Maze or a System?: changes in the worldview of Australian people’, *Christian Research Association Paper*, no. 2, 1994, pp. 1-16.

Hospital, a controversy which divided the Diocese. The chapter concludes with some reflections on the legacy of the Fifties and Sixties.

Finally, it should be noted that I write as an ordained member of the Anglican Church of Australia, and – as with every historian – I cannot claim to write without bias. Furthermore, I believe that the Anglican Church is not just the religious equivalent of a secular institution. It is also a divine society – part of what the Nicene Creed calls, the ‘one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church’. Yet I trust that this attachment to the Anglican Church and belief in it does not blind me unduly to its faults, nor make my writing prone to unnecessary prejudice. An important strand in Anglican scholarship is the belief that the Christian faith need not fear an open and honest quest for truth, but rather emancipation begins through realising the truth: ‘the truth will set you free’.³⁶ A writer, therefore, does not need to become defensive for the church and its divine vocation, simply because he discovers in the process of his research the frailties and faults of its members.

This period of the Diocese’s history is quite fascinating. In the end it is the story of people. Every institution has its heroes and I hope that something of the heroic nature of those who participated in the life of the Diocese in the Fifties and Sixties becomes evident in this thesis, without in any way overlooking the human and institutional flaws and failings of these times. While this thesis examines Diocesan life through one kind of lens – numerical growth and decline – those who believe would want also to say that in the end, the church’s success or failure cannot be measured adequately by

³⁶ John 8.32

numbers alone, but only by the extent to which men and women were faithful to their Lord.

Chapter One

The Fifties

'The past is a foreign country, they do things differently there.'

L. P. Hartley, 'The Go-Between' (1953)

In 1983, the then Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen gave the opening address at the 22nd Australian Legal Convention in Brisbane. He recalled what it was like to live in Australia in the mid-Fifties.

'... The £1 bought then what it now takes \$10.60 to buy. The dole was only £2.10 a week and at the end of 1955 only 2,500 were drawing the dole out of a population of 9 million, of whom 85 per cent were Australian born. Banks were paying a generous 1¾ per cent on 12 months fixed deposits and those who did not seek to grow rich on interest, could join other thirsty Australians in helping to get through the annual average of 24 gallons of beer per person, only a few sophisticates accounting for the annual average of one gallon of wine per head. Other Australians were tea, not coffee drinkers, six times as much tea as coffee.

The TV age still lay in the future and that great novelty, drive-in theatres, provided family entertainment instead of horror and sex movies, perhaps because in 1955 no less than one-quarter of all imported films were either censored in part or rejected outright by the censor. The Holden dominated Australian roads, and some service stations still offered a choice of up to six different brands of petrol. ... The Olympic Games were about to come to Melbourne and a new steel

mill opened at Port Kembla. Australia had two aircraft carriers but no submarines. Canberra was a small country town with only 28,000 inhabitants ... [and] engineers were happily building dams in the Snowy Mountains ... Only one in every hundred of the population was divorced, although death sentences were still being carried out, eight executions in the previous five years. Australians lived their lives in over two million homes but fewer than 130,000 flats, and much the most common notifiable disease was tuberculosis. Only 5 per cent of our trade was with Japan and wool made up almost half the total value of our exports.

If that ill-sorted recital of facts does nothing else, it speaks of an Australia much different from the present.¹

Sir Ninian's portrayal of Australia in the Fifties reads today almost as a description of a 'foreign country'. This initial chapter describes some general features of Australian life in the Fifties and some aspects more particular to Queensland, drawing a wider picture in which to place the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane. It was a conservative Australian environment that in some ways had changed little in previous decades, despite the disruption of World War II that impacted especially on Brisbane. The Church of England was part of the established order, assured in its pre-eminence but at the same time grappling in Queensland with both urban expansion and the need to service a rural population, both in the bush and in regional cities.

¹ Sir Ninian Stephen, 'Opening Address', *Papers Presented at the 22nd Legal Convention Brisbane 1983*, Law Council of Australia, Brisbane, 1984, pp. 1-2.

1.1 *Australia in the Fifties*

A fundamental feature of Australian life in the 1950s was the growth of the suburbs. In the years after World War II, in every capital city, new suburbs developed in all directions, so much so that one social commentator, Donald Horne, described Australia as 'the first suburban nation'.² Home ownership – the quarter-acre block – became the great Australian dream, in fulfilment of which many people moved to the edges of the capital cities where there was a plentiful supply of cheap land and few, if any, town planning controls.³

Brisbane was no exception, and housing estates and new suburbs began to encircle the city: Stafford, Geebung, Zillmere, Grovelly and parts of Chermside in the north, Moorooka, Carina and Wynnum in the east, St Lucia and parts of Indooroopilly in the west, Mount Gravatt, Holland Park, Sunnybank, Acacia Ridge and Inala in the south.⁴ These suburbs marked the very edges of Fifties Brisbane. The southern tram terminus was at Mt Gravatt. A little further south, Sunnybank – just fifteen kilometres from the city centre – was still in many places dairy farming country, the dispersed population serviced by the Church of England with four tiny churches at Sunnybank, Coopers Plains, Eight Mile Plains and Acacia Ridge. Further out still, places such as Beenleigh in the

² Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1964, chapter 2.

³ Graeme Davison and Tony Dingle, 'Introduction: the view from the Ming Wing', in Graeme Davison, Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon (eds), *The Cream Brick Frontier: histories of Australian suburbia*, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, 1995, p. 13. So attractive was the ideal of suburban family and home living that the company town of Mount Isa deliberately created suburban family conditions as a means of overcoming an otherwise transient labour force. See Diane Menghetti, 'Mount Isa: a Town like Alice?' in John Murphy and Judith Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties: aspects of Australian society and culture in the 1950s*, special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 28, no. 109, October 1997, pp. 21-32.

⁴ John R. Cole, *Shaping a City: Greater Brisbane 1925-1985*, William Brooks, Eagle Farm, Queensland, 1984, p. 160.

south, or Cleveland in the west were fully part of rural Queensland. Two statistics suggest how fast Brisbane was growing at this time. First, the demand for electricity grew fourfold between 1939 and 1954.⁵ Secondly, 5,000 new suburban homes were being approved for building per year in Brisbane in the early 1950s, slowly eating into once-rural areas.⁶ It was a pattern repeated in all Australia's cities.

Millions of Australians, in these post-War years, embraced a commitment to suburban living, which was seen to offer what all wanted: domestic happiness and economic comfort. A post-War prosperity satisfied this latter hope and brought new standards of living, which all – with the exception of indigenous people – could share in. This prosperity was based on several factors. First, there was a growing world trade and a stable international monetary system, both measures largely initiated by America to protect post-War Western capitalism.⁷ Australian exporters, especially primary producers, benefited from growing world trade and the emergence of new overseas markets. The outbreak of war in Korea in 1950, for example, precipitated a sudden demand for wool.⁸ The price soared by 700 per cent to record levels in 1951, and although the export price for wool receded thereafter, it remained one of Australia's largest exports for the rest of the decade.⁹ Australia's traditional rural commodities contributed more than 75

⁵ Ibid., p. 154.

⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

⁷ Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1942-1995: the Middle Way*, vol. 5, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 90-91.

⁸ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1999, p. 203.

⁹ Macintyre, *Concise History of Australia*, p. 203; Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 91.

per cent of export income until the 1956-1957 financial year, when they fell to 67 per cent as mineral and metal exports increased.¹⁰

Secondly, mechanisation was transforming Australia's rural economy, and bringing relief for those on the land from the rigours of demanding manual labour.¹¹ Tractors replaced teams of horses, and completed in a fraction of time, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Electric shearing combs replaced hand-held scissors. Fertilisers stimulated crops, insecticides protected them, irrigation systems watered them.¹² In mining, the large earth moving equipment of open cut mines offered an alternative to the below-the-ground pick-and-shovel labour of earlier years.¹³ On sugar cane farms, the harvester replaced hand-held cane-knives.¹⁴ Increased efficiency, bumper harvests and high prices brought profits to those on the land, which allowed them to adopt a more comfortable lifestyle, and replace living conditions that in the past had often been grindingly tough. Queensland, with its huge rural areas, especially benefited from such developments.

Thirdly, a massive post-War immigration scheme was launched, initially to meet defence concerns, but which proved subsequently to assist economic and industrial development significantly.¹⁵ The 1947 census showed that over

¹⁰ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 91.

¹¹ Stella Lees and June Senyard, *The 1950s ... and how Australia became a modern society, and everyone got a house and car*, Hyland House, South Yarra, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 16-18.

¹² A. W. Martin, 'The Country', in Ann Curthoys, A.W. Martin and Tim Rowe (eds), *Australians: from 1939*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Broadway, New South Wales, 1987, pp. 106-108; Janette Nolan, *Bundaberg: history and people*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1978, p. 226. The number of bores at Bundaberg sunk into underground water supplies increased from twelve in 1953 to 312 in 1965.

¹³ Ross Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1984, pp. 322-323.

¹⁴ Martin, 'The Country', p. 110; Nolan, *Bundaberg*, p. 228.

¹⁵ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, pp. 53-58.

the previous fourteen years the population had grown less than one percent.¹⁶ There was a fear that if Australians did not populate the land better than this, others would do so. Sir Raymond Huish of the Returned Services League voiced this fear when he spoke of 'the menace of 1500 million starving Asians within 4000 miles of Australia.'¹⁷ In 1945, the Chifley government under Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell began the biggest immigration scheme ever undertaken in Australia. Menzies, then Leader of the Opposition, gave bi-partisan support and called it the great work of building a nation.¹⁸ Migrants were to be assimilated into the Australian community in the name of industrial and national development.¹⁹ These new migrants – called 'New Australians' – came mostly from parts of Europe, since the 'White Australia' policy, which all parties supported, was still in force. They provided much needed labour for primary and secondary industries during these boom years.

As a result of expanding world trade, increased mechanisation and steady immigration, there was full employment, which meant all could share in the creation and enjoyment of increasing prosperity. In 1950, unemployment, which affected just 1.2 per cent of the workforce, was lower than at any other time in Australia's history.²⁰ Throughout the Fifties, the standard of living in Australia rose by more than four per cent annually, five times better than the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁷ *Cairns Post*, 15 June 1953 quoted in Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 53.

¹⁸ Gwenda Tavan, 'Good Neighbours: community organisations, migrant assimilation and Australian society and culture, 1950-61', in Murphy and Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties*, p. 83.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 80.

²⁰ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 90. See also John Stratton, 'Bodgies and Widgies – Youth Cultures in the 1950s', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 15, November 1984, p. 19 who refers to one girl who had five jobs in as many weeks, subsequently returning to her first job which she decided she preferred.

annual average increase for the years between 1901 and 1940.²¹ The playwright, David Williamson, recalls the confident and prosperous mood of the time: 'The farmers were affluent and my father as a bank manager used to tell stories about them driving around with rams in the back of their Rolls Royces ... It was the golden age of rural Australia. Prosperity was abroad and our future seemed to be assured forever.'²²

Australians used this economic prosperity to invest in marriage, children and home life. The number of 20 to 24-year-old women marrying between 1933 and 1954 rose from 31 per cent to 59 per cent, while the number of men in the 25 to 29 age bracket increased from 44 per cent to 64 per cent over the same period.²³ Here, in domestic commitments, happiness was pursued, encouraged by a 'Menzie's political culture' that saw the home as the best protection against radical and alien influences, as well as a secure basis for conservative political values. A good citizen was seen as one who shouldered the responsibility of a strong commitment to family life.²⁴

The roles of men and women in the home were relatively clear. Women were wives and mothers, solicitous for their family's welfare.²⁵ Stella Lees and June Senyard suggest that what gave 'the decade a distinctive tone ... was the constant repetition [in magazines and newspapers] ... that women's

²¹ Macintyre, *Concise History of Australia*, p. 203; Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, pp. 89-90.

²² David Williamson, 'The Golden Age of Conformity', *Australian Magazine*, 18-19 September 1993, p. 43.

²³ Hugh Mackay, *Generations: baby boomers, their parents and their children*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney, 1997, p. 29.

²⁴ John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties: private sentiment and political culture in Menzie's Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2000, p. 1; John Murphy, 'Shaping the Cold War Family: Politics, Domesticity and Policy Interventions in the 1950s', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 26, no. 105, October 1995, pp. 544-567; Judith Brett, *Robert Menzie's Forgotten People*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney, 1992, pp. 31-73.

²⁵ Lees and Senyard, *The 1950s ... and how Australia became a modern society*, p. 76.

responsibilities lay with bolstering the male ego and nurturing the offspring in the family nest.²⁶ There was the assumption that women were naturally inclined to home making.²⁷ Formal barriers to married women working remained in the public sector. In Queensland, the public service requirement that a woman resign upon marriage or forfeit her position remained in force until 1969,²⁸ and not a few men frowned on the idea of women working.²⁹ Males were the breadwinners – loyal, hard working, independent, meat-eating, egalitarian and competent.³⁰ Boys at school, if they were good at maths were shunted towards medicine, science or engineering, with perhaps law as a fallback, if they were articulate. Girls, even if they were good at the sciences, were shunted towards the arts. David Williamson notes that ‘It was a drift that was so strong you’d feel embarrassed to speak out against it’.³¹

The churches reflected the common understanding of roles. Not only was the priesthood restricted to males, Parish Councils and Diocesan Synods (the annual gathering of clergy and lay representatives from the parishes with the diocesan bishop) in the Church of England in the Dioceses of Australia and Tasmania were also all-male bodies.³² Women made their contribution in different ways. Many, who had given up employment on marriage, channelled

²⁶ Ibid. p. 80. See also *Courier-Mail*, 4 April 1960, p. 11 for ‘tips for wives so they can be good wives to their husbands’. The tips include being a good listener, being efficient, not nagging, giving him space on weekends, being efficient and not being officious.

²⁷ Lees and Senyard, *The 1950s ... and how Australia became a modern society*, p. 83.

²⁸ In Queensland the *Public Service Regulation 1958* provided for women to resign when they married. Failure to do so resulted in forfeiture of one female officer’s position. Employment could be continued if the employment was in the public interest.

²⁹ *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 18 March 1959, p. 4.

³⁰ Lees and Senyard, *The 1950s ... and how Australia became a modern society*, p. 86.

³¹ Williamson, ‘The Golden Age of Conformity’, p. 44.

³² There have been three official titles for the national church:

The Church of England in the Dioceses of Australia and Tasmania – 1869-1961.

The Church of England in Australia – 1962-1981.

The Anglican Church of Australia – since 1981.

their skills into church related ministries – Sunday School, Religious Instruction, Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society – and provided the competent leadership required for parish groups.

The Fifties also saw emerge an inchoate shadow side to the respectable images of the times. In 1953, three publications sounded the notes of future sexual permissiveness. The second volume of the Kinsey Report shocked many with its revelations of the sexual interests of women and exposed the level of adventure outside marriage. Ian Fleming's *Casino Royale* introduced James Bond 007, who had a licence to kill, and a taste for the best of everything, including gorgeous and available women, and Hugh Hefner published his first edition of *Playboy*, which featured Playmate of the month, Marilyn Monroe, in the notorious nude calendar pose.³³ These were overseas publications, titillating the public and heralding the quest for looser sexual constraints, but as yet, not a challenge to the accepted parameters of respectability in Australia.

Having survived the rigours of a Depression and a World War and now enjoying unprecedented prosperity and social stability, it is not surprising that Australians wanted to protect and preserve the status quo. The pressure to conform became one of the features of this age. According to social commentator Hugh Mackay, they saw themselves as the 'lucky generation' – with clear values of loyalty, saving, a work ethic and a sense of mutual obligation.³⁴ Such values were reinforced by additional ones that Prime Minister Robert Menzies promoted as a foil to communism – thrift, hard work,

³³ Peter Lewis, *The Fifties*, Heinemann, London, 1978, pp. 47-49 and pp. 59-60.

³⁴ Mackay, *Generations*, p. 17.

independence, and self-reliance³⁵ – values which the Church of England had also internalised.

Not all, however, embraced so readily the move to suburban domesticity. Some found their parents' desire to establish material security, physical comforts and respectability in a suburban setting mundane and even oppressive. Clive James fled Australia for London where Australian expatriates 'breathed dirtier air than at home but found life more interesting'.³⁶ Germaine Greer preferred to 'rush to squalor [in London rather than stay in] ... the even tenor of suburban ways'.³⁷ Robin Boyd, the architect, castigated suburban culture with its houses that sat in 'sterile shaven neatness on trimmed lawns ... between grey paling fences'.³⁸ Barry Humphries satirised 1950s attitudes and values through Dame Edna Everage, a stage character 'born' in 1955, and through whom he was able to 'pour out my hatred of the standards of the little people of [that] generation'.³⁹ Such Australians found 1950s suburbia too sterile, too provincial, too stultifying, and (worst of all) too boring.⁴⁰ Seeking escape, or adventure, or to further their careers, or to see the world, they left for overseas.

It was not all one-way traffic. One ten-pound migrant clergyman from England travelled on the S. S. *Strathmore* to Australia in late 1954, and acted as the ship's Chaplain and Games Organiser. He described his surprised admiration for the healthy looking, adventurous, sunburnt young Australians,

³⁵ Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, p. 4 and p. 85.

³⁶ Clive James, *Snakecharmers in Texas: essays 1980-87*, Pan Books, London, 1989, p. 11.

³⁷ Germaine Greer, *Daddy We Hardly Knew You*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1990, p. 79.

³⁸ Robin Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness*, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1960, p. 143.

³⁹ John Lahr, *Dame Edna Everage and the Rise of Western Civilisation: Backstage with Barry Humphries*, Flamingo, London, 1992, p. 59.

⁴⁰ Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties*, p. 220.

male and female, returning to Australia after their one or two year trip 'home'. Many returned after study programs at English universities. The same clergyman recalled a fascinating debate on Auguste Comte, suggested and prepared by Australians once they had finished their hectic and fiercely contested competitive game of deck quoits.⁴¹

In the Fifties, a whole range of new household appliances came onto the market and within financial reach of most people, the result of affluence and new technologies in mass production – motor trucks, fork lifts, mechanised production lines and automated control systems. Consumerism flourished, and in the family budget of the 1950s, buying a car, a refrigerator and a washing machine became – along with food, clothing, visits to the doctor and school costs – expected items of expenditure. The copper and ice chest were superseded. Washday no longer meant lifting masses of wet clothes in and out of scalding water. Fridges kept milk fresh longer, and ice cream became a regular dessert rather than an occasional treat, although the freezer section of refrigerators was miniscule compared with today. The Hills Hoist rotary clothesline, the Victa mower, the Kelvinator fridge, the Morphy Richards toaster, the Astor TV, the Sunbeam Mixmaster and laminex tables, all made their welcome appearance in the suburbs in the prosperous 1950s. Life, for most Australians, could not be better.

By the end of the Fifties, world events and national milestones beckoned Australians to wider horizons and suggested an exciting future, one in which the boundaries of human possibility would be extended. In 1953,

⁴¹ Alfred Holland, personal comments recorded in May 2004. Holland went as a priest to Scarborough, Western Australia in 1954 and later became Bishop of Newcastle, New South Wales from 1978 to 1992.

New Zealander Edmund Hillary and Nepalese Sherpa Tenzing Norgay conquered Mt Everest, the news wired to Britain just in time for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. In the same year, American James Watson and Englishman Francis Crick announced the discovery of the double-helix structure of DNA. A year later in England, Roger Bannister became the first man to run a mile in less than four minutes. In 1956, Melbourne hosted the Sixteenth Olympic Games, dubbed the 'friendly games', and which introduced a new contingent of Australian sporting heroes, including runner Betty Cuthbert, and swimmers Dawn Fraser and Murray Rose. A reassuring innocence pervaded at a time of heightened international tension: Britain and France had just bombed Egyptian airfields on 30 October, precipitating the Suez Crisis. Five days later Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest, and crushed an Hungarian uprising, keeping the fear of international communism simmering.⁴²

In 1956 television made its debut in Sydney, and three years later, the flickering black-and-white pictures could be seen in Brisbane homes.⁴³ In 1958 Johnny O'Keefe recorded 'The Wild One' the first Australian rock record to make the Australian pop charts.⁴⁴ Next year Qantas announced the introduction of a new Boeing 707 jet passenger airline that could carry 50 per

⁴² Hilary Kent and John Merritt, 'The Cold War and the Melbourne Olympic Games', in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's first Cold War 1949-1959*, vol. 2, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986, p. 170; Harry Gordon, *Australia and the Olympic Games*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1994, p. 203.

⁴³ The first transmission was on Channel TCN 9 Sydney on 16 September 1956. See Ann Curthoys, 'The Getting of Television: dilemmas in ownership, control and culture, 1941-1956', in Curthoys and Merritt (eds), *Better Dead Than Red*, p. 152.

⁴⁴ C. Higham, 'The Wild One (Johnny O'Keefe)', *Bulletin*, 13 October 1962, p. 16; Don Porter, 'Popular Music', in *Australia in the 1960s*, Rigby Publishers, Adelaide, 1980, p. 142.

cent more passengers at twice the speed, cutting the flying time to London from 45 hours to just over 27 hours.⁴⁵

Although these milestones heralded a wider world of interest, much of it was still inaccessible. The local suburb remained the general orientation for most people. Hugh Lunn's book of short stories, *Over the Top with Jim*, catches something of the mood of the time and portrays growing up in Brisbane in the Fifties as a time of innocent naivety, mischievous freedom and would-be sophistication, and where the focus was very much the local suburb.⁴⁶ Shopping was done at the small corner stores, the first Australian suburban shopping centre not opening until 1957 at Chermside, in Brisbane's north. In many suburbs, greengrocers still drove their trucks, loaded with fruit and vegetables to sell door to door. Children attended the local primary and – for a relative few – secondary schools, riding their bikes, or walking, or catching buses or trams. Sports groups were locally based. Mothers at home developed friendships with neighbours over the back fence, and enjoyed the expanding range of consumer goods coming on to the market. It was a time of halcyon innocence and hope for the future.

1.2 Queensland: Brisbane

In 1950, the population of Queensland stood at 1.18 million.⁴⁷ Of these, about 440,000 people (or 37 per cent) lived in the capital city, Brisbane, Australia's

⁴⁵ John Stackhouse *et al.*, *The Longest Hop: celebrating 50 years of the Qantas kangaroo route, 1947-1997*, Focus Publishing, Edgecliff, New South Wales, 1997, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Hugh Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim: Hugh Lunn's tap-dancing, bugle blowing memoir of a well-spent boyhood*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1989. See also Hugh Lunn, 'Melting Moments from the Good Old Days', *Australian Magazine*, 18-19 September 1993, p. 46.

⁴⁷ *Queensland Year Book 1951*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1952, p. 42.

third largest capital city. In the 1954 census the population of Brisbane exceeded the half million mark.⁴⁸

By the late 1950s, Brisbane boasted a number of dimensions of a modern city. It had a university at St Lucia with eleven faculties, 52 departments and several thousand students, an international airport at Eagle Farm, a State Art Gallery and Museum, 51 acres of Botanic Gardens near the centre of the city, established as early as 1826, municipal libraries and swimming pools.⁴⁹ The Gabba cricket ground hosted Test cricket, and in 1960 cricket patrons witnessed the famous tied Test against Frank Worrell's West Indies team. International tennis matches were played at Milton, and horse-racing tracks could be found at Eagle Farm, Doomben and Albion Park. For the culturally minded, the 'big three' city theatre companies – Arts Theatre, Twelfth Night and the Brisbane Repertory Theatre Company, led by the redoubtable Babette Stephens – offered a variety of plays each year, and complemented a host of smaller, amateur local theatre companies.⁵⁰ In 1955, people of Brisbane turned out in force to see Katherine Hepburn play Kate in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, and in 1959 television was first

⁴⁸ *Queensland Year Book 1956*, p. 44. The population of Brisbane at the 1954 census was 502,320 with Toowoomba as Queensland's largest provincial city, boasting 43,149 people.

⁴⁹ *Colony to Capital: Brisbane as it was in the late 1950s*, video recording, Maxwell's Multimedia Collection, Avalon Beach, New South Wales, 1958.

⁵⁰ Jay McKee, *Never Upstaged: Babette Stephens, her life and times*, Temple House, Hartwell, Victoria, 2004, pp. 151-152. See also Connie Healy, 'Radical Theatre' in Raymond Evans and Carole Ferrier (eds), *Radical Brisbane: an unruly history*, The Vulgar Press, Carlton North, Victoria, 2004, pp.187-192, for the origins of a few smaller theatre companies, including New Theatre which produced some politically charged plays by Australian dramatists in the Anglican All Saints' Hall, Wickham Terrace. In 1961, it produced *The Painter* by Brisbane playwright Nance Macmillan, based on the life of Aboriginal artist Albert Namatjira. The theatre closed in 1962, overwhelmed by a hostile press, loss of players interstate and a perception of close links to the Communist Party.

broadcast in Brisbane – QTQ channel 9 in August, followed by ABQ 2 and BTQ 7 in November.⁵¹

Yet for all these dimensions of a modern city, there were still many undeveloped aspects of Brisbane, which led to a general feeling that this was a provincial capital city, a poor cousin to the more sophisticated and developed southern capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne. Thousands of kilometres of roads remained unsurfaced in the suburbs, which in dry weather could become dusty mires causing an intolerable nuisance to householders.⁵² Even roads that were bituminised were often single strips with no curbing.⁵³ More telling, by the late 1950s, only a third of the city and its suburbs were connected to sewerage. Outdoor toilets littered the backyard landscapes of most suburbs, encouraging wits to characterise Brisbane as a ‘sentry box town’.⁵⁴ Visitors to the city could be forgiven for raising a wry smile when confronted with these dusty streets, houses on stilts with tin roofs, and the ‘sentry box’ toilets. Such features hardly commended Brisbane as a leading Australian city on the eve of the 1960s, and it is no wonder that novelist David Malouf in his novel *Johnno*, could dismiss Brisbane of this time as ‘shabby and makeshift, with its wooden houses perched high on tar-black stilts, its corrugated iron fences unpainted and rusting, outdoor lavatories, chicken houses, blocks of uncleared land where the weeds in summer might be six

⁵¹ For test cricket in Brisbane see Warwick Torrens, *The Brisbane Tests*, Torrens, Indooroopilly, Queensland, 1992. For television, see Curthoys, ‘The Getting of Television’, p. 152.

⁵² *Brisbane History: from country town to modern city*, video recording, Blacksmith Productions for the Seven Network, Brisbane, c.1997, which quotes 13,052 miles (or 20,883 kilometres) of unsurfaced roads in residential areas. See also Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 174.

⁵³ Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 174.

⁵⁴ Vivien Harris, ‘From Town to Metropolis’, in Rod Fisher and Barry Shaw (eds), *Brisbane: people, places and progress*, Brisbane History Group Papers, no. 14, 1995, p. 134; Cole, *Shaping a City*, pp. 181-182; *Brisbane History: from country town to modern city*, video recording.

feet tall ... Brisbane was a huge shanty town ... a place where nothing happened'.⁵⁵

Other basic infrastructure also remained undeveloped. In 1953, residents of Nudgee Beach, just 21 kilometres from the centre of the city still carted water for household use.⁵⁶ By 1957, 96 per cent of households were connected to the water mains but low pressure, water restrictions and occasional seasons of drought, led to periodic water emergencies.⁵⁷ The need for a comprehensive transport plan was another growing issue. At Woolloongabba, not far from the famous Gabba cricket ground, a tram line and a railway line intersected with five roads, at what was known as Five Ways. A controller from a tower directed the trams, a traffic policeman directed cars, and a railway worker waved a red flag and rang a bell while he walked ahead of any trains, which had right of way. It could become chaotic. A similar traffic problem existed at Newstead, near Breakfast Creek.

The growing use of cars created problems. By 1959, one in four Queenslanders had access to a car, usually an F J Holden, a British Morris or an Austin.⁵⁸ Together with the home, car ownership became increasingly recognized as necessary for living in a modern society. It provided those in the suburbs with the means to travel privately to work, and on weekends to travel to the beach, or go for a drive, as a special family outing.⁵⁹ This

⁵⁵ David Malouf, *Johnno*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1975, p. 83.

⁵⁶ Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 157.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵⁸ *Centenary Cavalcade: a record of the principal events staged in connection with the Queensland Centenary celebrations during 1959, and an abridged history of Queensland*, Penrod, Brisbane, 1959, p. 119.

⁵⁹ Davison and Dingle, 'Introduction: the view from the Ming Wing', p. 14; Peter Spearitt, 'Suburban Cathedrals: the rise of the drive-in shopping centre', in Davison, Dingle and O'Hanlon (eds), *The Cream Brick Frontier*, p. 94.

mobility affected social patterns. Large suburban shopping centres were built, to which those with cars could drive, park and shop.⁶⁰ The Chermside Drive-In Shopping Centre, ten kilometres north of Brisbane city, became Australia's first drive-and-park shopping centre, opening on 30 May 1957.⁶¹ Allan and Stark, a major department store at the 'smarter end of Queen Street' built the centre,⁶² which contained 'an island of retailing in a lake of parking'.⁶³ By the end of the decade shopping centres were opening in all capital cities and larger towns.⁶⁴ Fortitude Valley, long the centre of retail trade in Brisbane city, began to decline, as more suburban shopping centres opened.

The car also had an important dual effect on church-going. On the one hand, it meant that people were no longer limited to the local suburban church. They could travel to the church of their choice. On the other, it meant that families could escape the town or suburb on Sundays in search of recreation elsewhere. Prior to the advent of the car, churches had been built in close proximity, so that all were within walking distance. The older, inner suburbs of Brisbane reflected this thinking. Within a three kilometre radius of St Thomas' Toowong were ten other Anglican churches – St Andrew's Indooroopilly, St Peter's Mission Church (Moggill Rd) Indooroopilly, Christ Church St Lucia, St Paul's Taringa, St Alban's Auchenflower, St Martin's

⁶⁰ Spearitt, 'Suburban Cathedrals', p. 89.

⁶¹ *Courier-Mail*, 29 May 1957, p. 21. Plans to build shopping centres in Melbourne and Sydney were delayed because of fierce competition between local councils and opposition from shopping streets. In Brisbane – the only capital with a metropolitan-wide city council – local loyalties were not as significant. Furthermore, Chermside was thought to be far enough away from the two main shopping centres in the city and Fortitude Valley not to pose an immediate threat. See Peter Spearitt, 'Brisbane: the 200 km city and the impact of the car', viewed at www.onlineopinion.com.au, on 21 September 2004.

⁶² *Courier-Mail*, 29 May 1957, p. 22.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ Spearitt, 'Suburban Cathedrals', p. 89.

Rosalie, St Mary Magdalene's Rainworth, St Bartholomew's Bardon, St Mary's West Bardon, and the historic church of Christ Church Milton. With limited public transport (especially on Sundays), churches within easy walking distance were a necessity.⁶⁵ The car changed this pattern of church planting and, as significantly, the pattern of church belonging, although not for some years yet. In due course, parish congregations in the suburbs and towns moved from being 'local congregations' to being 'gathered congregations', that is, people travelling by car to the church of their choice.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, petrol was cheap, parking meters few and cars affordable. Towards the end of the Fifties, tram and bus patronage fell and traffic congestion, especially in the city, increased.⁶⁷ Six tram routes crossed the old Victoria Bridge, causing serious morning and afternoon congestion along Queen Street and Ann Street as they lined up to make their way to the bridge.⁶⁸ These city traffic jams were an early phenomenon that would grow into a daily commuter nightmare.

Neither the beautiful and distinctive architecture of Brisbane's 'Queenslander' homes nor the lush vegetation interspersed throughout the urban area could offset the general sense that Brisbane remained in need of some basic infrastructure, in particular the greater provision of sewerage,

⁶⁵ David Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs: the religious culture of Australian cities in the 1950s', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 97, October 1991, p. 408.

⁶⁶ Peter Kaldor, John Bellamy, Ruth Powell, Marilyn Correy and Keith Castle (eds), *Winds of Change: the experience of church in a changing Australia*, Lancer, Homebush, New South Wales, 1994, p. 225; Peter Kaldor, John Bellamy, Ruth Powell, Marilyn Correy and Keith Castle (eds), *Build My Church: trends and possibilities for Australian churches*, Openbook, Ashfield, New South Wales, 1999, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁷ Parking meters were introduced in August 1957. See Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 185. For bus and tram patronage see Cole, *Shaping a City*, pp. 183-186.

⁶⁸ Doug Michael, personal comments recorded in February 2004.

water, roads and transport systems.⁶⁹ This lack of infrastructure gave Brisbane its provincial feel. Other factors reinforced the impression. There was a lack of galleries, concerts, and restaurants. The two structures that symbolically defined the city were still the City Hall, completed in 1930 – the tallest building in the city – and the Story Bridge, completed in 1935.⁷⁰ The substantial Roman Catholic and Anglican cathedrals remained incomplete.⁷¹ More significantly, Brisbane was the headquarters of just one major national corporation – Queensland’s own Mt. Isa Mines, Ltd⁷² – and was unable to shake the image of itself as the capital of a ‘branch manager’ State.⁷³ Even the city’s first high-rise residential property – ‘Torbreck’ – which commanded magnificent city and river views from its location in Highgate Hill, was not built until 1961.

Despite the growing prosperity, the new suburbs, the new homes and cars, and the new range of consumer goods, Brisbane, in the Fifties, remained – as the Brisbane author David Malouf put it – a ‘big country town that is still weather-board and one-storeyed, so little a city that on Friday morning the C.W.A. [Country Women’s Association] ladies set their stalls up in Queen Street and sell home-made cakes and jam.’⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 191.

⁷⁰ John Steele, *The Brisbane River*, 2nd edn, Rigby, Adelaide, 1976, p. 38.

⁷¹ Perhaps there was some expectation that their completions, in due course, would make them defining features of Brisbane?

⁷² Harris, ‘From Town to Metropolis’, p. 134.

⁷³ Pramod Sharma, ‘Brisbane: some aspects of its social geography’, *Queensland Geographical Journal*, 4th series, vol. 1, 1986, p. 273.

⁷⁴ Malouf, *Johnno*, p. 51.

1.3 Queensland: Rural Areas

Brisbane remained underdeveloped, partly because the Brisbane City Council was hamstrung by insufficient funds, partly because Queensland was driven economically and politically by a policy of decentralisation.⁷⁵ Since colonial days, a strong bias towards primary industries had driven the development of Queensland. Successive Labor governments in the first half of the 20th century were rural, not urban based, and had encouraged decentralisation and the growth of primary industries, a policy continued by the Liberal-Country Party Coalition when it came to power in 1957.⁷⁶ As historian Humphrey McQueen writes: 'At root there was a shared commitment [by all political parties] to rural life as morally, politically and economically sound'.⁷⁷

There were some sizeable rural towns. By 1950, Toowoomba had an estimated population of 37,500, Ipswich had 34,000, Rockhampton 36,750, Maryborough 15,900, Bundaberg 16,600, Mackay 14,200, Cairns 18,000, Townsville 35,900 and Maroochydore 16,100.⁷⁸ The number and size of these large centres and the emphasis on rural development reduced the political and economic significance of Brisbane – the only Australian mainland capital city to contain less than half its State population.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Cole, *Shaping a City*, pp. 107-148; A. H. Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859 – 1959: Queensland Centenary souvenir book*, Penrod, Brisbane, 1959, p. 183; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 181 and pp. 289-291.

⁷⁶ So strong was the rural influence in Queensland that in 1949 an Act was passed by Parliament which divided the State into four zones, with the number of voters required per electorate in the rural areas significantly lower than that required in the south-east corner.

⁷⁷ Humphrey McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, p. 43; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 194.

⁷⁸ *Queensland Year Book 1951*, no. 12, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1952, pp. 46-48.

⁷⁹ By 1959, Brisbane still contained only 38 per cent of the State's population.

Large in land area, rich in soil and steady in rainfall, Queensland was ideal for pastoral and agricultural pursuits. Beef cattle were raised mainly in the north and west. Sheep, wheat, dairy produce and vegetables came from the fertile Darling Downs. Sugar cane flourished on the coast from Bundaberg to Mossman. Sheep and cattle dominated the Balonne district. The south Burnett area was famed for peanuts and agricultural produce. Dairy cattle were raised in the Brisbane Valley. Wheat grew in the drier Callide and Dawson Valleys, and pineapples and vegetables grew inland of the Sunshine Coast.⁸⁰ These primary industries were increasingly profitable in the post-war years. In 1952-1953, Queensland farmers, with nearly 2.5 million acres of land under cultivation, broke agricultural records in wheat, sugar-cane, oats and barley.⁸¹ In 1952 and 1953, Queensland's 31 sugar mills (serviced by 8,000 sugar farms and employing 80,000 workers) crushed record amounts of sugar cane,⁸² and by 1957, Australia was the fourth largest sugar cane producer in the world.⁸³

By the late 1950s another source of wealth emerged which the newly elected Coalition government was keen to exploit. Queensland (and Australia) was on the verge of a massive mining boom. Mineral deposits were

⁸⁰ *Colony to Capital*, video recording. See also Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, pp. 173-201.

⁸¹ Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack (eds), *Triumph in the Tropics: an historical sketch of Queensland*, Smith and Patterson, Fortitude Valley, Queensland, 1959, p. xxxiv.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

⁸³ *Centenary Cavalcade*, p. 127. Other profitable industries could be noted. The Australian beef industry had a bonanza year in 1959, with high prices and large volumes of exports especially to America. Queensland, which provided three-quarters of Australian beef, and which had 6.5 million head of beef cattle was a major beneficiary of this trade. Meatworks had been built at a number of coastal towns – Townsville, Bowen, Rockhampton and Gladstone – as well as in Brisbane, providing not only employment to many but also accessible regional meatworks and faster transportation on newly built roads. Similarly Australia's export of butter rose by £12 million to £29.5 million in the year ending June 30th 1959. Queensland was a close second to Victoria as Australia's dairy State. The other major primary industry was sheep and wool, especially in the Darling Downs. See also Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland*, p. 198 for sugar development.

discovered in many locations, including bauxite and aluminium at Weipa on the Cape York Peninsula in 1955,⁸⁴ uranium at Mary Kathleen near Mt Isa in 1954⁸⁵ and coal in the Bowen Basin (at Callide, Blair Athol and Kianga).⁸⁶ Mt Isa, in the State's north-west, was the world's largest single producer of silver, and continued to produce more than half Australia's copper and a fifth of her lead.⁸⁷ The Korean War in the early 1950s caused an increase in the demand for lead, and with a high lead bonus paid to miners, mining at Mt Isa became one of the highest paid jobs in Australia by the end of the decade.⁸⁸ 'Yellow sapphire' was discovered at Anakie in Central Queensland,⁸⁹ opals were mined at Quilpie and Eromanga, tin at Stanthorpe and coal near Ipswich.

Compared with the 1950 statistics above, by 1959, four more regional centres boasted populations over 20,000: Toowoomba (46,000), Rockhampton (43,000), Townsville (43,000), Ipswich (42,000), Cairns (23,000), Bundaberg (22,000) and Maryborough (20,000).⁹⁰ Four of these regional centres fell within the boundaries of the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane. Bundaberg, in the far north of the Diocese, was a centre with four main sugar mills – Bingerra, Millaquin, Qunaba and Fairymead,⁹¹

⁸⁴ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 96; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 304.

⁸⁵ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 94; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 340.

⁸⁶ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, pp. 96-97; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 194 and p. 322.

⁸⁷ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, pp. 318-319. See also Menghetti, 'Mount Isa: a town like Alice?', p. 24.

⁸⁸ Ross Johnston, *The Call of the Land: a history of Queensland to the present day*, Jacaranda Press, Milton, Queensland, 1982, p. 193.

⁸⁹ Cilento and Lack (eds), *Triumph in the Tropics*, p. xxxiii.

⁹⁰ Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859 – 1959*, p. 183. The population figures can also be found in the *Queensland Year Book 1960*, pp. 43-52. See also *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30 June 1961*, vol. III – Queensland, part 1, table 5.

⁹¹ Bingerra was owned by the Scottish Presbyterian families of Gibson and Howes; Millaquin was a public company; Qunaba was so named from the first two letters of each word of 'Queensland National Bank' which took over ownership after the mill went into receivership; and Fairymead was owned by the Young family.

which were eventually amalgamated into one, the Bundaberg Sugar Company Ltd, in 1975.⁹² Bundaberg underwent substantial economic expansion in the Fifties. As the sugar industry became mechanised and increasingly profitable, schools and hospitals were built or refurbished, the city centre re-built and a new port developed.⁹³

Further south, Maryborough, another sugar town, had a large ship building industry, Walkers Shipyards Ltd, as well as saw-mills and railway workshops.⁹⁴ Toowoomba, one hundred kilometres west of Brisbane was called 'the Garden City' because of its beautiful parks and colourful gardens.⁹⁵ It sat on the edge of the rich farming area known as the Darling Downs and had a large foundry and engineering plant that made diesel engines and other machinery products. It was a key railway depot for south western farming communities.

Ipswich, the oldest town after Brisbane, was an industrial centre with woollen mills, railway workshops and coalmines in its vicinity, and had the oldest private school in Queensland – Ipswich Grammar.⁹⁶ Many issues in Brisbane were duplicated in nearby Ipswich. The 'general appearance of the city remained shabby throughout the 1950s and 60s', and successive

⁹² Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 399. For a history of Bundaberg, see Nolan, *Bundaberg*; Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859 – 1959*, pp. 201-208.

⁹³ Nolan, *Bundaberg*, pp. 215-230.

⁹⁴ *A History of Maryborough Queensland, 1842-1997*, Maryborough, Wide Bay and Burnett Historical Society, Maryborough, 1998; Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859 – 1959*, pp. 209-218 with descriptions also of 'Heavenly Hervey Bay just 22 miles from Maryborough'.

⁹⁵ Richard Marriott, *Toowoomba 1860 – 1960*, Toowoomba City Council, Toowoomba, Queensland, 1960; Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859 – 1959*, pp. 241-246.

⁹⁶ Joseph Allsopp, *A Centenary History of the Ipswich Grammar School 1863-1963*, Ipswich, Queensland, 1963. For a general history of Ipswich see George Harrison (ed.), *Jubilee History of Ipswich: a record of municipal, industrial and social progress*, Ipswich City Council, Ipswich, Queensland, 1980; Robyn Buchanan, *Ipswich in the 20th Century: celebrating 100 years as a city 1904-2004*, Ipswich City Council, Ipswich, Queensland, 2004; and *Ipswich: the inside view*, video recording, ABC, Sydney, 1997.

Councils were unable or unwilling to adopt an imaginative 1949 Town Plan.⁹⁷ New suburbs opened up in the mid-Fifties, as the population increased: Redbank, Ebbw Vale, Brassall and Riverview.⁹⁸ Yet, like Brisbane, infrastructure remained inadequate. It was not until 1955 that the local primary school at Silkstone was finally able to dispense with its earth closets and install a septic system, and as late as 1970, there were still some unsewered homes.⁹⁹

One other rural area of Queensland was developing in its own distinctive way in the Fifties. A short drive south from Brisbane, via a new four-lane highway,¹⁰⁰ the Gold Coast was the object of intense development and property speculation.¹⁰¹ In May 1959, the 'City of the Gold Coast' was constituted, incorporating eighteen townships with Burleigh Heads, Coolangatta, Surfers Paradise and Southport the principal centres.¹⁰² The following year Gold Coast land values jumped a massive 322 per cent and there was a significant rise in the number of local residents.¹⁰³ A bypass to relieve traffic congestion in Southport and Surfers Paradise was approved,¹⁰⁴ and the Gold Coast began to develop not only as a tourist and holiday resort, but also as a desirable residential location.¹⁰⁵ Millions of dollars of private

⁹⁷ Buchanan, *Ipswich in the 20th Century*, pp. 109-113.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁰⁰ *Colony to Capital*, video recording.

¹⁰¹ For a general history of Gold Coast development see Michael Jones, *A Sunny Place for Shady People: the real Gold Coast story*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986.

¹⁰² Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 460.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

¹⁰⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 22 September 1959, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, *A Sunny Place*, pp. 30-32. For a contrary view read J. B. Priestley's account of his impressions of Surfers Paradise in *Saturn Over the Water: an account of his adventures in London, South America and Australia*, Heinemann, London, 1961, in which he describes Surfers Paradise as a 'tasteless mess'.

capital were poured into the beach strip known as Surfers Paradise where million-dollar frontage homes, many on canal estates, showcased the ultimate in pleasurable living.¹⁰⁶ In 1954, Queensland's first 'motel' – the *El Dorado* – was built in Surfers Paradise, pioneering changes in travel and accommodation for holidays.¹⁰⁷ By the early 1960s, the Gold Coast had a population growth of 8.8 per cent, second only to Canberra as the fastest growing urban area in Australia.¹⁰⁸

The Diocese looked to plant itself more strongly in this rapidly expanding tourist, holiday and residential area. It received with gratitude a parcel of land in 1961, one of four blocks allocated to churches in the developing Surfers Paradise: 'a gift from the Surfers' Paradise Isle of Capri Pty Ltd ... to be used for the spiritual purposes of this Church.'¹⁰⁹ It was a sign of the integration of church and society.¹¹⁰

By the end of the Fifties, growing affluence, suburban stability, rural prosperity and the prospect of further wealth through mining generated an optimism for the future of Queensland. Everyone, including the Prime Minister Robert Menzies, spoke proudly of the possibilities that seemed likely to occur in coming decades.¹¹¹ 'The future possibilities of Queensland are unrivalled', said Menzies. An extensive tour of Queensland early in 1958 left him a 'rip-

¹⁰⁶ *Colony to Capital*, video recording.

¹⁰⁷ Buchanan, *Ipswich in the 20th Century*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁸ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 462.

¹⁰⁹ *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1962, p. 115.

¹¹⁰ A sign of the goodwill to the churches is suggested by a comment by Mr G. Hart at the 1960 Diocesan Synod, who referred to the 'present policy of the State Government which is known to our church authorities to be sympathetic to churches when we wish to obtain land in new Government Housing estates.' See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 251.

¹¹¹ Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 190.

roaring optimist about the future of Australia.¹¹² 'If I were to select one area of Australia, where I feel most certain of development to come, I would choose Queensland. This country is now on the eve of the greatest expansion in history', he said.¹¹³ Similarly the newly appointed Governor of Queensland, Sir Henry Abel Smith, voiced his optimism, when he addressed a Royal Commonwealth Society reception in March 1959.¹¹⁴ Praising Queensland's sugar industry as a 'model of efficiency', its mineral resources as a 'gift of Providence' and its rich agricultural areas as 'amazing', he claimed in the State's Centenary year, 1959, that 'our success is as certain as the rising of the sun'.¹¹⁵

1.4 *The Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane*

The 'Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane' was (and still is) coterminous with the southern portion of Queensland – about a quarter of the State.¹¹⁶ A horizontal line drawn from a point slightly north of Bundaberg city, initially following local shire boundaries and then the 25th parallel to the Northern Territory, marks the northern boundary. Beyond Bundaberg lay three more Anglican dioceses within Queensland: the Diocese of Rockhampton, the Diocese of North Queensland, and the Diocese of Carpentaria (which

¹¹² Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859 – 1959*, p. 303.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

¹¹⁴ Sir Henry Abel Smith became Governor of Queensland on 18 March 1958.

¹¹⁵ *Centenary Cavalcade*, p. 19.

¹¹⁶ The Diocese includes about 542,000 square kilometres. See the *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 5.

included the whole of the Northern Territory).¹¹⁷ All these dioceses, together with the missionary diocese of New Guinea, made up the Province of Queensland, with the Archbishop of Brisbane the senior bishop, although he had no jurisdiction in the diocese of another bishop. Brisbane Diocese was both urban and rural, an unusual mix in the 1950s. Other Anglican dioceses in Australia were either predominantly one or the other, with perhaps the exception of Newcastle Diocese.

If the significance of Brisbane for the State was reduced, it was magnified for the Diocese. In 1950, about 670,000 people lived within the boundaries of the Diocese, of whom the 440,000 in Brisbane represented a healthy 65 per cent.¹¹⁸ Anglicans made up about a third of Brisbane's population, as they did throughout Queensland.¹¹⁹ They were fairly evenly spread across the city, embracing people of every suburb and occupation, although the census for 1954 suggests a gentle weighting of Anglicans in some of the more prosperous suburbs, such as Ascot and St Lucia, and fewer Anglicans in less prosperous suburbs, such as Darra, where there was a higher percentage of European migrants.¹²⁰ Roman Catholics were the next largest denomination, commanding the allegiance of about 24 per cent of the population, followed by the main Protestant churches – Presbyterians on

¹¹⁷ In 1968 the Diocese of the Northern Territory was created out of Carpentaria. In 1995, the Diocese of Carpentaria was merged with North Queensland.

¹¹⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1950*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ Anglicans in Brisbane in the 1954 census comprised 172,430 of a total of 502,320 people or 34 per cent. Anglicans in Queensland as a whole comprised 454,000 of 1,318,000 people or 34 per cent also. See *Queensland Year Book 1959*, p. 40; *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30 June 1961*, vol. III – Queensland, part 1, table 5.

¹²⁰ David Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill: religion in Brisbane in the 1950s', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, February 1991, p. 246; *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30 June 1954*, vol. III – Queensland, part 1, table 5.

about 11 per cent, and Methodists also 11 per cent.¹²¹ These were the four main denominations, both in Queensland and Australia, each being largely self-contained, having their own organisations for men, women and children, their own Sunday Schools, social welfare organisations, theological colleges and central administration.

The cathedrals of the two main denominations had been built near the centre of Brisbane. The imposing Roman Catholic cathedral of St Stephen's fronted Elizabeth St, although the ageing Catholic archbishop, James Duhig (79 years old in 1950), nurtured a hope that a massive new cathedral, in the style of a Renaissance basilica, might still be built on a vacant and elevated plot of land, in Ann St, Fortitude Valley, the foundation stones of which had been laid back in 1928, and which are still visible today.¹²² Located also in Ann St, but slightly downhill and nearer the city centre, perhaps seen as symbolizing Anglican claims to permanence and religious leadership, was the Anglican cathedral of St John the Evangelist, majestic, but incomplete, the only Gothic cathedral in the southern hemisphere.¹²³ Designed by the late-Victorian architect John Loughborough Pearson (who also designed Truro Cathedral, England), the first stage was completed in 1910, but by the late 1950s, it still lacked the substance of a nave and a west entrance. A fund raising appeal was initiated in 1944, and was given a significant fillip a decade later, when the young Queen Elizabeth II, on her first visit to Brisbane, indicated an interest in seeing the cathedral completed. Within two days, 800

¹²¹ *Queensland Year Book, 1956*, p. 40.

¹²² T. P. Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1986, pp. 229-241.

¹²³ William Stegemann, *Where Prayer Has Been Valid: a history of the cathedral church of St John the Evangelist, Brisbane from penal settlement to 2000*, privately published, Brisbane, 2000, pp. 14-15.

cheques were received for the 'Cathedral Completion' scheme, and even more cheques remained to be processed. Even the unions came on board, a warm letter of support received from the powerful Australian Workers' Union.¹²⁴ But while the funds grew, by the end of the decade, no plans had been made to start the next stage of building.

Moving out from the city centre were impressive churches of all denominations in long-settled suburbs. There were few hills or ridges in the metropolitan area that were not surmounted by a church or religious institution.¹²⁵ Striking inner suburban Anglican churches included several stone churches, the spacious Holy Trinity at Fortitude Valley, the smaller church of St Mary the Virgin at Kangaroo Point, which commanded magnificent river views, the white Romanesque church of Holy Trinity at Woolloongabba, and within shouting distance of the cathedral, the small, historic church of All Saints' Wickham Terrace. At Milton, stood another early church, the wooden Christ Church, alongside which were the graves of some of the first pioneers of the State. A little further out was the stone church of St Thomas' at Toowong and two brick churches, St Andrew's at Lutwyche and St Augustine's at Hamilton. These churches and parishes, like the suburbs they were in, were well established.

Further out still, were newer churches in new and developing suburbs, where many young families were establishing homes and gardens. Presiding over the Diocese of Brisbane in those days was the burly, Oxford-trained, rugby blue, bachelor Archbishop of Brisbane, Reginald Charles Halse.

¹²⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 13 March 1954, p. 11.

¹²⁵ Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill', p. 242.

Enthroned in 1943, he turned 70 in 1951, but showed no sign of retiring. He knew that the greatest challenge then facing the Diocese was to establish parish churches in Brisbane's new suburbs.¹²⁶ A rare, five-minute film clip of a confirmation at Christ Church St Lucia in 1957 offers a fascinating, visual snapshot of the suburban church scene.¹²⁷ A group of smiling, self-conscious, young teenage girls in white veils and white dresses emerge from the wooden entrance of the church – which was the parish hall – into the bright sunshine, followed by an equal number of boys in shorts, white shirts and ties, and short-back-and-sides hair cuts. A crucifer and acolytes in red cassocks and white surplices follow, then two elderly bishops in copes and mitres – Archbishop Halse (then 76 years old) and his Co-adjutor bishop, the wiry, disciplined, former founding Principal of The Southport School, Horace Dixon (then 88 years old). The parish priest – Fr. John Rouse – stands talking to a small group, wearing a white alb, girdle and crossed stole over a black cassock. He would have worn the cassock publicly for such occasions as Religious Instruction to Anglican children at the Ironside State Primary school, just over the road from the church. Women are seen wearing hats and gloves, men are in white shirts, ties and suits. A group of young children – the Sunday School – pose on the steps of the hall, the younger girls wearing bonnets. The camera pans around and for a few seconds, a row of Holdens and Morris Minors are seen, parked one behind another, along a dusty, red-

¹²⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 195.

¹²⁷ *Christ Church – a Confirmation, 1957*, video duplication, kept at the Anglican Parish of Christ Church, cnr Central Ave and Ninth Ave, St Lucia. The video records a '1954' date, but this impossible since Fr Rouse did not arrive in St Lucia until 1956 and left in 1958. More likely, the confirmation took place on 27 October 1957. The Parish Register indicates that 65 boys and girls were confirmed. See 'Christ Church St Lucia Confirmation Register, 1957', kept in the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

gravel road, perhaps Ninth Avenue. The film clip highlights the central place of young families in the local church in this expanding suburb, and suggests the formality and respectability of the time, and the fashions in clothing, cars and hairstyles.

Ministry to the rural areas required special thought. The parish system was not hard to establish in the larger towns and regional centres, even if that meant building small churches in the more outlying centres. Warwick, for example, had a beautiful, commodious stone church built in 1940 with a seating capacity for 600.¹²⁸ Small wooden churches stood also at Swan Creek (12 kilometres east of Warwick), Pratten (30 kilometres north west), Freestone (16 kilometres north east), Yangan (18 kilometres east), Sandy Creek (20 kilometres south west), Thanos Creek (40 kilometres west), Maryvale, (30 kilometres north east) and Junabee (11 kilometres south east).¹²⁹ They were such small centres that the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics does not record their populations for this time. They were close enough to Warwick to ensure that the clergy could preside at occasional liturgies.¹³⁰ Congregations were small. At Freestone in 1949, eleven Eucharists averaged about 20 people each. At Thane, twelve Eucharists

¹²⁸ It replaced two earlier small wooden churches, the first of which was built in 1857. For a history of St Mark's Warwick, see S. Cowen, *St Mark's Warwick: 1857 – 1980*, privately published, Warwick, Queensland, 1980.

¹²⁹ St Andrew's Swan Creek was built in 1879 and closed in 1973. St James' Pratten was built in 1881. St Luke's Freestone was built in the 1880s. St Peter's Yangan was built in 1905, although liturgies had been held in an earlier church since the 1880s. St Matthew's Sandy Creek was built in 1899 and was moved to Slade School, Warwick in 1969. St John's Thanos Creek was built in 1929 and was moved to West End, Warwick in 1969 where it was used as a Sunday School hall until its sale in 1974. St Alban's Maryvale, was built in 1925. St George's Junabee was built in 1945 although there are records of homestead liturgies dating back to 1911. It was closed in 1973.

¹³⁰ Records show that the rector or his assistant presided at two morning Eucharists and a 7.30pm Evensong at St Mark's Warwick, while the other travelled east for Eucharists at Yangan at 9.30am and Swan Creek at 11.00am and an Evensong at Junabee mid-afternoon. The following Sunday the western centres of Sandy Creek, Thanos Creek, and Pratten were visited. See 'Parish of St Mark's Warwick, Services Register, 1949', Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

averaged ten people, although there were also twelve Evensongs.¹³¹ In comparison, at St Mark's Warwick the average attendance at the two morning Eucharists in 1949, was 155.¹³² This pattern of liturgical ministry was common in the rural areas.¹³³

The rural areas west of Roma presented special difficulties for the Diocese. Towns were few, roads remained unsealed, homesteads were isolated, generators provided the only source of electricity and that precious commodity, water, was carefully monitored in rainwater tanks and dams. For the churches, the sparse population, the magnitude of distances, inadequate finances, heat, isolation and loneliness combined to render ineffective the parochial system and defeated the many clergy who came from England in the early decades of the Diocese.¹³⁴ New ways to minister to those in remote parts of Queensland were needed. In 1897 there began a movement 'conceived by necessity and born in hope'¹³⁵ – the Bush Brotherhood – described by Rayner as 'the one distinctive Australian contribution to the Anglican Communion'.¹³⁶ English priests were recruited for five years service

¹³¹ Numbers of communicants were always recorded in the parish's Services Register, but numbers for non-Eucharistic liturgies, such as Evensong, went unrecorded.

¹³² 'Warwick Parish Services Registers 1949', Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

¹³³ For example, Bundaberg's main church was Christ Church, built in 1927 with seating for 500. The rector also had responsibility for eight other churches in and around Bundaberg and liturgies in a further seven halls.

¹³⁴ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, p. 353.

¹³⁵ *The Bush Brother*, no. 2, September 1972, marking the 75th anniversary of the Brotherhood movement. For a history of the Brotherhood of St Paul, see Peter Hollingworth and Lyn Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry and the Challenge of the Future*, Anglican Diocese of Brisbane, Brisbane, 1999; and Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', pp. 352-368 and pp. 587-589. Also J. W. S. Tomlin, *The Story of the Bush Brotherhoods*, London, Mowbray, 1949; R. A. F. Webb, *Brothers in the Sun: a history of the Bush Brotherhood movement in the outback of Australia*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1978; Ruth Frappell, 'The Australian Bush Brotherhoods and Their English origins', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 47, no. 1, January 1996; and Ruth Frappell, 'The Anglican Ministry to the Unsettled Rural Areas of Australia, circa 1840 to 1940', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1991.

¹³⁶ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 353.

in remote inland areas, and from a town base ministered 'the Word and Sacrament to the furthestmost corners of the Diocese'.¹³⁷

By the Fifties, three Brotherhoods operated in Queensland, the Brotherhood of St Andrew in Rockhampton Diocese, the Brotherhood of St Barnabas in North Queensland Diocese and the Brotherhood of St Paul in Brisbane Diocese.¹³⁸ Although the initial intention had been to recruit only English clergy, following World War II and the need for the English church to re-establish itself at home, these Brotherhoods became a ministry staffed largely by local Diocesan clergy.¹³⁹ For most of the 1950s the Brotherhood of St Paul had a full complement of seven to ten unmarried clergy who travelled from Charleville to districts west of Dalby: Quilpie, Mitchell, Surat, St George, Taroom, Dirranbandi and Cunnamulla. One brother served each district and the 'Head Brother' was usually based in Charleville. It could be a tough existence. Fr. Ivan Lahey, a priest of Brisbane Diocese, who served in Surat from 1957 to 1962,¹⁴⁰ found his bedroom was a tiny vestry in Surat's small church, which he shared with the Ladies' Guild's crockery and tablecloths.¹⁴¹ He travelled by car one week to Yuleba and Wallumbilla, the next week to Glenmorgan and Meandarra, and the following week to centres around Maranoa. At Meandarra there was an equally small vestry to sleep in, and a bucket shower under the tank stand outside.¹⁴² Remote rural people

¹³⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 93.

¹³⁸ In New South Wales, the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd was founded in 1902. A string of Brotherhoods followed in other rural dioceses around Australia but many were short lived.

¹³⁹ Halse claimed that in the decade after World War II no English recruits came, but then between 1955 and 1961 three chaplains for Slade School and three further Brothers arrived. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 93.

¹⁴⁰ Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, p. 59. Lahey was ordained a priest in 1956.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 61.



Fig. 2 Bush Brothers – Fred Wilson, Byam Roberts, Archdeacon Frank Knight (Head 1943-1950), Arthur Gillespie, Michael Paxton-Hall, “Chum” Grayson

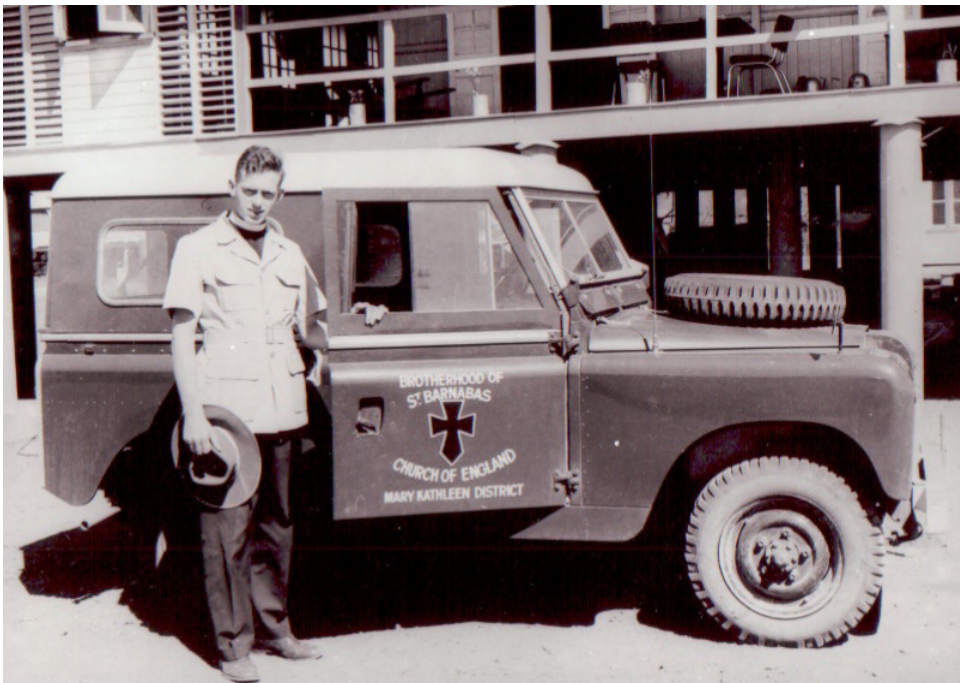


Fig. 3 Bush Brother Father John Clarkson with landrover

appreciated the sacrifices the Brothers made and the difficulties they endured.¹⁴³ The local publican in Surat provided meals for Lahey free of charge,¹⁴⁴ and at Wallumbilla, with water at a premium, Lahey was 'allowed the honour of being the first to use the bath water, three inches from the bottom of the bath with a kettle full of hot water added'.¹⁴⁵

All town visits involved church liturgies – an Evensong on a homestead verandah and Holy Communion the following morning. There would be chats with shearers in the sheds, religious instruction for children, and pastoral visits. A Brother was expected to 'muck in', to drink but not get drunk, to lift a bale of wool but not intrude. He was expected to know bush rules. A traveller, for example, never left his car if it broke down and always cleaned his windscreen if planning to travel west into the glare of the afternoon sun.¹⁴⁶

Isolation was an issue. One Brother, Fr Tom Hood, recently arrived from England, went to Charleville (750 kilometres west of Brisbane) in January 1958, and on his first Sunday, drove another 220 kilometres west to Quilpie. It was hot, and he passed just one other car.¹⁴⁷ Because of the isolation some procedures aimed at strengthening the sense of solidarity. All Brothers said Evensong at the same time each day, wherever they were and each quarter there would be a gathering at Charleville or the Slade School – the Anglican boys' school, in Warwick – to report, reflect and encourage.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 77; Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 364.

¹⁴⁴ Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, p. 61.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁴⁶ Bishop Adrian Charles, personal comments recorded in March 2003.

¹⁴⁷ Fr Tom Hood, personal comments recorded in March 2005. Hood came to Queensland in response to an appeal for more Brothers from Bishop Ian Shevill. However, instead of going to the North Queensland Brotherhood of St Barnabas in Shevill's diocese, he chose to join the Brotherhood of St Paul, Brisbane Diocese.

These 'quarterlies' were held over a weekend so that the Brother could experience the larger church at prayer.¹⁴⁸ The Bush Brotherhood was an imaginative way to provide Anglican ministry to those in very remote areas, and reflected the unshakeable Anglican belief that all should have access to the ministry of the ordained, and the opportunity to worship God.



Fig. 4 Bush Brother, Father John Clarkson – Cloncurry 1961

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Adrian Charles, personal comments recorded in March 2003.

1.5 Optimism and Growth

The Fifties were halcyon days for all churches, seeing numerical and financial growth, if not also spiritual growth. The Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane shared in and enjoyed this growth. In November 1954, the *Church Chronicle*, the monthly paper for the Diocese, headlined its front page, 'Congregations Growing!'. In almost breathless excitement the paper claimed that 'in the last seven years we have frequently seen Churches filled to overflowing. We assert ... that congregations are growing larger'.¹⁴⁹ Such growth was quite unexpected. The usual experience of the Diocese down the decades had been a lack of people, not their surplus, exacerbated by a lack of money and of priests. Much of the history of the Diocese, from its beginnings in 1859 up to the early 1950s, is the attempt to wrestle with this lack of people, money and priests. But now this long standing pattern seemed on the edge of being broken. Everywhere numerical growth created surprised happiness and new confidence.

Priests were not slow to make known their parish growth. In a report to the 1961 Diocesan Synod, the vicar of St George's Windsor, the Reverend W. P. B. Miles, (a much loved priest, whose initials gave him the affectionate nickname 'Waste Paper Basket Miles') reported 'a very marked improvement ... in the regular increase of the congregation. The Sunday School has shown steady increase ... Evensong has greatly improved. ... During the year 4,347 acts of communion have been made, which illustrates the growth of the

¹⁴⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1954, p. 321.

congregation.’¹⁵⁰ It was an experience repeated in parishes around the Diocese. At St Stephen’s Coorparoo, the numbers of communicants increased from 3,819 in 1949 to 6,335 in 1950, and kept swelling. In 1953, the Rector, Arthur Lupton, reported an ‘ever-increasing number of worshippers at the various services. There was a total of 10,400 communicants for the year, nearly 2,000 more than last year’.¹⁵¹

Such growth produced a buoyancy among Diocesan leadership. By 1957, an editorial in the *Church Chronicle*, thought it must represent a ‘new outpouring of the Holy Spirit’. ‘Everywhere there are abundant signs of fresh life, new enthusiasm and a return to God. ... It is apparent to all ... who go around the Diocese that in town and country great advances are being made. New buildings are being erected, more money is becoming available for expansion ... and best of all, more people are coming to church for worship and instruction’.¹⁵²

There were other indicators of a growing response to the work of the church. Numbers of candidates in training for ordination at St Francis’ Theological College, Milton, increased throughout the 1950s. Eighteen students were in residence at the beginning of the decade; the number climbed to a record 55 at the end.¹⁵³ Numbers of those participating in the annual Good Friday ‘Procession of Witness’ also increased. The Archbishop of Brisbane, led by a large wooden cross, and flanked by servers with torches, would lead the crowd, gathered behind a variety of embroidered banners,

¹⁵⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 138.

¹⁵¹ Ralph Bowles, ‘An Outline History of St Stephen the Martyr Anglican Church Coorparoo, 1922-2000’, p. 19, kept at St Stephen’s Church, 343 Cavendish Rd, Coorparoo, Queensland.

¹⁵² *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1957, p. 179.

¹⁵³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 159.

through Brisbane's almost empty city streets, to an outdoor liturgy in King George Square, where an address or Passion Play in the City Hall would conclude the day.¹⁵⁴ In the early Fifties, the annual report to Diocesan Synod included a few lines, but no figures, on the Procession of Witness.¹⁵⁵ In 1958, a note of excitement enters the reporting: a 'splendid Procession of Witness ... easily the best ever' with a 'greater number participating'. The monetary collection in the City Hall was an 'all time record'. A year later, 'several thousand' marched. In 1961, the Procession was a 'splendid Act of Witness ... referred to by many as the "best ever". Some 7,000 men, women and children ... marched in the Procession and it is estimated that over 10,000 people were gathered in King George's Square to take part in the service'.¹⁵⁶

But it was in the area of ministry with children and youth that the increase was most marked and caused most pleasure. Sunday School attendances nearly doubled from an average attendance of 11,700 in 1950 to nearly 20,600 in 1960. Although indicative of the beginnings of the 'baby boomer' years, this increase represented far more than a response to population growth, and suggests that church activities and worship were meeting a need for new families in particular.¹⁵⁷

What caused such numerical growth in the Fifties? Why did 'abundant signs of fresh life' emerge by the late Fifties, but not in earlier or later

¹⁵⁴ For a typical description see *Anglican*, 15 April 1955, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ The Church of England Men's Society organised the annual Procession, and included a comment on the Procession as part of their Society's report each year to Diocesan Synod.

¹⁵⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 179.

¹⁵⁷ The number of children under fourteen in Queensland in 1947 was 297,800. In 1954, the number was 394,021 and in 1961, the number had jumped to 475,858. Between 1947 and 1961, the numbers of children under 14 had increased by about 55 per cent, representing a much lower percentage increase than that for Sunday School attendances in Brisbane Diocese. See J. C. Caldwell, 'Population', in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: historical statistics*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Broadway, New South Wales, 1987, p. 37.

decades? What was it that helped the church to grow numerically and financially so much that Brisbane's daily paper, the *Courier-Mail*, in 1959 could speak of the 'present strong position' of the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane?¹⁵⁸ It is time to examine three 'moods' apparent in Australia's national life in the Fifties, all of which were conducive to church growth and development for all churches, and especially Anglican dioceses, such as the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane.

¹⁵⁸ *Courier-Mail*, 1 June 1959, p. 10.

Chapter Two:

1954

*Hope, like the gleaming taper's light,
Adorns and cheers our way,
And still, as darker grows the night,
Emits a brighter ray.*

Oliver Goldsmith, 'The Traveller' (1764)

The images of two women dominated newspapers around Australia in the early months of 1954. The first was that of a young newly crowned Queen Elizabeth II. Following her coronation in June 1953, she resolved on a Royal Tour of her dominions. Excitement was intense, and when she arrived on the shores of Sydney on 3 February 1954 it was to a tumultuous acclamation. This was the first visit of a reigning monarch to Australia, and everywhere she went huge and enthusiastic crowds lined the streets, waved their flags and cheered her. All were united in delight for the new Queen, some joining the Prime Minister Robert Menzies in nurturing a hope that a new Elizabethan era was beginning.¹

Just weeks later, the nation simmered with indignation, as they watched a distressed young Russian woman, Evdokia Petrov, being hustled by two burly Russian couriers across the tarmac at Sydney's Mascot airport to an awaiting plane, to be returned to communist Russia.² Her husband

¹ Menzies hailed 'a second Elizabethan era in British history' in which Australians would share. John Rickard, *Australia: a cultural history*, Longman, London, 1988, p. 207.

² See for example the photo in the *Daily Mirror*, 20 April 1954, p. 5. The *Courier-Mail*, 21 April 1954, p. 1 has an equally arresting photo. The caption reads: 'Dramatic picture taken at Darwin Airport yesterday morning as a burly Northern Territory policeman held the Soviet courier, V. Karpinsky in a headlock while he was disarmed. The Russian resisted violently as his revolver was taken from him'. For the 'Petrov Affair', see Nicholas Whitlam and John Stubbs, *Nest of Traitors: the Petrov Affair*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1985, which offers a critique of Menzies' handling of the affair; John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties, private sentiment and political culture in Menzies' Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2000, chapter 9; Fred Alexander,

Vladimir Petrov, ostensibly third secretary of the Soviet embassy in Canberra, but in reality head of Soviet intelligence in Australia, had earlier defected and placed himself in the care of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.³ One of Evdokia's shoes had fallen off, but the grim faced couriers would not allow her to retrieve it, especially while an angry crowd milled around and shouted abuse. Around the nation, people listened to radio reports, read the newspapers, and watched the unfolding drama at the cinemas.⁴ Evdokia, confused and frightened, finally accepted the offer of political asylum and joined her husband, but only after a contrived stopover at Darwin airport.

Queen Elizabeth II and Evdokia Petrov are the faces of two moods in Australia in the early Fifties. One was a mood of pride in a British heritage, and the other a mood of fear of international communism. A third mood soon joined these two, a mood of expectancy, a realisation of growing economic prosperity and the hope that this prosperity would endure to greater standards of living. Between 1952 and 1965, Australia's gross domestic product grew annually nearly five per cent, a rate greater than that of America or Britain.⁵ More and more people bought from the ever-widening range of consumer

Australia Since Federation: a narrative and critical analysis, 4th edn, Nelson, Melbourne, 1982, pp. 189-191.

³ Menzies announced the defection to a hushed Parliament. See R. G. Menzies, 'Espionage Activities in Australia', *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, vol. 3, 13 April 1954, pp. 325-326.

⁴ Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties*, p. 127.

⁵ Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1942-1995: the Middle Way*, vol. 5, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 90.



Fig. 5 The Queen with Archbishop Halse at St John's Cathedral 1954

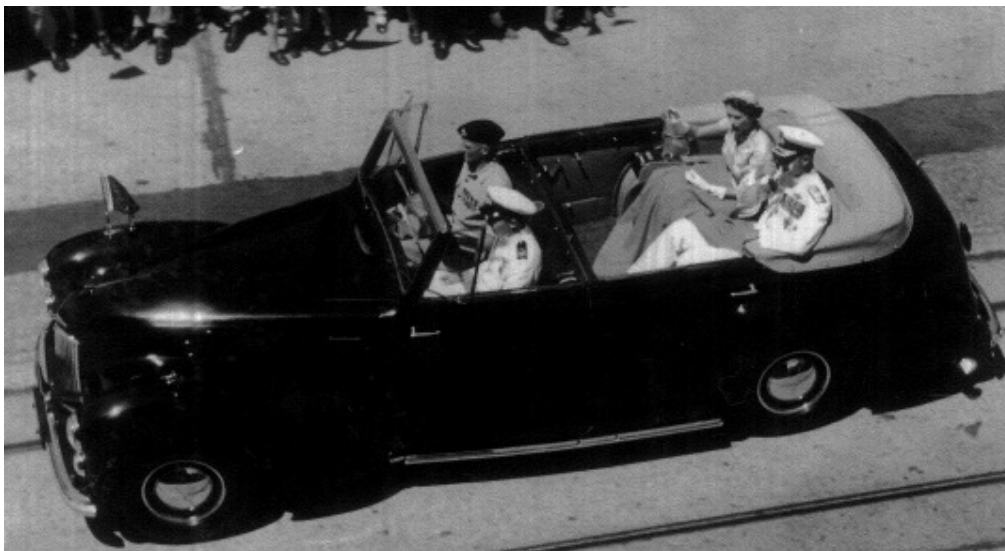


Fig 6. The Queen and Prince Philip arrive at St John's Cathedral 1954

goods that were gradually coming onto the market. But it was not just in economics that there was a sense of expectancy. It extended to other areas of social life. In sport, the boundaries of what was possible expanded. On 6 May 1954, in England, a 25-year-old medical student, Roger Bannister, broke the four minute mile, followed 46 days later by Australia's John Landy with a new world record, that smashed Bannister's time. Medical breakthroughs also created an expectancy for a healthier future. In 1954, Jonas Salk's anti-polio vaccine was successfully trialled in America, and released for general use a year later. Polio engendered great fears, especially as the victims were usually children and the result was often paralysis. An Australian colleague of Salk's, Dr Val Bazeley made sure that the vaccine was quickly available in Australia, and children lined up for injections. The days of polio epidemics – the last major one in Queensland had been in the years 1950-52, when 1,200 contracted the disease – were over.⁶

These three moods on display in 1954 – a mood of pride, a mood of fear and a mood of expectancy – were conducive to numerical and financial growth in all churches, especially Anglican dioceses in Australia such as the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane.

2.1 *A Mood of Pride*

On 9 March 1954, an estimated 500,000 people lined the streets of Brisbane in a patriotic pageant to greet 'their Queen', the greatest crowd the city had

⁶ *Queensland Past and Present: 100 years of statistics 1896-1996*, Queensland Government Statistician's Office, Brisbane, 1998, p. 259. See also Ross Patrick, *A History of Health and Medicine in Queensland, 1824-1960*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1987, pp. 239-240.

ever known.⁷ Anglicans took special pride in claiming that Queen Elizabeth was one of them – their titular head and ‘defender of the faith’, whom on accession to the throne, took an oath to preserve Anglican doctrines.⁸ When the Queen arrived in Brisbane, the *Courier-Mail* headlined one article (among the many devoted to her tour): ‘The Queen wanted to worship with her people’.⁹ No other denomination could make such a claim.¹⁰ At her coronation in June 1953, special liturgies had been held in almost every Anglican church in Australia, congregations exhorted to join her in her act of dedication to God.¹¹ As well, each Sunday in Anglican worship, authorised prayers were offered to God on behalf of the reigning monarch and members of the Royal Family.

Now, as the Queen’s motorcade passed down Baroona Road and into Milton Road, theological students of St Francis’ Theological College, wearing their black cassocks, joined others lining the streets and shouted, ‘Vivat Regina! Vivat Regina!’, the acclamation used at the Queen’s coronation in Westminster Abbey just nine months earlier. Archbishop Halse had represented the Church of England in Australia at that coronation, and now on her first days in Brisbane he welcomed her to St John’s Cathedral. About 2,500 people packed into the cathedral, 4,000 gathered outside on the lawn,

⁷ *Courier-Mail*, 10 March 1954, p. 1.

⁸ A welcome banner strung across Vulture St, East Brisbane outside St Paul’s Anglican Church read ‘Defender of the Faith’, where ‘the faith’ was understood to mean the Anglican faith. Alongside the words was a picture of a choir boy in front of cathedral-like stained glass. See *The Eagle: the magazine of St John’s Cathedral, Brisbane*, vol. 2, no. 3, winter 2006, p. 19.

⁹ *Courier-Mail*, 11 March 1954, p. 2

¹⁰ Brian Fletcher, ‘Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901-1962’, *Journal of Religious History*, no. 23, June 1999, p. 222.

¹¹ David Hilliard, ‘Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: a study of Adelaide and Brisbane’, *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1988, p. 227. For accounts of liturgies, see *Anglican*, 12 June 1953; *Church of England Messenger*, 19 March 1954, p. 41.

and another 4,000 stood in the street, figures which ‘astonished even the most optimistic of the clergy’.¹² So moving was the visit to the cathedral that one Brisbane priest, Fr. Peter Bennie, then Rector of All Saints’ Wickham Terrace, remembered the remarkable sight of women standing in a line reaching to the west door, many with tears in their eyes, ‘waiting their turn just to touch the chair Queen Elizabeth had occupied during the service.’¹³ Such royal visits fused symbols of God, Church, Crown, Royal Family and Empire.¹⁴ They reflected and nurtured an Anglophile pride and sentiment and created an impression that the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane was the established Church of England overseas.



*Fig. 7 Queen’s Visit 1954 – Banner across Vulture Street near St Paul’s,
East Brisbane*

¹² *Courier-Mail*, 11 March 1954, p. 2.

¹³ Peter Bennie, ‘Anglicanism in Australia’, *Quadrant*, vol. 16, no. 3, May-June 1972, p. 35.

¹⁴ David Hilliard, ‘God in the Suburbs: the religious culture of Australian cities in the 1950s’, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 97, 1991, p. 405.

Bennie suggests that up to the 1960s there was ‘an intense nostalgia for England’. This nostalgia was not that of ‘England of the welfare state ... for one does better in Australia, but an England as it was believed to be in its imperial heyday. This is ‘Home’, the source of all civilized standards, and the brown Australian land must be wrenched into a copy, always second best, of “England’s green and pleasant land”’.¹⁵ A whole gamut of middle class institutions fashioned upon British models witnessed to the hold this sentiment had on the population: ‘independent schools haunted by the ghost of Dr Arnold of Rugby, University Colleges as Oxbridge as lack of endowments will allow, the clubs in capital cities, thousands of well bred homes in Melbourne, Adelaide and Hobart all consciously modelled on the pattern and mores of Victorian Britain’.¹⁶

Such a mood was congenial for building up the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane, with its own set of English models: the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and Evensong, boys’ choirs, its Gothic cathedral as centrally placed in Brisbane as any British city cathedral, its Eton-like private schools, such as the Church of England Grammar School (known as ‘Churchie’) and The Southport School, its bishops and clergy, its theological college, parish system and neo-Gothic parish churches. All had their counterparts in England, with one notable exception – the payment of clergy. In Australia, congregations had the responsibility to raise the stipend and pay their own clergy; in England, congregations knew no such responsibility, the Church Commissioners paying from centrally managed funds.

¹⁵ Bennie, ‘Anglicanism in Australia’, p. 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Anglicanism in the Diocese of Brisbane – as elsewhere in Australia – retained much of the ethos of the established Church of England. Indeed the history of the Diocese could be read largely as the attempt to translate the structure, organisation and ethos of the Church in England onto an Australian context. The official title of the Diocese – ‘The Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane’ – might confirm the charge that this was essentially the Church of England overseas, a derived church, and to a large extent this would be true.¹⁷

The *Book of Common Prayer* was a crucial link to the Church of England, and there was great attachment to it.¹⁸ From November 1947 to November 1949, the *Church Chronicle* ran a series of 25 leading articles on ‘The Prayer Book’ underscoring its centrality to Anglicanism. It was universally used, either in its 1662 format or in its 1928 revision, which made gentle adjustments more sympathetic to an Anglo-Catholic heritage.¹⁹ Not only was it the duly authorised form of worship that Anglicans had used since 1662, containing beautifully constructed Cranmerian ‘collects’ and mellifluous and inspiring language, it was also widely accepted as one of the great sources of unity within the Anglican Communion. In 1958, Archbishop Halse returned to Brisbane from the Lambeth Conference (a gathering of Anglican bishops from around the world at Canterbury every ten years). In a sermon to Diocesan Synod, he said: ‘The fact remains that it [the *Book of Common Prayer*] is still the model or framework of liturgical prayer, and continues to draw together the

¹⁷ Fletcher, ‘Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901-1962’, pp. 216-218.

¹⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1951, p. 10 on the *Book of Common Prayer* as fundamental to Anglicanism as the bible.

¹⁹ The British Parliament rejected the 1928 revision. Nevertheless, it became widely used in parishes in England and Australia.

Catholic, Liberal and Evangelical wings of the Church.’²⁰ As well, the *Book of Common Prayer* was a vehicle for transmitting the Anglican faith. To discover what an Anglican believed, one only had to read the ‘Prayer Book’.

Diocesan leadership remained in the hands of Englishmen. All Brisbane’s archbishops were English born and trained, until as late as 1990, when Bishop Peter Hollingworth became the first Australian born and trained Archbishop of Brisbane. In the Fifties, leadership by Englishmen was normal, not only within the Anglican Church but in many institutions – education, law, medicine, science. In the Diocese of Brisbane, Englishmen filled all the key leadership positions: Archbishop, Coadjutor Bishop, Dean of the cathedral, Principal of the theological college, and Head of the Bush Brotherhood. The English priest was seen to have an experience and a status the local man did not have. He often had an Oxbridge background and was well spoken, bringing a so-called dignity to the office.

The Dean, Bill Baddeley provides a good example. He came to Brisbane with his wife and daughter in 1958, at the invitation of Archbishop Halse. He promised five years, and stayed nine.²¹ He brought charm, affability, strong pastoral gifts, keen musicianship and the communication skills of a natural public performer. This latter was not surprising: public performances through the theatre had been part of Baddeley’s childhood. Two

²⁰ Archbishop Reginald Halse, the Synod Sermon given in the cathedral on 6 October 1958, a copy of which is kept in the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane. The 1948 Lambeth Conference spoke of the BCP being ‘so strong a bond of unity’ for the whole Communion that any liturgical revision ought to proceed carefully. See Roger Coleman (ed.), *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences 1867-1988*, Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, Canada, 1992, p. 112. See also David Hilliard, ‘The Ties that Used to Bind: a fresh look at the history of Australian Anglicanism’, *Pacifica*, 11, October 1998, pp. 271-272.

²¹ *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1968, p. 121 and pp. 280-281.

of his four older half-sisters were the renowned actors Angela and Hermione, and with his own good looks, dark curly hair, resonant voice and flamboyant nature, he might as easily followed them into the theatre, instead of the priesthood.²² He was educated at Durham University, where he was president of the union and captain of boats, trained for ordination at Cuddesdon Theological College, near Oxford, and served curacies in Camberwell, Wandsworth and Bournemouth, before appointment as Vicar of St Pancras, London in 1949.

He had a great appreciation for the arts. While in Brisbane, he served as president of the Brisbane Repertory Theatre, and became a patron of the Queensland Ballet Company and the Elizabethan Theatre Trust. He had a love of fine choral music and used his magnificent, deep bass voice to give a 'good, strong lead' to congregational singing.²³ His theatrical nature came out in a number of ways, including at times, liturgically. He would bring a chair down and stand on it to preach, and could become quite histrionic. With a superbly modulated voice, he gained a reputation as a persuasive preacher, who often had the congregation in the palm of his pastoral hand. He attracted attention, enjoyed it, and at times, provoked it, not bad attributes in a Dean, part of whose 'job description' might be to keep the church's voice in the public sphere. On one occasion, in August 1960, he sparked a national furore when he attended the horse races at Eagle Farm – and allegedly backed six

²² James Murray, 'Obituary: the Very Reverend William Baddeley', *The Australian*, 8 June 1998, p. 14, for this and the following information.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

out seven winners.²⁴ Many were aghast at such immoral behaviour, especially on the part of a Dean, but others welcomed the more liberal attitude he displayed.

Baddeley had a common touch. He became known in many households as host of a monthly religious television program, '*What do YOU think?*', and his views were reported in the daily press from time to time. He enjoyed tennis, and knew all the gatekeepers at the Milton Tennis Courts by name. He did not possess a driver's licence, relying on Brisbane taxis, and soon became a favourite among taxi drivers. In all these ways he brought the cathedral to the attention of many. He resigned in March 1967, not without regrets, and returned to London shortly thereafter, to take up the prestigious appointment of Rector of St James', Piccadilly, where he remained until his retirement in 1980.

This cameo of Baddeley's Brisbane life suggests the kind of influence a Dean could have in a society in which Christianity was still very much a part of the public consciousness. It also indicates the style of leadership that could be tapped in England. Not that the leadership received was always as expected. In 1955, Halse cast his eye towards England for a new leader for the Bush Brotherhood of St Paul. Bishop Wand – a former Archbishop of Brisbane and, by that time, Bishop of London – recommended Fr J. Spencer Dunkerley.²⁵ Dunkerley had a fine reputation. Before training for the priesthood, he gained a Double First with Honours in History from Cambridge, and served as a

²⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1960, p. 1; *Age*, 2 August 1960, p. 7; *Courier-Mail*, 3 August 1960, p. 5.

²⁵ William Wand had been Archbishop of Brisbane from 1934, before being translated to Bath and Wells in 1943, then London in 1945.

Captain in the army in World War II in Italy and Africa, with a special interest in de-crypting enemy codes.²⁶ On paper, he was just the kind of rugged and committed priest required for the Australian bush. In January 1956, Dunkerley arrived at Charleville to become Head. As expected, he turned out to be highly intelligent, but unexpectedly, he was a refined and eccentric English gentleman, kind but absent-minded and an erratic driver. He was one of the more unlikely Bush Brothers. When he concluded his term as Head of the Brotherhood in 1961, Halse invited someone he knew, Bishop John Hudson – another Englishman – to be Head (as well as Coadjutor Bishop and Archdeacon of the West, a cost saving measure by doubling up on appointments).

Attachment to the English Church can be traced in other ways. Royal visits were not infrequent. Whenever the Queen or her representatives, or other members of the royal family came to Australia, they worshipped in the Anglican Church. Four years after the Queen's resoundingly successful tour of Australia, the Queen Mother made her own visit. On 20 February 1958, about 4,000 people gathered in and around St John's Cathedral and another 1,000 on the streets to catch a glimpse of the Queen Mother.²⁷ Archbishop Halse said that 'the people from every parish will go home rejoicing that they have been able to welcome one so dear to the hearts of all Australians'.²⁸ A year later another royal guest was Princess Alexandra of Kent,²⁹ and on two separate occasions that same year, the Queen's Australian representative,

²⁶ *Bush Notes*, vol. 50, no. 9, September 1955, p. 7.

²⁷ *Courier-Mail*, 21 February 1958, p. 6.

²⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1958, p. 73.

²⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 85.



Fig. 8 The Queen Mother with SSA sister at St John's Cathedral 1958



Fig. 9 Princess Alexandra with Archbishop Halse and Dean Baddeley 1959

the Governor-General Sir William Slim, came to Queensland and requested that the last engagement before the end of his farewell visit to the State should be Divine Worship in the cathedral.³⁰

Queensland bishops continued to pay occasional visits to England, and though the flow of English priests to Australia was much smaller than in pre-War years, nevertheless, some English priests still made their way to Australia for a stint of, what they may have seen as, 'missionary service'. English church leadership also showed an interest in the Australian Anglican Church. In 1950, the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Dean Hewlett Johnson³¹ visited Australia (including Queensland), and later that year the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher toured Australia, followed in 1951 by the Archbishop of York, Cyril Garbett.

Fisher was the first Archbishop of Canterbury to visit the country. During his time in Queensland, in November 1950, his party (which included Mrs Fisher, Archbishop Reginald Halse, the Bishop of Rockhampton James Housden, and the recently consecrated Assistant Bishop of New Guinea David Hand) paused at a small Queensland town called Marburg on their way to Toowoomba and Warwick.³² At All Saints' Church, 60 people, including the Rector and Church of England primary students from the State Rural School waving small flags, greeted him and his wife. The stop had been arranged to give the country school children an opportunity to meet Dr and Mrs Fisher.³³ The Rector and Senior Student made speeches of welcome, after which a

³⁰ Ibid., p. 129.

³¹ Hewlett was known as the 'Red Dean' for his sympathies to communism. See *Courier-Mail*, 26 April 1950, p. 5.

³² *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1951, p. 10.

³³ Ibid., p. 10.

delighted Archbishop responded. He pointed to the variety of flags – the Union Jack, the Australian Flag and, flying from his car, the flag of St George and the Arms of the See of Canterbury. ‘All these speak to us of England, Australia and the Church of England’, he said. ‘All these mean very much to you and to me; we belong to England and the Church of England. Always be loyal to Church, Empire and Country. Serve England well, serve Australia well, above all, serve the Church well. Ever be proud of your Church’.³⁴ These sentiments, combining love of England, Australia, and the Church of England were typical of the times.

Another way attachment to the English Church manifested itself can still be found in a number of churches. Set into the sanctuary wall of Christ Church, St Lucia is a small stone from the 15th century ‘Bell Harry’ Tower of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury. When Christ Church was built in 1962 the stone was incorporated into the wall to remind future congregations of the spiritual bond with the English Church. It was a common practice. In 1948 Archbishop Halse returned from the Lambeth Conference bringing with him an 800-year-old scorched stone capital from the blitzed ruins of All Hallows’ Church, Barking in London, where ‘Tubby’ Clayton, the founder of ‘Toc H’ and a Queenslander by birth (and a former school friend of Halse’s in London) was Vicar.³⁵ In 1952, the stone capital was set into the wall of the south transept of St John’s Cathedral Brisbane, where it formed a ‘precious link with old

³⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁵ Toc H was a movement founded by ‘Tubby’ Clayton after the devastation of World War I to promote friendship, service, fair-mindedness and faith. It aimed at creating a more just and peaceful world by breaking down barriers and challenging prejudices. Clayton re-built All Hallows where he was Vicar after World War II and established the Toc H world headquarters there. That ‘Tubby’ Clayton was a Queenslander by birth added to Australian media interest in him. See *Courier-Mail*, 19 March 1960, p.



Fig. 10 The Tubby Clayton stone capital

England’.³⁶ At St Paul’s Stanthorpe, an inland rural town near the Queensland-New South Wales border, a stone from St Augustine’s, Canterbury was placed in the side wall in April 1960. The inscription above the stone reads: ‘to commemorate the faith and services of all loyal parishioners who came from England and settled in this district’. (Perhaps the need to display one’s English roots was stronger in Stanthorpe? It was and remains a concentrated Roman Catholic town, settled originally by Italians in large numbers, to establish and work the apple and other stone fruit orchards of the area.) Protruding from the wall of the sanctuary of the small, historic church of St Matthew’s Grovely, is a red brick, taken from the village church at Grovely Wood, Salisbury, Wiltshire, after which Grovely, Brisbane was named, and from where early settlers in the district had come. The brick was unveiled by the Governor of Queensland, Sir Henry Abel Smith on 27

2 for an article on the 74-year-old’s difficulties in preserving ‘his London church All Hallows’ by the Tower’.

³⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1952, p. 359. The description near the stone reads: ‘This Stone Capital from the ruined Church of All Hallows, Barking, London, was unveiled on 26 October 1952 by the Reverend P. B. Clayton, born Maryborough 1885, and founder of Toc H 1915. The foundation stone of the new Church building of All Hallows, Barking was set by Queen Elizabeth [wife of George VI] in 1948, and blessed by the Bishop of London, Dr J. W. C. Wand, the Archbishop of Brisbane, Dr R. C. Halse being in attendance.’

September 1957, to mark the 92nd anniversary of St Matthew's – one of the oldest surviving churches still in use in Brisbane.³⁷ Even a whole building might recall the English link. When St Martin's Hospital was built as a War Memorial hospital alongside the cathedral in 1922, it was 'thoroughly English' in design 'with the idea of preserving a symbol of the attachment of the Church in Australia to the Mother Church of England'.³⁸

Dedications of churches and schools in honour of one of the great British saints reinforced the link with the mother country and had the added effect of countering Roman Catholic controversialists, who liked to point to a divorcing Henry VIII as the founder of the Church of England. Dedications to early British saints, to St George, St Aidan, St Oswald, St Alban, St Hilda, St Margaret or St Augustine of Canterbury appear alongside more traditional dedications and highlighted Anglicanism's pre-Reformation beginnings.³⁹ Finally, the *Church Chronicle*, the Diocesan paper, took a close interest in the English Church. Items of interest from the English Church were regularly reported. A series on the history and characteristics of English cathedrals called 'How Our Forefathers Built' ran over nearly two years in the *Church Chronicle*.⁴⁰

³⁷ 'St Matthews Church', leaflet, kept at St Matthew's Anglican Church, 30 Coorong St, Grovely. See also Philip Chamberlin, *The First 100 Years of the Little Church on the Hill, 1867-1967*, privately published, Brisbane, 1967, p. 12; and for a history of John and Mary Nicholson who built the church, see Isabel Nicholson, *Grovely, Grovely, Grovely*, Boolarong Publications, Spring Hill, Queensland, 1984.

³⁸ *The Making of St Martin's Hospital*, no publisher, no date, p. 37, in possession of the sisters of the Society of the Sacred Advent, 34 Lapraik St, Albion, Queensland.

³⁹ Churches dedicated to St George were located at Bald Hills, Windsor, Crows Nest, Birkdale, Ipswich North, Beenleigh, Mt Tambourine, Linville, Eumundi, Maleny, Thornton, Junabee, Tingoora and Toombul; to St Aidan at Clifton Hill, Dayborough, Baddow, Wyandra and Mutdapilly; to St Oswald at Banyo, Ballandean and Wynnum; to St Alban at Wilston, Gatton, Cunnamulla, Tannymorel, Kooroongarra, Maryvale, and Goodna; to St Hilda at Boyland; and to St Augustine of Canterbury at Mount Colliery. As well, three girls' schools took the names of St Aidan, St Margaret and St Hilda.

⁴⁰ The monthly articles ran from January 1950 to November 1952 and feature 28 English Cathedrals.

This attachment by Anglicans to the English Church reflected a general regard and affection for the United Kingdom. Australians took pride in their British heritage. Britain had an Empire that was founded on Christian principles, and Britons had paved the way for many other nations to know the benefits of their style of civilisation.⁴¹ When Great Britain declared war on Germany in 1939, it had been axiomatic that Australia should join the struggle. Now in the decade and more that followed the end of that war, and despite an intensive immigration program that incorporated new levels of non-British migrants, pride in the British heritage was still apparent. An opinion poll conducted in February 1957, found that 56 per cent of Australians supported the retention of 'God Save the Queen' as the national anthem, while just 39 per cent wanted something 'more Australian'.⁴² During the decade, Britain provided more than half the overseas capital required for the development of Australian enterprises.⁴³ Additionally, Britain's share of Australia's post-War exports reached a peak of 41.3 per cent in the 1952-53 financial year, although subsequently this share fell steadily as Australia turned to America and the Pacific region.⁴⁴ The ties of sentiment were strong, even if Australia was becoming slowly less dependent on the mother country in areas such as defence, the economy and culture. Such ties of sentiment – a mood of pride – set up conditions beneficial to the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane in the Fifties.

⁴¹ Fletcher, 'Anglicanism and Nationalism 1901-1962', p. 219.

⁴² *Australian Gallup Polls*, Nos. 1229-1240, February-March 1957.

⁴³ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, p. 90.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

2.2 A Mood of Fear

The 'Petrov Affair' confirmed the worst fears many Australians had of communism. Communism's atheistic base, freedom-denying ideology, brutality and hostility to capitalism were all seen as threats to the growing prosperity, peace and security of the Western world. International communism could precipitate, at any moment, another war. As early as 1949, just four years after the end of World War II, Prime Minister Robert Menzies gave voice to this fear when he said that Australians had 'not three years to get ready for possible war with Russia'.⁴⁵

Overseas, countries in eastern and central Europe had fallen under Soviet control, and in 1948 the Allies were denied land access to Berlin. The former wartime ally, Russia, now became the feared enemy, and the Cold War was under way. Elsewhere, Mao Tse-tung's communist forces won control of mainland China in 1949, deposing the nationalist government of Chang Kai-shek. A year later, the Korean War broke out, an event which, for some in Australia, fused the fear of communism with a long-standing fear of the 'yellow peril'. The Korean War finished three years later with an inconclusive ceasefire, and 278 Australians dead and more than 1,500 troops wounded.⁴⁶ Concerned at the possible advance of international communism, and in particular, the division of Vietnam into a communist governed north,

⁴⁵ Quoted in Judith Brett, 'Mingtime', *Australian Magazine*, 18-19 September 1993, p. 24. In the late 1940s, two in three Australians believed that peace could not last more than a decade. See Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties*, p. 92 and ch. 7. For Menzies' attitude to communism, see Frank Cain and Frank Farrell, 'Menzies' War on the Communist Party, 1949 – 1951' in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Australia's First Cold War 1945- 1953: society, communism and culture*, vol. 1, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1984, pp. 109-134.

⁴⁶ Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties*, p. 92.

and a French-backed nationalist regime in the south, Australia became a signatory to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation in 1954, a defensive alliance of America, England, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand.

At home, communist influence was discernible in the trade union movement. A battle for control of the trade union movement had raged since the end of World War II. Bob Santamaria's Catholic Social Studies Movement (known as 'the Movement') together with the Labor Party's Industrial Groups faced off against communist trade union officials and organisers.⁴⁷ In 1944, the Communist Party of Australia, then at its zenith,⁴⁸ celebrated their first elected member to a State seat – Fred Paterson, member for the Queensland seat of Bowen, the first and last communist to win a parliamentary seat in Australia.⁴⁹ In the years after his election, however, local communist activity

⁴⁷ The Catholic Social Movement ('the Movement') was a secret lay organisation founded by Bob Santamaria in 1942 to oppose communism in the trade unions. From 1945 to 1954 it was fully supported by the Australian Roman Catholic bishops, and especially Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne. In 1957 it was officially disbanded, by order of the Vatican, after which Santamaria initiated the National Civic Council, ostensibly a private organisation. For its history see Paul Ormonde, *The Movement*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1972; and Gerard Henderson, *Mr Santamaria and the Bishops*, St Patrick's College, Manly, New South Wales, 1982. For a short, but neat summary of the Movement and its impact on the federal Australian Labor Party, see Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1964, pp. 147-152. For a personal experience of participation in the Movement, see Edmund Campion, *Rockchoppers: growing up Catholic in Australia*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1982, pp. 104-123. For the ways in which communism and anti-communism affected Australian society, see Curthoys and Merritt (eds), *Australia's First Cold War, 1945-1953*; and Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's first Cold War, 1949-1959*, vol. 2, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986.

⁴⁸ The Communist Party of Australia had about 20,000 members in 1943 of whom about 3,500 members were in Queensland. By 1947 membership had dropped to about 12,000, and by 1952 to approximately 6,000. For the figures, see Alastair Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia: a short history*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, California, 1969, p. 120; *Australian Gallup Polls*, Nos. 609-699, June-July 1950; Ross Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion: Fred Paterson Australia's only Communist Party Member of Parliament*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1997, p. 141. For the 20,000 figure, see Ross Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1984, p. 122.

⁴⁹ Paterson was member for Bowen until 1950. For details of Paterson's life and work, see Fred Paterson, *Fred Paterson: a personal history*, Brisbane Labour History Association, Brisbane, 1994; and Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion*.

became increasingly suspect to many. In Queensland, a railway strike in 1948 was a watershed and was portrayed as motivated by communist union leadership with Paterson's support.⁵⁰ The strike was bitterly opposed by the Labor government of Premier 'Ned' Hanlon, who went on 28 radio stations brandishing the 'Red' bogey and denouncing the subversive activities of 'budding Commissars'.⁵¹ 'From one end of the country to the other', he raged, 'people are sick of the commos.'⁵² A State of Emergency was declared and opinions so inflamed that in one demonstration, Paterson was severely bashed by a policeman and hospitalised, in what became known as the 'St Patrick's Day Bash'.⁵³

Anti-communist feeling was heightened in Queensland because of the perceived threat of invasion by the 'yellow hordes' from the north. Premier Hanlon, repeatedly in his speeches as Premier from 1946 to 1952, asserted that if white civilisation were to survive in Australia it was essential that northern Queensland be developed and populated.⁵⁴ This belief persisted throughout the Fifties. In 1957, the Queensland Federal Liberal Member for Capricornia, George Pearce, stated that 'if we do not develop this vast rich

⁵⁰ Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion*, pp. 177-178. About 23,000 men went on strike in Queensland, made up of 17,700 railway workers, 3,000 waterside workers, 1,500 miners and 1,000 seamen. The strike collapsed after 61 days. See Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack (eds), *Triumph in the Tropics: a historical sketch of Queensland*, Smith and Patterson, Fortitude Valley, Queensland, 1959, p. xxxiii. In 1949, coal miners in New South Wales also went on strike, again perceived as inspired by communist union leaders. See Alexander, *Australia Since Federation*, p. 186; Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, pp. 69-72.

⁵¹ Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion*, p. 178.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193; Raymond Evans, 'Fred Paterson Bashing, 1948', in Raymond Evans and Carole Ferrier (eds), *Radical Brisbane: an unruly history*, The Vulgar Press, Carlton North, Victoria, 2004, pp. 226-230; Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, p. 69.

⁵⁴ Kenneth Knight, 'Edward Michael Hanlon: a City Bushman', in Denis Murphy, Roger Joyce and Margaret Cribb (eds), *The Premiers of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1990, p. 445. See also Ross Fitzgerald and Harold Thornton, *Labor in Queensland from the 1880s to 1988*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1989, pp. 52-54; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 187.

area [of north Queensland] ourselves, we will be doing it under slave conditions for other people'.⁵⁵ It was a case of 'populate or perish', a common belief that reinforced the bias to rural areas of Queensland.

Menzies's answer was to ban the Communist Party, arguing that its members were a threat to the nation's security. Suspending the rights of free speech and association, he said, was not something he would contemplate in times of peace, but these were not times of peace.⁵⁶ Although the legislation was successfully challenged by Herbert Evatt, leader of the Australian Labor Party, and subsequently defeated at a national referendum in September 1951, the fear of the spread of communism was to continue as a subtext throughout the Fifties, and into the Sixties when Australia became involved in the Vietnam War.

Just how seriously the churches took the advance of communism, with its atheistic base, is suggested by *A Call to the People of Australia*, issued on Remembrance Day, 11 November 1951 in the wake of the failed referendum. Broadcast on ABC radio and over one hundred commercial radio stations, and printed in every daily newspaper with editorial support, the *Call* was issued over the signatures of most Chief Justices of Australia and the heads of the country's four largest Christian denominations: Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian. Archbishop Mowll of Sydney signed on behalf of Anglicans.⁵⁷ At a time when inter-church dialogue was rare, this corporate

⁵⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 13 September 1957, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Brett, 'Mingtime', p. 24.

⁵⁷ The Call to Australia is reproduced in *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1951, p. 360; and in Andrew Moore, *The Right Road: a history of right-wing politics in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. 60. See also Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: religion in Australian history*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1987, p. 1; David Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality in Australia in

gesture suggests the seriousness with which the churches confronted communism. Without mentioning communism by name, the *Call* rang the alarm bell: 'Australia is in danger'.

'We are in danger from moral and intellectual apathy, from the mortal enemies of mankind which sap the will and darken the understanding and breed evil dissensions. Unless these are withstood, we shall lack the moral strength and moral unity sufficient to save our country and our liberties.'

Only a 'restoration of the moral order from which alone true social order can derive' could meet this danger.

It is hard to estimate what impact this *Call* had.⁵⁸ It received a polite nod from many in public life, a more fulsome acknowledgement from the Prime Minister,⁵⁹ but probably scant regard by many others, if an incident in Victoria is any guide. During the 1952 Australian Rules football season in Victoria, clergy were given the opportunity to make half-time addresses to the crowds on the *Call*. One prominent Methodist minister found the crowd at Lakeside Oval unreceptive and appealed to common ground: 'After all, we are

the 1950s', in John Murphy and Judith Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties: aspects of Australian society and culture in the 1950s*, special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 28, no. 109, October 1997, pp. 133-134.

⁵⁸ Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality', p. 134. That the *Call* with its national coverage made little lasting social impact is suggested by the complete lack of reference to it in Alexander and Bolton's general histories of Australia. According to Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, p. 232, 'there is no indication the *Call* made the slightest difference to society as a whole'. On 10 October 1976 – the 25th anniversary – 'A New *Call* to the People of Australia' was issued at a Festival of Light rally in Hyde Park, Sydney. It was largely ignored both by church leaders and the public. See Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality', p. 146.

⁵⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 November 1951, p. 2 and p. 3. '[T]his eloquent call' Menzies said, deserved 'consideration and support'. 'As Prime Minister, I am grateful to those who have issued such a notable challenge to us to restore our ancient faith, and to practise the ancient virtues upon which our greatness was founded.' See also Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality', p. 134.

all Christians'. From the outer came a loud chortle: 'What about the bloody umpire?'⁶⁰

In Brisbane, Archbishop Halse said the *Call* deserved 'most careful consideration'. It was a 'valuable Sign-post directing us towards the kingdom of God, or like the Mosaic Law, as a schoolmaster leading us to Christ'.⁶¹ Even though the *Call* contained only two formal references to God, and presumed that human moral effort without the need for faith was enough, that was sufficient for Halse to feel it was pointing in the right direction. It is interesting to compare Halse's attitude to that of a later archbishop, Felix Arnott.⁶² At Brisbane's Diocesan Synod of 1972 a motion urged Arnott to 'request the leaders of Church and State in this Commonwealth to issue a 'Call to the People of Australia' along the lines of that given on 11 November 1951'. Arnott spoke against the motion. Not only would such a thing not 'wash' with young people of that day, he believed the *Call* had a 'humanist and rationalist association'.⁶³ The motion was not put.

The *Call* was a claim that in addition to the political attempts to address communism – Menzies' attempt to ban the Communist Party and Santamaria's attempt to confront communism in trade unions – there was another dimension to Australia's problems, a moral one. The underlying assumptions were that Australia was a Christian country and that the great institutions such as the law and the churches were its moral guardians. Communism was not so much the cause of immoral godlessness, as its

⁶⁰ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1999, p. 214.

⁶¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1951, p. 358.

⁶² Felix Arnott was Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane from October 1970 to July 1980.

⁶³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1972*, p. 94.

effect, and therefore the best way Australians could meet the danger of communism, was by a commitment from all to common moral values and ideals as found in the Christian religion.⁶⁴ The remarks of the Brisbane priest Fr. Alexander Sharwood, Rector of St Colomb's Clayfield, in his parish magazine in 1950 summed up the sentiment of many: 'Communism has all the force of religion for those who have accepted it and only a stronger religious faith can hope to overcome it.'⁶⁵

In the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane, a very tiny minority were sympathetic to communist ideals – too tiny to make any impact. Fred Paterson's mother had been a fervent Anglican,⁶⁶ and Paterson as a 'pious youth' had at one time studied theology at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar with the thought of becoming an Anglican priest.⁶⁷ As a student at the University of Queensland, he had been resident at St John's Anglican College (when it was located at Kangaroo Point, Brisbane), secretary and then president of the Student Christian Movement, actively involved at Holy Trinity, Woolloongabba as a Sunday School teacher and Lay Reader, and had taken part in Good Friday Processions of Witness.⁶⁸ He became similarly involved as an undergraduate at Merton College, Oxford, where he worked voluntarily while on university holidays at Oxford House, a Church of England Mission in

⁶⁴ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1950, p. 235, which reports a debate on communism in the Diocesan Synod and the argument that communism was the result of godlessness, not its cause and that therefore 'Christian evangelism was the only cure for Communism'.

⁶⁵ The Reverend Alexander Sharwood, 'Parish Notes', St Colomb's, Clayfield, May 1949, kept in the John Oxley Library, Brisbane.

⁶⁶ Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion*, p. 4. Edith Paterson was a 'fiercely puritanical figure'.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11. See also Paterson, *Fred Paterson*, p. 5. Paterson says that the Processions of Witness were 'conducted by Canon House [sic], later Archbishop of Brisbane'. He means 'Halse', who at that time was Warden of the Brotherhood of St Barnabas in North Queensland, and who in 1917 conducted missions throughout Queensland allowing him in that year to participate in leading the Procession of Witness in Brisbane.

the East End of London, and where he came into contact with the unemployment, poverty and cramped living conditions of slum dwellers.⁶⁹ On returning from Oxford in 1923 he spent a short time as Vice-Warden of St John's College and as a teacher at 'Churchie'.⁷⁰ Increasingly disillusioned with the Anglican response to the needs of the poor and working class, and having lost his faith over doubts about the divinity of Christ, and the reality of miracles and heaven and hell, he channelled his passion for justice through communism.⁷¹ Highly principled, passionate and idealistic, he stands as a precursor to that tiny band of radicalised Christian university students, who in the early 1960s also found in the Christian faith the notes of justice, and which led them to oppose the Vietnam War, when such opposition was yet to attract broad community support.

Many more Anglicans in the early Fifties shared the sentiments of Fr Sharwood, and were vociferous in their opposition to communism. To the question, 'could a Christian also be a communist?', their answer was a resounding 'no!'.⁷² Archdeacon Bill Hardie, one of the more influential of the Brisbane clergy, and a 'real orator', bluntly declared communism to be the 'spawn and offspring of the devil'.⁷³ 'Communism is the enemy of the common man. Communism is the enemy of the Christian Church. Communism is the

⁶⁹ Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion*, p. 22. Paterson won a Rhodes Scholarship in 1918, and arrived in Oxford in February 1919, already a term late in commencing the academic year. After initially studying law, he changed to a BA degree course in Theology, intending later to study for the priesthood. See Paterson, *Fred Paterson*, pp. 10-12.

⁷⁰ Fitzgerald, *The People's Champion*, pp. 25-26; Paterson, *Fred Paterson*, p. 14.

⁷¹ Paterson, *Fred Paterson*, p. 11 and p. 15. 'I had come to the conclusion that the church as a whole could not be trusted to do much in solving what I regarded as the pressing problems of mankind, though I was satisfied that some of the laity and some of the clergy were sincere in their desire to help. So ... I joined the Communist Party'.

⁷² The question was a real one. It had come up in the years before and during World War II in a similar form: could a Christian be a Nazi?

⁷³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1950, p. 238.

enemy of God', he thundered.⁷⁴ As Menzies was preparing to push through his legislation to ban the Communist Party, Hardie moved successfully at the 1950 Brisbane Diocesan Synod: 'That this Synod is of the opinion that Communism is a menace to religion and freedom, and approves in principle of legislative measures to counteract the subversive activities of the Communist Party in this country.'⁷⁵ The motion excited the liveliest debate of the week.⁷⁶ The strength of the words 'menace' and 'subversive', and that an amendment to alter the last part (on the grounds that it favoured a particular political party) was defeated, suggests the heightened feeling against communism among leading Anglicans, lay and ordained, in Brisbane Diocese at the time. Its effect was officially to commit the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane to support Menzies' legislation to ban communism.

Other voices were more nuanced. Archbishop Halse, perhaps with people like Paterson in mind, said in his Synod Charge of 1950 that: 'It is becoming clear that behind the Iron Curtain in Europe and in China there are many Christians who, while repudiating its atheism and materialism, see more of the spirit of Christ in the tenets of Communism than in the social inequalities of the systems in their midst which it has superseded.'⁷⁷ He went on to appeal for a larger, more socially just, vision. If 'neither Capitalism nor Socialism ... can ever solve the world's problems ... [then] we must press on to a Christian social order which allows full expression to human personality in

⁷⁴ *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1948, p. 166. Hardie later became Dean of Newcastle (1950) and then Bishop of Ballarat. He gained the nickname 'Basher Bill' for his forthrightness.

⁷⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1950*, p. 103; Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, p. 545.

⁷⁶ See the report in *Courier-Mail*, 22 June 1950, p. 3.

⁷⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1950*, p. 94; *Courier-Mail*, 20 June 1950, p. 3; Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 545.

freedom and responsibility, and in which work is carried on in a spirit of dedicated service to God.⁷⁸

One political legacy of the Petrov affair and the fear of communism was a narrow election win for the Liberal-Country Party Coalition led by Robert Menzies in May 1954, despite a small swing to the ALP that gave it fractionally more than 50 per cent of primary votes. Another was to leave the Labor Party so confused that it consumed itself in a bitter and rancorous split that left it impotent for nearly two decades. Evatt lashed out at ‘a small group’ inside the party who were disloyal and were being ‘largely directed from outside the Labor movement’.⁷⁹ He meant members of Santamaria’s Movement. They were ‘an outside semi-Fascist body’, he said later.⁸⁰ His comments precipitated the events that led to the split in Labor and the formation of the Democratic Labor Party in 1956, a split that ensured Menzies’ dominance for the remainder of the Fifties and into the Sixties.

The Federal Labor split had an impact in Queensland also, where Labor governments had been in power almost continuously since 1915. In January 1952, Vince Gair succeeded Ned Hanlon as Labor Premier, and after the 1953 State elections the political force of Labor in Queensland appeared impregnable.⁸¹ By late 1954 however, repercussions of the growing federal Labor split began to be felt in Queensland. In 1957 the Queensland Central Executive (QCE) of the State Labor Party expelled Gair. The ostensible issue was Gair’s refusal to follow a QCE resolution that he should initiate legislation

⁷⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1950*, p. 94.

⁷⁹ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, p. 142; Brett, ‘Mingtime’, p. 27.

⁸⁰ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, p. 142.

⁸¹ Fitzgerald and Thornton, *Labor in Queensland*, pp. 141-155; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 141.

for extending annual leave to three weeks for all workers. The real issue was power, in particular who controlled the Labor Party and its policies – elected Labor politicians or the unions? On one side stood the influential Australian Workers' Union with its President Joe Bukowski and a majority on the QCE, and on the other, Premier Vince Gair, most of the parliamentary Labor members and a number of smaller unions. Personal antagonism between Bukowski and Gair, going back to their common Roman Catholic childhood in Rockhampton, fanned the culture of 'rancour and suspicion'.⁸² Expelled, Gair mustered support for a new 'Queensland Labor Party' and with a strength of 25 members commanded the largest (but not a majority) body of support in parliament.⁸³ At the bitter State elections that inevitably followed, 40 years of almost uninterrupted Labor rule were brought to an end, and a new Country–Liberal Party Coalition took office in 1957, with a 62-year-old, veteran politician Frank Nicklin as an unexpected Premier.⁸⁴

After the mid-1950s a softening to communism began. When the Anglican Primate of Australia, Archbishop Howard Mowll of Sydney received an invitation in May 1956 from Chinese Anglicans to lead an official delegation to China to promote friendliness and goodwill, it was possible to consider the offer seriously.⁸⁵ Mowll had been one time Assistant Bishop (1922-1926) and then Bishop of West China (1926-1933) and so it was an unexpected opportunity for this 'old friend of the Chinese people' to make a farewell visit to

⁸² Brian Costar, 'Vincent Clair Gair: Labor's Loser' in Murphy, Joyce and Cribb (eds), *The Premiers of Queensland*, pp. 471-473; Fitzgerald and Thornton, *Labor in Queensland*, p. 154; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, pp. 139-153; Roger Thompson, *Religion in Australia: a history*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p. 105.

⁸³ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 150.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸⁵ Marcus Loane, *Archbishop Mowll: the biography of Howard West Kilvinton Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1960, p. 242.

a country he had lived and served in over many years.⁸⁶ An eight-person delegation duly made their way to China,⁸⁷ despite some objections that communist China would exploit the visit. Further objections arose on the delegation's return, when Mowll's impressions – a number of them favourable to the communist government of China – were reported in the press.⁸⁸

Although the trip left no lasting legacy (other than the early release of an Anglican bishop from prison⁸⁹ and encouragement of Christians to be faithful under the constraints of communism), it represented an openness to dialogue with a communist country, at a time when communism was still suspect in Australia, and communist China remained officially unrecognised by the Australian government. One of the great strengths of the Anglican Church has been its openness and toleration, on this occasion well ahead of popular sentiment. It would be fifteen more years before another official delegation from Australia travelled to China. In July 1971, the Federal Labor Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam, made a surprise visit, ostensibly to foster trade initiatives and to announce his party's intention of recognising communist China, if elected to government. By then the fear of another world war, precipitated by the advance of international communism, had all but disappeared.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 242. The letter of invitation said that it was as 'Primate of the Church in Australia and Tasmania and as an old friend' that he was being invited to form the delegation.

⁸⁷ The delegation consisted of Archbishop and Mrs. Mowll, the Archbishop of Perth Dr. Robert Moline, the Bishop of Tasmania Dr. Cranswick, the Bishop of Rockhampton Dr. James Housden, Canon Marcus Loane, Sydney, Canon Herbert Arrowsmith, Chaplain to the Primate, and the flamboyant Mr. Francis James, Managing Director of the *Anglican* newspaper. The Archbishop of Melbourne, J. J. Booth could not join the group: he had prior commitments in connection with the Olympic Games which were to be held during the delegation's absence, and Halse had just completed his own Asian tour. See *Anglican*, 24 August 1956, p. 1. For a description of the tour, see James Housden, *Plus James: a bishop looks back*, Anglican Media, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 98-111.

⁸⁸ *Anglican*, 2 November 1956, p. 4 and 18 January 1957, p. 4.

⁸⁹ *Anglican*, 9 November 1956, p. 1.

2.3 *A Mood of Expectancy*

Menzies' fear of war with Russia did not eventuate and from the mid-Fifties, the fear of communism diminished. It seemed to be more contained than previously, both abroad and at home. A new mood emerged, as seductive and attractive as it was unexpected. It was a mood of expectancy, a growing confidence in a prosperous future grounded on an increasing standard of living.⁹⁰ Australians readily embraced this more comfortable and comforting future. They had had enough of turmoil and struggle. They had lived through a Depression and a World War, and now they wanted to move on, enjoy the new found prosperity, and seek happiness in family and home commitments.⁹¹

One sign of this new found prosperity was the opening of large shopping centres in suburbs around the nations. Australia's first drive-and-park shopping centre opened in May 1957 at Chermside, a suburb ten kilometres north of Brisbane, at a cost of £600,000.⁹² On the day of its opening 15,000 shoppers went on a buying spree. Half-an-hour before opening time at 9.00am, the 700 free car spaces in the massive car park were full. A squad of police supervised the crowds, which at times threatened to get out of control.⁹³ A visit from Miss Australia in the days after, enhanced the excitement of the opening of this new venture – made possible because of the general community prosperity and the increasing range of consumer goods

⁹⁰ Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties*, pp. 13-14.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-138.

⁹² *Courier-Mail*, 29 May 1957, p. 22.

⁹³ *Courier-Mail*, 29 May 1957, p. 21; *Courier-Mail*, 31 May 1957, p. 3.

coming on to the market.⁹⁴ Here shoppers could buy all their material goods, mowers, fridges, toasters, televisions, tablecloths, laminex tables. They could even taste the latest of culinary delights from America: a doughnut-making machine was stationed at the entrance to one of the shops.

These were days of incipient prosperity, from which the churches benefited. Money was available and some of it was trickling into local parishes and into the Diocese. Contributions from Anglican parishes to Diocesan funds show a dramatic increase of almost threefold in one decade. The 'Offerings and Collections for the Various Funds' listed in the Diocesan *Year Books* show that in 1950 parishes contributed £19,355.⁹⁵ Five years later the amount had increased to £31,164 and by 1960 parishes were giving £53,060. Even allowing for inflation – which averaged 6 per cent annually⁹⁶ – the contributions to the Diocese represent a significant increase of giving. Keith Rayner notes that after decades of financial constraints the Registrar of the Diocese (today's Business Manager), Roland St John was able to announce in 1956 the complete elimination of Diocesan debt.⁹⁷ Just ten years earlier the debt had been more than £40,000. The turnaround was a remarkable demonstration of the skilful handling of the financial affairs of the Diocese by the Registrar, together with fortuitous inflation during World War II and the early 1950s, and subsequent general community prosperity.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 4 June 1957, p. 3. Miss June Finlayson was Miss Australia at the time.

⁹⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1950*, p. 170; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1955*, p. 168; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 242.

⁹⁶ 'Australia's Century since Federation at a Glance', viewed at www.treasury.gov.au/documents/110PDF/round3.pdf on 20 April 2006.

⁹⁷ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 563.

⁹⁸ The Diocese had been on the verge of bankruptcy in the 1930s, but resisted an actuary's report that to stave off such a fate it should sell all its property. Brisbane Diocese did not attract bequests of the

It was one thing for there to be a growing economic prosperity and greater disposable income in the wider community. It was another to encourage parishioners to take seriously their financial responsibility to their parish church and give out of a spirit of generosity. Ingrained patterns of financial giving to the church were slow to change, especially since many were familiar with the English pattern where the Church of England and her clergy were paid from revenue managed by the Church Commissioners. The idea of a parish congregation paying its own way was alien and had to be learned.

It was not until the mid-1950s, when an organisation with a radically new way of raising money for churches extended its operations to Queensland, that ingrained patterns of giving changed. Till then the basic form of parish income continued to be the haphazard method of receiving offerings in the collection plate at church liturgies.⁹⁹ A hand would go into a pocket, pull out the loose change and drop it into the collection plate. The collection was supplemented by the call for donations – for a building fund, a worship item, a missionary cause – or through fundraising efforts, such as fetes and bazaars. The Diocese continued to depend on income from endowments, contributions from parishes, significant bequests (such as the Edwin Tooth and P. J. Symes bequests) and special appeals.

same size as a diocese like Sydney. Brisbane was a much smaller city, and the headquarters of only one large corporation, Mt Isa Mines, Ltd.

⁹⁹ Ian Shevill, *Half Time*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1966, pp. 68-70; Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', pp. 563-564.

All this changed almost overnight, when Bishop Ian Shevill of North Queensland brought the radical Wells Way to Australia from America.¹⁰⁰ The Wells Organisation was the largest firm of church fundraisers in America. Shevill returned to North Queensland convinced that Wells provided a template for the Australian Anglican Church. Money raising schemes 'failed when they were just begging campaigns but succeeded splendidly when they were based upon theological concepts'.¹⁰¹ In 1955, he initiated an Anglican Building Crusade in his own Diocese, based on the Wells method and within four months wrote exultantly that 'the Crusade is sweeping forward with remarkable results both spiritual and material'.¹⁰² In his usual blunt manner, he put the facts on the table: Anglicans had forgotten how to give; they believed that money was material and unspiritual, therefore unmentionable; and if heresy was the problem of the past, bankruptcy was the problem of the present. Tipping God had to stop, tithing had to start.¹⁰³

By 1955, the Wells Organisation had commenced work in Brisbane Diocese, the evangelical parish of St Stephen's Coorparoo being the first to employ them.¹⁰⁴ The results were striking both in terms of the money pledged and the number of lay people actively involved. Coorparoo's success caused others to follow. Within a few years of the first stewardship programs, the

¹⁰⁰ Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs', p. 414; Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 567. Very little has been written about Wells in Australia. For a short history see, Daniel McDiarmid, *The Gospel of Good Living: stewardship in Australian churches*, Joint Board of Christian Education, Melbourne, 1990.

¹⁰¹ Shevill, *Half Time*, p. 69.

¹⁰² Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 566 quoting *Northern Churchman*, June 1955.

¹⁰³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1956, p. 133.

¹⁰⁴ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 567.

Wells Way had become the accepted pattern for stimulating church finances in most parishes.

The method used was an 'every member canvass' in which all families, including non-attending ones, connected with the local church were visited and invited to make a 'pledge' of a weekly sum for three years. Visits to inactive Anglican families – which might outnumber those at worship on a Sunday by three or four to one – were based on the assumption that they had some latent faith. They had simply fallen out of the habit of regular worship through laziness or rival attractions or 'materialism'. Following the scriptural text that where a person's treasure is, there would be their heart also, the Wells Way claimed that people would follow their giving. Investment of money would lead to investment of time and skills. Spiritual growth and church worship would occur since 'spiritual interests always follow the increased giving of spiritual pounds'.¹⁰⁵ A Loyalty Dinner and visitation to every parish household were key ingredients. Two separate teams – men and women – were recruited and over several weeks intensively trained for their separate tasks. At the Dinner the women would each host a dozen or so guests at their separate tables. After the Dinner, in the week following, the men's team visited the parish's families, each man making about ten visits. Each evening they would report back, the whole team gathering together. They were occasions of deep satisfaction for parish priests and lay leaders as the results were placed on the blackboard and the target soared.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ All Saints, Chermside, 'Combined Funds Canvass, 1956', p. 8, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

¹⁰⁶ Something of the 'deep satisfaction' can be gleaned from reports such as that of Mr Howard Tanner to the Annual Meeting of his parish of St Colomb's Clayfield in April 1958 that their recent Wells

The laymen recruited to lead the program were to be ‘leaders in the community, not necessarily at this stage, active Church members’.¹⁰⁷ At Christ Church St Lucia, the former Lord Mayor Sir John Chandler, who occasionally attended Evensong, became the key leader. Such high profile men had the respectability and status to attract other men into the program and onto the leadership team.



Fig. 11 Lutwyche Parish Loyalty Dinner at Cloudlands 1956

Program had been an ‘outstanding success. Congregations were larger and income FIVE times that of the previous year.’ See A. G. Steele, *A History of St Colomb’s Anglican Church, Clayfield*, privately published, 1987, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1956, p. 332.



Fig. 12 Nundah Parish Loyalty Dinner at Finney's Restaurant Nundah 1958



Fig. 13 Lutwyche Ladies Team for the Wells Program 1956

The professional production and distribution of literature, with photographs of clergy and key figures in the men's and women's teams, throws light on the preoccupations and interests of the local church at this time. In particular, the Wells Organisation encouraged at least one local building project. Building a church or replacing an old one was popular. At St Clement's Stafford, the second aim of their Wells Program was listed boldly as: 'BUILD A NEW CHURCH on the best Anglican site in Brisbane, to be a beacon on the hill beaming the Light of Christ, our spiritual home, furnished in beauty of holiness'.¹⁰⁸ At St Stephen's, Coorparoo, the program was so successful that they built their new church, and incorporated air conditioning, at the massive cost of £44,000. As well, they were able to increase all outside giving to missions both at home and abroad by 25 per cent.¹⁰⁹ This was in keeping with the Wells literature, which emphasised the responsibility of church members to assist financially with Diocesan projects: the provision of homes for orphaned children and the elderly, and missionary work overseas.¹¹⁰ For clergy and Parish Councils, the initial financial results were very satisfying, even surprising. Used to anxiously watching weekly income trying to keep up with expenses, it was almost too good to be believed.

Prior to Wells, the principal means of raising significant amounts of money at both parish and Diocesan levels for building projects, was to launch an appeal. In April 1950, Halse listed in his monthly letter in the *Church*

¹⁰⁸ John Mackenzie-Smith, *The Beacon on the Hill: a history of the Anglican Church at Stafford 1865-1988*, St Clements Parish, Stafford, Queensland, 1993, p. 63.

¹⁰⁹ Ralph Bowles, 'An Outline History of St Stephen the Martyr Anglican Church Coorparoo, 1922-2000', p. 19, kept at St Stephen's Church, 343 Cavendish Rd, Coorparoo, Queensland.

¹¹⁰ Other concerns included the need to release the church financially so that it could preach the Gospel without monetary constraints, the importance of the church as the basis of a moral order, and the importance of Christian teaching of the young. See Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs', p. 414.

Chronicle, 20 different causes deserving of support, suggesting a donation of £1 to each or any of them.¹¹¹ Some were tortuously slow to win acceptance. The appeal to rebuild St John's College at the University of Queensland on the new site at St Lucia made only very slow progress, despite the strenuous efforts of the Warden, the Reverend A. C. C. Stevenson.¹¹² In this rural State, with its scepticism towards secondary education, let alone tertiary education, such an appeal aroused little interest among the majority of church people.¹¹³ On the other hand, Dean Denis Taylor, exploiting the visit of the Queen to St John's Cathedral in 1954, launched the very successful St John's Cathedral Completion Fund appeal.¹¹⁴ The danger in all these appeals was that a wrong impression could be given, the church perceived to be principally concerned with raising money.

With such mixed responses to appeals for the donated pound, clergy welcomed the financial revolution that the Wells Way brought. Clergy claimed that 'two bob a week went to a pound weekly pledge' and that dipping into one's pocket for loose change at the Sunday collection was replaced by 'proportionate giving'. Even in the 'bush', the Wells Way produced results. In 1960 the Head of the Bush Brotherhood, the eccentric Fr. J. S. Dunkerley, reported that a 'very successful every member canvass had been held in the Parochial District of St George and Dirranbandi', and that by the end of May 1960, five of the eight districts in the care of the Bush Brotherhood had

¹¹¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1950, p. 102.

¹¹² St John's College accommodated students from around Queensland and so in 1946 it formally became a Provincial institution, coinciding with acceptance of land at the new university site of St Lucia. See John Pryce-Davies, 'Pilgrim and Pastor: the initial years of the episcopate of archbishop Halse 1943-1949', MTh thesis, Griffith University, Queensland, 2000, p. 41.

¹¹³ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 564.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 564.

undertaken such canvasses.¹¹⁵ There were other spin-offs. At St Stephen's Coorparoo, the comradeship among the men who participated was so strong, that a Men's Club was formed 'to be run along the lines of a church Rotary club'.¹¹⁶

Not all, however, welcomed Wells. Some saw 'dangers inherent in the new methods', in particular the risk that the need to finance parish building projects would strengthen parochialism and reduce giving to the wider work of the church.¹¹⁷ Others thought it was too American. The program costs were too high, and unsettling for parishes used to thinking in smaller terms. Wells allocated a full time Director to the parish for a period of some weeks. The program was rigid in structure, even to indicating what should go into the Loyalty Dinner speeches. It aimed at all Anglicans in the suburb, even those whose link with the local church was tenuous, which risked the impression that the church was only interested in their financial contribution. Worst of all, it had a touch of manipulation. Leaders had to reveal publicly the amount they were pledging as a way of setting the benchmark for others, creating an environment of potential shame if one did not match up to what others were offering. Halse himself acknowledged some of the difficulties in his Synod address for 1961: 'visits [for pledging] were not followed up, and disillusionment followed. "They only wanted us for our money" may have been the wrong but inevitable conclusion.'¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 134.

¹¹⁶ Bowles, 'Outline History of St Stephen the Martyr', p. 19.

¹¹⁷ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 568.

¹¹⁸ 'The Archbishop's Address to Diocesan Synod, 13 June 1961', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 88.

Later stewardship programs began to soften these troublesome and alienating elements, but the result was to leave the Wells Way with a mixed reputation. For some, 'the stewardship episode is one of the most ignominious episodes in Australian Protestant history'.¹¹⁹ Not only were some organisational dynamics questionable, but stewardship programs also reduced Christian discipleship to little more than giving money to the church, and diminished a life-giving gospel to a simple 'come and join us' message.¹²⁰

But such criticisms are too harsh considering the benefits. The comment that Wells made a 'remarkable contribution to the life of the Church' is nearer the true legacy.¹²¹ Wells allowed local parishes to tap the higher disposable incomes that post-War families enjoyed. Church extensions were financed, the concept of proportionate giving was cemented in place, and parish financial stability was created. More importantly freedom from financial constraints brought a renewed confidence that at last the church was advancing. As Rayner says: 'There was still more for the church to do at home and abroad than resources allowed, and the affluence of post-War years was only affluence by comparison with the grinding poverty of its earlier life; yet for the first time in its history the church in Queensland was able to make plans with a spirit of confidence that the means might be available for their execution'.¹²²

¹¹⁹ John Bollen, *Religion in Australian Society*, Leigh College, Sydney, 1973, p. 67.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

¹²¹ Everald Compton, *Where Have All the Christian Stewards Gone?*, Arthur Stockwell, London, 1979, p. 25.

¹²² Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 573.

2.4 *The Building Boom*

One effect of greater financial freedom was a significant building endeavour around the Diocese. Until 1946 there were 35 brick or stone churches in the Diocese. An additional 37 were built in the period from 1946 to 1962.¹²³ In addition to churches, rectories and halls were erected, rebuilt or expanded and new land bought. In 1959, Halse complained (happily) that all he ever did was open buildings: 'during the past year I seem to have been setting Foundation Stones and dedicating new Churches, Halls and School Buildings all over the Diocese.'¹²⁴ In the same year the 'Archbishop's Fund for New Churches and Halls' was initiated to foster the construction of parish buildings in less wealthy suburbs. It helped that donations to building funds for churches designated as War Memorials could be claimed as tax deductions.

A number of factors worked together to motivate the desire to build. Not the least was the greater availability of building materials, together with a greater capacity to finance building projects. Another crucial motivation was the desire by priests and congregations to worship in a church, rather than a hall. Lesser motivations also existed. In a society in which the vast majority of weddings still took place in a church, parents looked to the future to provide a beautiful church for their children's weddings. For most congregations it was a matter of great pride that they were able to build their own church, sometimes

¹²³ Ibid., p. 571. See also Roland St John, 'Church Extension in the Diocese of Brisbane 1957-1966: a statistical survey', presented to the Diocesan Synod by the Diocesan Registrar, on 21 June 1967, kept in Diocesan Archives, Brisbane, and printed in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, pp. 319-329.

¹²⁴ 'The Archbishop's Address to Diocesan Synod, 16 June 1959', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 84.

after a Wells program, and often with considerable extra fundraising and personal sacrifices.

The scale of the church building boom can be seen by glancing at figures for the erection of halls, churches and rectories. Only one church – St James' Kelvin Grove – was built in the War years, restrictions on materials and shortage of labour making it almost impossible to realise building hopes, but in the decade that followed (1946 to 1956), 42 churches or mission halls were built where no previous building existed, and thirteen new churches erected to replace old ones.¹²⁵ Sixty-five new church sites were acquired, thirteen new rectories purchased or built in places where no such dwelling was already owned by the parish, and eleven new rectories acquired or erected to replace less suitable buildings.¹²⁶ What is surprising is the scale of building to 1956, especially considering that the financial impact of the Wells Way was yet to be felt. This scale can be partly explained by the fact that, for years, many parishes had been accumulating funds for the replacement of outdated buildings or to build afresh in new areas.¹²⁷ Only after World War II was it possible for such funds to be expended, when building materials and labour became more readily available.

¹²⁵ In 1943, permission was received from the Deputy Director of War Organisation and Industry to proceed with the building of a brick church, a special privilege given the War-time building restrictions and the difficulties in the availability of necessary materials. St James' Kelvin Grove was opened and dedicated by Archbishop Halse on Sunday 21 May 1944. See *Courier-Mail*, 22 May 1944, p. 4; Neville Thulborn, 'St James' Parish, Kelvin Grove, 50th anniversary notes, 1994', kept at St James' Church, Enoggera Rd, Kelvin Grove.

¹²⁶ Roland St John, 'Church Extension in the Diocese of Brisbane 1946-1956: a statistical survey', presented to the Clergy Summer School in Toowoomba, by the Diocesan Registrar, on 22 January 1957, kept in Diocesan Archives, Brisbane, and printed in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, pp. 313-318. See also the Synod report in *Anglican*, 28 June 1957, p. 1.

¹²⁷ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 570.

The scope and size of building excited a renewed interest in church architecture. Rayner says that since World War I there had been little opportunity for designing and building churches and consequently, there were few architects skilled in ecclesiastical design in the 1950s.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, a 'clarion call' by Bishop Ian Shevill of North Queensland in 1953 stimulated fresh thinking. He lamented the prevalence of traditional, small Gothic-style churches, which he referred to as an 'architectural freak'. The 'Anglican Communion today is littered with little pseudo-gothic pigeon boxes which accord with their natural setting as awkwardly as might a pagoda in the midst of Flinders Street, Townsville', he complained.¹²⁹ This blistering attack on traditional church architecture called for new churches to take account of Australian conditions of climate and environment, and the use of local material.

Other factors also encouraged alternative thinking. Modern domestic architecture with a greater local flavour was being pioneered in Melbourne and Sydney under the leadership of architects such as Roy Grounds, Robin Boyd and Harry Seidler.¹³⁰ Theories of 'rational' and 'functional' design gained currency in the search for what was clean, relevant and easy to use. Economic considerations suggested church buildings that were plainer and simpler in design. 'Functional' architecture had economic merit, whereas

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 571.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 571 quoting from *Northern Churchman*, July 1953.

¹³⁰ Richard Apperly, Robert Irving and Peter Reynolds, *Identifying Australian Architecture: styles and terms from 1788 to the present*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1989, p. 211.

Gothic architectural detail could be both intricate and expensive, St John's Cathedral being a good example.¹³¹

In 1953, a Brisbane architect addressed a clergy conference encouraging adventure in church design with sensitivity to Australian conditions. He called for designs that reflected the close relationship of faith to the natural elements of water, earth, sunlight and 'growing things', and the integration of spiritual and secular affairs. 'In our generation,' he said 'more new tools, more new materials, more new techniques have been placed at the disposal of church architects than the Middle Ages ever dreamed of.'¹³²

These ideas gained a foothold in church thinking. In 1959, Fr Alexander Sharwood, by then Warden of St John's College at the University of Queensland, echoed the same thoughts when he addressed a convention of the Royal Institute of Australian Architects. At a liturgy in the cathedral he said that 'new styles [of church architecture] were needed in an age of new techniques and new building materials'.¹³³

In the end, what made the post-War period of church building different was not so much the basic design as the materials used.¹³⁴ With a continuous tradition of fifteen hundred years behind them, clergy and congregations understandably had firm expectations that a new church would 'look like a church'. Consequently, a common architectural solution, as the building boom of the post-War years gained momentum, was a simplified version of the centuries-accepted church plan: a long, rectangular-shaped

¹³¹ Edward Mills, *The Modern Church*, The Architectural Press, London, 1957, p. 52.

¹³² Peter Newell, 'The Case for Contemporary Church Design', *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1954, pp. 17-18.

¹³³ *Courier-Mail*, 6 May 1959, p. 23.

¹³⁴ Rickard, *Australia: a cultural history*, p. 229.

nave with aisle, high ceiling, a sanctuary at the far end, slightly raised and with a rendered wall or face brickwork behind the altar. Tall and slender windows took the eye upwards, as did a bell tower, free standing or attached to the church. It was traditional sign language – rectangular with vertical lines – to indicate that the building served a religious purpose.

Few, if any, architects had much idea that the incipient ‘Liturgical Movement’, which was re-discovering ways in which the early church had worshipped, and which called for greater participation of the people in worship, held the seeds for more radical interior architectural design, usually in the form of a circle with the people gathered around a central altar. It was not until 1978 that St Clement’s Stafford built their church in the form of a circle, and in the same year that the parish of Surfers Paradise could see in a round restaurant – the Aquarium restaurant partially destroyed by fire – a potential church for purchase.¹³⁵ Elsewhere, earlier churches of the 1950s and early 60s such as St Luke’s Kenilworth (1955), St Andrew’s Indooroopilly (1956), St Luke’s Ekibin (1956), St Paul’s Jandowae (1957), St Matthew’s Holland Park (1958), St Stephen’s Coorparoo (1958), St Mary’s Redcliffe (1959), St Michael and All Angels’ New Farm (1959), St John the Baptist Nambour (1959), St Francis’ Nundah (1959), Christ Church St Lucia (1962) and many others retained the traditional essence of what made a church ‘look like a church’: a rectangular shape with vertical lines.

The marks of a ‘modern’ church were steel or aluminium framed windows (for ventilation in the hot summer days), light coloured wood, cream

¹³⁵ Notes on the Parish of Surfers Paradise, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

bricks, fluorescent lighting, and electronic organs. There were echoes here of the cream-bricked, veneer homes that were multiplying in the suburbs.¹³⁶ Church architecture was trying to speak in the idiom of the age, using local materials, and taking into account conditions of climate and environment. Encouragement to adopt these new ways challenged the innate conservatism of many towards church architecture.¹³⁷ Just a week before the new church of St Francis' Nundah was dedicated on 10 May 1959, the Roman Catholic Archbishop Duhig referred to modern churches as 'abominable' and called for a return to the Gothic style of architecture.¹³⁸ He was, of course, referring to the trend in his own church, but many in the Church of England could sympathise with Duhig's outburst. Halse defended modern churches. Preaching at the dedication of St Francis', he said: 'When I hear people say that modern buildings cannot rise up to the older standards, I am prepared to say, "Come and see this new church"'.¹³⁹ A month later he wrote in the *Church Chronicle*: 'In spite of much reasonable criticism in conservative circles, it still remains true that most modern churches are much more inspiring than the dull old wooden or brick pseudo-Gothic buildings which sprang up in the 19th century, and which are out of keeping with all that is good in modern architecture.'¹⁴⁰ The movement towards more modern

¹³⁶ Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s', p. 230.

¹³⁷ Newell, 'Case for Contemporary Church Design', p. 18.

¹³⁸ *Courier-Mail*, 11 May 1959, p. 5.

¹³⁹ Arthur Fellows, *The Parish of Nundah 1887-1987*, privately published, Brisbane, 1987, unnumbered. The modern style of St Francis' Nundah was highlighted in featuring on the wall behind the altar a sculptured representation of the crucifixion, in white bas-relief against a wedgewood-blue background. The sculpture was the work of the German sculptor Edwin Guth, who had taken up residence in Queensland.

¹⁴⁰ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 197. See also *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1958*, p. 251, and *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 84 for further comments on the preference for 'modern churches'.

architecture – light and spacious buildings, economical to build, and using the latest materials – was inevitable, and the building of Gothic-style churches simply ceased.



*Figs. 14, 15, 16. Stages in the building of a church -
St Francis, Nundah under construction in 1959*

2.5 *Conclusion*

The Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane benefited from certain moods that marked the Fifties. The first was a sentiment and nostalgia for Britain, a pride in Australia's British heritage. The Anglican Church was seen to carry the ethos of some of this heritage, drawing its life from the Church of England, and could even be thought of as the Church of England overseas. In the years ahead, such a sentiment gradually dried up in the face of growing Australian nationalism. One-time pride would be replaced almost by disdain for things British, and the Anglican Church, which once could parade its English roots, sought hard, in the light of the emerging reality – which it shared – to become a more Australian church.

The second mood was one of fear, fear of international communism. This was especially prevalent in the early Fifties. All churches benefited from the perception that they too stood as part of the bulwark against atheistic communism, the antidote to the advance of international communism. In speaking out against communism the churches allied themselves with community concerns and presented themselves as part of the solution to the communist menace. Church and society were bound together in a common resistance to an ideology that constrained freedom and promoted atheism.

The third mood was as welcome as it was seductive, a mood of hope and expectation, especially of growing prosperity and affluence. This prosperity brought a much longed for respite from memories of the rigours of a Depression and a World War, and was therefore more strongly worked for and encouraged. This prosperity was something the churches too benefited from,

and they developed their own method for encouraging generosity – the Wells Way – and thereby instituted a new way of understanding financial giving to the church. Dipping into one’s pocket and pulling out the loose change was replaced by proportionate giving, which released the church financially to do the ministry of Christ to which it was called.

Pride, fear and hope, these were the three moods, which the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane found conducive to the building up of its life, numerically and financially, in the Fifties. Other factors helpful to church growth were also at work, notably a clear role for the churches in society: to provide opportunities for social gatherings, especially in the new suburbs and to offer activities and guidance, particularly moral guidance, to the growing numbers of young, and especially to that new, emerging age group – the teenager.

I see no hope for the future ... When I was a boy, we were taught to be discrete and respectful of elders, but the present youth are exceedingly disrespectful and impatient of restraint.

Hesiod, (700BC)

In October 1956, thousands of Hungarian nationalists took to the streets of Budapest, demanding democratic government and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Hungarian uprising had begun. Within a fortnight, Russian armoured tanks rolled into Budapest and brutally suppressed the uprising. Many in Western countries who had, till then, nursed a sympathy for communism became disillusioned. Up to 50,000 Hungarians and 7,000 Russians lost their lives, thousands more were wounded in the ensuing clashes and nearly 750,000 left the country as refugees. The fear of international communism continued to simmer.

Other international events heightened a sense of global instability. In Egypt, President Nasser seized the Suez Canal from British and French control in order to use canal revenues to finance the Aswan dam. After talks at the United Nations failed, Britain and France bombed Egyptian airfields, and precipitated the 'Suez Crisis'. They were internationally condemned. In the same year of 1956, Pakistan became the world's first Islamic republic. Military rule prevailed for the next two decades, and tensions between east and west Pakistan eventually led to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971.

Australia was largely protected by its isolation from the impact of these international political situations and any fear that accompanied them was

relieved by the excitement of more immediate national events. On 16 September 1956 at 7.00pm, the first Australian television broadcast was made from TCN Channel 9 in Sydney. Bruce Gyngell introduced the opening program, '*This is Television*' with the words: 'Hello everyone, and welcome to television'. By the end of the year, five per cent of Melbourne households and one per cent of Sydney households owned a television set. Melbourne first received broadcasts in November 1956, just in time to watch the XVI Olympic Games, dubbed 'the friendly games', in which 67 nations participated. The Soviet Union gained the highest medal count, followed by the United States, and then Australia with thirteen gold in a total of 35 medals. This was the first time the Olympics had been held in the southern hemisphere, and Australians wanted to show that anyone with ability could compete at their chosen sport, and that participation was not reserved to a privileged elite.¹ A new contingent of Australian sporting heroes emerged: the runner Betty Cuthbert, the swimmers Dawn Fraser and Murray Rose. They complemented Australia's tennis stars, and the Test cricket team – still basking in the success of the 1948 'Invincibles' tour of England led by Donald Bradman.

In October 1956, rock n' roll made its first appearance in Brisbane. Young people found it exciting. It was exuberant, energetic and fun and quite different to the crooning sentimentality of singers like Frank Sinatra or Perry Como. A teenage heartthrob, called Elvis Presley, emerged in 1956 when his song, *Heartbreak Hotel* topped the American charts. Teenagers were enraptured. Parents were not so sure, and in Queensland their worst anxieties

¹ Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1942-1995: the Middle Way*, vol. 5, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 114.

were confirmed when in November, in the streets of Brisbane, a ‘rocker’ riot occurred.² It seemed that rock’ n’ roll, with its repetitive, pulsating beat and mimetic affinities with sex, encouraged riotous behaviour, if not sexual licentiousness. Parents looked to the churches to play their part in offering appropriate social activities for families and children, and especially moral guidance to their young.

3.1 *Protector of Youth*

The Fifties saw the beginnings of a youth culture, and from about 1954, a new social category emerged between childhood and adulthood identified as the ‘teenager’.³ Unlike their parents for whom a Depression and two World Wars had triggered caution, thrift and a prizing of security,⁴ the emerging teenage generation was growing up against a background of increasing prosperity and economic confidence. They had less regard for caution, adopted distinctive clothing, footwear and hairstyles, listened to new forms of music, and idolised their own ‘pop’ heroes. In these ways they created their own teenage identity, and resisted their parents’ pressure to conform.⁵ For many adults, teenagers represented, not so much an age to be delighted in, as a problem to be solved.

² *Courier-Mail*, 22 November 1956, p. 1.

³ Jon Stratton, ‘Bodgies and Widgies – Youth Culture in the 1950s’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 15, 1984, pp. 10-24; Geoff Walden, *It Was Only Rock’n’Roll, But They Still Loved It: the early days of rock’n’roll in Brisbane*, Oracle Press, Brisbane, 2004, pp. 44-45.

⁴ See, for example, David Williamson, ‘The Golden Age of Conformity’, *Australian Magazine*, 18-19 September, 1993, p. 44.

⁵ Raymond Evans, ‘...To Try to Ruin: Rock’n’roll, Youth Culture and Law’n’Order in Brisbane, 1956-1957’, in John Murphy and Judith Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties: aspects of Australian society and culture in the 1950s*, special issue of *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 28, no. 109, October 1997, p. 107.

The advent of rock'n'roll in 1955 confirmed parental anxieties. Elating and liberating for many young people, it was sinister and threatening to many parents, who regarded rock'n'roll as sexually suggestive and of riotous potential. It could lead girls in particular to promiscuity.⁶ The Queensland author, Hugh Lunn reports a school lesson in which: 'Brother Adams ... strayed onto sex ... [He] gave a lecture about the dangers of rock-and-roll ... [which] made people involuntarily want to shake their bodies to the music. [He] warned that jiving with a girl could break down the respect you had for her'.⁷ Fifty years later, we may smile, but behind such sentiments lay genuine fears and a proper concern to warn and protect. When the initial screening of *Rock Around the Clock* was shown at Brisbane's Tivoli cinema on 18 October 1956 police patrolled the aisles to keep watch over the 'local jive junkies [who] went along in force ... and behaved as if they had ants in their pants'.⁸ A day earlier, Brisbane's first rock'n'roll dance was held at the small St Francis' Hall in Elizabeth Street, led by drummer Tommy O'Connor and his band. Around 650 teenagers packed into the hall, another 100 jived outside on the pavement. The *Courier-Mail* greeted the event with a photo of a couple 'rocking', and a page one headline warning that 'NOW IT'S HERE'.⁹

A month later disturbances broke out at a rock'n'roll concert at the Brisbane Stadium. The *Courier-Mail* put on its front page: "Rocker" riot in

⁶ Ibid., p. 111. See also Peter Lewis, *The Fifties*, Heinemann, London, 1978, pp. 128-129. 'Rock around the clock', sung by Bill Haley and the Comets, was the theme song to a film called *Blackboard Jungle*, released in 1955. The song caught the imagination of youth, and became the anthem of dissidence.

⁷ Hugh Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim: Hugh Lunn's tap-dancing, bugle blowing memoir of a well-spent boyhood*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1989, p. 303.

⁸ Evans, '...To Try to Ruin', p. 112.

⁹ *Courier-Mail*, 18 October 1956, p. 1. See also Raymond Evans, 'Rock 'n' Roll Riot, 1956', in Raymond Evans and Carole Ferrier (eds), *Radical Brisbane: an unruly history*, The Vulgar Press, Carlton North, Victoria, 2004, p. 250.

Brisbane', and even the Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Games in Melbourne had to share the page with this modest, but intrusive, headline.¹⁰ The police, who attempted to impose a traditional code of seated and politely attentive concert behaviour on the teenagers, wrestled with those jiving in the aisles, who wanted to move in animated rhythm with the performers. Fighting within the Stadium broke out again in the streets, 'numerous punches were thrown and young people struck across the head with handcuffs and felled.'¹¹ Rock'n' roll had become the music of youthful revolt.

A climax came early in 1957, when Bill Haley and the Comets came to Brisbane as part of an Australia-wide tour, and played to four packed concerts, with a combined attendance of 20,000.¹² It was reported that he would play 'God Save the Queen' should teenagers get out of hand, reasoning that the audience would then stand quietly to attention.¹³ Rock'n'roll's crude, simple, deafening vigour challenged the crooning sentimental conformism that was presented to the young, for the most part, by singers old enough to be their fathers – Frank Sinatra, Perry Como, Dean Martin and the like.¹⁴

If the rock'n'roll phenomenon gave cause for alarm, so did a subset of youth that emerged in the mid-Fifties: male 'bodgies' and their female counterparts, 'widgies', and whose distinctive dress made them stand out.¹⁵ The *Courier-Mail* frequently portrayed bodgies and widgies as irresponsible,

¹⁰ *Courier-Mail*, 23 November 1956, p. 1. See also Evans, '... To Try to Ruin', p. 114; and Evans, 'Rock 'n' Roll Riot, 1956', p. 253 for other Brisbane newspaper headlines.

¹¹ Evans, '... To Try to Ruin', p. 114.

¹² Walden, *It Was Only Rock'n'Roll*, p. 37.

¹³ *Courier-Mail*, 11 January 1957, p. 3.

¹⁴ Lewis, *The Fifties*, p. 131.

¹⁵ Stratton, 'Bodgies and Widgies', p. 13; Walden, *It Was Only Rock'n'Roll*, p. 46.

anti-social and even criminal, referring to them as 'the wilder teenagers'. One girl who had gravitated towards bodgies and widgies in her local area, soon became enmeshed and turned 'widgie'. She subsequently 'came to police notice for her drinking and wild conduct'. 'Juvenile delinquency is a disease of big communities', the *Courier-Mail* concluded.¹⁶ Bodgies and widgies were the targets of occasional hostility and suspicion, and were roughly moved on by police when caught 'loitering'. The State Labor Police Minister, Arthur Jones, tried to reassure the public. He promised in 1955 that he would 'wipe out the bodgies. This time we mean business.'¹⁷

Anglican leadership was not immune from commonly held portrayals of youth maladjustment. Bishop Ian Shevill, in England for the Lambeth Conference of 1958, visited two youth clubs. Noting that 'in the past ten years youth have presented a new problem', he described a meeting with 'Teddy Boys', England's equivalent of bodgies, a 'brainless, sex-obsessed, symbol of the post-war period', in a church youth group, where there was dancing, or as Shevill put it: 'teenagers doing a sort of tribal lurch, their faces contorted into a mask of rhythm drugged ecstasy'. Seeing a 17 year-old, 'pseudo-crook leader', chewing gum, and distracting others from his talk, Shevill gave him a dressing down: 'Now listen chum, you may not like my face any more than I like yours ... there is a door at the back ... use it or listen. You are supposed to be Christians, most of you are either liars or heathens because you do nothing about it'.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 2 March 1960, p. 2. See also *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 January 1956, p. 2. A feature article asked, 'what is a bodgie? ... the word has come to mean "juvenile delinquent"'.
¹⁷ Evans, 'Rock 'n' Roll Riot, 1956', p. 250.

¹⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1958, p. 298.

There were various responses to the 'youth problem'. Moral policing was one: the suppression of rock'n'roll dances, anti-bodge drives, increased police presence around hamburger shops and dance halls.¹⁹ Use of the media to convey positive messages was another response. The *Sunday Mail* periodically employed the device of a 'Modern Youth Panel' in which seven young panellists declaimed upon appropriate behaviour for teenagers.²⁰

In 1960, the State government released a 'Report on Queensland Youth Problems' and as a result initiated a 'Save our Youth' campaign, whereby youths between seventeen and 20 years old would be targeted to 'keep the good ones good and make the bad ones better'.²¹ The churches too had their part to play. The 'Report on Youth' concluded, amongst other things, that more 'assistance ... [ought to be given] to youth clubs', and more consideration be given to Religious Instruction in schools because 'evidence would indicate that young people who have been raised in God-fearing homes, coming fully within the influence of the Church, rarely commit anti-social acts'.²²

The rector of St Stephen's Coorparoo, the Reverend Jim Payne – with more than 200 in his youth groups – concurred. He said in 1957 that: 'There is no actual bodgie problem at Coorparoo and we consider the reason for this is that the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church and other

¹⁹ Evans, '...To Try to Ruin', p. 109; Walden, *It Was Only Rock'n'Roll*, pp. 77-80.

²⁰ At parties, parents should be welcomed, but not alcohol; in dating, a six-some was best; in walking down Queen St, modesty precluded holding hands. See Evans, '...To Try to Ruin', p. 109.

²¹ *Courier-Mail*, 3 March 1960, p. 2. See Walden, *It Was Only Rock'n'Roll*, pp. 40-41, for the background to the report, which he says was driven as a 1957 election issue.

²² *Courier-Mail*, 3 March 1960, p. 2.

denominations in the district are providing excellent facilities for youth'.²³

When the 'Stafford mob' – a 30 strong group of youth, who drove souped-up cars along the main and side streets, in a loud and reckless manner – were involved in a brawl outside a city sound-lounge, the Brisbane City Council turned to the local council and the local churches for help in addressing the matter.²⁴

Politicians and media welcomed church initiatives. The Methodist minister, the Reverend Arthur Preston received tremendous media coverage from the *Courier-Mail* over some weeks in 1960, as he set up a 'cabaret' centre for youth in West End, having first re-furbished an old building for the cost of £8,000.²⁵ Dances were organised around a rock'n'roll band with a floor show, and quieter music and a devotional presentation at the close of the evening.²⁶

The Diocese of Brisbane also looked to initiate programs for young people, given their growing numbers. The Church of England Boys' Society (CEBS), the Girls' Friendly Society (GFS) and other boys and girls clubs were already established in many parishes, but these catered more for children than the growing number of teenagers. Something more was needed, and in 1957 the Young Anglican Fellowship (YAF) was initiated. A recently established Youth Organisations Committee had noted that there was an

²³ *Anglican*, 6 December 1957, p. 12.

²⁴ John Mackenzie-Smith, *The Beacon on the Hill: a history of the Anglican Church at Stafford, 1865 – 1988*, St Clements' Parish, Stafford, Queensland, 1993, p. 76.

²⁵ See for example, *Courier-Mail*, 1 March 1960, p. 1 with photo; 15 March 1960, p. 3; and 16 March 1960, p. 1.

²⁶ Walden, *It Was Only Rock'n'Roll*, p. 219.

'urgent need for more work among the 15 and over age group'.²⁷ YAF's role was 'to co-ordinate and strengthen the work and witness of the youth groups in the Diocese'.²⁸ Beginning with nine metropolitan branches and 290 members, YAF grew swiftly. In 1959 there were 30 branches, in 1960, 41, and in 1961, 54.²⁹ In just three years it increased its parish branches by 70 per cent. A four-square program aimed at balance in a young person's life, and revolved around activities spiritual, physical, mental and social. Dances were popular. Stafford held regular dances, usually at St Jude's Church Hall, Everton Park. One hundred pairs of feet would stomp to pop songs, such as 'See You Later Alligator' by Bill Haley and the Comets, and 'There Goes My Baby' by the Drifters. It unnerved the Parish Council – what was such stomping doing to the floorboards? They banned dancing to some of these songs.³⁰

Many groups were not large. In the early 1960s, Christ Church St Lucia's YAF under the leadership of a young married couple, Alan and Jan Jones (who were not much older than the youth in their care), numbered ten to fifteen. They put on plays, such as the romantic comedy, *The Reluctant Debutante* by William Douglas-Home at the nearby St Paul's Taringa, which had a stage, and the little known *Passion, Poison and Petrification* by G. B. Shaw. They experimented with new forms of Evensong with the Franciscan Brothers (who arrived in the Diocese in 1963), held discussions on 'war and

²⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1960, p. 87 on the origin, purpose and work of the YAF.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87. According to parish circumstances a YAF could function in one of three ways: coordinate existing youth groups; become the main mixed youth group; or both coordinate and operate as the mixed youth group.

²⁹ *Church Chronicle* 1 March 1960, p. 87. See also the YAF reports in the *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, for 1959, 1960 and 1961.

³⁰ Mackenzie-Smith, *Beacon on the Hill*, p. 77.

pacifism', organised swimming parties, and arranged occasional dances. Hundreds turned up to one of these dances after it was announced on radio, courtesy of a parishioner whose husband owned a local radio station.³¹

Camps, such as the Annual All Anglican Youth Conference at the Anglican campsite of Halse Lodge in Noosa,³² community work, fundraising, talks and socialising made the YAF a great success in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In November 1959, the Camp Hill YAF group even had the exciting delight of appearing on the newly established television, and sang the Lord's Prayer to Geoffrey Beaumont's recently composed 20th century Folk Mass setting.³³ There was a wider feeling in the general community that the churches were doing a good thing 'by keeping the youth off the streets'.³⁴

One result, not foreseen, was the erosion of support for another youth movement sponsored by the official national Anglican missionary organisation, the Australian Board of Missions (ABM), called the Comrades of St George (CSG). CSG was brought to Queensland in 1945 by the State Secretary of ABM, the then Fr. Ian Shevill.³⁵ It was a 'mixed group' (boys and girls), unusual at that time, and a decision that did not meet universal approval from clergy.³⁶ By the 1950s, CSG followed a four-square program,

³¹ Alan Jones, personal comments recorded in March 2004.

³² 'Halse Lodge' in Noosa was bought by the Diocese of Brisbane in 1958 as a conference and youth centre.

³³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1960, p. 1. A photo shows 25 Camp Hill YAF members in the YAF uniform, boys in white shirts and ties, girls in white blouses, ties and dark skirts.

³⁴ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1959, p. 233.

³⁵ *Anglican*, 6 November 1953, p. 8. The CSG was born in 1928 in the Melbourne Town Hall at the end of a great ABM Pageant, which had run for several evenings, and in which St George was the central character. On the last night of the Pageant, the Vicar of St Peter's Eastern Hill, Canon Ernest Selwyn Hughes, walked on to the stage at the end of the performance, and pinned cardboard shields emblazoned with the Cross of St George on to the tunics of the main actors, and announced, 'You are now Comrades of St George'.

³⁶ Ian Shevill, *Half Time*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1966, p. 24.

corresponding to its Rule of Life: 'in worship regular; in study diligent; in witness effective; in service faithful'.³⁷ Membership followed the keeping of a half-hour vigil of prayer, prior to the taking of the CSG Promise – to 'seek the Glory of God and the Extension of His Kingdom' – and the pledge of loyalty to the Order and obedience to the Rule.³⁸ Behind such serious sentiments, lay the intention to foster support of overseas missionaries by young people, and to give a focus for young people's aspirations for a better world.³⁹ The initials 'CSG' were fondly promoted as standing for 'Christ Says Go' and capture the sense of purpose, urgency and adventure of CSG.

In the Fifties, CSG enjoyed growing numbers. In 1955, seven new 'Companies' were established bringing the number in the Diocese to 27. Hundreds would turn out for the annual march at St Paul's Ipswich, the church home of an ABM missionary martyr, Mavis Parkinson, executed in New Guinea by the Japanese in World War II. Once YAF began, however, CSG began to lose its vitality. In 1960, the number of Companies in Brisbane Diocese had fallen to 20.⁴⁰ Their *raison d'être* had been overseas mission, and the gradual demise of the Comrades would be one indicator and one contributing factor towards the steady decline of interest in overseas missionary work. In its place, YAF had no specific purpose other than getting young Anglicans together. Its long-term viability could not be certain.

³⁷ *A Manual of Devotion for the Order of the Comrades of St George*, Australian Board of Missions, Sydney, 1955, p. 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6 and p. 9. The Rule of Life, Promise and CSG Prayer were also listed on the 'Comrades of St George Membership Card', a copy of which is in the possession of the author.

³⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 182

⁴⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 177.



Fig. 17 A Diocesan Youth Gathering with Archbishop Halse 1951

Another initiative was the commencement of a university group called 'Anglican Society' or AngSoc, also in 1957, begun as a reaction to the interdenominational Student Christian Movement and non-sacramental Evangelical Union, both of which seemed to have lost their drive.⁴¹ Some Anglican students, who felt 'that there should be some provision for Anglican instruction, worship and witness for students', took the initiative.⁴² Diocesan goodwill was given, the Archbishop became the Patron, the local vicar of Christ Church St Lucia, Fr John Rouse, became the chaplain, Mr John Jobson was elected the first President, and a constitution was written, enabling the Anglican Society to function as an associated body of the University of Queensland Union. In 1958 the Anglican Society began its first full year, and was able to report that the highlight of 'Orientation Week' for that year was the

⁴¹ The Student Christian Movement was, for some Anglicans, too broadly Christian, taking its cues from the social justice issues being promoted through the World Council of Churches. It was an early ecumenical organization, and one which allowed female as well as male leadership, but whose guiding Christian doctrines were loosely articulated and unclear. There was some quiet concern that Anglican students should have a group more solidly established in the clear biblical and sacramental theology of Anglicanism.

⁴² 'University of Queensland Anglican Society', paper presented to the National Conference of Australian University Anglican Societies, St John's College, Morpeth, 1960, kept at the University Chaplaincy, University of Queensland.

Archbishop's visit to speak to nearly 200 Anglican Freshers. A dance attracted 'a great crowd of about 250 ... making it the best success of the whole Freshers Week'.⁴³ In 1959, the Anglican Society had the largest membership of any voluntary group at the university: 245 members from about 3,500 students.⁴⁴

Despite these initiatives, the Anglican Church did not reach those most alienated from mainstream social life.⁴⁵ YAF and Angsoc, as with other children's and youth groups, appealed mainly to those with some church affiliation already and those reasonably adjusted to society. This was not a bad thing in itself. These teenagers also needed a place to belong and space to gather with others their own age. The church's provision of such opportunities no doubt assisted their ongoing integration into social life. As well, some clergy saw YAF groups as environments where young men and women might find appropriate marriage partners, and so form the basis of Anglican families for the future. All church traditions fostered youth groups, and in a time of sectarianism, the hope that one's own youth would marry within their own church tradition, and avoid some of the complications of a 'mixed marriage' – especially with Roman Catholics – was a significant, if understated, contributing factor for the provision of youth groups.

There was a small core of youth in the general community itself, who were socially alienated – five per cent according to the State Youth Report

⁴³ 'Report of the Anglican Society to Diocesan Synod, June 1958', kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

⁴⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 185.

⁴⁵ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, p. 578.

'who have gone wrong or are going wrong'.⁴⁶ It would not be until 1964 that a more imaginative attempt by the Diocese to get alongside this small core would commence, with the formation of the '64 Club'. But by then it was too late: other factors of alienation and rebellion kicked in as the 'swinging Sixties' hit full throttle. In the meantime parishes offered a range of activities for children, youth and adults, and met a social need in the suburbs.

3.2 Protector of Family Life

The churches' role as moral guardians was broader than attending to the moral welfare of teenagers alone. They had a concern that family life also ought to be protected, especially from outside perils such as alcohol and gambling. Historian, Raymond Evans suggests that during World War II, in Brisbane, there had been a loosening of moral constraints and a degree of libertarianism, the result of hosting American soldiers. From December 1941 when the Pacific War began, Brisbane became host to hundreds of thousands of American and Australian troops on their way to fight the Japanese in the Pacific. Sometimes Brisbane's small resident population was in a minority and the city resembled a garrison town. All schools in Brisbane city area were forbidden to open and the buildings of the Anglican St John's Day School, alongside the cathedral, were commandeered by the American army and the school temporarily closed.⁴⁷ The fear of invasion was real, especially so in

⁴⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 2 March 1960, p. 2.

⁴⁷ St John's was a day school for primary students, run by the sisters of the Sacred Advent. After the War, the school did not re-open, as the buildings were needed for Diocesan administrative purposes and the increased volume of inner city traffic made Ann St increasingly unsafe for small children. See

1942, and perhaps with one's personal future uncertain, it is not surprising that a degree of moral permissiveness emerged. After the War, there was a moral over-reaction as Brisbane struggled to 're-establish an image of rectitude and sobriety – of nuclear family values, clean living and decent British restraint rather than questionable American excess'.⁴⁸

Evans cites an extraordinary gambling raid in Brisbane as an example of 'the narrow parameters of respectability' that emerged in the Fifties.⁴⁹ Soon after 10pm, on 7 September 1956, a dozen officers of the Licensing Squad surrounded the Toowong Bowling Club and arrested 80 surprised bingo players, who were taken in ten patrol cars to the city lock-up. The next day, the *Courier-Mail* reported the 'city's biggest "gambling" raid', with a front-page headline: '80 ARRESTED IN TOOWONG FOR BINGO'.⁵⁰ Many of those arrested were elderly people, though some were teenagers, reported the *Courier-Mail*, adding a description of the illegal game for the benefit of its more law-abiding readers.

The narrow parameters of respectability can be gauged from other examples of the times, for instance, the local alderman who blasted as 'disgusting and immodest' a window display of women's electrical razors in the Allan and Stark store.⁵¹ Just as extreme was the Queensland Literature

Elizabeth Moores, *One Hundred Years of Ministry: a history of the Society of the Sacred Advent 1892-1992*, Society of the Sacred Advent, Brisbane, 1993, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Raymond Evans, 'Crazy News: rock'n'roll in Brisbane and Bill Haley's "Big Show", 1956-57' in Barry Shaw (ed.), *Brisbane: relaxation, recreation and rock'n'roll: popular culture 1890-1990*, Brisbane History Group, Kelvin Grove, Queensland, 2001, p. 86.

⁴⁹ Evans, 'Crazy News', p. 86.

⁵⁰ *Courier-Mail*, 8 September 1956, p. 1.

⁵¹ Evans, '... To Try to Ruin', p. 108. The Literature Review Board was created by an act of Queensland Parliament in 1954. According to the Attorney-General at the time, comic books were a 'great menace ... one that threatens to destroy the very basis of our Christian civilisation'. See Walden, *It Was Only Rock'n'Roll*,

Board of Review's banning of romance comics, with such titles as *First Kiss* and *Love Secrets*. The decision was based on the grounds that such comics emphasized 'love at first sight' rather than obeying 'the social conventions that require formal introduction' of couples.⁵²

Churches shared the concern for high moral standards. They were apprehensive that a 'lowering' or 'decay' of moral standards was occurring, demonstrated by the advent of pernicious magazines and books,⁵³ a rising divorce rate, drinking, gambling, the reported increase in extra-marital pregnancies and 'materialism' and 'selfishness'.⁵⁴ This moral malaise could only be arrested by a renewal of religious values. 'Many ... believe there is a moral rot at work', said an editorial in the *Church Chronicle* in October 1957. 'They look at the divorce statistics and the figures for juvenile delinquency and the awful spread of petty pilfering and they are certain that we need a new kind of vital religion'.⁵⁵

In particular, gambling and alcohol occupied the churches' attention in the 1950s, especially Protestant churches. Roman Catholics were much more relaxed about both drinking and gambling. Modest forms of gambling had a long track record in Queensland. The 'Golden Casket' – a State sponsored lottery – had a history stretching back to 1916.⁵⁶ Its acceptance

p. 39.

⁵² Evans, 'Crazy News', p. 86.

⁵³ For example, Hugh Hefner's first edition of *Playboy*, which featured Playmate of the month, Marilyn Monroe, was first published in 1953. See chapter one, footnote 33.

⁵⁴ David Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality in Australia in the 1950s', in Murphy and Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties*, p. 143.

⁵⁵ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1957, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Wendy Selby, 'What Makes a Lottery Successful?', in Jan McMillen, John O'Hara, Wendy Selby and Kay Cohen (eds), *Gamblers Paradise*, Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Brisbane, 1996, pp. 37-47. Gallup Polls of 1969 and 1972 claimed that State lotteries achieved an approval rating of 85 percent and 80 per cent respectively.

and success was due in part to channelling profits towards worthwhile and popular causes, and presumably Anglicans were not averse to supporting this lottery.⁵⁷ Horse racing also was an established aspect of Queensland life, with three horse racing tracks in Brisbane alone. For many years, betting was tolerated, as long as it remained 'on-course'. Occasionally the State government flirted with the idea of regulating illegal and widespread 'off-course' betting, but such hopes met stiff resistance from churches and other civic groups who saw in regulating 'off-course' betting, both the extension of the gambling culture, and risks to the well-being of families and society.⁵⁸ In 1954, Diocesan Synod stated its own unqualified opposition to any movement to legalise 'off-course' betting, on the grounds that the young would be particularly at risk.⁵⁹ Nor could parishes use even modest gambling games – raffles and guessing competitions – to raise money for church purposes. The State Attorney-General was instructed by a long-standing Provincial Synod arrangement not to issue gambling permits to any Church of England organisation.⁶⁰

With regard to drinking, the Temperance Movement was highly effective, despite – or because of – Australia's image as a country fond of

⁵⁷ Selby, 'What Makes a Lottery Successful?', p. 43.

⁵⁸ For insights into horse racing in Brisbane, see James Griffin, *John Wren: a life reconsidered*, Scribe Publications, Melbourne, 2004.

⁵⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1955, p. 7; *Anglican*, 24 September 1954, p. 4. See also the 1953 Diocesan Synod motion which reaffirmed Synod's opposition to S. P. (off-course) betting. *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1953*, p. 108.

⁶⁰ Provincial Synod 1906 first expressed its unqualified opposition to gambling and called on all Anglicans in the Province to 'set their face against the evil'. In 1935, Provincial Synod requested the State Attorney-General to refuse permission for any Anglican parish or organisation to have permits for Art Unions, raffles, lotteries or other games of chance. This determination was reaffirmed by Provincial Synod in 1949. At the Provincial Synod of October 1964, Bishop Ian Shevill successfully sought that the arrangements made with the Attorney-General in 1935 be terminated on the grounds that individual dioceses were in a position to regulate the moral life of their own membership. See Barry Greaves, 'Gambling – a History', October 2000, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

alcohol, and a strain of this puritan spirit could be found within the Diocese of Brisbane. It was not unusual for the *Chronicle* to print letters from Mr H. W. Jack, General Secretary of the Queensland Temperance League, containing statistics of alcohol consumption, designed to alert readers to the dangers of drinking.⁶¹ Others adopted a more moderate line. Archbishop Halse noted in his 1953 Lenten Pastoral address that while 'Excessive Drink and Gambling are threatening the stability of national life and undermining all sense of moral responsibility', there was nothing 'intrinsically evil' with alcohol or gambling. The danger resided in their excess so that the church in governing its own life ought to be a witness of moderation and restraint in a world that 'fails to distinguish between freedom and licence.'⁶²

Many welcomed such a view as good commonsense. Yet this attitude of moderation was not always easy to defend. When Mr Macklin introduced a private members bill in the 1953 Diocesan Synod and argued that off-course betting was wrong, but that he could not see how parish raffles involved harm to anyone, it was quickly pointed out that the principle was the same in both cases.⁶³ Those denouncing all forms of drinking or gambling found it easier to be consistent in their views. Those (like Halse and Macklin and many others) who argued for an attitude of moderation, laid themselves open to the charge of inconsistency, if not hypocrisy, and struggled to state clearly where the line of moderation should be drawn.⁶⁴ As a 1952 editorial in the *Church Chronicle* said: 'To the question "Is gambling a sin?" contradictory answers are given.

⁶¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1951, p. 243; 1 June 1952, p. 174; 1 June 1956, p. 171. 1 October 1964, p. 280.

⁶² *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1953, p. 69.

⁶³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1953, p. 299.

⁶⁴ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 550.

“Yes, it is altogether wrong,” says one prominent churchman. “No,” says a leader of another church, “there is no harm in buying a Golden Casket ticket.” And the same “yes-no” answer is given on the question of drinking. The Church gives a divided answer. “If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?”⁶⁵ That editorial comment summed up the difficulty for the Diocese as the force for greater liberalisation gained strength in the years ahead.

One other moral issue exercised the minds of Christian leaders in the Fifties: the re-marriage of divorcees. There had been a rising tide of divorce since World War II. At the beginning of the 1940s, the number of divorces in Australia stood at 3,200 annually rising to a peak of 8,800 in 1947, and stabilising around there until the mid-1960s.⁶⁶ A stigma and sense of shame was fastened upon those whose marriages failed, perhaps because divorce was believed to produce unhappy and maladjusted children. The causes of teenage delinquency were often traced back to broken homes.⁶⁷ An article in the *Courier-Mail* gave anecdotes of children whose parents had separated or divorced and the negative effects on these children.⁶⁸ The State Report on Youth came to the same conclusion: ‘Investigations support the universally accepted opinion that divorce, separation and/or re-marriage tends to produce

⁶⁵ *Church Chronicle*, 1 February 1952, p. 42.

⁶⁶ Peter McDonald, Lado Ruzicka and Patricia Pyne, ‘Marriage, Fertility and Mortality’, in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: historical statistics*, Fairfax, Sydney, 1987, vol. 10, p. 47.

⁶⁷ Evans, ‘...To Try to Ruin’, p. 109. Also A. E. Manning, *The Bodgie: a study in psychological abnormality*, Wellington, 1959, who argued that the ‘disturbed’ behaviour of bodgies and widgees could be sourced back to ‘problems’, such as broken homes. For a general assessment of family life in the Fifties, see D. W. Mc Elwain and W. J. Campbell, ‘The Family’, in A. F. Davies and S. Encel (eds), *Australian Society: a sociological introduction*, 2nd ed., Cheshire, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 134-148.

⁶⁸ *Courier-Mail*, 3 March 1960, p. 2.

emotional instability in children'.⁶⁹ Church papers made the same point. Miss McCarthy of the Women's Police read a paper to a 'Ministerial Fraternal' – a gathering of local clergy from a variety of denominations – reproduced in the *Church Chronicle*. She acknowledged that youth 'have to face difficulties that their parents never had to face'.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, if 'unity in a family is lost, there is wholesale disruption. Broken homes have evil effects. They bring lack of security to the child, unhappiness, divided loyalty.' Divorce, she said 'had evil consequences' and there was an 'urgent need for the strengthening of family life.'

Divorce created a pastoral problem for all church traditions since all were committed to the idea of marriage as both permanent and exclusive. For Brisbane Anglicans – and springing from the Anglo-Catholic sacramental teaching of the Diocese – Holy Matrimony was one of the five lesser sacraments. The husband and wife were the tangible and outward sign of an inward and spiritual reality that included a sharing in the divine love. The question was, what attitude should be taken to those whose marriages had become unhappy, for whom there was no longer a sharing in love. Was it reasonable to expect a husband and wife to stay in a relationship that was more destructive than creative, more acrimonious than loving? It was a pastoral problem, made more acute by the desire some divorcees had, to seek a blessing of their second union in church.

While the great majority of Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational ministers adopted a sympathetic approach and allowed re-marriage, the

⁶⁹ *Courier-Mail*, 2 March 1960, p. 2.

⁷⁰ *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1957, p. 12.

Roman Catholic Church and most Anglican Dioceses allowed for no exceptions.⁷¹ Anglican bishops and clergy tended to follow the views enunciated at the Lambeth Conference of 1948 which resolved that 'the marriage of one whose partner is still living may not be celebrated according to the rites of the Church'.⁷²

The matter came to a head in 1959 with the proposed Federal legislation for uniform divorce laws. At the Brisbane Diocesan Synod of June 1959 a motion protesting against the passage of the Federal Divorce Bill was unanimously passed.⁷³ Moved by Mr Graham Hart, QC and State Liberal member for Mt Gravatt, the motion objected to the provision for divorce after only two years desertion, instead of the preferred three years, and the provision of divorce upon failure to obey an order to restore conjugal rights. Such objections were symptoms of a deeper anxiety, that divorce should not be too easy to gain. 'I say this Bill makes divorce too easy', said Mr Hart. Parties had to be made to realise that marriage was 'for keeps'.⁷⁴ A committee was set up to investigate all aspects of the proposed Bill and to report to church members on its full religious implications.

⁷¹ Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality', p. 137. Sydney Diocese allowed for divorce, if it met the conditions of the Matthean exception. In Matthew's Gospel, Jesus takes a stance against divorce 'except for unchastity'. Sydney Diocese interpreted this phrase as allowing for a re-marriage where it could be shown that the former partner had committed adultery. See also K. S. Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour', in Davies and Encel, *Australian Society*, pp. 60-61.

⁷² Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality', p. 137.

⁷³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 91. The Federal Divorce Act unified divorce legislation around Australia. It also emphasised the importance of marriage guidance organisations to prevent marriage disintegration, and moved away from the concept of divorce as a remedy for matrimonial 'fault' to the provision of divorce after five years separation regardless of the blameworthiness of the spouses. In other words, the Act moved towards 'no fault' divorce. D. W. McElwain and W. J. Campbell, 'The Family', in Davies and Encel, *Australian Society*, p. 137.

⁷⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 18 June 1959, p. 7.

A meeting of the Australian bishops in Brisbane, over which Halse presided as Acting Primate, also opposed aspects of the Bill, while expressing appreciation of some of its benefits.⁷⁵ Their opposition however, was ineffectual, although it did serve to publicise the concern the church had for stable family life. More positively, the Diocese began to adopt some measures to foster good relationships in marriage. More emphasis was placed on pre-marriage counselling by clergy, support for marriage guidance councils, and even in some parishes sex education programs for those approaching marriage.⁷⁶ One innovative program was a gathering of seventeen couples at Alexandra Headlands in June 1957 to reflect upon the family, not the individual, as the basic unit of the church.⁷⁷ Other ways suggested to strengthen the family were wide ranging. In October 1955, 30 organisations sponsored a 'Home and Family Week' in Brisbane.⁷⁸ The organising committee was strongly represented by the Diocesan Mothers' Union. Talks given at the City Hall had an emphasis on the role of the mother, and included sessions on 'Understanding the Young', 'the Parent and Pre-school Child', 'Cooking for the Family', 'You and Your Husband', 'Planning for the Home', and 'Sex Education as Character Education'.

The re-marriage of divorcees was a difficult problem for the Anglican Church because it contained within it two competing dimensions. There was a prescriptive dimension – marriage was both permanent and exclusive, and

⁷⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 85f.

⁷⁶ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 549. K. S. Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour', p. 60, notes that 'since 1945 a number of marriage guidance councils have been established in Australia under religious auspices'. See also McElwain and Campbell, 'The Family', p. 137.

⁷⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1957, p. 236.

⁷⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1955, p. 292.

vows taken by bride and groom were inviolate. There was also a compassionate dimension – that allowance be made for the frailty of human nature. How do you hold together prescription on the one hand, with the demand of compassion on the other? That question was to confront the Anglican Church increasingly in the years ahead, as divorce became less shameful and more acceptable in the general community.

3.3 Parishes: filling a social void

The churches had a clear role to play in the new suburbs, not only as protector of youth and family life, but also as the upholders of social stability. Archbishop Halse had said that the challenge of the new suburbs for the Diocese of Brisbane was to build up ‘community life with church buildings in the centre’.⁷⁹ The Brisbane suburb of Stafford provides a snapshot of how this challenge was met. Soon after World War II, the Queensland Housing Commission earmarked Stafford for development. A housing estate was surveyed near the tram terminus, and houses built and made available for rent.⁸⁰ Shops and retail businesses soon sprang up adjacent to the housing estate, and in 1949, to accommodate the growing number of children, a State Primary School was built.⁸¹ Private developers saw the potential, and in 1957, ‘Stafford Heights’ was opened, where developers offered land at exclusive areas, such as ‘Hillcrest Estate’. So confident were they of sales that a free

⁷⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 195.

⁸⁰ John Mackenzie-Smith, *Beacon on the Hill*, p. 34.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

taxi service from George St in the city was offered to potential buyers.⁸²

Slowly the rural nature of Stafford changed. Dairy farms were bought out and a tannery hemmed in.⁸³ By November 1964 the *Courier-Mail* could describe Stafford, whose population had soared to 12,500, as a 'rapidly growing area for young people and healthy children'.⁸⁴

For Anglicans a small wooden church called St Clement's, made up of two army huts roughly butted together, had served as a worship centre since 1925.⁸⁵ The suburb was part of the parish of St Andrew's Lutwyche, and once a month the rector of Lutwyche travelled the six kilometres to Stafford for worship.⁸⁶ The growing congregation, made up mainly of young couples and families, were keen to see their own autonomous parish. One such couple, Bevan and Grace Thiele, settled in Stafford from Melbourne in 1952. In their first year, surprised that no Christmas liturgies were listed for St Clement's, they pushed their son's pram the six kilometres to Lutwyche, in the swelteringly hot December sun.⁸⁷ Such experiences, together with the growth of Sunday School enrolments and the formation by keen lay Anglicans of diocesan organisations – CEBS, GFS and the Mothers' Union (MU) – gave impetus to the call for Stafford to have 'Parochial Status', given on application of a certain number of parishioners, able to guarantee sufficient financial resources to enable that district to receive its own priest.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 54.

⁸⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 5 November 1964, p. 21; Mackenzie-Smith, *Beacon on the Hill*, p. 74. The population of Stafford climbed from 5,460 in 1954 to 12,467 in 1961 to 17,692 in 1966. See *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30 June 1954*, vol. III – Queensland, part 1, table 1; *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30 June 1961*, vol. III – Queensland, part 1, table 1; *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30 June 1966*, vol. IV – Queensland, part 3, table 1.

⁸⁵ Mackenzie-Smith, *Beacon on the Hill*, p. 40.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 39.

In 1956, the 'Parochial District of Stafford-Everton Park' was created, incorporating both Stafford and another new suburb, Everton Park with its church hall of St Jude's.⁸⁸ Parish boundaries were set, and Fr Jack Madden, a former Bush Brother, became the first priest-in-charge.⁸⁹ In the early years, he wore his biretta and cassock in public. He won the love and affection of all and was regarded as a first rate parish priest, remaining at St Clement's for the next 30 years.

The clergy, in these years after World War II, experienced a confidence and security in their position in the local community. Together with the doctor, bank manager and teacher they belonged to the professions. They were accepted as a natural part of the social order and given respect by virtue of the positions they held. One clergyman recalls boarding a bus soon after his ordination to the priesthood in 1952, dressed in smart black suit and hat, and wearing his white dog-collar. The bus was full, but one middle-aged lady stood to offer her seat. Being in his mid-twenties, he declined the offer, but she was insistent. He was a priest and others should stand to let a priest sit. Such respect for the office made it just that much easier to build and develop in the local suburb. Fifty years later, such respect had evaporated. While in a lift at a hospital the same clergyman was spat at for being part of a church that had ostensibly protected sexual abusers.⁹⁰

Fr. Madden's advent gave an immediate burst of energy. His arrival 'coincided with a dramatic increase in the number who worshipped at St

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

⁹⁰ Bishop Adrian Charles, personal comments recorded in March 2003.

Clement's.⁹¹ A Sunday School of several dozen in the early Fifties became 160 each week in 1957, and 300 by 1960, straining space and teacher requirements.⁹² Average weekly communicants increased from 170 in 1956 to 400 in 1960.⁹³ Financial giving to the parish jumped from £19 per week in 1958 to £70 in 1959, thanks in large measure to a Wells program.⁹⁴

Similar stories of numerical and financial growth could be told in other new suburbs. Between 1946 and 1956 Stafford, St Lucia, Booval, Hendra, Moorooka and Morningside were all raised to 'Parochial District' status and Bulimba, Camp Hill, Chermside, Chinchilla, Clifton, Coolangatta, Grovely, Holland Park, Kilcoy, Manly, Millmerran, Nanango, Redcliffe, and Taringa raised from Parochial District to full Parish status, given after some years of financial independence, and which allowed a parish to participate in the selection of a new 'Rector'.⁹⁵

What was it that parents were looking for from the parish church? Part of the answer was the establishment of clubs for their children and groups for their own socialising. The parishes were in a fortuitous position. There were, at this stage, limited opportunities for recreation in the suburbs. As one journalist noted: 'social workers regard some – though not all – new areas as little better than leafy slums ... they too often have no kindergartens, no clubs, no playing fields, no parks, no swimming pools, no libraries, no public halls –

⁹¹ Mackenzie-Smith, *Beacon on the Hill*, p. 56

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 59 and p. 66.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 56 and p. 66. Those Confirmed in 1959 numbered a healthy 85, compared to 56 confirmed in 1956.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹⁵ In the decade after 1956, fifteen new Parochial Districts were created: Aspley, Beenleigh, Caloundra, Inala, Jandowae, Mt. Gravatt, Pine Rivers, Sunnybank, Surfers Paradise, Tara and Texas and four Bush Brotherhood Districts: Miles, Mitchell, Surat and Taroom. As well, seven Districts were raised to full Parish status: Booval, Caloundra, Monto, St Lucia, Stafford and West End and the former Bush Brotherhood District of Charleville. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, pp. 312-313.

and nothing for youngsters to do', leading to 'outer suburban boredom'.⁹⁶ A meeting of the Stafford Progress Association in the early 1960s lamented the lack of basic facilities in its suburb. It was not just the lack of some basic infrastructure – full sewerage, decent footpaths and bituminised roads. There was just 'a mere half-acre of parkland in an area containing 2,000 homes and 5,000 children'.⁹⁷ There was no library, no public hall for large meetings or dances, no indoor recreational facilities. There was just one kindergarten, with a waiting list of 154. Telephone booths and mailboxes were few, and no home help program existed for young families in time of sickness or crisis.⁹⁸

Parish groups therefore filled a void. One man recalled that 'in those days, the local community was the church; people knew, helped and respected each other. The binding together was the priest's duty'.⁹⁹ In any parish there might be a range of Diocesan organisations: GFS, CEBS, YAF, CSG, MU, the Church of England Men's Society (CEMS), Sunday Schools, Ladies' Guilds, Boys Choirs, Adult Choirs, Altar Serving teams, bible study groups. In 1955, St Colomb's Clayfield had the Women's Guild meeting on the first Wednesday of the month, the MU group meeting on the fourth Thursday, GFS meeting every Friday evening, CEBS on Tuesday evenings, a Boys' Choir rehearsing on Saturday mornings, an Adult Choir rehearsing mid-week, and a YAF group meeting every fortnight. During Lent there were special liturgies for children on Wednesdays at 4.00pm and for adults at

⁹⁶ *Courier Mail*, 2 March 1960, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Mackenzie-Smith, *Beacon on the Hill*, pp. 75-76.

⁹⁸ *Courier-Mail*, 5 November 1964, p. 21.

⁹⁹ Gary Brock, a parishioner of the Church of the Ascension, Camp Hill in the Fifties, quoted in John Boadle (ed.), *Our Church: the story of the first 75 years of the Church of the Annunciation, Camp Hill, 1926-2001*, privately published, 2001, p. 13. Brock was appointed Head Server of the parish in 1958.

7.00pm.¹⁰⁰ One of the major Brisbane parishes was St Stephen's Coorparoo. In 1957, it had 900 children enrolled in Sunday School with 60 teachers, and 200 in various youth groups.¹⁰¹ The annual St Stephen's Sunday School picnic was a logistical nightmare, solved by booking a special train to convey the 500 children and parents from Coorparoo railway station to the Beenleigh Show Grounds. One of the first pedestrian crossings in Brisbane was placed near St Stephen's so that children could cross safely to church on Sundays.



Fig. 18 St Andrew's Lutwyche Choir - December 1960

¹⁰⁰ 'Parish News', *Church Chronicle*, 1 February 1955, p. 58.

¹⁰¹ Ralph Bowles, 'An Outline History of St Stephen the Martyr Anglican Church Coorparoo, 1922-2000', pp. 21-22, kept at St Stephen's Church, 343 Cavendish Rd, Coorparoo, Queensland.

GFS had 74 branches around the Diocese in 1958 and 94 in 1960, a branch in nearly every parish. CEBS had 18 branches in 1952 with 350 members, and 40 branches in 1960 with about 1,000 members. The MU had 60 branches in 1958 with 1,635 members, and 69 branches in 1960 with nearly 2,100 members.¹⁰² Parish organisations – like Scouts, Girl Guides, Red Cross and other community groups – flourished throughout the Fifties. If the insights of the American political scientist, Robert Putnam can be applied to Australia, this was a time when participating in social activities and community affairs was much stronger than in subsequent decades.¹⁰³ Putnam's research suggests that prior to the 1960s, Americans were more engaged in social activities and community affairs than subsequently. They joined sporting teams, social clubs, trade unions, parents and citizens associations, churches, social action movements and political parties. They voted, campaigned for social causes, and read newspapers. Putnam called such joining and participating, 'social capital'. He observed that the generation born in the 1920s (who were marrying and having families in the 1950s) belonged to twice as many civic associations as the generation born in the 1960s. They voted at double the rate, and read newspapers almost three times as often. Through participation in clubs, community affairs and voluntary organisations, social skills developed and trust increased. In a church context, a whole range of social benefits might be fostered. Generations were linked,

¹⁰² See the reports for GFS, CEBS and MU in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane*, for the years 1952, 1958 and 1960.

¹⁰³ Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2000; Robert Putnam, 'The Strange Disappearance of Civic America', *Policy: a Journal of Public Policy and Ideas*, Autumn, 1996, pp. 3-15. Although there are local studies of the loss of social capital in Australia, an Australian equivalent to the Putnam work, embracing a full overview, has not been produced.

adults welcoming children and passing on the Christian code of conduct and cultivating a sense of obligation to those less fortunate or in trouble. Teaching the history of the church might install a respect for the past, and stimulate responsibility for the future. Annual General Meetings of the parish could be commendable examples of the democratic ideal of people gathering together to debate issues and reach collective decisions. Certain 'hard' virtues were commended (sacrifice, charity, 'turning the other cheek'), and vices checked (greed, selfishness, hedonism). In such ways a compelling model for participation in social life was commended.

Without wanting at this stage, to examine the reasons Putnam suggests for the decline of 'social capital' from the 1960s onwards, his research – if it can be applied to Australia – indicates that the Fifties were years in which citizens were more willing to engage in social activities and community affairs. The churches, along with other social and community groups, benefited from greater 'social capital' in the Fifties than in subsequent decades, and enjoyed a degree of vitality and energy that came with such participation.

The churches' role as provider of social and community activities was assisted in other ways. There were, for example, government restrictions on Sunday trading. On Sundays, in Brisbane small shops such as chemists, newsagents and corner stores could open, but all major retail shops remained closed, and there were no gaming or racing opportunities.¹⁰⁴ Within a 40-mile

¹⁰⁴ Horse racing and the operation of gaming totalisators on Sundays were prohibited under *The Racing and Betting Act 1954 to 1963*.

radius of Brisbane, hotels were not allowed to open on Sundays.¹⁰⁵ Sunday hotel sessions were not introduced until 1970. Although there were no legislative restrictions on competitive sport on Sundays, convention dictated



Fig. 19 The Servers' Guild at The Church of the Annunciation, Camp Hill with the Rector Father Wilfred Harmer 1958

that sport be played on Saturday afternoons. Such restrictions and conventions left Sundays as a community free day that belonged ostensibly to the churches for worship.

Not that all, by any means, made Sunday a church day. For the sake of perspective, it is important to keep in mind that the vast majority in the community refrained from any participation in a local church. In 1955, of every

¹⁰⁵ *The Liquor Act 1912-1965* allowed liquor to be sold on Sundays outside the 40-mile (64-kilometres) radius of Brisbane between 11.00am and 1.00pm, and 4.00pm to 6.00pm to *bona fide* travellers only.

100 people in the population, 33 could be found in a church on a Sunday. Just eight of those 33 were Anglicans, even though Anglicans made up 34 people in the 100.¹⁰⁶ Most Australians – a sizable 67 of every 100 people – chose to stay at home and mow the lawn or wash the car or take the family for a car trip or visit the grandparents or read the papers. Many found travelling to work each week, raising the children and working on the home, left little time for further social activities.¹⁰⁷ The churches were important, but even in the buoyant Fifties when congregation sizes were a cause of joy for all church leaders, still only a third of the population participated in the principal reason for the churches' existence, the worship of God on the day of the resurrection.

3.4 Bush Ministry: hostels and camps

In rural towns, the churches' role as provider of social and community activities proceeded much as it did in Brisbane. Further west, however, where the population was sparser, more innovative and imaginative ways of contributing to the general community good were required. The Bush Brothers made a significant contribution. They had taken over responsibility for the management of Slade School in Warwick in 1936, when the Depression threatened its survival, and brothers held the positions of

¹⁰⁶ Morgan Gallup Polls, April-May 1955, nos. 1081-1092, the Roy Morgan Research Centre, North Sydney, 1955.

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Alomes, Mark Dober and Donna Hellier, 'The Social Context of Postwar Conservatism' in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Australia's First Cold War 1945- 1953: society, communism and culture*, vol. 1, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1984, pp. 5-6.

Headmaster, bursar and chaplain.¹⁰⁸ Equally as significant, the Brotherhood had founded separate hostels for boys and girls in Charleville, St George and Mitchell.¹⁰⁹ These hostels were for children whose parents, perhaps farm hands, could not afford to send their children to private boarding schools at Toowoomba or Brisbane.¹¹⁰ Though a number of rural towns had primary schools, few had State high schools in the 1950s. St George and Mitchell had primary schools, Charleville had a high school to year 10, after which any child wanting to pursue further secondary studies in a State high school had to look to Toowoomba or Brisbane.¹¹¹

Queensland, at this time, was ‘the most backward Australian State in the field of secondary education’,¹¹² and educational levels were markedly lower than in other States.¹¹³ Between 1924 and 1939 no new high schools were built in Queensland,¹¹⁴ and in Brisbane itself, there were only five State high schools in 1951, indicative of the lack of importance that education had in

¹⁰⁸ Peter Hollingworth and Lyn Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry and the Challenge of the Future*, Anglican Diocese of Brisbane, Brisbane, 1999, p. 53; R. A. E. Webb, *Brothers in the Sun: a history of the Bush Brotherhood Movement in the Outback of Australia*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1978, pp. 102-103.

¹⁰⁹ A boys’ hostel was opened at Charleville in 1919 and a section for girls added in 1929. By 1954, the expanded hostel catered for 150 children. For the Charleville hostel, see Webb, *Brothers in the Sun*, pp. 100-102. Hostels at St George and Mitchell were opened in 1954 with accommodation for 30 and 17 children respectively. See *Anglican*, 2 April 1954, p. 2 and 7 May 1954, p. 2. For St George’s hostel, see John Beardmore, ‘A Brief History of St George’s Children’s Hostel’, 1985, kept in the Diocesan Archives.

¹¹⁰ *Courier-Mail*, 21 November 1951, p. 2 reported that the Royal Commission on the Pastoral Industry, which tabled its report in Parliament a day earlier, said that while ‘property owners generally speaking are able to send their children away to boarding school’, pastoral employees found it much more difficult. An extension of the hostel system ‘at present successfully operated by organisations in various country towns’ was seen as the answer.

¹¹¹ In 1961, Years 11 and 12 were added to the Charleville State High School.

¹¹² Ross Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1984, p. 140.

¹¹³ Humphrey McQueen, ‘Queensland: a state of mind’, *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, p. 43.

¹¹⁴ Peter Charlton, *State of Mind: why Queensland is different*, Methuen Hayes, North Ryde, NSW, 1983, p. 139.

Queensland under successive Labor governments.¹¹⁵ The school leaving age was still only fourteen,¹¹⁶ and a 1957 report showed that there was high ‘wastage’ of gifted children, who left school prematurely.¹¹⁷ A later Premier – Joh Bjelke-Petersen – whose schooling finished at fourteen, summed up the attitude of many politicians to secondary and tertiary education, when he claimed proudly that he had learned more from living alone in a cow bail for fifteen years than if he had taken a degree at Oxford.¹¹⁸

State governments had a pragmatic approach to education. With a political and economic bias towards rural life – farming and mining – education was not seen as a high priority. In fact, an educated rural population could be a ‘potential source of dangerous destabilisation’.¹¹⁹ As well, Labor governments were strongly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, which benefited financially from the ‘Scholarship’ system, whereby money from scholarship students was paid directly to their schools. To encourage greater secondary education would undermine this advantage.¹²⁰ For these reasons, education above primary level was never a priority for Labor administrations, and it told in many areas of State administrative life. By the end of the Fifties,

¹¹⁵ There were just 19 State high schools in Queensland in 1950, only four of which were in Brisbane. See *Queensland Year Book 1950*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1951, p. 97. In April 1951, Cavendish Road State High School opened, followed by State high schools opening at Ipswich in July 1951, then Banyo, Indooroopilly and Salisbury in February 1954. See ‘Opening and closing dates of Queensland schools’, viewed at www.education.qld.gov.au on 20 January 2004.

¹¹⁶ Rae Wear, *Johannes Bjelke-Petersen: the Lord’s Premier*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 2002, p. 35 who quotes Country Party MP, T. R. Roberts that ‘there was such a thing as too much education’ and that ‘too much money can be spent on secondary education.’

¹¹⁷ In 1957 a report of the Department of Public Instruction showed that there was a high rate of ‘wastage’ of gifted children, that is, children who gained high results in scholarship examinations, but who did not then progress to matriculation or tertiary levels. See Wear, *Johannes Bjelke-Petersen*, p. 122.

¹¹⁸ Wear, *Johannes Bjelke-Petersen*, p. 36.

¹¹⁹ Ross Fitzgerald and Harold Thornton, *Labor in Queensland: from the 1880s to 1988*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1989, p. 127.

¹²⁰ Humphrey McQueen, ‘Queensland: a state of mind’, *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, p. 44.

two-thirds of Queensland's 91 senior Public Servants had entered the service with Junior or lower qualifications.¹²¹

The Hostels, therefore, met a real need in the west, providing accommodation to those children who would not otherwise have access to a primary school, or whose parents wanted them to take up the limited opportunity of a secondary education, at least in Charleville, to grade ten.¹²² In 1957, 67 girls and 55 boys were enrolled in All Saints' Hostel, Charleville.¹²³ The sisters of the Society of the Sacred Advent ran the girls' section, and the Bush Brothers were responsible for the boys' section. The atmosphere of the hostel must have had considerable influence on these children, although 'it would be difficult to gauge the effect this had on building up church life in the outback'.¹²⁴ Certainly there were difficulties: the need for different routines for children as young as three and as old as seventeen, occasional immorality, and denominational issues.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, it was an imaginative response to a difficult situation, one that received praise in 1937 from the then Federal Attorney-General, Robert Menzies, who on a visit to Charleville said: 'I was very much impressed with ... the Church of England hostels. The problem of bringing children into school from the remote parts of the country has always been a serious one and never before have I seen it solved by providing living

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 44.

¹²² Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, p. 59.

¹²³ *Minutes of the Brotherhood of St Paul*, Chapter Meeting, held on 11 December 1956 at Charleville, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane. See also *The Advent: the quarterly paper of the Society of the Sacred Advent*, January 1958, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Helen Amies, 'The Aims, Ideals and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent in Queensland 1892-1968', BA Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1968, p. 66.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 136.

establishments for them to enable the boys and girls to attend the ordinary State School; I think it is a really splendid idea'.¹²⁶

Another dimension of the ministry to children in the far west was the Diocesan Church Mail Bag School (CMBS), overseen for many years by Mrs Phyllis Lusk and which provided religious education lessons to primary aged children in remote areas.¹²⁷ Returned worksheets would be marked and comments made. By the mid-1950s, more than 4,000 children received the lessons, a figure which remained constant until the early 1960s. From 1946, the CMBS ran an annual camp for children from remote areas, often at Rainbow Bay, Coolangatta, where the Reverend W. P. B. Miles owned a holiday site. The Brothers also used this site for their own annual, and very popular, children's holiday program.¹²⁸ Children would board the train at various stops, and by the time the train arrived at Brisbane there would be up to 100 excited children, eagerly anticipating their trip to the sea.¹²⁹

Finally, the ministry to children found expression through more regular channels. Fr. Michael Paxton-Hall, a Brisbane priest, who joined the Brotherhood in 1948, was put in charge of the Taroom district, remaining there until 1953.¹³⁰ He recalled his experiences with rural children as perhaps the most significant work of the Bush Brotherhood ministry.

¹²⁶ Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, p. 53.

¹²⁷ These children received their secular education through Private Correspondence School or attendance at a 'one teacher' school. The CMBS lessons distributed rose from 2,587 in 1946 to 4,100 in 1956. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, p. 317.

¹²⁸ Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, p. 39 and p. 82. For an account of the first CMBS Camp at Cooloongatta, when boys and girls from Chinchilla, Massie, Winderra, Millmerran, Cobbadamana, Amiens, Jandowae 'and other places not even on the map', went on holiday, see *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1946, p. 293.

¹²⁹ Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, pp. 82-83.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.



Fig. 20 One of the popular children's camps run by the Bush Brothers at Rainbow Beach Coolangatta 1951.

'I was in charge of the Taroom-Miles district, which was literally 300 miles by 200 miles. The Taroom State School had 113 children and over 100 of those were Anglicans. ... [It] was unique to be able to go your local school and know that almost everybody in the school belonged to the Anglican Church. This sort of rubbed off; because we had a Sunday School at Holy Trinity, Taroom, we had nearly 100 children. I used to be able to have a children's service once a month before school, maybe Monday morning, maybe Friday morning, whenever I was in town and I could guarantee to get between 80 and 90 children at that service. I felt it was unique and I think for that reason

there was a real bond between the Bush Brother and the children of the district.¹³¹

The Bush Brotherhoods were not without their criticisms. Some thought that rural people got their Anglicanism too cheaply. They did not have to pay a stipend or maintain a church or rectory. They contributed little to overseas missions, and their giving in kind – petrol, food, lodging – was cheap and easy. Still others said that the ministry was overly clericalised, too dependent on the ordained Brothers. But such a criticism could have been made of the church anywhere. More telling perhaps, but not an articulated criticism of the time, is the lack of apparent interest in indigenous people and their issues.

Yet for all such criticisms, the Bush Brotherhood not only brought the ministry of the church to isolated areas, but also fostered a degree of ecumenism years before this became a standard expectation. Because few denominations had clergy in these remote areas, an Evensong on a homestead verandah would attract members of all denominations. Funerals became social occasions for the whole area, and although Roman Catholics might stand and listen outside the church, they joined in the procession to the graveyard. Paxton-Hall's experience, with more than 100 children of 113 claiming Anglican membership, perhaps reflects a situation where isolation created a leaning towards a unity that tempered sectarianism and minimised differences.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 56.

3.5 Conclusion

There was clarity about the role of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Brisbane in the Fifties. The Church was seen as a key player in offering moral guidance to the young. It was also a standard bearer for high moral values in the general community, a concern that many shared with the churches, especially in the years after World War II, when there was a desire to restore a moral decency, perceived to have been lost in the hosting of American troops in Brisbane. The church also had a role in the new suburbs, and provided social activities for young and old, especially at a time when other forms of recreation and social activities were limited. In the remote rural areas, the provision of hostels and assistance to children through religious education programs and annual camps, gave the Anglican Church a relevance, a role and a respect among many in the wider community.

*Those who say religion has nothing to do with politics,
do not know what religion is.*

Mahatma Ghandi, (1869-1948)

On 3 February 1959, the world awoke to the news that three of rock'n'roll's heroes had died suddenly and unexpectedly. Ritchie Valens, the 'Big Bopper' and Buddy Holly were all killed when their plane crashed in Iowa during a snowstorm. The loss of 22 year-old Holly, whose songs included *That'll Be the Day* and *Peggy Sue* (both released in 1957, with his band, the Crickets), was felt most keenly.

Politically, 1959 was a year of uncertainty. At one level, the fear of communism appeared to be receding. A first move to détente with Russia was taken when Soviet Premier, Nikita Krushchev arrived in Washington D.C. for an official tour of America. But at another level, threats to world peace continued. Fidel Castro became Premier of Cuba, following the flight of dictator Batista, and soon antagonised Americans by expropriating American-owned sugar mills and plantations. It was the beginning of a long alienation between the two countries.

Post-War prosperity and creativity continued to see new firsts: the maiden flight of the first hovercraft from Britain to France, the launch of the first Mini car by British Motor Corporation, and the sale of the first Barbie doll, dressed in a zebra-striped bathing suit. In Queensland, 1959 was the year in which both the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane and the State of Queensland marked their respective centenaries. One hundred years earlier,

the Reverend Edward Wyndham Tufnell had been consecrated a bishop by John Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Westminster Abbey, on 14 June 1859 and designated the first Bishop of Brisbane. Queensland became a self-governing State, with Brisbane as its capital city, and it was necessary to create a separate diocese for the new State, responsibility for which had previously been divided between Sydney and Newcastle dioceses.¹

State celebrations continued throughout the year. They included a 'Brisbane Saga', which presented in song and sound Brisbane's struggle against fire and flood, its sorrows and triumphs, its aspirations and hopes. Later a 'Cavalcade of Transport' – cars, bicycles, police vehicles, army tanks and ambulances paraded through the streets of the city to the joy and wonder of watching crowds, who also enjoyed a brief fly-over of aircraft. The greetings of the Premier, Frank Nicklin, were taken in a car named the 'Spirit of Queensland' to towns and councils throughout Queensland on a Centenary Goodwill Tour. In December, there was a re-enactment of the arrival of Queensland's first governor, during which the proclamation that declared Queensland a separate, self-governing State was read from the balcony of what had been the first Government House and which was, by 1959, the residence of the Dean of St John's Cathedral.²

¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 195. Until 1859, Newcastle diocese had responsibility for ministry in the southern part of Queensland with the northern boundary set at a point slightly north of Mackay. Sydney diocese had responsibility for all of the State north of Mackay, until the diocese of North Queensland was created in 1878, when the boundary between the two dioceses was altered to its current place, just north of Bundaberg.

² For a list of State activities see *Centenary Cavalcade 1859-1959: a record of the principal events staged in connection with the Queensland Centenary celebrations during 1959, and an abridged history of Queensland*, Penrod, Brisbane, 1959; Arthur Smout (ed.), *Queensland Centenary: the first 100 years 1859-1959: Queensland centenary souvenir book*, Penrod, Brisbane, 1959. *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1961, p. 129 records the unveiling on 10 December 1959 of 'a monument in the Cathedral precincts to

Diocesan celebrations were part of the State celebrations, and came to a climax on the morning of Sunday 14 June 1959, the exact date on which Tufnell had been consecrated a bishop 100 years earlier. Six thousand people made their way to the Festival Hall in central Brisbane, the only venue large enough for such a number, for a celebratory Eucharist. Tickets had been sold through the parishes in the weeks beforehand, but so great was the demand that an overflow was arranged for the nearby Queens Park.³ In the Festival Hall, the 78-year-old Archbishop of Brisbane, Reginald Halse presided at the Centenary Thanksgiving Eucharist. Eighteen other bishops from Australia, New Zealand and New Guinea had overcome the tyranny of distance to join him. A semi-circle of 'thrones' had been set for these bishops behind the specially prepared stage altar, draped in red. In Queens Park, a further 500 people gathered before another temporary altar, this one erected on the spot where the original St John's Church – precursor to the Cathedral of St John – had stood, and in which Bishop Tufnell had been enthroned on September 4, 1860.

It was an exultant, vibrant and grandly imperious celebration. A few minutes before 11.00 a.m., 150 priests, deacons and theological students in black cassocks and white surplices processed into the Festival Hall. Visiting bishops, splendid in red, black and white convocation robes followed, after whom came a crucifer and acolytes, who led in the bishops of Queensland, robed in white copes and mitres. The liturgy began. Led by the cathedral choir, the people 'sang with joy and enthusiasm the several hymns ... the

commemorate the fact that one hundred years before, the Royal Proclamation was read from the Deanery balcony (then Government House) thus creating the State of Queensland.'

³ *Courier-Mail*, 12 June 1959, p. 5.

Creed and the responses'. The Archbishop of Perth, Robert Moline, an Englishman like Halse, preached and spoke of the progress made in the Diocese of Brisbane, especially during Archbishop Halse's episcopate: 'great, if not greater progress, than in any comparable period of its history'.⁴ All 'joined in thanksgiving for the blessings of the past and sought God's blessing on their future endeavours'.⁵

It was a 'spectacular, but solemn peak' to a week of Diocesan centenary celebrations, which had included a civic reception by the Lord Mayor for 23 bishops and archbishops at the City Hall, an evening of public talks given by visiting bishops, which attracted 2,000 people, a 'missionary cavalcade recalling great moments of the church's history' presented at St John's Cathedral, and on the evening of Sunday's Centenary Eucharist, an 'Anglican Rally', attended by another 4,000 people.⁶

Archbishop Halse was clearly delighted. He gave 'deep and sincere thanksgiving for all that has happened.'⁷ The Centenary Thanksgiving Eucharist in particular, was 'the outstanding and most glorious feature of the celebrations'. 'The whole atmosphere of the Festival Hall with its 5,000 [sic] worshippers had to be experienced to be understood ... There is a line to a hymn which sums up my own impression: "lost in wonder, love and praise" for God's great goodness and compassion in his dealings with us in the past, and for his grace and guidance in the future.'⁸

⁴ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 201.

⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 15 June 1959, p. 3.

⁶ For more details see *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 195; *Courier-Mail*, 10 June 1959, p. 6 and p. 12; 11 June 1959, p. 3; 12 June 1959, p. 5; 13 June 1959, p. 7; and 15 June 1959, p. 10.

⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 195.

⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1959, p. 197.



Fig. 21 The Bishops who gathered for the Centenary of the Diocese,

June 1959

Muschamp (Kalgoorlie), Garnsey (Gippsland), McCall (Rockhampton), Cranswick (Tasmania), Frewer (North West Australia), Clements (Grafton), Moyes (Armidale), Gough (Sydney), Hudson (Carpentaria), Halse, Shevill (North Queensland), Woods (Melbourne), Winter (St Arnaud), Housden (Newcastle), Burgmann (Canberra and Goulbourn), Leslie (Bathurst), Hawkins (Bunbury)

The Diocesan celebrations were part of the State celebrations. State and Church marked a common centenary together, and the Diocese saw itself, not as removed from the State, but fully integrated, an inclusive church, a 'church-in-society', with a ministry to all.

4.1 *Anglicans in Society.*

Considerable numbers of Anglicans in the Fifties were nominal in allegiance, colloquially referred to by clergy as 'four wheelers': wheeled to church in prams for their baptism (or 'christening'), in a car for their wedding, and in a hearse for their burial.⁹ Others were known as 'C and Es' – Christmas and Easter attendees. It was at these festivals that numbers at parish churches jumped. In 1955, average Sunday attendance at the parish church of St Andrew's Indooroopilly was around 55.¹⁰ At Easter there were 286 communicants and at Christmas 314. At Roma, a large country town 480 kilometres west of Brisbane, an average of 60 Sunday communicants became 190 and 289 at Easter and Christmas respectively. At the inner city parish church of Holy Trinity Fortitude Valley, 100 became 200 and 335. Such figures suggest the nominal size of Anglicanism. Anglicanism for such people was an inherited religion: you were born into the Church of England.¹¹ Nominal Anglicans would have enjoyed the comment attributed to Winston

⁹ 'Churchgoing in Australia', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, vol. 22, no. 4, 16 June 1958, p. 51.

¹⁰ For communicant numbers at each parish, see the respective Parish Service Registers, kept at the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

¹¹ K. S. Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour' in A. F. Davies and S. Encel (eds), *Australian Society: a sociological introduction*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1965, p. 44.

Churchill, that he was not so much a pillar within the church as a buttress – supporting it from the outside.

Nominalism was a greater problem for Anglicans than for other church traditions. An Australian survey of 1955 suggested that for every 100 regular worshippers at church on a Sunday, 45 were Roman Catholic, 21 were Anglican, 10 Methodist, 7 Presbyterian and 4 Baptist, whereas Anglicans formed about 34 per cent of the population, according to the 1954 census.¹² If attendance at public worship was the test of the strength of a denomination, then Anglicanism was by no means the strongest.

Theologically, baptism was the rite of entry into the church, and in the Fifties, what some pejoratively called ‘indiscriminate baptism’, was widespread. For the vast majority of clergy who followed this practice, it was part of the ‘welcoming church’ and related to the view that every Church of England family – including nominal ones – had a right to bring their child to baptism without question. Many city and suburban parishes had more than 100 baptisms a year. In 1960, Holy Trinity Fortitude Valley had 184 baptisms, St Stephen’s Coorparoo, 179 baptisms, the parish of Chermside, 151 baptisms.¹³ Baptism was a widespread, acceptable, cultural and religious rite of passage.¹⁴

¹² ‘Churchgoing in Australia’, pp. 50-51. See also Morgan Gallup Polls, April-May 1955, nos. 1081-1092, the Roy Morgan Research Centre, North Sydney, 1955, which gives similar figures.

¹³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 47.

¹⁴ An extract from a P. D. James novel, *A Taste for Death* catches the attitude of many. Two high-ranking detectives are conversing. One, a woman, says to her male colleague:

‘If you have a kid will you have him christened?’

‘Yes. Why do you ask?’

‘So you believe in it, God, the Church, religion?’

‘I didn’t say so.’

‘Then why?’

Translating this nominal strength into active participation eluded the capacity of the Diocese. Part of the problem was that Anglicanism had not developed a similar theology to that found in the Roman Catholic Church, where attendance at Mass was obligatory, both as a mark of membership and also to protect one's soul from future eternal punishment.¹⁵ Part of the problem was that many felt they were simply too busy with work and family commitments to worship on Sundays.¹⁶

With the need to stimulate active participation, much effort went into all forms of evangelism: parish missions, evangelistic talks and visitation programs.¹⁷ In the country town of Dalby in 1957, the charismatic Bishop Ian Shevill, of North Queensland, led a Mission and visitation.¹⁸ Forty 'Boys on Bikes' dropped invitation cards into every home as part of the preparation. After a series of evening talks, the mission culminated in Sunday Eucharists with over 300 communicants, and 74 'Rules of Life' cards offered at the

'My family have been christened for 400 years, longer I suppose. Yours too, I imagine. It doesn't seem to have done us any harm. I don't see why I should be the first to break the tradition, not without some positive feelings against it, which I don't happen to have.' See P. D. James, *A Taste for Death*, Penguin, Faber and Faber, 1986, p. 323.

¹⁵ See Hugh Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim: Hugh Lunn's tap-dancing, bugle blowing memoir of a well-spent boyhood*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1989, pp. 33-34, for a description of the spiritual themes and anxieties associated with Roman Catholic Confession and Communion.

¹⁶ Stephen Alomes, Mark Dober and Donna Hellier, 'The Social Context of Postwar Conservatism', in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Australia's First Cold War 1945- 1953: society, communism and culture*, vol. 1, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1984, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ David Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs: the religious culture of Australian cities in the 1950s', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 97, 1991, p. 413. In a visitation program, teams of lay people would doorknock an area to discover the whereabouts of nominal adherents and invite them and their children to church and Sunday School

¹⁸ His reputation as a 'missioner' had been established when he led a highly successful 'Mission to Youth' in Adelaide in 1952, and which concluded with a great torchlit procession of 'silent witnesses' moving towards the floodlit St Peter's Cathedral. See Ian Shevill, *Half Time*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1966, p. 98.

altar.¹⁹ This was a substantial number in a town where the average Sunday congregation in the months before numbered about 100 communicants.²⁰ There was a belief at this time, not that people were unchristian, but that their Christian faith simply needed to be re-awakened and re-invigorated.

Despite Parish Missions and visitation programs, many nominal Anglicans remained resistant to greater participation in their local parish. In 1960, Archbishop Halse lamented that 'the personal Mission efforts of communicants to attract their neighbours to full active membership in the Church is often lacking.'²¹ Only two-thirds of the children on the Sunday School rolls attended each Sunday,²² and there was a significant drop-out rate when children reached their teenage years, often after their confirmation. The Laying-on-of-Hands-in-Confirmation, far from 'confirming' a greater involvement in the church, became for most, the moment when church involvement came to an end, or at best, a temporary end. This was not a new problem, but few had an obvious solution.

For all the problems of nominalism, the Anglican Church also excited tremendous loyalty from its core members. Loyalty to one's denominational tradition was a hallmark of these times, as well as loyalty to one's suburban parish. If a priest was temperamentally unsuited to parish ministry, or was found wanting in some aspect of teaching or pastoral care, parishioners

¹⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1957, p. 265 and 1 October 1957, p. 293; *Anglican*, 27 September 1957, p. 3. For the report of other missions with 'very large attendances', including St Stephen's Coorparoo, see *Anglican*, 10 April 1959, p. 1.

²⁰ See the communicant figures for Sunday 15 September 1957, and the months beforehand, in 'Parish Service Registers, Dalby Parish, 22 April 1956 – 15 March 1972', kept at the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

²¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 95.

²² In the *Year Books of the Diocese of Brisbane*, the number of 'scholars' enrolled in a parish are recorded alongside the 'average attendance' – which is about two-thirds.

remained loyal, patiently accepting the status quo, until a new priest was appointed. Many lay people in every parish were highly committed. They knew why they were Anglican, supported the parish priest and found a home in the worship and life of a parish church. They ranged from formidable, respected and talented personalities such as Roland St John, the Diocesan Registrar, and Miss Hilda Beaumont, Director of the Diocesan Board of Education, to benefactors such as Sir Edwin Marsden Tooth, to faithful parishioners such as Mr W. M. Stewart, who for 53 years rang the bells of St John's Cathedral and could recall the names of those bell ringers on duty when the cathedral was consecrated on 28 October 1910.²³ The so-called 'ordinary' laity in all the parishes – men and women whose names are unknown to history – possessed a simple and straightforward faith that kept the barque of Anglicanism 'steady as she goes' in these comfortable years.

4.2 *Ministry to All*

Although the Church of England in Australia was not 'established' as in England, something of the ethos of an established church gently pervaded Anglican thinking. Many civic religious ceremonies were expressed through the Anglican Church. The cathedral was usually the place where special liturgies were held, especially on national days of celebration or mourning. In 1960 special liturgies were held for Anzac Day,²⁴ for the legal profession, the

²³ William Stegemann, *Where Prayer Has Been Valid: a history of the Cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, Brisbane from Penal Settlement to 2000*, privately published, 2000, p. 71.

²⁴ The Brisbane priest Canon D. J. Garland was largely responsible for devising the public ceremonies and rituals of Anzac Day: the march, the two minutes silence, the wreath laying at memorial sites and the special church liturgy. See numerous publications by Dr John Moses, including John Moses,

Institute of Engineers, the Bankers' Society, St John's Ambulance Brigade, the Royal National Association, the Air Force and Army, Commonwealth Youth Sunday, the Young Australia League, the Royal Society of St. George, the Brisbane Boys Grammar Foundation Day and the Public Servants' Anglican Society, all liturgies seen as 'evangelistic opportunities to reach members of these various groups and professions'.²⁵

One event that captured the public attention was the marriage of Rhondda Alder Kelly to Noel John Keith Ullman on 4 June 1949.²⁶ Rhondda had been crowned Miss Queensland and then Miss Australia in 1946. After a six month tour around the world, she resettled in her home city, Brisbane, as a radio announcer for 4BK, until her marriage to Noel, upon which, as was the custom of the time, she gave up her employment.²⁷ Rhondda was the first post-War Miss Australia, and her crowning marked the beginnings of the glory days for the Miss Australia quest, when home crowds in their thousands would welcome a Miss Australia. On Rhondda's wedding day, no fewer than 5,000 turned up at the cathedral to catch a glimpse of Brisbane's own beauty.²⁸ Friends and family found they could not get to their seats in the cathedral. Of those who managed to crowd into the cathedral, some stood on pews or clung to pillars to get a better view, and gave a running commentary

'Canon David John Garland and the Anzac Tradition', *St Mark's Review*, no. 153, winter 1993, pp. 12-21; John Moses, 'The Struggle for Anzac Day 1916-1930 and the Role of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 88, no. 1, June 2002, pp. 54-74. See also David Hilliard, 'Anglicanism', in S. L. Goldberg and F. B. Smith (eds), *Australian Cultural History*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1988, p. 17.

²⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 120.

²⁶ 'St John's Cathedral Wedding Register', kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

²⁷ Katherine Beard, *Miss Australia: a retrospective 1908-2000*, Crawford House, Adelaide, 2001, pp. 50-51; Kay Saunders and Julie Ustinoff, *A Crowning Achievement: a study in Australian beauty, business and charitable enterprises*, National Museum of Australia Press, Canberra, 2005, pp. 26-27.

²⁸ *Sunday Mail*, 5 June 1949, p. 1.

to those behind. Outside 3,000 waited. Extra police were called in to ensure good behaviour. When the bride and groom emerged at the end of the wedding, the crowds jostled the pair so much, that the blonde Rhondda lost her long veil three times, people accidentally treading on it, tearing it from her head.²⁹

This wedding crowd exceeded the many who turned out to welcome the first visit of an Archbishop of Canterbury to Australia, Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, eighteen months later, in November 1950. A Diocesan reception was held in the cathedral, (attended by no less than ten bishops from various dioceses, the largest gathering of Anglican bishops in Brisbane to that date), and a State reception at Parliament House. This was followed a welcome at City Hall, attended by 3,000 'parishioners and 100 clergymen', a combined Anglican schools liturgy, visits to St Francis' Theological College and the University of Queensland, where he addressed Senate members, staff and students. The culmination was a morning Eucharist and an evening farewell liturgy at the cathedral, attended by 2,000 people and 1,600 people respectively.³⁰ His comments on a variety of matters were duly reported in the press: the inevitability of a Welfare State, the danger of communism, the need for population limits on cities such as Brisbane, praise of university colleges, the trivial differences between church traditions, and the primacy of church authority over secular authority.³¹ Such pronouncements were seen to carry weight, since the church, represented by the Archbishop, had an integral

²⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

³⁰ *Courier-Mail*, 13 November 1950, p. 3.

³¹ For Fisher's comments, see *Courier-Mail*, 9 November 1950, p. 3; 10 November 1950, p. 5; 13 November 1950, p. 3.

part to play in supporting and upholding the social fabric. These two events – a notable wedding and an equally notable episcopal visit – reinforced the perception that the cathedral was an important public centre for significant social occasions.

In the Fifties, the cathedral was also a key patron of the arts and a centre for excellence in music. In 1947, the formidable Louise Grimes, deputy organist for the previous two years, succeeded her one time teacher George Sampson, who had been Cathedral Organist for the previous 49 years, and who had a significant public profile in Brisbane.³² Louise Grimes was especially keen on 20th century music and under her direction first performances of Benjamin Britten's *St Nicolas* and *Noye's Fludde* were given.³³ The Boys' Choir may have lacked brilliance, but enough boys were recruited through Grimes work as an itinerant Primary School specialist music teacher to sustain the tradition.³⁴ Under her tutelage, hundreds of boys were taught to read music, picked up a smattering of theology and an appreciation of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

A highlight occurred in May 1955, when the boy choristers of St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney visited St John's Cathedral and the combined choirs sang Mattins (broadcast by ABC radio) and Evensong (broadcast by

³² For a tribute to Sampson, who died in late 1949, see Dean Barrett's obituary in *Church Chronicle*, 1 February 1950, pp. 43-44. For a summary of Louise Grimes' life, see Stegemann, *Where Prayer Has Been Valid*, chapter 7; *Courier-Mail*, 21 September 1990, p. 21; and a draft contribution to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* prepared by Dr Robert Boughen, a copy of which is in the possession of the author.

³³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1957, p. 300 and 1 November 1959, p. 330.

³⁴ Grimes taught music at West End Primary School, South Brisbane Intermediate School, (now part of State High School), Buranda Primary School, Junction Park Primary School, Greenslopes Primary School and Moorooka Primary School.

4BK).³⁵ The cathedral was packed, with people standing around the walls. With such an enthusiastic response a return visit to Sydney led to a Three Choir's Festival, which included the choir of St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne. The highlight was the performance of Bach's *St Matthew's Passion*, accompanied by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra and broadcast by ABC radio. Grimes also brought music to a wider public, through occasional ABC radio recordings of the Cathedral Choral Evensong and music appreciation sessions. In these ways St John's Cathedral, as with other Anglican cathedrals around Australia, was a leader in the musical life of the city.³⁶



Fig. 22 Christmas Pageant for Children in the Cathedral in the early '60's

³⁵ Stegemann, *Where Prayer Has Been Valid*, p. 72; *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1955, p. 174.

³⁶ Miss Grimes resigned in 1959. She had worked well with Dean Taylor, but less so with his extrovert successor Dean Baddeley after 1958. She took up the position of Dean of Women and senior music lecturer at Kedron Park Training College and was described in her obituary as a 'key figure in the development of music education in Queensland schools'. See *Courier-Mail*, 21 September 1990, p. 21.

Like salt with a meal, and following the teaching of Jesus, the Anglican Church sought to contribute to society, drawing out the flavour. This was a church, not separate from society, but seeking to be integrated within it.³⁷ Anglicans threw their efforts into community based organisations. Believing that they had some kind of pastoral responsibility for the whole community, Anglican clergy responded to civic, societal, pastoral and liturgical requests. Often they took a lead in local affairs, saying the prayers at local Anzac Day commemorations, participating in Rotary, and speaking at public gatherings. Anglican laity were involved in a whole range of community based voluntary social welfare assistance. The *1991 National Church Life Survey* revealed that Anglicans were the second most active participants in public community work for the benefit of non-members.³⁸ Although the survey represents the situation in the late 1980s, it is representative of a mentality that had been present for decades.

Perhaps the single most significant indicator of the inclusive nature of the Anglican Church was the teaching of Religious Instruction (RI) in State schools. Whereas the Roman Catholic Church was developing its own separate schooling system, the Anglican Church saw its 'constituency', as it were, within the institutions of society.³⁹ Each week clergy from almost every

³⁷ See Bruce Kaye, *A Church Without Walls: being Anglican in Australia*, Dove, North Blackburn, Victoria, 1995. Kaye argues that the 'church-in-society' model is the distinctive element of Anglicanism and the key to its future. For a critique of his views, see Paul Avis, *The Anglican Understanding of the Church: an introduction*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 2000, pp. 15-19.

³⁸ Peter Kaldor, John Bellamy, Sandra Moore *et al.* (eds), *Mission Under the Microscope: keys to effective and sustainable mission*, Openbook, Adelaide, 1995, pp. 20-21.

³⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 201. There were 1,559 schools in Queensland in 1958, of which 254 were Roman Catholic, 16 were Anglican, 8 were Grammar schools, 14 other denominational schools and 2 'undenominational'. There were about 292,000 children attending

parish, often with a team of lay assistants, would enter primary and secondary State schools for half an hour of religious education at every year level.⁴⁰ In 1958, 827 lessons were given each week to 41,168 Anglican children, the bulk of whom would have been nominally Anglican, and at primary school.⁴¹ This represents an average of more than 40 children per class, and was twice the number of children attending Sunday School each week. A Diocesan report in 1960 on the teaching of RI in State schools claimed that 'very, very few clergy' did not consider RI worthwhile, and that they cherished the opportunity such teaching gave to contact both church and other families.⁴² Denominational teaching was much preferred to 'all in together' teaching – a euphemism for ecumenical classes. It was feared that such a method would break the valuable personal contact between priest and his own Anglican children and could result in the teaching of an emasculated version of Christianity.⁴³ Of 89 clergy who responded to a Diocesan survey, 88 wanted to keep 'Anglicans for Anglicans',⁴⁴ although country clergy were usually prepared to teach non-Anglicans also. Rural school classes were smaller in size, and often only the larger churches – Anglican and Roman Catholic – had the resources to place a clergyman in a modest-sized town.

schools in Queensland. See *Queensland Year Book 1959*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1960, pp. 96-98.

⁴⁰ By 1960, in Brisbane, over half the parishes were using lay help in RI, of whom one-third were registered with the Education Department. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1962*, p. 170.

⁴¹ Taken from 'Parochial Information', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1958*, pp. 44-67.

⁴² 'Report of the Commission on Religious Education in State Schools', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, pp. 127-128.

⁴³ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, p. 585.

⁴⁴ 'Report of the Commission on Religious Education in State Schools', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 127. All parochial clergy (most of the 133 clergy in the diocese) were sent a questionnaire, and 89 responses were received.

However, there were weighty difficulties. In a burgeoning new suburb with growing numbers of families with children, classes were often large, and RI teaching could form the major component of a clergyman's weekly routine. There was no agreed Diocesan syllabus – an astonishing situation – leaving clergy and lay teachers to personally prepare subject matter and structure for their lessons.⁴⁵ It was an immense, almost impossible, task: limited clerical resources facing huge numbers of children. Despite the annual Summer Schools, which offered teaching hints and helps, too many clergy remained untrained in managing the discipline of a class and in teaching techniques.

These difficulties could easily lead to despair and disillusionment. In 1953, the Rector of Bundaberg, Canon Harry Richards made the decision to give up teaching RI.⁴⁶ He taught in 27 of the 35 State schools in his parish, reaching 1,700 children each week. The work consumed five mornings and two afternoons every week, and involved much travelling. Classes were large and he taught under conditions 'that no secular teacher would tolerate'. The schools dominated the whole parish program, he said, causing other ministry needs to be overlooked. Furthermore, 'it was extremely doubtful whether our visits to the schools were bringing the children or their parents into closer touch with the church.' This was the key issue. It was more profitable, he concluded to pour time and energy into parish visiting and evangelism.⁴⁷

Canon Richards' step was unusual, but it brought to the surface a question that concerned many clergy: did RI, divorced from worship, have any real value? The Rector of Beaudesert, Fr. Harry Griffiths, criticized Canon

⁴⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 127.

⁴⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1953, p. 233.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Richards' action in the next edition of the *Church Chronicle*. The teaching of children was paramount, he said. You never knew what seeds you were sowing that would later bear fruit. Religious knowledge led to habits of worship and not vice versa. 'We should concentrate on the children', he concluded. It was a theme that rang a bell in those days, in which it was believed that 'we get to the parents through the children'.⁴⁸

That RI teaching ushered in a deeper understanding of the implications of the Gospel is uncertain, despite the claims of Griffiths and later of Archbishop Strong, who in 1964 said that 'one of the fundamental reasons for the growing paganism in England today' is the failure to be able to teach RI in State schools.⁴⁹ Perhaps such teaching would have carried greater conviction if the class teacher, rather than a visitor to the school, had taught an agreed RI syllabus? Nor, as Canon Richards observed, is there any cogent evidence that RI stimulated greater worship and involvement in the local church.

Whatever the merits and demerits of teaching RI in State schools the practice was a reflection of the belief that the Anglican Church had a mission to the whole of society and not just to its own. It reinforced a perception that the Anglican Church was part of the very fabric of Queensland society. The Diocese had not set up a comprehensive school system, but sought to be integrated in the systems and institutions already in existence. Private Anglican schools were few in number, and had grown by virtue of the needs of the time, and not because of Diocesan policy. The Anglican Church's boundaries were inclusive, not exclusive, a church without walls.

⁴⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1953, p. 267.

⁴⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 288.

4.3 *Sectarianism and Mass Rallies*

Sectarianism was a notable feature of the Fifties. There was little interaction between denominations and a degree of suspicion. The mood is captured well by Keith Rayner, who was a young Anglican priest in the parish of Sunnybank from 1959 to 1963. He writes:

As a young clergyman I was serving in a small country town in southern Queensland. There were two or three clergy of other churches, but we barely made contact with one another. Our people constantly met and interacted in all kinds of community activities – sport, social clubs, civic affairs. The one area in which they separated was religion. Their Christian allegiance actually divided them. I remember to my shame an occasion when one of the other clergy was in hospital. I was visiting my people and – somewhat hesitantly – decided I should call on him. I paused at the door of his room, he saw me coming, and deliberately raised his newspaper as a symbolic barrier. Without a word I turned and left the room. I still shudder when I think of it.⁵⁰

If Anglicans had some sense of being a ‘church-in-society’, others, in particular the Roman Catholic Church, had a much more insular and discrete outlook.⁵¹ A separate school system, resistance to the keeping of national

⁵⁰ Sermon, preached by the Right Reverend Keith Rayner at the inauguration of the National Council of Churches, St Christopher’s Catholic Cathedral, Canberra, 3 July 1994. The text of the sermon can be found at the National Council of Churches’ website www.ncca.org.au/about_us/national_forums/inaugural_forum/papers_reports/Sermon_Rayner, viewed on 3 October 2004.

⁵¹ For a history of the Roman Catholic Church in Queensland in the Fifties, see T. P. Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1986.

occasions such as Anzac Day,⁵² difficulties in acknowledging loyalty to the Queen,⁵³ private confession, and an Irish Catholic minority complex, all contributed to a Catholic subculture in the Fifties.⁵⁴ Catholics would not enter the churches of other denominations, even for the funeral of a friend or family member, and rivalry between Catholic and non-Catholic school children was normal. 'Catholics, Catholics sit on logs, eating the bellies out of frogs', yelled the State School children, while the Roman Catholic children retorted, 'Catholics, Catholics ring the bell, while you State School kids go to hell'. The Brisbane novelist Hugh Lunn, a Roman Catholic, says that he 'was never sure what these State School kids were, except that they were some sort of enemy of our religion'.⁵⁵

Sectarianism created a strong cohesion among Catholics, who saw themselves as a minority, both misunderstood and threatened.⁵⁶ Others saw them as different and even threatening, feelings exacerbated by a perception that Catholics were too close to the centre of political power in Queensland.⁵⁷ Queensland journalist Keith Dunstan, an Anglican, recorded a conversation in the Fifties in which he raised the thought of becoming a Roman Catholic to a

⁵² On talkback radio 612 4QR on 19 April 2004 'Val from Oxley' spoke of growing up in the Fifties in Brisbane and being warned at her Roman Catholic school that participation in an Anzac Day service was a sin.

⁵³ Naval personnel who were Roman Catholic were told to 'fall out' when the Colours were to be dedicated by the Duke of Edinburgh in 1954 at Flinders Naval Depot. See the report in *Church Chronicle*, 1 May, 1954, p. 145.

⁵⁴ The terms 'Roman Catholic' or 'Catholic' are used throughout this thesis to refer to that Christian Church which is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

⁵⁵ Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim*, p. 37; Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: religion in Australian history*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1987, p. 238.

⁵⁶ David Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill: religion in Brisbane in the 1950s', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, February 1991, p. 248; Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour', p. 46; Craig McGregor, *Profile of Australia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1966, p. 343; Hogan, *Sectarian Strand*, pp. 237-243. For the difficulties of 'mixed marriages', which exacerbated denominational relations, see Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour', p. 53. For examples of Anglican antagonism to Roman Catholicism, see *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1954, p. 145; 1 October 1954, p. 295; 1 April 1956, p. 108.

⁵⁷ See below pp. 96-100 for a fuller treatment of this theme.

friend. The friend, a Brisbane lawyer, who claimed to be an agnostic, yet attended an Anglican church once a month, was deeply shocked. 'He would not have minded my becoming an atheist or an agnostic, but becoming a Catholic was really shocking, like reviling one's club in public or turning on one's old school'.⁵⁸

Two things marginally tempered sectarianism in Queensland in the Fifties. One was the rural nature of the State, which required Christians of all persuasions in more remote areas to moderate their religious differences. The other was the clear friendliness of the two old and venerable archbishops – the Roman Catholic James Duhig, and the Anglican Reginald Halse.⁵⁹ Duhig and Halse sat on the University of Queensland Senate together, carried out much the same kind of roles and activities for their respective churches, and occasionally their paths would cross. 'The city became accustomed to seeing the two faces side by side – dignified, kindly, fraternal.'⁶⁰ During the 1954 Royal Tour, Halse invited Duhig to be present at the liturgy of welcome to the Queen in St John's Cathedral, but church unity was not yet ready for such a grand gesture. Officially, Duhig's Church could not possibly countenance Catholic participation in an Anglican act of worship. Duhig tactfully declined. It would not be proper for him to 'intrude when the Queen's own Church people were doing her honour.' He sent a message of peace and goodwill.⁶¹ This goodwill and friendliness has been sustained by all their successors.

⁵⁸ Keith Dunstan, *No Brains at All: an autobiography*, Viking, Ringwood, Victoria, 1990, pp. 158-159.

⁵⁹ Boland, *James Duhig*, p. 366; Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonard's, New South Wales, 1993, p. 226. In 1960, Halse was 79 year old and Duhig was 89.

⁶⁰ Boland, *James Duhig*, p. 366.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 366.



Fig. 23 Reginald Halse and James Duhig

The two venerable archbishops of Brisbane 1960

Attendances at Roman Catholic churches were always much higher than at Anglican churches. Their bishops had much greater power to control votes for State and Federal elections, and the turnout for marches and rallies was always huge. No denomination could rival the massive Roman Catholic rallies of the Fifties. The 10,000 that turned out for the Anglican Procession of Witness in 1961, was small in comparison to the annual Catholic Corpus Christi procession in May or June at the Exhibition Grounds, which was hailed as the largest regularly held in Australia at the time.⁶² Archbishop Duhig's

⁶² *Courier-Mail* 12 June 1950, p. 5, which said that 50,000 attended that year's Corpus Christi procession. See also Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill', p. 249.

figure of 100,000 for attendances in the mid-Fifties may have been exaggerated, but certainly many tens of thousands attended.⁶³ Every Catholic school sent hundreds of students who marched in uniform alongside parishes and migrant groups. In 1955, the *Catholic Leader* doubted if 'a greater demonstration of faith was seen in any other city of the Commonwealth', and boasted that worshippers 'represented every calling in life from the office boy to the Judge and Cabinet Minister. They came from every quarter of the city and suburbs and from the near country towns.'⁶⁴

There were other large Catholic gatherings at this time including the arrival in June 1951 of the pilgrim statue of Our Lady of Fatima, which was being taken around the world by air as the symbol of the Catholic crusade against communism.⁶⁵ After an evening arrival at Eagle Farm airport, where 5,000 people thronged the tarmac, the statue was driven in a decorated car to St Stephen's Cathedral. More than 300 cars followed in procession, the roads lined with people singing hymns and praying. Outside the Catholic cathedral, Elizabeth Street was blocked with people trying to get a glimpse of the statue. A thousand people attended the subsequent midnight Mass.⁶⁶ Two years later, Fr. Patrick Peyton's Rosary Crusade attracted another huge crowd at the Exhibition Grounds, as did the ceremonies to mark the closing of the Marian Year in 1954. Protestants and Anglicans looked on these massive gatherings and saw in them not just idolatry and superstition, but also a powerful statement of Roman Catholic separateness.

⁶³ *Catholic Leader*, 16 June 1955, p. 1; Boland, *James Duhig*, p. 364. For a description of the procession, see Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim*, p. 58.

⁶⁴ *Catholic Leader*, 16 June 1955, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Catholic Leader*, 7 June 1951, p.1; Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill', p. 251.

⁶⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 5 June 1951, p. 1.

Other churches also organised massive demonstrations of faith. From 1949 to 1951 the Methodist Church organised a series of national evangelistic campaigns called the 'Crusade for Christ'. Then, in 1953, Methodist leader, the Reverend Alan Walker, led a 'Mission to the Nation'. A skilled communicator, he heightened community awareness of what Christianity could contribute to Australian society. In Brisbane 6,000 marched in a procession of witness and 10,000 gathered in and around the City Hall.⁶⁷ So encouraging and successful was the 'Mission' that it was repeated three times until 1957, although 1953 remained the high point.

Walker's 'Missions' paved the way for a more broadly-based Protestant rally, the Billy Graham Crusade in 1959, when the evangelist visited Australia and New Zealand.⁶⁸ According to the *Courier-Mail*, the 'biggest crowd ever assembled for a Queensland religious meeting' converged on the Exhibition Grounds on 31 May 1959.⁶⁹ The Premier Frank Nicklin attended as a guest, joining 80,000 others, and that day, about 4,000 people made a 'decision for Christ'. Over the two weeks of the Crusade in Brisbane, over 300,000 attended the rallies, with 12,000 'enquirers' – those who had left their places in the crowd, at the invitation of Billy Graham, to 'give their lives to Jesus

⁶⁷ Arnold Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: a history of Methodism in South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1985, p. 365; *Courier-Mail*, 20 July 1953, p. 3; David Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: a study of Adelaide and Brisbane', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1988, pp. 225-226.

⁶⁸ Stuart Barton Babbage and Ian Siggins, *Light Beneath the Cross: the story of Billy Graham's Crusade in Australia*, Kingswood, Melbourne, 1960; Stuart Piggin, 'Billy Graham in Australia, 1959 – Was it Revival?', *Lucas: an Evangelical History Review*, no. 6, 1989, pp. 2-33.

⁶⁹ *Courier-Mail*, 1 June 1959, p. 1. On page 3 a headline overstated the significance of the Crusade, claiming that the 'Australian Crusade Could "Spread Revival Through World"'. An aerial photo from a chartered plane showed the density of the crowd. That the 80,000 – the 'biggest crowd ever assembled for a Queensland religious meeting' – exceeded the annual Catholic Corpus Christi crowds of the mid-Fifties is open to debate.

Christ'. They were then counselled by trained lay men and women and commended to the denomination and parish where they lived.

While all the major Protestant churches supported the Crusade in varying degrees of enthusiasm, the Roman Catholic Church alone strictly forbade participation on the grounds that his meetings were 'non-Catholic religious services',⁷⁰ and apart from a few evangelical Anglican parishes, such as St Stephen's Coorparoo, the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane remained distant. Archbishop Halse did not give his official support, although at the last moment relented.⁷¹ A writer to the *Church Chronicle* reflected the thoughts of many Anglican clergymen when he said that 'Graham's Crusades, like all revivals that depend on emotionalism and superficial appeal, are like waves – they come – they go. I prefer the old ways – the ways of Scripture – the ways of our forefathers – the steady work and growth of Christ's Holy Church.'⁷²

There were, however, more reasons for caution than Graham's methodology. Graham was a Baptist and so lacked that sacramental edge, and that emphasis on the Church as a divine society set up by Christ.⁷³ He focussed on the bible alone with a fundamentalist leaning, without the balance of other centres of authority – the tradition of the Church (or what Christians

⁷⁰ For a Roman Catholic view of the Graham Crusade, see 'Billy Graham and the Catholic Church', *Catholic Leader*, 14 May 1959, p. 8. See also *Southern Cross*, 8 May 1959, p. 6.

⁷¹ The Rector of St Stephen's Coorparoo, the Reverend Jim Payne, (later Dean of St George's Cathedral, Perth) privately was connected with the Crusade. He was able to read out a telegram from Archbishop Halse at the 31 May gathering, in which Halse sent 'greetings and pray for continual blessing on Brisbane campaign'. Halse was, at that time, in Sydney for the enthronement of Dr. Hugh Gough as Archbishop of Sydney. See *Courier-Mail*, 1 June 1959, p. 3.

⁷² *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1959, p. 75.

⁷³ See the comments by the Reverend H. W. Griffiths on the perils of the Billy Graham Crusade in *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1959, p. 73. In his Crusade address Graham claimed that 'churches [can] become so ritualistic that Jesus is obscured' – the very kind of comment that would raise the hackles of Anglo-Catholic clergy. See *Courier-Mail*, 1 June 1959, p. 3.

had thought and practised down the ages) and reason or commonsense. Tradition and reason, together with the bible made up the traditional three pillars of Anglican authority. Halse, while applauding the 'extraordinary interest in spiritual values' which the Crusade produced, wondered 'how many thoughtful people have been "put off" by the over-simplicity of the fundamentalist approach to the Bible' and whether some converts may have been diverted from the true faith of the Church by the 'crude arguments of some of the "consultants" of sectarian origin'.⁷⁴ Rayner concludes that in the end, 'a few parishes reported increased church attendance as a result of the Graham crusade, but generally speaking the effect on the Anglican Church was very small'.⁷⁵

The well-attended rally was an accepted part of Christian evangelistic outreach in the 1950s – whether a Billy Graham Crusade, a Roman Catholic Corpus Christi procession, a Methodist 'Mission' or an Anglican Good Friday Procession of Witness. People participated in mass rallies partly as a way of identifying with a larger whole and to have a shared common experience. Rallies deepened a person's sense of belonging to a corporate body in which concerns and powers beyond the limited potential of the individual were released and known.⁷⁶ In the years ahead, professional sport, pop concerts and television increasingly absorbed this function of public rallies.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1959, p. 227. It is not clear what Halse had in mind here: presumably the counsellors (rather than 'consultants'), who spoke with those who made a decision for Christ.

⁷⁵ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 579.

⁷⁶ Michael Real, *Mass-Mediated Culture*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1977, p. 100.

⁷⁷ Jonathan Holland, 'A Rival Salvation?: aspects of the religious nature of television', MA thesis, University of Queensland, 1998, p. 55; Patrick West, 'The new creed of the compassionate crowd', *The Times*, 31 January 2004, p. 54, who argues that secular communal gatherings have become a substitute for organised religion.

Secondly, rallies gave expression to religious 'tribal' loyalties, and became the public expression of confidence in one's own spiritual and religious tradition.⁷⁸ A schoolgirl from a working class suburb of Brisbane who went every year to the Corpus Christi procession at the Exhibition Grounds recalled: 'In retrospect it seems this was a time for an expression of the church triumphant or for many Catholics to come out and thumb their noses at the Protestant establishment, or so it seemed to us working class Catholics. The hymn 'Faith of our Fathers' was our call to arms.'⁷⁹ Ecumenism, which looked for the common ground between churches, would temper this aspect of rallies in the years ahead, so much so that to parade one's religious loyalty would seem nearer an ecumenical embarrassment than a denominational triumph.

Finally, rallies might fulfil more specific functions. Hilliard suggests that the Billy Graham Crusades and Alan Walker's Mission were a means of expressing concern at certain social problems.⁸⁰ Graham's method was first to outline the presenting symptoms – perceived threats to the family, a decline in moral values, growing materialism, juvenile delinquency, the sexualised threat of rock'n'roll, the hydrogen bomb, the Cold War. Next, he would offer a diagnosis – individual human sin. And then, he would hammer home the

⁷⁸ Edmund Campion, *Rockchoppers: growing up Catholic in Australia*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1982, p. 51.

⁷⁹ Deirdre Cooke, 'Straying from the Straight and Narrow', in Kate Nelson and Dominica Nelson (eds), *Sweet Mothers, Sweet Maids: journeys from Catholic childhoods*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1986, p. 16. See also Lunn, *Over the Top with Jim*, pp. 58-59.

⁸⁰ Hilliard, 'Popular Religion', pp. 231-235; 'God in the Suburbs', p. 418. Hilliard, quoting the *Queensland Methodist Times*, says that Walker sought to 'relate the total Christian faith to the needs and problems of the people of Australia'. See Hilliard, 'Popular Religion', p. 226.

conclusion, a 'cure' – to give one's life to Jesus.⁸¹ It was a simple structure and effective. Alongside others, it was a time-honoured method to teach the faith and is still a pertinent expression of Christian apologetics. The Crusades were enhanced by Graham's own personal reputation and international success – his 'star' quality – and the gentle hysteria with which he was greeted in Australia in 1959, prefigured the mass hysteria that was to burst out when, in 1964, the Beatles came to Australia.⁸²

4.4 *Social Influence*

Public rallies were the outward, visible and even triumphant face of a church. More hidden and less easy to discern was the social influence of individuals informed by their Christian beliefs. Anglicans as individuals tended to exercise influence in Queensland through social leadership and membership of a variety of organisations. It is hard to measure the extent of this Anglican influence. Given that many Anglicans were nominal, it is unlikely that their faith was a major determining factor in their decision-making and leadership. Furthermore, Anglicans tended to be private about their faith. Occasionally, prominent Anglicans in public life were trumpeted. The State Governor was usually an Anglican, as was the Governor-General.⁸³ There was some pride in knowing that Sir Henry Abel Smith, Governor of Queensland from March 1958 to March 1966 was a committed Anglican who worshipped at the

⁸¹ Judith Smart, 'The Evangelist as Star: the Billy Graham Crusade in Australia, 1959', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 33, no. 1, summer 1999, p. 172.

⁸² Smart, 'The Evangelist as Star', p. 166 and p. 173.

⁸³ There were, of course, exceptions, such as Governor-General Sir Isaac Isaacs (1931-1936), who was a Jew.

cathedral or his home church of St Mary's Bardon. In 1961, the Dean wrote in his Synod report: 'Once again we would record our regard for the way in which our own State Governor, Sir Henry Abel Smith, concerns himself with Church affairs, and sets a high example of regular worship, and makes himself so readily available for the many requests made to him by the Church in the State.'⁸⁴ At this time the Chief Justice was another Anglican, Alan Mansfield (February 1956 to February 1966), and who succeeded Abel Smith as Governor of Queensland. Of the ten judges appointed to the Queensland Supreme Court in the decade 1950 to 1960, five were Anglicans, four Roman Catholics and one a Presbyterian.⁸⁵

The national Anglican newspaper, *The Anglican*, also heralded prominent Anglicans.⁸⁶ Its editor, the maverick, flamboyant and eccentric Francis James, ran an 'Anglican of the Week' column for some years from June 1956. Some were clergy, some laity, from a variety of Anglican dioceses. Among the laity was a stream of well-known names. Queensland and Australian Test batsman Peter Burge attended St. Stephen's Coorparoo, 'for the early celebration of Holy Communion every Sunday morning without fail'.⁸⁷ Harry Hood, a 'rails bookmaker at the various Brisbane courses' and another member of St Stephen's Coorparoo, was a most unusual choice given

⁸⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 119.

⁸⁵ The Anglicans were Alan Mansfield (made Chief Justice in February 1956); Roslyn Philp (made Senior Puisne Judge in February 1956); William Mack (made Puisne Judge in July 1950); Charles Wanstall (made Puisne Judge in February 1958); and Norton Stable (made Puisne Judge in July 1958). All the Roman Catholics were appointed Puisne Judges before the Gair Labor government, whose Cabinet had a strong Roman Catholic membership, fell in 1957: Thomas O'Hagan (1952), Thomas Barry (1952), Leslie Brown (1955) and Bernard Jeffriess (1956). A single Presbyterian was Mostyn Hangar (Puisne Judge 1953).

⁸⁶ Francis James was an Anglican too. He was later to spend some time (1969-1973) in a Chinese detention centre, without charge or trial.

⁸⁷ *Anglican*, July 5 1957, p. 6.

the suspicion of betting in many church circles, and perhaps represents James' attempt to challenge prevailing opinions about social gambling.⁸⁸ But Russ Tyson, radio presenter of the ABC's famous nation-wide Hospital Half Hour, and later television host 'who takes a special interest in the parishes of Holy Trinity [Fortitude] Valley and St Stephen's Coorparoo was a paragon of virtue.'⁸⁹ Others were also well-known: Gordon Olive, RAF pilot in the battle of Britain, sales manager for Rheem Pty Ltd and later Federal member for McPherson, and who belonged to St Mary's Kangaroo Point;⁹⁰ and Robert Kille, one time Rugby League footballer for Queensland and an executive of the engineering firm Evans Deakin and Company, Brisbane and 'prominently associated with St Stephen's Coorparoo'.⁹¹ One other, who now stands out, was the then 'new Police Commissioner for Queensland, Commissioner Francis Eric Bischof'.⁹² While he is cited as a 'churchman' there is no mention of a parish to which he belonged. He was to resign in ignominy as Police Commissioner in 1969, amid claims of corruption.

Anglican private schools also found it opportune to remind their audiences of the public contribution made by eminent old boys or girls. At the Churchie Speech Night in 1960, attended by the Premier Frank Nicklin, the Headmaster noted that five Old Boys represented Australia at the Rome Olympics that year, and that 60 graduated from Queensland University, eleven of them gaining First Class Honours. The 1960 Rhodes Scholar was

⁸⁸ Ibid., 3 January 1958, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 30 May 1958, p. 6.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 4 July 1958, p. 6.

⁹¹ Ibid., 3 April 1958, p. 6. The over representation of members of St Stephen's Coorparoo witnesses to the size and vitality of St Stephen's in the late 1950s, especially under the leadership of the Reverend Jim Payne. Being one of the very few evangelical parishes it attracted evangelicals from a wider field than within its parish boundaries.

⁹² Ibid., 21 March 1958, p. 6.

another Old Boy, G. F. Bond; and P. J. Burge was again in the Australian XI to tour England. Although academic results at a senior level were 'uneven', nevertheless 'many will win Commonwealth Scholarships'. Four boys had won entry to Duntroon, and at the junior level P. D. Robin topped the State. In the Grammar Public Schools' Sports, Churchie won the Baumann Cup, with Premierships in athletics, swimming and tennis.⁹³ This suggests a whole stream of capable people entering public life, who had been taught and fashioned within the Brisbane Anglican private school system.⁹⁴ Such a stream should not surprise. In the early 1950s, for every three students receiving secondary education in a Queensland State high school, four were attending an independent school.⁹⁵ Education beyond primary level was not a high priority in this rural State, leaving independent schools to fill the void. Consequently, the independent church schools – Catholic, Anglican and others – provided a significant proportion of educated leaders for Brisbane and Queensland.⁹⁶

If Anglicans in Brisbane Diocese sought to influence Queenslanders through social leadership, Roman Catholics were much more attuned to active participation in politics. Indeed, suspicion of Roman Catholicism was

⁹³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 155.

⁹⁴ See Hilliard, 'Anglicanism' p. 26 for further examples of people who had gone to Anglican private schools and who made significant contributions to Australian life. Hilliard says that up to the 1960s the connection between Anglican education and eminence in public life was well established.

⁹⁵ In 1950, nearly 6,000 students were enrolled in State secondary schools, while nearly 8,000 were enrolled in church and independent secondary schools. See *Queensland Year Book 1951*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1952, p. 97. See also Janice Hunt, 'Church and State in Education in Queensland', BA Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1959, p. 333, who quotes three independent or church school students for every two State secondary school students in 1952.

⁹⁶ Ross Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1984, p. 140. See also McGregor, *Profile of Australia*, p. 337, who quotes a survey of 1961, which revealed that, of 366 directors and executives of large and medium firms in Australia, 202 had attended private schools.

heightened because Catholics were perceived to be close to the centre of State political power. According to Max Charlesworth, direct political involvement by Catholics was justified by B. A. Santamaria who claimed that:

the defence of the Church's specifically religious interests often involves direct party political action; therefore the Church is entitled to enter the political sphere to achieve its religious aims. Thus, presumably, to defend itself against communism or certain forms of secularism (the permission of easier divorce, abortion, euthanasia, non-religious education, etc.) the Church could use the means of party politics.⁹⁷

Furthermore, the Church 'had the right to judge when direct intervention in politics was expedient for the promotion of its interests'.⁹⁸ With this belief, Santamaria established the 'Movement' in 1942, whereby Roman Catholics surreptitiously infiltrated trade unions and challenged communist leadership.

Other Catholics, with much the same attitude, sought to place their co-religionists in positions of political leadership. Costar cites a story that a future State Premier, Vince Gair, was chosen as Labor's candidate for South Brisbane in 1932 after Archbishop Duhig directed the local parish priest to liaise with Labor operatives to find a loyal Labor Catholic, who could unseat the less loyal sitting member.⁹⁹ In 1956 more than half of Gair's Cabinet were Catholics. Catholic priests stated in sermons who to vote for in elections, and

⁹⁷ Max Charlesworth, 'Foreword: Santamaria's House of Theory', in Paul Ormonde (ed.), *Santamaria: the politics of fear: critical reflections*, Spectrum Publications, Richmond, Victoria, 2000, p. 6.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹⁹ Brian Costar, 'Vincent Clair Gair: Labor's Loser', in Denis Murphy, Roger Joyce and Margaret Cribb (eds), *The Premiers of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1990, p. 460.

both the police force and the public service had a large percentage of Catholics and remained closely linked to the government.¹⁰⁰ There is some anecdotal evidence that Roman Catholic schools trained their students for employment in the public service, the police and the legal field.

Hilliard cites two incidents which symbolised the political position of Catholicism in Brisbane in the early 1950s. The first was the annual 'Red Mass' for the legal profession at St Stephen's Cathedral in February 1953, attended by the State Attorney-General, the Chief Justice and two other judges, the Crown Prosecutor, the Registrar of the Supreme Court, the President of the Industrial Court, the Chief State Electoral Officer and almost every Catholic solicitor in the city.¹⁰¹ The second was the Marian Year ceremonies at the Exhibition Ground in December 1954. At the base of the statue of the Virgin Mary, Archbishop Duhig and his Co-adjutor Bishop O'Donnell placed bouquets of flowers, along with the State Premier Vince Gair and the Police Commissioner Patrick Glynn. 'It clearly demonstrated the close relationship between the Catholic Church and the powerbrokers'.¹⁰²

Such closeness to the centres of political power created occasional consternation among non-Catholics, who were inclined to overlook the Anglican connections of the vice-regal and judicial positions. Humphrey McQueen claimed that Queensland's political culture to 1957 was based on 'a governing stratum of Labor party politicians, Australian Workers' Union

¹⁰⁰ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 206. Archbishop Duhig was reputed to have a 'direct line' to successive Labor Premiers in Queensland. See Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 93.

¹⁰¹ Hilliard, 'Popular Religion', p. 222. The word 'Red' refers to the colour of the vestments, and to signify the Holy Spirit.

¹⁰² Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill', p. 251.

officials, State public servants and Catholic clergy'.¹⁰³ So strong was the perceived link between the Roman Catholic Church and the State Labor government that before the 1956 State election, the Queensland Council of Churches published a series of advertisements in the *Courier-Mail* urging a vote against the Gair Labor government as the 'only way to protect your home, your family and your State.'¹⁰⁴ Labor, the Council believed, was pervasively influenced by Irish Catholicism, and was too soft on gambling, liquor and Sunday observance and was weakening the moral fibre of Queenslanders.¹⁰⁵

The Anglican Diocese of Brisbane never fostered a relationship with a political party in the way that the Roman Catholic Diocese did. Nevertheless, the size and influence of all churches meant that State governments did note churches' interests and listen to their concerns, and make their own overtures of goodwill. Douglas Rose, the religion correspondent for the *Courier-Mail* from 1954 to 1974, claims that during the Hanlon years (1946-52) and beyond, State government draft legislation was always first 'given in writing to the Anglican and Roman Catholic archbishops and the President of the Queensland Council of Churches to obtain their agreement prior to that legislation being passed. It did not matter if it were industrial laws ... or medical stuff or political election news – their views were taken into account.

¹⁰³ Humphrey McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, p. 43.

¹⁰⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 16 May 1956, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Fred Alexander, 'Australian Political Chronicle January-June 1956', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. II, no. 2, November 1956, pp. 106-107, who suggests that the Council of Churches' advertisements may have backfired. He wrote: 'In the last week [of electoral campaigning], the Council [of Churches] began to issue advertisements urging a vote against the Gair Government because of its alleged involvement with liquor and betting interests. The Presbyterian Church withdrew in protest from the Council, and Labor gained much ground'. See also McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', pp.43-46; Hilliard, 'Popular Religion', p. 222.

The government would not generally legislate against their wishes.’¹⁰⁶ This deference to the churches’ opinions witnesses to their political influence in Queensland in the Fifties.

Apart from the State’s concern to liaise with the Diocese over draft legislation, Anglicans were more circumspect than Catholics about entering the political sphere to achieve Christian aims. It was not just that Jesus appears persistently to reject political power as a means to further his ends, nor that making the world a safer place for the church was necessarily always appropriate. There could also be differences of opinion over what constituted the Christian vision of social and political life. Santamaria’s vision was too narrow for some. As Bishop Housden of Rockhampton said:

Atheistic Communism is only one among many evils in our country, and if every communist so called were removed tomorrow many or most of the present evils would remain. The Church ... must not be diverted from her whole task of opposing evil by following a spotlight directed to one particular brand of evil which obscures all other evils surrounding it.¹⁰⁷

William Temple had outlined an alternate and more Anglican way in his classic work *Christianity and the Social Order*, published in 1942 to coincide with his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰⁸ He said that the Church’s role was to:

¹⁰⁶ Douglas Rose, ‘Five Sermons on a Sunday’, *The Eagle: the magazine of St John’s Cathedral, Brisbane*, vol. 2, no. 5, winter 2006, p. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Rockhampton *Synod Proceedings*, 1951, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Tom Frame, ‘The Limits to Christian Political Participation’, *Quadrant*, January-February 2005, pp. 32-35, who draws out the contrast between Santamaria’s and Temple’s understandings of the interface between Christianity and politics.

announce Christian principles and point out where the existing social order at any time is in conflict with them. It must then pass on to Christian citizens, acting in their civic capacity, the task of re-shaping the existing order in closer conformity to the principles. ... If a bridge is to be built, the Church might remind the engineer that it is his obligation to build a really safe bridge; but it is not entitled to tell him whether in fact, his design meets this requirement. ... In just the same way, the Church may tell the politician what ends the social order should promote; but it must leave to the politician the devising of the precise means to those ends.¹⁰⁹

For Temple, Christians as citizens, ought to take full part in the civic and political life of society, including if desired, active participation in a political party. The Church itself, however, ought to remain outside political party involvement and avoid any perception of political partisanship. It should limit itself to articulating the principles that emerge from its understanding of the Gospel, for the good and just ordering of society. This was a reasonable view for a church, that lacked 'a degree of control over the opinions of its members necessary for effective political action', to take.¹¹⁰ It is a viewpoint that honours 'the right of the individual to follow his conscience in applying the principles of Christianity to the complex problems of political and personal life'.¹¹¹

Temple's view of the relationship between church and politics also has its difficulties. On any issue there could be any number of principles all with

¹⁰⁹ William Temple, *Christianity and the Social Order*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1942, p. 50.

¹¹⁰ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 602.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

reasonable weight, some of them competing against each other and suggesting contrary solutions. Nor did Temple adequately address the problem that Christians, who did choose to join a political party, might occasionally have, the clash between political pragmatism and Gospel integrity.¹¹² Nevertheless, Temple's understanding was, and remains, a generally accepted Anglican position. Bishop Housden neatly expressed this viewpoint after the bitterly contested State election of 1957 in which the State Labor split was the dominating factor. 'The church's role in politics ... [is] to state the moral and spiritual issues involved and to leave it to the conscience of the individual Christian to vote as he feels led by God. The idea of the Church becoming a "pressure group" in the political sphere is abhorrent to Anglicans.'¹¹³

It is notable that Archbishop Halse like most of the Anglican bishops and senior clergy followed this Anglican approach. Neither Halse nor his successor, Archbishop Philip Strong, were 'politicians' in the way in which Duhig was.¹¹⁴ They did not work behind the scenes but preferred to make occasional statements and comments on social and political issues. For the national referendum of 1951 on the banning of the Communist Party, Archbishop Halse contented himself, for example, with an impartial statement of the issues, leaving it to individual Anglicans to make up their own minds. Only two Anglican bishops, Bishop Burgmann of Canberra and Goulbourn and Dr Moyes of Armidale, publicly indicated their voting intentions. Both would

¹¹² Frame, 'Limits to Christian Political Participation', pp. 34-35

¹¹³ Rockhampton *Synod Proceedings*, 1957, p. 8f.

¹¹⁴ For Duhig's close association with politics, see Boland, *James Duhig*, pp. 252-254. Also McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', p. 46.

vote 'no', but for quite different reasons. These were personal expressions of voting intentions, not directions to others, although obviously, the episcopal statements were also made in order to guide ordinary Anglicans in making their choices.¹¹⁵ How far they were successful is interesting speculation.

Temple's view that the Church should distance itself from political parties and keep to 'announcing Christian principles' did not preclude individual Anglicans joining a political party. Indeed as citizens, rather than as members of the Anglican Church, they should participate fully in the life of society. Temple's position did, however, preclude the formation by an Anglican Diocese of an organisation like the Movement, and would have denied Christians like Santamaria any capacity to proclaim policies of political programs that were allegedly extensions of church dogma.

4.5 Conclusion

Anglicanism is essentially a 'church-in-society' tradition. In the Fifties, it believed it had a ministry to the whole of society, drawing its theological inspiration from the Incarnation. God had become present among human beings through the birth and work of Jesus, and the Anglican ministry to all sections of society was the continuing ecclesial expression of the presence of God in the world. The Anglican Church was the 'extension of the Incarnation'.

¹¹⁵ Leicester Webb, *Communism and Democracy in Australia: a survey of the 1951 referendum*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1954, p. 91. Burgmann pointed an accusing finger at the Roman Catholic Church, seeing 'Rome's desire for political power' behind the campaign for a yes vote. Moyes, on the other hand, argued that 'the use of force against a faith has never succeeded' and if the yes vote won it would only give communism 'greater life and mightier powers as the years go by'. Fred Alexander, *Australia Since Federation: a narrative and critical analysis*, 4th edn, Nelson, Melbourne, 1982, p.188 suggests that Duhig openly advocated a yes vote in retaliation to Burgmann. See also Boland, *James Duhig*, pp. 350-351 who agrees.

Not that all those who claimed to serve Christ through the Anglican Church promoted goodwill and trust. In two locations at least, there was a dark and hidden side.¹¹⁶ It would emerge a few decades later, that two or three teachers at Churchie had sexually abused some boys in the Fifties and Sixties. About ten former students made complaints, most after an announcement in 1999 that a new school building was to be named in honour of a former housemaster, whom they had experienced as an abuser. He had followed a process of 'grooming', whereby one act of affection, if accepted, led to more intimate acts. The man was subsequently imprisoned.

The other site for this dark side was the Enoggera Boys' Home, a home for orphaned boys and those needing State care. From about the age of 10, though occasionally younger, boys were placed at the Home mainly through the State Department of Children's Services, which had responsibility for the oversight of the Home. Hundreds of boys went through the doors of the Enoggera Boys' Home, most of whom left by the age of 15 to begin work. Later, in the late 1990s, about fifteen to 20 complaints of physical and sexual abuse were levelled against two or three perpetrators. Corporal punishment was part of the culture of the times, but the punishment received at Enoggera went far beyond what was even then acceptable. The Boys' Home closed its doors in mid-1978, and the place re-opened in 1987 as the Hillbrook Anglican School.

This dark side in Churchie and the Enoggera Boys' Home was unknown to the wider public at the time. It was shameful, and therefore

¹¹⁶ Rod McLary, Director of Professional Standards, Anglican Diocese of Brisbane, personal comments recorded in April 2006, for the following information on abuse in the Fifties and Sixties, at Churchie and the Enoggera Boys' Home.

hidden. Complaints would begin to tumble out in the 1990s, precipitated by more recent sexual abuse scandals at Toowoomba Preparatory School and St Paul's School, Bald Hills. In the Fifties and Sixties, few but perpetrators and victims knew the truth. The experience of such brutality can have done nothing at all to commend the Christian faith and Anglicanism, and been the cause of considerable alienation for a number from institutional religion.

Meanwhile there were many others who sought to promote the gospel with all integrity through the Anglican Church, who tried to be authentic expressions of the 'extension of the Incarnation'. They were motivated by a love of Christ, a loyalty to the Church of England, and a commitment to its worship and institutional life. Around the Diocese, men and women shaped by their Anglican faith, sought to bring that faith to bear on the issues of their lives and their time.

But what happens when society does not want the ministry of a church? What happens when the institutional form that contains that ministry becomes suspect, along with all other institutions, as constraining personal freedom? What happens when the church, instead of making a considered and welcomed contribution to the life of the community, is increasingly seen as of only marginal value? These were the questions, which were to break, tsunami-like, upon the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane in the years following the buoyant Fifties, as the seed of secularism took root and grew strong.

*'I am tattooing God on their makeshift lives....
the dear, the human, the dense, for whom
My message is. That might, had I not touched them,
Have died decent respectable upright deaths in bed.'..*

U. A. Fanthorpe, 'Getting It Across' (1978)

The closest the world has come to nuclear war occurred in 1962. Early in the year, Russian personnel began constructing missile bases in Cuba, just 140 kilometres from the coast of America. The Cuban President, Fidel Castro, welcomed the missile installations, anxious about his own island security after the American inspired – and failed – 'Bay of Pigs' invasion, just some months earlier. In October 1962, Americans first became aware of what was happening in Cuba, and alarmed for American safety, President John F. Kennedy immediately set up a naval blockade around Cuba, insisting on the removal of the missiles. In a tense few days, during which Russian ships came ever closer and American ships prepared to engage them, the world held its breath. President Kennedy and Premier Nikita Khrushchev tested each other's resolve, no one quite sure what would be the outcome. On October 28, Khrushchev announced that he would dismantle the missiles, and return them to Russia and tensions finally began to ease. The possibility of a nuclear war, for the time being, was averted.

Less alarming, but nearer to Australia's shores, was the annexation of the Dutch colony of West Papua by Indonesia. On 1 October 1962, the United Nations took temporary executive authority over West Papua. After the

minimum seven months, it handed over administrative control to Indonesia, beginning a 40-year West Papuan resistance which is still not resolved.

There were brighter aspects to the year, most notably, a new pop sensation, The Beatles, with their first single, *Love Me Do*. On a sadder note, the western world was shocked to hear in August 1962, that the movie star and glamour queen, Marilyn Monroe, had died in Los Angeles of a drug overdose. Anglicans in Brisbane Diocese had their own mourning to do four days later, when they heard news that their much loved archbishop, Reginald Halse, had died peacefully, on Thursday 9 August 1962, in St Martin's Hospital.¹ He was 81 years old, and had just returned from a trip 'around the world', including some time spent in England, where he participated in the great consecration liturgy of the new Coventry Cathedral, visited the haunts of his youth, preached in various parish churches of London and Oxford, and was invested at Buckingham Palace by Queen Elizabeth as a Knight Commander of the British Empire, the first such honour, he believed, to be given to any Anglican bishop outside the United Kingdom.

He had been enthroned in Brisbane in 1943, with impeccable credentials: a public school education at Colet Court and St Paul's, London and then Braesnose College, Oxford, where his love of sport saw him win a university rugby blue (and play two seasons with the prestigious London rugby club, the Harlequins) and college blues for both rugby and cricket. He trained

¹ For summaries of Halse's life, see Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1963, pp. 536-542; Keith Rayner, 'Halse, Reginald Charles', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 362-364; John Moses, 'Reginald Charles Halse', in John Moses (ed.), *From Oxford to the Bush: Catholic Anglicanism in Australia*, Broughton Press, Adelaide, 1997, pp. 64-68; *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1962; *Anglican* 16 August 1962, p. 1 and pp. 6-7; and for the first six years of his episcopate in Brisbane, John Pryce-Davies, 'Pilgrim and Pastor: the initial years of the episcopate of archbishop Halse 1943-1949', MTh thesis, Griffith University, Queensland, 2000.

for the priesthood at the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham, Nottinghamshire, a theological college which stood firmly within the Anglo-Catholic tradition.² 'Vigorous, fresh and adept at sport, he was typical of the attractive young priests being produced in that hey-day of the Anglo-Catholic movement in England in the early years of the [20th] century', says Rayner.³ He began his ordained life as a 'slum priest' in London's East End, after which he accepted an invitation from the Bishop of North Queensland to work in that Diocese. He became Head of the Brotherhood of St Barnabas' and the bishop's right hand man, gaining a reputation as a mission preacher and retreat director. He thought that he could bring some of the advantages of a public school education to the children of north Queensland and after a frustrated initial attempt at Herberton, he founded the low fee All Souls' School, Charters Towers in 1920, whose motto – 'servire regnare' ('to serve is to reign') – captured something of his own guiding principles.

After some years as the founding principal, he was elected Bishop of the Riverina in 1924. He wore his abilities and achievements lightly, and because he also had a pastoral sensitivity and an easy informality, and was willing to travel long distances to parishes and people, he endeared himself to many. There was a natural dignity about him, evident at any liturgy and an unpretentious simplicity. He lived simply: he had a bachelor's carelessness

² At Kelham, Halse came under the influence of Fr Herbert Kelly, who had founded the Society of the Sacred Mission (SSM) in 1893 as a religious community of priests and lay people. The three main tasks were theological training of priests, missionary work and theological study. Members of SSM are committed to poverty, celibacy, and obedience. In 1903, SSM moved to Kelham Hall. Before World War II, up to 400 men were in training for the priesthood each year. Thereafter, numbers fell, and in 1973 it closed its doors.

³ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 536.

about neatness, wrote his own letters by hand, and as archbishop opened his home – Bishopsbourne at St Francis' College, Milton – to visitors and guests.

He did not pretend to be an academic, and on his election to Brisbane, he interpreted his task as being to work from his strength: 'to make personal contacts and to exercise a pastoral ministry in the country parishes as well as in the city'.⁴ This, according to Rayner, was the keynote of his episcopate in Brisbane Diocese. He brought a personal dimension to his work in an age that was just discovering the impersonal mass organisation.⁵

He was a tolerant and open man. He had a largeness of heart, and a generosity towards others. 'His greatest gift', said Newcastle's Bishop Batty on Halse's enthronement in Brisbane, 'is that of the ministry of reconciliation'.⁶ A good example is his visit in August 1947 to the Anglican Church in Japan, disregarding post-War anti-Japanese sentiment. He was one of five sent by the Australian Anglican Church on a 'Mission of Goodwill'.⁷ On his return, he faced criticism for inviting the Japanese Primate to make a return visit.⁸ Arthur Calwell, then Minister for Immigration, expressed the sentiment of many when he said of the proposed 1950 visit that 'five years of occupation is too a short

⁴ 'The Archbishop's Address to Diocesan Synod, June 1944', *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1944*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1945, p. 20. See also 'Broadcast Address by the Archbishop on the Day of Enthronement, November 3, 1943', *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1943, p. 380.

⁵ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 538.

⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1943, p. 387. Ten speeches of welcome were made to the newly enthroned archbishop, Batty representing visiting bishops. Batty went on: 'Very often at meetings [Halse] has prevented disagreement from hardening into dissension. ... [He has a] gift of bringing unity out of divergence'. See also Moses, 'Reginald Charles Halse', pp. 64-68.

⁷ The delegates were Halse, Geoffrey Cranswick, Bishop of Tasmania, Canon Max Warren, national secretary of the Australian Board of Missions, and the Reverends L. Nash and Ian Shevill, Queensland secretary of the Australian Board of Missions. See Ian Shevill, *Half Time*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1966, pp. 28-30.

⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1947, p. 295; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1947*, p. 33.

a time to humanize or democratize those barbarians'.⁹ Overtures of friendship and forgiveness were premature, when the brutal treatment of Australian prisoners-of-war at the hands of their Japanese captors was still so raw for so many, but the 1947 Mission of Goodwill is reflective of Halse's own magnanimity. In 1950, Bishop Michael Yashiro, the presiding bishop of the Anglican Church in Japan, made the return visit – the first Japanese national to come to Australia since the War – and a visit that aroused considerable controversy and resentment in some quarters.¹⁰ Halse's magnanimity publicly witnessed to the need to put aside the bitterness of war, move towards forgiveness and foster better relations. Together with the visit of Archbishop Mowll and his delegation to Communist China in 1956, it suggests an openness in parts of the Anglican Church in Australia to others of quite different backgrounds, histories and creeds that was well ahead of its time.

Such openness and magnanimity could also be seen in a more liberal attitude to migration. The White Australia policy had been in place for many decades, but in the years after the War the policy was increasingly questioned, especially following the particularly rigid application of the policy by the Labor government in the late 1940s.¹¹ Anglican leaders in Queensland had long held reservations about some aspects of the White Australia policy. It was not just that it seemed to be at odds with the Christian teaching that all

⁹ William H. Coaldrake (ed.) *Japan From War to Peace: the Coaldrake Records 1939-1956*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2003, p. 109, quoting *Nippon Times*, 18 August 1947.

¹⁰ The Mayor of Hobart, Mr. A. R. Park, for example, described Bishop Yashiro's visit as a 'slur on the nation' and a 'shocking insult' to returned servicemen and ex-Prisoners of War. Others referred to the Japanese as 'terrible savages'. See *Courier-Mail*, 10 June 1950, p. 1; 11 June 1950, p. 2 and 16 June 1950, p. 1. Perhaps matters were exacerbated by stories emerging at that time from those Japanese on trial before the Australian War Crimes Court at Los Negros? See also *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1950, p. 133; Coaldrake (ed.), *Japan From War to Peace*, p. 289; Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 552.

¹¹ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 416.

were made in the image of God and all therefore deserved the same share of the good things of the earth, but they questioned the policy's practicability in the face of the huge and overcrowded population in Asia. In 1949, the Brisbane Synod carried a motion deprecating the use of the term 'White Australia',¹² and the following year, Archbishop Halse spoke carefully about the subject in his Synod address, the controversial visit of Bishop Yashiro, (just weeks earlier) still fresh in people's minds. Making it clear that he did not advocate unrestricted Asian immigration, he went to argue for:

a quota of a few carefully selected citizens of Asian countries admitted each year to permanent citizenship in all countries like Australia ... We must remember that God has made of one blood all nations and peoples and tongues, and it is therefore sub-Christian to exclude anyone from free and equal citizenship if the only justification for such action is based *entirely* on colour.¹³

It was an unpopular stance in 1950. Just a month later the leading Queensland public servant and economist, Colin Clark, giving evidence to a Royal Commission, reiterated the oft-raised spectre that if Australia failed to settle all available land to the fullest, especially in north Queensland, then Asians would do it.¹⁴ Against such a fearful prospect, Halse's suggestion that a few Asians be welcomed as permanent citizens was an idea vigorously rejected by all sectors – politicians, trade unionists and ex-service interests.¹⁵

¹² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1949*, p. 99.

¹³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1950*, p. 96.

¹⁴ Colin Clark, *Economic News*, vol. 19, nos. 7-8, July-August 1950, Queensland Bureau of Industry, Brisbane, p. 1. This evidence was given to the Royal Commission on Pastoral Lands' Settlement (Queensland), 17 October 1950.

¹⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 20 June 1950, p. 3.

Again Halse was ahead of his time, and displayed a largeness of heart that many others were not able to accept, although the beginning of the Colombo Plan in the same year (whereby students from Asian countries could study at Australian universities), witnessed to an incipient awareness of Asian needs. Gradually the mood changed, and a more favourable climate emerged, so that when Halse's successor, Archbishop Strong spoke about accepting Asians into Australia in March 1964, there was a more receptive attitude.¹⁶

Halse's magnanimity and toleration of others was reflected in other areas, notably in the cordial relations he developed with other churches – in what would become known as the 'ecumenical movement', and in his attitude to communism. He acknowledged the positive aspects of that political creed, without overlooking its drawbacks.¹⁷

Matching this toleration of others was a calmness and serenity. He would remain apparently unruffled and unperturbed during even the gravest crisis. At its worst, this calmness became a passivity, a failure to take decisive action. He could on occasion use this passivity to great effect, and an editorial on his death referred to his 'masterly inactivity', by which he allowed some divisive issues to run out of steam: 'problems allowed quietly to attain their true proportions usually resolved themselves without interference'.¹⁸

He also had an ability to improvise, something honed during the shortages of two World Wars and the lack of resources in north Queensland.

¹⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 26 March 1964, p. 6; Archbishop Philip Strong, diary entry, 25 March 1964. Strong's diaries are in the possession of Miss Elsie Manley, Wangaratta, Victoria. I am very grateful for permission to consult these diaries.

¹⁷ The ecumenical movement and Halse's involvement are treated more fully in chapter 9. For his attitude to communism see chapter 2, pp. 35-43.

¹⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1962, p. 12.

But he grew to delight in improvising, and it was this that hindered him from being a great administrator. He leant towards 'making do'. The trouble was that this tended to create a reactive environment, rather than one in which great and imaginative plans for the future might be thought out. At a time when the Diocese was growing numerically and financially, bold and imaginative strategies were required to secure the future, and make the most of this Anglican springtime. Halse's failing was his inability to use the period of his archiepiscopate in a strategically purposeful way that planned to develop the Diocese, and build on the human and financial resources then becoming available. He was too reactive, too passive, too ready to improvise rather than plan, and he relied too much on others to provide the imaginative and bold initiatives that the church needed: Hardie, Shevill, St John, Baddeley, Bennie and others¹⁹.

At the time of his death, Halse was the senior bishop in the Anglican Communion. Some wished he had retired some years earlier, the preacher at his funeral gently admitting that some had wanted more vigorous and energetic leadership, especially in the latter years.²⁰ But whatever their own beliefs, none could deny that the previous nineteen years, the years of Halse's

¹⁹ A measure of the reliance Halse placed on others is gleaned from a story that St John tells. When Halse heard that Hardie had accepted the position of Dean of Newcastle in 1950, Halse was 'visibly affected' and lay down motionless on a camp bed for more than two hours. Halse had rapidly elevated Hardie after his return from War service, making him a canon of the cathedral, an archdeacon, a lecturer at St Francis' College in Old Testament studies and Warden of St John's College, University of Queensland. Such preferment and reliance on one man led to some resentment from other clergy, who 'viewed with some jealousy the rise of this self-assertive man'. See Roland St John, *Memories at Sunset*, privately published, Toowoomba, 1994, p. 93, kept in Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

²⁰ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1962, p. 6. The preacher was Bishop Philip Strong, Bishop of New Guinea. See also Pryce-Davies, 'Pilgrim and Pastor', p. 49, who quotes the Reverend Byam Roberts, Principal of Slade School, Warwick that as Halse 'grew older, he lost a good deal of his earlier energy, and, as some felt, "coasted along"'.

archiepiscopate, had been halcyon days. His last words were, appropriately, 'the loving kindness of the Lord'.²¹

5.1 *The Funeral of Reginald Charles Halse*

On Tuesday 14 August, St John's Cathedral was packed for a solemn 90-minute funeral. The coffin had been received into the cathedral the previous day, and the body lay in state before the High Altar with Halse's mitre, cross, ring, pastoral staff and knighthood Order, lying on the pall.²² A watch of prayer was kept: two priests for hourly periods, throughout the day and night. A stream of people passed by to offer prayers for Halse's soul and in thanksgiving for his ministry. At 11 o'clock the Solemn Requiem funeral began, after which an 85-car cortege made its way to the Anglican cemetery at Sherwood, twelve kilometres away.

Huge numbers turned out and lined the streets. Not since the tour of Queen Elizabeth in 1954 had Brisbane seen such an outpouring of people. The *Courier-Mail's* headline had read: 'People's Bishop Dies',²³ and now crowds, six deep, stood in respectful silence on the footpaths as the cortege made its way slowly towards Sherwood.²⁴ Trams stopped, and drivers and conductors dismounted and stood quietly, caps in hands. A silence prevailed. More groups of people lined the route beyond the city. The brewery, situated alongside St Francis' Theological College and Bishopsbourne, where Halse

²¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1962, p. 16. See also Strong, diary entry, 30 August 1962.

²² *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1962, p. 16 and 1 September 1962, p. 10.

²³ *Courier-Mail*, 10 August 1962, p. 1.

²⁴ *Telegraph*, 14 August 1962, p. 1. Philip Strong claims that 121 cars were in the funeral cortege. See Strong, diary entry, 30 August 1962.



Fig. 24 The funeral of Reginald Charles Halse

14 August 1962

had lived, was denuded of workers as they gathered outside on the pavement to pay their respects. At the Exhibition Ground, the annual agricultural show was interrupted as more than 15,000 people observed a minute's silence at 12.15pm.²⁵

Clergy of the time were surprised and 'deeply moved by the homage of Brisbane'.²⁶ Bishop Philip Strong, who gave the funeral panegyric, and who sat with the Primate, Hugh Gough, Archbishop of Sydney, in the first car behind the hearse, recalled the crowds along the roads. A mother and her children, who stood with bowed heads, caught his attention. The sight moved him. Halse had got into the hearts of the people of Brisbane more deeply than he had realised. More than this, they were a testimony to the vitality of religious faith in Brisbane. 'I never once saw one single person who seemed to be unaware of what was happening or unconcerned or moving about his or her business. All were standing with reverence and respect.' Strong wrote in his diary that the journey became 'one of the most moving experiences in my life.'²⁷

The 'vitality of religious faith' had come about for several reasons. First, certain moods were sympathetic to the Anglican Church: a pride in a British heritage, a fear of the perils of international, atheistic communism, and a hope for ongoing economic prosperity, that the church could share in. Secondly, the churches had a clear social role, especially as a moral guide for teenagers and provider of social activities, particularly in the new suburbs. Thirdly, the church had a ministry to all (a 'church-in-society' model). Finally,

²⁵ *Telegraph*, 14 August 1962, p. 1.

²⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1962, p. 10.

²⁷ Strong, diary entry, 30 August 1962.

an Anglo-Catholic theology motivated a whole range of people into investing energy in the Anglican mission. Anglo-Catholicism was the engine room that theologically and pastorally drove the Diocese forward.

5.2 *Anglo-Catholicism*

Anglo-Catholicism drew its inspiration from the Tractarian (or Oxford) Movement of the early 19th century, which was a renewal or restoration movement.²⁸ The Tractarians wanted to restore what they believed had been lost at the Reformation, in particular, a pre-Reformation concept of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, greater reverence and beauty in worship, an emphasis on the bishop as the centre of unity and successor to the apostles, a concern for personal holiness, and a vision of Christian service and commitment, that inspired the creation of new religious orders and the sacrificial service of generations of young men and women. Richard Holloway, former Anglican bishop of Edinburgh, sees at the heart of the Oxford Movement, a 'reaffirmation of the heroic side of Christianity ... a call to supernatural sanctity, to self-surrender, to costly yet joyous Christianity'.²⁹ It

²⁸ A sermon on 'National Apostasy' in 1833 by the Reverend John Keble is usually seen as the starter's gun to the Oxford Movement. The most famous name in the Oxford Movement was the Reverend John Henry Newman, who later 'converted' to Roman Catholicism. Newman and other leaders – notably the Reverends Edward Pusey and John Keble – became known as 'Tractarians' because of a series of tracts or papers they produced on major issues of theology and church life. Most Anglican dioceses around Australia were Anglo-Catholic. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Anglo-Catholic priests and bishops from England had been prepared to pursue missionary work overseas, and their legacy was to shape most of the Australian dioceses, especially in the rural areas, around their own particular church tradition. The important exception was Sydney Diocese, the largest Anglican diocese in Australia.

²⁹ Richard Holloway, *Paradoxes of Christian Faith and Life*, Mowbray, Oxford, 1984, p. 135.

was this Tractarian heritage that gave the Diocese its drive and theological direction.

Worship

The *Book of Common Prayer* was the duly authorised form of worship that Anglicans had been using since 1662, although many priests in the Diocese used the 1928 revision. There was a reverence and a dignity to *Book of Common Prayer* worship, even if it appears today to be somewhat passive and priest-centred. A central dimension of the Tractarian heritage was that worship was to be beautiful, decent and reverent, as a means for an authentic experience of the numinous.³⁰ The late 19th century ritualistic movement – based on the Romantic Movement – emerged out of this sentiment and began to introduce colour, movement, symbols, music, even incense into worship. Embroidered frontals and vestments in the colours – red, white, purple and green – of the liturgical season, a brass cross on the altar flanked by candles (symbolic of Christ the Light of the World), incense, genuflecting and making the sign of the cross, the keeping of saints days and the adoption of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* – all had their place in offering to God the very best in ordered worship.³¹

At a Holy Communion (or Eucharist), the priest, vested in cassock, amice, alb, girdle, stole, chasuble and maniple stood before the white, linen covered altar, placed against the wall, and with his back to the people led the

³⁰ David Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic Tradition in Australian Anglicanism', *St Mark's Review*, Winter 1994, p. 15.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

prayers, giving the worship a Godward focus. Pews were set out in rows, like seats at a theatre, to observe the Divine Drama on the elevated sanctuary 'stage',³² and only at the invitation to communion would the people advance towards the sanctuary altar rails and, humbly on their knees, not presuming to come to the Lord's Table trusting in their own righteousness, but in God's manifold and great mercy, receive the bread and wine as the Body and Blood of Christ.³³

There was a great reverence for this holy sacrament. Anglicanism has never defined too closely the mystery of how ordinary bread and wine can become the Body and Blood of Christ, unlike the Roman Catholic Church, whose definitions had led them into the doctrine of transubstantiation. Yet Anglo-Catholics had a very high respect for what they were handling. No crumb was to be lost, no drop from the chalice spilt. The thumb and forefinger that touched the host remained together, untouched by other fingers. At the ablutions – the washing of the vessels at the conclusion of communion – a prescribed format was followed to ensure that nothing was lost and all was consumed reverently. It may sound fussy, but it was born of devotion and reverence.

Evensong complemented the morning Holy Communion. Many of the more committed would return and this was the opportunity for more substantial preaching and more considered teaching. Most parishes had small

³² The journalist Keith Dunstan was a parishioner at All Saints' Wickham Terrace in the 1950s and recalled the 'whole sense of theatre' that surrounded the Eucharist. Keith Dunstan, *No Brains at All: an autobiography*, Viking, Ringwood, Victoria, 1990, p. 160. Another notable parishioner at All Saints in the 1940s was the Australian poet Gwen Harwood. She was the parish organist from 1942-1945. See Stephanie Trigg, *Gwen Harwood*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994.

³³ From the 'Prayer of Humble Access', *Book of Common Prayer*. 'We do not presume to come to your table merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in your manifold and great mercies ...'

adult choirs who would lead the singing of the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, the psalm and often an anthem. In the days before television, Sunday evenings were free time and Evensong with its music, teaching and prayer became a popular and well-loved act of worship.

After World War II there was a growing interest in what came to be called, the Liturgical Movement. A renewed emphasis was placed on the 'Parish Communion' as the central act of worship on a Sunday morning, stimulated by books such as Fr. Gabriel Hebert's *Liturgy and Society* (1935) and more significantly Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945). It was a case of 'the Lord's Supper, on the Lord's Day, for the Lord's People.' The former pattern of Morning Prayer and Litany followed by Holy Communion (for those few who wished to stay on), gave way to the practice of an early morning said Holy Communion with a mid-morning Parish Communion.³⁴

The advent of the Parish Communion suited Anglo-Catholic theology, which placed an emphasis on the Incarnation, the presence of God with his people. This presence continued to be mediated through the sacraments, in particular the Holy Communion. The Liturgical Movement was an attempt to relate the Eucharist more closely to the lives of ordinary men and women.³⁵ New dimensions included an emphasis on the offertory, on greater use of the Scriptures, and greater participation by the laity. To this end, when the Reverend Peter Mayhew, who had recently arrived in the Diocese from a parish in Leeds to take up an appointment as Headmaster of Slade School, Warwick, presided from 'across the Altar' – that is, facing the people – at the

³⁴ *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1956, p. 208; 1 October 1953, p. 292.

³⁵ 'To help priests to realise how the liturgy can affect the lives of the people, and to help the laity to realise how they can best play their part in the liturgy'. See *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1953, p. 292.

Clergy Summer School of January 1954, it was seen as a 'reverent experiment', brought from England, not only as 'an imitation of primitive liturgical use', but also as an inclusive symbol, a 'bringing of the people to share more intimately in the offering of the Holy Sacrifice'.³⁶ A year later, St Luke's Kenilworth became the first church in Australia to be built with a free-standing altar for this purpose.³⁷ All this presaged decades of liturgical experimentation and the advent of new revised prayer books, incorporating the new liturgical ideas in contemporary English.

Holiness of Life

The corporate liturgical offering of the very best to God was accompanied by a belief that the offering of one's own life to God had also to be the best one could do. Consequently there was an interest in personal holiness of life.³⁸

Devotional manuals, rules of life, the importance of confirmation as the gateway to Holy Communion were all emphasised as strengthening the relationship with God. Walsham How's *Companion to the Holy Communion* was a classic devotional manual, often given to a twelve-year-old as a Confirmation gift. So was the devotional manual *In His Presence*, written by Brisbane's own Dean, Denis Taylor in 1948, and which ran to five editions.³⁹

It attained international recognition, and suggested ways to prepare for the

³⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 February 1954, p. 40.

³⁷ John Bayton, personal comments recorded in March 2004. Bayton was the architect of St Luke's, having trained as an architect before entering St. Francis' Theological College. St Luke's was dedicated on 19 November 1955 and was described as 'amongst the first Anglican churches to be built in the contemporary style'. See *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1956, p. 12.

³⁸ Gabriel Hebert, 'Strands in Anglo-Catholicism', *Australian Church Quarterly*, October 1956, pp. 25-32.

³⁹ Denis E. Taylor, *In His Presence*, Religious Education Press, Wallington, England, 1948.

Holy Communion: daily intercessions, weekly confession of sins, and teaching on the nature of the church. Rules of Life were also encouraged, especially as part of the preparation for confirmation. Dean Baddeley claimed that everyone 'must have a Rule of Life' incorporating a Rule of Prayer, a Rule of Communion and a Rule of Discipline. 'These are three essentials of the Christian life ... and the best safeguard against spiritual anaemia'.⁴⁰

Personal Sacrifice: the missionary vocation

Holloway speaks of 'three great manifestations of the new spirit of heroic self-offering' that the Oxford Movement inspired: the reaffirmation of the missionary vocation, the rediscovery of the religious life, and the taking of the faith 'into the dark places of our awful cities'.⁴¹ Before looking at how each of these gained expression in Brisbane Diocese in the Fifties, it is worth noting that for some, such 'heroic self-offering' included a readiness to forego marriage and family life, either temporarily or permanently. 'A priest', claimed Bishop Ian Shevill, 'should not marry until he has been in orders for a number of years ... priests of the English Church should be prepared to serve their unmarried master for an unmarried period because there are tough places where a priest is needed and a woman should not be asked to go'.⁴² This sentiment found expression in the Bush Brotherhood. There was an expectation that once ordained a young priest might give some years to the Brotherhood, an expectation that ensured a regular flow of Brothers during the

⁴⁰ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1964, p. 21.

⁴¹ Holloway, *Paradoxes of Christian Faith and Life*, p. 136.

⁴² Shevill, *Half Time*, p. 93.

Fifties.⁴³ Because of the nature of the work – isolation, long distance travel, and poor pay – it was further understood that a Brother would not seek to marry. Brothers would joke that the three monastic knots (which stood for poverty, chastity and obedience) became for them ‘no money, no wife, no hope’! It was a humorous way of acknowledging the sacrificial – if expected – service.

The number of those in Brisbane Diocese who remained single is surprising: Archbishop Halse and his successor Archbishop Strong, Dean Denis Taylor, Fr Ivor Church (Principal of St Francis’ Theological College), Bishop John Hudson, various priests such as Frs. Jack Madden and W. P. B. Miles, and one or two key lay women, such as Miss Hilda Beaumont (Chair, Diocesan Board of Christian Education). Whether such people remained single by choice or by the accident of events is not always clear. What is clear is that some found compelling the Anglo-Catholic theology that elevated the single, celibate state over marriage, in order to devote oneself entirely and sacrificially to the work of the Lord. Until the mid-1960s it was not uncommon to have occasional talks given to ordination candidates at St Francis’ College on the value of the celibate life. After becoming Bishop of North Queensland in 1953, Bishop Ian Shevill recognised that ‘any thought of marriage was out of the question ... a priest’s job must come before any personal considerations’.⁴⁴ It was typical Anglo-Catholic thinking.

Holloway speaks of the ‘heroic self-offering’, which the Tractarian Movement inspired, being found in three areas, the first of which was the

⁴³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 93. ‘The brotherhood has been in the hands of young Australian priests.’

⁴⁴ Shevill, *Half Time*, p. 109.

‘missionary vocation’. Following World War II, missionary endeavour was marked by a new awareness that Australia belonged to the Asia-Pacific region. Whereas Australia was a numerically small, increasingly prosperous, white and Christian country, it was set amidst a large, relatively poor, non-Christian, Asia-Pacific region. Politically, this awareness created anxiety and even fear (as has already been noted), but at another level was the recognition of the value of developing mutual responsibility, obligation and support. The Colombo Plan was a political recognition of this awareness.

The management of missionary service was also affected by this new reality. No longer could missionary endeavour be driven largely by individual interest and opportunity, it had to become more planned, and from this time, the word ‘strategy’ came to be used more and more frequently in connection with missions.⁴⁵ Between 1947 and 1952, the Australian Board of Missions (ABM) aimed to recruit 50 new missionaries, and increase financial giving accordingly. In Queensland, this goal was helped by the appointment of the energetic Fr Ian Shevill, as ABM’s Queensland organising secretary in 1945. He raised consciousness of the need to consolidate missionary endeavour in a planned way in the face of the many non-Christian religions and philosophies competing for the allegiance of hearts and souls in South-East Asia. It was at this time – in 1945 – that Shevill initiated the Comrades of St George, the youth movement dedicated to missionary support. The result of this renewed energy was a steady rise in financial contributions from every

⁴⁵ Rayner, ‘History of the Church of England in Queensland’ p. 553.

diocese in Queensland, and 'a greater consciousness of missions as an integral part of the work of the church than ever before.'⁴⁶

In particular, the dioceses of Queensland had a special relationship with missionary endeavour in Papua New Guinea. Many missionaries had gone to New Guinea, which, from its beginnings, had been a 'missionary diocese'.⁴⁷ The link with Queensland Anglicans had been sealed partly through proximity, and partly in blood when a number of Queensland missionaries were among those martyred by the Japanese during World War II.⁴⁸ In 1959, ABM was supporting over 30 Queensland missionaries in New Guinea, Carpentaria, Melanesia, Polynesia, Borneo and Singapore. Positions were advertised in the *Church Chronicle*: in New Guinea, a skipper for the diocesan ship the *Maclaren King*, male teachers, a carpentry instructor, nurses, priests especially for the New Guinea Highlands; in Borneo, a farmer with skills in 'wet paddy rice cultivation'; in Melanesia, teachers, nurses and a handyman builder and shipwright.⁴⁹

The aim here was no longer to perpetuate old-style foreign missions but to develop indigenous churches and leadership, with a view one day to celebrating their self-sufficiency.⁵⁰ Under a scheme similar in intent to the

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 553. See also Shevill, *Half Time*, pp. 21-31.

⁴⁷ For the history of the Anglican mission to Papua New Guinea, see David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891-1942*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1977; David Wetherell (ed.), *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong 1936-1945*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1981; Dorothea Tomkins and Brian Hughes, *The Road From Gona*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1969; David Hand, *Modawa: Papua New Guinea and Me 1946-2002*, SalPress, Port Moresby, 2002; Elin Johnston, *Bishop George: Man of Two Worlds*, Robjon Partners, Point Lonsdale, Victoria, 2003.

⁴⁸ Tomkins and Hughes, *Road From Gona*, pp. 59-62; Johnston, *Bishop George*, pp. 42-45; Wetherell (ed.), *The New Guinea Dairies*, passim.

⁴⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1959, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 554, for this and the following information.

Colombo plan, potential church leaders from Melanesia, the Torres Strait Islands, Borneo, Korea, Japan and Burma spent periods of time at St Francis' College. Promising children from Papua New Guinea were sent in small numbers for education at church schools in Queensland, particularly Slade and All Souls', Charters Towers.⁵¹ At the same time attention was given to training indigenous ordinands in their own theological colleges. In 1951, the former vice-principal of St Francis' College, the Reverend E. L. Cassidy went to Papua New Guinea to take charge of Newton Theological College. The climax of this trend was the consecration in 1960 of the first Papua New Guinean as a bishop, the Reverend George Ambo, to be assistant bishop of Papua New Guinea.

Personal Sacrifice: the religious life

The rediscovery of the religious life was another area which the Tractarian Movement inspired. The principal religious order in Brisbane Diocese was the Society of the Sacred Advent (SSA), an order for women, which had begun its life in Brisbane in 1892.⁵² It quickly became involved in two streams of work, education and social welfare.⁵³ By the mid-1950s, SSA sisters managed not only the girls' section of the hostel at Charleville, but also had founded and managed a number of secondary girls' schools. Three were in Brisbane: St

⁵¹ See, for example, *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1962, p. 5, which records eight Papuan girls attending St Catherine's Warwick..

⁵² There was also the small religious order called the Daughters of St Clare (DSC), established in the 1920s. By 1948 there were just three DSC sisters, and after discussions they joined the SSA in January 1949, after which the SSA became the only community of Anglican sisters in Queensland. See *The Advent: the quarterly paper of the Society of the Sacred Advent*, February 1949, p. 2.

⁵³ For a brief summary of the ministry of the SSA by the early Fifties, see *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1952, pp. 363-364.

Margaret's Albion Heights, St Aidan's Corinda and St Michael's Clayfield, (a primary school only.⁵⁴) In the rural areas, schools were established at St Catherine's Warwick, (in Brisbane Diocese) as well as at St Anne's Townsville, St Mary's Herberton, and St Gabriel's Charters Towers, all in the diocese of North Queensland. The Sisters' origins were in the culture and history of England, and so they brought a greater cultural, spiritual and intellectual approach to education.⁵⁵ These schools were complemented by a further seven Brisbane Diocesan schools, about which much the same could be said.⁵⁶ Together these Anglican schools provided primary and secondary education, not as readily available or valued in the public system. It is worth reiterating that in the early Fifties, for every three students receiving secondary education in a Queensland State high school, four were attending an independent school.⁵⁷ It was the independent church schools that showed a value for secondary education, not reflected in the State school system.

In welfare, the sisters ran Tufnell Home and the Toddlers Home both at Nundah. They were children's homes, not only for orphans, but for many more who 'were homeless through the breakdown of their parents' married life'.⁵⁸ For these children the post-War promise of happiness and prosperity in

⁵⁴ St Michael's was established in 1903 as an 'Industrial School', where 'erring girls could be cared for and given a good chance to earn a good living'. See Elizabeth Moores, *One Hundred Years of Ministry: a history of the Society of the Sacred Advent 1892-1992*, Society of the Sacred Advent, Brisbane, 1993, p. 31. For a focus on the school ministry of the SSA, see Helen Amies, 'The Aims, Ideals and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent in Queensland 1892-1968', BA Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1968.

⁵⁵ Amies, 'Aims, Ideals and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent', p. 155.

⁵⁶ Diocesan boys schools were: Church of England Boys School, Toowoomba; 'Churchie', East Brisbane; Slade School, Warwick; The Southport School, Southport; and St Paul's Bald Hills (opened 1961). Diocesan girls schools existed at Glennie Memorial School, Toowoomba; and St Hilda's School, Southport.

⁵⁷ See chapter 4, p. 96.

⁵⁸ *Advent*, October 1949, p. 3. The 'toddlers' were between 2 and 5 years old. For a summary of a toddler's day, see *Advent*, August 1958, p. 12.

a domestic setting was illusory. The hope was to give the children, half of whom were State wards, some knowledge of the pattern of home life, but it was not always easy. When asked where her mother was, a ten-year-old girl replied, 'In Hell, I hope.'⁵⁹ In 1949, Tufnell supported 76 children, and the Toddlers' Home another 30, figures that remained relatively consistent throughout the Fifties.⁶⁰ The children were the objects of the paternal generosity of groups such as Rotary, but such kindness could not always displace the anger, or temper the feelings of abandonment and resentment. The SSA magazine *The Advent*, for February 1954, records that four girls had to depart from Tufnell as 'non-amenable to Home discipline'.⁶¹ 'It is sad to feel unable to help girls who have been hardened by the desertions of their parents or by difficult family conditions', concluded the report.⁶² Boys were not cared for beyond their tenth birthday. It was felt that they were better off at the Enoggera Boys Home.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the social work of the SSA was the management of St Martin's Hospital, located alongside the cathedral.⁶³ When William Wand arrived in Brisbane in 1934 as the new Archbishop, he thought how ideal it was that the 'Church should have been able to set up its buildings for worship and for practical good works side by side'.⁶⁴ It was a sentiment many Anglicans shared. Opened in 1922 as a response to the injured of World War I, bed occupancy was generally high and in 1964 an

⁵⁹ Ibid., October 1949, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Ibid., October 1949, p. 3.

⁶¹ Ibid., February 1954, p. 7.

⁶² Ibid., February 1954, p. 7.

⁶³ For a history of St Martin's Hospital, see Val Donovan, *St. Martin's Hospital: a history*, Boolarong Press, Brisbane, 1995.

⁶⁴ William Wand, *Changeful Page: the autobiography of William Wand, formerly bishop of London*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1965, p. 122.

average of 56 operations per week were being carried out.⁶⁵ It was a 70 bed hospital, and offered free treatment to ex-servicemen, a policy which was regarded as an 'integral part of our work', even if it put a strain on finances.⁶⁶ The hospital provided a good basic training in nursing, with provision of nursing quarters nearby. In 1935, the Hospital gained the distinction of being allowed reciprocity with the General Nursing Council of England and Wales, which meant that a nurse trained by the Sisters could work in hospitals outside Queensland without further training – a privilege not extended to any other private hospital in Queensland at that time.⁶⁷

Just as the Sisters educational policy was to integrate spiritual with secular education, so their healing policy was to look to spiritual as well as physical healing. A note above a bed – 'HC in AM' – was a reminder to the nurse on duty that a priest would bring in Holy Communion in the morning. The nurse was to ensure that a white linen cloth covered the patient's bedside table, and that the patient was sponged and ready. The Dean and Precentor were regular visitors, and it was not uncommon for a patient awaiting surgery to sit quietly in the cathedral.⁶⁸ Once a month all nurses would gather in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral for a 5.30am Eucharist. Attendance was expected and there was little grumbling despite the early, and in winter, chilly hour.

By the early 1960s some cracks were beginning to appear. The General Nursing Council for England and Wales revoked reciprocity in 1963

⁶⁵ Moores, *One Hundred Years of Ministry*, p. 53.

⁶⁶ Amies, 'Aims, Ideal and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent', p. 147.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁶⁸ In 1953, 254 patients received Holy Communion and four were anointed. See *Advent*, Lent, 1954, p. 8.

on the grounds that St Martin's was too small to provide sufficient nursing training. It needed now to be 100 beds or more.⁶⁹ Rising costs, increased maintenance of a building now 40 years old, and competition from new hospitals were beginning to tell on admission figures.⁷⁰ As well, until the late Fifties, Labor governments were keen to build and develop the public hospital system, especially maternity care. So important did State Labor governments consider this work that after Commonwealth hospital funding ceased in 1950, 'Queensland was the only State to keep free hospitals, which it managed to do at the expense of secondary education'.⁷¹ In 1956-57, hospitals absorbed 60 per cent of the State health budget.⁷² Such priorities suited both the Roman Catholic Church (with its encouragement of large families) and the government's interest in populating the whole State. St Martin's Hospital could not compete. It was to be the centre of immense controversy in the late 1960s as questions about its viability and sentiment about its past, fought with realities about its future. It closed its doors in July 1971.

The SSA never had more than 37 professed sisters.⁷³ Yet in the 1950s it managed a total of six high schools and one primary school, a rural hostel, a 70-bed hospital, and a home for children and toddlers. The scale of this SSA

⁶⁹ Amies, 'Aims, Ideal and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent', p. 158; Donovan, *St Martin's Hospital*, pp. 78-79 says that the reciprocity was lost in 1957.

⁷⁰ Princess Alexandra Hospital was built in 1956; St Andrews's War Memorial Hospital opened in 1958; Chermiside Chest Hospital and Greenslopes Repatriation Hospital became, in time, general hospitals. See *Queensland Past and Present: 100 years of statistics 1896-1996*, Government Statisticians Office, Brisbane, 1998, p. 246; J. S. D. Mellick, *Keeping Faith: a history of St Andrew's War Memorial Hospital and its achievements, 1958-2003*, St Andrew's War Memorial Hospital, Brisbane, 2002, pp. 6-50.

⁷¹ Humphrey McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, p. 45.

⁷² *Queensland Past and Present*, p. 246.

⁷³ Amies, 'Aims, Ideal and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent', p. 173. In 1952, there were 32 professed sisters. See *Society of the Sacred Advent: Diamond Jubilee Handbook, 1892-1952*, privately published, Brisbane, 1952, p. 15.

ministry caused Archbishop Wand to say in 1943, on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the order, that it was 'the most important institution in the Anglican Church in Queensland'.⁷⁴ Yet pressures were growing. A third of the sisters were elderly and there had been few novices or postulants after the War. The order had too many projects to oversee and too few sisters. Furthermore, the sisters believed there was a degree of ignorance, even apathy, about their work from church people, including clergy, and were conscious that while they were given moral support, financial and material support was often lacking – not surprisingly really, given that for many decades the Diocese itself had been struggling to make financial ends meet.⁷⁵ Such difficulties make the scale of their work from so few even more impressive. Although incapable of measurement, their work must add up to a considerable contribution to Diocesan social welfare ministry up to the 1950s, and is a testimony to the personal, sacrificial commitment that the Anglo-Catholic heritage was able to inspire.

Personal Sacrifice: 'into the dark places of our awful cities'.

A final legacy of Tractarianism was a fresh awareness of social responsibility. Just as God had taken on human form and immersed himself in the poverty and sin of the world, seeking its transformation, so Anglo-Catholics immersed themselves in the worst areas of human poverty and deprivation. It was a theology of incarnational presence. The noted Anglo-Catholic Bishop Frank Weston caught the sentiment precisely, when he said at an Anglo-Catholic

⁷⁴ *A Short History of the Society of the Sacred Advent 1892-1942*, SSA, Brisbane, 1943, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Amies, 'Aims, Ideal and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent', p. 159.

Congress in 1923, 'You cannot claim to worship Jesus in the tabernacle, if you do not pity Jesus in the slum.'⁷⁶ The great 'slum priests' of London's East End in the second half of the 19th century were motivated by this Tractarian mind, an identification with the poor. It was a 'joyous martyrdom of self in the service of the poor to the glory of God'.⁷⁷ Archbishop Halse himself had been a 'slum priest' serving his first curacy at St Saviour's, Poplar in the Diocese of London, in the heart of the East End's docklands, before becoming priest-in-charge of the daughter church of St Nicholas', Blackwall from 1911. As a 'slum priest' in these East End parishes he evinced that 'concern for the poor which educated and able young men from well-to-do families have so often, in a Franciscan spirit, acted out.'⁷⁸

It was to be expected therefore, that Halse would encourage all programs of social welfare: a Women's Shelter in Spring Hill, a Boys Home in Enoggera, St Oswald's House for young men from the country needing temporary city accommodation, a rest house at Coolangatta for ex-servicemen and service personnel, all complementing the ministry of the sisters of SSA. In particular, there was some pioneering work in aged care, which in the years after World War II became a more pressing social issue. At the turn of the century just 4.7 per cent of Queensland's population was over 60.⁷⁹ By 1960, this figure had risen to 12 per cent, due mainly to improvements in medical science after World War II, and despite the influx of

⁷⁶ Quoted in Peter Corney, 'Up the candle-stick, down the gurgler', *Market-place*, 16 April, 2003, p. 16.

⁷⁷ Holloway, *Paradoxes of Christian Faith and Life*, p. 137.

⁷⁸ Moses, 'Reginald Charles Halse', p. 64.

⁷⁹ *Ninth Census of Queensland 1901*, part III, table XLI, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1902, p. 65.

post-War migrants mostly aged under 35.⁸⁰ The Diocese cared for a small number of elderly at St Clare's Home for Aged Women and St John's Home for Aged Men both at Toowong, and in 1950 opened Neilson Home for Aged Women at Chelmer.⁸¹ Nevertheless, accommodation in these homes continued to be quite inadequate to meet the demand.

In 1958, a house-to-house appeal was launched, a visit of the Queen Mother used as the occasion to commend an 'Aid the Aged' Campaign to raise the funds to complete another home for the aged costing £130,000 which was built at Toowong.⁸² Public support was gratifying⁸³ and in the years that followed, and with funds augmented by bequests from the estates of P. J. Symes and Sir Edwin Tooth, three more homes for the aged were built and opened – Symes Thorpe in Toowoomba in 1961, Symes Grove in Zillmere in 1962, and the Edwin Tooth Memorial Home in Manly in 1963.⁸⁴

Another major development in 1966 complemented the Diocese's ministry in aged care. It was the return of the District Nursing Association (DNA) to Diocesan control.⁸⁵ The DNA had been founded in 1905, the inspiration of the members of the Mothers' Union at Christ Church, Milton and with the support of the rector, the Reverend James Tomlin, whose experience of Anglican social welfare in the slums of London at the end of the 19th century

⁸⁰ *Queensland Year Book 1961*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1962, p. 19.

⁸¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1951*, p. 25; *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1951, p. 7.

⁸² *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1958, p. 81.

⁸³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1958, p. 141.

⁸⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, pp. 132-133 which reported that the Homes for Aged Persons provided accommodation for 107 men and 152 women.

⁸⁵ For a history of the District Nursing Association, see Robert Longhurst, *Fuelled by Passion: a history of St Luke's Nursing Service 1904-2004*, St Luke's Nursing Service, Stones Corner, Queensland, 2004.

made him receptive to this pioneering work.⁸⁶ In 1953 the DNA constitution was changed to make it an entirely independent organisation, and the only formal links to the Church of England became the nomination of the Archbishop of Brisbane (Halse) as the Official Visitor and the service of the rector of Christ Church Milton as chaplain. The work of the DNA was simple. Trained nurses would visit the housebound (increasingly the elderly) to care medically for them. An article in the *Courier-Mail* in 1956 spoke of DNA nurses helping, amongst others, 'old ladies living alone in homes, crippled with arthritis and unable to help themselves ... [and providing] cleanliness, a hot bath and a warm well-cooked meal ... [as well as] the skilled nursing for which they are trained'.⁸⁷ In 1950, six nurses attended 1,170 patients. By 1957, home visits were made to 2,231 patients.⁸⁸

In the early Sixties, however, the DNA faced three challenges. First, the Blue Nursing Service, founded in 1953 by the West End Methodist Mission had 'effectively supplanted the old DNA as the household name for community nursing in Brisbane'.⁸⁹ Secondly, donations had slumped as community and corporate support swung more behind the Blue Nurses.⁹⁰ Thirdly, paring costs led some DNA nurses to seek industrial action to remedy what they saw as diminished work conditions and poor wages, generating a degree of ill feeling.⁹¹ In this climate, the DNA Committee of women recognised the need for a larger, more experienced body to manage its

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 104.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 55.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 58.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 59-60.

affairs. 'After all', said the DNA President, Mrs Edaline Thomason with a smile, 'we're really just a group of housewives'.⁹²

On 4 February 1966, Archbishop Strong received documents from Mrs Thomason handing control of the DNA back into Diocesan hands, at which moment the Diocese took full responsibility for the operation of a major health service in a growing city, with the real possibility of expansion in south-east Queensland. Two year later, the DNA changed its name to 'St Luke's Nursing Service' to indicate that home nursing was a branch of Christian service in the tradition of St Luke, the patron saint of the medical profession. Furthermore, the word 'district' was anachronistic when they now serviced all suburbs in greater Brisbane. St Luke's ministry grew only marginally in the next few years, but the groundwork was being laid and by the early years of the 21st century, St Luke's Nursing Service had become a major contributor to Australian domestic nursing care with a revenue base in 2003 of \$14 million, a staff of 280, branches in 21 locations around the State and the provision of care to over 30,000 people.⁹³ The comment that 'St Luke's has become the most successful, most visible Anglican healthcare service in the nation' might be hyperbole, but it reflects an ongoing pride in this service and care ministry.⁹⁴

⁹² Ibid., p. 61.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 95.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

5.3 Sources of Anglo-Catholic Energy

Two sources sustained the Anglo-Catholic ethos. All the bishops and archbishops of Brisbane (with the exception of Mathew Hale, Bishop of Brisbane from 1875 to 1888) had embraced the Tractarian heritage and they recruited from England clergy of the same persuasion. Halse himself was trained within the Anglo-Catholic tradition at the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham, Nottinghamshire.⁹⁵ The historian Dr. John Moses claims that Halse was particularly indebted to Edward Bouverie Pusey, one of the founders of the Tractarian movement, and upon whom Halse modelled his priestly life. Halse, he says, 'never lost sight of the truly Catholic values of the original motor of the Anglican Catholic revival'.⁹⁶ If the episcopal leadership in Brisbane recruited priests of their own Anglo-Catholic tradition, the theological college in Brisbane – St Francis' Theological College, Milton – further entrenched Anglo-Catholicism, as it fostered whole generations of young Australian men committed to this theological tradition.

Numbers in training for ordination at St Francis' Theological College increased throughout the 1950s. Eighteen students in residence at the beginning of the decade rose to 55 at the end.⁹⁷ Although the buoyant church climate was conducive to attracting men to the ordained life, it was Canon Ivor Church, who oversaw and managed this growth. In 1951, Church was appointed Vice-Principal of the College, but had not yet arrived before the

⁹⁵ Rayner, 'Halse, Reginald Charles', p. 362.

⁹⁶ Moses, 'Reginald Charles Halse', p. 64.

⁹⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, p. 159. The number was 53 according to a statistical survey by the Registrar, Roland St John. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, p. 322.

Principal, the Reverend Patrick Nelson died suddenly of leukaemia. Nelson had been a quiet, unassuming and prayerful man, who bore his illness with great fortitude.⁹⁸

On Nelson's death, Church was appointed Principal by default, and was soon affectionately nicknamed 'Prinny'. His initial time at St Francis' was not happy. He had to face an attack on the College at the 1953 Diocesan Synod by leading evangelical laymen, who argued that St Francis' College fostered overly Anglo-Catholic practices.⁹⁹ Church appeared to weather such crises with great equanimity. He had a generally happy disposition that endeared him to others. As a single man, the College became his life. He opened it up to the Diocese, fostered the formation of a postulants' guild, and preached and lectured a good deal outside as a means of extending the influence of the College.

Almost all ordinands were young, single men. Married couples were few (two in 1958) and of course, there were no women. The weekly routine was very ordered: Matins and the Eucharist in the early morning, breakfast, lectures (dressed in cassocks and academic gown), 'sext' at noon, followed by lunch and a variety of organised activities in the afternoons. Private study occurred in the evenings, (except for special guest speakers on Wednesdays), followed by Compline and the 'greater silence' until after the Eucharist the next morning. It was gently monastic and thoroughly grounded candidates in prayer and study, although there was always the risk that some

⁹⁸ Nelson was Acting-Principal from 1944-1946, after which his position was regularised as Principal.

⁹⁹ For the 1953 motion by Peter Henderson, see *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1953*, p. 112.

ordinands would find it too controlled and too male.¹⁰⁰ Some outlet of fun was needed and student pranks were not unknown. On one occasion, in the early 1960s, a group of students climbed onto the roof of their dormitory, and painted on the corrugated iron: 'Franks Motel – B / B – 30/-'.¹⁰¹ For all such fun, the serious side of College life shaped the outlook of the next generation of Australian-born clergy for Brisbane Diocese and combined an Anglo-Catholic interpretation of the *Book of Common Prayer* with an acceptance of moderate biblical criticism.



Fig. 25 Frank's Motel – The accommodation wing at St Francis College Milton early '60s

¹⁰⁰ Bishop John Bayton recalled the discipline of sweeping up the crumbs off the dining room table at the end of a meal to throw to the birds. He found such rules petty and unnecessary. John Bayton, personal comments recorded in March 2004.

¹⁰¹ Tom Hall, personal comments recorded in April 2006. Tom was ordained for Rockhampton Diocese, and currently serves as Rector of St Faith's Strathpine.



Fig. 26 Canon Ivor Church (centre), Principal of St Francis College together with Archbishop Strong (left) and Archbishop Michael Ramsey (right) March 1965, during Ramsey's Australian tour.

5.4 Opposition

Not all sat comfortably with the Anglo-Catholic heritage. Some were sympathetic to a Low Church or 'Evangelical' tradition, which focussed on the centrality of the scriptures, and lengthy preaching, against a backdrop of simplicity – almost dourness – of church furnishings and architecture. One or two parishes leant towards the evangelical wing of Anglicanism, most notably St Stephen's Coorparoo. Tensions erupted in the Diocesan Synod of 1953 when some evangelical laymen – lawyers Peter Henderson, Graham Hart and Charles Wanstall – complained about Anglo-Catholic practices fostered in St Francis' Theological College and elsewhere. Henderson launched a 'fierce

attack' on the College.¹⁰² The training there was a deviation, he claimed, from the standard and norms set down in the *Book of Common Prayer*. He was right, but the *Book of Common Prayer* was then nearly 300 years old, and changes in modern life and the insights of liturgical scholarship had rendered some aspects of the *Book of Common Prayer* worship obsolete. It was almost impossible to keep all the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The fear for the three evangelical laymen was that the changes being made veered too much towards Roman Catholicism. So sensitive were the criticisms that Synod took the unusual step of discussing the issues in a 'closed' session.¹⁰³

Rayner thought that the nature of the criticisms were unfortunate because 'it appeared to impeach not only extremist doctrines and forms of worship, but also many practices and beliefs that were generally recognised as being within the normal range of Anglican standards'.¹⁰⁴ Many clergy were offended. The Reverend Peter Bennie, perhaps seen as the intellectual leader of Anglo-Catholics in Brisbane, had suffered the ignominy of the three lawyers sitting in his church of All Saints, Wickham Terrace taking notes as part of their preparation for Synod. He poured scorn on the lawyers, calling them the 'three blind mice'. 'They see nothing, hear nothing and know nothing', he cried. There was much laughter and they never troubled him again.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 598.

¹⁰³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1953, p. 302.

¹⁰⁴ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 598.

¹⁰⁵ Dunstan, *No Brains at All*, p. 160. Charles Wanstall became, in time, Chief Justice of Queensland, Chancellor of the Diocese and staunch supporter of Christ Church St Lucia, which sat comfortably within the Anglo-Catholic heritage. See also John Moses, 'Peter Bennie at All Saints, Wickham Terrace and as Editor of The Australian Church Quarterly 1952-1963', a paper delivered at St Paul's College, University of Sydney at a seminar in memory of Peter Bennie, 19 February 2005, pp. 2-5, a copy of which is in the possession of the author.

A committee was set up to examine the whole question of 'lawful authority' in the church in Queensland, but its report was inconclusive. There was a need to clarify legal matters that the proposed national Constitution, then being developed, was supposed to address. This episode witnesses to a submerged but vocal alternative churchmanship in Brisbane, but one that lacked any significant degree of support, especially from the clergy.¹⁰⁶

The 1953 debate provides the background to the formation in 1956 of a short lived Church of England Defence Association, set up to oppose Anglo-Catholic rituals and forms of worship used at All Saints' Wickham Terrace and some suburban churches, which they claimed to be 'serious breaches of church order, discipline and doctrine'.¹⁰⁷ It is also the background to some critical comments about the proposed national Constitution at the Diocesan Synod of 1956, when the same group of lawyers – Henderson, Hart and Wanstall – questioned the Constitution's value, noting that it was an 'awkward compromise' between Anglo-Catholics, who wanted a 'power of change' especially with regard to prayer book revision and liturgical practice, while the evangelical group desired 'to restrict the power of change to preserve the Reformation formularies.'¹⁰⁸ This evangelical group had little or no clergy support, but the debate in Synod over the constitution allowed a 'considerable clearing of the air', and a measure of reconciliation. The opponents graciously agreed to abide by the Constitution once it had been passed overwhelmingly

¹⁰⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1953*, pp. 112-113; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1954*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁰⁷ *Courier-Mail*, 22 March 1956, p. 7; *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1956, p. 138; *Australian Church Record*, 26 April 1956, p. 3 and p. 6; Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', pp. 597-99; David Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, February 1991, p. 247; Hilliard, 'The Anglo-Catholic Tradition', p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ John Davis, *Australian Anglicans and Their Constitution*, Acorn, Canberra, 1993, p. 160.

by Synod.¹⁰⁹ In due course, Graeme Hart, MLA played an important role in piloting the bill to give effect to the new Constitution through the Queensland parliament and in June 1961, Charles Wanstall accepted the invitation of Archbishop Halse to be the Chancellor of the Diocese.¹¹⁰ Whatever minimal force evangelical opposition had, all but evaporated under this good will.

5.5 *Conclusion*

It was the Tractarian heritage that gave the Diocese its identity and its theological energy. It determined its sacramental style of worship, its understanding of the nature and role of the ordained, its social conscience, its interest in personal holiness, and its missionary vocation. By 1960, the Anglo-Catholic movement was dominant in most Australian dioceses, but in the years to come, a series of theological trends would sap the energy and passion of the Anglo-Catholic heritage. Ongoing liturgical reform, the call for the ordination of women, liberal scholarship, and a variety of social trends were some of the forces that would combine to temper the momentum and vitality of the Anglo-Catholic heritage in the Diocese of Brisbane and around Australia.

¹⁰⁹ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 598.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 599.

Chapter Six

1963

'The stories of the gospel lay across the harsh landscape like sheets of newspaper on a polished floor. They slid, slipped and did not connect to anything beneath them.'

Peter Carey, 'Oscar and Lucinda' (1988)

1963 was a year of sayings, and a short overview of them gives some sense of what happened in that year around the world. In West Berlin, in June 1963, shortly after the erection of the Berlin Wall, President Kennedy underlined American support for West Germans in their struggle against communism, and said: 'Ich bin ein Berliner'. The stand-off and suspicion of communism continued, in what was well-named the 'Cold War'. Later that year, in November, the Western world was shocked to hear of Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas.

In August 1963, from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., civil rights leader Martin Luther King addressed a crowd of 200,000 with the words: 'I have a dream...that all men are created equal'. The black human rights movement had gained great momentum since the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955.

Again in America, Betty Friedan wrote *The Feminine Mystique*, and so became the mother of feminism. She spoke of unfulfilled married women as suffering from 'the problem that has no name'. In England, the Beatles sang 'I wanna hold your hand', the first single to sell a million copies, pre-release. In the Vatican City, Roman Catholics shouted the words, 'Viva Il Papa! Viva Il Papa!' following the election of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini in June

1963, as Pope Paul VI, in succession to the recently deceased and much loved Pope John XXIII. In Australia, Prime Minister Bob Menzies welcomed Queen Elizabeth II on her second visit to Australia, and quoted the poet: 'I did but see her passing by, and yet I love her till I die'.¹

In Brisbane, Bishop Philip Nigel Warrington Strong was enthroned as Archbishop of Brisbane on 28 March 1963. He too had a saying. His life's guiding motto he had learned as a boy at his mother's knees: 'I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me'.² These words had become the mainstay of Strong's ministry. They sustained and inspired him, and he saw them modelled particularly by St Paul, for whom it was 'his philosophy of life, the secret of his life as an apostle, a missionary and great Christian leader'.³ The words became the subject of occasional sermons, pepper his diary entries, and are today inscribed on his grave at Wangaratta cemetery.⁴

¹ Kevin Perkins, *Menzies: last of the Queen's men*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1968, p. 220.

² Philippians 4.13 His parents also taught him some of the great Cranmerian Collects, such as the 'Good Shepherd' collect for the Seventh Sunday after Trinity. See Colin Reilly (ed.), *The Good Shepherd: Bishop Philip Strong and the New Guinea martyrs*, St Peter's Bookroom, East Melbourne, Victoria, 1983, p. 12.

³ Archbishop Philip Strong, diary entry, 17 January 1963.

⁴ Strong, diary entries, 1 November 1936; 18 August 1963; 9 April 1970. Strong preached his final sermon as Vicar of St Ignatius, Sunderland on this text, soon after his consecration as a bishop for New Guinea on 28 October 1936 in St Paul's Cathedral, London. See David Wetherell (ed.), *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong: 1936-1945*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1981, p. 4.



Fig 27. Bishop Philip Nigel Warrington Strong was enthroned as Archbishop of Brisbane on 28 March 1963

6.1 *The Election*

After Halse's death, Bishop Strong as senior bishop of the Province became responsible for calling the meeting to elect a new archbishop.⁵ After Halse's long episcopate, the Diocese needed a younger man with a capacity for strategic administration of a growing Diocese, and (with hindsight) one who could negotiate the Diocese through the challenging social issues of the coming years.

As Halse had aged his ability to offer the vision, strategies and dynamic leadership required in the Diocese waned, and led to increasing frustration.⁶ There were some who believed he should have retired some years earlier.⁷ It must have been tempting for him simply to let the numerical and financial development happen around him and to enjoy its fruits. It was his happy complaint that all he ever did in these latter years was open new school buildings and churches.⁸ Although a clergy retirement age of 70 had been introduced in the 1952 Diocesan Synod (largely as a measure to protect parishes from clergy who in increasing old age had lost their competency), Halse claimed that the Canon was too late to apply to him, (he turned 71 that year), and in the years ahead he would joke about his own retirement.⁹ The average age of the episcopate in Brisbane – Anglican and Roman Catholic –

⁵ In the absence of an Archbishop of Brisbane, the senior bishop was the one who had served longest as a diocesan bishop in one of the dioceses that made up the Province of Queensland.

⁶ Keith Rayner, 'Halse, Reginald Charles', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 363.

⁷ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1963, p. 542.

⁸ See 'Archbishop's Address to Diocesan Synod, 16 June 1959', *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1959*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1960, p. 84.

⁹ An 'Age Retirement Canon' had been enacted at the 1952 Diocesan Synod requiring all active clergy and all remunerated lay people to retire at the age of 70. *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane, 1952*, p. 99.

was about 80, he would say. Halse was 80 years old in 1961, his Coadjutor bishop and senior archdeacon, Horace Dixon, was 92 (and retired that year), Archbishop Duhig was 90, while Duhig's Coadjutor bishop, Patrick O'Donnell, was a spritely 74. Halse would retire when his senior archdeacon told him he should! Leadership by such elderly men would hardly appeal to the growing numbers of youth.

There were a considerable number of nominations, and several may have made equally good archbishops.¹⁰ Perhaps the flamboyant Dean Baddeley: handsome, debonair, well known throughout Queensland because of his television programs, in demand as a confessor and spiritual counsellor, and an organiser of cathedral worship and music of the highest order. Or the Coadjutor Bishop John Hudson: pastorally sensitive, well liked and recognisably good. He was reserved around women, and had never married. He had been Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd in Bathurst Diocese and later gained episcopal experience as Bishop of Carpentaria (1950-1960), before becoming Co-adjutor Bishop of Brisbane. He was dedicated and loyal, and managed the interregnum after Halse's death admirably. A major candidate was certainly Bishop Ian Shevill. Vigorous and imaginative, he was a priest of the Diocese before his election to North Queensland and a protégé of Halse. Having served in North Queensland since 1953, he was more than ready for larger responsibilities. He had

¹⁰ Strong says that there were considerable nominations including Theodore McCall (Bishop of Rockhampton), Ian Shevill (Bishop of North Queensland), John Hudson (Co-adjutor Bishop of Brisbane), Bill Baddeley (Dean of Brisbane), James Housden (Bishop of Newcastle), Bill Hardie (Bishop of Ballarat), David Garnsey (Bishop of Gippsland), Edward Henderson (Bishop of Bath and Wells, England), Canon Frank Coaldrake (Director of the Australian Board of Missions), and Fr Alec Vidler, Cambridge theologian. Strong, diary entry, 30 October 1962.

presence. He was a noted missionary, a skilled, if outspoken, public speaker, and his Anglican Building Crusade, which he developed on the back of his pioneering of the Wells Way, had accomplished a great deal for the church in North Queensland.¹¹

As it was, the Election Committee of seven laity and seven clergy from the Diocese of Brisbane plus the bishops of the Province, meeting on 30 October 1962 at St Francis' College, chose the chair of the meeting, the 63 year-old bishop of New Guinea, Philip Nigel Warrington Strong from a broad field as the best man to lead the Diocese in the years ahead.¹² Minutes later, the Election Committee and the students of the College made their way to the College Chapel and sang the *Te Deum* of thanksgiving.

Strong had spent the previous 26 years as a missionary bishop in Papua New Guinea. No doubt there was some concern that after such a period, he might not make the adjustment to Brisbane as easily as desired. His age may also have been a concern. If it was, it was offset by his experience and reputation, and the knowledge that the retiring age of 70 was now in place. Other factors commended Strong's selection. The *Courier-Mail*

¹¹ If the anonymous 'young Australian bishop', who twice went to America, and was a 'celebrated preacher who attracted large and enthusiastic audiences', referred to in St John's memoirs is Shevill, it reflects some opposition to his possible election. The story concerns an elderly Anglican nun, who heard a friend sing the praises of a 'young Australian bishop' who had been to America. She thought he would be offered a diocese there. The nun rejected the idea. He had been to America twice. Neither the first visit nor the second made a sufficient impression for the Americans to want him. See Roland St John, *Memories at Sunset*, privately published, Toowoomba, 1994, p. 154, kept in Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane. In September 1962, shortly before the election committee met, Shevill dedicated the newly built church at St Lucia. Some felt his sermon was too much like an election speech, which did not enhance his chances.

¹² One wonders how this worked out. Not only the chairman (Strong), but four other electors were also nominees (McCall, Shevill, Baddeley and Hudson). Did not conflict of interest occur to anyone?

called him 'one of the world's outstanding bishops. He is a resolute, hard working and outspoken leader of deep spirituality.'¹³

He had an unshakeable missionary zeal. He had developed a reputation for courage and firmness of purpose, especially during World War II. When the Japanese threatened to invade New Guinea, early in 1942, Strong determined that he and other Anglican missionaries 'should have to remain [at their posts] under all circumstances and at all costs and endeavour to carry on the work no matter what it might mean.'¹⁴ He made a hurried tour of the mission stations, and talked to the staff about the question of remaining

... feeling that we could not abandon the work which has been entrusted to us. That God had sent us, and that He alone can tell us to go. ... Had found all in agreement with this and all seemed convinced that this is our highest duty.¹⁵

These sentiments speak of Strong's and the other missionaries' compelling sense of divine duty and calling, their total, sacrificial commitment to God. Later generations brought up on the relativity of values, individualism and the demand for personal rights, might not as readily appreciate the strong sense of vocation to a higher good, springing from the Anglo-Catholic heritage, that motivated Strong and his missionaries, and which could be found in the missionaries of other churches, and many of their generation.

¹³ *Courier-Mail*, 31 October 1963, p. 1.

¹⁴ Wetherell, *New Guinea Diaries*, p. 68.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

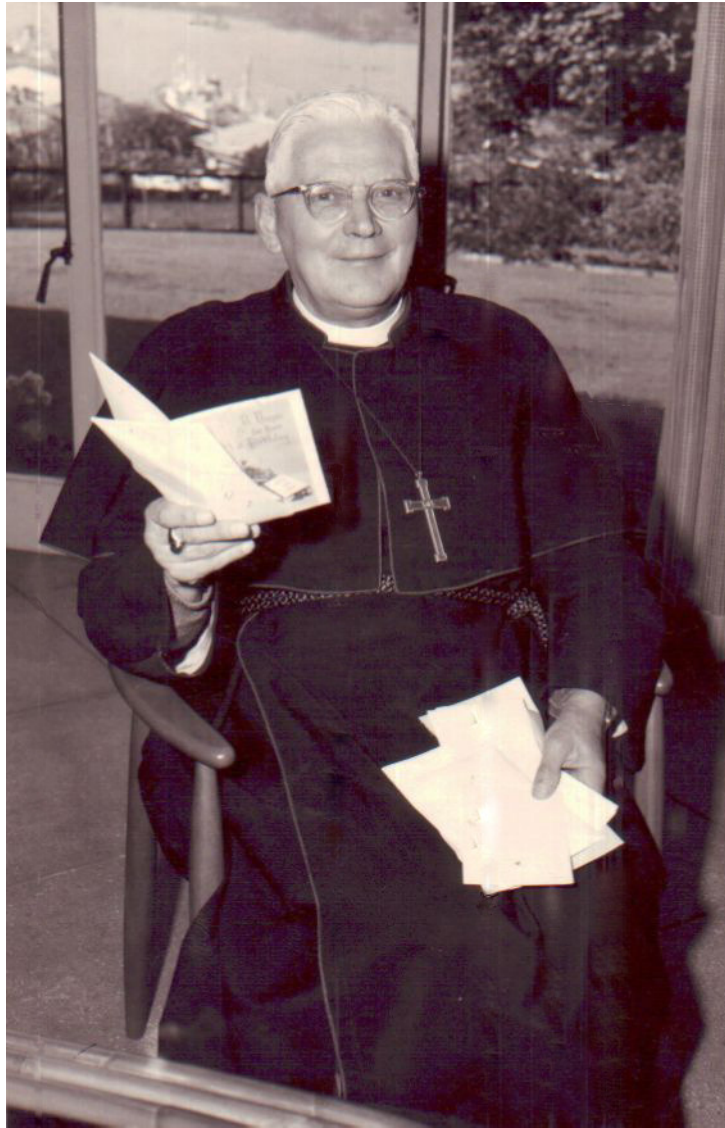


Fig. 28 Archbishop Philip Strong

Strong followed up his tour with a famous written memo, urging all to stand fast with him 'no matter what the cost may be to any of us individually'.

We do not know what it may mean to us [to stay]. Many already think us fools and mad. What does that matter? If we are fools, "we are fools for Christ's sake". I cannot foretell the future. I cannot guarantee that all will be well – that we shall all come through unscathed. One thing only can I guarantee is that if we do not forsake Christ here in Papua in His Body, the Church, He will not forsake us. He will uphold us; He will strengthen us and He will guide us and keep us through the days that lie ahead. If we all left, it would take years for the Church to recover from our betrayal of our trust. If we remain – and even if the worst came to the worst and we were all to perish in remaining – the Church will not perish, for there would have been no breach of trust in its walls, but its foundations and structure would have received added strength for the future building by our faithfulness unto death ... we have made our resolution to stay. Let us not shrink from it. Let us not go back on it. Let us trust and not be afraid. ¹⁶

Eleven missionary staff were subsequently killed by the Japanese Imperial Army. Vivien Redlich, a priest from England, Margery Brenchley, a nurse from Fortitude Valley, Lila Lashmar, a teacher from Adelaide, Henry Holland, a priest from New South Wales, and John Duffill, a builder from Woolloongabba were all beheaded on Buna Beach, and their bodies thrown

¹⁶ The memo is recorded in full in Wetherell, *New Guinea Diaries*, pp. 222-223.

into the sea.¹⁷ Henry Matthews, a priest from Victoria, and Leslie Gariadi, a Papuan evangelist were caught taking others to safety. They were killed at sea by Japanese submariners. Lucien Tapiedi, another Papuan evangelist was cut down with an axe defending May Hayman, a nurse from Canberra, and Mavis Parkinson, a teacher from Ipswich, who were bayoneted to death. John Barge, a priest from England, was killed alone at Apugi mission station in New Britain. All these came to be called by the Anglican Church, 'the martyrs of New Guinea'.¹⁸

Strong himself was steadfast in every respect, and before the War had finally passed over his area, he too had experienced a variety of wartime tribulations. In March 1942, while at sea on the mission launch, the *Maclaren-King*, surreptitiously visiting mission stations, a Japanese warplane nose-dived and bombed the boat. The bombs fell wide, and Strong and his three companions, fearful and alarmed, steered the launch to the nearest beach, jumped out of the boat, and ran into the scrub. The returning warplane sprayed the boat and scrub with bullets. Strong's prayer book, left on deck, became a memento of this frightening event – a bullet hole through its middle.¹⁹

His determined resolve during the War gave Strong a reputation and even an aura, and he became well known and largely admired around

¹⁷ Bishop David Hand has raised doubts about the deaths of Redlich and Holland, suggesting that Orakaiwan Christians, not the Japanese, killed them. See David Hand, *Modawa: Papua New Guinea and Me 1946-2002*, privately published, Port Moresby, 2002, p. 188.

¹⁸ For accounts of the martyrdoms, see Dorothea Tomkins and Brian Hughes, *The Road From Gona*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1969; E. C. Rowland, *Faithful Unto Death: the story of the New Guinea Martyrs*, Australian Board of Missions, Stanmore, New South Wales, 1964; Errol Hodge, *The Seed of the Church: the story of the Anglican martyrs of Papua New Guinea*, Australian Board of Missions, Sydney, 1992.

¹⁹ The *Book of Common Prayer* prayer book is in the possession of Miss Elsie Manley, Wangaratta, Victoria.

Australia.²⁰ As a bishop of the Province he was occasionally in Brisbane, and there was some affection for him from other clergy. (He did not have a licence to drive, so younger clergy chauffeured him around. He had so much luggage - including two typewriters, in case one broke – that he gained the affectionate nickname: the bishop with the 39 articles!) Strong had a reputation as a powerful and inspiring (if at times, overly long) preacher. He was utterly sincere. He displayed an unpretentious holiness and prayerfulness. ‘It is hard not to vote for a saint’, said one elector.²¹ Finally, he had preached at the funeral of Reginald Halse, and though that is a small matter, it meant he was before the eyes of the Diocese at a moving and notable occasion just before the election.

The electors aimed then, for a hand on the tiller that would keep the boat steady, as she looked set to move inexorably forward in the years ahead. The prospects for the Diocese looked good. Church attendance was booming, Sunday Schools were flourishing and church buildings were opening. Diocesan debt had been swept away and parishes enjoyed the financial freedom brought by the Wells Way. Teenagers participated in youth groups, priests had a clear role and position in society, and numbers offering for ordination had never been higher. Beyond the diocese, hopes for greater national cohesion among the 23 Anglican dioceses had been excited, now that a new national constitution which gave the Anglican Church in Australia

²⁰ Not all shared Strong’s conviction that urging the missionaries to stay put was right. At a meeting at which Strong was the principal speaker, in South Brisbane, in October 1943, the sister of the one of the missionary martyrs, (Mavis Parkinson) interrupted Strong and strongly challenged him over his decision, charging him with responsibility for her sister’s death. It was a brave thing to do, and shook Strong. The knowledge that his decision caused the deaths of 11 missionaries, returned from time to time to disturb Strong’s equanimity. See Wetherell (ed.), *The New Guinea Diaries*, p. 187.

²¹ The elector was the Reverend Peter Bennie, Rector of All Saints, Wickham Terrace. Keith Rayner, personal comments recorded in April 2004.

legal autonomy had come into operation on 1 January 1962. As well, the hint of an ecumenical breeze could be felt, not least because of the beginning of Vatican Council II in October 1962. With such a sunny outlook, who of the electors could have foreseen the wide-ranging social changes that would burst upon the church like a violent storm in the years ahead? It is debatable whether any leading Australian churchman of the time could have been suitably prepared. Strong's episcopate would last for seven years. A prayer for, and a belief in, divine strength – 'I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me' – would be much needed by him as the storm clouds quickly gathered and decline set in.

6.2 *Charting Numerical Decline*

It is not hard to chart this decline numerically. Communicant figures at the cathedral peaked in 1964 at more than 19,500, the highest ever. By 1970, communicant numbers were down to 16,700 – a drop of nearly 20 per cent in six years.²² This was mirrored in parishes around the Diocese. With less people participating in parish life, subscriptions to the monthly Diocesan magazine, the *Church Chronicle*, also fell. From a high of nearly 7,000 in 1964, it had less than 6,000 subscriptions by 1970, too few to sustain the magazine.²³ In 1972, economics forced the *Church Chronicle* to become a bi-monthly paper.

²² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 122; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 128.

²³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 131; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 134.

Numbers of candidates offering for ordination also fell. In 1962, there were 44 men in training at St Francis' College (SFC) for the priesthood, of whom 18 completed their studies that year and were ordained. 'Never before had so large a number proceeded to ordination', said the Principal Fr Ivor Church happily.²⁴ Numbers slipped to 34 at SFC in 1964, and hovered around 30 for the rest of the decade.²⁵ In 1971, the newly installed Archbishop Felix Arnott noted with concern that there were 'fewer students in St Francis' College than ever before'.²⁶ It was a long way from the buoyant years of 1959, 1960 and 1961 when more than 50 students were in residence each year.

But it was in the area of children's and youth ministry that the decline was most marked and caused most anxiety. Sunday Schools, youth groups and confirmations suffered a calamitous decline. In 1964, an average of nearly 20,500 children were taught each week in parish Sunday Schools around the diocese. By 1970, the figure was down to about 15,500 – a fall of 25 per cent in six years.²⁷ Despite annual Diocesan Sunday School conferences, which attracted hundreds of volunteer teachers, and training courses in parishes, nothing could shake the slide. Other issues compounded

²⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, p. 153.

²⁵ See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, p. 322 for a breakdown of the number of ordinands in St Francis' College each year from 1957 to 1967.

²⁶ 'The Presidential Address of the Most Reverend F. R. Arnott, at the Opening of the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, 21 June 1971', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1971*, p. 321.

²⁷ In 1964, seven parishes did not register a figure for their Sunday School. In 1970, 15 parishes did not register figures. It may be that in some parishes Sunday School no longer existed. Despite these anomalies, the trend of decline is clear. For parish statistics, including Sunday School enrolments, see *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, pp. 44-75; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, pp. 48-79. The Church Mail Bag School also declined. In 1964, approximately 3,000 children received the lessons. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 175. By 1970, the number had dropped to about 1,755. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 177. This decline can be explained largely as the result of more schools being built, especially after 1957, in the rural areas. Consequently, there was less demand for correspondence lessons.

the sense of failing in this area, not the least being the belief that Sunday Schools ought to be more linked to the adult worshipping life of a parish. Strong was concerned that most children who were confirmed, had no worshipping experience other than Sunday School, and once they grew out of Sunday School they gave up church altogether.²⁸ By 1970, the situation was being rectified: 'integrated Sunday School which combines the two activities of Eucharistic worship and graded instruction' was being widely adopted in the Diocese.²⁹ But the slide continued.

The number of parish Young Anglican Fellowship (YAF) groups in the Diocese reached a peak of 65 in 1965. By 1970 there were just 28 YAF groups, which caused some degree of heart searching.³⁰ A special session called 'Youth and Its Challenge' was presented to the 1969 Diocesan Synod. It was more memorable for its presentation than its content, which was thin in assessment. Calls for the implementation of a 'total Programme with Youth' or a youth ministry that was both 'significant and realistic in our situation today' outlined goals everyone could believe in, but offered no strategies other than more money, and greater adult leadership.³¹ No one seemed to have ready solutions to reverse the exodus of youth from parish churches.

Strong had to answer the disquiet, and on the eve of his retirement in 1970, was content to point to statistics that suggested a greater robustness than most felt. In 1929, there were 1,476 persons confirmed, he said; in 1968,

²⁸ 'The Archbishop's Presidential Address at the Opening of the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, 20 June 1966', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1966*, p. 290.

²⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 176.

³⁰ As early as 1961, there was a feeling that 'the average parish youth club is not attractive to large numbers of teenagers'. See J. N. Falkingham, 'A Suburban Parish at Work', *St Mark's Review*, no. 23, February 1961, p. 21.

³¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 335.

there were 4,824, more than three times the number, and the average for the previous seven years was 4,171 per year.³² But such comparisons with distant decades were absurd, a grasping at straws, more helpful for support than illumination, and they could not alleviate the feeling that the Diocese was losing its youth.

One or two initiatives promised much, but proved short term. In 1964, the '64 Club' began on the initiative of the Reverend Ted Dungalison. A former Bush Brother at Mitchell, he went to Cerne Abbas, Dorset in England in 1962 to test a vocation to the Franciscan monastic order. It was not for him and soon after, he joined a clergy team in one of the tougher areas of East London, Hackney Wick, where the Vicar, the motorbike riding Fr Bill Shergold, had begun the '59 Club' for youth. It had a sizeable reputation. Cliff Richard and Princess Margaret were patrons. One week there were dances for 'mods', the next for 'rockers'. Archbishop Strong invited Dungalison back to Brisbane with a view to initiating something similar. As part-time Diocesan Youth Chaplain, he set up the '64 Club' in August 1964, based at Holy Trinity Fortitude Valley. On the opening night, the disco, featuring local band the 'Kodiaks', attracted over 500 young people. The *Daily Telegraph* described the Reverend Ted on its front page as a 'parson [who] is a cool cat', and the 64 Club as the 'swingin'est pad in Brisbane'.³³ Crowds of young people would pour in on a Saturday evening – up to 500 at a time – to jive or rock or line dance. 'Go-go' girls danced on stage, coffee and hamburgers were made available, and local bands competed against one another in what was billed,

³² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 276. Confirmations declined from 5,059 children confirmed in 1964 to 4,149 in 1970.

³³ *Daily Telegraph*, 30 August 1964, p. 1.

the 'Battle of the Bands'. Parish youth would keep an eye out for the isolated, and invite them onto the dance floor, and adult parishioners would monitor behaviour. Badges, posters with surfing themes, and placards on the sides of trams, all advertised 'Go 64 Club'.

The Club aimed at providing a safe place for youth to gather, especially youth from suburban Anglican parishes, at a time when the few other clubs operating in Brisbane were less supervised. Many parents were concerned for the safety of their children, especially at commercial dance centres such as Cloudlands. Some even scrutinized the 64 Club for its level of supervision, before allowing their teenage children to attend.

But the 64 Club could not be sustained and after less than three years, it closed its doors.³⁴ Undesirable elements, such as drugs, became more difficult to monitor. New commercial clubs – Uncle's, The Cave and the Red Orb – competed for business, and took over concepts such as the 'Battle of the Bands'.³⁵ There were some financial constraints, and parish clergy were not always encouraging. They could be protective towards their own youth, not overly keen on seeing their teenagers go elsewhere. Such possessive feelings have always been a drawback of the parochial system.

³⁴ It closed in June 1967. *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane, 1967*, p. 171 which cites financial constraints as the reason for its closure. A similar venture had begun in 1958 by the Methodist Church under the direction of the Reverend Arthur Preston in West End. Billed as a 'teenage cabaret', it was slightly more restrictive, especially given that sections of the Methodist tradition were still hostile to the whole idea of dancing itself, let alone the bass-beat rhythms of rock'n'roll. The evening usually finished with quieter music and a devotional talk, in contrast to the 64 Club, where the religious dimension was much more understated. Individual members of the organising committee held private prayers in the chapel during the evening.

³⁵ Ted Dungleison, personal comments recorded in February 2005. See also John Mackenzie-Smith, *The Beacon on the Hill: a history of the Anglican Church at Stafford 1865 – 1988*, St Clements Parish, Stafford, Queensland, 1993, p. 77.

6.3 *Reasons for the Decline*

It is far easier to document, than explain, the numerical decline. It was a national phenomenon and affected all church traditions. Brisbane Diocese was certainly not alone.³⁶ The media soon picked up what was happening. A series of articles by Graham Williams, (based on interviews with a number of Protestant clergymen and one layman, but no women), in *The Australian* in February 1965, were entitled 'Crisis in the Churches', and argued that the new, secular society no longer needed the churches.³⁷ Protestant churches had lost their relevance, he said. 'Church life has become meaningless and shallow', and only radical changes in outlook, worship and organisation would help them to communicate their message more effectively. The 'church' must 'go out into the world and, if necessary, die in its present form in order to gain new life and new meaning for people'.³⁸ In the same year, the title of an article by Patrick Tennison, in the *Bulletin*, asked bluntly: 'Is the C. of E. in a Mess?', claiming the problem was simple – the clergy were poorly educated.³⁹ Craig McGregor in his 1966 *Profile of Australia* devoted barely two pages in nearly 400 to 'religion', arguing that although the churches carried some residual influence, 'Australia is not a very religious country ... In general the Australian attitude towards religion is one of apathy: most people think of

³⁶ Bruce Wilson, *Can God Survive in Australia?*, Albatross, Sutherland, New South Wales, 1983, pp. 11-27; Tom Frame, 'Local Differences, Social and National Identity', in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 2002, pp. 120-123.

³⁷ Graham Wilson, 'Crisis in the Churches', *The Australian*, 17 February 1965, p. 9. This was the first in a series of four articles on the churches' situation by Graham Williams. See also *The Australian*, 18 February 1965, p. 9; 19 February 1965, p. 9; and 22 February 1965, p. 9.

³⁸ *The Australian*, 19 February 1965, p. 9.

³⁹ Patrick Tennison, 'Is the C of E in a Mess?', *Bulletin*, 27 March 1965, pp. 21-27.

themselves as Christians but don't do anything about it'.⁴⁰ Hans Mol, who published the first sociological analysis of religion in Australia in 1971, based on research and surveys of 1966, subsequently summed up the place of the Australian churches as 'peripheral'.⁴¹ Even as early as 1964, Donald Horne could write that the Protestant influence around Australia had become 'small', that it was a 'poor, weak thing compared to its robust past'.⁴² The Diocese of Brisbane could understand what Horne and others were saying.

6.4 *Reasons for the Decline: convict resentment?*

A number of reasons have been posited to explain the religious decline, especially in Anglicanism. Some reasons draw a long bow and appeal to the convict origins of white Australia. They suggest that the early pattern of church life in the penal colony of New South Wales set the precedents for Australia's rejection of religion in the 1960s.⁴³ This argument claims that Christianity, especially Anglicanism, was identified from the beginning, with the ruling colonial government. Convicts directed considerable hostility to clergy, who were seen to be part of the oppressive system, which made their lives miserable. Convict hostility and resistance to institutional religion grew, leaving a legacy of disdain and wariness, passed on from one generation to the next.

⁴⁰ Craig McGregor, *Profile of Australia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1966, p. 345.

⁴¹ J. S. Nurser, 'Mol's Map', *St Mark's Review*, no. 64, May 1971, pp.17-21; Hans Mol, *Religion in Australia: a sociological investigation*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1971.

⁴² Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1964, p. 54.

⁴³ Allan Grocott, *Convicts, Clergymen and Churches: attitudes of convicts and ex-convicts towards the churches and clergy in New South Wales from 1788 to 1851*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1980. See also Wilson, *Can God Survive?*, pp. 30-31.

The weakness of this theory is its requirement to believe that convict hostility to religion remained a strong force, running deeply through our whole national history, and reviving with new vigour in the 1960s. Why it should revive in the 1960s (and not say, in the 1920s) still remains unanswered. Nor does this theory take account of the almost universal acknowledgement that from the turn of the 20th century to the early 1970s, Australia thought of itself as essentially a 'Christian country'.

6.5 *Reasons for the Decline: not Australian enough?*

Others say that the Anglican Church declined because it failed to become an Australian church. It was wedded too strongly to its English roots. It failed to capture Australian informality, Australian symbols, and Australian language. Peter Bennie, (the one-time Rector of All Saints Wickham Terrace), writing for *Quadrant* in 1972, when he was Warden of St Paul's College in the University of Sydney, claimed that 'having roots in an alien and remote past' had made Anglicanism particularly foreign to 'Australian nationalism'. He saw this as 'the primary reason for the slow but steady decline in the Anglican proportion of the Australian community'.⁴⁴ When David Millikan turned his 1981 ABC television series 'The Sunburnt Soul' into a book, he subtitled it, 'Christianity in search of an Australian identity', and concluded that the adaptation of religion to the Australian environment had been too slow in all church traditions. 'The characteristics which Australian culture has developed as uniquely its own,

⁴⁴ Peter Bennie, 'Anglicanism in Australia', *Quadrant*, vol. 16, no. 3, May-June 1972, p. 38.

are not reflected in the personality of Australian Christianity', he claimed.⁴⁵ Whereas Australians valued mateship and egalitarianism, the church was hierarchical. Whereas Australians were casual and informal, the church persisted in formal worship. Whereas Australians were pragmatic, the church debated theological abstractions. Religious language needed to be more Australian, even 'ockerised', and symbols from the Australian bush needed to be used more as vehicles for belief.

Bishop Ian Shevill of North Queensland was particularly outspoken in the late 1950s and early 1960s for the need for Anglicanism to become more Australian. In 1961, he said that Australian Anglicans had a great opportunity to build a great church, but only if they were prepared to become 'the Australian church, rather than a pathetically colonial appendage of England or a poor sister of America'.⁴⁶ In 1963, he complained that Australian Anglicans were an 'outdated, understaffed, inarticulate body of well meaning colonialists devoted to the perpetuation of a fading tradition'.⁴⁷ By 1966, he blamed the diminishing percentage of Anglicans in Australia on their 'nostalgic dependence for leadership, inspiration and standards upon an imaginary England'.⁴⁸ All this was in accordance with an emerging Australian nationalism that did not want to look overseas, especially to England, for leadership any more. Archbishop Strong would not be readily drawn by such outbursts. In 1963, pushed by the press to comment, he was content to point

⁴⁵ David Millikan, *The Sunburnt Soul: Christianity in search of an Australian identity*, Anzea Publishers, Homebush West, New South Wales, 1981, p. 19.

⁴⁶ 'Bishop Shevill's Synod Address' quoted in *Anglican*, 16 June 1961, p. 1. See also Brian Fletcher, 'Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 25, no. 3, October 2001, p. 326.

⁴⁷ 'Bishop Shevill's Synod Address', *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of North Queensland 1963*, Diocesan Registry, Cairns, 1963, pp. 79-98.

⁴⁸ Ian Shevill, *Half-Time*, Jacaranda, Brisbane, 1966, p. 123.

out that it was Australian men that were electing English-born diocesan bishops, and if one believed that the Holy Spirit guided such elections, then one could hardly complain.⁴⁹ It was an unanswerable response.

There is no doubt that, in the early Sixties, the sentimental attachment to Britain was beginning to drift, in favour of Australian nationalism. The demise of the British Empire, the forging of economic and defence links with America and a large overseas immigration program combined to stimulate the concept of the independence of Australia. Donald Horne, in his best selling *The Lucky Country*, published in 1964, had read the mood accurately. 'In a sense Australia is a republic already', he wrote. 'The traditional British forms already run much more shallow than the more elderly Australians realise. To people who are under 35, who were still at school when Singapore fell or not even born, there is no basis of power or performance or reason in the monarchy'.⁵⁰ When the Queen visited Australia for the second time in 1963, Menzies' words of poetry (noted above) made listeners squirm, and the Queen looked coy and embarrassed. Such sentiments may have resonated with the public during the first Royal Tour of 1954, but such hyperbole was no longer apposite. On the eve of his departure from office in 1966, Menzies suggested that the new currency should be called the 'royal'. The idea was 'mocked into oblivion'.⁵¹ Following America, 'dollars' and 'cents' were the chosen monetary units.

⁴⁹ *Courier-Mail*, 11 June 1963, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Horne, *The Lucky Country*, p. 88.

⁵¹ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1999, p. 207.

This gradual erosion of sentiment for England was to reach its apogee a generation later. In 2004 the Federal Health Minister Tony Abbott noted that, 'It's odd that in multicultural Australia the one cultural attachment no one can publicly acknowledge is the one that was taken for granted a generation ago. It is even stranger that the one country for which Australians are allowed no sense of affinity is the one that founded us. ... [T]he only culture that does not attract exaggerated respect is the one that most shaped us. For at least two decades Britain has been one of the battle grounds in Australia's culture wars.'⁵²

To what extent the Church of England in Australia came to be seen as remaining too English and therefore suspect is unclear. The challenge for the Diocese of Brisbane (as for all Australia's Anglican dioceses in the years after 1960) was to become more than simply the 'Church of England overseas', but a truly international and indigenous church for all peoples including the many who were now entering Australia from a wide range of countries.

It was a challenge the Anglican dioceses tried to meet, as Anglicanism adopted some Australian characteristics. It is true that its leadership remained resolutely English for many years. In 1939, only eight of its 25 bishops had been born in Australia, while all but one of its remaining seventeen bishops were English born. This was at a time when four of every five bishops in the Canadian Anglican church were Canadians.⁵³ It was not until 1957 that an Australian became a bishop of a capital city diocese, Tom Reed, elected

⁵² *The Australian*, 19 May 2004, p. 15.

⁵³ Bennie, 'Anglicanism in Australia', p. 38.

Bishop of Adelaide.⁵⁴ A *Church Chronicle* editorial of the time, reflecting the continued deference to Britain just a few years after the Queen's historic visit had reinforced Anglo-Saxon pride, claimed that 'the local men will not at first measure up to the imported ones'.⁵⁵ But the mood was changing, and in 1966, for the first time, an Australian was elected an archbishop, Marcus Loane, Archbishop of Sydney, a choice met with 'universal pleasure... because one of our own number has at last been appointed to an Australian metropolitan see'.⁵⁶ A year later, Australian-born bishops outnumbered the English-born by nineteen to six.⁵⁷ These Australian-born and trained leaders drew less inspiration from Britain and looked to build a more authentically Australian church.⁵⁸

As well, in 1962, the Anglican Church in Australia gained its own national Constitution, (but only after being prodded into action by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, during his 1950 Australian visit) and thereby was no longer tied to the English Church by the 'legal nexus'.⁵⁹ It was free to manage its own Australian affairs, which included prayer book revision. In 1978 – and after twelve years of intensive liturgical experimentation across the nation – the Church of England in Australia introduced *An Australian Prayer Book* to be used alongside the *Book of*

⁵⁴ Tom Reed was born in Eastwood, South Australia in 1902, and was Bishop of Adelaide from 1957, and Archbishop of Adelaide from 1973, before retiring in 1974. Other early Australian-born diocesan bishops included Reginald Stephen, born in Geelong, Victoria in 1860, who was Bishop of Tasmania 1914-1919, and then Bishop of Newcastle 1919-1928; and John Stretch, Bishop of Newcastle 1906-1918.

⁵⁵ *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1957, p. 171.

⁵⁶ *Anglican*, 28 July 1966, p. 4. In 1969, Geoffrey Sambell was the second Australian-born person to be elected an archbishop – Archbishop of Perth.

⁵⁷ Bennie, 'Anglicanism in Australia', p. 38.

⁵⁸ Fletcher, 'Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962', pp. 324-326.

⁵⁹ For a history of the movement towards a national constitution, see John Davis, *Australian Anglicans and Their Constitution*, Acorn, Canberra, 1993.

Common Prayer. In 1977, the *Australian Hymn Book* was introduced, and in August 1981, the church changed its name to the 'Anglican Church of Australia'. In an era of growing national consciousness such trends were inevitable and positive.

The claim then that it was the failure to indigenise more thoroughly, which accounted for numerical decline, needs to be treated with some caution. Three further points need to be made. Firstly, other institutions, with their origins in England, such as the law, politics and education, were no more indigenised than the churches, yet they did not suffer rejection.⁶⁰ The legal system was based on English constitutional law. The political system was based on the Westminster model of government, and although those entering and taking leadership positions in these professions were increasingly Australian-born, universities, which were also modelled on the British university system, continued more so to look overseas to attract the best minds to its key teaching professorships. Yet this did not detract from the expansion of tertiary studies in the Sixties, nor from increasing numbers of students who chose to attend universities around Australia.

Secondly, European churches, including the Church of England in England, also declined in the Sixties and they were fully integrated into their cultures. Finally, no church wanted to be driven uncritically by the need to indigenise. The aim of all churches is to 'christianise' the culture, not allow the culture to 'nationalise' the church. Although one can understand the sentiment that only 'a fully indigenous church will be able to respond to the unfolding

⁶⁰ Wilson, *Can God Survive?*, p. 29.

moral and spiritual demands of the nation',⁶¹ the hazards of a church becoming too uncritically indigenised is reflected in the history of the South African Dutch Reformed Church, which, during the apartheid years, absorbed cultural racism and theologically legitimised and sanctified it. Christians elsewhere found this church's theology very uncomfortable, and many distanced themselves from its teachings.

That the Church of England in Australia remained too wedded to its English roots is part of the reason for its decline from the mid-Sixties, but by no means the full story.

6.6 *Reasons for the Decline: a secular society?*

A third explanation for the numerical decline has been the theory of secularisation. This states that belief in God would gradually evaporate as science and technology – or what the Anglican bishop and writer, Bruce Wilson calls 'industrialisation' – provided the answers to modern issues.⁶² Wilson claimed that economic and technological growth led to an increase in human self-confidence, and a corresponding belief that people 'could manage their own lives without reference to God'.⁶³ As science answered more and more questions, God would become increasingly irrelevant and eventually disappear. Alan Marshall, in his autobiography *I Can Jump Puddles*, recalls how his paralysis was attributed by some to the will of God.⁶⁴ But his father

⁶¹ Alan Walker, 'Editorial', *St Mark's Review*, no. 68, May 1972, p. 1.

⁶² Wilson, *Can God Survive?*, pp. 31-41.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁴ Alan Marshall, *I Can Jump Puddles*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1955, p. 3.

had an alternative explanation that had nothing to do with God: his son opened his mouth as a germ was passing by. For many, once God appeared to be discredited as a working hypothesis, it was just a short step to discarding God altogether. As science, technology and reason brought enlightenment, and technological wizardry made everyday living comfortable, dependable and secure, God would be reduced to a smaller and smaller necessity – a ‘God-of-the-gaps’ – and eventually belief would come to an end. Religion would just wither away.

The emergence of the secular mind is to be explained largely in terms of the knowledge that was gained from both the physical and the social sciences, from the Enlightenment onwards. This explosion in knowledge radically altered people’s understanding of the universe, of human nature and of the processes that underlay individual and group behaviour. Energies were thus let loose which, in time, produced the industrial revolution, created the modern democratic state, and fostered a high culture of art, science and culture.

Perhaps, as well, lurking in the consciousness of many people in the second half of the 20th century was the barbarity and inhumanity lately experienced in two World Wars, the European Holocaust, nuclear bombs dropped on Japan, the Korean War and Cold War politics. The English playwright and agnostic, David Hare, claims that it is the sheer number of ‘innocent people’ who were caught up in the ‘numbing, overwhelming horror’ of the violence of wars in the late 20th century, which is the biggest reason for

the loss of belief.⁶⁵ He estimates 110 million had died 'by the violence we inflict on each other'. 'In a century that has been marked out by mass brutality on an unprecedented scale, by the rise of random terrorism, and by the persecution of particular racial and political groups to a degree which almost defies the imagination, it simply seems silly to go on worshipping a God, who is represented as telling you that you will finally be rewarded or punished, according to the terrifyingly intangible evidence of his existence.'⁶⁶

The experience of human barbarity and evil raised unanswerable questions. Was it right to have used the atomic bomb against Japan? Was Hitler a bigger monster than Stalin? How could the Holocaust have happened? These questions inevitably raised theological questions: 'Where is God in all this?', and, 'If God is a God of love, why has he allowed such suffering?' They were difficult questions to answer, and the inevitable result was for some to withdraw from belief in a loving and all-powerful God, and some belief in an after-life, and to enjoy in the present, while they could, the increasing prosperity around them.

Perhaps the most famous expression of what was perceived as the triumph of secularisation was the cover of *Time* magazine for April 1966, which asked in large, red letters against a black background, 'Is God Dead?', and claimed in an article, that 'the basic premise of faith – the existence of a personal God, who created the world and sustains it with his love – is now subject to profound attack'.⁶⁷ As Bruce Wilson states: 'In advanced industrial

⁶⁵ David Hare, 'When shall we live?', the Eleventh Eric Symes Abbott Memorial Lecture, delivered at Westminster Abbey, London, 9 May 1996, p. 19.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁷ *Time*, 8 April 1966, p. 82.

societies the majority of people ... find God and the whole business about him irrelevant for their lives. ... God is an ice chest in a world that has invented the refrigerator.'⁶⁸

The theory of secularisation, however, is increasingly contested in studies in religion, particularly the claim that secularisation would lead to the evaporation of belief. The sociologist Peter Berger, who in the 1960s, readily promoted the secularisation theory, now admits that it has been overstated.⁶⁹ 'By the late 1970s it had been falsified with a vengeance', he said.⁷⁰ He claims that the world is as 'furiously religious as it ever was' and describes the theory of secularisation as 'essentially mistaken'.⁷¹ It was mistaken partly because religious institutions have retained a degree of vibrancy in a number of modern societies, such as America and Latin America. Even in Australia, 'religion is not disappearing',⁷² and, since the mid-1980s, changes in belief in God and frequent church attendance have been small.⁷³

⁶⁸ Wilson, *Can God Survive?*, p. 33.

⁶⁹ For Berger's earlier thoughts, see Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: elements of a sociological theory of religion*, Doubleday, New York, 1969; Peter Berger, *A Rumour of Angels: modern society and the rediscovery of the supernatural*, Penguin, London, 1970.

⁷⁰ Peter Berger, 'Sociology: a disinvitation', *Society*, vol. 30, no. 1, December 1992, p. 15.

⁷¹ Peter Berger, 'Against the Current', *Prospect*, March 1997, p. 32 says: 'The assumption that we live in a secularised world is false. The world today, with some exceptions is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places, more so than ever. This means that the body of literature written by historians and social scientists over the 1950s and 1960s, loosely labelled as "secularisation theory" was essentially mistaken.' See also Philip Hughes, 'The Religious and Spiritual Lives of Teenagers', *Pointers: Bulletin of the Christian Research Association*, vol. 16, no. 1, March 2006, p. 2; and Tim Blair, 'Oh, God!', *Bulletin*, 14 December 2004, pp. 20-21, whose article finished with the words, 'God no longer remains dead'. The front cover of this edition of *Bulletin* proclaimed 2004 as the 'Year of God'. Under a heading 'He's Back!', it gave credit to God for influencing a number of that year's earthly events.

⁷² Gary Bouma and Michael Mason, 'Baby Boomers Downunder: the case of Australia', in Wade Clark Roof, Jackson Carroll and David Roozen (eds), *The Post-War Generation and Establishment Religion*, Westview Press, Colorado, 1995, p. 50.

⁷³ The proportion of Australians who said they had no doubts about the existence of God dropped from 35.6 percent in 1983 to 32 percent in 1994. The percentage attending church every week dropped from 13.8 to 12.3 per cent over that period. See Philip Hughes, Craig Thompson, Rohan Pryor and Gary Bouma, *Believe It or Not: Australian spirituality and the churches in the 90s*, Christian Research Centre, Sydney, 1995, p. 6.

The theory of secularisation was mistaken also because religion (or spirituality) continues to permeate societies and cultures, although often in forms not easily recognisable as religious in the conventional sense. To limit religion to its institutional forms may be to miss the wider prevalence of religion or spirituality. People remain 'spiritual', and if they do not express their spirituality, and meet needs for meaning, through traditional institutional worship and participation in a church, then they express it through other avenues: 'civil religion' (such as the rituals of Anzac Day) or New Age practices or even through television, which some see as having religious dimensions.⁷⁴

In other words, there are a number of places, sometimes hidden, which become the vehicles for the expression of the spiritual life. Religious institutions may have declined from the Sixties, but religion (or spirituality) 'as a part of human life had never weakened substantially ... [I]n fact, it remained embedded in the lives of ordinary people, even in modern industrial societies'.⁷⁵ In the 1980s, Australian researchers Gary Bouma and Beverly Dixon claimed that 'the myth of "Australia the secular society" needs to be put aside' when 85 per cent of the population still believe in God and two-thirds

⁷⁴ For 'civil religion' as a location for the expression of religion, see Robert Bellah, 'Civil Religion in America', *Daedalus*, vol. 96, no. 1, 1967, pp. 1-21. For Australians, 'civil religion' can be found in such events as Anzac Day and Australia Day ceremonies. For New Age spirituality, see Thomas Luckmann, 'Religion Old and New', in P. Bourdieu and J. Coleman (eds), *Social Theory in a Changing Society*, Westview, Boulder, 1991, pp. 167-182. For television as the location for the expression of religion, see Peter Horsfield, 'Larger Than Life: the religious functions of television', *Media Information Australia*, no. 47, February 1988, pp. 61-66; Michael Jindra, 'Star Trek Fandom as a Religious Phenomenon', *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 55, no. 1, 1994, pp. 27-51; Jonathan Holland, 'A Rival Salvation?: aspects of the religious nature of television', MA thesis, University of Queensland, 1999; and David Hay and Ann Morisy, 'Secular Society, Religious Meanings: a contemporary paradox', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 26, no. 3, 1985, pp. 213-227.

⁷⁵ Luckman, 'Religion Old and New', p. 169 and p. 179.

say they pray – half of them once a week or more.⁷⁶ Believing was not the problem: what people now chose to believe in, was the issue. The gradual extinction of religious belief, as the 20th century ran to its conclusion, has just not happened. Instead those who left the institutional churches from the Sixties onwards, rather than becoming unbelieving secularists, have continued on a spiritual journey – but not necessarily in the churches. There has entered a scepticism about Christian belief and teaching, so that belief systems have become more varied. As G. K. Chesterton once said: ‘when people cease to believe in God, they don’t believe in nothing, they believe in anything’.⁷⁷

6.7 *Reasons for the Decline: social and cultural redefinition?*

Scepticism concerning traditional Christian beliefs may explain partially why the churches began a numerical decline from the mid-Sixties. But we must look elsewhere, if we are to explain more fully the decline in church numbers. The probable explanation is that a Christendom paradigm, in which the church was largely identified with society and culture, sharing the values, attitudes and outlook of an homogenous society, began to evaporate from the early Sixties. In the Fifties, there was a correspondence between ‘society’ and ‘church’. The English nature of Anglicanism corresponded with a pride in Australia’s British heritage. The moral standards of the churches

⁷⁶ Gary Bouma and Beverley Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life*, MARC Australia, Melbourne, 1987, p. 167. It is interesting to note that in the 2001 census, 15.5 per cent of Australians professed ‘No Religion’. This had declined from 16.6 per cent in 1996.

⁷⁷ Robert Fitzhenry and Anthony Barker (eds), *The Book of Quotations*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, New South Wales, 1994, p. 313.

corresponded with a new post-War desire to return to greater moral decency. The churches' capacity to provide groups and activities corresponded with a wish for social outlets, especially for youth in the new suburbs.

From the early Sixties, a new society began to emerge, that in many ways was alien to the churches and their teachings, values and beliefs. Social change was so vast, and incorporated so many areas of social and cultural life, that one social researcher, Hugh Mackay speaks of Australian society and culture being 'radically redefined'. Mackay argues that the scale and speed of social, cultural, economic, political and technological change in the decades after the 1960s – which he describes as 'relentless' and 'unprecedented' – had been so great, that by 1993 (when he was writing) Australians were suffering from collective anxiety and nervous insecurity.⁷⁸ Mackay speaks of the Australian way of life being 'reinvented' during these years, and speaks of these years as an 'Age of Redefinition' of who we were, and how we were going to live. 'There is hardly an institution or a convention of Australian life', he says, 'which has not been subject either to serious challenge or to radical change. The social, cultural, political and economic landmarks which we have traditionally used as reference points for defining the Australian way of life have either vanished, been eroded or shifted.'⁷⁹

Mackay cites seven areas of social life, in which 'radical redefinition' has taken place: gender roles, marriage and the family, the value of work, the use of invisible money, the disappearance of economic egalitarianism, the

⁷⁸ Hugh Mackay, *Reinventing Australia: the mind and mood of Australia in the 90s*, Angus and Robertson, Pymble, New South Wales, 1993, pp. 2-20. It was an 'Age of Anxiety'. He entitles his first chapter 'The Big Angst'. The changes began earlier than the early 1970s. They were heralded and under way from the mid-Sixties.

⁷⁹ Mackay, *Reinventing Australia*, p. 17.

advent of multiculturalism, and the changing nature of the political system. He argues that Australians have reacted to the pressure of these and other changes through 'escape': into the home, to the country, into an information club, or to a serious educational holiday.⁸⁰

Other social commentators offer a complimentary analysis of Australian society. Paul Kelly argues in *The End of Certainty*, that the 1980s 'were a milestone in the redefinition of the ideas and institutions by which Australia is governed'.⁸¹ Kelly is a political writer and observer. He focuses on economic and political institutions, and argues that five key economic and political ideas have shaped Australian life since Federation – the White Australia Policy, tariff protection, centralised arbitration of the labour market, state paternalism and imperial benevolence – but that these ideas had begun to unravel, and were in a state of irreversible collapse or exhaustion by the 1980s. The economic and political markers by which Australians had charted their course for some decades, no longer provided the way ahead. They were being rapidly redefined.

At the heart of the social, cultural, political, economic and technological redefinition, were the young – the baby boomers. Hilliard says: 'at the centre was a rebellion by the young against the values, conventions and authorities of the older generation and the emergence of a new cultural style – the "expressive revolution" – based on individual self-exploration and self-

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 206-227.

⁸¹ Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty: the story for the 1980s*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, New South Wales, 1992, p. ix.

transformation, informality, spontaneity and immediate experience'.⁸² The young could afford to rebel. They knew nothing of the hardships of war or economic austerity. Indeed, by the Sixties the economic future looked assured. Low unemployment, low inflation, new industries, the expansion of credit card facilities, a mining boom, population growth, rural farming prosperity, new suburbs, peace and political stability – all worked together to lead to ever-increasing standards of living. It was a confident generation, not beholden to past customs and attitudes, prepared to redefine the conventions and attitudes of their parents' generation. If the spartan and straitened circumstances before World War II caused some Australians to turn to God for comfort, solace and meaning, the prosperous and comfortable living in the decades after World War II, for baby boomers, led to no such need. God, as a source of consolation in times of struggle, was less necessary in a climate of general prosperity, confidence, and peace.⁸³

As Australian society redefined itself, each church denomination was faced with a dilemma: should they accommodate the changes or resist them? What was good in the emerging culture that should be affirmed, and to which the church ought to accommodate itself? What was neutral and to be adapted to? What was wrong and needed to be resisted?⁸⁴ For a church to adapt its beliefs, practices and modes of organisation too much to the tastes and concerns of emerging modern life, was to risk the dilution of its essential religious and spiritual character. On the other hand, to sustain a strict,

⁸² David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: the experience of the Australian churches', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 21, 1997, p. 210.

⁸³ Bernard Salt, 'Religion a hard sell to young, rich "immortals"', *The Australian*, 13 April 2006, p. 24.

⁸⁴ Alan D. Gilbert, 'Religion and Politics', in Ann Curthoys, A.W. Martin and Tim Rowe (eds), *Australians: from 1939*, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Broadway, New South Wales, 1987, p. 211.

traditional and conservative religious practice, and emphasise the failure of modern life, was to risk becoming a sect, set over and against society.

Although church members might be highly motivated, sects hardly commend themselves to a larger public.⁸⁵ The resolution of this dilemma – whether to resist society or adapt to it – introduced in Anglicanism in Australia (as in other church denominations, notably the Roman Catholic Church) a new divide, liberals versus conservatives. Advocates of accommodation (liberals) came to see those who advocated resistance (conservatives) as hopelessly out of touch with modern reality. ‘Resistors’ came to see ‘accommodators’ as compromising the true gospel.⁸⁶

A number of other internal church issues inhibited an adequate and speedy response from the Anglican Church to the social redefinition that began in the Sixties. Firstly, voluntary institutions can only initiate change slowly, because they need to carry as many people as possible along a potential route. Not to do so, is to risk fracturing the institution. The national Anglican Constitution of 1962 recognised this, and aimed to protect large minorities, by making changes in matters of faith, ritual, ceremonial and discipline difficult to achieve, without overwhelming support.

Secondly, issues of theology, scripture, tradition and ecclesiology need to be debated before significant change can occur. Pragmatism and

⁸⁵ An example is the Amish in America.

⁸⁶ These are two extremes, and the situation was not so black or white. Anglican evangelicals were conservative on doctrine, beliefs and morals of the Christian faith, but surprisingly accommodating in patterns of worship, prepared over time to overthrow longstanding Anglican traditions – the prayer book, vestments, candles, hymns, and formal prayers in favour of worship marked by casual informality, songs, suits, and spontaneity in prayer. Many Anglo-Catholics, on the other hand, became more liberal in doctrine, beliefs and morals, but retained more conservative ways of worship. Both however, maintain an emphasis on social welfare, outreach work, and care for the poor and disadvantaged.

convenience are not enough on their own. It might be pragmatic and pastoral to allow the re-marriage of divorcees in church, as a response to the situation of growing numbers of divorced people, but before deciding whether to 'move with the times', what did the scriptures say? What did church doctrine teach? What did Christians of the past practice? How did the church remain honest to the Gospel, while at the same time recognise the changed realities within which it now existed, and their pastoral demands? Such questions aimed at answering the question, 'what is the right and true way to proceed?', and testing responses in debate with one another. In an increasingly individualistic, pragmatic and morally relative society, in which everyone had an opinion, uncovering what is true, rather than expressing an opinion for one's own preference, became almost incomprehensible to those who came to believe that 'what is good for me is right'.

Thirdly, in an age of radical social redefinition and attendant anxiety and insecurity – the 'Big Angst', as Mackay calls it – a certain number of people gravitate to those organisations, which are perceived to be stable, enduring and unchanging, such as churches, thus making it even harder for such organisations to embrace change. Strong recognised this and applauded it. 'Amidst great changes, men look for that which is permanent, and [that which gives] a reassuring sense of strength and stability', he said, in commending the cathedral extensions in 1965.⁸⁷ The Anglican Church was, for him, an immovable, unchanging institution, a steadfast rock in a sea of change, as indeed, many others also wanted it to be.

⁸⁷ 'The Archbishop's Presidential Address at the Opening of the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, 21 June 1965', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane, 1965*, p. 284.

Finally, the churches tended to be reactive to social redefinition rather than initiators of social debate. Whereas in the nineteenth century, churchmen and women had been at the forefront in addressing social issues, such as the abolition of slavery, education for children, prison reform and hospital developments, there were few, if any, social changes that the churches initiated or drove in the late 20th century. Change was so rapid and of such a scale, that churches spent their time reacting, and had little time, energy or resources to reflect, initiate and drive their own social agendas.

These constraints meant that the churches tended to respond slowly to the social redefinition that was happening around them. A good example at the national level is the Anglican Church's debate over whether to ordain women as priests. As gender roles were redefined from the mid-Sixties, the call to ordain women as priests in the Anglican Church grew. The 1968 Lambeth Conference requested all of the Provinces of the Anglican Communion to consider the question of ordaining women. Already in the Methodist and Congregational churches, women exercised ordained ministry, and in the wider community women were entering the workforce in ever increasing numbers and assuming positions of leadership. A Commission set up by the 1969 Australian General Synod took seven years to report back that there were no theological objections to the ordination of women.⁸⁸ But this determination merely moved the playing field from the grounds of theology to that of law and the Anglican Constitution. Enough were opposed, constantly to frustrate the attempts of those seeking permission to ordain women. Whereas

⁸⁸ The Commission on Doctrine, originally an all-male body.

the Episcopal Church of the United States of America, and the Anglican Church of Canada both admitted women to the priesthood in 1976, and the Anglican Church in New Zealand in 1977, Australian Anglicans had to wait until 1992, when the Archbishop of Perth pre-empted further discussion at General Synod and ordained eleven women as priests. Four months later General Synod belatedly passed legislation that paved the way for individual dioceses to decide on the matter. It had taken nearly 25 years of fierce discussion and vigorous debate of the theological, historical, ecclesiological, scriptural and constitutional issues, before the Anglican Church of Australia arrived at the decision to allow the ordination of women.⁸⁹ By the end of 1993, 99 women had entered the priesthood in Australian dioceses, although six dioceses continue to ordain men only.⁹⁰ Those who leant towards accommodating the church's practices to social trends felt vindicated, but by then, gender equality was no longer an issue for Australian society, and debate over the right of women to hold the same positions as men sounded ridiculous to too many.

It is the argument of this thesis that the scale and speed of social, moral, cultural, economic and technological redefinition caught the church – as well as society – by surprise. For the churches – and in our case, the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane – there was the resulting pattern of decline in membership, a gradual separating from the social and cultural life of the community, and a decreasing influence – a movement to the

⁸⁹ For an overview, see Anne O'Brien, 'Anglicanism and Gender Issues', in Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 2002, pp. 286-292. There is still no scope for women to become bishops in the Anglican Church of Australia.

⁹⁰ *Church Scene*, 19 November 1993, p. 17. The six dioceses are: Sydney, Armidale, North-West Australia, Ballarat, Wangaratta, and The Murray.

margins – in the affairs of state. We now turn to examine the ways in which this situation was confronted and worked out in the Diocese as the old certainties gave way, and a strong, resolute and conservative Archbishop took the reins.

'You puzzle me, Jason. Do you think yesterday's god no longer holds sway?'

Euripides, *Medea*, (480-406BC)

In 1965, the war in Vietnam escalated. Following Vietcong attacks on American areas in South Vietnam, American aircraft began bombing raids on North Vietnam. By the end of the year, America had committed over 50,000 troops to the war in Vietnam. Australia joined the war, sent its first combat troops, and announced the introduction of limited conscription. This war would increasingly consume Australian interest and passion.

There was another kind of war beginning. The Russians led the field in space development and as early as April 1961 Yuri Gagarin had been the first man to orbit the earth in space. In March 1965, Russian cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov made the first 'space walk', leaving *Vostok II* for 20 minutes. But America was catching up, and a few months after Leonov's space walk, American astronaut, Edward White left *Gemini 4*, for a similar length walk in space. A new kind of war, a 'space war' was under way.

On 10 April 1965, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, James Duhig, aged 93, died. He had led his archdiocese of Brisbane since 1917, and had been a bishop for 60 years and a priest for 70. He was responsible for the building of many churches on top of the hills around Brisbane, gaining the nickname, 'Duhig the builder'. Both Anglican bishops, Strong and Hudson, were invited to the liturgy at St Stephen's Cathedral, a sign of the new ecumenical spirit. Duhig's funeral, like that of Archbishop Halse's three years

earlier, 'brought to a halt the machine of commerce and state' as thousands lined the streets of Brisbane to honour his memory and watch in silent respect the funeral cortege pass by.¹

Around Australia in 1965, tensions escalated in a number of areas. In his address to Diocesan Synod, Archbishop Philip Strong spoke of 'three rude shocks' that had come 'to us in the last year'.² The first was a bitter industrial dispute at Mt Isa. This was a very serious dispute in Queensland, dividing along the lines of capital versus labour, and employer versus employee, and concerned the payment of just wage levels to workers. Secretly, Strong thought the strike was inspired by communist influence.³ The second was the 'grave situation' in Vietnam and the 'need for National Service'. Strong vigorously defended Australia's support of America in Vietnam on the grounds that appeasement of aggressors had never worked. Communist aggressors in Vietnam and Malaysia would merely see appeasement as weakness. 'Conflict at the right time and in the right place may serve the cause of ultimate world peace', he concluded, using the 'domino theory' to back up his claim. '[Unless] communist aggression is opposed [in Vietnam] ... it will sweep into Thailand, Malaysia and other countries in South East Asia, and it would not then be long before its onward march would seek to envelop New Guinea and Australia itself.'⁴ It was, at the time, a well known position to take, and a compelling argument for many, who therefore chose to support Australia's military action

¹ T. P. Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1986, p. 372.

² 'The Archbishop's Presidential Address at the Opening of the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, 21 June 1965', *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1966, p. 273.

³ Archbishop Philip Strong, diary entry, 13 April 1965.

⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 277.

in Vietnam. The third 'rude shock' was the 'severest drought in living memory', which caused farmers to suffer great losses, and bit into the economy.

Other more parochial 'rude shocks' came Strong's way that year: a tense debate occurred on the floor of Synod on the morality of using gambling methods for church fund raising purposes, the Duke of Gloucester excused himself from attendance at the cathedral on Good Friday, and in September 1965, a father and son prematurely left a confirmation to attend a football match. There would be more 'rude shocks' for the Diocese in the years ahead as the social, moral, cultural, economic and technological markers of the past began to move.

7.1 Changing attitudes to Sundays

Strong followed the practice of his predecessor and interviewed each child for confirmation, usually in the hours beforehand. In one sense this was magnificent, although if the interviews caused the liturgy to begin late, people tended to get on edge. Strong always hoped the children had made their confession before being confirmed and was frequently 'distressed' that so many parish priests failed to ensure this.⁵ Sacramental confession – the confession of sins privately before a priest – was losing whatever minimal force it had. It was an Anglo-Catholic practice, taking its cue off the Roman Catholic Church, for whom confession in the confessional box on a Saturday

⁵ Strong, diary entry, 5 June 1965: 'distressed that none of candidates [at Childers] and at Maryborough ... had made their confessions'. Compare the entry for 10 October 1965: 'I was delighted to find that all candidates [at Drayton] had made their confession.'

afternoon was still a prerequisite for receiving communion at Mass the next day. A ditty summed up the voluntary nature of Anglican sacramental confession: 'All can; none must; some should'. The result was that few did, except the more committed, annually perhaps or on special occasions.

On Sunday morning 12 September 1965, Strong was driven to St Mary's Sandgate for the confirmation and first communion of 44 children. He had held interviews the afternoon before at Bishopsbourne, making special arrangements for one boy who, unable to make the afternoon, was brought by his mother in the morning. It was this boy, who having received the Laying on of Hands in Confirmation, did not stay for his first communion. He left early with his father to go to a football match. Strong was 'horrified', but the reality was that Sunday was no longer sacrosanct to the churches.⁶ Even holy days such as Good Friday were losing their sacredness. When the Duke of Gloucester, on a visit to Australia early in 1965, indicated his inability to attend the Good Friday morning liturgy in the cathedral because it conflicted with a yacht race that he was due to start on Moreton Bay, Strong was flabbergasted.⁷ What kind of example was that to the nation? He made some quick negotiations, and changed the time and format of the act of worship so that the Duke could be seen to attend a Good Friday liturgy, albeit a short one. The 'susceptibilities of church people' would thereby be protected, and the Duke could still leave early enough to attend his yacht race.⁸

⁶ Strong, diary entry, 12 September 1965.

⁷ Ibid., 16 February 1965; Good Friday 16 April 1965; 22 June 1965; *Courier-Mail*, 17 April 1965, p. 7.

⁸ Strong, diary entry, 16 February 1965.

Activities on Sunday, especially sport, became an issue in Brisbane from the early 1960s, as a press statement from Diocesan Council in October 1961, suggests.⁹ Moderate in tone, the statement addressed 'Off-the-Course Betting, Sunday Sport and Liquor Reform'. Regarding Sunday sport, it requested safeguards to ensure that the quietness of Sunday rest be preserved, and that commercialised sport be prohibited during the customary hours of worship. 'The democratic way of life as we have known it for 400 years has always recognised the need for rest and spiritual refreshment on one day of the week', it said.¹⁰

A few months later, Diocesan Council joined other churches in publicly objecting to a proposal by the Lawn Tennis Association to play the finals of the Davis Cup Challenge round in Brisbane on a Sunday. Diocesan Council was concerned that this was a 'major step to the full secularisation of Sunday', and that there had been of late, 'a considerable encroachment on the traditional observance of Sunday'.¹¹ They saw a 'trend', which 'if carried to its logical conclusion, would make Sunday no different from the other days of the week'. The dates were changed, but it was a sign of things to come. Sunday as a sacred day of rest was beginning to change.

An example of what was happening can be found in Ipswich in 1961, when the Ipswich Council changed some by-laws to allow a new ten-pin bowling alley to open seven days a week. A recent local poll had come out in favour of allowing Sunday sport, and although some objected that a bowling

⁹ 'Off-the-course Betting, Sunday Sport and Liquor Reform', a statement adopted at Diocesan Council on 5 October 1961, held in the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹ See *Courier-Mail*, 2 February 1962, p. 3; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1962*, p. 102.

alley was really 'commercial recreation', aldermen argued that it was a 'healthy sport which would do much to help keep young people off the street'.¹²

Such encroachments on Sundays were happening around Australia. In Melbourne, on Sunday 14 June 1964, a 'frenzied crowd' of 10,000 teenagers packed into the street outside the Southern Hotel, Melbourne to welcome the pop group sensation, The Beatles, on their first tour of Australia.¹³ One commentator noted: 'The very presence of such a crowd in a city street on a Sunday defied convention'.¹⁴ Indeed it did. Normally city streets on Sundays would have been quiet and empty. In 1964, cinemas began to open on Sunday evenings, causing the Dean of Rockhampton John Hazelwood, to lament that Australia, as a Christian country, was 'a hoary old myth'.¹⁵ In 1970, Brisbane hotels were granted Sunday sessions in line with country hotels. In 1987, small shops, service stations, restaurants, cafes and pharmacies in Queensland were allowed unrestricted trading hours, including Sundays. In 1988, Sunday retail trading was introduced to inner city Brisbane.

Sport, entertainment and shopping were moving in, and Sunday mornings found the church competing – and not very successfully – against cricket, football, tennis, surfing, horse riding, shopping, films and eating and drinking, for hearts and minds. The gentle resistance of Diocesan Council in 1961 to encroachments on Sundays was rarely repeated, as Brisbane

¹² *Queensland Times*, 11 August 1961, p. 2. See also Robyn Buchanan, *Ipswich in the Twentieth Century: celebrating one hundred years a city 1904-2004*, Ipswich City Council, Ipswich, 2004, p. 115.

¹³ Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, *Seizures of Youth: the Sixties and Australia*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1991, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 3 August 1964, p. 9.

Diocese (as elsewhere) sought to accommodate the redefinition of Sundays.¹⁶ The sacred nature of the Sabbath rest, preserved for so long, had been breached and would never again exist.

7.2 *Immigration and Multiculturalism*

The cultural composition of the Australian population was also being redefined. After World War II, the Australian Government pursued a vigorous policy of immigration, searching for new citizens, beginning as it had in the past, in Britain. The aim was to attract 1 per cent of the Australian population number – or about 70,000 – as immigrants to Australia each year. While British immigrants were preferred, non-British of European ethnic origin were a second preference.¹⁷ Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, anticipated ten British migrants to every one ‘foreign migrant’. The Australian government established its own form of assistance. For the sum of £10, an adult was given passage to Australia, which gave rise to a new immigrant category – the £10 Pom.

Calwell’s expectation of a ten to one ratio failed to materialise. Practical problems – the need for more migrants than Britain could provide – led the Australian government to look more seriously for other sources of migration, in particular to other parts of Europe. Between 1951 and 1961, 32.6 per cent of permanent arrivals came from the United Kingdom, while nearly 65 per cent

¹⁶ Roman Catholics soon began the Saturday evening mass as one way of accommodating the redefinition of Sundays. Anglican experiments along this line never took off.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia’s Immigrants 1788-1978*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1980, p. 128. For an account of the government’s immigration policies, see Colm Kiernan, *Calwell: a personal and political biography*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 114-135.

came from various parts of Europe, often Roman Catholic countries.¹⁸ Of all the mainland capital cities, Brisbane received the smallest share of migrants, largely due to the State's persistence with a rural based economy, and consequent failure to develop industries, which might attract migrant labour.¹⁹ The proportion of overseas-born people in the city's population was much lower than the national average: 19 per cent compared to Sydney's 42 per cent. In Ipswich, ten per cent alone had been born overseas.²⁰ Brisbane's growth therefore was mainly a result of natural increase, plus an inward migration of Australian-born people from rural Queensland and other parts of Australia.²¹

Integrating these new Australians was the challenge. It was anticipated that they would assimilate, that is, adopt Australian values and ideals – the 'Australian Way of Life' – including, as far as the churches were concerned, a strong commitment to Christianity so that Australia might be maintained as a Christian stronghold.²² The fact that many migrants came from European countries of Roman Catholic heritage sharpened the competitive spirit between the churches in sponsoring migrants, and gently irritated long-standing sectarian suspicions.²³ Protestant leaders were not overly pleased

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁹ Humphrey McQueen, 'Queensland: a state of mind', *Meanjin*, vol. 38, no. 1, April 1979, p. 42.

²⁰ Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants*, p. 140 for a table of numbers of overseas born migrants to the capital cities. Brisbane took 19 per cent; Sydney 42 per cent; Melbourne 51 per cent; Adelaide 48 per cent.

²¹ David Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill: religion in Brisbane in the 1950s', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, February 1991, p. 242.

²² Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants*, p. 83.

²³ John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton (eds), *Bold Experiment: a documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, p. 15; K. S. Inglis, 'Replenishing the Flocks: Migrants and the Churches', *Nation*, 20 December 1958, p. 13. See also *Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1959, p. 113 which claimed that the proportion of Roman Catholic migrants was 47.5 per cent while Anglicans comprised only 11.9 per cent.

at the large flow of migrants from Europe. Perhaps it reflected a covert preference for Roman Catholics? Perhaps Australia's British heritage would be endangered?²⁴ For 'the sake of the New Australians and the nation as a whole', said Archbishop Moline of Perth, 'we must maintain the British balance in the population as a guarantee of the British way of life.'²⁵ This was the best non-Roman churches could hope for. Given Australia's need for more people, they could hardly oppose the policy of substantial migration.

In 1957 the Australian government initiated the 'Bring out a Briton' campaign to 'help make possible an increased flow of British migrants to Australia'. The Primate, Archbishop Mowll of Sydney, wrote a pastoral letter to be read out in every parish church. It sounded a little patronising: 'It is not that we think disparagingly of these latter people as continental Europeans; they have made a real contribution to our national economy and, some of them, to our culture; but we should make every effort to bring the utmost of British and Anglicans that we can'.²⁶

The 'Bring out a Briton' campaign received widespread support in church newspapers, Synods and conferences. Noting that 'we have strong family ties with Britain'²⁷ the campaign aimed at setting up a 'network of local 'Bring Out a Briton' committees' whereby those 'would-be British migrants who, so far, have no sponsors and are not eligible ... for Commonwealth or State Group Nominations for assisted passages' could be sponsored by

²⁴ David Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs: the religious culture of Australian cities in the 1950s', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 24, no. 97, 1991, p. 404.

²⁵ *West Anglican*, July 1960, p. 1. The *West Anglican* was the monthly paper of Perth Diocese.

²⁶ 'British Migration', a pastoral letter from the Primate, Archbishop Howard Mowll, 1 September 1957, quoted in Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, p. 548.

²⁷ 'Bring Out a Briton Campaign', Commonwealth Government circular, kept in the Brisbane Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

committees who could offer or arrange migrants' accommodation on arrival.²⁸

A letter from the Minister for Immigration, Athol Townley to Archbishop Halse seeking the support of the Diocese led to the formation of the Diocesan Immigration Committee in 1957. 'To us belongs the special task of seeing that those of British Stock are welcomed in large numbers', said Halse.²⁹

Behind the desire to help was a hope, that those assisted would take their part in the Anglican Church and safeguard the Anglican ascendancy. But translating this hope into reality was elusive. There is little or no evidence that Anglican migrants made their way into the local Anglican Church in large numbers.³⁰ During 1963 and 1964, a total of 85 families were nominated, representing 171 adults and 478 children. Of these 62 families were met at the airport, railway station or docks in 1963, and commended to Diocesan and parish care.³¹ But fewer and fewer parish priests were bothering to follow up 'commendations', and despite the urging of Archbishop Strong that it was at least a way for the church to show it cares, there was little energy for the work.³² The response was just too small. Friendship could be shown but it did not translate into active church membership. By 1965, the Diocese met just 21 families on arrival, and by 1971 the Diocesan Immigration Committee had ceased to function.

²⁸ Letter to Archbishop Halse from the Minister for Immigration, Athol Townley, 17 June 1957, kept in Diocesan Archives. The Wacol Migrant Centre was opened in November 1949, and was able to house 1,000 migrants while they looked for work and accommodation. See Buchanan, *Ipswich in the Twentieth Century*, p. 112.

²⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1958, p. 327.

³⁰ Strong, diary entry, 18 January 1965: 'our immigration committee has not been very effective'. A renewed effort at contacting British migrants followed the visit of the Reverend John Oates, chairman of the Church of England Commonwealth Settlement Association to Brisbane in February 1964. See Strong, diary entry, 24 February 1965.

³¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 205.

³² Strong, diary entry, 3 February 1965.

Meanwhile a majority of immigrants now came from non-Anglican countries beginning a shift to a situation in which by the 1981 census, Roman Catholics outnumbered Anglicans as the largest single Christian group in Australia.³³ In the early 1970s, under the new Labor Whitlam government a new concept of multiculturalism was introduced, a 'concept of slippery definition, usually taken as indicating that ethnic diversity should be preferred to the old concept of assimilation to an Anglo-Australian ideal'.³⁴ Australia's cultural identity was being redefined, as multi-racial and multi-ethnic groupings gained a place in Australian society, and the British heritage, that had once been such a mainstay to Anglicanism, began to recede.

7.3 *Morality*

As mentioned earlier, in August 1960, the Dean, Bill Baddeley, created sensational headlines when he went to the Eagle Farm races, wearing a pin-striped suit, dark waist-coat and an English felt hat, puffing on a cigar and carrying binoculars and a race guide. He allegedly backed six out of seven winners. Other religious leaders – the Anglican Dean of Melbourne (the Very Reverend Stuart Barton Babbage) and the superintendent of the Central Methodist Mission in Sydney (the Reverend Alan Walker) – were shocked. 'Dean Baddeley is degrading the holy office of a Christian minister', said

³³ K. S. Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour', in A. F. Davies and S. Encel, *Australian Society: a sociological introduction*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1965, p. 43.

³⁴ Geoffrey Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia, 1942-1995: the Middle Way*, vol. 5, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 228.

Walker, but Baddeley was unrepentant.³⁵ He had had a 'perfectly wonderful day' and would go again.³⁶ As far as he was concerned, 'provided one can afford it, and it is properly controlled, there is no possible harm in gambling'.³⁷ The whole affair was a case of 'Puritanism versus full-blooded Christianity – and I'm a full blooded Christian'.³⁸ The morality of gambling was largely a Protestant issue, more than a Roman Catholic one. While many expressed shock, the climate was changing, well away from any Puritanism and in favour of ever-greater liberalisation, as the 'Racing Dean' recognised.

When the State government in 1961 proposed to extend gambling facilities through the creation of the Totalisator Administration Board, the Brisbane Diocesan Council reaffirmed its opposition through its press release.³⁹ It was concerned at any legislation that brought about the extension of legalised gambling, which might have a harmful effect on society and threaten family and community life.⁴⁰ Some restrictions were put in place to meet these church and community concerns,⁴¹ but just a year or two later, public opposition to gambling and alcohol had softened so much, that at the

³⁵ *Age*, 2 August 1960, p. 7. See also *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1960, p. 1 and 2 August 1960, p. 13; *Age*, 3 August 1960, p. 1.

³⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 3 August 1960, p. 5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3 August 1960, p. 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 8 August 1960, p. 7.

³⁹ 'Off-the-course Betting, Sunday Sport and Liquor Reform', p. 1.

⁴⁰ Kay Cohen, 'The TAB in Queensland: some aspects of its operations', in Jan McMillen, John O'Hara, Wendy Selby and Kay Cohen (eds), *Gamblers Paradise*, Royal Historical Society of Queensland, Brisbane, 1996, p. 51.

⁴¹ Hours of business were limited to race days only. TAB offices were not to be located within 100 yards (about 100 metres) of schools, churches or hotels. Interiors were to remain bare and unattractive to reduce loitering. Bookmakers, politicians, and punters confidently predicted TAB's immediate failure, but 30 years later the TAB in Queensland registered a billion dollar turnover for the year, employed around 2,000 people and had over 350 outlets. See Cohen, 'The TAB in Queensland', p. 51.

1963 elections, many pressure groups remained silent on gambling and alcohol issues.⁴²

As more liberal attitudes to gambling emerged, the call grew for parishes to be allowed to use modest gambling methods for raising funds for church purposes. In October 1964, the Provincial Synod arranged that the State Attorney-General should not issue gambling permits to any Anglican parish church or organisation in Queensland was terminated.⁴³ Each Diocese in the Province was left to order its own attitude to the use of gambling methods for fund raising. In June 1965, 'resistors' brought a motion to the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, which sought to reaffirm for the Diocese of Brisbane the traditional position of the Province, that 'the holding of art unions, raffles, lotteries, and games of chance in connection with the raising of funds for Church purposes is to be deprecated and should be avoided'.⁴⁴ Archbishop Strong lent weighty support to the motion in his Presidential address.

The real sin in gambling ... is the measure of covetousness and avarice which more often than not lies behind it ... and with that the staunching of generosity, sacrificial giving, and consideration for others. Covetousness and avarice are contrary to the moral law of God and any form of them undermines true Christian character. ... Surely one way in which we can be positive in our witness as a Church in the Province is by resolutely refusing to allow anything which tends to

⁴² C. A. Hughes, *Images and Issues: the Queensland State Elections of 1963 and 1966*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1969, pp. 212-214.

⁴³ See chapter 3, page 65.

⁴⁴ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 92.

covetousness and avarice to enter into the life of our Church functions and in our methods of raising money for Church purposes. One of the good things that this Province has done in past years is to stand firm in regard to this ... My own hope and prayer is that we shall continue to do so, for I feel that any deviation from this at this present time in the face of what is called the 'new morality' and the general lowering of moral standards would be deplorable, and a weakening of our Christian witness in the Province.⁴⁵

It was a clear and unambiguous statement. Despite this, a vigorous debate followed, and it was only the inclusion of an amendment – moved by the Registrar, Roland St John – that 'gambling is [not] necessarily wrong in itself' that the motion was passed.

The debate reflected the changing moral climate. The narrow parameters of respectability were being enlarged. Social gambling was increasingly seen as an appropriate form of leisure. With the social mood changing, 'accommodators' attempted to lift the Diocesan ban on gambling again at the 1968 Diocesan Synod. The motion called for a committee to investigate rescinding the 1965 resolution opposing gambling in any form. Strong thought the motion 'tiresome and unnecessary'.⁴⁶ The committee was duly set up, investigated, and reported back to Diocesan Council.⁴⁷ Following their conclusions, a motion at Synod in 1969 recommended no change to the 1965 ruling, but an amendment inadvertently opened a door. It requested

⁴⁵ 'Archbishop's Presidential Address at the Opening of the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, 21 June 1965', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 296.

⁴⁶ Strong, diary entry, 12 June 1968.

⁴⁷ 'Report on Gambling Methods in Church Fund-Raising', approved by Diocesan Council on 29 April 1969, kept in Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

parishes to consider the report in detail so that the matter might be settled once and for all, at the 1970 Diocesan Synod.⁴⁸

In his Synod sermon for 1970 – his last before retirement – Strong once more made his position clear. But the debate was long and controversial, and support for the substance of the motion – deprecating any form of gambling for the raising of church funds – was not overwhelming. Strong sensed the tide of opinion was not going as he hoped, despite his own lead, and was astonished when St John, to resolve the matter, moved that ‘the resolution passed by Synod on 24 June 1965 ... be rescinded’.⁴⁹ St John argued that he remained opposed to the use of gambling as a means for raising funds in parish churches, but given the divided state of opinion, there could no longer be a ruling against this. Strong made a belated plea to vote against St John’s amendment, but it was passed by a narrow majority. Distressed, Strong passed the chair to Bishop Hudson and left Synod for a time.⁵⁰

If gambling was a specifically Protestant issue, other moral issues, especially sexual morality, concerned all churches. Accommodators and resisters debated greater sexual permissiveness, the appropriateness of nudity on stage and television, the use of swear words in publications and theatre, the extension of hotel trading hours, and the gradual disintegration of strict censorship laws. In Brisbane in 1969, the play, *Norm and Ahmed*, became one battle-ground. ‘Resisters’ were offended at the play’s conclusion when, ‘Norm’ contemptuously dismissed the Pakistani ‘Ahmed’ with the

⁴⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane* 1969, p. 340.

⁴⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane* 1970, p. 90.

⁵⁰ Strong, diary entry, 16 June 1970.

words, ‘fucking boong’. Roused by objections – not at the racist noun, but the obscene adjective – police moved in at the end of one performance, arrested the actor playing ‘Norm’ and charged him with obscene language.⁵¹ In the same year, the rock musical *Hair* came to Australia. It was a plea for love, peace, open-mindedness, and togetherness, ‘a remarkable piece of social protest’, said one reviewer.⁵² Others saw it as anti-authoritarian and morally permissive because of the wild music, 40 seconds of nudity and indecent language. Queensland Country Party politician Russell Hinze, said it was a musical for the ‘sexually deprived ... homosexuals, lesbians, wife swappers and spivs’.⁵³

Even an ostensibly innocent fashion parade could excite critical comment in this atmosphere. In September 1966, the Ladies’ Cathedral Building Fund committee held a fashion parade at Lennon’s Hotel, Brisbane. More than 500 Anglican women watched as models paraded in the latest sports and swim wear, including the new-look bikini. While enjoyed by many, some found the display of bare midribs and brief bikinis indecent. Mr Alan Russell, a Brisbane dentist, objected, claiming that the parade harmed church unity, and was an improper way to raise funds for the cathedral extensions.⁵⁴

What constituted acceptable community standards and how to discern right from wrong, became a moral quandary in this increasingly liberal climate. The difficulty for the churches was twofold. First, on many moral issues there

⁵¹ The actor was Norman Staines. See Gerster and Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*, pp. 58-60; Ross Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1984, pp. 597-598.

⁵² Dennis Altman, ‘Living Theatre’, *Broadside*, 1 May 1969, p. 34.

⁵³ Gerster and Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*, p. 15; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, pp. 597-598.

⁵⁴ *The Australian*, 21 September 1966, p. 3.

were now sharp differences of opinion among Christians themselves. Secondly, because clear answers were not obvious, moral questions were slowly being answered with pragmatism. Some said that all moral rules and regulations, such as the Ten Commandments, were unnecessary: all you needed was love.⁵⁵ 'Situation ethics', as it came to be called, claimed that love, somehow, had an inbuilt compass that would guide one, in any given situation, to the right action.⁵⁶ Morality consisted in asking, 'what is the loving thing in this situation?' The need to appeal to universal moral absolutes or commandments was deeply questioned. It was only a short step from asking, 'what is loving?' to asking 'what is convenient?', and ignoring completely the question 'what is right?' In 2005, an article in *The Weekend Australian* claimed that it 'has never been harder to tell right from wrong'. 'What constitutes good and bad behaviour is not as cut and dried as it once was.' It went on to claim that a 'new morality' was now in place. 'The new morality works like this: if you are not harming anyone, anything you choose to do is fine; and if you are harming someone, that's sad rather than bad'.⁵⁷ Drug taking and infidelity, it claimed, were more 'gossip-worthy', than 'morally reprehensible'. In this climate, morality had become nothing more than pragmatism, and even love as a guiding principle carried no weight.

In the late Sixties, it was easy to present the new ways of approaching moral issues as a revolt against traditional Christian teaching, and to some

⁵⁵ In July 1967, the Beatles released their song, 'All you need is love', no doubt reinforcing the belief in the primacy of love, without moral rules to guide it.

⁵⁶ Joseph Fletcher, *Situation Ethics: the new morality*, SCM Press, London, 1966. Knowing what was the loving thing was as often the problem as the solution – hence the need for moral rules and regulations to guide one in moral decision making.

⁵⁷ Shane Watson, 'Model Behaviour', *The Weekend Australian*, 12-13 November 2005, p. 23.

extent they were. Perceived slackening of morals worried church leaders. In November 1968, 37 Brisbane Anglican priests, led by Bishop Cecil Muschamp, Dean of St John's Cathedral, signed an open letter to the *Courier-Mail*, affirming 'our acceptance of the traditional standards of Christian morality', which 'is currently being so universally assailed to the great dismay of the faithful and the confusion and scandalising of the young.'⁵⁸ Strong too was concerned. Addressing General Synod in Sydney in 1966, he lamented that there were some Anglicans, who advocated 'a lower standard of teaching and morals', in the mistaken belief that they were somehow making the claims of Christ more acceptable.⁵⁹ Around Australia church leaders made much the same kind of comments, as moral issues were increasingly redefined, and respect for much traditional, Christian, moral absolutes evaporated.⁶⁰

7.4 Authority

When Geoffrey Fisher toured Australia in 1950 as Archbishop of Canterbury, he could excite 'feelings of awe and wonder'. Here was the 'Prince-Primate of all England, the first Peer of the realm, the close friend and counsellor of the King'.⁶¹ Although Fisher did not parade his authority, but 'moved among us as though he were an old friend', deference to those in authority was expected

⁵⁸ David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: the experience of the Australian churches', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 21, no. 2, June 1997, p. 215 quoting *Courier-Mail*, 2 November 1968.

⁵⁹ Archbishop Philip Strong, General Synod sermon, preached at St Andrew's Cathedral Sydney, 20 September 1966. The substance of the sermon is reproduced in Strong's diary entry, 21 September 1966. Strong returned to this theme from time to time. See Diocesan Synod sermon preached in St John's Cathedral, 15 June 1970, *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane*, 1970, p. 295.

⁶⁰ See David Hilliard, 'Australian Anglicanism and the Radical Sixties', in S. Emilsen and W. Emilsen (eds), *Mapping the Landscape: essays in Australian and New Zealand Christianity*, Peter Lang, New York, 2000, p. 109 for other Anglican leaders' comments.

⁶¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1951, p. 10.

and given. In the Sixties, such deference was vigorously challenged. The emerging wisdom was captured by sociologist Dr Ronald Fletcher in 1963, when he advised: 'Never accept authority: whether that of a jealous god, priest, prime minister, president, dictator, school teacher, social worker, parent or anyone else whatsoever, unless, in your own seriously considered view, there are good reasons for it.'⁶² Such attitudes received a notable spur in 1972, when *The Little Red Schoolbook*, by Danish writers Soren Hansen and Jesper Jensen, became available in Australia, and which also encouraged young people to question prevailing norms and disregard authority figures.

Antagonism to institutional authority in Australia galvanised around opposition to the Vietnam War.⁶³ In 1962, a small Australian military contingent of guerrilla warfare instructors was deployed to South Vietnam to assist in the war against the communist Viet Cong. In 1965, the first combat troops were sent to Vietnam. In 1966, conscription began, and a visit to Australia by American President Lyndon Baynes Johnson in the same year, consolidated voter support for new Prime Minister Harold Holt, in that year's federal election. Up to this moment, Australians were broadly supportive of government intentions – it was 'all the way with LBJ' – and opposition to the war in Vietnam was confined largely to radical students on university campuses and, interestingly, some clergy.⁶⁴ When thirteen Anglican bishops wrote an open letter to the Prime Minister in March 1965 urging him to bring to 'a close a war that is costing so many lives and reducing the economy of

⁶² Ronald Fletcher, *New Society*, 2 May 1963, quoted in Alan Wilkinson, 'Requiem for Anglican Catholicism?', *Theology*, vol. 81, 1978, p. 42.

⁶³ Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, pp. 165-174.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167. In 1967, 59 per cent of Australians approved of involvement in the Vietnam War.

Vietnam to chaos', they received a terse response from Menzies, who according to the *Courier-Mail* 'blasted' them over their attitude.⁶⁵ Strong chose not to sign, arguing that America was serving the long-range cause of peace by its actions in Vietnam, and it may have been the applause of the press for this stand, that highlighted Strong in the Queensland public mind as a known proponent of the war. When he was on his way back from the Lambeth Conference of 1968, he was warned that an anti-Vietnam protest had been planned for his arrival. As it was, it did not eventuate.

Not all in the Diocese shared the Archbishop's conviction about the rightness of the war in Vietnam. When Strong arranged to make a visit to Vietnam in 1969, to see first hand some of the conditions of the war, he was informed that an application for a permit to hold a prayer vigil outside Bishopsbourne had been granted. When he discovered the applicant was none other than an ordinand at St Francis' College, he was deeply upset. Students were hoping Strong's visit to Vietnam would be of a pastoral nature to the troops, and not be used to promote further the war.⁶⁶ This episode is one indicator that the Diocese was as divided over the morality of conscription and involvement in the Vietnam War as the Australian public.

At the 1967 Diocesan Synod, a provocative question was asked about sending aid to the Red Cross – in North Vietnam.⁶⁷ A later motion thanking Strong for the lead he had given in a recent statement about the war caused a

⁶⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 26 March 1965, p. 1 Menzies said he was 'surprised and distressed' by their attitude.

⁶⁶ Greg Thompson, private comments recorded in August 2005. Strong left for Vietnam via the Philippines on 6 May 1969.

⁶⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, p. 92. The question may have been stimulated by a national furore early in 1967, over the decision of the Monash University Labor Club to collect aid for the National Liberation Front (or Viet Cong).

protracted, lively and heated debate.⁶⁸ On the surface it seemed innocuous – Strong advocated regular prayer for a just settlement, deprecated further escalation of the conflict, encouraged new initiatives towards a settlement and requested increased aid towards reconstruction. But some – opponents of the war – wanted to thank Strong, not for his lead, but only for his statement. Others – supporters of the war – wanted to remove the phrase that deprecated further escalation of the conflict. It was a measure of the sharp division of opinion in Synod that the motion was eventually not put.

Clergy too were divided, younger ones particularly vocal in opposition to the war. In October 1968, the Rector of All Saints Chermside, complained in great frustration to Archbishop Strong that his curates pushed too much their pacifist and political views from the pulpit, and he took great exception. He wanted them sacked.⁶⁹ In an earlier incident, in March 1966, the Franciscan friar, Br Simon wrote to the *Courier-Mail*, on behalf of his community, as ‘Friar in Charge of The Society of St Francis, Brisbane’, justifying the right to publicly protest against the Vietnam War on the grounds that Jesus himself had engaged in a political march into Jerusalem.⁷⁰ A few months later Archbishop Strong recorded in his diary that he was shown ‘cuttings and photostats from a communist paper’, which implicated one of the brothers as having communist leanings.⁷¹ It must have disappointed Strong to see the brothers become so politically involved like this. When they had

⁶⁸ ‘Statement on Peace’, press release kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane, and reproduced in *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1967, pp. 5-6. Strong spoke as Primate and ‘set forth what I feel to be the attitude of the Anglican Church in regard to the present war in Vietnam’. The statement was reproduced in most daily papers, in edited form in some.

⁶⁹ Strong, diary entry, 15 October 1968.

⁷⁰ *Courier-Mail*, 29 March 1966, p. 2.

⁷¹ Strong, diary entry, 16 July 1966.

arrived in the Diocese early in 1965, at his encouragement and prompting, he heralded their coming as 'one of the most important things to have happened in the church in this diocese'.⁷² But whatever hopes he had for them – they had brought 'much spiritual strength to the life of the church in Papua New Guinea' – must have quickly evaporated as they chose to put a significant portion of their energies into public opposition to the Vietnam War.

In Queensland, protest expressed itself more and more in the form of street marches, often led by small numbers of university students. They could afford to protest. Although they were paying fees and therefore part of the educated middle class, it was a time of full employment and intense study for exams could always wait until the end of the year. As university students they were exempt from conscription. In March 1966, the University of Queensland Vietnam Action Committee organised a 'Week of Vietnam Protest', which included the increasingly characteristic march from the St Lucia campus into the city. On one day 200 protestors 'milled quietly around the entrance to the [American] consulate, while their leaders sought an audience with the American consul, Mr Sommer'.⁷³ One hundred police monitored the protest. On another day, 27 youths burned draft cards on the footpath at the corner of Queen and Albert Streets.⁷⁴ They were arrested and subjected to, what one person called, the 'brutal action of the police'.⁷⁵ A vein of violence had been tapped, which would not infrequently mark future public protests. On a third

⁷² Ibid., 21 June 1965; 'Presidential Address', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 305.

⁷³ *Courier-Mail*, 23 March 1966, p. 3. See Carole Ferrier and Ken Mansell, 'Student Revolt, 1960s and 1970s: the University of Queensland', in Raymond Evans and Carole Ferrier (eds), *Radical Brisbane: an unruly history*, The Vulgar Press, Carlton North, Victoria, 2004, pp. 266-272.

⁷⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 25 March 1966, p. 1.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 28 March 1966, p.2.

occasion, 1,000 people marched through the streets of the city to protest against conscription, and joined a further 1,000 at Centenary Park, where various speakers spoke against the Vietnam War and conscription.⁷⁶

This 'Week of Vietnam Protest' occurred just days before the annual Anglican Good Friday Procession of Witness, and it may have been one reason for what was described as an 'inexplicable collapse' of numbers in the Procession that year.⁷⁷ Only 2,000 participated, a huge fall from the 7,000 that had marched in the previous few years, including the 10,000 who had gathered in King George Square in 1961.⁷⁸ The absence of Archbishop Strong on an overseas tour may also have been a contributory factor, confirming the conviction that that year it would be just as good to stay at home. The collapse in numbers led to some scrutiny of the Procession of Witness, and resulted in a change of marching day to Palm Sunday, to adapt to 'changing circumstances in city life today'.⁷⁹ Good Friday was not an ideal day: the city streets were almost empty, many families were away on holidays, and schools, closed for the Easter holidays, could not participate.⁸⁰ The change of date seemed initially to do the trick. In 1967, more than 5,000 participated in the Procession of Witness, helped no doubt by the presence that year of the Archbishop of York, Donald Coggan, and the participation of a number of Anglican schools.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Ibid., 28 March 1966, p. 9.

⁷⁷ The Good Friday Procession of Witness was held on Friday 8 April 1966, just 10 days after the protest at Centenary Park.

⁷⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 179.

⁷⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1966*, p. 92; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, p. 191.

⁸⁰ Strong, diary entry, 19 March 1967.

⁸¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1967, p. 4.

But public Processions of Witness were losing their appeal, especially as churches declined in numbers during the Sixties. By 1970, numbers were down to about 3,000 – less than half the number who had marched at the beginning of the decade. Two other factors began to influence the shape of the Procession of Witness. The first was the ecumenical movement. Here was an opportunity for ecumenical witness rather than denominational witness. Following a determination by Diocesan Council, the 1975 Procession of Witness was ecumenical for the first time, bringing to an end 67 years of Anglican-only Processions through the city.⁸²

The second factor to influence the shape of the Procession was the ‘Traffic Act’, which began to set up a dilemma for many who marched. Under this Act, Anglicans seemed to be given a privilege that was often denied to others. Permits to hold processions or marches, and to carry or display placards, upon any road, had to be obtained in advance from the district superintendent of traffic, who had an arbitrary discretion to refuse a permit without giving reasons. When 26 people were arrested protesting against conscription as part of university student demonstrations around the country, on 5 October 1966, they were charged under the Traffic Act with participating in a march that did not have a police permit.⁸³ *Semper Floreat*, the University of Queensland student paper, noted that the Traffic Act gave ‘the Police and/or Government arbitrary powers of censorship over which opinions may be aired in public and which should be suppressed’.⁸⁴ It was a civil liberties

⁸² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1975*, p. 178.

⁸³ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, p. 561.

⁸⁴ *Semper Floreat*, vol. 37, no. 10, 15 October 1967.

issue, and the arrests at this demonstration effectively began the entwining of the civil liberties issue with anti-Vietnam protests.

On 8 September 1967, up to 5,000 students (half the number at the university) marched from the St Lucia campus to the city to protest against the Traffic Act regulation. Over 100 were arrested, one newspaper claiming ‘the most frightening displays of police brutality in Queensland history’.⁸⁵ A second mass meeting on the civil liberties issue was held a week later in King George Square, which 1,500 people attended. Anglican students were clearly involved in these protests. One student – Greg Thompson (an ordinand, who was to figure later in a protest at St Francis’ College) – was one of 114 arrested at the 8 September march. He remembers sharing a cell with key student leaders, Dan O’Neill and Peter Wertheim.⁸⁶ Two months earlier, Strong had rung up the Anglican chaplain at the University of Queensland – Fr Illtyd Loveluck, a Franciscan brother and priest – concerned that Angsoc was taking too prominent a part in student protests, and wanting Loveluck to use his influence to discourage Anglican students from ‘breaking the law and flouting authority’.⁸⁷

In 1978, the Heads of Churches (the leaders of the main denominations in Queensland) decided to discontinue the ecumenical Palm Sunday Procession of Witness, on the grounds that the churches should not be seen to have a privilege to march, which was not always given to others.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Truth*, 9 September 1967.

⁸⁶ Greg Thompson, personal comments recorded in August 2005.

⁸⁷ Strong, diary entry, 7 July 1967.

⁸⁸ In May 1970, for example, the student ‘commemoration day parade’ was the first for three years to receive a police permit to parade their floats through the city. See *Courier-Mail*, 1 May 1970, p. 3; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1978*, p. 291.

It would be a mistake though to think that Anglican opinion was strongly sympathetic to students and others who protested against Vietnam and conscription, and for greater civil liberties. It was as divided as Queensland society was over these issues. A measure of the divided opinion in the Diocese can be gauged from a motion in the 1978 Synod applauding the decision of the Heads of Churches to discontinue the Procession of Witness. The motion included an expression of admiration for the leadership of the Moderator of the Uniting Church during a controversy over mining at Aurukun and Mornington Island, and recorded Synod's sympathies for all Christians in Queensland who 'in conscience are deeply concerned with the erosion of civil liberties'. After much debate the motion was not put.⁸⁹

Strong, who believed that 'the powers that be are ordained of God', struggled to sympathise with student protest.⁹⁰ He preached occasionally and energetically about 'positive' and 'negative' ways to protest.⁹¹ The former was a way of life, based on the Ten Commandments, a life of integrity and nobility that commended itself to others. The latter took to the streets in marches, fostered 'rebellion against authority', undermined good order, and opposed

⁸⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1978*, p. 291. The motion that was not put was titled, 'Civil Liberties'. See also *Courier-Mail*, 15 June 1978, p. 3. Earlier in his Presidential Address, the then archbishop, Felix Arnott had expressed concern at the erosion of civil liberties in Queensland, which later evoked a sharp condemnation from the Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen. The following day (13 June 1978) Synod passed a motion of support for Arnott, and gave him cheers and a standing ovation. But it was one thing to support Archbishop Arnott's right to comment on the state of government in Queensland, quite another to support his particular charges, as one or two wanted to be made particularly clear. When Synod came to debate the motion on 'Civil Liberties', opinion was so divided that a motion that 'the powers that be are ordained of God' was carried overwhelmingly.

⁹⁰ Romans 13. In his eulogies for both President John F. Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Holt, Strong noted that the 'powers that be are ordained of God'. For the text of his eulogy at the funeral of Holt, in St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne on 22 December 1967, see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1967, p. 2.

⁹¹ Strong, diary entry, 2 June 1969, which summarises a sermon Strong preached at the cathedral for the annual 'Churchie' liturgy, on positive and negative ways to protest. See also Strong, diary entry, 5 August 1969, which records a Patronal Festival dinner at St Oswald's House, Brisbane at which he spoke again on positive and negative ways to protest.

the law. Such protest was designed to destroy and pull down, and often those involved in street demonstrations were manipulated by subversive leaders with ulterior motives. He was pleased that in January 1967, the *Courier-Mail* printed a column by him on obedience (a virtue that would soon seem to belong to a past age), in which he was able to emphasize the necessity of 'obedience to law'.⁹² Obedience to law and order was the only sure foundation for 'peace and stability among nations', he said. In a television interview in 1969, Strong drew on his New Guinea experience. If something was wrong, then public protest 'rubbed people up the wrong way'. It hardened opposition. It was better to go quietly to the person concerned and put your case gently to them.⁹³

For all Strong's concerns, protest as a way of finding redress for grievances, came to be seen as offering a credible alternative to more traditional paths, even in the church. In July 1969, 'some kind of rebellion' broke out in St Francis' College (SFC).⁹⁴ Three students – Greg Thompson, Don Edwards and Colin Chapman – pinned a written protest to the doors of the chapel, making demands to share in the management of the College. It was the equivalent of Luther's 95 theses nailed to the doors of the Castle Church in Wittenburg, but these students could only manage thirteen claims, and the whole idea had been born of a casual conversation outside the chapel, waiting to enter, moping about the drawbacks of College life. 'Why

⁹² *Courier-Mail*, 16 January 1967, p. 11.

⁹³ *Portrait of a Primate*, broadcast on ABC 2 on Sunday 6 July 1969, a video copy of which is in the possession of the author.

⁹⁴ Strong, diary entry, 14 July 1969.

don't you do something about it?', challenged one student, and since it was the spirit of the times to protest, they did.⁹⁵

Their major concern was the model of theological training. In particular, the monastic style did not suit married students. From week to week, married ordinands had to live in, their wives living elsewhere. On one night of the week alone, married ordinands were allowed home. Another grievance was the limited contact with parish churches. On Sundays, ordinands sang at the cathedral as part of the choir. Why couldn't they be more closely linked on Sundays with parishes? The result of such policies was a pseudo-community, concluded the protestors.⁹⁶

The Principal, Ivor Church, was very upset about such slurs on his management of the College. He wanted the students suspended. Strong gave them a 'very severe' talking to, insisted on apologies to Church, highlighted the need for loyalty, and the impossibility of ordaining men who were 'rebels against authority'.⁹⁷ Two chose to discontinue their studies,⁹⁸ one of whom Strong thought, had been influenced too much by the radical university student, Brian Laver, whom Strong characterised as 'the university anarchist'. It is true that this student had once arranged for Laver to speak at one of the Wednesday evening talks, where Laver had impressed with his knowledge of liberation theology in South America.⁹⁹ But for Strong, movements inspired by people like Laver, 'seek for only one thing – to create chaos. They are entirely

⁹⁵ Greg Thompson, personal comments recorded in August 2005.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Strong, diary entry, 14 July 1969.

⁹⁸ Chapman and Thompson chose to leave the College. Don Edwards remained at the College and was subsequently ordained.

⁹⁹ Greg Thompson, personal comments recorded in August 2005.

negative and destructive. ... They seek to overthrow and not to build.'¹⁰⁰ Just a few weeks earlier Laver had led a student occupation of the Senate room at the university.¹⁰¹ About 25 students participated, arguing that the Senate was unrepresentative of the university community.¹⁰² Though no arrests were made, the occupation marked the start of 'increasingly militant and confrontational tactics' by students.¹⁰³ Strong was a member of the university Senate, but had been absent during the student occupation. At the next meeting, which Strong attended, he noted that there were guards on the door, as if Senate members were under siege.¹⁰⁴

Although the protest at SFC was quite independent of this university protest, the concerns were the same: a greater share by ordinands in the management of the College. Neither Strong nor Church were convinced, either by the tactics or the demands. But sometimes you do not have to convince to have an effect. During the next term, 'the first conference between the staff and students of St Francis' College took place.' Neither Thompson nor Chapman were there, but the spirit was 'excellent' and Church was pleased to report that 'one or two beneficial changes in the routine life of the College were made as a result of this conference.'¹⁰⁵

During 1968 the atmosphere of public protest in Queensland changed perceptibly.¹⁰⁶ According to Fitzgerald, responses from the Queensland forces of authority became more flexible, perhaps because of growing opposition to

¹⁰⁰ Strong, diary entry, 8 August 1969.

¹⁰¹ Ferrier and Mansell, 'Student Revolt, 1960s and 1970s', pp. 266-272.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.271.

¹⁰⁴ Strong, diary entry, 10 July 1969.

¹⁰⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 154.

¹⁰⁶ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 563.

the Vietnam War from middle class Australia.¹⁰⁷ Graphic newspaper photos, television documentaries, the deaths of conscripts, and increasing concerns about the morality of the war worked together to change attitudes. Strong made a quick visit to Saigon on his return from the Philippines in May 1969. It was a pastoral visit to the personnel of the Australian Forces, and while in Saigon, he could hear occasional 'rocket fire' and bombs landing not three blocks away.¹⁰⁸ Even he, at this stage had begun to lose fervour for the cause. In his Diocesan Synod address a month later, he unusually did not mention the visit or comment on the war. A year earlier, he had acknowledged a 'helplessness to know what we should do to be delivered from the quagmire into which we have entered'.¹⁰⁹

Huge moratorium marches in May 1970, held in the city streets of every capital city, emphasised the growing disillusionment with Australian participation in the Vietnam War.¹¹⁰ In Brisbane, 5,000 marched through the streets (a fraction of the 70,000 in Melbourne and 20,000 in Sydney) of whom, about 3,000 came from the university campus, and as had become the pattern, began their march from St Lucia, joining other protestors at Roma Street in the city.¹¹¹ Anticipated conflict with police did not eventuate, perhaps because middle class Australia now had a greater presence in the protests.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 563; see also Bolton, *Oxford History of Australia*, vol. 5, p. 172.

¹⁰⁸ Strong, diary entry, 11 May 1969.

¹⁰⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1968*, p. 268.

¹¹⁰ Moratorium marches were scheduled for the weekend of 8-10 May 1970 in every capital city.

¹¹¹ *Courier-Mail*, 9 May 1970, p. 1.

¹¹² When former student leader Brian Laver sought to take over the rostrum in Roma Street, and address the crowd, he was dragged away so that Senator George Georges could continue his address. See *Courier-Mail*, 9 May 1970, p. 3.

The significance of the moratorium movement and the earlier protest marches was greater than simply opposition to the Vietnam War. It also signified changed attitudes to authority and institutions, and was a recognition that protest could be a powerful and useful corrective to institutional conceit and human fallibility. Ian Turner, an historian and veteran radical, who applauded the large participation by youth in 'peaceful objections to the war in Vietnam', claimed the moratoriums marked a moment when:

a culture and a sensibility are being transformed before our eyes. ... Politics takes on new dimensions: the young no longer see themselves as apprentices to the old power structures; they demand policies and institutions which are responsive to their needs. Happily they are as little given to wielding authority as they are to being on the receiving end; they are as likely to transform democracy rather than to supersede it.¹¹³

The years of protest also marked the end of deference. From now on people given positions of authority would have to earn their right to exercise it, and their right to be respected. But the legacy of protest has not been all positive. The work of leaders in all authoritative institutions has become seriously complicated since the Sixties, made more difficult by a media that has the ability to inflate protests beyond their proper limits, dwelling disproportionately on what is negative and critical, so much so, that a legacy of institutional indignation has been left. In this environment leadership in any institution – the church, the banks, politics, education – is made that much

¹¹³ Ian Turner, 'The Vietnam Moratorium', *Meanjin*, no. 29, 1970, pp. 233-234.

more difficult. But whatever the legacy, the Sixties was an age of protest, the 'disobedient age', both morally and politically, when attitudes to those who wielded authority were redefined.

7.5. *Media*

The impact of new media technologies, such as television, on the churches has been greatly understated.¹¹⁴ Prior to the advent of television, the principal media was print. Newspapers, such as the *Courier-Mail*, were very supportive of the churches. Throughout the Fifties, the *Courier-Mail* had a regular column on Mondays called 'From the Pulpit', outlining a sermon preached in Brisbane the previous day. On Wednesdays, 'Around the Churches' advertised church activities.¹¹⁵

Church events were often heralded: a photo of Halse and the Governor Sir Henry Abel Smith unveiling a statue at St Francis' College,¹¹⁶ of Halse visiting St Margaret's Anglican school at Albion,¹¹⁷ or of Duhig blessing the new £14,000 church of St Agnes in Mt Gravatt.¹¹⁸ On another day, a photo of a smiling family, Fr Martin Risard, his wife and six children on their arrival in Brisbane from Montana, USA. He was to begin ministry in Tully, North

¹¹⁴ For example, Bruce Kaye (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South, Victoria, 2002, billed on its dust cover as 'the first comprehensive national history of Anglicans in Australia', has just two passing references to the impact of television.

¹¹⁵ Douglas Rose, 'Five Sermons on a Sunday', *The Eagle: the magazine of St John's Cathedral, Brisbane*, vol. 2, no. 5, winter 2006, p. 18. Doug Rose was the religion reporter on the *Courier-Mail* from 1954 to 1974. On an average Sunday he would cover several or more sermons, and was usually allocated pages four or five of Monday's paper for photos and church news.

¹¹⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 28 March 1960, p. 7.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 March 1960, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 March 1960, p. 8.

Queensland.¹¹⁹ Articles appeared on the Palm Sunday blessing of palms at St Stephen's Roman Catholic Cathedral, a new translation of the bible, on congregations seeking to build their own churches, on Duhig's innovation in using a plane for his *ad limina* visit to the Pope,¹²⁰ on Methodist minister Arthur Preston setting up a 'cabaret' centre for youth.¹²¹ There was also a perception that the general readership would be aware of church themes. A food section could have as a heading: 'Be Original With Your Meals in Lent', where readers could be expected to know that Lent was the season before Easter.¹²²

The positive attitude to the churches meant that opportunity was given for the views of leading clergymen to be expressed in a more public way. Dean Baddeley's opinions were often reported. In March 1960, he made comments about not rushing into marriage. He argued that divorce could be such a traumatic experience with such costly side effects for children that the making of marriage vows ought to be considered more seriously than they were.¹²³ As part of the 1959 Diocesan Centenary celebrations, the *Courier-Mail* printed a 'series of spread articles by Anglican Bishops visiting Brisbane for the Centenary of Brisbane Diocese', including Bishop Burgmann of Canberra-Goulburn on 'The Mighty Theme of the Bible', and Hugh Gough,

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 5 March 1960, p. 5.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 26 March 1960, p. 1.

¹²¹ Ibid., 1 March 1960, p. 1

¹²² Ibid., 9 March 1960, p. 19. 'The Lenten season is with us again, and housewives are faced with the problem of presenting something a little different in fish recipes'. Some, however, remained quite ignorant of Christian practices and customs. K. S. Inglis cites a survey in 1960 and 1961 of army personnel whose knowledge of the Christian faith, the bible and of Church practices was very slight. See Inglis, 'Religious Behaviour', p. 50.

¹²³ *Courier-Mail*, 30 March 1960, p. 14.

Archbishop of Sydney on 'The Bible's Power and Authority'.¹²⁴ In 1965, Strong included in his Address to Diocesan Synod an expression of gratitude to the *Courier-Mail* and the *Telegraph* for 'the prominence given to Church events, and for their courtesy and co-operation ... [in keeping] matters of vital Christian interest before its readers.'¹²⁵

At some stage after the mid-Sixties, a more critical note towards the churches emerged in the press. In 1966, when the Archbishop of Sydney Hugh Gough resigned suddenly, the Anglican Church still commanded enough respect to keep any scandal out of the press. But such respect was evaporating. In November 1969, Strong felt impelled to arrange an interview with the Managing Director of the *Courier-Mail*, expressing his concern and belief that one of his journalists – Doug Rose – was sensationalising issues against the church.¹²⁶ He complained that journalists were like 'vultures swooping down on anything they can get hold of which is going to do the church harm'.¹²⁷ They had prejudiced the idea of a Cathedral Square, creating unnecessary consternation.¹²⁸ They had mischievously tricked Strong into appearing to ban another bishop.¹²⁹ They had highlighted derogatory remarks made by passing youths at the laying of a church foundation stone¹³⁰ and sensationalised the withdrawal of curates' licences as solely due to their long hair.¹³¹ Whether these are fair accusations or not, is not the point here. What is, is that any feeling that an institution such as the church ought to be

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 June 1959, p. 4.

¹²⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 294.

¹²⁶ Strong, diary entry, 7 November 1969.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 November 1969.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1967.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5 September 1967.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3 November 1969.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 7 November 1969.

protected from criticism in the press no longer existed. The churches were as open to scrutiny and critique as any other organisation. The only debating point was whether the critique was fair and true.

The once supportive print-based medium extended initially also to radio and television. Television was first broadcast in Brisbane in 1959, and on August 30, 1959 the Diocese was the first church to take advantage of 'Religious Television' in Queensland, when 'What do YOU think?' made its debut.¹³² It was a monthly half hour program on Channel 9 answering questions on the 'Christian Religion' sent in by viewers. Hosted by the effervescent Dean Bill Baddeley, it became a popular feature of Sunday afternoons. Baddeley's flair for communication, good looks, charm and resonant voice suggested the shades of a celebrity years before the idea gained currency. An optometrist claimed that when Baddeley started to wear half-moon glasses the demand became so great that it was difficult to keep up with supply.¹³³ Although the panel changed in composition from month to month,¹³⁴ regular participation increased one's chances of election onto a Diocesan Synod position. Similarly, clergy visits to families in parishes were made easier if the family had seen them on television: they were welcomed as a familiar friend.¹³⁵

¹³² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 199. According to Dean Baddeley, the purpose of the program was 'to try to give the Church's answer to questions about religion without being too high brow'. See *Courier-Mail*, 10 March 1960, p. 6.

¹³³ Robert Beal, personal comments recorded in May 2004. Beal was one time rector of St Alban's Auchenflower, and later Dean of Newcastle and Bishop of Wangaratta.

¹³⁴ Regular guests included Reverends Ted Randall and Ivor Church (from St Francis' College teaching staff), Mrs Valerie Beal (wife of the Reverend Robert Beal, Rector of Auchenflower), the Reverend Vernon Cornish (Diocesan Youth Chaplain from 1960), and Dr Felix Arden, a prominent layman.

¹³⁵ Keith Rayner, personal comments recorded in April 2004.

Other programs included 'Anglican Magazine' on Channel 7, which gave 'up to date news of what the church is doing in the various fields of its work and also gives definite church teaching particularly associated with the liturgical seasons'.¹³⁶ Church liturgies began to be televised by the ABC. The first direct telecast from a church in Queensland occurred on Christmas Day 1959 when the Solemn Eucharist was both televised and broadcast on radio from the cathedral. The telecast was praised as a 'success', one critic declaring that it was 'the best thing ever done by the ABC to date'.¹³⁷ The Anglican Church was assisted in its television work through government regulations, which required television stations to put at the disposal of religious bodies 30 minutes of free television programming each week.¹³⁸ The station had to give every help to the church – facilities, background sets, make up, directors, cameramen. Such help was gratefully received, Baddeley saying: 'We would record our very grateful thanks to all those who have helped us during our first year of television. Specially we would like to express our gratitude to the studio staffs at Mt Coot-tha who have given us ready co-operation at all times. We want them to know how much we appreciate all that they have done for us.'¹³⁹

At this stage the shadow side to television was barely perceptible. Robert Putnam, for example, traces the demise of 'social capital' in America largely to the advent of television. Having examined busyness, mobility, the movement of women into the paid workforce, shifting notions of family, the

¹³⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 199.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹³⁸ A. F. Davies, S. Encel *et al.*, 'The Mass Media' in Davies and Encel, *Australian Society*, p. 225.

¹³⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1960*, p. 200.

growth of the welfare state, and economic changes as possible reasons for civic dis-engagement, he fastens on one factor as the primary 'suspect' which contributes unambiguously to a withdrawal from society: television.¹⁴⁰ It is the 'only leisure activity that seems to inhibit participation outside the home'.¹⁴¹ Social trust and investment in voluntary groups and social activities diminished, he argues, as people chose to use more of their free time watching television.¹⁴² An Ipswich resident, Thomas Shapcott, offers anecdotal confirmation of this impact of television.

I can recall when television first came to Ipswich. Before then, in the evenings, if you walked down any of the streets of Ipswich, you'd see people sitting on the front steps of their houses in the dark, perhaps listening to the radio ... A lot of people would go to bed very early – in many houses lights would be off by 9 o'clock. People had to make their own entertainment. My parents would occasionally have people over and they had to endure us playing the piano or singing. My older brother Bob had a flute, and we'd give impromptu concerts. People would play card games, dice games and things like that. ... Once television came, people moved inside at night. That grey, luminous light would appear in their front windows and those so-called 'living rooms', which had never been used except for funerals and important visitors. It was two years after television was introduced to Queensland before my

¹⁴⁰ Today, we might add computer entertainment.

¹⁴¹ Robert Putnam, 'The Strange Disappearance of Civic America', *Policy: a journal of public policy and ideas*, Autumn, 1996, p. 14.

¹⁴² Putnam, 'The Strange Disappearance of Civic America', pp. 3-15; Robert Putnam, 'Tuning In, Tuning Out: the Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America', *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 28, no. 4, December 1995, pp. 664-683; McElwain and Campbell, 'The Family', in Davies and Encel, *Australian Society*, p. 138; Davies, Encel, 'Mass Media', p. 226.

father finally consented to buy one, so we, too, ended up sitting in the inside living room, where it was hot, but hypnotic.¹⁴³

Anglican Evensong on Sunday evenings in Australia in the Sixties was an early victim of the withdrawal of social capital. On television's advent, people watched as much as they could.¹⁴⁴ By 1964, nearly one in four people in Brisbane had access to a television.¹⁴⁵ Some of the best programs were on Sunday evenings, such as *The Forsyte Saga*, and attendances at Evensong began to suffer.¹⁴⁶ One priest recalls that, 'We could not wait for Sunday evening to come around to see what would happen to Soames and Irene, young Jolyon and the rest. Sunday night television became first priority in our passive social calendar.'¹⁴⁷ Within two decades, parish Evensongs had all but died out. Other voluntary groups also suffered, especially amateur theatres and commercial cinemas. Suburban cinemas advertising their programs in the *Courier-Mail* fell from 57 in June 1959 to 38 in August 1964.¹⁴⁸ Numbers attending performances of the Ipswich Little Theatre declined after television arrived, and it closed its doors in 1965.¹⁴⁹

Putnam's research shows that time once committed to social participation is now used to watch television. The more television is watched, the less likely is a person to read a newspaper, support a cause or join a voluntary group. Does the loss of social capital matter? Putnam argues it

¹⁴³ Buchanan, *Ipswich in the Twentieth Century*, p. 122.

¹⁴⁴ Those with television watched an average of two hours per night with one night off. See Davies, Encel, 'Mass Media', p. 226.

¹⁴⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 12 August 1964, p. 2. There were about 210,000 sets licensed in Queensland.

¹⁴⁶ J. N. Falkingham, 'A Suburban Parish at Work', *St Mark's Review*, no. 23, February 1961, p. 19.

¹⁴⁷ Alfred Holland, After-Dinner Speech given at the Anglican History Seminar meeting at Morpeth Anglican College, New South Wales on Saturday 21 September 2002, in the possession of the author.

¹⁴⁸ *Courier-Mail*, 12 August 1964, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Buchanan, *Ipswich in the Twentieth Century*, p. 122.

does. Suburbs not bound by strong social capital become more vulnerable to greater crime and suicide, poorer school performances, less stable personal relationships and larger numbers of illnesses, including mental instability and addiction.¹⁵⁰

Television, although a blessing in many ways, has had other harmful social effects. The more a person relies on television for their primary information about the world, the more likely they are to adopt extreme views,¹⁵¹ and – following recent research in Australia – the more likely they are to have a quite different perception of the world to those generations who grew up before television. In 1994, the Australian Christian Research Association published findings which showed that those over 50 years old – that is, those who had grown up without television – viewed the world as essentially a good place to live in: stable, predictable, consistent, trustworthy and ordered. God was in control, and one could deal with the occasional abrasions of life, having built up a bank of trust in God's goodness and the beauty and order of the universe.¹⁵² Those under 40 – that is, those who had grown up with television – viewed the world quite differently. It was an arena of competing powers, both good and evil. The unexpected could happen at any moment. God was locked in battle with the powers of evil. It was a dangerous world, a capricious world. Such a view correlates neatly with the presentation of many programs on television, such as television dramas and

¹⁵⁰ Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*, Simon and Schuster, New York 2000, pp. 287-363.

¹⁵¹ George Gerbner and Kathleen Connolly, 'Television as New Religion', *New Catholic World*, March-April 1978, pp. 52-56.

¹⁵² Philip Hughes, 'A Maze or a System?: Changes in the Worldview of Australian People', *Christian Research Association Paper*, no. 2, 1994, pp. 1-16.

soap operas in which characters are confronted with new and unexpected dilemmas, and have to resolve the situation to achieve a new stability. Life is a series of crises through which the characters move. Even the nightly television news has this character of the unexpected and even capricious about it, as it leans towards reporting the unusual, the spectacular, the scandalous, the shocking.

Both worldviews can be found in the pages of scripture, but have different implications for worship and theology.¹⁵³ In worship, those who see the world as ordered and sustained by an almighty God will look to liturgy to affirm that order and the values of that system. Formal, ordered worship – as found in the Anglican Church in the Sixties – reflects such a worldview. For those (under 40) who come to worship with a conception of the world as an arena of competing powers, there is no system to affirm. Instead worship is a time to gather resources, and to build one's personal strength to deal with the unexpected, even capricious, situations that might arise. Worship provides a time to call on God to help with immediate and potential problems. Formal worship for these people means little, it is direct and intimate contact with God that is most important, best expressed through lively, informal worship.

Television had other side effects unseen in the early Sixties. Most significantly, television altered the way in which communication took place. Print based communication, which fostered analytical, reasoned and considered argument – and out of which the Anglican Church with its prayer book and bible had grown – was challenged by the emerging audio-visual

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 13-15.

forms of communication, which relied much more on mood, images and feelings. Advertising agencies quickly realised that television was a medium that worked better in creating a mood and an image than in rational explanations of a product's virtues. Consequently commercials came to be shaped around a mood and an image rather than argued reasons for buying the product. Ways of communicating were changing and the question: 'what does this church teach and where is truth?', would give way to communication based on moods and images: 'how does this church feel and what does it look like?'¹⁵⁴

Television also absorbed some religious functions. Television's heroes operate like Christian saints. They participate in our human situation and successfully overcome its abrasions, anxieties and threats. More immediate and accessible, television heroes, from news presenters to dramatic action heroes, provide the models for human living that saints once did as powerfully, for past Christians.

Finally, television – together with immigration, increased travel overseas, and opportunities for further education – opened up new windows onto a wider world. People's mental geography broadened. Interest in the local community began to give way to a knowledge and awareness of belonging to an international world. Younger Australians became increasingly conscious of wider horizons, of different cultures, customs and religions. The effect was to give force to the concept of relativism, whereby Christianity and its moral code was seen as one among many on offer, and an Australian's

¹⁵⁴ Pierre Babin, *The New Era in Religious Communication*, (trans. David Smith), Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1991.

inherited Christian faith as a matter of the accident of one's country of birth. As Bruce Wilson says: 'When it is possible to watch in your own living room, in full colour, everything from the courting rituals of a tribal polygamist to the marital tangles of upper-class Californians, you begin to experience the relativity of your own socially constructed identity'.¹⁵⁵ Any position of privilege given to Christianity no longer existed. Christians had to compete on a footing of equality with other religions and philosophies.

The decline of 'social capital', changes in worldview, changing patterns in communication, the absorption of religious functions, and the stimulation towards relativism – all suggest that television has had a greater effect on church going than has been previously acknowledged. Television must be a key contributor to the numerical decline of the churches, which began within years of the advent of television in Sydney in 1956 and in Brisbane in 1959.¹⁵⁶

7.6 *Gender Issues*

Gender roles underwent radical redefinition from the late Sixties. A movement, sometimes called the 'second wave' of the Women's Liberation movement, aimed at ending discrimination on the grounds of gender. Some women felt an indignation at what they saw as male patronage which 'protected' women, and thereby treated them much as children. To illustrate the point, at 5.00pm on 31 March 1965, Merle Thornton and Rosalie Bogner

¹⁵⁵ Bruce Wilson, *Can God Survive in Australia?*, Albatross Books, Sutherland, New South Wales, 1983, p. 72.

¹⁵⁶ Other side effects of television could be mentioned. The American sociologist Neil Postman, for example, traces the demise of childhood to television. See Neil Postman, *The Disappearance of Childhood*, Vintage Books, New York, 1982; Peter Carnley, 'The Violence of Television', *Faith and Freedom*, vol. 1, no. 2, June 1992, pp. 4-9.

chained themselves to the public bar footrail of the Regatta Hotel, Toowong, to protest against that law that excluded women drinking at public bars. This demonstration – ‘probably internationally the first of feminist direct action demonstrations of the kind that would come to characterise the Women’s Liberation movement’ – created much controversy and publicity.¹⁵⁷ Out of it arose in Brisbane, the Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) association, whose title flagged, what became a slogan for feminists in the years ahead: ‘equal opportunity’. EOW began to address a number of issues discriminatory to women, including the public service requirement that a woman resign upon marriage or forfeit her position, and the exclusion from jury service.¹⁵⁸

That female roles were changing is also suggested by the election in 1966 of Vi Jordan, as State Member for Ipswich West – the first woman in 37 years to win a State seat, and the first woman to represent the Labor Party.¹⁵⁹ She remained Member for Ipswich West until 1974 with special interests in equal pay for women, discrimination in the workforce and child care. Jordan had earlier (in 1961) been the first woman alderman elected to Ipswich City Council.¹⁶⁰ Jordan’s elections, Thornton and Bogner’s demonstration and the founding of the EOW were part of a broader political and social struggle that sought for women (amongst other hopes) equal pay, equal employment

¹⁵⁷ Carole Ferrier, ‘Women’s Liberation, 1965’, in Evans and Ferrier (eds), *Radical Brisbane*, pp. 254-258.

¹⁵⁸ In Queensland, the requirement that a woman resign upon marriage remained in force until 1969, after which time Departmental approval was still required until 1973, when that discriminatory regulation was also abolished. The Federal government acted sooner, ending the Commonwealth Public Service marriage bar in 1966. See Ferrier, ‘Women’s Liberation, 1965’, p. 257.

¹⁵⁹ The first woman elected to the Queensland State Parliament was Irene Longman in 1929, as a member of the Country and Progressive National Party. She held the seat of Bulimba from 1929 to 1932.

¹⁶⁰ *Women in the Queensland Labor Movement*, September 1991; Buchanan, *Ipswich in the Twentieth Century*, p. 114.

conditions, protection against violence and sexual abuse, and reassessment of gender roles in families. The symbolic behaviour which women chose to symbolise their emerging status was employment.¹⁶¹ In 1961, women made up 22.9 per cent of the total work force in Queensland. A decade later, the figure was 29.6 per cent and by 1977, it was 34.8 per cent.¹⁶²

The Diocese of Brisbane was initially quick to respond to this emerging mood. Two years before Thornton and Bogner's demonstration, the all-male Diocesan Synod removed its prohibition on women representatives, with only a murmur of dissent. Strong led the way. 'We lose something by not making it possible for women to play their part in the life of the church', he said.¹⁶³ In 1964, seven women represented their parishes at Synod, and that year a new Canon was introduced to allow women to be eligible as Parish Councillors, a natural corollary to their admission to Synod. In the announcement of the Synod election results for that year, the election of Miss Hilda Beaumont as the first woman member of Diocesan Council was received with enthusiastic applause.¹⁶⁴ Miss Beaumont was an extremely influential person in Diocesan life. She was the Director of the Diocesan Board of Christian Education, which she managed with efficiency, skill and initiative. As Director, she organised training for Sunday School teachers, adult education lectures, correspondence education for rural children, youth camps, and so on, and gave lectures in Christian Education at St Francis' College. The annual

¹⁶¹ Mackay, *Reinventing Australia*, p. 26.

¹⁶² *Queensland Year Book 1967*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1968, p. 374; *Queensland Year Book 1979*, p. 194.

¹⁶³ *Courier-Mail*, 13 June 1963, p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ The Parishes Regulation Canon Amendment Canon of 1964. See *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1964, p. 3. *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 316.

Summer Schools (aimed generally at clergy, Sunday School teachers and youth leaders) at the Glennie School, Toowoomba, which she organised, were a major feature of Diocesan life, where many who later came to positions of Diocesan leadership received great encouragement. In 1965, she became the first woman from the Diocese elected to the national General Synod. She was a person of profound common sense and dedication, who was much respected by clergy and laity alike.

But the integration of more women at leadership levels was not pursued vigorously. By the early 1980s, women enjoyed equal rights with men in all administrative councils of the Diocese. They could be elected parish councillors, churchwardens, synod representatives or parish nominators. In practice, however, their voice was subdued. Hilda Beaumont was the only woman member of Diocesan Council from 1964 to 1973. There were no further women elected until 1981, and in 1982, two had seats on Diocesan Council.¹⁶⁵ Other Diocesan committees also continued to be dominated by men. In fairness to the Diocese, there was minimal female representation in other secular institutions and organisations also at this time. In the State elections of 1966 and 1969 just one woman – Vi Jordan – was elected. The State elections of 1974 and 1977 were not much different – two women elected on each occasion.¹⁶⁶

Change in decision-making spheres was facilitated by the fact that it reflected what was going on in society as a whole, and involved issues regarded as cultural rather than theological. In contrast, the involvement of

¹⁶⁵ In 1980, Diocesan Council was a 26 member Council of lay and clergy representatives.

¹⁶⁶ *Queensland Year Book 1970*, p. 40; *Queensland Year Book 1975*, pp. 80-82; *Queensland Year Book 1979*, pp. 63-64.

women in leadership of worship raised theological and scriptural issues and challenged centuries of tradition. In 1967, the Archbishop of Perth, George Appleton, authorised deaconesses (licensed female church workers) to administer the chalice at communion in Perth Diocese. Strong and other diocesan bishops were aghast, and penned a letter expressing their dismay against such unilateral action.¹⁶⁷ Female servers were not admitted in most Brisbane parish churches until the mid-1970s, and women administering the chalice even later.¹⁶⁸ It would be many years more, before the next step was taken – women admitted to the ranks of the ordained – and only then after two decades of consuming passion and energy. For the purpose of this thesis, that a debate about women’s roles in the church, including ordaining women, could ever have occurred, was due only to the redefinition of gender roles going on in society, and which was heralded early in Brisbane in 1965, in dramatic form, by Thornton and Bogner.

7.7 Conclusion

These six examples of social redefinition – the changing use of Sundays, changing immigration patterns, more liberal attitudes to moral issues, loss of deference to authority figures, the new media, and changing gender roles –

¹⁶⁷ David Hilliard, ‘Pluralism and New Alignments in Society and Church 1967 to the Present’, in Kaye (ed.) *Anglicanism in Australia*, p. 133; Strong, diary entry, 8 August 1967. The Bishop of Ballarat, Bishop Bill (‘Basher Bill’) Hardie, a former Brisbane priest, was furious claiming it foreshadowed the ordination of women. At heart was another issue: how far is it right for an individual bishop to do what he feels is right irrespective of how it affects the national church?

¹⁶⁸ Christ Church St Lucia admitted girls and women as liturgical servers and readers in 1976, and women began administering the chalice from mid-1982. See the parish magazine for Christ Church St Lucia, *Anglican News*, April 1976, p. 3; and *Anglican News*, April 1982, p. 2 kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

are not exhaustive, but they suggest the breadth of social redefinition. It was the redefinition of society – rapid and vast – which created the conditions for church numerical decline.

*Cannon to the right of them,
Cannon to the left of them,
Cannon in front of them
Volley'd and thunder'd.*

Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' (1870)

In January 1966, Pope Paul VI appealed for peace in Vietnam. His words had little or no effect and a week later the war entered a new phase of aggression as American troops launched a major offensive against the 'Iron Triangle', a Viet Cong stronghold near Saigon. Australians remained broadly supportive of the war, most accepting or welcoming the announcement that Australia would treble its forces in Vietnam. When President Lyndon Baynes Johnson toured Australia in October 1966, it was 'all the way with LBJ'.

Elsewhere the political landscape was changing, either peacefully or through the power of military force. In Indonesia, General Suharto used force and political manoeuvring to seize power from President Sukarno and begin a 32 year long reign. In Uganda, Prime Minister Milton Obote suspended the constitution, removed the President and assumed absolute power. In India, Indira Gandhi succeeded peacefully to power, following the unexpected death of the Prime Minister. In Australia, Prime Minister Menzies retired after 17 years in office, and Harold Holt, who had been waiting in the wings for many years, succeeded him. The financial landscape in Australia also changed in 1966 when decimal currency was introduced in February. And the fashion

landscape also changed. In November 1966, a young English model – Jean Shrimpton – caused a sensation when she wore to the Melbourne Cup, the first ‘mini skirt’, a dress 8cm above the knees revealing bare, unstockinged legs.

The ecclesial landscape was also changing. Overtures of friendship between churches were beginning to excite real hopes of greater unity. In 1966, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey visited Pope Paul VI – only the second time since the Reformation that such a visit had been made – and a much more public and celebrated occasion than Archbishop Fisher’s understated, almost secretive, visit to Pope John XXIII in 1960. The two leaders celebrated an ecumenical liturgy in St Paul Without-the-Walls, in Rome, and signed a common declaration of hope for unity, after which Pope Paul asked Ramsey to take off his episcopal ring. Puzzled, Ramsey did so, whereupon the Pope slipped his own ring, which he had worn as Archbishop of Milan, on Ramsey’s finger. Ramsey burst into tears and wore the ring for the rest of his life.

In Brisbane, on 6 March 1966, Lady May Abel Smith (wife of the much loved Governor, Sir Henry Abel Smith) placed a lead-lined capsule within the half-constructed walls of the cathedral extensions. Sir Henry’s eight-year term as Governor was coming to an end. He had been a great supporter of St John’s Cathedral,¹ and Strong had enjoyed his friendship. ‘It has been no mean thing to have the witness of a Christian governor in our midst for the last eight years,’ he wrote in his diary. ‘His great desire has been that as

¹ Archbishop Philip Strong, diary entry, 6 March 1966.

secularism grows apace the church should have an increasing influence on the common life of the community.²

Inside the capsule are two gold sovereigns, two Churchill crowns and a number of original historic documents.³ The sovereigns and crowns were minted in 1965, the year in which Winston Churchill died, and the year in which the Diocese was able to proceed with its long-awaited cathedral extensions. The documents include the 1965 Diocesan Year Book, a copy of Archbishop Strong's Diocesan Synod address concerning the cathedral extensions, and more excitingly, two 17th century historic documents. One is the minutes of St Paul's Cathedral Chapter, London, which authorises the re-building of St Paul's, after the Great Fire of 1666. The second historic document bears the signature of Sir Christopher Wren, the famous architect of St Paul's, and authorises the Bath and Portland Group Ltd, to quarry and supply Portland Stone for the cathedral re-building. The Stones Firm Ltd, (a subsidiary of the Bath and Portland Group), had been contracted to build the second stage of St John's cathedral, and had brought the coins and documents to Brisbane as a gesture of goodwill. They could trace a direct line of descent from the seventeenth century builders of St Paul's in London under Sir Christopher Wren, to their contemporary staff. A plaque, set in place by the Governor, 'with thankfulness to Almighty God [for] the State Governorship of Sir Henry Abel Smith', covers the site where the capsule is deposited.

² Strong diary entry, 6 March 1966.

³ *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1966*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1967, p. 273; Strong, diary entries, 24 November 1965; 3 March 1966; 6 March 1966. Nowhere is there an indication that the historic documents are copies.

Anyone observing this event might think that all was well in the Diocese. In fact, a number of Diocesan issues hindered an adequate response to the changing social, moral and cultural landscape of Australian society. The first of these issues was the advent of 'secular theology', which raised doubts about truth in the Christian faith. The second was leadership tensions within the Diocese. The third was the conservatism of Archbishop Strong, and the fourth was the erosion of Anglo-Catholic passion.

8.1. *Secular Theology*

Coinciding with Strong's enthronement in 1963 was the first shipment to Australia of a thin paperback, with the unexciting title, *Honest to God*.⁴ Written by the English Bishop of Woolwich, John Robinson, the initial print run was just 3,000. Within weeks, however, the book had caught the public's attention. Headlines in the press were alarming: 'Bishop does not believe in God' and "'God is Dead", says Bishop'.

Honest to God was an attempt to make the traditional faith intelligible in a modern, scientific and secular age. The book questioned the usefulness of traditional understandings of God. Images of God as 'up there', sitting above the earth, who occasionally dived into the world to effect a miracle, made no sense in an increasingly scientific age. God was not a separate and removed entity. Nor was God a 'God-of-the-gaps', the answer to anything that could not be given a scientific explanation, or was not yet open to human understanding. Robinson sought to replace God 'up there' with God as the

⁴ John Robinson, *Honest to God*, SCM Press, London, 1963.

‘depth dimension’ of life, ‘the ground of our being’, that which gave direction and meaning to life. These were not new ideas. Tillich, Bultmann, Bonhoeffer and Barth had all put forward similar ideas, but it was the first time a bishop had articulated them and made the ideas accessible.⁵

Although a number welcomed Robinson’s ideas, even felt relieved that at last here was someone articulating their concerns,⁶ others accused him of ‘ruthless iconoclasm’.⁷ The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a quick rejoinder, a pamphlet called *Image Old and New*,⁸ noting that this was a time of ferment in new ideas about God. Some saw his book as an attempt to slap down the ‘incipient heresy’.⁹

The significance of *Honest to God* was twofold. It was the last religious book to have a mass readership. Religious affairs in the early Sixties could still attract media attention, and a measure of literacy about the bible and religious faith could still be expected from an educated and reading public. Secondly, it was the symbolic flagship for a number of similar publications. The liberal theological journal *Soundings* (first published in 1962 and written by a group of Cambridge theologians), then *God is No More, Objections to Christian Belief, Radical Theology and the Death of God, The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* and *The True Wilderness* were some contributions that

⁵ See *Christian Century*, 8 May 1963. ‘The content of *Honest to God* does not of itself account for the book’s importance ... [but] because the title “bishop” is attached to its author’s name; bishops are expected to defend the orthodox faith, and *Honest to God* touches on a variety of apparent heresies.’

⁶ Robert Towler, *The Need for Certainty*, p. 120. Towler offers an analysis of the letters to Bishop Robinson, after the publication of *Honest to God*.

⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1963, p. 6.

⁸ Michael Ramsey, *Image Old and New*, SPCK, London, 1963.

⁹ *Courier-Mail*, 14 June 1963, p. 2.



Fig. 29 Archbishop Ramsey and Archbishop Strong March 1965



Fig. 30 Archbishop Ramsey with Archbishop Strong with Cathedral staff March 1965

followed Robinson's *Honest To God*.¹⁰ These publications caught and disseminated a mood of radical questioning. They gave rise to what became known as the 'death of God' debate or 'secular theology', and sowed the seeds of doubt about the veracity of Christian truths.

In Brisbane, Strong was puzzled by this debate. The God of the bible and of Christianity was very much more than 'the ground of our being'. He is a personal and living God, who reveals himself to the world through what he does.¹¹ In England for a short while in 1963, he caught up with a friend from his theological days at Selwyn College, Cambridge – Alec Vidler, the editor of *Soundings*. Strong pointed out the damage done by such publications, how such liberal theology made it so much more difficult for lay people in secular environments to witness for the faith. He concluded his diary entry by noting that Vidler was even 'against the parochial system. He always has been a revolutionist in thought'.¹²

Just how difficult it was to witness for Christ is suggested by Donald Horne's comments in his bestselling *A Lucky Country*, published in 1964. Horne claimed that, even by then, 'belief in the salvatory role of Christ' was no longer strong, that the concept of evil was considered 'un-Australian', that

¹⁰ Alec Vidler (ed.), *Soundings: essays concerning Christian understanding*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1962; Lotte Pelz and Werner Pelz, *God is No More*, Gollancz, London, 1963; D. Mackinnon, *Objections to Christian Belief*, Constable, London, 1963; Thomas Altizer and William Hamilton, *Radical Theology and the Death of God*, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1966; Paul van Buren, *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel*, SCM Press, London, 1963; Harry Williams, *The True Wilderness*, Constable, Glasgow, 1965.

¹¹ Strong, diary entry, 21 September 1966.

¹² Strong, diary entry, 8 July 1963. Something of Vidler's 'revolutionary' spirit emerged in Selwyn College, Cambridge where undergraduates (as in other Colleges) were required to attend so many 'chapels' a week – most weekday mornings and Sundays. The Master used to make a regular report to the Council on attendance, and administer frequent rebukes. Vidler's response, in 1920, was to lead a vigorous campaign for voluntary chapel attendance. For Vidler's questioning of the structures of the Church of England, see A. R. Vidler, 'Religion and the National Church', in Vidler (ed.), *Soundings*, pp. 239-263.

'hell had been abolished as unfair to underdogs', and that the official beliefs of Australians were essentially humanist, and only those parts of Christianity that fitted this belief were now retained.¹³ He was slightly too dismissive, but was picking up the way the wind was blowing.

In Melbourne, two young priests in April 1968 publicly announced they were agnostic.¹⁴ Influenced by the writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and his idea of 'religionless Christianity' and the death-of-God theologians, they announced that they found traditional concepts of God and the supernatural to be 'meaningless' and 'irrelevant'. The press quickly took up their statements. They were soon invited to resign, but the damage had been done. Even the clergy, it seemed, were questioning traditional beliefs. A month later, in his Diocesan Synod sermon, Strong reasserted traditional Anglican teaching. The only effective answer to the problems of the Church in the present day, he declared, lay in 'the principles, ideals, teaching and practice of our *Book of Common Prayer*, if faithfully fulfilled and applied in every parish'. Wherever doubt or agnosticism or moral failure appeared among either clergy or laity, there had been a failure in prayer and the inner life.¹⁵ When asked at the same Synod what his attitude was to those priests who did not accept the divine Sonship of Christ, Strong's answer was simple: he knew no such clergy.¹⁶

¹³ Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1964, p. 53.

¹⁴ The priests were the Reverend David Pope and the Reverend Peter Lane. See David Hilliard, 'Australian Anglicanism and the Radical Sixties', in S. Emilsen and W. Emilsen (eds), *Mapping the Landscape: essays in Australian and New Zealand Christianity*, Peter Lang, New York, 2000, p. 103.

¹⁵ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1968, p. 5; Hilliard, 'Australian Anglicanism and the Radical Sixties', p. 104.

¹⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1968*, p. 86.

Such a climate helps make sense of Strong's reaction in the late Sixties, when the Reverend Max Thomas, then a tutor on the staff of Trinity College, Melbourne, was invited to be the guest speaker at the annual Brisbane Clergy School, held at the Glennie School in Toowoomba.¹⁷ He was asked to give four lectures on current scholarship concerning the resurrection, including Tillich's thinking of 'Resurrection as Symbol', which could be seen to throw doubts on the reality or, at least, the bodily nature of Jesus' resurrection. Strong, who arrived in time for the third lecture, soon gave up reading his mail and listened with increasing agitation, as Tillich's ideas were canvassed. At the Eucharist the next morning, he changed the Gospel reading to Luke's account of the risen Christ eating a fish breakfast on the shore of Lake Galilee, an account which emphasizes the physical nature of the resurrection. He read it slowly, forcefully and purposefully, pausing occasionally to look up at the clergy and the guest speaker, to drive home the clear biblical teaching that the risen Christ was flesh and blood. Senior clergy later tried to reassure him.

In 1969, he found himself once again defending traditional teaching. Interviewed on ABC television, he was asked about the 'death of God' debate. It was an unfortunate term, he said. Robinson was speaking of old concepts of God as an old man in the sky, but everyone is spiritual as well as mental and physical and in due course, theology will return to a true interpretation of scripture, and real belief in God. We are currently treading some 'outlandish paths', he said. What of Malcolm Muggeridge's claim, said the interviewer,

¹⁷ Max Thomas, personal comments recorded in May 2005.

that the majority of ministers no longer believe what they purport to believe. Strong doubted it was a 'majority', and if there were priests who did not believe then they should resign. They were white-anting the church, and to remain in the church was innate dishonesty.¹⁸

These episodes suggest the theological pressure of the times. *Honest to God* in 1963 had been a straw in the wind, but few could see it. Till that moment, confidence in the church and its teachings was taken for granted. The 1950s age of certainty was being replaced by creeping disbelief and scepticism. The Diocese was less able to respond to the many social, cultural and moral challenges facing it, partly because time and energy were required to address the new theology, which seemed to be undermining its belief structure.

8.2 *Internal Conflict*

Within eighteen months, Strong had fallen out with key leaders in his Diocese, including some of his archdeacons and notably the Registrar, Roland St John. At heart was the issue of authority. After 26 years of unchallenged episcopal oversight in Papua New Guinea, where the bishop's word was law, the transition to a more shared form of authority was probably too much to expect of Strong. In Papua New Guinea, his spiritual and temporal authority had gone unchallenged. There was no Anglican constitution, no Diocesan Synod

¹⁸ *Portrait of a Primate*, broadcast on ABC 2, on Sunday 6 July 1969, a video copy of which is in the possession of the author.

and no Diocesan Council.¹⁹ Loose annual Congresses of Papuan Christians (called the *Oga Tara*), were advisory and gave opportunities to express tribal grievances, but they had no power. Nor did Strong's 'Sacred Synods' – gatherings of clergy at which Strong presided, taught and established new rulings. For Papua New Guineans, such autocratic and even paternal leadership was normal. A decision was right to the Papua New Guineans because the person with the proper authority made it.²⁰ After 26 years of exercising unchallenged authority, seeing authority best expressed vertically from the top downwards, rather than sideways across to committees or councils or Synods, Strong was to find adjustment to the greater shared decision-making of Brisbane quite a difficulty. Furthermore, his Anglo-Catholic theology that the diocesan bishop was the 'Father-in-God', with a care for all his clergy and the parishes, which were his and his responsibility alone, was confirmation in Strong's mind that his word ought to be followed. He struggled at times to understand that others could disagree with his policies, yet still be loyal to him.

The first sign of antagonism occurred within days of his enthronement. Shortly before Halse died, Diocesan Council approved the purchase from Lady Tooth of her property called 'Farsley' in Hamilton, which was to replace Bishopsbourne (in the grounds of St Francis' College, Milton) as the residence

¹⁹ The Anglican Church in New Guinea held its first Diocesan Synod in August 1971. In contrast, a comparable diocese, the Diocese of Carpentaria had held Diocesan Synods since 1931. See David Wetherell, 'The Anglicans in New Guinea and the Torres Strait Islands', *Pacific Studies*, vol. 21, No. 4, December 1998, p. 17; Harold Palmer, 'The Anglican Mission in New Guinea', *St Mark's Review*, no. 31, February 1963, p. 8.

²⁰ David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891-1942*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1977, p. 153; Clive Moore, 'Introduction', in Clive Moore with Mary Kooyman (eds), *A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle 1967-1991*, Crawford House, Bathurst, 1998, p. xv.

for future Archbishops of Brisbane.²¹ Set on a hill and commanding sweeping views of the Brisbane River and the city, it was and is, a large, spacious, red-brick, Victorian-style house. There were good reasons for the change.

Bishopsbourne needed considerable renovation. The suburb of Milton was becoming increasingly commercialised and an expressway was planned to pass within metres of Bishopsbourne. Finally, St Francis' College, having expanded throughout the Fifties and with record numbers now in residence, could use the extra space of Bishopsbourne.²²

But the thought of leaving Bishopsbourne was the one grief that confronted Strong on his election to Brisbane.²³ At his very first Diocesan Council meeting in April 1963, he read a memo indicating his desire to remain at Bishopsbourne. He had a long history with the site, he said. Bishopsbourne and its lovely chapel had been like a second home, ever since he first arrived in Brisbane in Wand's time, on his way to New Guinea, and he would value the connection to ordination students.²⁴ Farsley, on the other hand, had no chapel. The bathroom facilities were not satisfactory, and there was not enough room to entertain visitors. More significantly, part of the purchase deal included the provision that Lady Tooth build and live in a smaller home, in the grounds of Farsley.

²¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1962*, pp. 105-106.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106; *Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1963, p. 8. Money from the Tooth Bequest could be used to renovate Bishopsbourne, but only if Bishopsbourne was intended to be used in an educational way. Perhaps too staff and students preferred not to have an archbishop living on the premises, 'looking over their shoulders'?

²³ Strong, diary entry, 1 November 1962.

²⁴ Strong first met Wand in January 1937, when he arrived in Brisbane from England after his consecration and was on his way to Papua New Guinea.

Strong records that his memo received a 'chilling reception'.²⁵ Only Bishop Hudson supported him. St John immediately spoke against his hopes, claiming retraction would be a breach of faith. Sensing the feeling of the meeting, Strong decided not to pursue the matter. He had to work with these men in the years ahead, but what distressed and disappointed him most was the lack of support from other senior clergy, and what he thought was a nasty implication from St John that Strong had accepted the archbishopric in the full knowledge that he would have to move to Farsley.²⁶ These thoughts, recorded by Strong in his diary, suggest the discussion may have been more robust and divisive than the sanitised minutes of Diocesan Council suggest.²⁷ At the end of October 1964, after house renovations and the building of a separate chapel in the grounds, Strong returned from a national bishop's meeting at Gilbulla (near Sydney) and was taken to his new home, with some trepidation, at Farsley. Others had tried to ease the transition by moving furniture and clothing while he had been away. He wrote in his diary: 'After entering, knelt in prayer and asked for God's blessing on the house. It all seemed most suitable'.²⁸ It was a gracious acceptance of his situation. A few days later there was a dedication and blessing of the new Bishopsbourne and its chapel.²⁹ It has been the home of Anglican Archbishops of Brisbane ever since.

²⁵ Strong, diary entry, 4 April 1963.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 April 1963.

²⁷ 'Minutes of the meeting of the Diocesan Council, 4 April 1963', kept in Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane. These minutes speak of a 'comprehensive discussion in which differing points of view were expressed' at the end of which the archbishop withdrew his proposal that the move to Farsley be re-examined.

²⁸ Strong, diary entry, 30 October 1964.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4 November 1964.

Relations between Strong and St John and other senior clergy continued to be tense. Another trial of strength also occurred early in Strong's episcopate. In his first Synod address in June 1963, Strong foreshadowed his interest in assisting the Diocese of Rockhampton by ceding some parishes. It was part of the 'total Mission of the Church', he said. 'The strong should help the weak'.³⁰

Rockhampton Diocese was a vast rural diocese, with a scattered population and just nineteen parishes, four of which were in Rockhampton itself. The Diocese had two major problems. Financially, it had little or no reserves. It was unable to fund specialist ministries, such as hospital chaplains, and both a diocesan school and hospital faced such severe financial constraints, that they were at risk of closure. Secondly, the lack of parishes of some substance reduced the chance to attract experienced clergy for long-term commitments. The constant turnover of clergy in the small, and often distant, parishes had an enervating effect, not only on the parishes, but also on diocesan leadership.³¹

The bishop of Rockhampton, Theodore McCall's answer was to seek an extension of his diocesan boundaries to include a cluster of parishes in Brisbane Diocese that included two major centres – Maryborough and Bundaberg.³² The addition of such substantial parishes would solve all his problems: attract senior clergy, strengthen diocesan leadership, and provide

³⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, p. 256.

³¹ 'Report on the Diocese of Rockhampton', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, pp. 208-223.

³² 'Minutes of the Meeting of Representatives of the Diocese of Brisbane and the Diocese of Rockhampton', held at St Francis' College, Milton, 24 September 1963, p. 1, kept in Diocesan Archives, Brisbane. The parish of Maryborough was not convinced. They sent a letter to members of Diocesan Council stating their 'strong opposition' to being included in Rockhampton Diocese. See 'Minutes of the meeting of Diocesan Council, 7 November 1963', kept in Diocesan Archives.

an extra source of finances. This solution convinced Strong. It was all about 'mutual responsibility and interdependence', a phrase gathering currency around the Anglican Communion. The phrase had been coined at the Toronto Congress in Canada, held in August 1963, a gathering of Anglican bishops and selected diocesan clergy and lay representatives from around the world. Strong attended with other Brisbane representatives – Canon Peter Bennie, the Registrar Roland St John, and the Reverend Barry Greaves as youth representative.³³ All Anglican dioceses were challenged to examine their commitment to mission, not just within their diocese, but to the 'Total Mission' of the Anglican Communion – to each other and to the hundreds of millions of people who still did not know Jesus – and to commit themselves immediately to increased support, both financial and human, for those Anglican dioceses that lacked sufficient resources. Every diocesan activity needed to be measured by 'the test of Mission and of service to others'. 'Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence' (MRI) inspired many as the Holy Spirit 'breathing new life into a tired dispirited Body'.³⁴ Said one observer, MRI might well be 'the most significant stimulus in the Anglican Communion in the 20th century'.³⁵

Strong returned inspired and convinced that ceding a parish or two to Rockhampton fitted the whole concept of MRI. St John, however, was not persuaded, and his own investigations led him to oppose the plan. Central

³³ There were 344 Anglican Dioceses, comprising 30 'Provinces', each of which usually equated to a country. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, p. 271.

³⁴ *St Mark's Review*, no. 36, May 1964, p. 1. It was 'an immediate blood transfusion to strengthen churches which need more money and manpower than they now have, in order that their work and witness may go on with strength adequate to their needs', wrote Stephen Bayne. See 'Mutual Responsibility and Ecumenical Witness', *St Mark's Review*, no. 36, May 1964, p.14

³⁵ Ross Border, 'After Toronto', *St Mark's Review*, No. 37, August 1964, p. 7.

Queensland was on the cusp of great development, he argued.³⁶ Gladstone soon would be a substantial centre and complement Rockhampton in size.³⁷ Brisbane could not afford financially to lose two significant parishes and it was by no means clear that Rockhampton's clergy problems would be solved by the addition of large parishes. Perhaps too, St John – having brought the Diocese out of debt in recent years – feared compromising the new financial stability.

Members of Diocesan Council, meeting in April 1964, followed the lead of St John and voted against ceding any parishes. It was a decision that left Strong feeling 'utterly distressed and despondent'.³⁸ The decision was 'utterly bereft of the true spirit of Mutual Responsibility' and represented the triumph of Diocesan selfishness. Strong made a subsequent statement to members of Diocesan Council expressing his distress, and wishing his opposition to the resolution be recorded. 'My words were received in silence'.³⁹

Strong was now finding St John a 'little bit objectionable'.⁴⁰ No doubt, St John felt the same towards Strong. When the Rockhampton matter was listed for debate at the June 1964 Diocesan Synod, it amounted to a vote on

³⁶ *Courier-Mail*, 28 December 1963, p. 5, which claimed that 'the district of Rockhampton was on the verge of the greatest development in more than 100 years'. See also 'Queensland 1964: Year of Achievement', special supplement, *Courier-Mail*, 27 January 1964, pp. 1-24, which examined a number of areas in Queensland and their expected growth, including the expansion of Gladstone. See also *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 218.

³⁷ 'Queensland 1964: Year of Achievement', pp. 1-24 which foreshadowed for Gladstone a proposed £50 million Aluminum Project, £3 million port works, and a £500,000 Gladstone to Moura railway among other developments for the region.

³⁸ Strong, diary entry, 2 April 1964; 'Minutes of the meeting of Diocesan Council, 2 April 1964', Diocesan Archives, Brisbane. As well, Bishop Theodore McCall had resigned to take up the position of Bishop of Wangaratta, and a new Bishop of Rockhampton, Donald Shearman, had just been consecrated in February 1964. He was not yet fully conversant with the issues, and therefore not in a position to lend whatever indirect weight he could to the debate.

³⁹ Strong, diary entry, 2 April 1964.

⁴⁰ Strong, diary entry, 7 May 1964.

whose leadership was to direct the Diocese.⁴¹ It is unusual for a Synod to oppose the express wishes of their archbishop, and highly unusual for a Registrar and an archdeacon (Archdeacon Swynne Arkell) to lead such opposition. It is a sign of lack of unity at the centre.

Although most speakers exercised charity and restraint,⁴² passions were excited, and tension heightened. At one stage, Strong felt he was the target of comments by St John and one of his archdeacons, about those who claimed to have a monopoly on the Holy Spirit, or spoke infallibly.⁴³ At another point, St John and the Chancellor of the Diocese, Justice Charles Wanstall, clashed vigorously over whether an amendment should be accepted.⁴⁴ Senior clergy too were vocal, as was expected of them. But many were not convinced about the value of ceding parishes. One senior priest said that if St John said something was right, then it must be. Such sentiments from his clergy wounded Strong. Amendments by one or two were designed to find some compromise, including one from Bishop Hudson, who suggested a kind of 'lend-lease' arrangement.⁴⁵ Strong's own intervention expressed hurt at some of the comments, and his own conviction that this was an opportunity for exercising mutual responsibility, which would spiritually benefit the Diocese. The result was a vote upholding the earlier decision of Diocesan Council.⁴⁶

⁴¹ In his, 'A Shakespearian Miscellany', *Anglican*, 9 July 1964, p. 9, George Shaw reported the debate and saw it as 'a battle for power within the diocese', between the 'white haired old king [Lear]' (Strong) and his 'royal court' (Diocesan Council). Strong was being asked 'to give away his authority to his royal court' and become a 'visitor in his own kingdom'.

⁴² *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1964, p. 4.

⁴³ Shaw, in 'A Shakespearian Miscellany', p. 5, said that the ABC news reported the next day that Strong was 'deeply hurt at the suggestion that he had claimed a monopoly of the Holy Spirit'.

⁴⁴ Strong, diary entry, 25 June 1964.

⁴⁵ See the report in *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1964, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, pp. 86-87.

This public rejection of Strong's hopes weakened his ability to offer leadership in the years ahead. What made matters worse in Strong's eyes was the failure of his archdeacons to support him. If they had backed him, members of Synod may well have supported his hopes to cede parishes to Rockhampton. Strong subsequently upbraided Archdeacons Ward and Arkell – both of whom he had appointed the previous year – and whom now he thought expressed a 'hostile spirit' towards him.⁴⁷ They vehemently denied it. He ruefully wondered if they 'feel they owe their positions to St John's influence and advice ... rather than to me'.⁴⁸

St John was clearly a powerful voice in the Diocese, one whom few were prepared to cross or take on. He was universally respected and even admired, rather than loved. His encyclopaedic knowledge of both Diocesan organisations and intimate parish details, together with a reputation for having brought the Diocese back from serious financial debt, gave him credibility, stature and the voice of authority, as well as the capacity to use his knowledge to further the policies which he believed were right. The measure of his authority in the Diocese is suggested by the anecdote that he took to meetings of school councils (which he attended regularly) the minutes of the meeting already prepared!

Halse had appointed St John as Diocesan Registrar early in his long episcopate – 1946, when St John was just 32 years old – and came to rely on him immensely and trusted his judgement. Because of his confidence in St

⁴⁷ Strong, diary entry, 2 July 1964.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1964. See also *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, p. 261. Chittenden, Arkell and Ward were all appointed archdeacons by Strong in 1963. Archdeacon Harry Richards was the only one from Halse's time.

John, Halse was happy to refer difficult situations to him, and not only of a financial or administrative kind. Irreverent clergy would sometimes suggest that prayer be made for Roland our Archbishop! In visiting parishes (which he did), St John made a point of doing his homework and would find things to praise about the parish, before launching into critical remarks he might want to make. He was a very able administrator. He restored the Diocese to a financially secure situation. His reports on serious and potentially contentious matters, such as the ceding of parishes to Rockhampton or proposals to create a Cathedral Square at the expense of St Martin's Hospital, show a mind capable of great clarity about the issues, and a capacity to convey clearly those issues in both written and spoken form. He knew what he wanted and shaped his reports around his preferred option.

His ability was recognised more widely than just in Queensland, and this allowed him to make a national contribution. He represented the Diocese at various General Synods, contributed to the establishment of the national Anglican Constitution, attended the Toronto Congress (1963), and was an Australian lay representative on the Anglican Consultative Council when it met in Limuru, Kenya (1971) and Dublin (1973). In 1968 he was awarded an MBE for his services to church and community.

With such ability, the passive and relaxed way in which Halse addressed some issues – his 'masterly inactivity' – allowed and encouraged St John to establish himself more easily as the active centre, from which many problems were resolved and policies made. As Halse aged, so St John, who

perhaps was something of a son to Halse, increasingly managed the Diocese and filled in any vacuum.

When Strong arrived, St John was already well established and it may have been that some saw in Strong's election, the hope of tempering the authority of St John. The relationship between them could never be like that between Halse and St John. Not only were there differences of opinion over matters of policy, there was also a different style of working. Halse did a lot of his work at Bishopsbourne (Milton), and wrote many of his letters by hand. He would go to Church House (the Diocesan offices, next to the Cathedral) for official letters and other matters. Strong had a secretary, Elsie Manley, at Bishopsbourne (Farsley), who could type and post official letters, and so he went less frequently to Church House. Nor would he commit difficult pastoral matters to St John as Halse had sometimes done. St John responded by claiming that Strong was not accessible enough.⁴⁹

Whereas Strong leant on the Holy Spirit, St John was more pragmatic and politically nuanced.⁵⁰ He was conscious of the inner dynamics of Diocesan organisations, and was aware of the strengths and weaknesses of various personalities. It no doubt suited him that he alone was invited to visit Rockhampton and make enquiries concerning boundary alterations, ensuring that he, not anyone else, had the information necessary to make a recommendation, and in the end, it was his (negative) recommendation that was discussed. His claim, that the loss of significant parishes to Rockhampton would result in higher financial obligations on all other parishes, played to

⁴⁹ Strong, diary entry, 3 October 1964.

⁵⁰ Shaw, 'A Shakespearian Miscellany', p. 9 suggests that Strong made 'tactical errors' in the Rockhampton debate.

parishes' financial fears. His insistence that it was a cluster of parishes at stake, not just one or two, increased the sense of possible loss to Brisbane Diocese. It made Strong's appeal to mutual responsibility in Christ look too sacrificial.

The tension between Strong and St John was never satisfactorily resolved. According to Strong's diary they met in October 1964 to discuss some issues. At times, Strong recognised the great ability that St John had. He praised as 'outstanding and remarkable' an address that St John gave to Diocesan Synod in June 1967, especially since it had a 'deep spiritual and devotional undertone' to it and a 'realisation of the evangelistic mission of the church'.⁵¹ No doubt, St John too recognised the great ability that Strong had and his spiritual integrity, and publicly they put forward, as much as possible, a united front.

But every now and then a difference of opinion would re-ignite antagonism and gouge out old wounds. A year after the Rockhampton debate, St John urged Diocesan Synod to follow Strong's lead in opposing gambling as a means of church fund raising and in supporting the cathedral extensions. Strong could only wonder how it could be that his lead was good to follow this time, but had not been good to follow over Rockhampton. As the years progressed, a working relationship ensued, but Strong could hardly have felt fully at ease in this climate and nor could St John. After 17 years and more of close working relationship with Halse, St John must have felt the

⁵¹ Strong, diary entry, 21 June 1967.

loss of being a confidante and struggled to reconcile his knowledge of the Diocese and its people with Strong's newness.

There was a stubborn streak to Strong. He did not give up his hopes for Rockhampton. At the Provincial Synod of 1964, two Commissions were set up, one to examine vocations to the priesthood, the other to examine the organisation of the Province, including appropriate boundaries.⁵² The latter Commission reported back in February 1966, and suggested a reduction of provincial dioceses from four to two (based on Brisbane and Townsville), with Auxiliary Bishops in major centres such as Toowoomba, Maryborough, Rockhampton, Cairns and Darwin.⁵³ But this plan was even more radical than ceding parishes to Rockhampton, and required whole dioceses to sacrifice autonomy. It was too much even for members of Provincial Synod. The report was tabled, and support for Rockhampton limited to modest and temporary financial commitments.⁵⁴

At a time when the Diocese needed united, imaginative, and encouraging leadership to mobilise and give heart to Anglicans in the face of the substantial redefinition of society, much time and energy was spent resolving internal conflict.

⁵² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 294.

⁵³ 'Report of the Commission on Provincial Organisation in Queensland', February 1966, pp. 1-27, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

⁵⁴ In 1965, £20,000 was pledged to Rockhampton. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, pp. 103-104; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1966*, pp. 295-296; *Anglican*, 25 February 1965, p. 1; *Courier-Mail*, 1 March 1965, p. 5.

8.3 *The Conservatism of Strong*

Strong had a predisposition to conservatism. His theology and morality did not seem to move out of the 1930s. For him the church was unchanging, steadfast, a solid rock amidst changing times. When he gave papers to clergy in Brisbane on theological topics, it was often a re-working of what he had been taught as a student. He was a rigid moralist who never resiled from a belief that all gambling of all forms was wrong, that hotel trading hours ought to remain restricted, and that re-marriage after divorce was unscriptural and therefore not possible. Some of the moral issues of the Sixties introduced him to issues with which he was quite unfamiliar – abortion, censorship, homosexuality, drugs – and about which he had a natural reserve.

Perhaps such conservatism was the legacy of 26 years in New Guinea, which removed him from a more stimulating environment of discussion and debate? Perhaps it was his evangelical upbringing, for which he never lost his respect? Perhaps it was the legacy of a comfortable and happy home, school and university life, a conviction from the beginning that the teaching, morality and social structures, which had served him so well, deserved to continue? Perhaps it was part of his Anglo-Catholic heritage, which stressed continuity with the past? Perhaps it was simply age, an increasing unwillingness to change what had become comfortable and known to him over six decades? Or was it a complex combination of all these possibilities?

It is worth looking at three specific examples of Strong's conservatism. He had a high regard for the monarchy. In 1963, when the Queen made her second visit to Australia and shortly before his enthronement in Brisbane,

Strong dined with the Queen on the royal yacht, *Britannia*. 'It was a wonderful experience', he wrote.⁵⁵ Seven years later, when the Queen next made a visit to Australia, he became almost romantic in his diary comments. She had arrived from New Zealand with the Duke, by air. 'It was raining hard before, but it stopped just before they arrived,' he noted. 'When the Queen was received the sun came out'.⁵⁶ She 'looked charming'. Later, it greatly pleased him that, at the packed cathedral Evensong, ladies curtsied to the Queen as Strong accompanied her up the aisle to her seat. The national anthem was sung with great vigour and 'the Queen looked radiant and most beautiful'.⁵⁷

There is nothing wrong with such sentiments, but Strong struggled to understand that while there was still great respect and affection for England and the Queen, many Australians were now drawing progressively less inspiration from a Britain that was moving away from the Commonwealth as well as losing its status as a world power. When a motion in the 1966 Diocesan Synod reaffirmed Synod's loyalty to the Queen and her successors, and the hope that the monarchy would always remain 'the symbol and centre of unity in the family of the British Commonwealth of Nations', Strong was surprised that 'this has had some opponents'.⁵⁸ Twelve voted against it, 'largely on account of the second part'. He could not understand that for some the attachment to England and the monarchy was beginning to wane.

Some believed that Strong deferred too much to royalty. Few understood the lengths to which he had gone, when he made special

⁵⁵ Strong, diary entry, 6 March 1963.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 30 March 1970.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 April 1970.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 June 1966.

arrangements for the Duke of Gloucester, on his visit to Australia in 1965, to attend the Good Friday liturgy in the cathedral, before the Duke dashed off to start the Brisbane-to-Gladstone yacht race on Moreton Bay.⁵⁹ Strong felt it right that royalty should be seen to witness to the sacredness of the day so that the 'susceptibilities of church people' would not be offended.⁶⁰ And some were offended. One letter to the *Courier-Mail* claimed the Duke's shortened time in the cathedral amounted to a 'serious desecration of the most holy day of the Christians' calendar'.⁶¹ But others were moving on. Fewer felt it was appropriate to defer so much to royalty. An anonymous letter to the *Church Chronicle*, criticised 'the Cathedral authorities' for 'undue deference' and 'undue subservience' to the Duke, which showed lack of respect for 'regular faithful worshippers at the Cathedral, let alone the respect which should be given to the worship of God'.⁶²

Strong's conservatism extended to moral issues too. His attitude to all forms of gambling has already been noted. He adopted a conservative stance also on drinking. He was outraged when the Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen (who had succeeded Jack Pizzey, after Pizzey suffered an unexpected heart attack in 1968) appeared in 1970 to renege on a pre-election pledge not to extend hotel trading hours. In November 1968, in the face of State government proposals to make changes to the Liquor Act, Diocesan Council released to the State government and the press a statement setting out its views. It was hesitant about changes to the status quo. It considered that

⁵⁹ See chapter 7, p. 149. Strong, diary entries, 16 February 1965; 16 April 1965; 22 June 1965.

⁶⁰ Strong, diary entry, 16 February 1965.

⁶¹ *Courier-Mail*, 21 April, 1965, p. 2

⁶² *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1965, p. 12.

'great care should be taken not to increase the prevalence of drinking on Sundays'.⁶³ Sunday drinking could lead to increased fatal road accidents, weaken family ties, undermine other suitable recreational pursuits, and deny some workers their day of rest.

Strong believed that the Premier had given a pledge that there would be no changes to the Liquor Act. When changes were proposed in February 1970, one of which was to allow Brisbane hotels the same Sunday sessions as country pubs, Strong saw it as a 'breach of faith' and was deeply offended.⁶⁴ The strength of his indignation is suggested by his writing an open letter to the Premier noting his concerns,⁶⁵ and his unusual support of a protest march on Parliament House, organised by the Citizens' Referendum Committee.⁶⁶ This committee had been formed by the Methodist Church less than two weeks earlier, and sought a State referendum on the proposed extension of hotel trading hours. The march of about 1,000 people began at the Festival Hall and made its way to Parliament House. Strong arrived later by car and one can only speculate why. Was he too busy to make the march? Did he feel it was too much for a 71 year-old? Did he think it would be too hypocritical given his past consistent criticisms of marches as a form of protest? The protest changed nothing and was described by the *Courier-Mail* as 'one of the strangest public gatherings Brisbane has seen'.⁶⁷ Local members came out to speak with their own constituents so that the 'crowd

⁶³ 'Liquor Reform', a statement authorised at a meeting of the Archbishop-in-Council of the Diocese of Brisbane on Thursday 7 November 1968, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane. See also *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 23 February 1970, p. 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 February 1970, pp. 1 and 3; 25 February 1970, p. 8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 5 March 1970, p. 5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 March 1970, p. 7.

quickly became small circles gathered intently around an MLA', while 'banter' came from more than a dozen other members, who had gathered at viewpoints along the second floor of the Parliament House veranda. Seven delegates, including Strong, met with the Deputy Premier, Gordon Chalk, but the meeting changed nothing. Nor did a gathering a few days later of 1,500 people at the City Hall, where Strong was one of the guest speakers.⁶⁸

The episode speaks both of Strong's conservative stance on liquor reform, but also his high belief that the word of a politician, or indeed anyone in public office, ought to be able to be trusted, and – as with the Duke of Gloucester's unwillingness to attend a Good Friday liturgy – his dismay when public figures failed to live up to the trust invested in them.

Finally, Strong had a conservative attitude to the re-marriage of divorcees. His diary contains a number of requests for re-marriage, which he always refused.⁶⁹ His attitude was simple: the church stood for the indissolubility of marriage based on Christ's teaching.⁷⁰ Only if it could be shown that no marriage had taken place in the first place – that is, that there were grounds to declare a marriage null and void – could 're-marriage' take place. Part of the problem for all the churches was that of consistency. There was no consistency of approach either in the Anglican Church or between the various Christian denominations. Roman Catholics would not allow re-marriage after divorce, but had a process of determining whether an annulment could be granted. Many Protestant churches allowed re-marriage

⁶⁸ Ibid., 9 March 1970, p. 1.

⁶⁹ See, for example, Strong, diary entries, 3 April 1964; 28 November 1966; 21 April 1967; 25 September 1967; 9 April 1969.

⁷⁰ Strong, diary entry, 21 April 1967.

after divorce. The Anglican Church seemed unclear what approach to adopt. When the Archbishop of Perth, George Appleton allowed two divorcees to re-marry, Strong was amazed.⁷¹

At the June 1967 Diocesan Synod, Canon George Lupton moved a motion requesting the archbishop to 'consult with the Bishops of the Province ... to ascertain whether it is possible for the recognition of the right of certain divorcees ... to seek re-marriage in the Church of England in Australia'.⁷² It was a difficult and complicated debate, made more sensitive since Strong had clearly articulated the traditional teaching against re-marriage in his Synod sermon. He claimed that a 1948 Lambeth Conference Resolution, re-affirmed in 1958, set the benchmark when it said: 'the Marriage of one whose former partner is still living may not be celebrated according to the Rites of the Church'.⁷³ Strong felt constrained to prop up the status quo and moved an amendment to Lupton's motion: 'to examine afresh the grounds upon which the Church can regard marriages that have broken down as being null and void in the eyes of the Church'. It effectively cut the feet from under the motion: re-marriage if an annulment could be determined, but no re-marriage after divorce. It remained the policy in Brisbane Diocese until well after Strong's tenure was over.

Strong was conservative socially, morally and theologically, a 'resistor' to the redefinition of the times. It is worth reflecting that in the national

⁷¹ Ibid., 21 April 1967.

⁷² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, pp. 91-92. See also the report on the debate in *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1967, p. 12.

⁷³ 'Synod Sermon and Charge', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, pp. 298-299. For the Lambeth resolution, see Roger Coleman (ed.), *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences: 1868-1988*, Anglican Book Centre, Toronto, Canada, 1992, p. 153; and for Strong's speech moving the resolution, see *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1968, pp. 3-4.

Anglican Church, in the three decades that followed Strong's retirement, the most uncompromising and demanding element – the conservative, evangelical faction, those who resisted social, moral and theological change – maintained or strengthened their position, while the accommodating element, such as Brisbane Diocese became, lost ground. There is some evidence that when the social climate is unfavourable to religion, groups which demand more commitment and a more rigorous moral standard from members fare better than those that demand less commitment and less moral rigour. It could be, therefore, that Strong's conservatism, at least in areas of morality and inherited church doctrine and practice, had more to commend itself than perhaps was recognised at the time.

8.4 The Erosion of the Anglo-Catholic Spirit

A final factor, which told against a more compelling and vibrant response to the social redefinition of the Sixties, was the gradual erosion of Anglo-Catholic passion. Two significant markers by which Anglo-Catholicism had steered its course in the past were no longer so reliable. The first marker was the Roman Catholic Church, which since the days of the Oxford Movement had provided a point of comparison (both positive and negative) for the recovered understanding of the meaning of the Church and the sacraments. But liturgical changes in the Roman Church from the mid-1950s, and then Vatican II from 1962, removed this point of comparison. The rocklike and uniform Roman Church was itself changing, and it was less clear what these changes signified for Anglo-Catholic practice and self-understanding.

The second marker was the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP). It had bound together Anglicans around the world since the 17th century in a common form of worship. The BCP was also a key transmitter of what Anglicans believed. If someone wanted to know what was the faith of Anglicans, they only had to look at their prayer book – the prayers and the rubrics. But a feeling was emerging that the *Book of Common Prayer* was now too redolent of a past age and a different culture to speak powerfully enough to the new Australian generation. It was not just that it was full of obsolete words – ‘thee’ and ‘thou’, ‘oblation’, ‘beseech’, ‘partake’. Nor that it contained elements such as set, inflexible intercessions with prayers for the Royal Family – an emphasis that sat less and less comfortably in a period of growing Australian nationalism. More significantly, new liturgical insights needed somehow to be incorporated into worship. Dom Gregory Dix, in his authoritative work, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945), had pointed out that the Eucharists of the early church were shaped around a four-fold action that corresponded to the actions of Jesus at the Last Supper: he took, blessed, broke, and distributed bread and wine.⁷⁴ The BCP obscured this four-fold action, and placed the emphasis on the words of institution (‘This is my Body’; ‘This is my Blood’). Liturgists wished to recover the ancient focus on the actions of Jesus, especially since his command was, ‘Do this (not ‘say this’) in remembrance of me’. The bread and wine became mystically the Body and Blood of Christ, not at a moment when the words were being said, but through a process of obedience to Jesus’ four-fold action. The question now was: how

⁷⁴ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Dacre Press, Westminster, 1945.

could such theological and liturgical insights be captured and used in worship, unless there was a revision of the prayer book?⁷⁵ As well, it was thought that any revision would help to make the liturgy more accessible and more relevant to younger generations.

In 1962, General Synod examined the feasibility of prayer book revision, and in 1966, began a process of experimentation, which in due course resulted in the 1978 *An Australian Prayer Book* (AAPB). AAPB introduced new ways of worship. The BCP emphasis on the transcendence of God gave way to an emphasis on God's immanence. The BCP emphasis on the priest as separate, and responsible for presiding and leading, gave way to an emphasis on congregational participation and ownership. This was not just a new way of worshipping. The liturgy was now undergirded by a theology and understanding of the church that was not always sympathetic to Anglo-Catholic themes. The leadership and authority of an Anglo-Catholic priest, for example, was now tempered by an understanding of the 'ministry of all believers', in which the work of Christ was shared, and which had the effect of diluting in public consciousness the unique and important role of the ordained. Furthermore, these new ways of worship were widely embraced. The distinctive Anglo-Catholic ways of 'doing' the BCP Eucharist, slowly gave way as all adapted to similar ways of doing the new liturgical rites.

Anglo-Catholicism was also particularly vulnerable to a number of new moods emerging as part of the social redefinition. Anglo-Catholicism believed in a visible church, institutional in character, but shot through with divinity. The

⁷⁵ See chapter 5, pp. 109-110 for other elements that were being re-discovered.

new mood was suspicious of institutions. Anglo-Catholicism emphasised tradition and continuity. The new mood trusted in immediate experiences and personal feelings. Anglo-Catholicism gave a high place to order and reverence in worship. The new mood favoured spontaneity and informality. Anglo-Catholicism extolled the sacrificial spirit and self-denial. The new mood advocated personal rights and self-fulfilment. On top of the challenges of these new moods, new research in history and theology made it harder for Anglo-Catholics to place as much confidence in some accepted teachings, such as apostolic succession, and just around the corner was the divisive issue of women priests, which would substantially weaken Anglo-Catholic unity.

As a result, some of the passion of the Anglo-Catholic movement, its heroic side, began to leak, so much so, that by 1978 one commentator could claim that Anglo-Catholicism 'understood as an organised movement with a coherent system of doctrine and ethics no longer exists'.⁷⁶ Personal holiness lost some of its emphasis. The last mention of a 'Rule of Life' in the *Church Chronicle* occurs on 1 October 1964.⁷⁷ What Dean Baddeley then called the 'best aid to spiritual vitality' receives no more coverage in subsequent editions of the *Chronicle*. The sacrificial spirit that had driven the Anglo-Catholic missionary endeavour also began to lose its force. This is best seen in the gradual demise of the Bush Brotherhood.

The Brothers continued to minister in the more remote parts of the Diocese, but under increasingly strained circumstances. Strong registered

⁷⁶ Alan Wilkinson, 'Requiem for Anglican Catholicism?', *Theology*, vol. 81, 1978, p. 41.

⁷⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1964, p. 21.

deep concern at the 'serious plight of the Brotherhood' in 1963, when, at one stage, there were just two Brothers.⁷⁸ By 1965 the situation was not much better: three Brothers ministered in the Districts of Cunnamulla, Mitchell and Quilpie, when ideally six were needed. For some in the Diocese, the eventual demise of the Brotherhood was not a cause for disappointment. It was to be welcomed as a completion of their ministry as one-time Brotherhood areas were raised to Parochial District status: Taroom, Miles, St George and Charleville by 1965, Mitchell in 1967, all in the care of permanent 'vicars', and leaving just Cunnamulla and Quilpie in the care of the Brotherhood. This progress reflected the population growth of rural towns and their continuing prosperity, and the adoption in Brotherhood districts of the Wells Way to stimulate district finances. As well, there were 'undercurrents among the laity for a more normal kind of parochial life'.⁷⁹

Not all, however, were convinced that ministry in the very remote areas was best served by anticipating the move towards the parochial system. For Bishop Hudson, 'so far as the area west of Charleville is concerned, it is hard to see how the work of the church can be carried on by the parochial system for many years to come. Only the Brotherhood system is suited to this area and it seems certain that the Diocese will need the Brotherhood for a long time yet.'⁸⁰ Strong lamented that the real problem was a loss of the sacrificial spirit. He considered it 'tragic' that young ordained men were no longer

⁷⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, p. 264

⁷⁹ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1963, p. 588. In 1956, each Brotherhood district was given lay representation at Diocesan Synod, followed in 1958 with a canon in Diocesan Synod allowing greater lay administration of the Brotherhood districts.

⁸⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 148.

prepared to delay marriage or accept the hardships of remote rural ministry. He was aghast when three younger clergy publicly stated on the television program, 'What Do YOU Think?', that they had no intention of meeting the challenge of remote rural ministry. One contemplated early marriage, the second did not wish to leave the comfort of the town for Bush Brotherhood conditions, and the third wanted to pursue an interest in the Liturgical Movement. 'I cannot believe that the total lack of the sacrificial spirit is typical of our younger clergy', Strong bewailed.⁸¹

But it was becoming increasingly difficult to 'draft' the new generation into the Brotherhood, and to places they did not want to go. A sacrificial spirit was slowly being replaced by one of rights, and an ethic of self-denial by one of self-fulfilment.⁸² The ethics of asking young men to forgo five years of marriage, of expecting them to live on far less pay than their peers in suburban curacies and to endure hardships not required from urban priests was enough to begin to squeeze the concept of self-sacrifice, and run the Brotherhood dry of recruits.⁸³ Between 1963 and 1980, when the Brotherhood ceased to operate, just fifteen men offered for service – less than one a year. The Brotherhood looked to imaginative ways to address the shortage. They relocated their headquarters to Quilpie (following Charleville's elevation to parochial status in 1965).⁸⁴ They joined forces with the Dubbo-

⁸¹ 'Synod Sermon and Charge', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 304. Strong had every right to point to the loss of the sacrificial spirit. For many years as Bishop of New Guinea he earned less than a curate in Brisbane Diocese. See Strong, diary entry, 15 February 1966.

⁸² Wade C. Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: the spiritual journeys of the baby boom generation*, Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1993.

⁸³ Peter Hollingworth and Lyn Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry and the Challenge of the Future*, Anglican Diocese of Brisbane, Brisbane, 1999, pp. 74-75.

⁸⁴ Mitchell became a parochial district in 1967, leaving just Quilpie and Cunnamulla in the care of the Brotherhood. Hollingworth and Comben, *Memories of Bush Ministry*, p. 65.

based Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd working in adjacent areas across the New South Wales-Queensland border. They bought a jeep. They made greater use of a plane. None of these alone was able to sustain the ministry long term, because the real issue was a demise in the Anglo-Catholic concept of self-sacrifice.

Another site for the manifestation of the spirit of heroic self-offering had been religious orders. During the Sixties, the Society of the Sacred Advent (SSA) struggled to recruit new members.⁸⁵ It was part of the world-wide demise of religious orders. Seven factors came together to undermine the religious life. First of all, new options in secular employment were opening up for women, and developing beyond the limit of marriage. Secondly, celibacy declined as an ideal, especially as marriage and family life was promoted. Thirdly, the inchoate feminist movement privileged women's independence. Fourthly, the vow of poverty struggled to commend itself as a favoured option in the face of all the allurements of growing consumerism. Fifthly, the vow of obedience became a less forceful virtue as individualism and personal rights asserted themselves. Sixthly, some religious found that the monastic life did not measure up to their expectations, but that those in a religious community wrestled with the same issues as others: jealousy, anger, meanness, resentment, authoritarianism. Finally, a growing emphasis on lay ministry opened up other forms of responsible Christian ministry for women, and in due course the ordained ministry became available to women also in many

⁸⁵ For a history of the SSA, see Elizabeth Moores, *One Hundred Years of Ministry: a history of the Society of the Sacred Advent 1892-1992*, Society of the Sacred Advent, Brisbane, 1993; and Gail Ball, 'The Best Kept Secret: the religious life for women in Australian Anglicanism, 1892-1995', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2000.

dioceses. The gradual demise of the religious orders from the Sixties brought to an end a 130-year attempt to reinvigorate and restore the monastic life within Anglicanism.

The ageing nature of the sisters of the SSA meant that the order was less able to sustain the range of social welfare work in which it was involved. Their ministry was made harder as the State in the post-War years slowly took greater responsibility for social welfare, including the care of orphans, hospital work and, from the late Fifties in Queensland, education. The sisters were unable to compete with the institutional and financial scale of State social concerns, and a greater professionalism of service. The words 'withdrawal' and 'closure' consequently mark the SSA history from the mid-1960s. In 1965, the SSA announced their intention to withdraw from the management of the girls' section of the Charleville Hostel. They no longer had the sisters available to staff the hostel.⁸⁶ In 1968, the SSA school of St Michael's, Clayfield was closed, a casualty of the expansion of the State school system.⁸⁷ In 1970, the SSA withdrew from the management of Tufnell and the Toddlers' Home, which passed into Diocesan control.⁸⁸ In the same year, the order withdrew from St Catherine's Warwick, which later merged with the Slade School.⁸⁹ In 1971, it withdrew from St Martin's Hospital, their withdrawal coinciding with the closure of the hospital for a range of other reasons, including an inability to match the new and larger government

⁸⁶ *The Advent: the quarterly paper of the Society of the Sacred Advent*, February 1966, p. 1.

⁸⁷ *Advent*, February 1969, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1971*, p. 91. Other factors affected the ministry at Tufnell, such as a government policy to place as many children as possible with foster parents, and the provision of pensions to deserted wives, making it feasible for them to continue supporting their children. See Moores, *One Hundred Years of Ministry*, p. 47.

⁸⁹ *Advent*, February 1972, pp. 6-7.

hospitals.⁹⁰ Between 1977 and 1980, the SSA withdrew from running the very successful St Margaret's and St Aidan's schools. The closure of the hospital allowed a geriatric nursing home to be built at Zillmere and when this opened in 1982 – St Martin's, Zillmere – many of the frail and aged SSA sisters, who required specialised care, were able to be accommodated. A unit for a few of the more able-bodied sisters was also built to enable the sisters to continue their ministry of care and friendship amongst other elderly residents.

Despite evidence to the contrary, Strong remained confident that religious orders held the key to renewal in a diocese, and was very pleased when the first two brothers of the Society of St Francis arrived in January 1965 to establish an Australian House.⁹¹ Their arrival was 'one of the most important things that has happened to the Church in this Diocese', he told his Synod representatives.⁹² The establishment of a Franciscan House was a cause of 'profound thankfulness'.⁹³ A measure of Strong's conviction that religious orders had their part to play in revivifying the church can be gauged from a motion he presented at the Lambeth Conference of 1968. Noting their witness to the 'absolute character of the claims of God on man', and their value in years to come, he went on to call upon religious communities to 'take their part in the present renewal of the church'.⁹⁴ It was an innocuous motion, carried with a big majority, but one which puzzled some who could see, better

⁹⁰ Ibid., March 1971, pp. 7-8.

⁹¹ When bishop of New Guinea, Strong had welcomed the brothers of the Society of St Francis to Papua New Guinea, who brought 'much spiritual life to the church in Papua New Guinea', and in 1951 invited the sisters of the Community of the Holy Name to undertake educational work in Papua New Guinea. See Ball, 'The Best Kept Secret', p. 146.

⁹² Strong, diary entry, 21 June 1965; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 305.

⁹³ Strong, diary entry, 13 February 1966.

⁹⁴ For the text of the resolution, see Coleman, *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences*, p. 153; and for Strong's speech, see *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1968, pp. 3-4. See also Strong, diary entry, 11 August 1968.

than Strong, that religious communities no longer had the force they once did. They would not be part of the future, as they had been so commendably part of the past.

The Brisbane Franciscan friars, who arrived in 1965, were soon joined by others, but the order had minimal impact in the years ahead. They remained too few to do substantial ministry of the magnitude that the SSA had done in their heyday. They suffered from a fire that burned down their house in Taringa in 1966 and suffered again when their Brother Guardian – Brother Simon, one of the first two to arrive in Brisbane five years earlier – tragically died after a fall rock climbing at Maleny. These setbacks stunted even further their capacity to be effective. Strong planted a Franciscan sapling believing it would grow to a large tree, but the soil of society was no longer rich, and the water supply of novices inadequate, and the sapling struggled simply to stay alive.

8.5 Conclusion

The Diocese of Brisbane was unable to respond to the rapid and vast social changes of the Sixties, partly because of a number of internal hindrances. It could do nothing about the theological ferment that the book *Honest to God* provoked. But internal leadership conflict tempered the ability to give strong leadership and direction, as did Archbishop Strong's leaning towards conservatism. He was unable to see that there were some elements in the emerging culture that could be affirmed, and to which the church could accommodate itself without loss. He was unable to see that there were some

elements in the church, which no longer had the impact they once did, and that new ways of ordering ministry and being the church could be explored. Finally, the theological engine room of the Diocese, its Anglo-Catholic identity became increasingly vulnerable to emerging social values and a loss of passion. But not all was loss and retreat, and it is time now to look at some of the more positive developments that took place in the Diocese in the Sixties.

*Nehemiah said: You see what trouble we are in. Jerusalem lies in ruins ...
come let us rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and suffer derision no more.*

Book of the Prophet Nehemiah 2.17 (5th century BC)

1968 was a year of revolutionary fervour and death. In Vietnam, American troops massacred hundreds of unarmed civilians of the hamlet of My Lai. The exposure of this massacre a year later greatly weakened support for the Vietnam War both in America and Australia. In America, Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. A few months later, Presidential hopeful, Robert Kennedy was also assassinated, this time in Los Angeles. An attempted assassination of a student in Berlin led to riots across Europe. In Paris, up to 30,000 students fought with police in what was called 'May '68'. The confrontations led to a general workers' strike throughout the country and nearly caused the fall of the de Gaulle government. In Czechoslovakia, an attempt to speed up democracy was brutally crushed by Russian forces, and strict communism reinforced. The 'Prague spring' quickly reverted to winter. In Britain, abortion became legal under certain circumstances. In Rome, Pope Paul VI issued the encyclical *Humane Vitae*, denouncing the use of artificial contraception, and working from the belief that every sexual act ought to be open to the possibility of new life. The musical *Hair* opened in London with 40 seconds of nudity – the death of modesty for some, and in Australia, John Gorton became Prime Minister after Harold Holt disappeared in the seas off Portsea, Victoria, in December 1967.

One or two events in Australia lightened the heaviness of these sobering events. In February 1968, one of Australia's favourite television dramas had its premiere: *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo*. It would run for 91 episodes over three years, and commend wholesome family values within the context of a quintessential Australian bush setting.

For the Anglican Church in Brisbane, 1968 would be remembered as the year in which the cathedral extensions were finished. On 24 November 1968, 1,700 people packed St John's Cathedral for the consecration of the new extensions.¹ The celebration had all the appearance, not of death, but of life, not of revolutionary fervour, but of secure status quo, of development and advance.

9.1 *Cathedral Extensions*

Rows of official visitors sat in the front pews: Commander Leatham representing the Governor, who was away from Brisbane, the Honourable S. D. Tooth (Minister for Health) representing the Premier, who was ill, the Lord Mayor Clem Jones and his wife, members of the judiciary and armed forces, other representatives of the State government, visiting Anglican bishops and representatives of other Christian traditions.² The liturgy followed the accepted pattern of entry, possession and consecration. The Dean and Appeal Director with members of the 'cathedral family', and representatives of the armed

¹ For descriptions see *Anglican*, 28 November 1968, p. 1; *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1969, pp. 16-19; William Stegemann, *Where Prayer Has Been Valid: a history of the cathedral church of St John the Evangelist, Brisbane, from penal settlement to 2000*, privately published, 2000, pp. 75-81.

² *Courier-Mail*, 23 November 1968, p. 8.

forces (the extensions being a War Memorial) gathered outside and met the Archbishop's procession.³ They formally requested him to consecrate the cathedral extensions. Knocking three times on the doors with his pastoral staff, he asked that they be opened 'in the name of the Lord'. Those outside joined him in reciting words from Psalm 24: 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be lifted up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in'. And from inside came the response: 'Who is the King of glory? It is the Lord strong and mighty' – a response made three times, and which provoked a gentle smile on the faces of some. The archbishop entered and took possession – 'May the Spirit of God dwell here' – and to the sound of a trumpet fanfare, received the keys to the doors. Proceeding to the centre of the nave extensions, he stopped where the stone of consecration was set into the floor. Inscribed into the stone is the 'Chi-Rho', Greek letters for 'Christ', and the letters Alpha and Omega – the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, signifying Christ as the origin and destiny of all things. Tracing these letters, Archbishop Strong consecrated the building to the glory of God. After prayers for the departed, in whose memory the extensions were built, a procession began to wind its way around the cathedral, both inside and out, stopping at chosen places so that the Archbishop could mark the new walls with the sign of the cross in holy oil. It was an impressive liturgy, the Anglican ability to mark the occasion with ritual dignity, formality and pomp at its best. It was deemed sufficiently significant by the Australian Broadcasting Commission that a direct telecast was shown in every State.

³ Dean Bill Baddeley had returned to England the previous year. He was succeeded as Dean of St John's Cathedral by Bishop Cecil Muschamp, former Bishop of Kalgoorlie. The Appeal Director was Fr Denis Taylor, a one time Dean of Brisbane.

Completing a cathedral was an enormous undertaking for a diocese. Not far away from St John's stood another cathedral, the Roman Catholic St Stephen's, in Elizabeth St, which like St John's, had been developed and built in stages. Even nearer to St John's, on higher ground and commanding impressive views, was a vacant plot of land – Centenary Place – in Ann St, Fortitude Valley on which the Catholic Archbishop James Duhig had, decades earlier, envisaged a massive new cathedral (Holy Name Cathedral), in the style of a Renaissance basilica, the foundation stones of which had been laid in 1928.⁴ Crushed by the economic constraints of the Depression years, and other financial and legal problems, the site remained untouched thereafter, a sad and isolated reminder of quashed hopes. In the mid-1970s, the site was sold, evidence of the difficulty of raising money to turn a dream into reality, and underscoring the size of the challenge ahead for Anglicans, when they committed themselves to completing the cathedral in the years after World War II – a commitment not expected to be fully realised until 2009.⁵

The mid-1960s was a good time to build the next stage of the cathedral. The Diocese was free of debt, and some momentum had been gained through fundraising. Indeed, money was in the bank, the amount mushrooming after the Queen's 1954 visit, and with a consequent rise in expectations. Many parishes and church schools had engaged in their own building enterprises in recent years. In the decade after 1957, a diocesan building boom took place, outstripping the building boom of the previous decade and reflecting growing economic prosperity, and the continued impact

⁴ T. P. Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1986, pp. 229-241.

⁵ Tom Elich, *St Stephen's Cathedral, Brisbane*, The Liturgical Commission, Brisbane, 1989, p. 9.

of the Wells Way. Between 1957 and 1966, 38 churches or mission halls were built, 36 churches erected to replace old churches, 36 new church sites acquired, plus another 30 'additions to existing church sites' acquired to 'meet growing needs'.



Fig. 31 The consecration of the Cathedral extensions 24 November 1968

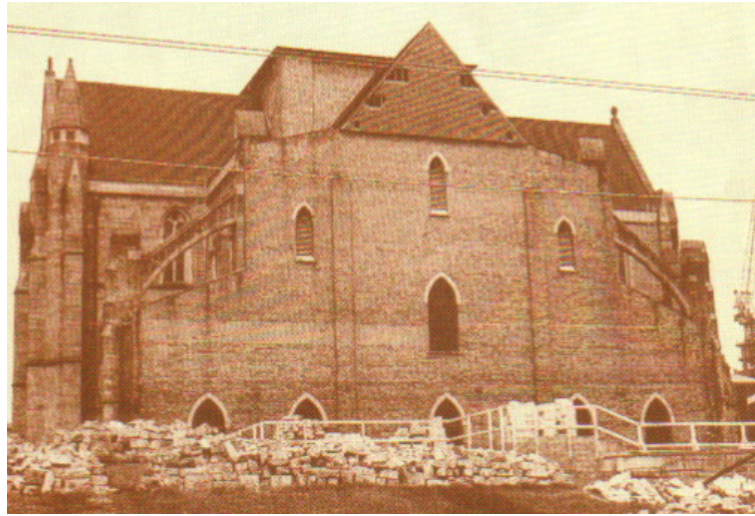


Fig. 32 The west end of the Cathedral at the conclusion of the second stage of construction 1968

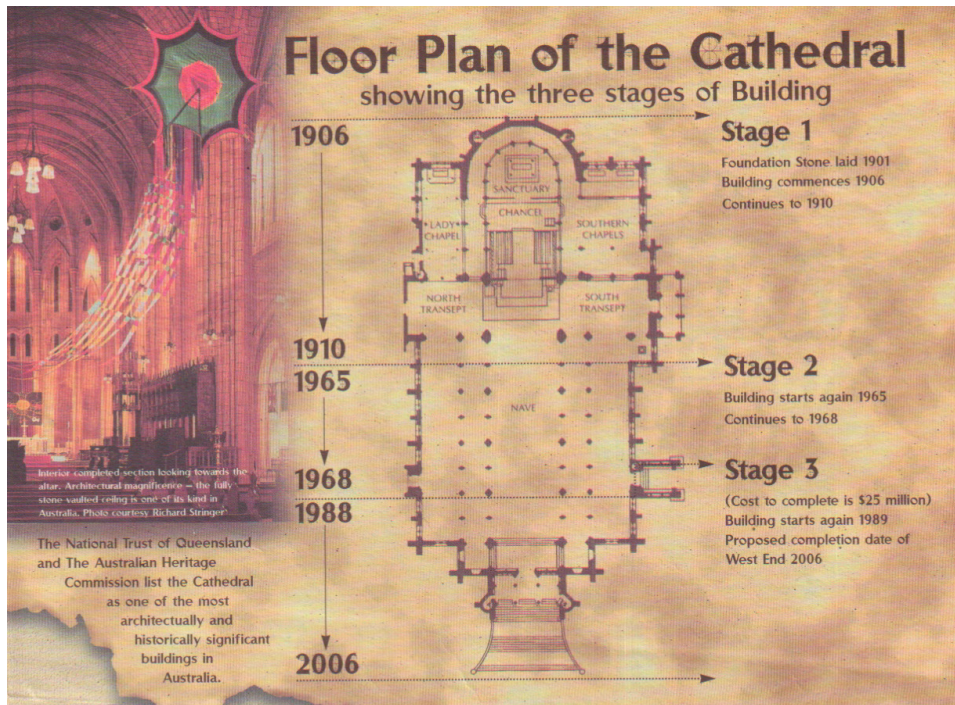


Fig. 33 A promotional leaflet showing a floor plan of the three stages of completion of the Cathedral

Fourteen new rectories were purchased or built, and five rectories 'substantially altered or extended'.⁶ As well, a new dining hall and library had been built at St Francis' College, dormitory wings and an administration block at St John's College, St Lucia, classrooms, dormitory blocks, residences, chapels, swimming pools, and so on, had been built by a wide variety of Anglican Church schools.

All this was part of a wider building boom around the State, stimulated in Brisbane by a new Lord Mayor. In 1961, Clem Jones won election as Lord Mayor, and immediately cast himself as a 'developer among the anti-developers'.⁷ A year later, for the first time in its history, more houses in Brisbane were sewered in the year than built.⁸ In the city itself, a proliferation of buildings that finally dwarfed City Hall began to rise, encouraged by a new building code of 1964, which removed a building height limit of just 132 feet (about 40 metres), and an upturn in the economy after 1962.⁹ By the middle of 1964, nearly 20 high-rise buildings were either in the course of construction or planned for Brisbane's central business district.¹⁰ Mayor Jones quipped that a proposed three-tower complex in Eagle Street, one of which would be 26 storeys high and the city's tallest building, would give 'a New York skyline

⁶ *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, 1968, p. 313.

⁷ Ross Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1984, p. 439.

⁸ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 439. In Jones' first eight years of office the number of sewered residences in Brisbane rose from 38 per cent (1961) to 73 per cent (1969). By 1982, Brisbane was the most sewered Australian capital city – nearly 95 per cent. See Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 440. See also Doug Tucker, 'J. C. Slaughter: Brisbane's quintessential town clerk', in Barry Shaw (ed.), *Brisbane: corridors of power*, Brisbane History Group Papers, Brisbane, no. 15, 1997, p. 179.

⁹ John R. Cole, *Shaping a City: Greater Brisbane 1925-1985*, William Brooks, Eagle Farm, Queensland, 1984, p. 239; Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, pp. 439-441.

¹⁰ Cole, *Shaping a City*, p. 240.

effect to our delightful city'.¹¹ As well, concepts for the re-development of King George Square, with a car park underneath, aimed to beautify the centre of the city and alleviate parking congestion. Foreshadowed in 1959, it would be another sixteen years before the new King George Square finally opened in March 1975.¹²

Money in the bank, heightened expectations, parish and school building programs, and a city high-rise building boom – all these gave an inevitable weight to the idea of extending the cathedral. A keen archbishop was all that was required to pull the starter's trigger. Strong knew how significant for his own spiritual growth was the cathedral of his boyhood – Worcester Cathedral – the 'dear beloved place.'¹³ He could also recall, in fondness and thanksgiving, the building and consecration of the Cathedral of Sts Peter and Paul at Dogura, Papua in 1939, which he had overseen. Overseas, Coventry Cathedral (destroyed by bombing during the German blitz in 1940) had been re-built and stood as a sign of what could be accomplished. Why should Brisbane's Anglican cathedral, the only neo-Gothic cathedral in the southern hemisphere, be also the only incomplete cathedral in Australia? When the Queen spoke with Strong in March 1963 on board the *Britannia*, shortly before his enthronement, and expressed a keenness to see St John's Cathedral completed, it was, for him, enough.¹⁴ At his first Diocesan Synod some months later, he signalled his interest and intention: 'Her Majesty expressed tremendous interest ... in the Cathedral. To me she spoke for

¹¹ *Courier-Mail*, 16 May 1964, p. 1.

¹² Jeff Rickert, 'Right to March Movement', in Raymond Evans and Carole Ferrier (eds), *Radical Brisbane, an unruly history*, The Vulgar Press, Carlton, North Victoria, 2004, p. 292.

¹³ Archbishop Philip Strong, diary entry, 30 June 1963.

¹⁴ Strong, diary entry, 7 March 1963.

quite a long time about her hope that it would not be long before our Cathedral was completed. I am sure that we would all echo her wish in this matter, and her great interest is symbolic of the wide interest there is in this regard. ... [A]fter so many years of a half-completed Cathedral... the time has come when we should indeed look forward to the completion of our desire'.¹⁵

Before two years were out, a contract had been signed for a two bay extension, which would lift the seating capacity of the nave from 324 to 910. There was some suggestion that the unfinished part of the Cathedral should be completed in a more modern form, to reflect contemporary approaches and to save on costs. The architecture of Coventry Cathedral had shown what could be achieved. Christ Church St Lucia, built in 1962, had echoes of Coventry Cathedral with its use of space, light, windows, and a large, rectangular wall behind the altar, which only lacked a Graham Sutherland tapestry, to complete the likeness. Similarly, the new St Alban's church in Cunnamulla, dedicated in May 1963, and which replaced a smaller, wooden one built in 1895, was described as 'another outstanding Church in a contemporary architectural style'.¹⁶ Not all were convinced, but more and more parish churches looked to contemporary architecture to save on costs and to reflect the call to be a church of the times.

It is significant that when St Stephens's Catholic Cathedral was extended and refurbished in 1988-89, the architectural design was driven by the liturgical reforms that followed the Second Vatican Council. Provision needed to be made for the new ways of celebrating the Eucharist, Baptism

¹⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, p. 252.

¹⁶ *Church Chronicle* 1 May 1963, p. 13 and 1 July 1963, p. 12.

and the rite of Reconciliation. Consequently it sought to use a more contemporary style of architecture in extending the cathedral, 'to keep and enhance what was best in the cathedral and to add what was necessary in a pure, timeless style that expresses its contemporary purpose while remaining in harmony with the old'.¹⁷ It was slightly easier for the Catholic Church to make this decision, as they were not working from original architectural designs. They were adding on from scratch.

That St John's Cathedral should utilise modern architectural styles, however, was resisted. The liturgical reforms and new architectural ideas that were to be embraced also by the Anglican Church were in their infancy. New liturgical needs, therefore, played little part in determining architectural style at this stage. More telling were conservative attitudes: a church should look like a church. A Memorandum from the Registrar, Roland St John to the 1965 Diocesan Synod outlined a number of reasons for staying with the original design.¹⁸ He noted the difficulty of finding unanimity on any alternative design, the need to keep faith with those who had already contributed financially in the belief that the original design would be kept, and the need to be honest to the vision and inspiration of Frank Pearson, the original architect, and with earlier generations of builders and worshippers. The cathedral architects, Conrad and Gargett, concurred: 'the interior of this Cathedral has the reposed and dignified atmosphere of sacredness ... and its qualities will be enhanced ... by the proposed extensions.... It is more than likely that St John's will be

¹⁷ Elich, *St Stephen's Cathedral, Brisbane*, p. 10.

¹⁸ 'Extensions to St John's Cathedral, Brisbane', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, pp. 135-139. See also Strong, diary entry, 23 April 1965 which notes that one rural deanery had written to the paper arguing for a different design.

the last Gothic style cathedral to be built in the world. If it is to be finished, it must be in accordance with Frank L. Pearson's design, of over sixty years ago, to which we are committed'.¹⁹ To such arguments Strong added his own reflection that his beloved Worcester Cathedral had been 'marred by those who imposed upon its original design other and more modern designs'. The cathedral had suffered much by 'ingenious patching' and lost much of its 'beauty and ancient character'.²⁰

Strong saw the decision to proceed as a 'cause for most profound thanksgiving to Almighty God'.²¹ Financially, it was possible. The Diocese had been free of debt since 1956. Already £500,000 was in hand for the cathedral completion; another £150,000 would have to be raised. The costs were alleviated to some degree by acts of generosity, such as the provision of the bulk of the porphyry stone for the external walls, contributed by the State government, after it demolished the Criminal Investigation Bureau offices on the corner of George and Elizabeth Streets, Brisbane – a 'clear indication of the value of this Cathedral in the eyes of the government to the State and Community'.²²

Not all were convinced. Some claimed that the money would be better spent on the poor. How could the church justify spending £650,000 on a single building, when there were poor and starving people around the world? Others claimed that giving to missionary work would suffer. Donations, which would normally be given to the work of the Australian Board of Missions,

¹⁹ 'Extensions to St John's Cathedral, Brisbane', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 137.

²⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 283.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 282. The CIB offices had previously been the Diocesan Offices, when the original St John's Pro-cathedral had stood in the grounds of, what was then, Queen's Park.

would be given instead to fund the cathedral extensions. Still others felt that a project of this size looked too much like self-aggrandising, and was incompatible with a commitment to 'mutual responsibility and interdependence'.²³ The secondary needs of the Diocese were being put ahead of the essential needs of Anglican brothers and sisters in other parts of the world. If an organ in Sydney deprives a dozen clergy in South America of training, as Archbishop Strong had said when commending 'mutual responsibility and interdependence' in 1963, what does building a cathedral do?²⁴

These criticisms would be raised once more, years later, when in June 1989 the launch of the Cathedral Completion Appeal marked the beginning of the final stage of building the cathedral. In the early 1990s, such criticisms had much more weight, given that so much more fundraising was necessary, and the economic climate was not so buoyant. In 1965, such criticisms were muted. The funds were largely in place, the church shared in the general economic prosperity of the time and many other buildings were being constructed – all factors creating a mood sympathetic to extending the cathedral.

Archbishop Strong answered the few critics with vigour. First, God had 'opened out the way after so many difficulties, disappointments and frustrations ... it is a real answer to the prayers and aspirations and hopes of many.' He saw it as the will of God to proceed, a claim which made it harder

²³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 November 1965, p. 3.

²⁴ *Courier-Mail*, 23 September 1963, p. 8.

for anyone to offer a critique of the decision.²⁵ Secondly, the fact that the cathedral had remained half complete for 50 years lay as a 'reproach' over the Diocese and the Province. This reproach was no one's fault, but a duty of building had now been laid upon the Diocese, much as it had been laid on the prophet Nehemiah when he was charged to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in the 5th century BC.²⁶ Thirdly, cathedrals were 'living centres of devotion', as anyone who had visited the great English cathedrals would know, more needed in Australia because there were so few centres of devotion. Fourthly, a diocese was incomplete until its cathedral, the Mother Church, was fully built, and stood as the 'centre of spiritual unity and pattern of worship' for the diocese. Finally, 'great Cathedrals give an impression of stability and permanence in an age of incessant change.' They symbolised the unchanging God. 'Amidst great changes men look for that which is permanent, and a reassuring sense of strength and stability is given to men by buildings which by their age and style and architecture, by their massiveness and beauty, lead their thoughts upwards to God.'²⁷

This last sentiment reflects Strong's ecclesiology. The Church universal was unchanging, immovable, fixed – not just its great buildings, but its biblical teaching, *Book of Common Prayer*, doctrines, morality, worship, three-fold order of ordained ministry and mission. For Strong, here in this consecration liturgy could be seen the church at its best: confident in its role, unchanging, inevitable, stable, firm and sure, in partnership with the civil

²⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 279-80; Strong, diary entry, 13 Feb 1966: 'I am sure that it is the will of God that we should proceed'.

²⁶ Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem in 445/444BC. His successful wall-building was excavated by Dame Kathleen Kenyon in the 1960s.

²⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 284.

authorities, moving forward. 'Triumphant' is too strong a word, but outwardly still looking confident.²⁸ And many would have shared this view. The late-Victorian hymn, 'Thy Hand, O God, has Guided', sung lustily by crowded churches at Confirmations – and frequently at other times, up and down the Diocese – with its refrain, 'One Church, One Faith, One Lord', echoed what Strong and many Anglicans believed:

*Thy Mercy will not fail us,
Nor leave Thy work undone
With Thy right Hand to help us,
The Victory shall be won;
And then by men and angels,
Thy Name shall be adored,
And this shall be their anthem,
'One Church, one Faith, one Lord'.²⁹*

9.2 Suburban Parishes

In other ways too, there was continuity with past years and continued expansion. In suburban parishes, the ministry of the church proceeded with the same kind of momentum, which had been generated since the late 1950s. The workload was enormous. In the expanding suburb of Chermshire, the Rector and two Curates with the help of several lay people took classes in

²⁸ See *Church Chronicle*, 1 January 1969, p. 22, which headed a description of the cathedral consecration with a sub-heading: 'VICTORY (But not 100 per cent)'.

²⁹ The hymn, by Edward Hayes Plumptre, no doubt unwittingly created the misleading image of the 'One Church' preceding both 'Faith and 'Lord'.

Religious Instruction, every morning and two afternoons in the week at eleven State schools. There were Primary schools in the suburbs of Chermside, Wavell Heights, Zillmere, Aspley, Aspley East, Bald Hills and Geebung, plus a two-teacher school at Albany Creek, then considered a country area. As well, there were two High Schools – Wavell State High School (opened in 1959) and Aspley State High School (opened in 1963). The average weekly number of Anglican children taught was about 2,400.³⁰ It was the same almost everywhere. In Bundaberg, the number of schools visited was so large that Curates were allowed only half a day off per week

The building of schools marked a new interest in education by the incoming Country-Liberal Party government of Premier Nicklin in 1957. There were just 37 State high schools at the beginning of Nicklin's tenure as Premier in August 1957. By the time he resigned in January 1968, the number had grown to 93.³¹ During this time, the education portfolio was elevated from eleventh to third place in the cabinet, the budget allocation rose from eight per cent to nearly twelve per cent, and the percentage of Queensland students enrolled in State as opposed to private schools increased significantly.³² The school leaving age was increased to fifteen, the outmoded scholarship system

³⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1966*, p. 47.

³¹ See 'Opening and closing dates of Queensland Schools', at www.education.qld.gov.au, viewed on 20 January 2004.

³² In the early Fifties, for every three students in a State high school, four attended one of the independent schools. By the early Sixties, there were just over seven students in a State high school for every four attending an independent school. See *Queensland Year Book 1961*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1962, p. 97 which gives figures of 24,105 students in State high schools and 14,253 in independent schools in 1960. Yet, for all its school expansion, Queensland continued to lag well behind other States in the provision of educational facilities and opportunities. See Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 218 and footnote 5, p. 276. A report from a Schools Commission in the early 1970s could state that Queensland was still the most disadvantaged State with respect to schools outside major urban areas. See Rae Wear, *Johannes Bjelke-Petersen: the Lord's Premier*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 2002, p. 35; Ross Fitzgerald and Harold Thornton, *Labor in Queensland: from the 1880s to 1988*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1989, p. 121.

was discontinued in 1962, and a five-year secondary course was instituted at the same time. Enrolments in State high schools grew rapidly.³³ In these ways the State government sought to catch up with the rest of Australia, even if it still lagged some way behind. By the mid-Sixties, Queensland like the rest of Australia was experiencing an unprecedented post-War education boom.

This growth in primary and secondary schools after 1957 created some problems for the Diocese. With more schools, the educational options for parents increased. A new State school might be closer to home, and boast the latest in school facilities, putting pressure on established private schools to modernise and re-equip to keep pace. In 1968, St Michael's School, Clayfield closed its doors, a casualty of these trends. It had been a primary boarding school for girls, under the management of the sisters of the Society of the Sacred Advent (SSA), and catered largely for rural children at relatively cheap rates.³⁴ As more State primary schools opened in rural areas, it was unable to build sufficient enrolments to make it competitive. The school finished 1964 with an enrolment of 125 girls, 1965 with an enrolment of 146 girls, and 1966 with an enrolment of 182, indicative of the 'baby boomer' years.³⁵ But such numbers were still too low. St Margaret's girls' school nearby, (also a boarding school, though for both primary and secondary students), began 1966 with 693 girls enrolled. As well, an overdue re-building program, to match what other schools were now offering, was financially beyond the school's and the Diocese's capacity.

³³ Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the Early 1980s*, p. 239.

³⁴ *The Advent: the quarterly paper of the Society of the Sacred Advent*, February 1969, p. 5.

³⁵ *Advent*, February 1965, p. 5; *Advent*, February 1966, p. 5; *Advent*, February 1967, p. 6

Diocesan Council was reluctant too to assume responsibility for the management of St Michael's largely on financial grounds. Fewer sisters – who could be paid at minimal wages – were available to teach, and the replacement of the Sister-in-Charge – Sister Claire SSA – with a salaried Headmistress was financially prohibitive.³⁶ Perhaps too, members of Diocesan Council were aware that some small Roman Catholic schools in Sydney were on the edge of viability,³⁷ and that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Townsville had admitted that education in his diocese faced a crisis.³⁸ Finally, with a State school system expanding, church people were less inclined to initiate the establishment of new church schools, especially since substantial funds were needed to match the relatively high building standards of the new State schools. It is significant that the only Anglican Church school established in Brisbane Diocese between World War II and 1987, was St Paul's Bald Hill's in 1961, and this was only as a result of a bequest by Sir Edwin Tooth. Towards the end of 1957, it had become evident that there was scope for an Anglican boys' school in the expanding northern suburbs of Brisbane and Tooth's bequest provided sufficient money to make the building of a boys' grammar school a reality. Land was purchased in 1958, and the school named after the famous St Paul's School in London – the old school of Archbishop Halse. In later years, as the Anglican ministry through Religious Instruction in State schools evaporated, and as the demand for private schooling accelerated under a belief that they provided better discipline and

³⁶ *Advent*, February 1969, p. 5; *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 100.

³⁷ *Australian*, 24 September, 1968, p. 3.

³⁸ *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 5 August 1968, quoted in Helen Amies, 'The Aims, Ideals and Achievements of the Society of the Sacred Advent in Queensland 1892-1968', BA Hons thesis, University of Queensland, 1968, p. 165.



Fig. 34 First Liturgy at St Paul's Anglican School Bald Hills with Archbishop Halse, Dean Baddeley and the Headmaster Mr Paul Krebs



Fig. 35 Opening day at St Paul's Bald Hills 3 February 1961

education, much Diocesan energy and money would be channelled into the founding of new Anglican schools.³⁹

The problems of failing church schools raised once more the controversial issue of 'State Aid' for private schools. For many decades this had been almost solely a Roman Catholic concern, resisted by many who feared the advantage that might accrue to Roman Catholicism if their schools received government funding. By the early 1960s, Roman Catholic schools faced crisis point. Larger numbers of children than ever before – the baby boomers – now attended schools, and facilities needed to expand to match enrolments. For the Roman Catholic school system, the situation was exacerbated by the post-War immigration program, which included a considerable Catholic component. Many non-Catholic schools were also feeling the pinch, especially the less well-established and endowed, who struggled to keep pace with the recently built, well-provisioned State schools.

Towards the end of the Fifties, Anglican schools in north Queensland signalled their readiness to support State aid.⁴⁰ In 1959, both the Rockhampton and North Queensland Diocesan Synods indicated their support for State aid. Bishop Ian Shevill announced that 'in this matter, the Church of England has been silent for too long'.⁴¹ Halse had already suggested a way forward that aimed at a less controversial way of gaining

³⁹ In 1987, three new church schools opened: All Saints, Mudgeeraba, the College of the Good Shepherd, Waterford, (now called Canterbury College), and Hillbrook Anglican School, Enoggera. They were the first co-educational schools for the Diocese. St Paul's Bald Hills became co-educational in 1993.

⁴⁰ In the 1956 North Queensland Diocesan Synod, a motion was passed which advised the Queensland Government that 'the Church of England in North Queensland is of the opinion that such aid [State Aid] would be welcomed and appreciated'. See *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of North Queensland*, Diocesan Registry, Townsville, Queensland, 1957-58, p. 63.

⁴¹ *Courier-Mail*, 4 July 1959, p. 5.

State aid. He drew a parallel with the 'liberal subsidising of Church University Colleges by the Queensland State Government without any sectarian issue being raised'. Just as these university colleges provided accommodation for students from the country, so too did secondary church boarding schools. They therefore, deserved similar funding.⁴² When Shevill argued for just such a thing – aid for church secondary boarding schools which had been established for 20 years or longer – Halse was quick to support him: 'It is what I have been saying for the last fifteen years. ... Where the government is not providing facilities such as boarding schools, then it should help those who fill the need'.⁴³ Archbishop Duhig greeted this support by Anglican leaders with pleasure, seeing in it 'a definite stand for justice to religious schools in the matter of State endowments'.⁴⁴

Halse proceeded to appoint a committee to investigate the matter of State aid to church schools and it announced its findings in 1961. The committee cautiously concluded that 'certain forms of State aid to church schools would help alleviate the present position and should not cause as much concern to our Church people and the rest of the community as some more direct forms of State aid'.⁴⁵ Church schools, it argued, made a marked contribution to educational standards in the community, and they furthered the work of the church, although whether the 'general bearing and teaching is

⁴² *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1956, p. 356.

⁴³ *Courier-Mail*, 4 July 1959, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1959, p. 7.

⁴⁵ 'Report of the Select Committee Appointed by the Archbishop-in-Council to report on the Question of State Aid to Church Schools', p. 2 kept in the Brisbane Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane. See also a copy of the Report in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, pp. 198-211.

noticeably more Christian than those of State schools' was questionable.⁴⁶

Such comments challenged Diocesan leadership to look more closely to the Christian foundations of its schools, and the report concluded that any decision to seek State aid ought to be accompanied by a 'genuine self-examination ... on the question of whether Church schools are fulfilling the aims which we so often claim for them'.⁴⁷

In 1963, with the incipient space program established in America fostering a belief in scientific research as essential for the future, the Menzies government announced federal funding for science blocks in State and independent schools, and thereby overturned a tradition of 'no State aid' that was as older than Federation.⁴⁸ In May 1964, Senator John Gorton, approached Archbishop Strong to chair a committee that might look at the equitable distribution of Commonwealth funds for the building and equipping of science blocks in non-Catholic private schools in Queensland.⁴⁹ Made up of representatives of all non-Catholic private schools – Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and independent Grammar schools – the committee, having been given a sum to work with, decided both the priority and size of the grant to each school.

At the Diocesan Synod of that year, in the midst of the passionate debate about mutual responsibility and interdependence, and whether Bundaberg and other smaller parishes nearby should be ceded to

⁴⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1961*, p. 200.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁴⁸ The battle for State aid was given a significant fillip in the winter of 1962, when a local Roman Catholic school in Goulbourn, New South Wales, unable to provide better toilet facilities for increasing numbers of children, temporarily enrolled all the children in the local State schools, causing immense overcrowding and difficulties. The Catholic school made its point: that the State system needed the independent schools to survive.

⁴⁹ Strong, diary entry, 25 May 1964.

Rockhampton Diocese, a motion that the Diocese should accept the generous grants from the Federal Government for the building and equipping of science blocks was passed without debate.⁵⁰ Perhaps no one wanted to debate another contentious issue? Perhaps, more likely, the lure of free financial help was too good to refuse. Whatever the motivation, this marks the beginning of the movement towards increasing numbers of church schools, established as religious or spiritual alternatives to the secular State schools.

Another casualty of the growth in State schools in the Sixties was the hostel at Charleville. With more rural schools, and the development of bus services to take children long distances to and from school, there was less demand for boarding hostels, such as those at Charleville, St George and Mitchell. At the end of the 1950s, the hostels at St George and Mitchell accommodated over 40 children each, but thereafter there was a steady decline.⁵¹ Charleville suffered more so, as it was a large hostel, with facilities for 150 boys and girls, and required more students to sustain its operations. In 1957, the Charleville hostel began the year with 67 girls and 55 boys in residence – enough, but well below capacity.⁵² This number dropped significantly thereafter, with costs exceeding income every year. In 1962, there were just 50 girls and 30 boys.⁵³ In 1965, the hostel had just 30 girls and 16 boys, which made it still the largest hostel in the western region, but

⁵⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1964*, p. 90.

⁵¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1958*, p. 134. In 1957-58, extensive additions were made to the St George hostel and the Mitchell hostel, allowing an increase in numbers.

⁵² 'Minutes of the Brotherhood of St Paul Chapter Meeting', held on 11 December 1956 at Charleville, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane. See also *Advent*, January 1958, p. 6.

⁵³ *Advent*, January 1963, p. 7.

there were now 'High Schools and Hostels going up in all the small towns'.⁵⁴ A high turn-over of staff for the boys' section exacerbated the situation. In March 1965, the Charleville Parish Council felt constrained to announce the closure of the boys' section from the end of that year due to financial losses. The sisters of the SSA announced their withdrawal from the girls' section at the same time. They were getting older and had fewer sisters to sustain the girls section.⁵⁵

After 46 years of service to the bush, and having seen thousands of boys and girls accommodated and supported, the corridors of All Saints' Hostel threatened to become quiet. As it was, Mrs Elsie Whitney, a hostel student in 1922, accepted an invitation to re-open the hostel on a changed format. Eighteen children – boys and girls – enrolled for 1966. Her permanence, maternal care and commitment led to a confidence in her work, and before the decade was out, 40 to 50 children were once more in residence at All Saint's Hostel.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, Anglican volunteer teachers around the Diocese joined local clergy in providing a half-hour each week of Anglican Religious Instruction (RI) to Anglican children. Class numbers were large and discipline – especially in the high schools – was a common problem for visiting priests and laity. The clergy and many volunteers were untrained, and teaching a non-examinable subject. As visitors, they knew neither the names of the

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, February 1966, p. 7; *Advent*, February 1964, p. 6. In 1958, the Country Women's Association opened a hostel at Cunnamulla. Others opened soon after at Tambo and Roma. For the figure of 16 boys, see the letter of the Reverend David Drurie, Vicar, Charleville to hostel parents, 23 March 1965, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

⁵⁵ *Advent*, February 1966, p. 1.

⁵⁶ The hostel finally closed in 1983 with just 11 being accommodated. The introduction of school buses in the mid-1970s had further eroded the need for rural hostels.

children, nor the methods of class discipline. At Wavell High, there was a stream of children called 'junior industrials' – those children less academically inclined, and anticipating apprenticeships in a trade. On one occasion during RI, at the back of a crowded classroom of nearly 80 'junior industrials', a small fire was lit, a chair having been quietly taken apart for kindling.⁵⁷

Experiences like this created, from time to time, a debate over the value of teaching Religious Instruction. In 1970, Fr Des Williams, the Vice-Principal of St Francis' College expressed the exasperation of many. In an article entitled 'Is It Time to Get Out?' he said:

No one is happy about Religious Instruction in State schools. The teachers view it with scant respect, the clergy have the most serious misgivings as to its value, and the children regard it as a bore and an imposition. ... Far from doing an intangible amount of good, R. I. is doing positive harm. Children are being contra-suggested towards religion by it.⁵⁸

His article sparked a sustained debate in the *Church Chronicle* both for and against R.I., just as Canon Harry Richards' article had done in 1953, but now as then, no one had any real answers. Part of the problem was a lack of clarity about the purpose of RI. Was it for teaching a moral code? Was it for teaching bible stories? Was it for teaching the elements of the Christian faith, as the basis to Western civilization? Behind these questions was the more basic one that had remained throughout the Fifties and Sixties: did RI, divorced from worship, have any real value? It continued to be a more acute

⁵⁷ Gavin Ott, personal comments recorded in August 2004.

⁵⁸ *Church Chronicle*, 1 October 1970, pp. 5-8.

problem for the Anglican Church than for any other denomination, because of its large number of nominal members. What meaning and value could RI have for the large and growing numbers of children who did not worship, and who to all intents and purposes, had no living faith in Christ? The church could certainly teach them the Christian moral code, but such a code sprang from a personal relationship with God through Christ. Without that relationship, how could the moral code be truly commended, and why should it be adopted? Christianity was reduced from a guide and guardian of a living faith in Christ, to an institution peddling an unattractive, if not impractical, moral code.

Astonishingly, the Diocese had no set Diocesan curriculum, despite teaching being a huge part of many parish priests' weekly routine. It was not until 1967 that the Diocesan Board of Christian Education asked the Reverend Stephen Freshwater to develop a syllabus for use in State schools, but it was almost too late. Here in these State schools was the 'constituency' that the Anglican Church drew on. Whereas Roman Catholics were slowly developing their own school system, Anglicans had decided to work primarily through the State system. Not to have sought fully to equip those engaged in this ministry, nor seek ways to build it, meant that in the years ahead this ministry was more easily released into either a vacuum or into ecumenical hands. Meanwhile, priests had to devise their own lessons, both for school classes and Confirmation classes. A number drew on resources such as the Confirmation material devised for the Church Mail Bag School, but something more universal was required.

On spare afternoons, the curates in Chermside parish would ride a Honda motor scooter or other modest form of transport (a bike) to one end of a nominated street and doorknock each house. The assumption continued to be that this was a Christian (and Anglican) country, and all that was needed was to activate the faith that lay dormant behind too many of these closed doors. After a long day, curates would make their way round to the home of a sympathetic parishioner, where a cold scotch was placed in hot hands and jackets could be removed.⁵⁹

There were the usual parish groups: several Young Anglican Fellowship groups – at Chermside, Zillmere, Geebung and Aspley, a thriving Church of England Boys' Society group, which was arguably the largest in the Diocese, a branch of the Girls' Friendly Society, a Ladies' Guild, and a Mothers' Union – a typical selection. The curates were expected to participate in all groups, except the female ones, and were exempted from Parish Council meetings, which the Rector, Fr Jack 'Daddy' Kruger chaired.⁶⁰ He had a stern manner, and was quick tempered, but never bore a grudge. He expected his Curates to work hard – the common policy – and set clear boundaries, which today might seem too authoritative: younger clergy did not speak at Diocesan Synod for at least the first five years, they delayed marriage, and when visiting they always wore a clerical shirt and jacket, irrespective of the heat of the day. Sermons were to contain three points for ease of memory. Slowly these expectations were being eroded. Before the decade was out some clergy had exchanged the coat and black shirt with dog collar for a cooler open neck shirt

⁵⁹ John Thompson, personal comments recorded in November 2004.

⁶⁰ He earned his affectionate nickname from his five daughters, for whom he was always 'daddy'.

with small crosses on the collars. In banks and the public service, shorts and long socks had become acceptable and clergy simply followed this cooler, more casual, commonsense dress.

Each day was framed by the Anglo-Catholic pattern of 'Mattins and Mass' in the early morning (6.10am and 6.30am respectively) and Evensong at 5.30pm. It kept all that was done within a context of prayer. On Sundays, a first Eucharist was held at 6.30am (after Mattins at 6.00am), then each priest went to one of a number of centres: West Chermside, East Chermside, Geebung, Zillmere, Aspley, Bald Hills. In 1966, there were 177 baptisms, conducted after the main morning Eucharist with family and friends around, and 133 children were confirmed, a number sufficiently large to require two confirmation liturgies. It was not uncommon.⁶¹ Both baptism and confirmation continued to be widespread, acceptable, cultural and religious rites of passage for many families, but the decline in worshipping numbers and the feeling that too many were taking church membership for granted, was beginning to lead to a hardening of attitudes in the minds of some.⁶² It used to be said jokingly that for every 100 baptisms there were ten who proceeded to confirmation and only one or two who remained thereafter. It was this sort of statistic that began to move the so-called 'hardliners' to action. If there was no commitment, no evidence of active faith, there should be no rites of Christian initiation, they argued.⁶³ It sometimes aroused much consternation with families who were refused baptism for a child because they were not

⁶¹ Strong, diary entries, 2 October 1965; (Indooroopilly) and 30 October 1965 (Coorparoo), where two Confirmation liturgies were required in each case.

⁶² See, for example, 'God Doesn't Matter', *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1968, p. 8.

⁶³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1967, p. 14.

worshippers, and who could not understand why the church was suddenly putting up the shutters.

In Chermside, there were also 57 weddings in 1966. Such demand on the time of just three clergy precluded much preparation, whether for baptisms or weddings. It was often a matter of making an appointment and turning up at church. There were non-parish events to break the routine: Diocesan Synod once a year, post-ordination training events for junior clergy, area deanery meetings and an annual clergy conference. But it was not in general a time which allowed for much reflection on the ministry in which one was engaged, nor for much theological reading. The scale of the work tended to create reactive priests, who responded to what came across their desk from week to week, more than priests who drove forward new initiatives to grow and develop the Anglican faith.

9.3 Ecumenism

One great excitement of the Sixties was the ecumenical movement – a movement for church unity. It was the flowering of a mood that had its genesis in the years after World War II. Following the devastation of World War II, an international mood emerged whose political focus was more purposeful co-operation between nations. This mood was reflected in the post-War creation of bodies such as the United Nations and, in the religious sphere, the World Council of Churches (WCC), and was reinforced by an increasing awareness of a common global destiny. In 1963, the terms ‘global village’ and ‘spaceship earth’ were first used, and when, in 1968, the crew of

Apollo 8 sent back pictures from outer space, of a crescent blue and green earth, accompanied by a reading of the first ten verses of Genesis, the idea of one humanity needing to live together on a fragile, but beautiful, earth was reinforced.

For Anglicans, the vision of a unified church was articulated early by William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, who at his enthronement sermon in 1942, spoke of the ecumenical movement as the 'great new fact of our time'. A later Archbishop of Brisbane, Felix Arnott, spoke of being inspired as a young man by Temple's vision: 'When the world was being torn to pieces [in World War II], and one wondered whether it would ever come together again, there was this vision which he pictured for us then, of the church coming together and standing together and uniting all men whatever their nationality or colour.'⁶⁴ It was this kind of vision which inspired and energised a whole post-War generation to seek for greater church unity.

In the Fifties, the thought of unity with other churches had received a cautious and mixed reception in Brisbane Diocese. No one disputed the desirability of unity, nor that it should include all denominations. Many Anglicans also felt that their church had something distinctive to contribute: it was a *via media* between the two extremes of excessive Protestantism and unreformed Roman Catholicism, a 'bridge' between the two.⁶⁵

There were questions, however, on the method and form unity should take, and fears about its possible cost. Some believed the best approach lay

⁶⁴ Archbishop Felix Arnott, 'Transcript of Public Tributes on the Occasion of the Resignation of Archbishop Felix Arnott, 19 June 1980', kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

⁶⁵ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, p. 591.

in active participation with the new WCC.⁶⁶ Founded in 1948, it included most Christian denominations, with the major exception of the Roman Catholic Church. Others feared the emergence of a Pan-Protestant church lacking the more catholic features that resonated with the majority of Anglican clergy in Brisbane Diocese. They looked more to cultivating a relationship with the Roman Catholic Church or the Eastern Orthodox tradition.⁶⁷

Interest in ecumenism in Brisbane was heightened because of Archbishop Halse's own interest and involvement in the incipient movement for church unity. Halse had a magnanimity about him that readily embraced others in a spirit of reconciliation and tolerance. He was not threatened by differences.⁶⁸ It has already been noted that in 1947 he had visited the Japanese church, disregarding post-war anti-Japanese sentiment, and had to bear some criticism when he invited the Anglican Japanese Primate to make a return visit. This spirit of magnanimity and tolerance overflowed to the idea of unity with other churches. As Bishop of the Riverina (1926 – 1942) Halse had prepared a document on inter-communion between the Church of England and leading Protestant churches and had devised a formula for the mutual commissioning of ministers. The formula carefully avoided the words 'ordination' or 're-ordination' so that its very ambiguity overcame the vexed question of how to validate the Orders of another church tradition, without appearing to re-ordain them. This work of Halse's greatly influenced the

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 591. For a history of the WCC, see Visser't Hooft, *The Genesis and Formation of the World Council of Churches*, World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1982; David Gaines, *The World Council of Churches: a study of its background and history*, Richard Smith Publishers, Peterborough, 1966.

⁶⁷ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 591.

⁶⁸ Keith Rayner, 'Halse, Reginald Charles', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 363. 'Quarrelling, strife and controversy were foreign to his nature and spirit', said the preacher, Bishop Philip Strong, at his funeral. The funeral panegyric is reproduced in *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1962, p. 6.

movement towards re-union which produced the united Church of South India.⁶⁹

Halse also maintained harmonious relations with his Roman Catholic counterpart in Brisbane, Archbishop James Duhig.⁷⁰ Their relationship was more irenic than strictly ecumenical. It could not be otherwise. Until Vatican Council II, the official Roman Catholic policy towards church unity was simple: all non-Catholic Christians should return to Rome. The Roman Church was the 'one true Church', and Catholics were strictly forbidden to participate in non-Catholic services of any sort: weddings, funerals, Billy Graham rallies. When the WCC held its initial meetings in Amsterdam (in 1948) and Evanston (in 1954), the Vatican steadfastly declined to send observers.

Halse was also an active Anglican representative on the Australian Council of the WCC. In November 1952, he was largely responsible for a gathering of clergy from a wide range of churches including the Anglican, Greek Orthodox, Congregational, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Methodist churches at St Francis' College to discuss the theology that underpinned each church. It was hailed as the 'first Queensland "ecumenical" ministerial conference' – 'ecumenical' being a word just stepping out of the dictionary – followed a year later by a similar conference to discuss attitudes to the bible.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', p. 592. The prayer and formula proposed by Halse with slight amendments made by the group considering intercommunion is printed as an appendix to a document entitled 'Intercommunion: a summary of the discussions and proposals of an Australian group, 1937-1940'. This document with other correspondence is kept in the file listed as 'Intercommunion' among Archbishop Halse's papers in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane. See also the letter in the same file to Bishop F. de Witt Batty, 8 July 1943; and Moses, 'Reginald Charles Halse', pp. 64-68.

⁷⁰ See chapter 4, p. 91.

⁷¹ See the Report of 'Little Lund' (so called after an international Faith and Order Conference at Lund, Sweden) in the Minutes of the Queensland State Committee of the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches, 3 December 1952, Queensland Ecumenical Council of Churches, Brisbane. See

He also encouraged the formation of a Queensland regional committee of the WCC in 1949, and a decade later was elected unanimously as the President of the Australian Council of the WCC.⁷²

Not all shared Halse's enthusiasm for ecumenism. Given the caution of a number of Anglo-Catholic clergy in Brisbane Diocese towards the WCC, Halse was keen to claim that the WCC was not 'un-catholic'. But it did not convince everyone, nor did a change of mind by bishops such as James Housden of Rockhampton, whose experience on a central committee of the WCC in England caused him to be 'completely converted to the absolute necessity of the WCC'.⁷³ Bishop Ian Shevill of North Queensland put an opposing viewpoint after attending the Evanston Assembly of the WCC in 1954. The Evanston meetings took place in an enormous gymnasium, dominated by a banner on which the symbol of the WCC – a stylised boat – was displayed. But for Shevill the WCC was like a 'boat adrift, without captain, crew or rudder, and without any particular bearings to guide it'. It was impossible to tell 'where the Assembly is going or what it hopes to achieve'.⁷⁴

Such doubts reinforced Anglo-Catholic caution towards unity with Protestant churches, which were seen to threaten true catholicity. Protestant churches, for example, would throw away left over communion elements.

Other avenues of unity were sought: perhaps the Roman Catholic Church?

Although this Church had a sacramental dimension and provided a

also *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1952, p. 370. For the ecumenical meeting in 1953, see the report in *Anglican*, 11 December 1953, p. 1. Thirty-two priests and ministers from ten denominations met under the presidency of Archbishop Halse at St Francis' College in the second 'Ministerial Conference' arranged by the State Committee. The theme was 'the bible'.

⁷² *Anglican*, 20 February 1959, p. 1; *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1959, p. 69.

⁷³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1949, p. 229.

⁷⁴ Ian Shevill, *Half Time*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1966, p. 90; *Northern Churchman*, October 1954, p. 1.

benchmark alongside which Anglo-Catholic practices and theology could be measured, this church, nevertheless, persisted in its claim that it alone was the authentic expression of Christ's Church, and unity could only come about through a return and submission to the Pope. Anglicans resisted such exclusiveness. There were not a few warnings about the dangers of the Roman Catholic attitude. It rejected Anglican Orders as 'null and void'.⁷⁵ In any 'mixed marriage' the non-Roman partner was encouraged to sign a document agreeing to raise children in the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Church failed to appreciate sufficiently the place of the bible in its teaching, and the doctrine of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary proclaimed in 1950, lacked scriptural and historical truth, and was a unilateral act. Add to this the occasional fear that 'the Roman Catholic Church has made it clear that she is determined to dominate Australia'⁷⁶ and for some the consequence was clear, not only was the Roman Catholic Church in need of reform, but 'Rome must be regarded in Australia as an evil as great as Moscow'.⁷⁷ It was hyperbole, written more out of fear or resentment than truth, and heightened in Queensland because of Roman Catholicism's close ties to political power before the 1957 election.

Nervousness about the WCC and the impossibility of considering the Roman Catholic Church as a focus for aspirations towards unity is the

⁷⁵ That Anglican Orders were 'null and void' was the conclusion of Leo XIII's 1896 Bull, *Apostolicae Curae*.

⁷⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1954, p. 145.

⁷⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1956, p. 108.

background to the private motions in Synod in 1958 urging negotiations for unity be undertaken first with Eastern Orthodox Churches.⁷⁸

The movement for church unity took an exciting step forward with Vatican Council II, 'the most important ecclesiastical event of the 20th century, not just for Roman Catholics but for all Christians', and it was this Council that gave Anglo-Catholics in Brisbane Diocese permission to embrace ecumenism with greater alacrity.⁷⁹ Rome had that sacramental and ecclesiological theology that resonated with Anglo-Catholics and its Vatican II reforms made very much more palatable the thought of Christian unity. Responding to Pope John's XXIII's call for *aggiornamento* ('a bringing up to date', of taking note of the signs of the times), Vatican II ran from October 1962 to December 1965 and produced sixteen documents, one of which – the Decree on Ecumenism – encouraged Roman Catholics to work for Christian unity, and saw in baptism the common point of unity.

Vatican II provided a new model for relationships between the Roman Catholic Church and the rest of Christendom. In 1960, Pope John established the new Secretariat of Unity, and in the same year, the Archbishop of

⁷⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1958*, p. 259. A motion was moved by the Reverend Peter Bennie (Rector, All Saints Wickham Terrace) and seconded by the Reverend John Hazelwood (Vice Principal, St Francis College). It read: 'That in the opinion of this Synod any negotiations for re-union between the Church of England and any other religious body are premature until such time as full reunion and intercommunion has been obtained between the Church of England and the Orthodox Churches of the East'. This motion was passed, after which Synod members began to have second thoughts, not the least because the motion went against a Lambeth resolution encouraging church unity with all churches. Another debate ensued, lasting two hours and ending shortly before midnight, and a new (and wordy) resolution passed urging that 'full weight' should be given to the 'essential Church of England principles' which should 'not be compromised in the course of ... negotiations [with other churches], and that no such negotiations should continue if it would hinder or delay reunion with the Orthodox Churches of the East'. See *Anglican*, 17 October 1958, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1990*, SCM Press, London, 1991, p. 525. Pope John XXIII announced Vatican II within three months of taking office in January 1959. It was the second General Council to be called in 90 years, its predecessor having been held in 1870 under Pope Pius IX. On 11 October 1962, some 2,400 bishops of the worldwide Catholic Church assembled in Rome with the twin purpose of promoting Christian unity and bringing about pastoral renewal.

Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher made an official, if quiet, visit to the Pope in Rome – the first visit of an Archbishop of Canterbury since the 14th century. The event ‘marked the turn of a very long tide’ and ‘opened a door which will never close’.⁸⁰ The rustle of an ecumenical breeze began to be felt.

In Australia, other conditions contributed to the emerging mood of hope, even expectation, for church unity between Anglicans and Catholics, (and which many thought of in terms of organic unity, that is, a reuniting of the two churches). First, there was a growing feeling that all Churches faced a common threat in the permissive society of the Sixties, one less open to Christian moral teaching. It was a small spur of encouragement to believe that this threat could be better met together than alone. Secondly, there had been a rise in ‘mixed’ marriages, which was both a reflection of, and an encouragement to, better relations between churches, and in itself a sign that sectarianism was now on the wane.⁸¹ Thirdly, the Roman Catholic Church was growing as a result of immigration, and slowly becoming less insular. Finally, in Queensland, Labor’s election loss in 1957 loosened the Catholic Church’s links with the party of power. For both Catholics and Anglicans in Queensland, dialogue seemed a whole lot more possible. The former mutual disregard, caution, and suspicion at the local level, was over.

In March 1965, a Roman Catholic priest – Fr Cyril Shand, Administrator of St Patrick’s Church, Fortitude Valley – preached from the pulpit of St John’s Cathedral at a lunchtime, ecumenical Lenten liturgy.⁸² It was the first time in the State’s history that a Catholic priest had been permitted to preach at

⁸⁰ Hastings, *English Christianity*, p. 523.

⁸¹ Strong, diary entry, 29 September 1967.

⁸² *Courier-Mail*, 5 March 1965, p. 9.

another denomination's service. The historic moment was witnessed by 600 people. A month later, the Australian Catholic bishops issued new directives allowing Catholics to attend liturgies conducted by 'our separated brethren', and in November 1968, four bishops each from the Catholic and Anglican Churches in Australia (including Strong) met together for the first episcopal dialogue between the two churches over matters of common concern.⁸³ It is a measure of how quickly the atmosphere had changed that less than a decade earlier such a meeting would have been inconceivable.

In Brisbane Diocesan Synod's of every year from 1964 to 1969, motions were passed encouraging and calling for the reunion of the churches. The interest was spurred on partly by moves towards unity in the Third World and in Australia between the Methodist, Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches, and partly by the visit of Archbishop Michael Ramsey in 1966 to Pope Paul VI. Whereas Fisher's visit (in 1960) had been deliberately quiet and low key, even furtive, Ramsey's visit was immensely public. It included an ecumenical service, and the signing of a 'Common Declaration' 'to inaugurate between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion a serious dialogue which ... may lead to that unity in truth, for which Christ prayed' – the precursor to the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, which would begin to examine a range of theological and structural differences

⁸³ In October 1967, Strong and Housden (Bishop of Newcastle) following a General Synod (1966) determination, met with Catholic Bishops Carroll and O'Donnell to discuss 'mixed marriages'. See Strong, diary entry, 29 September 1967. It was decided to broaden the agenda and in November 1968 the first Roman Catholic-Anglican Bishops' Conference took place. Catholic bishops Knox, Carroll, Young, Goody and Cullinane met with Anglican bishops Strong, Housden, Reed, Garnsey and Arnott, and discussed baptism, the nature of the episcopate, the church in the contemporary world and abortion. See Strong, diary entry, 20 November 1968.

between the two churches from the early 1970s.⁸⁴ As significantly, there was a degree of mutual recognition that would have been unimaginable just a decade earlier.

Efforts at this stage were aimed at understanding the theology and practice of other churches, and exploring different models of church unity, although it seemed certain, in these early post-Vatican II years that some kind of breakthrough in relations between Rome and Canterbury must be just around the corner. As it was, little practical expression of ecumenism seeped down to the clergy and people in parishes, other than prayerful support for the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity (first introduced to Brisbane in May 1955), and participation in a growing number of local Ministers Fraternals.⁸⁵ For clergy, immersed as they were in developing their own parishes, there was little time left over to pursue the, as yet, untravelled dialogues at a parochial level.

Nor was everyone convinced. A question by the interviewer, David Coller, to Archbishop Strong, for the television documentary, *Portrait of a Primate* in 1969, suggested that ecumenism could be seen as not much more than the churches huddling together for warmth as the fire of faith slowly went out.⁸⁶ It was a gently cynical attitude, but perhaps reflected a wider, secular point of view. For all that, interest in other churches marked the beginnings of an ecumenical exploration unparalleled since the Reformation.

⁸⁴ Hastings, *English Christianity*, p. 530.

⁸⁵ David Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill: religion in Brisbane in the 1950s', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, February 1991, p. 246.

⁸⁶ *Portrait of a Primate*, broadcast on ABC 2, 6 July 1969, a video copy of which is in the possession of the author.

Strong's ecumenism was more embracing than that of many other Diocesan clergy in the Sixties. There was still a prejudice against more evangelical forms of the Christian faith. When Billy Graham was due to arrive in Australia in 1968, for another set of mass rallies, Strong was surprised at the lack of interest in his Diocese. He had grown up in an evangelical household and only at The King's School, Worcester and afterwards at Selwyn College Cambridge did he adopt a more sacramental practice and Anglo-Catholic theology. But the evangelical fervour never died. When the Diocesan Board of Christian Education decided that it would not send observers to the youth section of the Billy Graham campaign, Strong was astonished and distanced himself from the decision. At the clergy 'Sacred Synod' of June 1967, he warned that he did not want any discouragement of the campaign in the parishes.⁸⁷ He was deeply frustrated that getting people to a 'personal relationship with Christ and to real commitment' seemed to be the objective only of evangelicals.⁸⁸ When Graham eventually arrived in Brisbane, Strong gave his whole hearted public support. He spoke at a pre-Graham rally, and sat on the stage with Graham during his rallies in Brisbane, which, on one evening attracted 60,000 people.⁸⁹ Graham was so impressed with Strong's support, that he sent a letter of thanks: 'Your presence on the platform, night by night, was a ringing testimony throughout Australia of your support of evangelism. This was ecumenicity at its best'.⁹⁰ Graham invited

⁸⁷ Strong, diary entry, 20 June 1967. 'Sacred Synods' were gatherings of all clergy with Archbishop Strong, the day before Diocesan Synod began. It provided Strong with an opportunity to do some teaching, and for clergy to raise matters for informal discussion and clarification.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 June 1967.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 April 1968.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26 April 1968.

Strong to Sydney for the next part of his Australian campaign, which Strong gladly accepted, and gave the blessing at the end of the first night of Graham's Sydney rallies. But despite Strong's positive approach, parishes in the Diocese gave only lukewarm support for the Graham Campaign and consequently, it had as little effect on Anglican parishes in Brisbane Diocese in 1968 as it had in 1959.⁹¹

Ecumenism seemed in the Sixties to promise much, even a 'New Reformation'. In 1960, the first national conference of Australian churches was held in Melbourne, (although the Australian Council of Churches had had its beginnings as early as 1946). But the next 20 years would, in the end, see little impact made against the walls of institutional division. Denominations would remain entrenched. There would be overtures of goodwill, but little practical expression of unity at any structural level. Where advance did take place was at the personal level (such as friendships between ministers and pastors and priests through local Ministers Fraternal), and in interdenominational organisations (such as Force Ten, which included a number of churches working together for development in Third World countries) and through the desire for inter-communion. The sharing of the Eucharist came to be the most notable mark of the ecumenical movement as Christians came to a conviction that not to communicate sacramentally was simply wrong for those who otherwise were bound together through a common baptism and faith in Christ. Strong was never convinced that inter-communion was desirable. But a question in the 1969 Brisbane Synod

⁹¹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1968, p. 18 for Strong's warm assessment of the Graham campaign.

revealed that the necessity of welcoming to communion baptised and communicant members of other churches was proving convincing to more and more.⁹²

In the Sixties, more than at any other time, the churches in Australia were aware of being part of a wider international, ecclesiastical scene – of the Vatican Council, of the very active World Council of Churches, and of the emergence into the light of day of many united Third World churches. Overseas, corporate reunions were rapidly advancing, and in Australia, the Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians formally united in June 1977 to become the Uniting Church in Australia. All this heralded days of expectancy and hope, for almost half a generation, and if that hope and expectancy was in fact not fulfilled, it was not less significant at the time.

9.4 Conclusion

The Sixties were not all decline and despondency. The work of the church was still enormous, and especially in the parishes. Much time and energy was poured into RE teaching and the organisation of the many groups that marked parish life. As well there were significant highlights, the completion of the second stage of the cathedral being a time for great celebrations. And there was hope. The ecumenical movement enthused many and appeared to promise much, even if towards the end of the Sixties some of the difficulties of

⁹² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 339.

comprehensiveness began to temper the initial enthusiasm for organic church unity.

*We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are;
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.*

Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 'Ulysses' (1842)

Space exploration looked set to proceed apace as the year 1970 began. Just months earlier, the spacecraft *Apollo 11* had landed on the moon.¹ People around the world gathered before television sets and watched as Neil Armstrong fulfilled the dream of centuries to become the first person to walk on the moon's surface. 'That's one small step for man ... one giant leap for mankind', he said, as he descended the steps of the space module onto the lunar ground. This tremendous achievement was repeated a few months later with the crew of *Apollo 12*, so that before 1970 had dawned, four American men had trod the moon's surface.² In April 1970, *Apollo 13* was intended to be a routine flight in the shadow of these dramatic successes, but a spacecraft explosion 55 hours into the mission, caused the plans to be aborted. Back on earth, people around the world again watched and prayed as NASA's engineers worked out the calculations that they hoped would give the crew the margin they would need, to get home alive. Further moon

¹ July 1969.

² *Apollo 12* was launched on 14 November 1969.

landings would follow in the years ahead. It was the last frontier to be explored and opened new and exciting possibilities.

Elsewhere on earth, old ways of resolving differences continued. Although American troops had begun to withdraw from Vietnam, operations were extended in nearby Cambodia, where communist positions were attacked. But the tide of sentiment had irrevocably turned, and the war in South-East Asia was increasingly condemned. In 1970, Robert Altman's movie *M.A.S.H.* was released, which highlighted the futility and cost of military engagements, such as Vietnam. Moratorium marches in capital cities around Australia showed that middle class Australia was increasingly opposed to further involvement in the Vietnam War.

Tensions escalated also in the Middle East. An Israeli air raid on Cairo killed 70 people. Several weeks later, Israeli and Syrian forces fought their worst battle since the 1967 Six-Day War. Palestinian guerrillas responded by hijacking four planes and forced the release of Palestinian prisoners from a variety of European and Israeli prisons. All the signs pointed to continuing conflict for years to come.

In 1970, American rock singer Jimi Hendrix, aged 27, died of a drug overdose. In the same year, Australian tennis star, Margaret Court, aged 28, won the Ladies' Singles Grand Slam: the English (Wimbledon), American, Australian and French titles. Queen Elizabeth II visited Australia once more – her third visit – in April 1970. She arrived in Brisbane on the *Britannia* to be met by hundreds of small boats and yachts, and that day she worshipped at St John's Anglican Cathedral, now extended as she had once hoped.

Archbishop Philip Strong, who subsequently dined on board the *Britannia*, thought the Queen 'looked radiant and most beautiful'.³ Two months later, on 30 June 1970, Archbishop Strong retired and was given an official Diocesan farewell. He had led the Diocese since 1963, and retired reluctantly at the age of 71.

10.1 *Strong and Retirement*

Strong dreaded the thought of retirement. On his election in 1963, he had been given hope that his tenure might be extended well beyond the compulsory retiring age of 70.⁴ Bishop Bryan Robin, former Bishop of Adelaide living in retirement in Portsmouth, England and to whom Strong had written in late 1962 for advice about his nomination to Brisbane, had confidently predicted that 'when you get to 70 you will be asked to go on for a time so that you will be able to look forward to ten years in Brisbane'.⁵

Strong turned 70 on 11 July 1969. The Archbishop Election Committee, which had the power to make any year-long extension, and which was presided over by Bishop David Hand, the next most senior bishop of the Province, met once in November 1968 and decided that an extension of nearly a year – to 30 June 1970 – would be sufficient. Not all were in favour. Other ordained men could not extend beyond the age of 70, why should an archbishop be exempt? Besides it was time for fresh blood to meet the new

³ Archbishop Philip Strong, diary entry, 12 April 1970.

⁴ An 'Age Retirement Canon' had been enacted at the 1952 Diocesan Synod requiring all active clergy and all remunerated lay people to retire at the age of 70. The Archbishop Election Committee had the power to extend the archbishop's tenure alone, on a year to year basis. See *Church of England Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1952*, Diocesan Registry, Brisbane, Queensland, p. 99.

⁵ Strong, diary entry, 27 November 1962.

challenges. In the end, it was only the knowledge that General Synod, due to meet in September 1969, would not have time to elect and establish a new Primate that clinched the decision to extend his tenure. (Strong had become acting Primate after the sudden resignation of Hugh Gough, Archbishop of Sydney, in March 1966, and confirmed as Primate at the next General Synod in September 1966.) Strong's long afternoon wait for news from the Election Committee increased his anxiety and foreboding. Bishop David Hand, his one-time assistant bishop in New Guinea, had to convey the unwelcome news, and when it came it had a 'rather shattering effect'. 'If I had not been Primate I doubt if I would have been asked to stay on', Strong ruefully reflected.⁶

Strong was the first Archbishop to come under the Age Retirement Canon. When this Canon was debated at the 1952 Diocesan Synod, many clergymen were unsure about its necessity and claimed the right to continue in office until they died – and said they intended to do so. (The only exempt clergy were those who held the same appointment when the legislation came into force, which, of course, included the then archbishop, Halse.) The attitude frustrated some who could see that a number of parishes suffered under the ailing leadership of older clergy. The Registrar, Roland St John recalled an English bishop who, faced with a large number of elderly clergy who would not retire, consoled himself with the thought that 'where there is death, there is hope'.⁷ The mover of the motion, Archdeacon F. B. C. Birch, rector of St Augustine's Hamilton, concluded his case with the words: 'Some

⁶ Strong, diary entry, 2 November 1968.

⁷ See also Roland St John, *Memories at Sunset*, privately published, Toowoomba, 1994, p. 119 kept in Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane, undated.

of my colleagues say that they want to die with their boots on. Well, all I can say to them is: "Get along and die then! Otherwise your parishes might die instead".⁸ It summed up the concern that motivated the legislation.

Strong, as a convinced Anglo-Catholic, leant towards the view that an ordained person gave his whole life to God and therefore, retirement was not necessarily appropriate. He could remember his father, who had been a priest, agonising over whether he had acted rightly in retiring. At Halse's funeral, Strong said that Halse wanted to die 'in harness', still ministering for Christ. He had a 'deep spiritual sense of dedication to the call'.⁹ It was part of the Anglo-Catholic ethos, one gave everything, sacrificially, all one's life to the service of Christ and his Church, an attitude that probably meant Strong had few, if any other, interests outside active Anglican ministry, to which he could look forward. But no amount of sympathy for Strong's position, or respect for his holiness of life, could conceal the fact, that by 1970, the Diocese was in the charge of a figure, who represented the '*ancien regime*' and it was simply time to move on.

10.2 Continuing Issues: Generational Conflict

Towards the end of Strong's tenure, difficult issues continued to surface, including problems with some of his clergy. Within a few months of his retirement, he had cause to revoke the licence of one of his vicars, Fr Harold Evers. Antagonisms to Evers at St John's Pialba (Hervey Bay) had become

⁸ Ibid., p. 119.

⁹ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1962, p. 7.

so inflamed that Strong felt he had little choice but to remove him from the parish. Public meetings had done little but raise the temperature of antagonism and the growing interest of the press. 'Pialba vicar dismissed by Archbishop', ran the *Courier-Mail* front page headline.¹⁰ But the media fall out from this dismissal was nothing compared to one five months earlier. In October 1969, the Rector of St Luke's Toowoomba, Archdeacon Arthur Lupton, wrote to Strong indicating that he could no longer work with his curates, Malcolm Bell and Austin Parry. They would not follow his directions and were alienating parishioners. An interview with Lupton and the churchwardens (lay leaders) convinced Strong that the best course was to suspend the licences of the curates, pending a posting elsewhere at some future time. A similar situation had occurred nearly a year earlier, when the Rector of Chermside, Fr Jack Kruger complained about the pacifist and political views of his curates which, he complained, they propounded from the pulpit.¹¹ Then, as now in 1969, it was a division between older, established and more conservative priests (who had a lot more to lose if parishioners were alienated) and younger more liberal priests (curates, who were there as 'apprentices' as it were, with limited responsibilities, usually for a couple of years).

The business leaders and old families of Toowoomba, whose values were conservative and traditional, objected to the unconventional and ostensibly radical ideas and behaviour of Bell and Parry. They grew their hair long, preferred mixing with 'hippies' to those in the parish's traditional youth

¹⁰ *Courier-Mail*, 3 March 1970, p. 1.

¹¹ Strong, diary entry, 15 October 1968.

groups, opposed the Vietnam War, discussed the morality of conscription with students in Religious Instruction classes, and took part in a peace demonstration that was reported on the front page of the Toowoomba newspaper.¹² The last straw was a 'rock mass' in which their hippie friends, with their strange clothes, 'psychedelic' music, incense and long hair took over the church. It was all too much for Lupton and the churchwardens. Bell argued that hippies had a 'redemptive dimension' for others. They spoke of the primacy of love, they wanted freedom and peace for all and they were exploring new lifestyles. Lupton saw long-time members of the parish agitated, annoyed and increasingly alienated.

Strong struggled to understand what he saw as a spirit of confrontation and defiance in the curates. 'It is all very sad', he wrote in his diary, 'but they do not seem able to listen to reason and are determined to go their own way'.¹³ Their long hair, increasingly fashionable among the young, did not help. Strong saw in long hair an indicator of non-conformity, and he could be quite disparaging about males with long hair. In April 1969, he gave the invocation at the university graduation in the City Hall. His diary entry records that of the 500 students, 'Most had short hair. Only a few long-haired ones'.¹⁴ Two days later, at St Francis' College, he saw some junior clergy standing outside, whom he saw 'through a side view. I thought they were women with their long hair'.¹⁵ He enjoyed the story of the mother whose son grew his hair long. The mother said she had always wanted a long-haired child but

¹² *Toowoomba Chronicle*, 7 October 1969, p. 1.

¹³ Strong, diary entry, 12 October 1969.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 April 1969.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 26 April 1969.

naturally thought it would be a daughter,¹⁶ or the story of the mother, whose teenage son was rushed to hospital with appendicitis. She asked if a barber was available too. Why did she want a barber? Answer: to cut his long hair while he was under the anaesthetic!¹⁷

Within a few days the Toowoomba controversy became a public matter. Under large headlines, the *Courier-Mail* interpreted the story as a sacking over long hair.¹⁸ 'People were leaving St Luke's because of the appearance and attitude of both men', said the rector, Archdeacon Lupton.¹⁹ The story quickly grew and gained national coverage. Radio and television interviews were sought. Dozens of letters were written to newspapers, both for and against the sacked curates, and there was even a public meeting of protest at Queens Park, Toowoomba. Both Bell and Parry were photographed with their attractive wives. Lorraine Parry was a former Queensland 1966 Barrier Reef Coral Queen. Bell claimed he had been sacked because he had tried to convert young people unacceptable to the staid congregation of St Luke's. 'I think I have been kicked out because I have identified myself with bikies, hippies and drop-outs', he said. 'And if the Church won't have me because I wear my hair fairly long, then it won't take the Gospel to the young people.'²⁰ It was as much the Anglican Church on media trial as the curates.

¹⁶ Ibid., 29 November 1968.

¹⁷ Ibid., 15 March 1969.

¹⁸ *Courier-Mail*, 15 October 1969, p. 1. 'Archbishop suspends two curates', read the headline.

¹⁹ Ibid., 15 October 1969, p. 1. See also *Courier-Mail* 16 October 1969, p. 1; and several letters to the editor, *Courier-Mail*, 17 October 1969, p. 2.

²⁰ *Anglican*, 21 October 1969, p. 5.

In the mind of the public and in the Anglican Church, the dismissal became symbolic of a conflict between generations. Among younger clergy and members of church youth organisations there was widespread support for what they saw as the unconventional and idealistic curates versus the stuffy and ecclesiastical establishment of the Country Party conservatives of Toowoomba. Strong found it impossible to convince people that it was a case of the breakdown of relations. He sent out to his clergy a statement headed 'Rectors and Assistant Curates', explaining the relationship between the two, and adding quite rightly that 'an important and underlying factor in all this is that of Authority'.²¹ But for the press, it was a sensational case of the battle lines between conservatism and liberalism, between an older generation and a younger generation, between 'resistors' and 'accommodators'.

10.3 Continuing Issues: St Martin's Hospital

Another issue that sat like a ticking bomb, and which would cause immense anguish in the Diocese in the decade ahead, was the fate of St Martin's Hospital.²² Following the dedication of the cathedral extensions in November 1968, the Lord Mayor, Clem Jones, formally proposed the idea of a 'Cathedral Square', to be created as a joint project between the Brisbane City Council and the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane. Since his election in 1961, the Lord

²¹ Archbishop Philip Strong, 'Rectors and Assistant Curates', 20 October 1969, kept in the Diocesan Archives, Church House, 419 Ann St, Brisbane.

²² For a short history of the St Martin's Hospital, see Lesley Williams, 'Laborem Non Recuso: a short history of St Martin's War Memorial Hospital, Brisbane', in John Pearn (ed.), *Outback Medicine: some vignettes of pioneering medicine*, Amphion Press, Brisbane, 1994, pp. 165-196; Val Donovan, *St Martin's Hospital: a history*, Boolarong Press, Brisbane, Queensland, 1995 and *The Making of St Martin's Hospital*, Society of the Sacred Advent, Albion, Queensland, no date.

Mayor had worked hard to reinvigorate the city. He wanted to establish it as a major commercial and administrative metropolis, by improving the city's infrastructure and appearance, and attracting people back into the city to work, shop and spend their leisure hours.²³ A city high rise boom was well under way, and the plan to develop King George Square was now successfully nearing completion. Jones, with an 'enthusiasm for inner-city civic development', set his sights on beautifying the city further by developing two more squares, Anzac Square (between Ann and Queen Streets) and Cathedral Square, adjacent to St John's Cathedral.²⁴

That there had been some informal thoughts about a cathedral square for some time before the cathedral dedications, is suggested by an article in the *Courier-Mail*, by the 'churches' writer', Doug Rose, on 12 July 1967, in which he highlighted the possible clearing of buildings around the cathedral, including St Martin's Hospital, to create what he called 'Cathedral Place'.²⁵ Strong was irked that the idea had been made public prematurely.²⁶ It began to raise anxieties. Student nurses were unlikely to enrol in a hospital that was mooted for demolition, despite the assurance given to the Matron, Sister Joan SSA, that the hospital had at least another ten years of life.²⁷ A

²³ John R. Cole, *Shaping a City: Greater Brisbane 1925-1985*, William Brooks, Eagle Farm, Queensland, 1984, p. 238-239.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-246.

²⁵ *Courier-Mail*, 6 July 1967, p. 5 and 11 July 1967, p. 9.

²⁶ Strong, diary entry, 6 July 1967.

²⁷ *The Advent: the quarterly paper of the Society of the Sacred Advent*, February 1968, p. 6; *Advent*, February 1970, pp. 6-7; Donovan, *St Martin's Hospital*, p. 93.



Fig. 36 Philip Strong dedicating new furnishings at St Martin's Hospital

meeting between Roland St John and Mr J. C. Slaughter, Executive Adviser to the Brisbane City Council, and a subsequent letter from Clem Jones, indicating the Council's readiness now to buy the 'real estate required in connection with the proposed Cathedral Square'²⁸ led to a determination at a joint sitting of Diocesan Council, Cathedral Chapter and the Diocesan Property and Finance Board to 'welcome the establishment of the proposed Cathedral Square, and ... to cooperate in the scheme' with certain conditions.²⁹

The great advantage of Cathedral Square was aesthetic, the removal of 'buildings of lesser significance' to reveal to 'those passing along nearby

²⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 118

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102. See also the report, 'City Square No. 3 Gets a Move On', *Courier-Mail*, 11 March 1969, p. 1.

roadways' the beauty and grandeur of the cathedral.³⁰ The cathedral would become visible, a landmark, a notable feature of Brisbane city. The removal of lesser buildings – Brisbane House, Marella, Eskbank, St Martin's Hospital and Eton House, all situated between the Cathedral and Wharf St – would also solve another problem, the continuing cost of administering these Diocesan 'obsolete and obsolescent buildings'.³¹ St Martin's Hospital suffered from being a small hospital (catering for only 70 patients, including children), with increasingly inadequate facilities. The lift was now too small and had been known to break down and the small ground floor exits now constituted a fire hazard.³² It had no room for expansion, and could not compete with the large government and private hospitals that were being established.³³ It was these larger hospitals, with over 400 beds, that were more likely in the future to be able to offer fully recognised courses of training for nurses.

But not all were convinced. The demolition of St Martin's Hospital aroused considerable angst, even though most could see that it would become increasingly unviable as a hospital in the years to come. To allay concerns Diocesan Council proposed building a new hospital elsewhere: perhaps on the site of St Clare's Home in Taringa?³⁴ But it was not just the loss of a hospital that was the worry for some, it was the loss of the building

³⁰ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 122.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122. Eton House was a three story private hotel on land leased from the Diocese. On the ground floor was 'Barnes Auto', a garage and towing service, whose motto above its front doors read, 'We never sleep'. Marella and Eskbank were guest houses, where many of the St Martin's Hospital nurses rented rooms. Brisbane House was a small office complex, with shops on its ground floor.

³² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1971*, p. 117-118. The Fire Brigade report of 1966 listed requirements needing attention, and the lift broke down on 1 June 1970 trapping patients inside. Sr Joan's report is printed in full in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1971*, pp. 123-124 with an account of the lift failure and other problems.

³³ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 123. See also chapter 5, p. 112.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

itself. A motion at the 1969 Diocesan Synod was a straw in the wind. Moved by Canon Ivor Church, Principal of St Francis' College, and seconded by Fr Alexander Sharwood, Warden of St John's College, University of Queensland (and Warden of the SSA) – two senior priests – the motion sought a 'model plan' to illustrate what the Square would look like, with the ostensibly subsidiary purpose 'to see whether it is feasible to retain some portion of the present St Martin's Hospital building ... without unduly disturbing the whole concept of the Cathedral square'.³⁵ St John quickly and successfully moved the deletion of this last section, but it was a sign of the growing concern.

Two factors fostered dissent. First the hospital had nostalgic memories for many. Patients could recall their gratitude after a successful hospital stay, nurses the pleasure of their training, members of the Diocese the pride of their own Diocesan hospital. Over five decades the building had become part of the identity of the Diocese. To demolish such a building seemed somehow to diminish its significance, to underplay the importance of the past, and to moderate Diocesan identity. In a similar way, it is sometimes perilously difficult to close unviable churches. Generations suddenly cite family weddings or baptisms or great-grandparents' membership and resist the loss of 'their' church and the fond family memories associated with the building.

Secondly, Brisbane was on the edge of an interest in its older buildings. In 1965, there was hardly a whiff of protest when tenders were called to demolish the old Tivoli Theatre and the Hibernian Building to make way for

³⁵ Ibid., p. 344.

King George Square.³⁶ Fourteen years later, the destruction of the 1886 Belle Vue Hotel caused major unrest.³⁷ Brisbane had awoken in these years to a growing concern to protect its older buildings, many of which were of distinctive and gracious architecture. The interest in preservation was a reaction to the seemingly irresistible impulse of economic 'progress' and development, and the demands of becoming a high-rise city. Brisbane city seemed to be in danger of losing its identity as its older landmark buildings were demolished to make way for civic and high-rise developments. Resistance to the demolition of St Martin's Hospital, though an internal Diocesan matter, soon excited outside support, and was an early indicator of interest in preserving distinctive heritage buildings.

On 31 March 1971, the SSA reluctantly closed the hospital. The Matron's report listed the problems: shortage of staff, wearing out of equipment, anxieties about the lift (a patient being discharged and her husband and two nurses had recently been trapped in the lift), lack of patients and consequent shortfall in finances. Some of this was due to the uncertainty now surrounding the hospital's future.³⁸ The closure was inevitable, but the demolition was not, and on 20 May 1971, the 'Save St Martin's Committee' was formed. The hospital mattered less now than the building, and following a QC opinion that the building was owned, not by the Diocese, but by the Corporation of the Lesser Chapter of the Cathedral in trust, the stage was set

³⁶ Vivien Harris, 'From Town to Metropolis', in Rod Fisher and Barry Shaw (eds), *Brisbane: People, Places and Progress*, Brisbane History Group Papers, no. 14, 1995, p. 140

³⁷ It was demolished by night on 21 April 1979. More than 500 people attended a wake nearby organised by the Dean of St John's Cathedral, Ian George. See Harris, 'From Town to Metropolis', p. 140.

³⁸ *Advent*, March 1971, p. 7.

for inevitable legal challenges concerning who had responsibility for the hospital building and their obligations. The legal challenges went all the way to the High Court which ruled in November 1976 that the Lesser Chapter did indeed own the building in trust, but that the removal of the building was possible. Whether possible or not, by late 1976 it was no longer feasible. The climate of preserving old buildings was now too strong, and the bitterness in the Diocese too divisive. The clandestine destruction of the Belle Vue, the loss of the Regent Theatre, uncertainty surrounding the People's Palace and problems with the demolition of properties around Anzac Square had created an almost impossible climate to consider the demolition of St Martin's. The President of the National Trust called such demolitions, the 'wanton destruction of Australia's heritage', and casting his eye at St Martin's, he suggested the Diocese find 'an alternative and viable use of the building'.³⁹ One other factor made this the inevitable way forward: the original protagonists for the Cathedral Square – Roland St John, Clem Jones and Philip Strong – had all retired.⁴⁰

The result was that the old hospital lay idle for some years, many projects considered for its future use, before eventually being refurbished as the Diocesan Offices in 1990.⁴¹ The cathedral today is surrounded by commercial buildings, including high-rise office blocks either side and over the road. It lacks visibility. One can only wonder what it would have looked like

³⁹ Donovan, *St Martin's Hospital*, p. 160.

⁴⁰ St John retired at the end of 1974, after 28 years as Registrar and following ill health. Clem Jones stepped down as Lord Mayor in June 1975.

⁴¹ It remained unused until 1990, when it became the Diocesan Offices and was renamed St Martin's House. The dilemma in the meantime concerned the propriety of using the building for anything other than that for which it was intended by the original builders, and as significantly, the cost of refurbishment.

had something similar to King George Square, which sets off the Town Hall so beautifully, been achievable.

10.4 Farewell to Strong

After more than 34 years as a bishop, Strong was the senior bishop in the Anglican Communion at the time of his retirement, and just a week before his official farewell, he received news of a knighthood from the Queen. It delighted him and many others. But not even this accolade could disguise the sadness he felt at his public farewell. It was not just that his retirement was forced. The farewell came immediately after the end of Diocesan Synod and the long and controversial vote the day before, to rescind the 1965 rule opposing gambling, a vote that left him deeply distressed. He publicly lamented at his farewell the slide in 'Christian standards'.⁴²

The farewell was held at Morris Hall, Churchie, and after various speeches, Strong replied, thanking others for their friendship and kind wishes, and then recalled a strange and prophetic episode that had happened on the eve of his consecration in October 1936. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Gordon Lang, and his wife had invited Strong to dinner at Lambeth Palace. Afterwards, Lang took Strong into his study, prayed with him and gave him a blessing before a beautiful crucifix. Then, pointing to the crucifix, Lang said: 'You can be thankful that there will be more of that in your life, than there is in mine'. Presumably Lang was thinking of the demanding nature of

⁴² *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1970, p. 5.

the New Guinea Anglican Mission for which Strong was being consecrated.⁴³ It already had a reputation as a mission area, forged in the fields of suffering, a reputation which would be reinforced during Strong's tenure, when eleven missionaries would die at the hands of the Japanese in World War II, and again, when hundreds of lay and ordained members of the Anglican Church would perish in January 1951, as a result of the spectacular eruption of the Mt Lamington volcano.⁴⁴ Strong returned to the strange and prophetic words of Archbishop Lang on a number of public occasions, which he saw as a reminder of the sacrificial nature of the ordained call, and which Strong thought was 'the central thing about the Christian faith ... [and] the great aim in his life'.⁴⁵

In his school days, Strong's housemaster had summed up Strong as a splendid 'example of loyalty, perseverance and absolute devotion to duty and honour'.⁴⁶ Strong brought these qualities to bear on his faith. His loyalty, sincerity and commitment to Christ and His Church was total. He was passionate about the Gospel, so much so, that doubt appears to have been unknown to him. He was a hard worker, rarely taking a day off. He expected others to be just as disciplined and committed. In the United States in 1963,

⁴³ For an authoritative account of the beginnings and development of the New Guinea Mission, see David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891-1942*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1977. For a short summary see, Anne Chittleborough, *The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891-1976*, Australian Board of Missions, Stanmore, New South Wales, 1976.

⁴⁴ David Hand, 'Mount Lamington 21.1.51', in John Titterington (ed.), *Strongly Grows the Modawa Tree: factual essays outlining the growth of the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea*, Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1991, p.16; Frank Coaldrake, *Flood Tide in the Pacific: Church and Community Cascade into a New Age*, Australian Board of Missions, Stanmore, New South Wales, 1963, p. 31; *Papuan Pastor: the story of George Ambo, auxiliary bishop of New Guinea*, Anglican Mission, Lae, Papua New Guinea, 1969, p. 8, which cites 4,000 dead, including 40 teachers.

⁴⁵ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1970, p. 5.

⁴⁶ School report, 1917, as received from the archivist of Strong's school, The King's School, Worcester.

soon after his enthronement in Brisbane, prior to the Toronto Congress in Canada, he was billeted with other clergy at St Luke's Clergy House in Evanston, Chicago. While he went to bed mid-evening on a Saturday, he was aware that talk and laughter among the other clergy went on until the early hours of the morning, and was astonished at the amount of alcohol being drunk. 'I can't stand it. It seems amazing to me that they should in a clergy house sit up drinking, talking and laughing till [the] early hours of Sunday morning, and the Rector at that!!'⁴⁷

His passionate commitment to the Gospel gave him a resilience that enabled him to persevere against the odds. When the New Guinea Anglican Mission was shaken and the inchoate indigenous leadership decimated – once as a result of the Japanese invasion of Papua New Guinea, and then again as a result of the Mt Lamington eruption – many men would have become discouraged and lost the energy to re-build. There is no sense that Strong lost any of his determination or belief that God would restore what had been lost. Hand in hand with his conviction, sincerity, resilience and commitment, and sustaining it all, was a deep prayerfulness. When he was bruised and hurt, he looked to God to try and understand and manage his feelings. Almost every diary entry is headed with a record of where he made his communion that morning and who was there.⁴⁸ The daily Eucharist and the saying of Morning and Evening Prayer were the bedrocks of his spirituality, as they were for all Anglo-Catholic clergy. After Halse's death,

⁴⁷ Strong, diary entry, 22 June 1963.

⁴⁸ For example, his diary for some days in October 1962 reads: Tuesday 9th October 1962: celebrated in chapel [Dogura]... Wednesday 10th October: celebrated at Dogura ... Thursday 11th October: travelling ... Friday 12th October: Mass at St Paul's church, Samarai ... Saturday 13th October: Mass, St Paul's church, Samarai ... Sunday 14th October: Mass, Samarai and preached at Evensong'.

uncertain whether God wanted him to allow his name to go forward for election to Brisbane, he resolved to make 'a daily pleading of the obsecration of the Litany ... that God would ... make very clear what He wills, and ... take charge of [the election], that it might be according to His will and for the good of His church ... This I have been doing each night ever since, and most nights I go to the Cathedral [at Dogura] before I go to bed or do it after Compline to plead before the Blessed Sacrament'.⁴⁹

At ordinations in Brisbane he was known to wear the vestments of all orders. A dalmatic represented the order of sub-deacons, the tunic the order of deacons, the chasuble the order of priests, and the mitre the order of bishops. It was a way of showing that all orders came together to witness and approve the ordination. As with other clergy, he would have said the special prayers while robing with each item of clothing, each prayer a reminder of some aspect of the call of Christ. It must have been perilously hot in the heat of a summer's day. So seriously did he wish to convey the significance of the moment of ordination, that he would raise his voice to almost shouting pitch on the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost [Spirit]', and press down so firmly upon the kneeling candidate's head, that the word went round that if you looked carefully enough you could see the grooves created in the floor from so many knees pushed into it!

Strong also contributed to the Diocese of Brisbane an excellent knowledge of the international character of Anglicanism. Experience in England and New Guinea, and membership of Lambeth Conferences since

⁴⁹ Strong, diary entry, 18 September 1962. The obsecration of the Litany included the full Litany in the *Book of Common Prayer* plus special intentions, before the Blessed Sacrament.

1938, gave him a heightened sense of belonging to an international body with mutual obligations to one another.⁵⁰ His missionary heart, and his belief since childhood that privilege brought responsibility, leant him a greater openness to the needs of less resourced dioceses in the Anglican Communion, and this is why he was so responsive to the 1963 Toronto Congress in Canada, with its call for 'mutual responsibility and interdependence'.⁵¹

All these personal qualities fitted Strong well for the social and theological challenges of the Sixties. Other qualities were more ambiguous in their value. Theologically, morally and socially, he did not seem to move out of the 1930s. This conservative predisposition blinded him to new currents of thinking, and stymied a more open assessment of the value of new ideas and trends. He could not see, for example, that the bonds of affection for the Queen and for Britain, though still warm, were beginning to give way to a necessary confidence in Australian nationalism. To have read this, and then offered leadership to position the Church accordingly was a skill that was needed at the time. In a strange paradox, it was a skill Strong had in Papua New Guinea. There, he had seen clearly the need to indigenise the church in New Guinea, and took steps to stimulate the indigenous leadership after World War II, especially the training of Papua New Guinean priests. This policy culminated in 1960, in the consecration of George Koiaio Ambo of Gona village, as the first indigenous bishop in New Guinea, at a time when

⁵⁰ Strong attended the 1938, 1948 and 1958 Lambeth Conferences as Bishop of New Guinea.

⁵¹ For an example of Strong's commitment to Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence (MRI), see his Diocesan Synod sermon 10 June 1963, in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1963*, pp. 268-277. In 1965, he gave a series of addresses in New Zealand on the mission of the church in which MRI was again given prominence. See Strong, diary entry, 15 May 1965. At his last Diocesan Synod, he listed 'mutual responsibility' as among the more important dimensions of his episcopate in Brisbane. See 'The Presidential Address of the Most Reverend Philip Strong at the Opening of the Brisbane Diocesan Synod, 15 June 1970', *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, pp. 269-292.

many still thought such indigenous episcopal leadership was years, if not decades, away.⁵²

Strong's attitude to authority also had an ambiguous legacy in Brisbane Diocese. He had a great respect for those in authority, even deference. He assumed that those holding positions of leadership were men and women of moral integrity, and would live up to the trust invested in them. It was an idealistic, almost innocently naïve, attitude. That public figures might be marked as much by private vices as public virtues seemed to be a foreign idea to him. Betrayal of trust was inconceivable. Consequently he tended to over-regard those in authority. When he preached at a Memorial service in Brisbane in November 1963, to mark the death by assassination of American President John F. Kennedy, he used as his text 'there was a man sent by God whose name was John'.⁵³ Kennedy was an 'instrument of God', he said. In a phrase revealing his own attitudes to those in authority, he drew on St Paul's letter to the Romans, chapter 13, saying: 'The powers that be are ordained of God'. 'Those that come forth as leaders of their people out of the medley of political battles are endued with special powers from God and their natural gifts sanctified by him for the well-being of mankind. Surely this has been so of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.' Even allowing for the fact that this was a funeral eulogy, when it is more difficult to offer a critique of a person's character, these comments are not necessary, unless sincerely believed. Such sanctification of an individual, no matter how good, displays at best, an

⁵² For an account of George Ambo's life, see Elin Johnston, *Bishop George – man of two worlds*, privately published, Victoria, 2003; *Papuan Pastor: the story of George Ambo, auxiliary bishop of New Guinea*, Anglican Mission, Lae, New Guinea, 1969.

⁵³ Strong, diary entry, 27 November 1963, which reproduces the sermon.

idealism about human nature and at worst, a naively uncritical regard for those in authority.

Not dissimilar sentiments of adulation were made when he preached at the Memorial liturgy for Australia's Prime Minister Harold Holt, after he went missing, presumed drowned, at Cheviot Beach, Portsea, Victoria in December 1967. Again he re-stated that 'the powers that be are ordained of God' and later, that those in authority are 'God's ministers'.⁵⁴ He praised Holt's fidelity: 'the mark of the whole life and work of our late Prime Minister'. 'Fidelity implies loyalty and trustworthiness, and these surely have shone forth wonderfully in him', both in his early days at school and university, then in his public career as a politician and as a husband and father. He was a 'man of Christian faith, of unquestioned integrity, honour and loyalty in public life'. He inspired confidence, and 'no scandal or intrigue ever marred his own reputation'.⁵⁵ It was too effusive, although many congratulated Strong on his eulogy, not only for his words of praise for Holt, but also for his concluding remarks.⁵⁶ He could be an inspiring preacher, and towards the end of his eulogy he called on all Australians to meet the challenge of the hour, and to show their strength of character and unity through renewed self-dedication, and so 'rise above the adversity which has befallen us'. They were inspiring words, calling for a mustering of courage then, as once he had called for a similar mustering of courage in the dark days of the Japanese invasion of New Guinea.

⁵⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1967, p. 2 which reproduces the funeral panegyric.

⁵⁵ For the authorised biography of Harold Holt, see Tom Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, New South Wales, 2005.

⁵⁶ Strong, diary entry, 22 December 1967.

When those in authority betrayed their trust, Strong could feel mightily dismayed. When the Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen reneged on an election promise not to extend hotel trading hours, Strong was flabbergasted at this duplicity and vigorously tried to call him to account.

Not only did Strong have a high regard for others in authority, he expected respect for his own authority too. It was ordained of God, a theology that led some to see 'an old fashioned spiritual authoritarianism' as part of his character.⁵⁷ It was born partly of 26 years of unchallenged authority in New Guinea, and partly of the Anglo-Catholic belief that the diocesan bishop was the Father-in-God to all priests and people, with direct responsibility for all that happened. It may also have been born of an 'imperial' background. Strong grew up with a landed gentry background. His mother was a Wingfield-Digby, whose family seat was Sherborne Castle in Dorset and he was given an English public school education at The King's School, Worcester, which trained their students from privileged backgrounds for leadership.

From time to time, Strong sent out, what clergy amusingly called, 'yellow perils', statements and rulings, on yellow paper, covering a whole range of issues, indicating Strong's expectations. Some in Brisbane thought he went too close at times to claiming a monopoly of the Holy Spirit, as if he alone understood God's will.⁵⁸ When he was elected to Brisbane, he had no shadow of doubt, that God had clearly revealed His will. But any authoritarianism would never be accepted in Brisbane, especially with entrenched, knowledgeable and powerful figures such as the Registrar,

⁵⁷ David Hand, *Modawa: Papua New Guinea and Me 1946-2002*, SalPress, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, 2002, p. 223.

⁵⁸ Strong, diary entry, 25 June 1964.

Roland St John, and various archdeacons, who worked under the expectation that they were to give a lead in debates at Synod and at meetings of Diocesan bodies. But if there was a leaning towards authoritarianism, it was tempered by an 'even more intense humility', as his obituary in *The Times* noted.⁵⁹ When Strong was forced to accept the move to Farsley, his first act on entering the house had been to kneel and seek God's blessing.

Over 500 people attended the farewell for Strong at Morris Hall. Though most could see the need for a change of leadership, all agreed that they had had at the helm for the past seven years an archbishop of unquestionable integrity, prayerfulness, courage and high moral standards. 'To me as an onlooker', said the Roman Catholic Archbishop Patrick O'Donnell, 'the Archbishop was a very spiritual man, who took the great fundamentals of the faith and stood firm. He never deviated from his duty, no matter how unpleasant it might have seemed.'⁶⁰

10.5 *The Election of a Successor*

The Archbishop Election committee met and this time elected an Australian, a Queenslander noted as an outstanding missionary statesman, with fervour for the gospel, energy for ecumenism, deep integrity and above all, a keen sense of the changing times. The Reverend Canon Frank William Coaldrake had been born in Brisbane on 12 March 1912, and educated at Brisbane Grammar School and the University of Queensland, graduating in 1938 with a BA in

⁵⁹ Hand, *Modawa*, p. 223, which reproduces the obituary written for *The Times* by David Hand.

⁶⁰ *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1970, p. 5.

Mental and Moral Philosophy.⁶¹ His leadership abilities were recognised early. During his student days, he was involved in the leadership of the Australian Student Christian Movement, exercising a 'dynamic influence', provoking other students to think about issues of war and peace, of justice and personal destiny.⁶² In 1940, he was elected President of the National Union of Australian University Students. But more significantly, he became a noted pacifist during the War years, and founding editor of *The Peacemaker*, an Australia-wide journal, whose aim was to unite the nine pacifist groups then in Australia.⁶³ He helped set up the Federal Pacifist Council of Australia, and became its President in mid-1943. But his pacifism, especially during a World War, was not popular.⁶⁴ His ordination was delayed to 1943 in Melbourne, after which he served as Vicar of St Cuthbert's East Brunswick as well as working for the Brotherhood of St Laurence. This latter post gave him a deep understanding of the realities of poverty in Australia.

After the War was over, he moved to Sydney and the University of Sydney to undertake the training necessary to go as a missionary to post-War Japan. He was the first Australian civilian to enter Occupied Japan after the War, under the auspices of the Australian Board of Missions (ABM). He was motivated by a belief that his pacifism and his priestly vocation impelled him to find some way of forging a mission of reconciliation between Australians and the Japanese. From 1947 to 1956 he worked in Japan under difficult

⁶¹ Ibid., 1 August 1970, p. 3.

⁶² David Garnsey, 'Frank William Coaldrake: priest', *Peacemaker*, vol. 32, nos 8-9, August-September 1970, p. 5.

⁶³ Shirley Abraham, 'Frank William Coaldrake: 12-3-1912 – 22-7-1970', *Peacemaker*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Coaldrake's mother was also a pacifist. Did she convince him in his youth? Or was she an adult convert following his pacifist views? See *Anglican*, 19 October 1956, p. 6.



Fig. 37 Frank Coaldrake with his wife Maida and children at the time of his election

1970

circumstances. Food rations meant occasional hunger, and post-War military sensitivities meant a constraint on speaking out.

He returned to Australia on furlough in 1950, looking emaciated, and spoke everywhere he could, delivering his message of reconciliation in cathedrals and parish halls, in newspapers and radio broadcasts.⁶⁵ Almost 5,000 'heard the story of Christianity's part in the building of a new Japan'.⁶⁶ He brought with him ten bamboo crosses representing the martyred missionaries of New Guinea, five to be given to the missionaries' home parishes – in Brisbane Diocese, at Holy Trinity Fortitude Valley, St Paul's

⁶⁵ William H. Coaldrake (ed.), *Japan From War to Peace: the Coaldrake Records 1939-1956*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2003, pp. 265-281. See also 'The Message of Reconciliation', *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1950, p. 164.

⁶⁶ *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1950, p. 164.

Ipswich and St James' Toowoomba – and the other five to be given to the church in New Guinea. At St John's Reid, (Canberra, the home of the missionary martyr, May Hayman) they quickly hid the cross and only after the passage of nearly three decades was it rediscovered and brought out on display.⁶⁷ Although a packed St John's Cathedral heard him speak on 23 April 1950, his message was not appropriated. Later, Coaldrake wondered at the fear that had 'warped the mind of even the Christian among us' against the Japanese. Coinciding with his furlough, and following the invitation from Archbishop Halse, who had visited Japan in 1947, ABM had arranged for the Presiding Bishop, Michael Yashiro, of the tiny Anglican Church in Japan (the Nippon Seikokai) to follow Coaldrake, visit Australia and explain the needs and opportunities for partnership with the Japanese church. But not one substantial offer of support was forthcoming, the War wounds still too raw.⁶⁸

In 1956 Coaldrake was invited to be the Chairman of the organisation that had sent him to Japan, the Australian Board of Missions. He was reluctant to leave Japan.⁶⁹ He had grown fond of the people, and was leaving behind a blossoming ministry: 'thirteen places of regular meetings or services ...another four in the preliminary stages of development ... a regular monthly schedule of forty-five services of bible classes scattered over the whole of our 3,000 square miles of parish'.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Church Chronicle*, 1 May 1950, p. 133. St John's, Reid was the home parish of missionary nurse, May Hayman. At St Paul's' Ipswich, the home parish of teacher Mavis Parkinson, is an inscription below the cross, which reads: 'An offering from the Japanese Anglican Church to St Paul's. The Bishop of South Tokyo, L. S. Maekawa, has expressed the thought of the Nippon Sei Kokwai (the Holy Catholic Church of Japan) concerning the martyrdom of Australian missionaries: "With regard to God – repentance; With regard to man – reconciliation"'.

⁶⁸ Coaldrake (ed.) *Japan From War to Peace*, p. 23 and p. 289.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

⁷⁰ *Church Chronicle*, 1 December 1956, p.360.

The Chairman of ABM was usually a bishop, a sign of the regard for Coaldrake. He was now considered a missionary strategist of international stature. In a booklet entitled *Flood Tide in the Pacific*, (published in 1963) he set out his understanding of mission in the post-War decades in the Pacific area – the need to move from a colonial attitude of sending missionaries to one of equal partnership with indigenously led churches.⁷¹ He was instrumental in shaping the 1963 Toronto Congresses' theme of 'mutual responsibility and interdependence', in which it was stated that a 'single mission holds us together in one Body. To use the words "older" or "younger" or "sending" or "receiving" with respect to Churches is unreal and untrue in the world and in our Communion. Mission is not the kindness of the lucky to the unlucky; it is mutual, united obedience to the one God whose mission it is.'⁷² In 1970, he was appointed by General Synod as the first Australian priest representative to the newly formed international Anglican Consultative Council.⁷³ He was outspoken, capable, compassionate and zealous. He had a good mind that was open to new scholarship, without compromising what he saw as the essential teachings of Jesus.

At the age of 58, on 10 July 1970, he was elected Archbishop of Brisbane, the first Australian to be elected to Brisbane Diocese. The calibre of the man is suggested by the Election Committee's belief that his total inexperience in episcopal orders would not be an insurmountable hindrance. The choice of this radical social thinker and worker was a recognition of his

⁷¹ Frank Coaldrake, *Flood Tide in the Pacific: Church and Community Cascade into a New Age*, Australian Board of Missions, Stanmore, New South Wales, 1963.

⁷² E. R. Fairweather (ed.), *Anglican Congress 1963: report of proceedings*, Toronto, Committee of the Anglican Congress, 1963, pp. 120-121.

⁷³ *Church Chronicle*, 1 September 1970, p. 6.

talents and dedication. But within a fortnight, happiness and anticipation was turned to shock and disbelief. Before he could be consecrated and installed as archbishop, Coaldrake suffered a heart attack and died suddenly on 22 July 1970. The Anglican Church lost a leader, who appeared to have much to offer the Diocese and the Australian church in the years ahead.

The Election Committee met again, and fastened on Felix Arnott as a successor. He had given the eulogy at the Requiem Mass for Coaldrake, held at Christ Church St Laurence in Sydney, and, as with Strong preaching at Halse's funeral, his presence on this sad and poignant occasion perhaps brought him more strongly to the notice of electors. Other factors worked in Arnott's favour. He had spent some time in ministry in Brisbane, from 1942 to 1946, as Rector of St Mary's Kangaroo Point, and at the same time (due to the war time shortage of priests) as Warden of St John's College (when the university and the college were at Kangaroo Point). His academic ability was well known. He had gained a First at Oxford in Classics and Theology, and from 1946 to 1963 was Warden of St Paul's College, within the University of Sydney. In this time, he oversaw the expansion of St Paul's in buildings and student intake, was a regular participant in a radio show and was recognised as a fine scholar and teacher, with a special interest in 17th century church history. His lectures in ecclesiastical history, addresses and sermons reflected a mind that was able to grasp complex ideas and convey them logically and simply. He was also a keen ecumenist, having been convinced of a call to the ordained life after attending the famous university mission led by William Temple, then Bishop of Manchester, during which Temple raised

the vision of a united world through a united church. All these qualities and experiences suited Arnott to be elected as the successor to Coaldrake.

Shortly before his enthronement he received a telegram from one of his former students at St Paul's College – Gough Whitlam, then Leader of the Opposition and who was to become Prime Minister just a year later. The telegram read, '*Felix est urbs cuius translatus est felix*'. ('Happy is the city to which Felix is translated'.)⁷⁴ His link with Whitlam would lead to membership of the Royal Commission on Human Relationships, one of three commissioners, appointed in 1974. He would also be a founding member of ARCIC – the Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission – suiting his interest in ecumenism, and being a work he much enjoyed and believed in. But all this was in the future. On 17 October 1970, he was enthroned as Archbishop of Brisbane, a post he would hold until retirement in 1980. He faced a Diocese which was grappling, and not very successfully, with rapid social and cultural change, and slightly anxious at the gradual slip towards the margins of social life in the State of Queensland.

10.6 *Some Conclusions*

If numerical and financial growth are the indicators of success, then the Fifties were the 'golden years' for the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane. Church attendance increased at a faster rate than population growth, suggesting that the Diocese (as with other churches) was meeting the needs

⁷⁴ 'Public Tribute to the Most Reverend F. R. Arnott, on the occasion of the Archbishop's Resignation as Archbishop of Brisbane, Morris Hall, Church of England Grammar School, 19 June 1980', kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

of the post-War generation. The staff of clergy in the Diocese almost doubled in the decade from 1950 to 1960, the number of parishes increased by 25 per cent, new churches and buildings were built at a faster rate than at any other time in the Diocese's history, and the annual income of parishes quadrupled. Sunday Schools were packed, and an increase in vocations led to St Francis' College having record numbers of ordinands in residence by the late Fifties.⁷⁵

From the mid-Sixties, numerical and financial growth slowed and declined. It has been the argument of this thesis that a combination of factors contributed to this decline. Externally, a significant number of social and cultural changes worked together to challenge Diocesan life and practice. These changes were so vast and so immediate that it was difficult to find the mental space objectively to understand them and their significance, and then to make a suitable response. Internally, theological debate and Diocesan conflict absorbed time and energy and further inhibited an appropriate response.

It is important to point out here that a diocese cannot be measured solely by numerical and financial advance or decline. Although these may be indicators of how well or poorly the church is carrying out its mission, they cannot be the only indicators. At the heart of Christianity is an ostensibly failed moment – the death of Jesus. But this 'failure' became the cornerstone of Christianity. There are plenty of times in history when the Christian faith has appeared at low ebb numerically and financially, but only because it was being true to its calling. For the historian, numerical and financial advance

⁷⁵ See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1970*, p. 116, for a statistical summary from 1946-1970.

may be a suitable measure of a church's success, but for Christians other measures will be as much, and more, important. They will want to ask: 'To what extent was the church honest to Christ? Did it always seek the glory of God? Have lives been changed as a result of the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments? Was the church honest to its past traditions and customs? Did the church faithfully carry out Christ's command to "do this in remembrance of me?" Were love and faithfulness the hallmarks of its character? Did it try to set straight crooked things in society?' If numerical and financial loss came as a result of trying to meet these kinds of questions, then that may have been the cost, but it is not necessarily a measure of failure.

There were a variety of responses in the Diocese to falling numbers. Some said that the refining of the church was a good thing. As those on the fringe fell away, a core of more committed would be left. The faith of this core would contain such focussed energy that they would be enabled to carry out Christ's mission unhampered by the lukewarm. It was an odd argument. If the church was unable to integrate those on the fringe, who had some sympathy to its cause, how could it expect to convert those completely outside?

Others thought that the best way forward was to raise the bar of membership. They urged a hard line on baptisms. Only the babies of those who worshipped regularly or who participated in extended courses of baptism preparation, ought to be baptised. The effect was that parents would do what was required, but patterns of worship rarely changed thereafter. A more enduring legacy was further alienation. Still others thought that the decline in

numbers was a judgement for not being sufficiently gospel based. A final and more telling belief was that the church needed to become more 'relevant'. What exactly was meant by this was not always clear, but the feeling that the church, if not God, was irrelevant, bit deep. Liturgical revision was partly justified by the belief that worship ought to draw on contemporary, and therefore relevant, language and songs, without changing the doctrine. The presumption was that those who had left the church, especially youth, would return. It never happened, but prayer book revision proceeded apace through the Seventies, in the hope they would. In 1978, *An Australian Prayer Book* was launched; in 1995, a revision was made and *A Prayer Book for Australia* published. It passed through General Synod, but only after the Archbishop of Sydney, Harry Goodhew, argued that it ought to be seen as a guideline for worship, not so much an authorised and common book of prayer. Any thought that Australian Anglicans were now bound together through the use of a common prayer book vanished. Archbishop Halse's comment of 1958 that 'the Catholic, Liberal and Evangelical wings of the Church' were held together by the use of a common prayer book no longer applied.⁷⁶ Yet not all was loss. Anglican liturgy – as found in *A Prayer Book for Australia* – may be a less unifying force than the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP), but it does allow for far greater lay involvement and leadership. It has an inclusive dimension that was missing from the BCP. Furthermore, women can now preside and preach at an Anglican Eucharist and the place of women in ordained leadership positions (except as bishops) has been assumed and encouraged

⁷⁶ See Chapter 2, p. 30.

for many years. The seeds of this greater shared liturgical leadership can be found in the calls in the Sixties, for greater participation by women in the liturgies and administrative councils of the Diocese.

There were other ways the church sought to be relevant. A flurry of books claimed that churches ought to look to meet human needs and 'serve the world'. Books, such as Harvey Cox's influential *The Secular City*, aimed at re-invigorating the church by calling it to social activism, with Christians participating fully in struggles for justice, freedom and peace.⁷⁷ Dioceses responded everywhere by establishing social questions or public affairs committees, whose task was to gather empirical evidence, weigh up alternative interpretations, and report their findings to their Diocesan Synod. Brisbane Diocese set up a Board of Social Responsibility in 1965 to 'coordinate the thought and action of the Church in matters affecting family and social life'.⁷⁸ In 1966 it reported to Synod its deliberations concerning a variety of social issues: the Marriage Act (1963), violence and objectionable language on television and the problems of teenage drinking.⁷⁹ Another movement that sought to involve not just clergy, but congregations also, in social service was the 'Church and Life' movement of 1966. It had added respectability in that it was sponsored by the Australian Council of Churches, a national ecumenical body (less the Roman Catholics) and was an interdenominational study program. It aimed to encourage a more effective

⁷⁷ Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: secularization and urbanization in theological perspective*, SCM Press, London, 1966. See also David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: the experience of the Australian churches', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 21, 1997, p. 213.

⁷⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1965*, p. 99.

⁷⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1966*, pp. 213-214.

‘Christian presence’ in the community and greater co-operation in projects for the common good.⁸⁰

These sound like small responses. Yet, they sparked a far more considered involvement in social welfare and community services. The interest in aged care that had begun in the Fifties was taken up and is now a significant aspect of Diocesan community service. Similarly, St Luke’s Nursing Service has purposely grown and developed (as outlined in Chapter Five). As a result the budget for Brisbane Diocese’s Community Services Commission (which embraces the welfare programs of Anglicare, St Luke’s Nursing Service and Anglican Care of the Aged) amounted to \$72 million in the 2005-2006 financial year.

Relevance was an issue, and a clear response emerged, although it is worth pointing out that relevance is not the ultimate measure by which faith is justified. The churches do not exist for their social welfare programs. Certainly the churches are called to be relevant, to the extent that Christ calls them to work towards setting straight crooked dimensions in the world, (being involved in social justice), and acting like salt on a meal (enriching the societies in which the church is set). But these things are a consequence of faith, not its justification. Ultimately, faith in Christ is brought about not so much by relevance as an inner conviction about truth, and a response to it. Faith in Christ is analogous to falling in love, an experience that is not necessarily relevant to the leading of a perfectly fulfilled life. Yet those who have fallen in love would rarely wish to have missed the experience.

⁸⁰ David Hilliard, ‘Pluralism and New Alignments in Society and Church 1967 to the Present’, in Bruce Kaye (ed.) *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South, Victoria, 2002, p. 137.

Most of the trends that emerged in the Sixties continued into the next decades. Numbers of those training for ordained leadership continued to decline. From a high in the early 1950s of just over 50 candidates, numbers had dropped by the mid-Seventies to just over 20.⁸¹ It troubled the new archbishop, Felix Arnott. In his first year, he signalled his concern that 'there are fewer students at St Francis' College than ever before'. He foreshadowed some changes: greater ecumenical co-operation, grounding the theory of theology with some pastoral practice, and greater use of external degrees such as the University of Queensland's Bachelor of Divinity.⁸² An article by Vincent Smith in the *National Times* offered some reasons for the lack of recruits for ordained ministry in all churches. He cited 'fears about the Church's monolithic structures', 'doubts about the ability of their chosen Churches to adapt to the changing needs of society', the poor pay, conflict between conservatives and radicals, and the difficulty of maintaining a sense of the relevance of the Christian gospel in a rapidly changing society.⁸³ There was nothing new here, but other factors were also at work. The pool from which to 'fish' for ordination candidates, for example, had begun to dry up. In the Fifties, the Comrades of St George and the Young Anglican Fellowship provided such a pool. In 1958, the Comrades could claim 23 members in training for the priesthood at St Francis' College.⁸⁴ It was in these youth

⁸¹ In 1972 for example, there were just 22 students in training for ordination. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1972*, p. 147.

⁸² *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1971*, p. 321.

⁸³ Vincent Smith, 'The way of the cross is rough, brother, and the pay is so bad your wife must work', *National Times*, 10-15 May 1971, p. 24.

⁸⁴ Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1963, p. 578. Others were stimulated to do missionary service, such as Miss Joan Coley, leader of the Comrades of St George in Childers, who went to Fiji as a missionary headmistress; and

movements that young men and women were inspired with a passion for, and a commitment to, the gospel, and which led easily to the thought of ordination or missionary work. But this pool dried up by the early Seventies – the Comrades all but evaporated by the early 1960s,⁸⁵ and the Young Anglican Fellowship ran out of steam in the early 1970s.⁸⁶

Compounding the difficulty was a loss of confidence and clarity about the gospel message, and some theme around which the gospel could be constructed as being of the essence of Anglo-Catholicism. In the early days of the Anglo-Catholic movement that theme had been the Incarnation, and for many Anglo-Catholics, Anglicanism was the ‘extension of the Incarnation’. God in Christ had come among his people, amongst the poorest of people, to share their lives, and to bring them hope and salvation. Priests, absorbing the clarity of this message, and being convinced by it, were inspired to offer themselves to work in the hardest of areas, at home or abroad. The ‘slum priests’ of London were *par excellence* the icons of the belief that the calling was to be like Christ: to live among the poor, as Christ had, and bring his hope and salvation. It was this gospel and sacrificial theme that was the inspiration behind priests offering to work as Bush Brothers in the outback of Australia. By the mid-1960s this gospel theme was less clear and carried less conviction as prosperity and the ‘death of God’ debate kicked in. Anglo-Catholicism struggled to state what now drove it theologically.

Mavis Parkinson, a missionary to Papua New Guinea, and one of the martyrs killed during the Japanese invasion in World War II. See *Church Chronicle*, 1 March 1956, p. 82.

⁸⁵ The last report to Diocesan Synod is in 1967, when just three companies existed: at Toowoomba, Esk and Brisbane. It was noted that there were no plans to develop new branches. *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1967*, p. 183.

⁸⁶ In 1965, there were 65 YAF groups. By 1969, there were 31 groups. See *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1969*, p. 202.

With no pool in which young men and women could become excited and passionate for Christ and no clear theological theme which could offer a shape for a potential ministry, it became much harder to attract ordinands. There seemed little understanding that this was what was happening. Elsewhere, notably in the evangelical Diocese of Sydney, universities were targeted as containing a pool in which the gospel could be commended. In the 1980s, the Reverend Phillip Jensen's ministry at the University of New South Wales allegedly attracted about ten per cent of all students. As well, the evangelical side of Anglicanism emphasised a clear gospel message: Jesus' death had won salvation for all; to accept Jesus was to gain salvation; to refuse him was to imperil one's soul. Simple, even simplistic, it was clear and could be given with confidence. The result was that a steady trickle made their way into Moore Theological College in Sydney, passionate and convinced about the essence of the gospel.

Ecumenism continued to excite interest in the Seventies and onwards. Archbishop Felix Arnott was a great ecumenist. He had been inspired as a young man by the vision of William Temple of a world united by a united church.⁸⁷ A significant aspect of his archiepiscopate was his membership of the Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) set up in the wake of the visit of Archbishop Ramsey to Pope Paul VI in 1966. One of only ten Anglicans from around the world, Arnott's membership of ARCIC was a tribute to his intellectual stature and his belief in the ecumenical movement. He enjoyed his membership of ARCIC immensely, believing that the Agreed

⁸⁷ 'Public Tribute to the Most Reverend F. R. Arnott', kept in the Diocesan Archives, Brisbane.

Statements on 'the Eucharist', 'Ministry and Ordination', and 'Authority' made valuable contributions to the cause of church unity. His interest and passion fuelled Diocesan interest. But the high hopes that ecumenism excited in the mid-Sixties never eventuated. Anglican –Roman Catholic unity was compromised by the ordination of women on the Anglican side, and by increasingly conservative, pre-Vatican II leadership on the Catholic side.

One practical outcome of ecumenism was a growing desire for ecumenical Religious Education (changed from 'Religious Instruction') in State schools. This was accompanied by other changes in religious teaching of children, in particular the move from fact centred teaching (such as teaching the Anglican Catechism, a series of questions and answers often taught to confirmees) to experience centred teaching, and the use of attractive work books. The call for whole classes to be taught ecumenically (rather than be broken up into Anglican, Catholic, Methodist groups, and so on) gained extra weight from Anglicans as it became increasingly difficult for parishes to find enough parishioners to teach Religious Education (RE). With parishes in numerical decline, and as more women entered the workforce, those at home and with the skills to teach RE simply became fewer. The move to ecumenical teaching however, was not unambiguously helpful to Anglicanism. Ecumenical curricula needed to be acceptable to all churches. Since Roman Catholics continued to teach their own children (those who were not at one of their many primary schools), 'all churches' meant the Protestant end of Christianity, with its emphasis on the bible. The Anglican interest in sacraments and the

nature of the church tended to become sidelined, and remain therefore largely untaught.

Ecumenism was challenged by a few trends. First, ecumenism stressed what churches had in common. By its very nature, ecumenism wanted to find the common ground. This attitude reinforced the emerging mood of religious relativism and accentuated the belief that all churches were much the same. From the Seventies, church 'hopping' began to emerge. People, often young, would choose a church not necessarily within their denomination. This also represented the consumer mindset: that one chose a church much as one chose a loaf of bread – for its personal benefits rather than what it taught. The post-modern experience mattered more than the denominational teaching. Consequently, the denominational label began to matter less and less. The result was that Anglican dioceses – like other churches – could no longer assume that Anglicans would always remain in an Anglican church. In this environment, the initiation and grounding in one church tradition, by which a person was formed as a Christian in a profound way, and which also released one to explore and understand the beliefs and practices of another church, was devalued.

Secondly, there was a gradual move away from the idea of organic reunion. Larger entities such as the Anglican Church were nervous about the dilution of their traditions. Then there was the question of property, and who would legally own it if Anglicans were judged to have lost their identity in some reunion. It was all too hard and too few had the energy or desire to pursue organic reunion. What did emerge was greater interdenominational co-

operation, in fields such as the provision of theological education for ministerial and priestly formation. In Brisbane, three theological colleges – St Paul's, St Francis' and Trinity – belonging to the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Uniting Church respectively, came together in 1983 to establish the Brisbane College of Theology. Common approaches to theological education like this were happening around Australia in the 80s, and were one of the great out-workings of the ecumenical endeavour.

Thirdly, the late 20th century saw the advent of a number of independent churches that belonged to no particular church tradition. Often charismatic and fundamentalist, they answered to no one but themselves. They were usually uninterested in ecumenism, even suspicious of 'main stream' churches, which they regarded as too liberal and insufficiently biblical. While 'main stream' churches worked hard at unity and cooperation, these new independent churches threatened that unity, drawing members of other churches into their own fold. The effect was to highlight the need for Anglicans and other mainstream churches, to compete for members.

Lest all this sound too depressing and too negative, it is worth remembering that for all the current limitations and challenges to ecumenism, today's ecumenical endeavour is a far better witness to those uninvolved in the Christian faith than the sectarianism of the Fifties. Ecumenism is widely celebrated and embraced as an ideal, and has excited a long-lasting commitment, which alone suggests its value. It has enlarged the Christian vision, replacing fear with hope, and suspicion with generosity and good will, and continues to provide the platform for further Christian unity.

The Anglican ministry to children declined and collapsed from the mid-Sixties. Many children were confirmed at the age of 12 or 13, and for many decades this had been a key time when the Anglican Church reached its children for some teaching and for strengthening the sense of belonging. Children were often contacted through Anglican classes of RE in State schools, but once this activity became ecumenical the opportunity to do this diminished. A suburban parish like Indooroopilly records the decline in confirmations over two decades. In 1963, 1964, and 1965 the parish registered 72, 87 and 82 children confirmed respectively. In 1973, 1974 and 1975, the numbers were down to 50, 43 and 24; in 1983, 1984 and 1985, the figures were 15, 33 and 30. To some degree this decline was due to the end of the baby boomer years. But even this cannot explain why in 1990, there were just 3 confirmed. Since for many children confirmation continued to mark a conclusion to further church involvement, and since the numbers being confirmed were shrinking, the Anglican Church introduced in the early 1990s the possibility of 'admission to holy communion' before confirmation. Baptised children could make their first communion, on the understanding that this was a step on their spiritual journey and that, in time, they would come to be confirmed. A Brisbane guideline set a minimum age for admission to holy communion at 7, and said that confirmation should be reserved for adults, at least 16 years of age and older. But by then the ministry to children had become minimal. As the years progressed, other dimensions of children's ministry diminished rapidly. Sunday Schools, the uniformed groups – the Girls' Friendly Society and the Church of England Boys' Society – and youth

groups diminished in size as other options, especially sport, grew in attractiveness.

The loss of a vibrant ministry to children closed one of the key entry points by which the Anglican Church had renewed itself. With the demise of children's confirmation (and exacerbated by the loss of children's groups, Sunday Schools and Anglican RE), the Anglican Church lost a gateway through which a child formally came to belong to the Anglican Church and began to take on an Anglican identity, even if active participation might not follow till some years later (if at all). There have been no other significant points of entry into Anglicanism developed since then. In contrast the Roman Catholic Church has had two key doors into Catholicism. In their vast school system, whole classes of children participate in liturgies of initiation (such as First Communion), which opens a door for the children of non-Catholic families to become Catholic and join their classmates. Secondly, in any 'mixed' marriage, the Catholic partner is still encouraged to raise children in the Catholic faith and since the Catholic identity is so strong, often the non-Catholic 'converts'. In more recent years, the Anglican Church around Australia has tried to stimulate its own church school system partly to provide a way, a door, into Anglicanism although much remains to be done to consolidate this activity. At the time of writing, the Diocese of Brisbane has 22 Anglican schools, and seeks to grow and expand in this area.

The trend to a more liberal theology – to 'accommodation' – also gained momentum in the decades after 1970. Besides his ecumenical interest, Archbishop Arnott's other notable contribution to Australian life was

as a member of the Royal Commission on Human Relationships. Appointed in 1974 together with Anne Deveson and Justice Elizabeth Evatt (Chair) by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, Arnott saw the improvement in human relations as a legitimate Christian concern. The legacy of the massive final report was to legitimise emerging social attitudes, such as gender equality, and to strengthen the voice and claims of minority groups, such as the disabled, indigenous people and homosexuals. Not all welcomed the report. For some in Brisbane Diocese it was all too liberal. They saw Arnott as undermining the teachings of Christ, a criticism that caused him a degree of hurt, but which just underscored that the new divide in churches was now along the liberal – conservative line.

Finally, the Anglo-Catholic identity continued to lose its shape and power to inspire. The loss of some guiding theological theme has already been noted. Anglo-Catholicism had defined itself as a 'via media', between the excesses of Protestantism on the one hand, and the excesses of Roman Catholicism on the other. The 'via media' as a concept to define Anglicanism had a long history, but defining the church by how it stood in relation to other churches was not ideal. If the 'extremes' moved, as they did in the Sixties, then the 'via media' was lost. Roman Catholicism in particular, through Vatican II, adopted changes which the Church of England and Protestant churches had made at the Reformation: a renewed emphasis on the bible, the Mass in the language of the people, greater collegiality of the bishops, a tempering of the cultic side of its worship, a movement away from transubstantiation towards the more Anglican language of 'real presence', and

an ecumenical interest in other churches. One could argue that Roman Catholicism became increasingly Anglican, making it harder to speak of Anglicanism as a 'via media' between two extremes. It is interesting to speculate whether sociologists would see the ordination of women in the Anglican Church as a way of re-creating a distinctiveness that perhaps was threatened when Vatican II initiated the reforms the Church of England had made at the Reformation?

By the end of the 20th century, the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Brisbane bore little similarity to the Church of the 1950s. It is sometimes claimed that the church needs to change in order to make a bigger impression on society and attract new members, and that it is not good at change. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Anglican Diocese of Brisbane has changed enormously over the last five decades. It has a quite different prayer book and pattern of worship, and now uses a large selection of songs as well as hymns. It ordains both men and women. It has a liberal attitude to the re-marriage of divorcees, and if the Dean attended the races today his presence would go unremarked. Parishes are encouraged to apply for grants from a government agency that accrues money from taxes on gambling – the Gaming Machine Community Benefit Fund. Theological training has had to adapt to the larger numbers of married and older ordinands. No longer is there a contingent of young men living in College. The Anglican Church in Brisbane Diocese is much more ecumenically minded, but is less confident and clear about its role as a church in Queensland society. Denominational loyalty has disappeared, and far fewer percentages of people now participate

in its parishes. The Anglican Church, as with all other churches is nearer the margins of society than its centre. It has even changed its name, no longer the Church of England in the Diocese of Brisbane, but the Anglican Church of Australia. It is not the same church as in the Fifties. The trouble is not that the church has not changed or that it is too slow to change. Of greater concern is that it often embraces new ideas, without always a sufficient capacity to offer a critique.

The argument of this thesis has been that in the Fifties, churches around Australia, especially the Church of England, benefited from social and cultural moods and developments, and for a short time – about a decade – there was an unusual flowering of its life. Numbers participating in parish churches and available financial resources reached a peak. The future, perhaps for one of the very few times in its history, looked reassuring. But just as rapidly, from about 1963 a decline set in, due largely to social and cultural changes, and exacerbated in Brisbane Diocese by internal issues, after which, in many ways the churches, including the Anglican Church of the Diocese of Brisbane returned to the days when a proportionately smaller number found it a compelling divine institution.

Will there ever be a resurgence as there was for those ten years from the early Fifties? It is an unanswerable question, although some words of William Temple, with which he ended his great mission to Oxford University in March 1931, and which convinced a later archbishop of Brisbane, Felix Arnott of God's call to ordination, suggest that there is always a possibility.

‘Which city is to be built? Babylon the Great, which has tumbled down so often, and will always tumble down again, or the city which you cannot build yourselves, but which God can build through you, if unitedly you give yourselves to be used by Him as its builders? And the body that must answer this question is always the Church. No individuals can answer it; it must be the whole fellowship of Christ’s disciples. And you can help towards the right answer just in the degree in which you associate yourself with it in its age-long effort. And, remember, the supreme wonder of the history of the Christian Church is that always in the moments when it has seemed most dead, out of its own body there has sprung up new life; so that in age after age it has renewed itself, and age after age by its renewal has carried the world forward into new stages of progress, as it will do for us in our day, if only we give ourselves in devotion to its Lord and take our place in its service.’⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Quoted by Felix Arnott in *Year Book of the Diocese of Brisbane 1972*, p. 292.

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| Mary Matthews | St Lucia, Queensland | 25 September 2003 |
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