Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society, Synod of Victoria and Tasmania

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of the

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The Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society, Synod of Victoria and Tasmania, exist to publish lectures given to the Society, articles, and other material of interest with particular but not exclusive reference to the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Uniting Churches of Australia.

The Proceedings of the Society are provided free of charge to members of the Society. Membership of the Society is available through the Hon. Treasurer at a cost of $40 p.a. ($30 concession) Single copies of the Proceedings may be purchased from the Hon. Secretary of the Society at the price of $10 per copy, including postage.

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EDITORIAL

An acknowledgment

We acknowledge the Traditional Owners of country throughout Australia and recognise their continuing connection to land, waters and culture. We pay our respects to their Elders past, present and emerging.

This history attempts to tell something of the story of the uniting churches in Tasmania and Victoria, and it is important to recognise that the churches were part of the colonising process and to openly acknowledge this fact. Our churches were built upon and stand today upon land that was taken from the Aboriginal people without their consent or any compensation. Our congregations included people who occupied land taken from the Aboriginal people—and worse.

Truth-telling is essential. Only through this process can we hope to achieve a genuine reconciliation.

Vale

Rev. Dr Ian Breward (31 March 1934–20 December 2022)

The Rev. Dr Ian Breward, together with the Rev. Dr T. Maxwell O'Connor, founded the Uniting Church Historical Society, Synod of Victoria, as the formal successor to the Methodist Church's historical society that continued into the Uniting Church after 1977. He was Archivist for the Victorian Synod, following retirement from the post of Professor of Church History at the Theological Hall in Melbourne. Prior to arriving in Melbourne he had been Professor of Church History for the Presbyterian Church in Aotearoa New Zealand since his late 20s.

Born in Tauranga (Bay of Plenty area of Aotearoa New Zealand), Ian's first job was as a worker on a dairy farm, later studying for diploma in agriculture. While at agricultural college he became involved in Christian Union, an intervarsity fellowship, and there he felt called to the ministry. He went on to complete a doctorate at Manchester University under Gordon Rupp after completing his initial studies for the Presbyterian ministry.

Ordained as assistant minister in Knox Presbyterian Church in Dunedin (which had five ministers and very large congregations), he was appointed Professor of Church History after only two years, a post he held until 1982 when he moved to Melbourne and became Professor of Church History from 1984 to 2000. He was appointed Synod Archivist and held that position 2000 to 2014.

Ian published many articles and books, on a wide range of topics, both in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. A friend and former student, the Rev. Dr Clive Pearson, wrote:

> I was intrigued with the way in which he wrote on such things as authority and freedom, conscience, power and the misuse of power, the right exercise of polity. He believed it was important to look into the dark moments of Christian history and not simply focus on its success and achievements; he was very mindful of Indigenous and Pasifika cultures, and argued that 'the singlemindedness of monoculturalism was no longer a satisfying framework for Christian identify'.

One particular book, *A History of the Australian Churches*, is a work of astonishing breadth and scholarship and often cited in any research of Australian religion.

In an interview with the Editor, Ian summarised his work as a church historian this way—

> It was a great privilege to be able to teach the subject but also to have a role in the shaping of theological students, and I made some very good friends for life along the way. I felt that God,

> despite my limitations, was able to use me in New Zealand and Australia, and that I was able to help students learn to see their task from an historical perspective—to learn from history and not just think that the past is irrelevant.

On a personal note, the Rev. Dr Ian Breward was first married to Judy and they had three children. Jan, his first son, was tragically killed in a road accident in 1999, leaving a wife, Joyce, and two children, Malcolm and Hazel. Alun is his second son, and his son is Nicholas. His third child is Shona, and she has two daughters, Anna and Rose. Ian remarried in 1994 to Eva, and was a very good friend to Eva's son, Daniel.

Tributes

On behalf of the **Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand** I would like to pay tribute to Ian and the excellent contribution he made to our church as both moderator in 1975 and as Professor of Church History at Knox Theological College in Dunedin 1965–1982. I, like many theological students from that time, remember his impressive intellect, amazing memory and huge capacity for taking in new information. He had an unforgettable presence in the classroom and an ability for keeping students engaged and learning. The fact that he was elected moderator of the PCANZ at such a young age is due to the very high regard that the church had for him as a person, a scholar and a churchman. We extend our condolences to his family and close friends at this time. (Hamish Galloway, Moderator, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand)

On this occasion the **Assembly of the Uniting Church** would like to express our deep appreciation for the ministry of the Rev. Dr Ian Breward, and especially his contribution to the national life and work of the Uniting Church.

Ian contributed very significantly to the theological life of the church and to important discussions and debates concerning such diverse subjects as the use or otherwise of the 'filioque clause' in

public uses of the Nicene creed, baptism, sexuality and the renewal of the diaconate. In doing so, he served on the task groups concerned with the renewed diaconate and the subsequent task group on ministry; on the task group responding to responses received regarding the discussion paper "The Water that Unites" and the working group on theological education in 2000. He also served as a theological advisor to Stewardship Australia, on the Commission on Doctrine, and as co-chair of the Roman Catholic-Uniting Church dialogue.

Fellow theological educators speak of Ian's profound understanding and deep insights into the relationship of faith and culture, spirituality, missiology and ecclesiastical polity arising from his work as a first class historian.

A second especially significant area of contribution to the national church by the Rev. Dr Breward was in the area of the admission of ministers of other denominations into the Uniting Church. Ian served as the inaugural chairperson of the Reception of Ministers Committee from 1983 and remained chairperson for most of the 1980s and 90s, after which he continued to serve as member of the committee and its successor committee up until 2016. During this time he also served on a working group concerned with the reception of ministers from partner churches in Asia and the Pacific. (Sharon Hollis, President, Uniting Church Assembly)

Submissions for publication

We encourage you to consider submitting an article for publication in *Proceedings*. This is not an academic journal which will accept only peer-referenced articles, but one that encourages the writing of history by both lay and professional historians.

The views expressed in the articles reproduced herein are those of the authors and not the Society, and the Society takes no responsibility for those views or for any historical inaccuracies that may inadvertently be included. Submissions for publication will be received gratefully.

Please send all material to the Editor at 15 Buffalo Crescent Manor Lakes, Vic. 3024 or via email to robert.renton@bigpond.com. A style guide for this publication is available from the Editor, and if emailing please use either MS Word or Apple Pages, and do not use special formatting.

Robert Renton (Editor)

LIFE AFTER POLITICS 1996—

Brian Howe AO

This is third of the lectures given to the Society by the Rev. Associate Professor Brian Howe AO about his life story. This lecture took place on Sunday, 19 March 2023, at the Centre for Theology and Ministry, Parkville.

Introductory remarks

In my first talk in this series, I spoke about my life growing up in the East Malvern area and later as a theological student at Queens's College; then my marriage to Renate; our travels to Chicago for Renate to study history at the University of Chicago and for me to study at the United Presbyterian Church theological Seminary in Chicago, Illinois in the United States. In 1968, I was stationed at Morwell and, in 1969, the Fitzroy Methodist Mission Church, which, in 1970, entered a scheme of cooperation with the Fitzroy Presbyterian Church and with the Hungarian Reformed Church. Dr Francis Antal and I were the ministers of this joint congregation. In place of the Fitzroy Methodist Mission there was established the Fitzroy Ecumenical Centre for Urban Research and Action, which I elsewhere refer to as "CURA".

I have previously described the work of CURA in my first talk which was about my life and ministry prior to politics. In 1977, I contested the Australian Labor Party preselection for the Federal seat of Batman (now Cooper) and, following a preselection process complicated by electoral boundary changes, I was successful in becoming the Member of Parliament for the Federal electoral district of Batman. The district then covered Northcote, part of Preston and all of Heidelberg. In my second talk I focused on my time as a backbencher between 1977 and 1983 and on my time as a minister in each of the Hawke and Keating governments. I was a

member of Cabinet from 1984 to 1996 and I was Deputy Prime Minister from 1991 until 1995. I did not contest the 1996 election. In this talk I intend to cover my years after politics especially between 1996 and 2008

Academic work on social policy

After two decades in politics, from 1977 until 1996, it was clearly important for me to reflect on the past and to contemplate the future. I agreed to an appointment as an Honorary Professor in the School of Social and Political Studies at the University of Melbourne. More specifically, I was located in the Centre for Public Policy, which was then directed by Professor Brian Galligan. I appointed Anthony O'Donnell, a young lawyer and social scientist, as a part time research assistant. Shortly after accepting this appointment, I was also offered the position of Honorary Research Fellow in the Woodrow Wilson School (as it then was) at Princeton University along with an Honorary Research Fellow position at the nearby Princeton Theological Seminary. These later positions were for a single semester initially, but my position at the Woodrow Wilson School was extended for a second semester in 1998. In that year, I agreed to participate in the program at the Centre for Theological Inquiry with Professor William Storrar, which was also at Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1997, I taught in a graduate program at the Woodrow Wilson School on 'sole parents' with Professor Sara McLanahan and, in 1998, I taught a course on international social policy to graduate students. In 1997 and 1998, I also taught in a graduate program at the University of Melbourne focusing on recent trends in international social policy.

Social Research and social policy

Initially, Anthony O'Donnell and I thought about writing a book entitled 'Social Policy in the Age of Uncertainty,' which would focus on the difficulties of making good social policy in a time of restraint. Anthony and I analysed how Australia partly weathered

the putative crisis of the welfare state through judicious control of spending and managerial efficiency, while maintaining the goals of redistribution and poverty alleviation in social policy. The Australian Labor Party was able to achieve unprecedented and continual success at federal elections from 1983 to 1996. During this time, government intervention in Australia produced positive outcomes in a number of areas including, living standards; redistribution; jobs growth; educational participation; and gender pay equity, despite the treasury line of neoclassical growth theory. The remarkable resilience in Australia of social policy agendas established in the early seventies in guiding a reformist government in the 1980s and 1990s suggests an important role of history, politics and policy design in delivering welfare outcomes despite the putative crisis of the welfare state. In the 1980s, there was a strong movement in play in Europe and in North America (through Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan) to resist the further expansion of the welfare state on the grounds that it was becoming increasingly unaffordable.

In 1997, at Princeton, I had the opportunity to read widely. I was especially interested in the work of Manuel Castells, who I had known of as an urban sociologist and who later developed broader interests. He was Professor of Planning and Sociology at the University of California, Berkely from 1979 to 2000. I was especially interested in his trilogy, *The information Age: Economy Society and Culture*, which was published between 1996 and 1998 by Blackwell.[1]

I thought that Professor Castells built on, and expanded, the earlier work of Daniel Bell, *The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society: Venture in Social Forecasting* (published by Basic Books in 1973) and also that of Barry Jones in *Sleepers, Wake!* (published by Oxford University

[1] Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* Volume I (Blackwell, 1996); Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* Volume II (Blackwell, 1997); Manuel Castells, *End of Millennium, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* Volume III (Blackwell, 1998).

Press in 1982). Castells recognised the capacity of modern digital technology to transform economic and social relationships in ways that were transforming the world and creating a modern age. Castells did not accept the label of "post-industrial". Rather, he considered that the digital revolution was reshaping industrial society.

The New Social Settlement

In the early 1980s, when I was the Minister for Social Security, I recall attending an ANZUS Conference in Western Australia at which Francis Castles spoke about the Australian welfare state. He prefigured Gøsta Esping-Andersen's leading book, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, which was published in 1990 by Princeton University Press. Gøsta Esping-Andersen, an international expert on welfare states, considered that Australia had a residual welfare state in that its social security system was heavily targeted, rather punitive, and lacked the universal quality present in a more advanced social security system. I recall hotly contesting his remarks and defending the Australian system as being consistent with equality.

Much later, when I was at Melbourne University, I read Professor Castles' important 1994 paper, "The Wage Earners' Welfare State Revisited: Refurbishing the established model of Australian social protection, 1983–1993"[1] where Professor Castles emphasised the importance of the original Australian settlement in which H.B. Higgins had been important in creating a role for the Commonwealth in influencing wages and working condition through Australia's original creation of a national system of conciliation and arbitration. Castles saw this system as important in creating an

[1] Francis Castles, "The Wage Earners' Welfare State Revisited: Refurbishing the established model of Australian social protection, 1983-1993," Discussion Paper 39, March 1994, available at <https://openresearchrepository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/7306/1/Castles_Wage1994.pdf> (last accessed on 15 March 2023), 8–9.

approach to social protection that built on the concept of full employment, which was so important in the post war years in Australia.

Paul Smyth, a Professor of Social Policy at Melbourne University, also saw in the values of post war economists a commitment to social equality that was an important outcome of the full employment experienced in post-war years.[1] However, in the post-full employment years there were important changes in the labour market with high numbers of people either unemployed or underemployed and large numbers of workerless families, which undermined the reality of an Australian welfare state. Given that there were few references in our time to an Australian welfare state, I thought that perhaps the language of a "new social settlement" would enable a broader assessment of the welfare and wellbeing of the Australian people.

The New Social Settlement research and policy development program was based in the Centre for Public Policy at the University of Melbourne and aimed to develop a framework and policy matrix for rethinking the future of social policy in Australia with an emphasis on responding to labour market and household change. The initial project was part of an Australian Research Council grant (2000–2001) (for Linda Hancock and me)[2] in partnership with the Committee of Economic Development Australia, John Nieuwenhuysen), the Brotherhood of St Laurence and Associate Professor Marianne Wulff (Monash University).

In a Committee of Economic Development Australia report, which I edited with Linda Hancock and Anthony O'Donnell,

[1] Smyth discusses these topics in, eg., his 2007 Foenander Public Lecture entitled "Closing the gap? The role of wage, welfare and industry policy in promoting social inclusion" available at https://library.bsl.org.au/bsljspui/bitstream/1/5802/1/Smyth_closing_the_gap_Foenander_lecture_2007.pdf.

[2] Under its "Strategic Partnerships with Industry - Research and Training Scheme" grants program.

entitled "Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work, Welfare and Families," we noted in our executive summary: "The lifetime experience of that cohort of Australians who entered the labour market or formed families after the mid-1970s will vary greatly from that of the immediate post-war generations. This poses key challenges to established social policy responses in the areas of workplace relations, income security, caring, housing, education and training, and the capacity to manage transitions into and out of the workforce."[1]

The Centre for Public Policy used recent research to illustrate some of the ways in which the world was changing. Also in our executive summary to "Reshaping Australian Social Policy", we noted that Sydney researchers, John Buchanan and Ian Watson, had demonstrated how the "the wage earner model of working life" had been so central to the initial Higgins social settlement and how this model was being challenged in part by the increasing labour market participation of women, on the one hand, and the emerging world of work changing "in terms of hours of work, the incidence of low pay, work intensification, access to training, worker satisfaction and the 'churning' of workers between low paid intermittent employment and unemployment".[2]

In the report Peter McDonald had produced evidence of the falling birth rate.[3] Maryann Wulff explained that the changing patterns of family life, combined with changing housing 'careers' led to partnering and home ownership occurring before marriage and births

[1] Linda Hancock, Brian Howe and Anthony O'Donnell, "Executive Summary" in *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work Welfare and Families* (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 5.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Peter McDonald, "Social Reproduction: The Need for a New Social Contract" in *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work Welfare and Families* (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 33-36.

of first children occurring later still.[1] In addition, there was occurring a hedging by the state of social provision with increasing conditionality of social provision.[2] In their introduction to the report, Anthony O'Donnell and Linda Hancock noted that: "Household income over the life course was structured by the career paths of male breadwinners which brought progressively higher wages with longer work experience. Changes to the labour market and household change imply a breakdown in this life course model."[3]

Anthony O'Donnell and Linda Hancock added that: "The challenge now is to conceptualise a means of distributing income through the life course in a time of increasing uncertainty at work and at home."[4]

Our research was consistent with that of Ulrich Beck who has observed that modern relationships are negotiated.[5] Marriage is no longer forever, and relationships are flexible.

In our research we identified that there was a need for coherent policy responses to frame a new social settlement. This included

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[1] Maryann Wulff, "Changing Families, Changing Households: Australian Housing Assistance Policy" in *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work Welfare and Families* (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 40-1.

[2] Linda Hancock, Brian Howe and Anthony O'Donnell, "Executive Summary" in *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work Welfare and Families* (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 6.

[3] Linda Hancock and Anthony O'Donnell, "Introduction: The Challenge of Reshaping the Social Settlement" in Linda Hancock, Brian Howe and Anthony O'Donnell (eds), *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work Welfare and Families* (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 13.

[4] *Ibid*, 16.

[5] Brian Howe, *Weighing Up Australian Values* (UNSW Press, 2007), 43.

having a different model of education with much greater emphasis on through life learning.

In November 2002, the project embarked on its National Consultation Strategy, which was funded by the R.E. Ross Trust. The Consultation Strategy was designed to draw on the expertise of key policy players in academia, business, unions and the community sector in order to discuss policy directions for the 21st century. In each State and in the ACT, policy forums canvassed possibilities for reform. The discussions were based on papers covering transitions from work to retirement; industrial relations, labour law and the reconciliation of work and family life; school to work transition; and working-age income support. In these discussions there was a strong emphasis on the implications for public policy of changes in the modern life course. In the search for the new social settlement, we wanted to see if it was possible to create an overarching frame for creating social policy in a rapidly changing world. The idea of a modern social settlement implies a set of policies that are not only economically or socially functional or feasible but, of course, politically feasible.

Linda Hancock and Anthony O'Donnell observed in relation to the required social policy response that:

> [A] life course framework can be used to pose key policy questions around working arrangements, education and training, income security, family support and housing. A life course framework also emphasises the interrelated nature of 'careers' in employment, education, intimate relationships, parenthood and housing. It suggests strategies targeted at specific events, transitions and episodes rather than at static and aggregate 'problem' groups such as 'the' unemployed, lone parents or the 'aged'."[1]

[1] Linda Hancock and Anthony O'Donnell, "Introduction: The Challenge of Reshaping the Social Settlement" in Linda Hancock, Brian Howe and Anthony O'Donnell (eds), *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in*

A key point arising from the project, was summarised by O'Donnell, Hancock and me: "The lifetime experience of those who entered the labour market or formed families after the mid-1970s will vary greatly from that of the immediate post-war generation. This poses key challenges to established social policy."[1]

CEDA published two reports on this project: "Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work, Welfare and Families" and "Growth 49: Future Directions in Australian Social Policy: New Ways of Preventing Risk".

Transitional Labour Markets

It was in the course of the discussions on the new social settlement that I met, and got to know, Professor John Buchanan at the University of Sydney who has played an important role in documenting changing work patterns in Australian industry. At the time, Professor Buchanan had been promoting the work of Professor Günther Schmid of the University of Berlin who was developing the important concept of 'Transitional Labour Markets". At the Centre for Public Policy, we hoped to build on our earlier project on the new social settlement with an examination of Günther Schmid's work on 'Transitional Labour Markets'.

The core idea is simple enough: the modern life course is marked by times of transition and one's life chances are heavily influenced by the way that people manage those transitions. The way people live across their lives is not static and in Australia we see patterns emerging that are common to urban societies in Europe and in North America. Perhaps the most important changes centre on gender with women seeking more important roles outside the

Work Welfare and Families (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 16.

[1] Linda Hancock, Brian Howe and Anthony O'Donnell, "Executive Summary" in *Growth 48: Reshaping Australian Social Policy: Changes in Work Welfare and Families* (Committee for Economic Development of Australia, November 2000), 5.

home at work, as well in their local communities. Women are also tending to partner later and have children later and generally have expanded roles in society. Both men and women are tending to spend more time in education and to commence paid work later.

The nature of working life is also changing as employers seek to employ labour more flexibly and the digital revolution has been associated with less emphasis on manual or physical work so that there is no longer the same sharp division as between, say, the office and the factory. There is greater variation in the conditions of work with more people working part-time or on time limited contracts.

The increasing casualisation of work was of great interest to the trade union movement. In 2011, I was asked by the Australian Council of Trade Unions to chair a panel leading a national investigation into insecure work. The findings of the investigation, which were published in 2012,[1] established the extent of the problem of insecure work. In my foreword to the ACTU's *Lives on Hold* report, I noted that 40% of Australian workers were employed in insecure work.[2] The report provided an evidential basis for the need to set time limits on casual employment after which people might enjoy all the entitlements of permanent employment (on either a full-time or part-time basis). In the ACTU report, I drew upon the work of Schmid and in the ACTU report we advocated for policy reforms with a broader focus on work-life transitions.

Based on the evidence gathered in the inquiry, I noted that there was a need for greater regulation of insecure work so that workers have rights to convert to permanent work and fixed term and

[1] *Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia, Lives on Hold: Unlocking the Potential of Australia's Workforce* (2012, ACTU, available at https://www.actu.org.au/our-work/policies-publications-submissions/2018/independent-inquiry-into-insecure-work-in-australia/report (last accessed on 16 March 2023)).

[2] *Ibid*, 5.

casual employment is limited.[1] Following pressure by the union movement in recent years, some advances have been made—limited casual conversion rights were inserted into the *Fair Work Act 2009* (Cth)[2] in 2021 and, more recently, amendments introducing limits on fixed term contracts have been passed.[3] However, many of the recommendations in the report to ensure secure work for all workers remain outstanding (e.g., protections for 'independent' contractors working in dependant, contractual relationships; and the ability of the Fair Work Commission to be given a power to determine where joint employment relationships exist and to make "Secure Employment Orders") and some have been thwarted (e.g., the Coalition Government's insertion of a narrow definition of "casual employment" in the *Fair Work Act 2009* (Cth)[4] to deprive long-term casual employees of gaining access to leave and other entitlements).

Schmid was important in defining the principal transitions that people experienced in the modern workforce defining five major life course transitions as between:[5]education and employment; caring and employment; unemployment and employment; employment and retirement; and precarious and permanent employment.

Schmid argued that more attention needed to be given to helping people to effectively manage these transitions. He used the term 'transitional labour markets' as a means of helping people make

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[1] *Ibid*, 7.

[2] See Division 4A of Part 2-2 of the Fair Work Act 2009 (Cth).

[3] The amendments were made under the Fair Work Legislation Amendment (Secure Jobs, Better Pay) Act 2022 (Cth) and are due to commence in December 2023.

[4] Section 15A of the Fair Work Act 2009 (Cth).

[5] See, eg., Günther Schmid, "Transitional Labour Markets: Theoretical Foundations and Policy Strategies" appearing in *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (2017, available at <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319050012_Transitional_Labour_Markets_Theoretical_Foundations_and_Policy_Strategies> (last accessed on 16 March 2023)), 1–15.

effective transitions. In his words: "Institutional arrangements that empower individuals to transit between various employment statuses during their life cycle through a set of mobility options and employability enhancing labour market policies."[1]

In effect, Schmid proposed that active labour market policies be expanded to allow people to move both in and out of paid employment more easily. Schmid is thinking in terms of a more gender-neutral approach where people's quality of life is very much dependent on changing their employment status from time to time to allow greater focus on family education, retraining or in accepting more civic responsibility. Schmid emphasises the importance of varying hours in paid work across the life course and did not focus so much on a shorter working week.

In Australia, there has been a lot of emphasis on welfare to work as if the payment of social security is a 'hand out' rather than being an investment. In Government, I supported the development of a program called the "Jobs, Education and Training Program" or "JET Program" in its voluntary phase. For women after a marriage break up, it is important that there are positive means of getting your life together in a way that is consistent with parenting responsibilities. As noted earlier, the way Schmid thinks of transitions is gender-neutral, but it recognises the life course as the framework while seeking to ease crisis by providing a bridge for people to move on to the next stage of their life. In Australia, as Professor Henderson recognised, we tend to moralise rather than making it possible for people to see the other side of crises.

On 23–25 February 2005, a major conference was organised on Transitional Labour Markets at Melbourne Park, which was entitled "Transitions & Risk: New Directions in Social Policy". This

[1] Günther Schmid, "Employment insurance for managing critical transitions during the life cycle" appearing in P. Auer & B. Gazier (eds), *The future of work, employment and social protection: the dynamics of change and the protection of workers* (ILO, 2002), 63.

significant undertaking was largely organised by Lauren Rosewarne who was then at the Centre for Public Policy at the University of Melbourne. The conference was addressed by Günther Schmid from Germany and included many of the leading experts on Australian labour markets, including Professors Bob Gregory (ANU), Mark Considine and Jeff Borland (University of Melbourne), Sue Richardson (Flinders University), and John Buchanan (University of Sydney). Many other experts led various workshops examining the needs of working families; issues affecting people living with disability; negotiating time across the life course and issues arising affecting equality; and challenges facing youth. The quality of the speakers underlined the significance of Professor Schmid's research for Australia, especially the need to frame labour market issues around the modern life course with important issues at every stage of the life course.

Following the Transitions and Risk conference, I worked on my book, *Weighing Up Australian Values*, which was published in 2007.[1] Given his influence on my thinking about social policy, I was fortunate that Günther Schmid agreed to write a foreword to the book. The book was a product of the work that I undertook as part of the ARC grant on labour market transitions. In the book, I attempted to distil the products of the research and public policy work that I had undertaken at the Centre for Public Policy as well as the work that I had undertaken at the Woodrow Wilson School (which I mentioned earlier) and during a six month period at Wolfson College at Cambridge University in 2003. The purpose of the book was to "set out an approach to framing a values-driven social policy that responds to the fundamental changes both in our economy and our society".[2] I argued that we need to rethink the foundations of social policy in Australia. I drew on the work of, among others, Günther Schmid and Gøsta Esping-Anderson,

[1] Brian Howe, *Weighing Up Australian Values: Balancing transitions and risks to work and family in modern Australia* (UNSW Press, 2007).
[2] *Ibid*, 17.

Australian academics and my public policy thought and experience. I provided policy proposals that would allow us to better anticipate risk and to manage risk. I argued that:

"[A] much greater focus on turning risk into opportunity, through a stronger emphasis on people's capabilities, will help to make Australia a better and fairer society."[1]

Religion, Churches and Social Policy Issues

Social Policy and the Church

I have discussed above my involvement in largely academic discussions of social policy within the university. On the other hand, a lot of discussion takes place in churches and in church related agencies. In addition, there are representative organisations such as the Australian and Victorian Council of Social Services where I participated.

My association with the Brotherhood of St Laurence (which I will refer to as BSL) goes back to my time as a minister in Fitzroy and my work in the Centre for Urban Research and Action (or CURA) in the 1970s. I was always interested in, and involved with, their research program. This was especially the case when working on labour market and life course transitions. Paul Smyth, General Manager Research and Policy and Research Director at the BSL from 2003 to 2013 was especially interested in our work with Günther Schmid and our focus on life course transitions. It formed a frame for BSL research for several years. When in politics, I visited the BSL frequently as a social policy minister and, after politics, I had a term on the Board and was awarded a life membership.

A growing trend for governments is to contract out service work to the churches and church agencies. A publication that investigated our concerns was *The Church and the Free Market*.[2] It included

[1] *Ibid*, 187.

[2] Alan Nichols, Paul Oslington, Ray Cleary and Brian Howe (eds), *The Church and the Free Market* (ATF Press, 2002).

a contribution by researcher, Professor Paul Oslington. Professor Oslington's important conclusion was that Government contractors tends to 'reduce the quality of service' by moving from a fixed price model to a cost-plus model.[1] In other words, the risks of cost blow outs were being transferred from the Government to the church-sponsored services. Further, the churches' views on what is best for clients often is not listened to by governments who tend to underestimate the costs to church agencies, which often provide services to clients with complex needs. Paul Oslington considered that "there needs to be a more equal partnership between the government and agencies in the design of arrangements."[2] Of course, on the churches' side, notwithstanding the scale of social programs, insufficient attention is paid to the preparation of staff occupying leadership roles in the social services sector. Renate and I found that "despite the dominant, semi-public role of religious organisations in service delivery and social policy formation" that it has tended to be overlooked by historians and one could add social commentators.[3]

One way of thinking about the influence of churches on society is to look back at historic precedents and I thought some reflections on any such influence might be found in the creation of the Australia Federation in 1901. Two conferences were organised by the recently formed Australian Theological Forum in June 2000 and in July 2001 around the theme of the "Spirit of Australia" which considered the role of religion and citizenship in national life. One of the more important papers at the 2000 Conference was by Professor Rosemary Owen who focused on the failure of the founders

[1] Paul Oslington, "Economic and Theological Implications of the Contracting-Out of Welfare and Labour Market Services" appearing in Alan Nichols, Paul Oslington, Ray Cleary and Brian Howe (eds), *The Church and the Free Market* (ATF Press, 2002), 13-51.

[2] *Ibid*, 38.

[3] Brian Howe and Renate Howe, "The influence of faith-based organisations on Australian social policy", *Australian Journal of Social Issues* (2012) 47, 319.

of the Federation to seriously consider the position of women as citizens. Professor Brian Galligan at the second conference argued that: "Religion can play as large or small a part in national life as its vigour, holiness and strength are capable of and can contribute from time to time, religion can be the primary force in the formation of lives of citizens and in the overall moral and spiritual quality of national life."

These conferences, in a modest way, anticipated the current discussion of the possibility of Australia becoming a republic. While some have argued that the churches' main interest was getting God a mention in the preamble to the Constitution, the role of the churches in the debates at the time of federation were much more substantial. Dr James Jefferis, a Congregationalist minister, at Brougham Street in Adelaide and Pitt Street, Sydney, campaigned strongly for federation. Dr Jefferis contended that:

> [In religion the] prospect of federation is cheering. … Our constitution declares 'while humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God' that the Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion etc. At last the unholy compact between Caesar and certain who claimed the sole authority to represent God has been repudiated and put away. A liberal press and a generous people have demanded and obtained a free church in a free state.[1]

Also example, Cardinal Moran played an important role travelling to Bathurst where he addressed the 1896 people's convention apparently to great effect. Moran's nationalism extended to seeing an important role for Australia in Asia, which drew the ire of the *Bulletin*.[2] In a modest way these two conferences contributed to the

[1] Quoted in John Bannon, "The Church and Federation in 1901" appearing in Brian Howe and Alan Nichols (eds), *Spirit of Australia Religion in Citizenship and National Life* (Australian Theological Forum, 2001), 13.

[2] A.E. Cahill, "Moran, Patrick Francis (1830–1911)", appearing in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University, 1986) (available at

growing debate on the republic. The contributions were published in 2001 in *Spirit of Australia, Religion and Citizenship in National Life*,[1] which I edited with Alan Nicholls.

Urban planning and social policy

In July 1998, the City of Melbourne appointed an independent Docklands Advisory Panel to review issues relating to the future governance of Docklands. The Panel was given an open charter to determine what the best Docklands governance arrangements would be for the city as a whole. The members of the panel were Sir Rupert Hamer, Professor Cheryl Saunders and me. The panel was very critical of creating a special authority to plan the expansion of the city further west, closer to the bay, on the grounds that it would effectively duplicate the central business district without providing an integrated plan. It would also ignore the city's democratic processes, which were important in managing a higher density development.

In 2009, I was asked by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to chair an advisory panel of experts who would advise the Council of Australian Governments on a review of capital city strategic planning systems. The Expert Advisory Committee visited all states and territories and capital cities. In our December 2011 report, *Review of Capital City Strategic Planning Systems*, the Committee noted that:

> A key message the panel delivered to the council in this review—and wishes to deliver to governments in responding to this report, and to the public in reading it—is that Australia is at a watershed point for its capital cities and their strategic planning. Population growth, demographic change, increasing energy costs and the shift to a knowledge economy have changed the assumptions underpinning the shape and

<https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/moran-patrick-francis-7648/text13375> (last accessed 17 March 2023)).

[1] Brian Howe and Alan Nichols (eds), *Spirit of Australia Religion in Citizenship and National Life* (Australian Theological Forum, 2001).

> development of Australian cities. Strategic planning of capital cities must change accordingly, underlining the importance of COAG's agreement of criteria to 're-shape our cities'. In the panel's view, this must also include reconsideration of Australia's settlement pattern."[1]

The Council of Australian Governments 'pigeon-holed' this report. The states tend to see the planning of cities and the pattern of settlement as very much the business of the states and not the business of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, in 2018, a report of a Select Committee of the Parliament entitled, *Building Up & Moving Out: Inquiry into the Australian Government's role in the development of cities*,[2] strongly advocated the need for the Commonwealth to provide national leadership when it came to Australia's settlement pattern and recommended the development of a national plan. With regard to environmental policy alone, the concentration of our population is overwhelmingly near the coast and the gradual construction of vast conurbations on the east coast makes little environmental sense. This is apparent from the Sunshine Coast via Brisbane to the Gold Coast in Queensland; from Newcastle through Sydney to Wollongong in New South Wales; and in Victoria from Warragul to Melbourne to Geelong and on through the Bellarine Peninsula to the Great Ocean Road.

Age discrimination policy work

In 2011, the Federal Government established the Advisory Panel on the Economic Potential of Senior Australians on 30 March 2011 to "examine how Australia can best harness the opportunities

[1] COAG Reform Council 2012, *Review of Capital City Strategic Planning Systems*, COAG Reform Council, Sydney, 2.

[2] Commonwealth, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Infrastructure, Transport and Cities, *Building Up & Moving Out Inquiry into the Australian Government's role in the development of cities* (September 2018, available at <https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/reportrep/024151/toc_pdf/BuildingUp&MovingOut.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf > (last accessed on 17 March 2023)).

that much larger, and more active, communities of older Australians bring".[1] The panel was established to consider how Australia can capitalise on the varied life experiences and intellectual capital of all senior Australians. While I had a minor part in the work of the panel, which was chaired by Everald Compton AM (a former chair of National Seniors Australia), I agreed to participate because I think, as the Australian population is now ageing rapidly, we have failed to recognise how important employment is to many older people, including women. On average, 58% of all low-income households that are renting are paying more than 30% of their household income on rent (based 2019–20 figures[2]) and, for older people who are renting, the percentage of people paying two thirds of their income on rent must be higher. At the same time, there is discrimination that exists towards older people resulting in older people being, at best, casually employed and, for many such workers, on low incomes in the private rental market.

In a speech I gave to the Chain Reaction summarising the work of the panel, I noted that:

> [T]he opportunities associated with more extended lives requires more than a little tweaking of policy. It requires a much more widespread debate about ageism and the various forms of discrimination along with a re-examination of our ideals for the good society. For most of the 20th century women were isolated in their kitchens and then as the result of feminist pressure, significant changes were brought about. Something similar seems to be necessary for older people facing often difficult life course transitions because of our inadequate

[1] Brian Howe, "Social inclusion and healthy ageing" (a speech given to Chain Reaction, organised by the Department of Treasury, Sydney, on 26 February 2013, available at <https://treasury.gov.au/speech/social-inclusion-and-healthy-ageing> (last accessed on 17 March 2023).

[2] Commonwealth, Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Housing Occupancy and Costs, Australia, 2019–20* (https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/housing/housing-occupancy-and-costs/latest-release).

understanding of both the possibilities and the constraints that face us as we age.[1]

Social housing for people living with Disability

Given my long-standing interest and experience in housing policy and disability reform, in 2006 I was asked by the Victorian Government to Chair a new body called the Disability Housing Trust. It was established by Sherryl Garbutt, then Minister for Community Services, with a grant of $10 million dollars and we were asked to find ways to expand the supply of housing for people with serious disabilities.[2] The Trust was focused on finding innovative housing options for people living with disability so that they had the best chance to fully participate in the community. The policy direction at the time was to move away from an institutional framework so that people living with disability were able to live within the community and have the same opportunities as anyone else. The beneficiaries of the Trust were people who qualified for funding under Victoria's disability legislation[3] and for people with an intellectual, physical, sensory, or psychiatric disability, neurological impairment or brain acquired injury who were in need of support to be able to live in the community.[4]

After a couple of years, it became apparent that the Trust needed to be operating on a much a larger scale. This required an expansion in order to bring disability housing into the mainstream

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[1] Brian Howe, "Social inclusion and healthy ageing" (a speech given to Chain Reaction, organised by the Department of Treasury, Sydney, on 26 February 2013, available at <https://treasury.gov.au/speech/social-inclusion-and-healthy-ageing> (last accessed on 17 March 2023)).

[2] Victoria, Department of Human Services, Media Release: $10 million for new homes for Victoria's most disadvantaged (6 June 2006, available at <https://hnb.dhs.vic.gov.au/web/pubaff/medrel.nsf/2b4e916ca12caa334a2565ae001c601d/4cb52643715ad99aca2571840081b5dc?OpenDocument > (last accessed on 17 March 2023)).

[3] That is, the *Disability Services Act 1991* (Vic).

[4] "Trust Deed Disability Housing Trust 2006".

market. The Disability Housing Trust eventually merged with a much larger housing association, Housing Choices Australia ("HCA"), along with Melbourne Affordable Housing, Supportive Housing Limited and Singleton Equity Housing Limited in 2008. I was the initial Chair and Michael Lennon was the CEO. At that point, Housing Choices Australia was the largest non-government provider of community accommodation for people living with disabilities in Australia.[1] However, HCA realised that being a specialist and separated disability housing provider defeated their primary aim which was to integrate people living with disability within buildings, streets and neighbourhoods. The merger was significant in that it meant that the original purpose of the Disability Housing Trust was able to continue. Although HCA has since diversified from being a specialist, disability-only housing provider, it still retains a strong commitment to housing people with disability. Currently 20% of HCA entire housing portfolio is for people with disability and it is now one of the largest providers of affordable housing to low and moderate income earners. Housing Choices Australia manages about 7,400 social and affordable properties worth more than $1.2 billion.[2]

Hal Bissett was also very important in these developments, having been a pioneer of community housing since the 1980s. His involvement began with the pilot program of Jubilee Housing—a collaboration with the State government and the Baptist church and then later through Ecumenical Housing Inc. This led to the Cain Government and the City of Melbourne working collaboratively with the Churches to develop a number of social housing developments. The "Postcode 3000 project" was an important example, which involved building affordable apartments in the inner

[1] Evidence by Mr Chris Glennon 30 April 2009 to the Family and Community Development Committee Inquiry into the provision of supported accommodation for Victorians with a disability and/or mental illness

[2] Housing Choices Australia website accessed 16 March 2023 https://www.housingchoices.org.au/about-us/

city: Ebsworth House in Little Collins Street and Guildford Lane, near the Queen Victoria market. However, by the early 2000s, the churches were more and more reluctant to be engaged in affordable housing projects. The churches still have an opportunity to play a much bigger role in social housing and the possibilities to again work alongside government on a bigger scale should be considered.

Housing Associations and the not-for-profit community housing sector

My involvement in the Disability Housing Trust and later Housing Choices Australia led me to think more and more about the importance of the community housing sector in addressing housing related poverty. This is important nationally because it is becoming clear that a very different approach to social housing is required compared with the post-war model of public housing. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Menzies Government linked post-war reconstruction and public housing, so many of the housing estates were built to service the people working in secondary industry that was part of the post-war reconstruction. During that time, they housed largely immigrant populations but often without the necessary health, welfare and educational services. The result of this approach was more concentrated public housing in areas like Broadmeadows, Doveton and Norlane. As such, most of the current public housing is where jobs used to be, not where jobs are today.

To deal with a much more flexible job market today, the housing market has to be equally flexible. Worryingly, as the need for public housing has increased dramatically in recent years, public housing is now decreasing as a percentage of the total housing stock. The number of public housing households has decreased by 11% over the past decade (321,213 in 2013 to 286,014 in 2022) but there has been an increase in the number of households in community

housing, by 56% (65,632 to 102,145).[1] State housing authorities haven't received the necessary Commonwealth funding to grow their stock so, as a result, they have had to transfer a much of their public housing stock to the community sector. Given the limited number of public housing availability, along with the geographical location of public housing, many more low income people are left in the private rental market.

Data from the 2021 census shows that social housing, which comprises of public and community housing, is around 4% of the total housing stock in Australia.[2] The Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) has found that in 2021 "over half a million (close to 565,000, or just over 6 per cent) Australian households were living in, or had requested to live in, a form of social housing. AHURI projects that the number of social dwellings that will be needed by 2037 will be over 1.1 million."[3]

To address the issue of housing affordability, we need to integrate a number of important initiatives on housing. One of these is to create larger housing associations in order to create a much more powerful not-for-profit community housing sector. Community housing provides below market rate rent for those unable to afford, or access, accommodation in the private rental market. It also allows people to access Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA). This is important, as CRA has a considerable impact on reducing rental stress, which is assessed as occurring when households

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[1] Commonwealth, *Productivity Commission Report on Government Services 2023* (24 January 2023, available at <https://www.pc.gov.au/ongoing/report-on-government-services/2023/housing-and-homelessness/housing> (last accessed on 17 March 2023), Part G, section 18.

[2] *Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Brief: What is the difference between social housing and affordable housing - and why do they matter?* (28 February 2023, available at <https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/brief/what-difference-between-social-housing-and-affordable-housing-and-why-do-they-matter> (last accessed on 17 March 2023)).

[3] *Ibid*

spend more than 30% of their income on rent.[1] Nearly three-quarters of CRA recipients would have been in rental stress had they not been receiving the benefit. While rent assistance goes part of the way in addressing housing related poverty, it does not go the whole way since 46% of recipients are still considered to be in rental stress after receiving CRA.[2] One of the major reasons for this is that CRA is not designed to take account of different markets. Rent assistance is much more important for people in rural areas than those in urban areas. For example, in 2021 the CRA was equivalent to about 25% of the median fortnightly rent in Sydney but it was around 35% in the rest of the NSW.[3]

Disability Housing Trust and NDIS

The Disability Housing Trust was not only important in funding suitable housing for people with disabilities but perhaps, even more importantly, it led to my connection with fellow board member of the Disability Housing Trust, Bruce Bonyhady. At the time, Bruce was the Chair of Yooralla and he was interested in a broader reform of the Federal Government's policies towards people living with a disability. I suggested to Bruce that there was an important precedent for a larger national commitment to people living with a disability provided by the Woodhouse Inquiry established by the

[1] There are a range of approaches to defining and measuring housing stress, with the most common in Australia being the '30/40' affordability rule. This 'rule of thumb' defines housing stress as occurring when households in the lowest 40 per cent of the income distribution pay more than 30 per cent of income on housing costs, adjusted for household size: See, eg., AHURI Glossary at https://www.ahuri.edu.au/glossary?letter=H (last accessed on 16 March 2023).

[2] Commonwealth, Australian Institute of Housing Assistance, Housing Assistance in Australia (29 June 2022, available at <https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/housing-assistance/housing-assistance-in-australia/contents/financial-assistance> (last accessed on 17 March 2023)).

[3] *Ibid.*

Whitlam Government in the early 1970s.[1] Bruce saw that the disunity of the disability sector was a significant problem and we set out to organise several conferences sponsored by the Centre for Public Policy at Melbourne University in an effort to bring the sector together. At one of these conferences, Professor Peter Saunders gave a wonderful opening address linking disability as a major cause of poverty for the disabled. Bruce was able to persuade Jenny Macklin, then the Minister for Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, and ultimately the Gillard Government to create a major reform in the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS), which included housing. The commitment to the NDIS was evident from their first meeting, which happened to be on the first day of Parliament in 2008. The fact that Jenny Macklin prioritised this meeting on such a significant day, which included the Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples, is evidence of her strong interest to transforming the lives of people living with disability.

Conclusion

My time in Chicago was transformative with the civil rights movement at its height and Martin Luther King demonstrating, in my mind, the power of Christian faith to transform American society. I wrote a minor thesis on the 'war on poverty' and saw the potential for community action to transform urban communities, perhaps with a little of Saul Alinsky added.

Returning to Australia, Ronald Henderson published his poverty inquiry in 1975, the only national investigation of poverty and inequality ever conducted. For me, it underlined the importance of research linked to action, which informed my work at CURA in the 1970s. As a Minister in government, and as an activist, I always

[1] Commonwealth, National Rehabilitation and Compensation Scheme Committee of Inquiry, Compensation and rehabilitation in Australia: report of the National Committee of Inquiry (July 1974) (a three volume report). The inquiry was chaired by A.O. Woodhouse and C.L.D. Meares.

celebrated the importance of social research informing social policy. My last effort in the University was to persuade Vice-Chancellor Glynn Davis to support another conference—five decades after Henderson's path-breaking inquiry—in order to consider Henderson's relevance today. Christian ethics, the ethics of non-violent action are just as important today as they were in the time of Martin Luther King and, linked today to informed social research, they are just as transformative.

In conclusion, can I say how fortunate I have been with mentors through my life. People will know of the debt I owed to F.O. Barnett, the great housing campaigner, Christian socialist and person of faith. Of course, Kennedy Tucker was a fellow campaigner with Barnett but it was his nephew, David Scott, at the Brotherhood who got me interested in social policy and the importance of evidenced-based policy. Dr John Burton was the President General of the Methodist Church and strongly committed to social justice but it was his grand-daughter Meredith Edwards, who I had originally met in the Australian Student Christian Movement, who became my principal adviser through my years in the Hawke and Keating Ministries with her great commitment to social reform and good social policy. Finally, Renate and I have shared a journey that took us to Chicago where we were inspired by Martin Luther King, by urban ministry and by the challenge to us, as Christians, to do all that we could do to make a difference.

FROM THE ARCHIVE

Joan Hammonds

For the past eight years Joan Hammonds has been volunteering for Dr Jenny Bars, the Synod Archivist, at the Synod Archives where she manages the museum collection—hence Mr Herring's baton. She also volunteers at Brighton Historical Society—Mr Herring's thermos flask—and the National Trust's Rippon Lea mansion. At both of these she is involved with the management of their collections items. Her working life was spent as a secondary school teacher-librarian.

Mr W.E. Herring, who occasionally fished…

What is this object in the box of material from the Were Street Brighton Methodist Church?[1] It is a slightly tapered, dark stained wooden stick. What could it have been used for? The listed contents of the box told us it was Mr Herring's baton. After languishing in the 'to do' cupboard for a while we decided to try a find out about the man whose baton was considered worthy of keeping. Who was he? Where did he live? What did he do? Why was the baton kept?

[1] The sometimes helpful Methodist tradition was to name churches by street location. It's unhelpful if you do not know which suburb.

Early life

William Ernest Herring was born in Windsor, Victoria in 1859 to William and Hannah Herring.[1] He was educated at Wesley College where in 1876 he was awarded for work in the Fifth Form, except Classics, *The Argus* prize of books to the value of £5[2]; he played cricket in one of the first College teams[3] and at 17 passed the University of Melbourne's matriculation examinations with a credit pass in Arithmetic and Algebra[4].

In 1880 Mr Herring, 21, married 20-year-old Lucy Ann Henwood.[5] The couple spent their early married years in St Kilda where they were active members in the choir at the Fitzroy Street Methodist church as Lucy had a fine soprano voice.[6]

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1 www.ancestry.com.au. (n.d.). *Ancestry Join*. [online] Available at: https://www.ancestry.com.au/discoveryui-content/view/1311466:1778?tid=&pid=&queryId=4ab9e5df8f69d1055570a0b8d33963f1&_phsrc=SAN48&_phstart=successSource [Accessed 28 Mar. 2023].

2 "Wesley College", Australasian. [online] 23 December 1876. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/142995901?searchTerm=W%20E%20Herring%20Wesley%20College [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023].

3 "Old Wesley Collegians' Dinner", Argus. [online] 2 May 1934. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/10932777 [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023].

4 "The University Of Melbourne", *Australasian*. [online] 30 December 1876. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/142996019 [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023].

5 www.ancestry.com.au. (n.d.). *Ancestry Join*. [online] Available at: https://www.ancestry.com.au/discoveryui-content/view/4360524:1780?tid=&pid=&queryId=f896531b7d19cb2902c57409dadd4aa0&_phsrc=SAN49&_phstart=successSource [Accessed 28 Mar. 2023].

6 W.A.S. Shum, *Fifty years ago : a little history of the Were Street Methodist Church*, (Melbourne, Were Street Methodist Church, 1937), 8.

Mr Herring spent his working life as a warehouseman with Beath Scheiss and Co. Clothing Factory.[1] Beath Scheiss and Co. manufactured boys' and men's clothing. In 1882 it had 580 employees in their factories in Flinders St and in Collingwood turning out 30,000 garments per month.[2]

Move to Brighton

In 1887 William and Lucy made the move to Roslyn Street, Brighton[3] which was to be home for the rest of their lives. In 1888 Doris Victoria was born to the Herrings[4] with Ernest Roy arriving five years later in 1893.[5]

A man of faith

After they arrived in Brighton the Herrings continued their commitment to Wesleyan Methodism by becoming members of the Were Street Methodist church.

Mr Herring recalled church life in the 1880s and 1890s: "Houses were scarce and to reach the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Were

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[1] Personal notices, *Herald*, [online] 30 April 1942. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/245114663?searchTerm=MR%20W.%20E.%20HERRING%2C%20who%20was%20associated%20for%20many%20years%20with%20the%20firm%20of%20Beath%20Scheiss%20and [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023].

[2] "Messers Beath, Schiess and Co's Clothing Factories", Illustrated Australian News. [online] 13 May 1882. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63186001 [Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

[3] Shum, 8.

[4] www.ancestry.com.au. (n.d.). *Ancestry Join*. [online] Available at: https://www.ancestry.com.au/discoveryui-content/view/1310519:1778?tid=&pid=&queryId=d7bf8996fdd767653cd9cc6b6391f12c&_phsrc=SAN73&_phstart=successSource [Accessed 28 Mar. 2023]

[5] www.ancestry.com.au. (n.d.). *Ancestry Join*. [online] Available at: https://www.ancestry.com.au/discoveryui-content/view/1765647:1778?tid=&pid=&queryId=63ece9fd05133663ced50e1a104a3835&_phsrc=SAN8&_phstart=successSource. [Accessed 28 Mar. 2023]

Street, Brighton Beach, a creek which had no bridge, had to be crossed – in winter, with the help of a hurricane lamp – and it was no uncommon thing for the preacher, if he were a stranger, to arrive late and breathless, or not at all."[1]

In 1907 a tennis club was formed at the church with Mr Herring being its first president. Other positions he held were Superintendent of the Were Street Sunday School and he was a member of the Church Trust. In the 1937 publication *Fifty Years Ago: a little history of the Were Street Methodist Church* it was reported that:

> The Sunday School had a fine set of teachers. The rows of well-drilled and disciplined young life that filled the platform on Sunday School anniversaries, and sang their songs under the baton of Mr Herring, constituted a promise that was amply fulfilled as the years rolled on.[2]

Lucy Herring was the prime mover in the organisation and success of a bazaar and sale of goods that was held at the Caledonian Hall, Brighton in aid of the Were Street Wesleyan Sunday School in December 1894. William gave a "first-class" solo and Lucy managed the fancy goods stall. There was also a phonograph and side stalls. The event raised between £40 and £50.[3]

A trip to the old country

In December 1911, at the Were Street Sunday School Teachers Meeting, Mr Herring requested "leave of absence for a trip to the old country for the benefit of his health. A resolution for an appreciation of his work was carried with applause and leave of

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[1] Shum, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "The Were Street Wesleyans", *Caulfield and Elsternwick Leader.* [online] 8 December 1894. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/66879938?searchTerm=Were%20Street%20Herring [Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

absence was granted and the meeting wished him a pleasant trip and safe return."[1]

This splendid "Rollert" thermos flask, which is part of the Brighton Historical Society's collection, has on it engraved: *To Mr. W.E. Herring, a gift from his friends at Brighton, Victoria, with every wish for A Safe Journey. Feb.1912*. It has a leather carry case, and it is likely to have been presented to Mr Herring prior to his departure for England with his son in February 1912 on the *R.M.S. Morea II*.[2] They returned to Melbourne in September of the same year on the *R.M.S. Mooltan,* whose Master was Captain R.L. Haddock (yes, really!).[3]

At the Sunday School Teachers Meeting on 5 February 1912, which was the meeting immediately before Mr Herring's departure on the *RMS Morea II*, the details of a new shed to accommodate the Kindergarten was minuted. Chairs were donated by Friends of the Sunday School and Mr Liversidge agreed to supervise the erection of the platform in Mr Herring's absence. At the same meeting the results of elections for office bearers for the year were listed with Mr W.E. Herring being Superintendent and Treasurer; this

[1] Sunday School Teachers Meeting minutes 20 December 1911. Minutes book 1904–1920, 90.

[2] https://prov.vic.gov.au/archive/29AB3AFA-F7F0-11E9-AE98-9B332A30E070?image=315 [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023].

[3] https://prov.vic.gov.au/archive/42EB45E2-F96C-11E9-AE98-2317CB198FE7?image=148 [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023].

would be his twenty-third year in the role of Superintendent. Miss Doris Herring was asked to act as church organist.[1]

Picnic plans dashed

All was organised for the Were Street Methodist Sunday School picnic to take place on 31 January 1915. The venue was to be Ricketts Point, Black Rock; the Lady Teachers, with Mrs Herring as Convenor, were the Provisions Committee and Ernest Roy Herring, then 22, made arrangements for water. Visitors' tickets were set at 2/- for adults and 1/- for children[2]. On the day Melbourne's fickle weather ruined these well-laid plans with rain. After about a two hour drive the group returned to the church where the children had an enjoyable day.[3]

The Queen and the Premier

In June 1897 Mr Herring was organist at the Were Street Wesleyan Church and composed a cantata to celebrate Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. He had been unable to find any anthem he thought suitable for the occasion. The *Brighton Southern Cross* reported the music as being "very tuneful and well harmonised, which does credit to the composer's skill and taste." The anthem was performed twice on Jubilee Sunday at the Were Street Church.[4]

In December 1908 the Victorian Premier, Sir Thomas Bent, presented Sunday School prizes won during the year.[5]

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[1] Sunday School Teachers Meeting minutes 5 February1912. Minutes book 1904–1920, 95–96.

[2] Sunday School Teachers Meeting minutes 5 January 1915. Minutes book 1904–1920, 131.

[3] Secretary's Report 1915. Minutes book 1904–1920, 133.

[4] "Premier At Sunday School", *Ararat Advertiser and Chronicle for the Stawell and Wimmera Districts*. [online] 18 December 1908. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/267722038 [Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

[5] "The Were Street Wesleyans", *Caulfield and Elsternwick Leader*. [online] 8 December 1894. Available at:

Cricket controversy

Despite his working life and many commitments to the Were Street Methodist church Mr Herring continued to enjoy sport. He wrote to the Melbourne *Argus* 14 December 1903 regarding the charge of admission to the cricket:

> THE CHARGE OF ADMISSION
>
> TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS
>
> Sir, Now that the test matches and the principal interstate match are coming on, I would like to throw out a suggestion to "the powers that be". It is this, that after the 4 o'clock adjournment the charge for admission should be reduced to 6d. A good many of us cannot spare the whole day to give to cricket, except on holidays but we might manage to get away at 4 o'clock and whilst we might not care to pay 1/- for an hour and three quarters cricket, we would not begrudge a 6d.
>
> I think it would pay the authorities.
>
> Yours, etc.
>
> W.E. HERRING[1]

A brush with death

On 18 July 1910 William and Ernest Herring were passengers on the 8.30am train from Brighton which stopped at all stations to Flinders Street. It was a very foggy morning with poor visibility. The Brighton train had stopped at Richmond station when an express train from Elsternwick, also travelling to the city on the same

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https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/66879938?search-Term=Were%20Street%20Herring [Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

[1] "The Charge Of Admission", *Argus*. [online] 15 December 1903. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/10587815 [Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

tracks, ploughed into its rear carriages. These three rear carriages telescoped and nine people lost their lives, up to fifteen were critically injured and 50 people had minor injuries.[1] William and Ernest were among the latter with both suffering from shock and William sustaining an injury to his shoulder.[2] They were fortunate not to have chosen carriages towards the rear of the train that morning. As a result of being in this terrible accident William Herring was moved to write to *The Argus* the next day praising the behaviour of the many young people who were also on the ill-fated Brighton train the day before. His final sentence in this letter reads, "These are our Australian girls we are proud of them".[3] Details of this fatal train crash received many newspaper columns throughout Victoria and as far as New South Wales and South Australia.

Unfailing commitment to his Church

Reading the minutes books of various committees from the Were Street Methodist church covering fifty years shows the dedication William Ernest Herring had for his church. He was Sunday School Superintendent for forty years[4], Executive Chairman and Secretary of the Church's Delegates (1905)[5], Vice-President of the Literary and Debating Society 1908–1911[6], Church Trustee, Leaders'

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[1] "Terrible Railway Fatality", Daily Herald. [online] 19 July 1910. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/103890542 [Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

[2] "Brighton", Brighton Southern Cross. [online] 23 July 1910. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/164403195 [Accessed 25 Mar. 2023].

[3] W.E. Herring, "Young Australians", *Argus*. [online] 20 July 1910. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/10445544?search-Term=%22W%20E%20Herring%22 https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/10445544?searchTerm="W E Herring"[Accessed 27 Mar. 2023].

[4] *The Foundation Stone of the New Were Street Methodist Church,* (1955), 4.

[5] Delegates minute book 1905–1921, Minutes for 30 October1905, 2.

[6] Leaders Meeting Minutes book, 1922–1930, Minutes 14 December1926.

Meeting financial secretary[1] and after retiring he cared for the church grounds.[2] It is surprising that no obituary has yet been found for this unstinting churchman. After all, his baton had been thought worthy of preservation presumably above many other items of ephemera, but nothing for its owner.

Later years

Back Row: M. H. Kinsman, E. A. Chancellor, W. A. S. Shum, A. Dorey, D. J. Draper.
Front Row: W. Howe, A. G. Nicholls, W. E. Herring, W. Tredinnick, J. H. West.
Left: (1) The late W. Akehurst. (2) R. C. Davis. (3) J. Davis.

Trustees 1937

The Were Street Methodist church's foundation stone was laid in 1887 by Mrs W.P. Wells, wife of the Superintendent of the Brighton Circuit. There was no report in newspapers or *The*

[1] Brighton Were St Literary & Debating Society minute book, 1908–1911.

[2] "Personal Notices", *Herald*. [online] 30 April 1942. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/245114663?search-Term=MR%20W.%20E.%20HERRING%2C%20who%20was%20associated%20for%20many%20years%20with%20the%20firm%20of%20Beath%20Scheiss%20and [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023]

Spectator of the Church's opening the following year. In 1936, permission was granted to rebuild the church. This 1937 photograph below shows the relaying of the foundation stone in the presence of Mrs Ballor and Mrs Lowe, who witnessed it being laid in 1887, and Mr W.E. Herring who had been a member of the church since its opening in 1888. Confusingly, this church faced Roslyn Street although it was known as Were Street. In 1955, a completely new church was built in front of the old church facing Were Street itself.

Lucy Ann Herring died, aged 65, in 1923[1] leaving William Ernest a widower for 19 years. He died in 1942, after a long illness, aged 83. His funeral left from Monkhouse's funeral parlour on the afternoon of 30 April 1942 for the Brighton Cemetery.[2] Doris appears to have lived in the family home in Rosyln Street with her

[1] www.ancestry.com.au. (n.d.). Ancestry Join. [online] Available at: https://www.ancestry.com.au/discoveryui-content/view/2325287:1779?tid=&pid=&queryId=c10a5d550e5d2986a8f128e689ba9b1a&_phsrc=SAN14&_phstart=successSource [Accessed 28 Mar. 2023].

[2] "Personal Notices", *Herald*. [online] 30 April 1942. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/245114663?searchTerm=MR%20W.%20E.%20HERRING%2C%20who%20was%20associated%20for%20many%20years%20with%20the%20firm%20of%20Beath%20Scheiss%20and [Accessed 26 Mar. 2023]

parents. Lucy and William are both buried in the Brighton General Cemetery together with Doris who died in 1975.[1]

What about the fish?

Before we finish, we can hear you asking, what about Mr Herring's angling exploits? Perhaps unsurprisingly, given his piscatorial name, it seems Mr Herring was a keen fisherman but exactly how, given all his church activities, he had time is unclear. He most certainly would not have gone fishing on Sundays, given Methodists' strict view of Sabbath Observance. We fished around and hooked this extract from an article in *The Australasian* of 25 November, 1899, page 22 as part of *Fishing Notes* by "Topjoint":

> Messrs. Gregerson, Morrison, Watts, and W. E. Herring were out on Saturday off Brighton Beach, and got six gurnard and some six dozen flathead. Some of the flathead were very large, one going 3lb. l0oz., another 1lb. 8oz., and the remainder were all fair fish. They also hooked two very large leatherjackets.[2]

Fish and chips were probably de rigueur in the Herring household on Saturday nights.

[1] https://www.brightoncemetorians.org.au/search/ [accessed 08/03/2023]

[2] "Fishing Notes", *Australasian*. [online] 23 December 1899. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/138612751?searchTerm=Herring%20flathead%20gurnard# [Accessed 28 Mar. 2023].

RENATE HOWE AM: A RETROSPECTIVE

Various contributors

On the 27th of July 2017 a reception was held at the Church of All Nations in Carlton, Victoria to celebrate the professional contributions of Dr Renate Howe AM to religious, urban, women's and social history and to planning and heritage in Victoria. Former colleagues of Dr Renate Howe spoke at the event including Emeritus Professor Graeme Davison, Professor Shurlee Swain and Jenny Moles. Reproduced here are edited versions of their contributions and a shortened bibliography of her works.

Dr Renate Howe

Dr Renate Howe has made a distinguished contribution to public life as a professional historian and as a planner with a focus on heritage protection. Her influential career has encompassed work on the history of churches, cities, housing, heritage studies, social welfare and urban social movements. Renate's interest and contribution to church and social history is reflected in her doctorate comparing the responses of the Protestant churches to urbanisation in Melbourne and Chicago, and subsequent research on important cultural institutions including the Housing Commission, Wesley Central Mission, the Orana Homes and the Student Christian Movement. Renate's keen sense of social responsibility has informed her historical research, and she has demonstrated a unique ability to blend history with contemporary social policy.

In 1977 Renate was one of the first appointments at the recently established Deakin University. At Deakin she was an innovator in the development of a new interdisciplinary course on urbanisation in Australia, and in setting up a distance education program that encouraged women and students in regional and remote areas to

undertake university studies. In addition to her contributions to the university, which included serving on the Councils of Deakin University and Queen's College at the University of Melbourne, and chairing the Human Research and Ethics Committee at Deakin, Renate has supported a range of public and community organisations. Over her career she has served on bodies including the Board of Management of Mount Royal Hospital, the Public Records Advisory Council, and the Executive Committee of the Australian Historical Association, and the committee of the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific.

Since the 1960s, when Dr Howe became active in community action in Melbourne's inner suburbs, she has had a particular interest in issues of heritage conservation, a commitment reflected in her appointment to the Heritage Council of Victoria in 2003. From 1983 to 1985 Dr Howe took leave from Deakin to serve as a Senior Member of the Planning Appeals Board, later the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal (VCAT), where she was the first woman appointed as a full time member. She also chaired the first all-women division of the Board to hear a case. For over twenty years she served as a sessional panel member of VCAT Planning Panels. She was named a Fellow of the Victorian Planning and Environmental Law Association in recognition of her distinguished service to the planning and heritage conservation profession.

Over Renate's career she was a prolific writer and a selection of her publications are provided below. She was awarded an AM in the Australia Day honours list in 2012.

Further information can be found on *The Encyclopedia of Women and Leadership in Twentieth Century Australia*: https://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0647b.htm

Contribution to urban and religious history

Emeritus Professor Graeme Davison, 27 July 2017

I am grateful for this opportunity to say a few words in appreciation of my friend Renate and of her wonderful contributions to Australian urban history and to the civic culture of Melbourne.

Our friendship goes back a long way, over 50 years, to the time when we were both History Honours students at the University of Melbourne. … When I bumped into Renate I recognised a kindred spirit, and a fellow Methodist by the way, also interested in the history of our cities. Urban history was an idea that had already caught the attention of some of our teachers, like Norman Harper and Allan Martin. During our undergraduate years we heard lectures from two notable international visitors which may have reinforced our interest: Richard Wade from Chicago, the author of *The Urban Frontier*, and Asa Briggs from Sussex, who was soon to publish *Victorian Cities*, which included a chapter on Melbourne.

As students in the 1960s, however, only half our education was acquired in the classroom; the other half came from the vigorous student culture of lunchtime meetings, conferences and political activities. The Australian Student Christian Movement, the Newman Society, the Rationalist Society, the ALP Club and the Liberal Club each generated its own intellectual subculture, its own heroes, favourite texts and specialised vocabularies. This was the heyday of the SCM, the liberal protestant student society whose pervasive influence on Australian intellectual and political life Renate would later memorably record in *A Century of Influence*. SCMers gathered their reading matter at the SCM Bookshop, then located in rooms above Swanston Street, just as local Marxists drew theirs from the International Bookshop in a basement at the bottom end of Elizabeth Street. Our reflections on the relationship between faith and society were taking a sociological turn. Along with the German theologians—Barth, Bonhoeffer, Bultmann, Brunner, Niebuhr,

Tillich—we were also reading sociologists, mostly of American and German extraction….

In these [authors' books], and in our minds, the city had emerged as the site and symbol of the modern condition, in both its secular and religious aspects. This preoccupation with 'the challenge of the city' (to use the resonant title of one of Renate's books) was the taproot of the many branches of historical and social inquiry we pursued over the succeeding years.

In 1964, soon after the Adelaide SCM conference … Renate's path and mine diverged. Brian and Renate headed for Chicago where they became involved in the intense community politics of the civil rights era, learning from inspiring figures like Saul Alinski. While Brian studied at McCormick Theological Seminary, Renate worked on a Melbourne PhD comparing the responses of the Protestant churches to urbanisation in Melbourne and Chicago. Briggs and Wade, our urban history gurus, had advocated a comparative approach, but Renate was one of the few to take that challenge seriously. Thinking about Melbourne with one eye cocked towards Chicago, led her to ask new questions. Why, for example, did Melbourne not develop a progressive tradition of social inquiry and reform, like Chicago's Hull House? To paraphrase Rudyard Kipling: what did we know of Melbourne who only Melbourne knew?

…In 1970 Renate and I again happily crossed paths. I recall dining with them in McKean Street, North Fitzroy, the parsonage of the former Brunswick Street Methodist Church, which had been swept away by the Housing Commission high-rise flats. With the blessing of the Methodist Church, Brian had founded CURA, the Centre for Urban Research and Action, where he and Renate were putting some of the lessons of their Chicago years into practice. With her seemingly inexhaustible energy and imperturbable good humour, Renate was raising a young family, teaching social history to social work students, writing reports for CURA and throwing herself into the politics of the inner suburbs. Many of you, I'm sure, will recall

the excitement of those years—the struggles against the urban redevelopment schemes of the Housing Commission and the Country Roads Board, the embryonic urban conservation movement, and the vigorous networks of urban research and action …. …. Much of Renate's research during these years was for CURA projects like the inquiry into migrant women in the workforce, entitled "But I Wouldn't Want My Wife to Work Here" (1976), and a report on impact of gentrification on low-income tenants "The Displaced" (1977).

Around this time, in the mid-1970s, I decided to offer a first-year course in urban history. Questions on the city were very much in the air, and our thinking about the urban past was being shaped by contemporary debates about the Whitlam Government's urban agenda and by our reading of the likes of Jane Jacobs, David Harvey and Hugh Stretton. In our course, we compared the histories of four great cities, Manchester, London, Melbourne and Chicago. …. We persuaded Renate to came across from Social Work to assist in teaching it. …. Part of the excitement came from the strong connections we developed between the classroom and the city, and between urban history and urban policy, including historic conservation. We invited activists such as Giovanni Sgro and journalists like Keith Dunstan to speak to our students. We brought Victorian London to life with readings from Mayhew and Dickens and music hall songs sung by Danny Spooner. …. In 1980 we gathered some of our itineraries into a book entitled *Melbourne on Foot*, inspired by a similar guide to historical neighbourhoods in Chicago, *Chicago on Foot*. In all this, Renate's knowledge of Chicago's history and her engagement in Melbourne's urban politics were an invaluable asset.

By 1980 [at] Deakin [University] where, together with Louise Johnson and others, [Renate] developed an even more ambitious interdisciplinary course, "The Australian City". [This became] the inspiration behind her prolific … contributions: for example, her history of the Housing Commission, *New Houses for Old*, where she critically reappraises the influence of a Methodist hero, Os Barnett;

or the histories of two venerable Methodist institutions, Wesley Central Mission and the Orana Children's Homes, which she wrote in partnership with Shurlee Swain; …. of social welfare, when traditional models of care were being challenged, and the institutions themselves were being radically reformed or even abolished. In such circumstances, the historian can have an important role in preserving institutional memory, critically examining past practice—including the history of abuse—and in challenging boards and managers to think more deeply about their purpose. Renate was one of the first to take up that challenge. ….

For Renate history has never been, in the narrow sense of the word, an academic pursuit. She has always seen it as a prophetic discipline; a way of understanding the present as well as the past; a source of inspiration and a spur to action; and a bridge between the academy and the community. How appropriate it is that we are meeting this evening at the Church of All Nations, a symbol of the radical ecumenical Christianity that she, perhaps more than any other Australian historian, has studied, celebrated and exemplified in her historical practice and community engagement. Over the years her work has ranged widely—into the histories of feminism, social welfare, urban planning and heritage—but her vantage point has remained singularly steady and consistent.

"The world is my parish", the founder of Methodism, John Wesley famously declared. How much of John Wesley's Methodism might Renate, or we, want to follow today, I'm not sure, but this outward-looking, inclusive stance is surely one of its authentic marks. In a thoughtful essay in the *Australian Journal of Social Issues* in 2012 Brian and Renate argue that the contribution of religion to the making of Australian social policy has been seriously underestimated, but go on to acknowledge that its future contribution may be more problematic. "During the 1960s", they write, "many people believed that that the age of religion had passed and that in the future Australia would become an ever more secular society. Few people today would make such a bold prediction. The obvious benefits of

multiculturalism are that we are able to both celebrate our cultural diversity and recognise the contribution of differing cultures, including that of our Indigenous people."….

Contribution to women's and social history

Professor Shurlee Swain

My first contact with Renate was through the Social History course in which we were trying to persuade social work students that their profession had a history. In the final days of my PhD, Renate offered me work at a very new Deakin University teaching an innovative unit called The Australian City. Australian Studies gave many academics the freedom to take risks, and this course drew on Renate's research strengths. It introduced students to the cities of Manchester and Chicago and then to boom-time Melbourne. This boom was followed by a disastrous decline, in which Christian social reformers were central to the public response, theorising as a way of understanding and laying the basis for government intervention in planning and housing (as well as the economy).

At Deakin … the first generation of off-campus students were predominantly women who had been shut out of tertiary education as adolescents because of parental and social expectations and, in the wake of the Whitlam reforms, were hungry to learn. These students, wanting to learn but not sure quite what, were directed into the Australian City course as their first unit because staff in the off-campus unit saw it as the ideal introduction to tertiary study—and they still remember it. As a foundation staff member at Deakin, Renate's contribution extended well beyond this unit, as she brought a gender perspective and a scholastic rigour, among other contributions.

Our Deakin work provided the basis for an enduring research collaboration that was based on complementary research interests. *All God's Children* … was a commissioned history of the Methodist Homes for Children (later Orana), occasioned by a looming centenary that we didn't quite make. The book finally appeared at the

point that the agency closed its eastern suburban children's village to develop a different type of service in Melbourne's north (demanding an urgent rewrite of the final chapter just as the book was going to press). I had done a commissioned history of a children's institution before, but what Renate brought to this project was a knowledge of Methodism (debt and the doxology), both its beliefs and practices and its personnel (i.e. who was related to whom). ….

Our next book *The Challenge of the City*, a commissioned history of Melbourne's Wesley Mission, was a much more ambitious endeavour. It had its origins in the social gospel movement of the late 19th century, central to Renate's area of expertise, and continued the engagement between the church and social reform throughout the 20th century, a process which she had both studied and participated in. While I could work my way through the intricacies of the many institutions and programs that operated under the Mission's auspice, Renate's contribution was to explain how all these parts came together to form the whole, and how this role was part of a highly influential national and international movement. She was also central to the book's core argument as to the centrality of religious belief to all of this endeavour, not only historically but also among the staff of the Mission at the time at which we were doing the research.

Our third book, *Single Mothers and their Children*, took this collaboration to a new level. I had done the preliminary work on the topic, but Renate had the status to apply for an ARC grant that funded the project to grow well beyond what was originally envisaged. Although it began as a traditional 'objective' history, we developed it into a new type of history written in collaboration with those whose story it was telling. The funding allowed us to employ research assistants and it was at this point the notion of objectivity broke down and the universality of the experience we were mapping became apparent. Our research assistants included a single mother, an adult adoptee and a mother by adoption, and the project was enriched by interviews and collaboration with people

whose lives had been impacted in various ways by the stigma attached to births outside marriage. Renate wrote the final chapter of that book, bringing the story into the 1970s, the point at which participants challenged and moved beyond the stigma to create a new status for single parenthood, a status made possible not least because of the social security reforms of the 1970s. She was uniquely positioned to write this chapter, both because of her involvement in the Labor politics that were central to this change, but also because of personal association with many of the key players who had gone on to develop impressive careers in social policy reform on the basis of their early activism.

… I believe she made two important contribution. Firstly, it was her understanding of religious commitment in relation to 19th century women's movement, something that many scholars preferred to forget. This same perspective came to the fore in her book on the Australian Student Christian Movement. which provided the essential background to many of the figures prominent in social reform and policy development in the second half of the last century. Secondly, it was the links she made between scholarship and activism, which is apparent in her other recent book on inner-suburban activists. History that is active and committed, and grounded in the struggle for equity and social change, is central to this legacy.

Contribution to planning and heritage

Jenny Moles

Jenny is a former Chair of the Heritage Council of Victoria, and served with Renate on Planning Panels Victoria, where Jenny remains a sessional member.

Not content with a productive life teaching, researching and writing, Renate has also made a valuable contribution to the practice of planning and heritage conservation in Victoria, for which she was awarded a fellowship of the Victorian Planning and Environmental Law Association in 2009. …. Renate has served on bodies that have been centrally involved in managing land use and heritage

in Victoria, [two of which were the Tribunal and the Heritage Council of Victoria].

The Tribunal

The current Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal or VCAT—which is part of the judicial system in the state. Established in 1998, it includes a Planning and Environment list that deals with town planning and heritage management principally in terms of its role in reviewing decisions of local councils in relation to planning permits for new uses or development. VCAT was preceded by the Administrative Appeals Tribunal, the Planning Appeals Board and Town Planning Appeals Tribunal and Minister's delegates.

Renate took leave from Deakin University between 1983 and 1985 to serve as a Senior Member of the Planning Appeals Board (PAB) on which she was the first woman appointed as a full-time member. ….

The Heritage Council of Victoria

Established under the *Heritage Act 1995,* the Heritage Council of Victoria (HCV) was responsible for the management of places of State heritage importance and the promotion of heritage conservation. Among other functions, the Council is the appeal body for decisions on works permits by the Executive Director of Heritage and makes decisions relating to the inclusion of places on the State Heritage Register. Public hearings are conducted in much the same way as other administrative tribunals.

Renate was a Member of the Heritage Council from 2003 to 2009…. As a Council Member, she was also involved in some of the broader policy and promotional work of the Council, including membership of a Council steering committee set up to develop *Victoria's Framework of Historic Themes*, published in February 2010, and used in the assessment of heritage importance of places proposed for inclusion on the Heritage Register. The membership of

that group included not only Heritage Council and Heritage Victoria staff but also staff from Aboriginal Affairs and representation from the Aboriginal Heritage Council. The themes identified include two pre-history themes recognising the value of places to Aboriginal communities. ….

Planning Panels

Planning Panels are established under the *Planning and Environment Act 1987*. They are appointed by the Minister to advise local councils on how best to respond to public submissions made in response to exhibited changes to their planning schemes. These amendments to schemes include the introduction or modification of Heritage Overlays. Panels will generally conduct a hearing to allow the submitters and Council to make presentations and call evidence in relation to the Amendment and issues in dispute and prepare a report for the Council.

From the late 1980s to 2015 Renate was a sessional member of Planning Panels Victoria. Records indicate that in this period she sat on more than 40 panels—again many concerning heritage issues though others included crisis accommodation, gaming premises, freeway interchanges.

From 2009, she was also a member of the Standing Advisory Committee appointed by the Minister for Planning on Social Housing Projects and was involved in considering a number of specific projects.

I first overlapped with Renate at Planning Panels when we were both appointed to a three person Panel—Creswick Amendment 8—sometime around 1988.

This Panel concerned 55 mullock heaps in the Shire spread across public and private land—results of deep lead mining. The Shire was proposing to place each one in an individual Heritage Overlay. The heaps were at risk in so far as a company proposed to retreat the mullock to extract gold and possibly some were proposed to

be used for railway ballast. Issues included if the reworking was to be allowed whether they should be rebuilt to original shape. Also a memorable hearing as we sat on Melbourne Cup Day because outside the metropolitan area. Stopped for the Cup broadcast and—after serious consideration of whether it might be seen to bias our decision—we accepted afternoon tea for all provided at some parties' expense.

In the event we recommended the application of the Heritage Overlay to all but a few after inspections. The Minister was not impressed. Only those on public land were included in the Heritage Overlay.

Collected works

"From Goldfield to Community—Ballarat 1856–1866", Honours thesis, Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1960.

"The Wesleyan Church in Victoria, 1855–1901: Its Ministry and Membership", Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1965

"Social composition of the Wesleyan Church in Victoria during the nineteenth century", *Journal of Religious History*, 4(3):206–17, 1967

"The Response of Protestant Churches to Urbanisation in Melbourne and Chicago, 1875–1914", PhD thesis, Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1971

I Wouldn't Want My Wife to Work Here, (Fitzroy, Vic: Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1976).

The Displaced, (Fitzroy, Vic: Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1977).

New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria, 1938–1988, (Melbourne: Ministry of Housing and Construction, 1988).

Report on Historic Local Government Records: Inner Suburban Municipalities, (Geelong: Deakin University, 1988), (with David Harris)

"The Aldersgate experience in perspective", in Harold Wood (ed.), *The Aldersgate Experience of John Wesley*, (Melbourne: Uniting Church Press, 1988).

All God's Children: A Centenary History of the Methodist Homes for Children and the Orana Peace Memorial Homes, (Kambah ACT: Acorn Press, 1989) (with Shurlee Swain)

"Together but different", in *Fitzroy: Melbourne's First Suburb*, (Fitzroy: Fitzroy History Society, 1989)

"Saving the child and punishing the mother: Single mothers and the state, 1912–1942", *Special Edition, Journal of Australian Studies*, 17(37):31–46, 1993 (with Shurlee Swain)

A Student Guide to Research in Social Science (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993) (with Ros Lewis)

The Challenge of the City: The Centenary History of Wesley Central Mission, 1893–1993 (South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1993) (with Shurlee Swain)

"A paradise for working men but not working women: Women's wagework and protective legislation in Australia, 1890–1914", in Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris & Jane Lewis (eds), *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States and Australia, 1880–1920* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 318–36.

"Inner suburbs: From slums to gentrification", in Louise C. Johnson (ed.), *Suburban Dreaming: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Australian Cities* (Geelong, Vic: Deakin University Press, 1994).

Single Mothers and their Children: Disposal, Punishment and Survival in Australia, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996) (with Shurlee Swain);

"Gender and the welfare state: Comparative perspectives", *Gender and History*, 8(1), 1996

Bellarine Heritage Study, (Geelong: Environmental History, Centre for Australian Studies, Deakin University, 1996). (with Lorraine Huddle, Ros Lewis and Karyn Francis)

"Town and gown: Father Maynard and the Student Christian Movement", in Colin Holden (ed.), *Anglo Catholicism in Melbourne, Papers to Mark the 150th Anniversary of St Peter's Eastern Hill, 1846–96*, (Melbourne: Department of History, The University of Melbourne, 1997).

"A new paradigm: Planning and construction in the 1940s", in Stephen Hamnet & Robert Freestone (eds), *The Australian Metropolis, A Planning History* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2000).

"The influence of faith-based organisations on Australian social policy", *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 47(3), 2012 (with Brian Howe)

"'Nobody but a bunch of mothers': Grassroots activism and women's leadership on 1970s Melbourne", in Rosemary Francis, Patricia Grimshaw & Ann Standish (eds), *Seizing the Initiative: Australian Women Leaders in Politics, Workplaces and Communities*, (Melbourne: eScholarship Research Centre, The University of Melbourne, 2012), 332–40.

Trendyville: The Battle for Australia's Inner Cities (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2013) (with Graeme Davison and David Nichols)

"Methodism in Victoria and Tasmania: 1855–1902", in Glen O'Brien & Hilary Carey (eds), *Methodism in Australia: A History*, (London: Routledge, 2016)

"The Australian Student Christian Movement and the ideal of world government", in Joy Damousi & Patricia O'Brien, *League of*

Nations: Histories, Legacy and Impact, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2018).

JOHN JAMES EDGOOSE

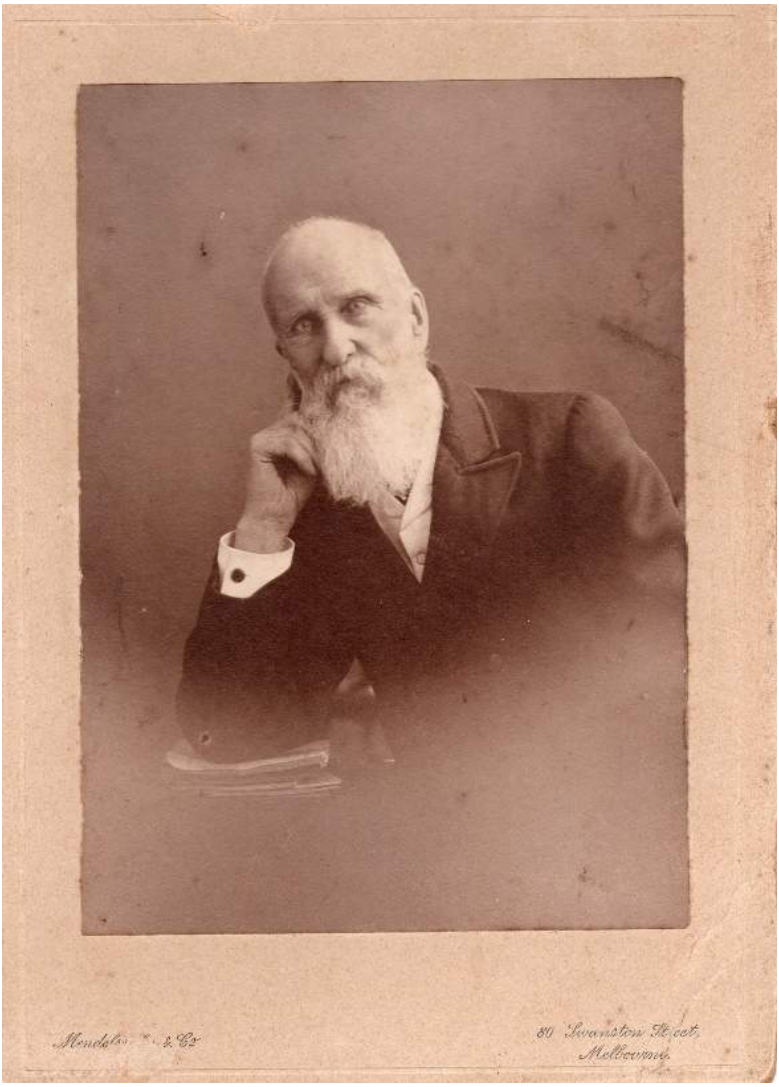
Louise Edgoose

Louise Edgoose, one of his great-granddaughters, is a retired psychologist and an artist, who is thankful for the theological and musical traditions of the Methodist Church, passed down through several generations of her family.

John James Edgoose: 7 October 1830–1 March 1930

John James Edgoose was born on 7 October 1830 in Gosberton, Lincolnshire, England. He emigrated to Australia in 1859 on the ship *Broadwater*, having been sent by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in England. I believe his older sister Elizabeth was sent out as a Methodist missionary a few years earlier, possibly in 1853. My grandmother, Ethellyn Edgoose, used to tell a story of how her father-in-law preached on board the ship during its long voyage to Hobart. Apparently the ship was delayed for 80 days around the Cape of Good Hope due to very little wind. When John did arrive in Hobart on 26 June 1859, he wasted no time beginning his ministry. He held an anniversary fundraising service for the Bethel Union in Hobart in early July. A month later, he sailed for Melbourne, and was sent to work as a probationary minister for the Carisbrook Methodist Church. He worked for the Carisbrook/Maryborough Circuit from 1859 to 1861, alongside the Rev. John Symons, who described the area as being sparsely populated, consisting of small digging communities, where most people were living in humble circumstances. John Edgoose then moved to Williamstown, where he worked as a Methodist preacher from 1861 to 1862. He worked in various Methodist Circuits across Victoria throughout his long life, but left paid ministry in 1866 to join the Education Department and train as a teacher.

His first teaching appointment was at Ryrie Street, Geelong in September 1868, and the following year, became Head Teacher at another primary school in Geelong.



J.J. Edgoose, c.1890 (Mendelssohsns & Co, Melbourne)

Not long afterwards on 18th June 1870, he married Sarah Adams at Chilwell, Geelong Wesleyan Methodist Church. They had eight children, the second youngest Herbert (b. 1884) was my

grandfather. Two years later, in 1872, he was appointed as Head-master at the Kensington Primary School, where he worked until 1881. Later in life he settled in Blackburn, where he named his house "Risegate" after the village that he had left in Lincolnshire.

Although John James Edgoose was employed as a teacher for many years, his heart seemed to be more in his lay preaching. He was a regular preacher in the Box Hill Circuit from 1889 to 1929. After retiring from teaching in 1890–91, he kept working almost full-time for the Methodist Church, and was preaching until the age of 99.

John James Edgoose was known as a learned, well-read man and sincere lay preacher for the Methodist Church in Victoria for over 70 years. Although he never did get ordained, the Church awarded him the courtesy title of 'Reverend' J.J. Edgoose.

(Sources consulted apart from family history and anecdotes were the National Library's Trove and W.L. Blamires & J.B. Smith's *The Early History of the Methodist Church in Victoria*, published 1886.)

ALEXANDER JOHN KILGOUR: A TRIBUTE

John Preston

John Preston, now retired, served for many years in the Presbyterian and Uniting Churches in various senior roles, especially those related to property and the use of resources. His story can be read in Volume 26 No. 2 for December 2019.

Alex Kilgour and his wife Edna hold a special place in my life. I first met Alex when he was the convener of the Stewardship and Promotion Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria in 1972. I had been appointed as the Finance and Administration Assistant to the Department of Home Missions and one of my first jobs was to complete the Home Mission Annual Financial Budget for presentation to the Budget Review Committee (BRC).

I can remember being very nervous when meeting the BRC members, Alex Kilgour Convener, Bruce McMullin—chartered accountant and John Mitchell—finance manager of Thomas Mitchell Brush Company. I was very relieved when the BRC gave me a positive report and recommended the approval of our Home Mission's 1973 Budget!

Several months after meeting Alex Kilgour for the first time I attended a meeting of the Presbyterian New Capital Fund Committee. I recall a conversation between the committee members (Including Sir Roger Darvall, Sir Hugh Bain, Sir John Reid and Noel Miller) who spoke highly about Alex Kilgour's business acumen and about how Alex had successfully wound up the company DHA—Drug Houses of Australia. It was years later that we learned that Alex and Edna continued the manufacture of the Watkins product under license of Menthol Camphor (we knew this product as Auntie Betty's magic ointment!) which our children wanted Betty Wootton to apply when they were sick.

Alex was the convener of the much-respected Presbyterian Assembly, Stewardship & Promotion Department. The Rev. Max

Griffiths was the Director (1963–69) followed by Mr Henry Newland. The staff conducted stewardship programs in congregations, promoted the work of the Presbyterian Church in Australia and overseas in congregations in Victoria. The Department ensured not only the budget for the church was raised each year but that it fulfilled the role monitoring the expenditure of each section of the church.

On many a Friday lunchtime, Alex would often join with Dick Wootton, Alan Crawford, a number of other ministers and myself outside the South African Airlines office in Collins just opposite the Stock Exchange to protest in support of the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. We made sure we always wore jackets and ties. Eventually the Airways office was moved to Sydney.

I admired Alex for his strong faith, commitment and passion for church union. Alex was very involved with the national Assembly's planning committee for the union of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Australia which was achieved on 22 June 1977. Alex was a formidable debater in the Assembly and Synod meetings. I can remember Alex rushing down the aisle in one Assembly meeting with his head tilted to the side on his way to the lectern to present his report or to contribute to the union debates. Alex became a close friend of the Rev. Dick Wootton and a Director then Chair of the Asian Development Foundation and the Australian Human Rights Foundation.

I was appointed as the part-time Secretary of the Division of Resources in the new Uniting Church Synod of Victoria; with Alex Kilgour as the convenor. Alex could lead an excellent devotion and opening prayer for our meetings. Later my position became

fulltime with the title Executive Secretary. I really enjoyed having Alex's leadership as chairperson for eight years.

At the time of their marriage Alex and Edna were members of the John Knox Presbyterian Church in Gardenvale. Alex was an elder and a lay preacher before the Kilgour family moved to 1048 Nepean Highway, Moorabbin . The family became members of the Highett Presbyterian and later the Uniting Church where the Rev. Frank Boucher was minister of the congregation. He had been my minister at the Belmont Presbyterian Church. Our PFA Groups met several times for weekend activities and we were billeted with the PFA members families in Highett or in Belmont.

Alex was a committed elder, Bible class and youth leader at Highett. He was also a member of the Melbourne East Presbytery as well as a member of the state and national Presbyterian Assemblies. On occasions I would often visit Alex in the evenings to get his advice on different matters. I would go to his home at Nepean Highway, Moorabbin where I met his wife Edna. Edna was secretary of the Highett PWMU and was always busy baking cakes and making jams for the PWMU Mission projects and would sell them at the church fete and even outside the State Savings Bank to raise money for numerous mission projects.

In 1982 the Synod approved the formation of the Resources Commission. Lyle Wright, a recently retired deputy general manager of Australia Post, acted in the role of Executive Secretary of the Commission. I was fortunate to attend a planning meeting where the position of Executive Secretary was being considered. I questioned why we could not 'call' Alex Kilgour, to be the Executive Secretary and to my delight the meeting agreed to approach Alex in this matter to fill this important position. Alex agreed and the Standing Committee approved Alex's appointment.

Lyle Wright then took over the role of chairperson of the Resources Commission's Planning Division. Alex was then my boss from 1982 to 1989. He really had had a successful business career

in fixing failing companies. Alex had successfully managed three companies, Drug Houses of Australia (DHA), Watkins, and Mitchell Brush Company, leading to them becoming extremely profitable. Alex had to endure the trauma of DHA and Mitchell's being taken over by larger conglomerates and Watkins being shut down by its parent company. It must have been devastating for Alex then to witness the businesses he had built up being closed or asset stripped after the takeover and then closed.

Alex was able to bring all the staff and UCA members of each Division—Accounting, Computer, Finance, Property and Resources—together to be a strong team. Alex had to deal with the failure of two schools, Kingswood College in Box Hill as well as Saint Philip's College in Alice Springs as well as the failing St Andrew's Hospital in East Melbourne. Alex ensured that both Kingswood and St Philip's Colleges survived. Alex served on the Synod and the Assembly Standing Committees.

Alex's daughter, Ros Ratcliff, said: "Alex felt that being part of the team that was able to bring about the saving and restructuring of St Philip's, not just financially but also its role in the community in Alice Springs, was one of the most worthwhile legacies he felt he has left. In March 2019 Chris Tudor, the ex-principal with whom Alex had worked, came down to Mornington to present Alex with a copy of the history of St Philip's College in which Alex's involvement was acknowledged". Alex stayed strongly connected with St Philip's up until his death.

At the formation of the Uniting Church in Australia Alex was appointed chairperson of the Assembly Finance Committee, a role he held for several years. This meant that Alex was also a member of the Assembly Standing Committee. The Finance Committee was responsible to review all the Assembly departments and prepare the Assembly budget. The Committee arranged the national property and insurance seminar which was held in different Synods. This seminar was very valuable for the staff of each Synod to

share ideas and contribute to the development of the Assembly's policies and regulations.

Alex was recognised for his outstanding services to the Uniting Church and was appointed Moderator of the Synod of Victoria 1985–1986. Alex made the young people of the UCA his focus as Moderator, which was well received by many members.

When Alex was Moderator he asked me to visit the Sea Lake community and its Uniting Church congregation, as I had been a farmer for a short time prior to union, to find out what was happening. The farming community had faced severe drought and many farmers had purchased their farm machinery with hire-purchase finance (traditionally they paid cash for their equipment). The local Westpac bank manager had won the prize for the greatest number of finance contracts written at the time! With the long drought the Banks started to repossess the farming equipment and this prevented farmers from cultivating their paddocks. A number of farmers had to sell or leave their farms. A number of young farmers had committed suicide because they felt that they caused their parents to become bankrupt and were required to sell their properties. Many men in the community suffered from depression; however, the women networked extensively to support one another. The women established the Sea Lake Neighbourhood House to support one another and share ways to save money.

When I reported back to Alex he supported my proposal to visit both the Westpac and National Australia Bank to lobby them. Alex arranged for Bert Horsburgh, a retired manager in the Rural Finance Corporation to help me. Bert was very familiar with the struggles farmers had at the time in the Mallee during the Great Depression. He was able to explain to the mangers of

the banks' rural divisions how to support the farmers through these tough times! Alex concentrated on supporting the minister and the members of the congregation.

Every Moderator of the Synod appointed since the formation of the Uniting Church has had to deal with a major disaster or crisis that has occurred in the Synod or State. Alex's term as Moderator included the time after the awful Ash Wednesday fires and a great deal of his focus was about supporting the communities affected.

In 1989 Alex retired, leaving a well-running Resources Commission and there was an excellent staff team and very supportive members of the various committees. At that time the Mission and Service budget received 85% of its income from congregations.

In 1992 Alex Gillespie, at that time the longest serving member of staff from the Presbyterian Assembly, retired as Executive Secretary of the Finance Division and the Synod Property Officer. Following his retirement Alex and Edna had moved from their home in Moorabbin to a unit in Mornington, and transferred their church membership to St Mark's Uniting Church Mornington. Alex and Edna ran both the social justice group and a reconciliation group from their home. Alex was the local reconciliation coordinator for the region. At various times he was a keen swimmer, walker (with Edna) and square-dancer (again, with Edna).

Following Alex's retirement we kept in regular contact through our memberships of the Asian Development Foundation and the Australian Human Right Foundations. Alex and I both received daily emails from Dick Wootton on world affairs and the latest thinking in theology. Alex was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease in 2014 although he had had symptoms for several years prior to diagnoses. Alex was fortunate to have his daughter Ros as his physiotherapist for she kept him as fit as possible so he could care for his beloved Edna.

In June 2020 Alex and Edna moved into an aged care facility, Craig Care Mornington, at Mount Martha. Alex died on 29 June 2021. I

say thanks be to God for this wonderful man Alexander John Kilgour my friend, mentor, convener, boss, and Moderator.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS ROBINSON

Keith Hallett

Keith Hallett is a retired history teacher. Growing up in Murrumbeena, the strong Methodist Church there formed the bedrock of his faith, while the Uniting Church broadened his social awareness. He deeply regrets the European centred curriculum of his early and mid-career.

George Augustus Robinson, 1791–1866, held two governmental responsible offices to offer official care for the First Peoples of Van Diemen's Land (to become Tasmania in 1856) and of the Port Philip District (which became the colony of Victoria in 1850). He was a man of little education, a bricklayer by trade, a member of the Anglican Church who showed Methodist enthusiasm for his religion, who quickly became a local preacher on his arrival in Hobart. He worked with missions to seamen, was a prisoner visitor, and a member of the Bible Society and became responsible for the Aboriginal peoples' care around Hobart. Governor Arthur, himself an evangelical, appointed Robinson as Conciliator to the Aborigines in 1829. Later, he was appointed by Governor LaTrobe in Port Philip District as Protector of Aboriginals in 1839. His work was at the frontier of the First Nations people and the Aboriginal wars which raged at their height in Van Diemen's Land in the 1820s and in the Port Philip District in the 1840s.

Robinson is not viewed kindly today. He set out to 'civilise' the First Nations people according to commonly accepted ideas of the time of what civilisation meant, and he had little appreciation of Aboriginal culture and certainly had no inkling of the significance of the land to the very fabric of their being. He attempted, with some little success, to convert these people to Christianity. He was uneducated in the ideas of social anthropology, which was a discipline still to be established, and he was a servant to the colonial administrators, having begun his work on request by Governor

George Arthur, and he behaved in a way that draws condemnation in a later more enlightened age.

Two Quakers, James Backhouse and George Walker, agitated with the government for Aboriginal rights soon after their arrival to Hobart in 1831. For the next six years, having free access to Aboriginal settlements in Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales they reported, frankly and critically, on what they observed. Backhouse wrote: "We cannot but deprecate the short-sighted policy by which the lands of the Aboriginal inhabitants have been wrested from them, with little or no regard for their natural and indefeasible rights." They observed the depredations of the graziers and argued that the British nation and colonial government should make restitution.[1] In this they followed the teaching of "one blood" a logical Christian view that each individual was equal before God. The Aboriginal Protection Society, founded in England 1837, had as its motto "Ab Uno Sanguine" (Of One Blood). In 1842 they published a report showing that they were troubled by the "aggravated sufferings and oppression inflicted on the uncivilised portions of the great human family, by the cupidity and avarice of merely nominal Christians".[2]

But even these observers did not question the widely accepted notion that the original inhabitants in British colonies were at a lower stage of civilisation. It was generally accepted that Christian morality and European civilisation were necessary to save the Aboriginal people in the face of European power and the consequent destruction of Aboriginal culture. Backhouse and Walker, with the best will in the world, wrote in 1832 to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Darby, of the way forward for invaders and first peoples:

> [to] offer religious books and tracts for the use of the establishment of a Great Island for the instruction of the

[1] James Blackhouse and George Washington Walker, correspondence to Colonial Secretary, 12 March 1832, Tasmanian Archives NS 148/2

[2] *Ibid.*

> British part of the population, which may be instrumental in preparing their minds through directing them to a practical experience of the principles of the Gospel for usefulness in introducing the same principles to the notice of the Aboriginals, a measure which the experience of all missionary establishments has proved indispensable to obtaining that influence over minds of uncivilised natives which is essential to introducing them to the comforts of a civilised life.[1]

Robinson had begun such a task on Bruny Island with a small group of Aboriginals in his appointment by Governor Arthur, a humanitarian, who hoped to ameliorate the lot of the first peoples following his attempts in Honduras, when he was governor there to establish model villages for formerly enslaved converts. Robinson was appointed to be a forerunner for the establishment of such care.[2] He was given a salary of £50 and was allotted 500 acres of land. This followed Arthur's earlier initiative which was to establish relief stations offering food and blankets. It was planned as a village with mission house, school and dormitory. It lasted only five months. This land was too close to the rough, white settlements of Bruny Island, the ration offered disappointed the Aboriginal people, and Robinson, while attempting to learn the language in order to preach effectively, showed signs of leadership that were of "sanctimonious and martinet" disposition.[3] On his withdrawal, he had only three orphan girls under his care, but had established positive relations with Truganini and eleven others who would travel

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1 Black house and Walker to Lord Darby 1832, Non-State administrative files, Tasmanian Library NS 148/2.

2 Alan Lester, "Trajectory of Protectorates of Aborigines in early nineteenth century Australia and Aoteora New Zealand", *New Zealand Geographer*, 2008, 209

3 Don Bannon, *The Search for George Augustus Robinson Aboriginal Mission, Bruny Island* (Aboriginal Heritage, 2014).

with him in order to bring dispersed groups of Aboriginals into protective settlements.

Thus he began his journeys to gather these people before the infamous Black Line was conceived. By 1830 it appeared to many settlers that the continuing wars between settler and Aborigines could only be resolved by extermination of the Aboriginal peoples. Arthur could not accept this popular voice and with all other attempts at reconciliation, he opted for a plan to call on all able-bodied men to "round up" remaining tribes and to drive them across a small neck of land to separate them on the Tasman peninsula, separate from white settlers.

As Arthur dithered in attempts to stop the violence, Robinson's recruitment efforts grew apace. He travelled tribal areas with friendly blacks from Sydney, and relations between Robinson and with local and Sydney blacks were positive. He claimed: "my object was not to capture by force but by persuasion and argument... I gave presents of bread, tea, knives, beads... not accepted at first but they joined in with the Sydney natives." He recognised his exposure without force to support him: "by remaining alone I placed myself entirely in their power which was the most convincing proof of my confidence in them."[1] There was a sense of loyalty to Robinson with the Sydney blacks, and he attempted to learn of their culture. "This evening the Sydney natives painted themselves in native style and went through their dances at my request, and engaged in hilarity to a late hour." [2]

Robinson's response to the violence of the Aboriginal wars was based on the Sydney Blacks and eleven loyal Tasmanian Aborigines, including Truganini's constant friendship. They were his support as he ventured into the west coast, a previously unexplored region. His first such initiative in mid 1829 after the abandonment of the Bruny Island settlement was with "an expedition to all the

1 Robinson's Journal, 11April, NS148/2.
2 Expedition notes, 11 April 1832 Tasmanian archives, NS148/2

Aboriginal tribes extending from the Huon River to Port Davey which would, I think, be attended with beneficial results."[1] In this he established a practice which he carried on with as Victorian Protector, to travel with local first peoples and to learn from them by close study, recorded in his copious journals which were completed on a daily basis. He wrote to Arthur: "thus a knowledge gained of their mode of Subsistence, which is only acquirable by making them your companions in their travels."[2]

Governor Arthur was in a bind. His British superiors deplored the violence between settler and First Peoples as did Arthur himself, a staunchly evangelical Christian. In 1830 Arthur declared martial law in Van Diemen's land, appointing military offices in each of the six districts to organise the settlers to sweep the land in a "Black Line" towards the Tasman Peninsular where he planned to give sanctuary to the Aborigines once they were removed beyond Eaglehawk Neck. It was a total failure—the settlers' attempts were no match for the bush skills of the Aboriginals. It was Arthur's initiative that directed Robinson to 'collect' as many surviving Aboriginals, and place them in care away from the settled areas. The Flinders Islands group were considered a perfect place. Accompanied by Aboriginals loyal to himself, for four years he made many expeditions across Van Diemen's Land and gathered some of the remnant tribes. The first reservation was on the tiny Swan Island just off the North West coast which was a holding place to March 1831, and then to Vansitart island in a channel area south of Flinders Island, to November 1831 and then finally to the main Island at Wybelana, a settlement initially commanded by W.J. Darling. Robinson assumed leadership there in 1834.

In 1831 Robinson presented 40 of those in his care to the Governor in Hobart, and then, in a happy frame of mind for both himself

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1 Robert Clarke and Anna Johnson, "Travelling in the sequestered Isle: Tasmania Penitentiary, Laboratory and Sanctuary", *Studies in Travel Writing*, On-Line 17 April 2016, 19.

2 *Ibid*, 4

and his Aboriginal friends, with the blessing from the Governor and the white population as well, set off for Flinders Island. He was sanguine of its success—on returning from a visit there in 1832 he wrote: "I am happy to state that at the time of my departure from the Great Island the Aboriginal settlement was in a tolerable tranquil state and earnestly trust that the judicious management in future the happiest result will ensue."[1] There was relief all round as now the official policy was that not of conciliation, but of protection, and Robinson was the Chief Protector. Over 220 Aboriginals were persuaded, not always by words alone, to leave for the islands. Robinson was handsomely paid in land, pension and gifts for "solving" the Aboriginal wars. He was given significant powers to manage the settlement.

His relations with the sealers was an early indication of the stresses ahead. The protection extended to the task of protecting Aboriginal women from the sealers. In 1832 it was Robinson's mission as directed by the then colonial government, to remove Aboriginal women from sealers and to sequester them at the first Aboriginal settlement at Flinders Island.[2] Robinson, armed with the Governor's wish, referred to his reaction to such women taken to the reserves: "If they act contrary to my visit to my wish, it is enough if I tell them I shall send them back."[3] Robinson lacked a sensitivity regarding the sealers and their partners, and didn't understand that apparently some reluctant Aboriginal women may have wanted to go back to their sealer partners which may not have been abusive; he did not understand the demands of Aboriginal men in their traditional relationships, or the complex rights of the women themselves. Robinson only saw what was complex through the

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1 Robinson's journal, 12 March 1832, NS 148/2

2 Penelope Edwards, *Australian Historical Studies*, 2004, University of Tasmania, 25

3 *Ibid*, quoting from N.J.B. Plomley (Ed.), *Friendly Mission: The Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829–1834*, (Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association,1966), 328, for 19 December 1830.

"safe" prism of his being an agent of civil power and his Christian concept of marriage.

The Flinders Island settlement was a disaster for most members. Cultural sensitivities to intertribal relations, the close attachment to the land built over millennia, and understanding of religious meanings were not so much ignored as they were unknown. Robinson attempted to learn some of the languages, but religious teaching was mostly confined to catechism and to formal Anglican services which generated only a modicum of interest. One observer, G.F. Angus wrote pessimistically after his visit in 1845:

> Upon the island dwell the miserable relics of the Aboriginal inhabitants .... Here they were banished by the Government, to prevent their interfering with the settlers. Although they were daily supplied with rations, and have the range of the island entirely to themselves, their numbers are fast decreasing and in all probability, ere long, the former natives of Tasmania will be an extinct and forgotten race."[1]

They did not become tillers of the soil. Nor did they die out on the island, for the settlement was disbanded and the remaining inhabitants were transferred to Oyster Bay settlement near Hobart.

Robinson transferred to Victoria to become Chief Protector for the colony with four assistants to set up protectorates within their area. Truganini accompanied Robinson in the initial years.

Robinson's motives were a mixture of evangelism, compassion, commission and commercial gain. Aborigines were soon thankfully out of sight and out of mind for the white settlers. For many squatters, Robinson was an irritant, as he advocated for the first people's survival, while also establishing protective stations when he was the Victorian Protector. and accusing many squatters of atrocities. For humane societies, he was a hero, as witnessed by his speech to a packed public missionary meeting Sydney in 1838. But

1 Clarke and Johnston, op. cit. Quoting G.F. Angus, 8

whatever judgement is made of Robinson by his contemporaries or by later scholars, Robinson was hampered from the very start by being an arm of government, whose policies he pursued, with little knowledge of the First People's own culture and thus was doomed to failure from the very start.

The portrait, below, painted by B. Duterrau in 1840, which was intended to be the front cover of a book never written by Robinson, tells the sad story. The Aborigines were indeed painted as individuals, not as some sort of background, but they were backgrounded by the use of colour, directional centrality to Robinson, and by the dominant figure of Robinson himself. Robinson's comment in 1832 reveals some of his inherent contradictions. "I did well to engage with the government for the capture of all the natives, for if I had been restricted to their first offer, I should not have seen any natives and they would have been dissatisfied and would have withheld from me their reward. By taking the whole I gain not only the reward but celebrity."[1] He refers to "capture" which indicates that all was not harmonious agreement as the Aborigines left for the islands, but is concerned for the satisfaction of the Aboriginals; he refers to his reward which was substantial allowing for his eventual genteel retirement in Paris and Bath, and affirms that Robinson was no reticent worker, but, in a very human way, enjoyed celebrity.

[1]G. A. Robinson 1 September 1832, from N.J.B. Plomley (Ed.), *Friendly Mission: The Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829–1834*, (Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association,1966), 647

A hymn written by John Wesley complements the ignorance and judgementalism of the religion of the First Peoples. Robinson could not respond to Australia's First People in an adequate meaningful way with such judgemental words which would have surely rung in his ears in worship:

Lord over all, if thou hast made,
Hast ransom'd every soul of man,
Why is the grace so long delay'd,
Why unfulfil'd the saving plan,
The bliss for Adam's race design'd
When will it reach to all mankind?

Art thou the God of Jews alone,
And not the God of Gentiles too?
To Gentiles make thy goodness known,
Thy judgment to the nations shew,
Awake them by the gospel-call,
Light of the world, illumine all.

The servile progeny of Ham
Seize as the purchase of thy blood,
Let all the heathen know thy name;

From idols to the living God,
The dark Americans convert,
And shine in every pagan heart.

As light'ning lanc'd from east to west,
The coming of thy kingdom be,
To thee by angel-hosts confest,
Bow every soul and every knee,
Thy glory let all flesh behold,
And then fill up thy heavenly fold.[1]

As the time of the Referendum draws near, may 2023 be the year that the Voice is heard, the past be understood with both compassion and with anger, and that Aboriginal voices are listened to with open hearts as is the evolving task of our nation and of Christian mission.

[1] See https://divinity.duke.edu/sites/divinity.duke.edu/files/documents/cswt/56_Intercession_Hymns_%281758%29.pdf

THE CONFLICT OVER PRESBYTERIAN LADIES' COLLEGE MELBOURNE: AN ISSUE ARISING FROM CHURCH UNION AND SCHISM

Derek McDougall

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(Acknowledgement: I wish to thank Dr Rowland Ward for helpful feedback on an earlier version of this essay. I am solely responsible for the views presented here.)

Kim Rubenstein, *The Vetting of Wisdom: Joan Montgomery and the fight for PLC* (Franklin Street Press, 2021), (ISBN 9780648899808), xxii + 399 pp., AUD 39.95 pb

This book tells a salutary tale. While at one level this book is the story of what happened to Presbyterian Ladies' College (PLC) Melbourne in the aftermath of the inauguration of the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA) in 1977, at another level it points to what can go wrong in the context of church unions. Church unions can have a 'bottom up' dimension, with growing cooperation at grass roots level fuelling a process that largely happens at the elite level, meaning the relevant denominational leaderships. The three churches that formed the UCA all had a strong focus on the role of congregations, but the Methodist Church was the most centralised (meaning 'one in, all in' in relation to church union), and the Congregationalists least. The Presbyterians occupied an intermediate position, meaning that congregations could opt out and remain as part of a continuing Presbyterian church. As finally agreed for the Presbyterians in the leadup to the UCA, a congregation where one third plus one of members voted against union would remain part of a continuing Presbyterian church. In addition, there needed to be an allocation of non-congregational properties such as schools,

university colleges, theological education centres, aged care homes, health facilities, camping facilities, mission properties of one kind or another and church offices. In the case of the argument among Presbyterians, the constitutions of the church at state level meant that legislation in the various states was necessary to ensure certainty about the division of property; the arrangements had to be acceptable to both uniting and continuing Presbyterians before governments would proceed.

This book by Kim Rubenstein is a labour of love, with research and writing conducted over a period of 25 years. The author was school captain at PLC in 1982, subsequently going on to a distinguished career as a law academic at the University of Melbourne, the Australian National University and the University of Canberra, and even standing as an independent Senate candidate in the Australian Capital Territory in the 2022 elections. Much of the book is about the life of Joan Montgomery, principal of PLC from 1968 to 1985, but focusing on the events involved in the takeover of PLC by the continuing Presbyterians, leading to Montgomery being refused a five year extension to her contract as principal. While Rubenstein makes clear her affection and admiration for Montgomery, she makes every effort to include the voices of the continuing Presbyterians, motivated by the goal of understanding what drove them to end prematurely the career of such an outstanding principal and to remake PLC.

While recognizing Montgomery's remarkable contribution to education in Australia, my own interest in reading this book was for the perspective it provides into the process of church union and the consequences of that union in one instance. Given Rubenstein's Jewish background, her insights into the process are very perceptive. She is meticulous with her historical research, also bringing her legal mind to bear on many of the issues at stake. It is a tribute to the PLC of her era that she felt completely at home at school, experiencing an education that no doubt contributed to her

subsequent academic career, but also with an enhanced understanding of her own faith and the Christian faith.

Among the episodes recounted in this book the walkout by continuing Presbyterians at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia (PCA) on 1 May 1974 brings a touch of high drama. Upon the affirmative vote in favour of union (230 to 143, slightly above the three-fifths majority required), some 20 members (according to the minutes; some continuers claimed 120 but this could have included non-member attendees) withdrew from the assembly being held at the Assembly Hall (156–160 Collins Street, Melbourne) and moved around the corner to Amethyst Hall at 46 Russell Street. The argument of this group was that the majority had separated themselves from the Presbyterian Church by violating the church's constitution and that the continuers now constituted the true church. There were other continuers who considered that the PCA remained as an entity until the date of inauguration of the UCA (a point confirmed by the courts), but they were less vocal. Keeping in mind Scottish church history, the vocal continuers might have had in mind, at least as a distant memory, the Disruption of 1843 when the walkout from the assembly of the Church of Scotland over church-state issues led to the constitution of the Free Church of Scotland (with Thomas Chalmers as the main figure). More relevant was the position of the 'wee frees' who in 1900 opposed the union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterians in the United Free Church of Scotland, arguing that the union violated the Free Church constitution.

Even before the events of 1974, the majority and minority Presbyterians had to negotiate to have legislation passed by the Victorian parliament relevant to a division of the property assets of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV); this process also occurred in other states. The aim was to avoid the precedent of the 'wee frees' case of 1900–1904 that had culminated in a ruling by the judicial committee of the House of Lords in favour of the minority; the British Parliament had to pass an act to ensure provision for the

Free Church majority wanting union. In Victoria the Presbyterian Church of Australia Act of 1971 allowed the PCV to take part in union decided at the church's national level while also providing for a division of the PCV's assets, with a Property Commission to be set up by any assembly deciding on union. This process began after the assembly's affirmative vote in 1974. The 1971 act required the commission to assign one Presbyterian girls' school and one Presbyterian boys' school to the continuing church. One wonders how much input the relevant schools had in either 1971 or 1974.

Although the councils of both PLC and Scotch College instigated legal action disputing the fairness of the decision by the Property Commission, once the commission had made its decision in May 1977 the schools were fighting a rearguard action. Fears that the instigators of the legal action would be personally liable led in February–March 1980 to settlement between the continuing Presbyterian church and the schools such that the church forewent ownership of the school properties but had control over the direction of the schools. The school communities had minority representation on the school councils. The UCA was not a party to the litigation, but some Uniting Church members were active through the provision for school community representation. While the school community was clearly more sympathetic to the UCA than to the continuing Presbyterians (the School Council having indicated this to the Property Commission ahead of the commission's determination), the overall preference was for incorporation as an independent body; a survey of parents in mid-1979 was strongly in favour of this arrangement. The UCA's education committee (Victorian synod) in reviewing the position of UCA-affiliated schools in May 1980 argued that incorporation of schools as independent trusts was preferable, allowing for some church representation. This is now the case with all UCA-related schools and university colleges in Victoria, including the former Methodist foundations. While direct involvement in schools and university colleges was part of the educational mission of the UCA's

precursor churches, involvement in this way is less relevant today. Christian faith should be presented in the context of our pluralist society not just in church-affiliated schools, but in all schools.

However, that was not the perspective of the continuing Presbyterians involved in the 'fight' for PLC. From this book one gains the impression that they had a negative view of the way in which Christianity was presented at PLC. They saw Christianity in the school as constituting a veneer for an essentially secular education, with programmes for liberal studies and human relations indicative of a creeping humanism and even Marxism (the last based on the principal having visited China). Montgomery was a liberally minded Christian and member of the UCA who took seriously the adage of 'starting where students are' in matters of faith as in other areas. Rubenstein's description of worship assemblies led by the principal at PLC is very moving.

The *bête noire* in all of this was Maxwell Bradshaw[1] who orchestrated much of the legal manoeuvring by the continuing Presbyterians. Bradshaw was a barrister; in 1959 the General Assembly of the PCA appointed him procurator (chief legal adviser). It is difficult to know his theological views since his writing was mostly legal and historical. He was a legal authority on trusts in Australia and was also immersed in the history of Scottish Presbyterianism, writing a book on *Scottish Dissenters in Victoria* (published 1947). According to Rowland Ward, Bradshaw was an 'old-style Calvinist' (Website, Evangelical History Association). Bradshaw comes across as a zealot in this book, although Ward sympathetically describes him as 'unostentatious, warm-hearted and humble … [with] …vast stores of knowledge of things legal and Presbyterian'. While he no doubt acted in good conscience, he was a key actor on the PLC issue and other matters enabling a viable church

[1] See also "Frederick Maxwell Bradshaw: A Memoir" by Bryan Bayston in *The Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society, Synod of Victoria and Tasmania*, Volume 22, No. 2 for December 2015, 60ff.

for continuing Presbyterians after 1977. Bradshaw died in 1992 and Rubenstein was unable to interview him. One wonders how he was able to control both the Presbyterian-appointed and Presbyterian-approved appointees on the PLC council. In any event a 'coup' occurred in the Special Commission of the continuing PCV in October-November 1985, with more moderate elements prevailing and a consequent improvement in the position at PLC. It is unusual to say the least for a church appointing members to the council of a school, hospital or agency to control its appointees so tightly. Normally there is a trust that such members will act according to their best judgement.

In the case of PLC there is no doubt that the 'takeover' has had a long term effect, re-branding the school as more explicitly evangelical Christian, although with still a strong academic emphasis. According to the My School website, 65 percent of students (2022) have a language other than English spoken at home, suggesting that the student body is strongly Asian-Australian (with international students as well).

It was heartening to read that there had been some element of reconciliation among at least some of the major protagonists in 2013. It must have been very traumatic participating in council meetings in earlier times.

The school community was able to achieve an impressive mobilisation in May 1984, with a meeting of over 2500 people. The hope was to lobby the Cain Labor government to modify the corporate status of the school to make it truly independent, but this effort was in vain without the agreement of the continuing Presbyterians. With hindsight the time for strong lobbying by PLC and other affected schools would have been ahead of the passage of state legislation in 1971. Provision for incorporation with representation of both the UCA and continuing Presbyterians would have been more achievable with a strong political campaign at that point. Mounting a campaign in the late 1970s and early 1980s was too

late. It is interesting to note that among the Presbyterian schools at the time of union, only PLC and Scotch College remain completely single sex today. With only 16 percent of Victorian Presbyterians remaining in the continuing church in 1977 (figure given by Rowland Ward in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, vol. 14, no. 2 (December 2007), p. 102), the observation made at the time of the litigation over the schools assigned to the continuing church that 'God is a Continuing Presbyterian' had a point.

While there is much to celebrate in the history of the UCA, there is also grieving in some contexts at least. In the event of future church unions there are lessons to be learnt about incorporating a stronger 'bottom up' dimension, so that all affected entities within the wider church are part of the process. If Scottish church history is any guide, schism often accompanies moves towards the union of churches, particularly when a minority in a church going into union strongly opposes this change.

The author is to be congratulated on an outstanding book that not just recognizes Joan Montgomery's principalship at PLC, but also throws light on the process of church union leading to the UCA and the split with the continuing Presbyterians, and the subsequent impact. It is a thoroughly good read.

BOOK REVIEW

Graeme Davison AO

Emeritus Sir John Monash Distinguished Professor Graeme Davison is a former President of the Australian Historical Association, Chairman of the Heritage Council of Victoria, a Fellow of the Australian Academies of Social Sciences and Humanities, and a prominent adviser and commentator on museums, heritage and urban policy. In 2011 he was made an Officer in the Order of Australia. Graeme is also a member of the UC Historical Society, Synod of Victoria and Tasmania, and a regular contributor to our meetings and publications.

Glen O'Brien, *John Wesley's Political World*, (London: Routledge Methodist Studies Series , 2022).

In 2001 the British Broadcasting Corporation asked its listeners to nominate the greatest Briton of all time. It later released a chart of the top 100. There are no prizes for guessing who came top of the poll—Second World War Prime Minister Winston Churchill—nor would the appearance of Darwin, Shakespeare, Newton and Elizabeth the First in the top ten cause much surprise. Exactly halfway down the list, at number 50, was the evangelist and founder of Methodism, John Wesley. Methodists might have felt he deserved a higher place than Paul McCartney (19), David Bowie (29), and even Boy George (46), but others might marvel that in a now very secular Britain, Wesley made the list at all. Other important religious figures such as William Wycliffe, John Bunyan, George Fox, John Henry Newman, John Milton and John Knox did not make the top 100 at all.

If a similar poll had been taken a century ago would probably have polled higher than number 50. In Australia, too, his name was much better known than today. In 1934, Victoria's centenary year, Chief Justice Sir John Latham unveiled the bronze statue of John

Wesley that stands outside Wesley church. The Methodist businessman and philanthropist Fred Cato and his son Alec had commissioned the sculptor Paul Montfort to execute the figure of the famous preacher, not on horseback—an equestrian statue might have exceeded the Cato's budget—but, Bible in hand, and in full preaching mode. "John Wesley had erected a far more enduring memorial to himself than any bronze could be", Latham declared. "It was Wesley's influence which prevented in England an upheaval similar to the French Revolution which occurred at the end of his life". Latham, the former leader of the conservative National Party, had been born into a Methodist family but by 1934 was known to be a rationalist, so in praising Wesley's calming influence, he was giving secular support to a claim often proudly made by Methodists as well.

The most authoritative contemporary support for that claim came from the historian Elie Halévy, whose famous *History of the English People* had been published in English ten years earlier in 1924. Looking across the channel from France, Halévy was impressed with "the extraordinary stability which English Society [enjoyed] throughout a period of revolutions and crises". The secret of England's immunity from turmoil lay in its religious culture and institutions, notably the moderating influence of Methodism among its middle and working classes. "Methodism", he famously declared, "was the antidote to Jacobinism". Other historians, some of Methodist parentage, rejected Halévy's claim that Methodism was a conservative influence. With its belief in freewill and its embrace of the poor and downtrodden, they believed that Methodism was a force for working class emancipation and political reform. They pointed to a long line of Methodist trade unionists and Labor political leaders, like Keir Hardie.

Whether Methodism was conservative or radical remained a lively issue in Australia, as well as in Britain. There have been sons of Australian Methodist households like Joseph Carruthers, John Latham, Garfield Barwick, Earl Page and John Howard who leant to

the political Right, and others such as Gil Duthie, Brian Howe, Evan Walker and Barry Jones, who leant to the Left. Both sides claimed inspiration from Wesley and their Methodist upbringing. Were they right or wrong?

Wesley's Political World is an important contribution to this debate. Professor Glen O'Brien takes us back its very roots in the political writings of Wesley himself. He comes to his task splendidly equipped, having published two previous books on the history of Australian Methodism; but the book is also a fresh departure, in taking him from the nineteenth and twentieth story of Australian Methodism to a period before the European settlement of Australia and the French and Industrial Revolutions. In reading Wesley's words, he must also immerse himself in Wesley's world, the pre-industrial, pre-revolutionary eighteenth century. While Wesley wrote extensively on political matters, he was not a political philosopher. "I am no politician; politics lie quite out of my province", he declared in 1768. Yet events, and the responsibilities of leadership, often compelled him to deliver advice and counsel to his followers, sometimes about matters on which, it must be admitted, he was less than expert. "No one as invested as Wesley in the leadership of such a growing movement [as the Methodists] could stay entirely politically neutral", O'Brien shrewdly observes. Politics was just one of the many non-religious subjects on which Wesley wrote. But it was a subject of particular sensitivity and, while attentive always to religious principle, Wesley was also keenly aware of the effects of his counsel for his followers and the movement he led.

Latham credited Wesley for saving England from revolution, but the revolution Wesley mainly sought to avoid was a repetition of the bloody conflict that had occurred only half a century before his birth, the Puritan Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. When Wesley wrote his first political tracts in the mid 1740s the execution of Charles the First was still a lively memory in the minds of contemporaries. A Catholic Pretender to the English throne,

Charles Stuart, had only recently crossed the border and was marching towards London.

As a young student in Oxford, Wesley had friends among the Jacobites, as they called themselves, who yearned for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy and upheld the divine right of Kings. Wesley's own parents had divided opinions on the matter. But by his middle years Wesley had accommodated himself to the Hanoverian monarchy and to the compact between King and Parliament embodied in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Was he simply tacking with the prevailing winds? Nobody could blame him if he did, for his priorities were spiritual rather than political. He was deeply aware of the vulnerability of his movement to any suggestion of disloyalty. So while he proudly defended of the rights of the freeborn Englishman, he believed they derived, not from the consent of the governed, as the famous philosopher John Locke argued, but from the will of God expressed through the King and Parliament. In his own words, "he was one who believed God, not the people, to be origin of the civil power".

This was why he opposed the American colonists in their demand for independence. The young John Wesley had spent time in the American colonies and he retained a generally favourable view of America. He was at first sympathetic to the colonists' pleas for relief from onerous British taxation. When they claimed their independence from Britain, relying only on the sovereign will of the people, however, Wesley turned against them. Loyalty and liberty were the twin pillars of his political outlook, but loyalty seems often to have trumped liberty.

Personalities and a degree of pragmatism, as well as principles, also seem to have influenced his thinking. For example, his opposition to the self-proclaimed defender of the English people's liberties, John Wilkes, not just because he disagreed with his ideas but because he loathed Wilkes' profligate lifestyle. Personalities also mattered in a broader sense, for as O'Brien argues, it was the

subject's personal attachment to the monarch, the quality of loyalty, not simply an abstract love of order, which defined his political outlook.

Yet, while Wesley was a Tory, and a loyal upholder of the monarchy, he was by no means reactionary, and on one subject at least—the transatlantic slave trade—he was well in advance of his times. When it came to the issue of race, Enlightenment philosophers like David Hume often discriminated against blacks more cruelly than Christians. O'Brien tells us that well before he wrote his 1774 pamphlet *Thoughts on Slavery*, Wesley, unlike his fellow Methodist George Whitefield, had consistently opposed the slave trade. Interestingly, he based his opposition to slavery, not on the Bible, but on an argument from natural law. "Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air. And no human law can deprive him of that right, which he derived from the law of nature. . . Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion!" That the American colonists, including many of the leaders of the American Revolution, like Jefferson and Washington, were also great slave-owners did nothing to commend their cause. Like Samuel Johnson, Wesley saw only hypocrisy in the "yelps of liberty" that came from the "drivers of Negroes".

Wesley was an Oxford-educated man from a clerical family, but he was never rich, lived very frugally and spent much of his life among the poor. There is no doubting his devotion to the spiritual welfare of the poor, but it would be a mistake to expect of him the same attitudes to questions of wealth and poverty that we apply to political or religious leaders in our own day. He was a product of a more hierarchical society, in which rich and poor each had their place. The modern sciences of economics and sociology were in their infancy. His thinking was closer in some ways to the Middle Ages than to the twentieth century. His compassion for the poor was equalled by his disapproval for the luxury and waste of the rich. He appealed to the ancient moral ideal of a 'just price' rather than to the impersonal laws of the market. "Do you demand, do

you receive, no more than the real value of what you sell?" he asks in one of his sermons. In this respect Wesley was possibly closer to the outlook of the ordinary people of his time than were the new apostles of the new science political economy. In a famous article on the "moral economy of the English crowd", Edward Thompson showed that it precisely when the poor believed that merchants charged too much for their goods, or failed to give a just wage for their labour, that social harmony was imperilled. Here, perhaps, was one of the ways in which Wesley's teaching did align with Halevy's thesis.

Wesley's political legacy was not limited by the influence of his own political writings. Others inspired by his beliefs and confronting the challenges of a different era, would sometimes arrive at different political conclusions from his. "Methodism", O'Brien writes, "was the religion of the first person personal pronoun, with a stress on personal agency that provided an avenue of individual choice, which would lead in the nineteenth century to a wider participation of the ordinary person in the social sphere." His stress on individual choice might seem to align him with the John Howards and John Lathams. Yet, in spite of his sometimes unsympathetic attitude towards the poor—such as his hardline attitude to smugglers—Wesley, O'Brien maintains, was "not satisfied with individual responsibility alone". He favoured modest government intervention through taxation and trade policies to curb the greed of the rich and ameliorate the sufferings of the poor. The twin pillars of Wesley's outlook—liberty and loyalty—remained in tension, both in his own life, and in the movement he founded.

"John Wesley", he insists, "was not a politician or an economist or a military strategist. He was a priest and an evangelist, so that his political world ultimately existed as a subset of a world bounded by the cosmic drama of salvation". In reminding us of the very different world in which Wesley thought about politics, and the primacy of his religious goals, *Wesley's Political World* is a valuable

corrective to the mythmaking that often surrounds great religious and political figures. The aim is not so much to recall us to original truth—for Wesley's political world is not ours—as to help us distinguish what is of enduring value from what was simply a prudent response to the needs of the time. John Wesley may no longer be a household word but, more than two centuries after his death his influence is still felt in unacknowledged ways. This fine book will enable another generation to recognise his genius and appraise his legacy.

REDISCOVERED WOMEN OF HISTORY

Brian E. Giddings

The Rev. Brian Giddings is a member of the Society who has frequently written interesting articles drawn from his own personal experiences or family connections. This article was originally published in a newsletter of the Uniting Church National History Society.

On 28 July 1968 a press report was published, which read: "One of Mildura's earliest nursing sisters, Sister Ethel Giddings, has died in Mildura, aged 92. Sister Giddings began Kirkee Private Hospital in Deakin Avenue next to the Presbyterian Church on her return from the First World War. She operated the hospital until during the Second World War."[1]

Behind this brief notice lies the story of Ethel Mary Ann Giddings, a person who single-mindedly dedicated her life to the service of others, in both peace and war. Certainly not the only one to have done so, but in this instance she was also my great-aunt, who deeply influenced my own life. I was privileged to be a casket-bearer at her funeral, and the words of the Anglican priest who conducted the service still ring in my ears: "We are here today to remember, and thank God for, a most remarkable person—a woman who achieved much and helped many, in her long and productive life!"

In thinking about Ethel, the 'why' goes together with the 'what', and in this article I want to reflect on the influences that may have motivated and shaped her. But in order to do this, it is necessary at least to summarise the 'what' of her life. Though having done extensive research into Ethel's life history, this time I turn to a major book by Bojan Pajic on Australian and New Zealanders who

[1] *Sunraysia Daily*, Mildura, Victoria.

served in Serbia and Salonika (Northern Greece) in World War One.[1]

In August 1916, Ethel Giddings sailed for duty in India as a member of an Australian Army Nursing Service contingent sent to relieve British and Canadian nurses. In July 1917, Ethel arrived at Salonika and was soon after promoted to Temporary Head Sister. She served in Salonika for sixteen months in a number of British General Hospitals, including the 60th, 66th and 42nd. Ethel received the Royal Red Cross medal, 2nd class, for her services on the Salonika front. After the war she spent some time in England. A highlight of this time was receiving her medal from King George V at Buckingham Palace.

Ethel was born in Maryborough, Victoria, in a family of ten children. She trained as a nurse at the Clunes District Hospital in the early 1900s, after which she spent over ten years working in different hospitals in country Victoria. She was then transferred to the Austin Hospital in Heidelberg where she was promoted to Matron. Service in other hospitals followed in Victoria and New South Wales. References from these hospitals indicate that "her nursing skills, leadership, cheerfulness, and organizational ability were much appreciated". In 1915 Ethel joined the Home Service to work in military hospitals in Australia, and in 1916 she volunteered for war service overseas.

After the war Ethel spent some time in England, and was supported to attend a five-month course in domestic economy in

[1] Bojan Pajic, *Our Forgotten Volunteers—Australians & New Zealanders with Serbs in World War One,* (Melbourne: Arcadia, 2018). Note: Australians and New Zealanders were already caring for the wounded in Serbia before the ANZACs landed in Gallipoli.

London. Upon her return to Australia, Ethel opened a private hospital in Mildura in 1920, and named it Kirkee after a village in India near where she served at the beginning of her war service. In 1945 she married a widower, Henry Smith, with whom she lived seventeen years until he died in 1962. Ethel passed away in 1968 at the age of 92.[1]

Where does one look for clues to the inner motivations of people like Ethel Giddings? Unfortunately, my great-aunt left no diaries or memoirs, and only one or two letters. And even though I am custodian of the many documents and photographs she preserved from her civilian and war service (along with her Royal Red Cross medal), they say virtually nothing about her thoughts and impulses. Of course, records like these are a treasure trove for writing a life history, which I have already done in the case of Ethel.

It is a truism that character and personality may be observed, but motives and inspirations (unless self-disclosed) can be well and truly hidden. Those who knew Ethel Giddings were fully aware of her character and personality. I can still recall her from my childhood and youth as a tall, upright, confident, dignified, and at times autocratic, person; her integrity, honour, and commitment to her goals were unmistakable.

Because of a secret family decision, I was never able to know my paternal grandmother Fanny Giddings, nee Symons (Ethel's sister-in-law, who died in 1953). Looking back, we realize now that Aunt Ethel took the role in the wider family that should have been filled by Fanny. Our grandma's existence was tragically hidden from us,

[1] Pagic, 415.

the grandchildren, because of the pact made by our parents and their siblings.[1] Aunt Ethel had no children herself, yet she was surely the 'matriarch' of the Giddings family. The clan at times felt a bit in awe of Ethel, but we knew that in her heart she loved us, as we did her.

One way that I might have gleaned something of the 'inner' Ethel was through the conversations I had with her, and there were many over the years. She was always happy to chat about Kirkee, of which she was very proud. Another ready topic was the 'big' events associated with the British Empire and the monarchy (she was decorated by King George V at Buckingham Palace, and travelled to England again in the 1930s). Family connections were discussed, but she made few references to her war service, and I cannot recall hearing of what motivated her choice of vocation and the decision to serve others in the way she did.

It remains then to look at what may have influenced Ethel in setting her course in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—in terms of church, society, and family. With regard to the first two fields, this is intended to paint a background rather than guess at their impact. With Ethel's family connections, however, there are grounds for speculating about their influence on her.

The Giddings family were enthusiastic members of the Wesleyan community in Victoria, which, along with Methodist churches across the world, went through a period that might be described as 'Wesley-mania'. Accounts of the achievements of Wesleyan Methodism were matched by giving the name 'Wesley' to churches, missions, schools, colleges, hospitals, hostels, and other institutions, especially in Australia. The whole process reached

[1] The full story is told in my book, *Two Giddings Women—Ethel and Fanny*, 2019

fever-pitch in activities surrounding the centenary of John Wesley's death.

In 1898 the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference launched an appeal to raise one million guineas "to finance a great forward movement, and build a great centenary memorial hall on a suitable site in London."[1] The "20th Century Million Guinea Fund" closed in 1904 with a total of £1,075,727 raised by Methodists in Britain, Australia, the Empire, and other countries. The 1902 union of Methodism in Australia added to the local celebrations, and Central Methodist Hall opened in 1912 on its site adjacent to Westminster Abbey in London.

Ethel's family was involved with Methodism, but by the time of World War One she belonged to the Church of England. The connection is interesting, and no doubt reinforced by time spent in England, being invited to Buckingham Palace, and travelling there later. Her private hospital, Kirkee, was conveniently opposite St Margaret's Church of England in Mildura, but the deeper reason for being an Anglican probably was that the formality of worship which appealed more to her than the informality of Methodism. In respect of Ethel's motivation to serve others, I sense that she was influenced by both religious and humanitarian elements.

For the colony of Victoria, the 1890s were daunting, due to the economic collapse that weighed on the government, banks, businesses, churches, charities, families and individuals alike. But hopes for the future were kept alive by a number of other factors. These included affection for Queen Victoria (nearing the end of her reign), the monarchy and empire in general, prospects for better times in the economy, and the excitement of nationalism (leading to federation in 1901). Unlike the 'republic' debates of our time, support for the monarchy and the desire for

[1] John V. Ellis, *Wesley's Centenary Memorial* (quoted in *Central Hall Directory*, London, 1998).

independence were largely not in competition. Along with others, Ethel and the Giddings family would have felt the impact of this era.

Nearly half a century later, Ethel was affected by the lingering results of the 1930s' Great Depression, the constraints of World War Two, and her own financial and health problems. She closed her private hospital in 1942. Then in 1945, at the age of 70, she surprised everyone by agreeing to marry a retired Mildura plumber and widower, Henry Smith. Queried by a niece about her decision, Aunt Ethel is said to have replied: "After all these years of singleness, I felt it was time to have a husband!" It was obvious how much they loved and cared for each other, and Uncle Henry became a favourite of my generation! The fact that he was a Roman Catholic added to the family's wonderings, but not to Ethel's; she was a loyal Anglican, but her Christianity was wider than denominations.

I turn now to reflect on Ethel in the context of her kinships, focusing on her brothers—perhaps the best chance of understanding what motivated and sustained her in a life of serving others. After the end of World War One, Ethel and about twenty other nurses left Devonport, England, on 21 August 1919 aboard the *S.S. Anchisis*, arriving in Melbourne on 8 October. In a letter before departing she speaks of "being sorry to leave, but glad to be returning home to my brother at last". This longing to see "her brother at last" could easily apply to either of her elder brothers, Arthur (Arthur James Giddings), her agent in Australia during her service overseas or to "May", my grandfather Albert Ernest May Giddings (husband of Fanny), who supported her when she went into business in Mildura in 1920.

I believe Ethel was referring to her brother May, who died in 1934. He was just one year older than Ethel, was active in church, business, family, and community endeavours, and she valued his advice. I sensed there was a special bond between them. In a

similar way Ethel also relied on May's son Arthur (my father), who cared for her in our family home in the later years and acted as her power of attorney. The question to ask is, was this sister-brother relationship of Ethel and May an inspiration for what she did in her life?

With the help of a personal example, we may compare theory and fact on this point. From earliest days, my sister and I have shared a special affinity within our family group. This is not to diminish for a moment the devoted care of our parents, the friendship of my brother, and above all the loving support of my wife Margaret in our 60 years of marriage. But I also know that my sister and I have inspired each other along life's journey. Beth's faith and trust in God strengthens mine. If it was like this for Ethel and her brother, it helps explain how she found strength to live out the demands of a life, aptly described in the well-known expression 'devotion to duty'.[1]

In her living room at Kirkee there was a framed statement of the Australian Army Nurses' Pledge of Service, the guiding light of the nurses. Quoting it seems an appropriate way to conclude:

Australian Army Nursing Service

Pledge of Service

I pledge myself loyally to serve my King (or Queen) and Country and to maintain the honour and efficiency of the Australian Army Nursing Service.

I will do all in my power to alleviate the suffering of the sick and wounded, sparing no effort to bring them comfort of body and peace of mind.

[1] The phrase is the title of a recent local history article on Ethel Giddings: "Devotion to Duty – Kirkee Private Hospital", by Lisa Cooper, in *Mildura Living*, 2019.

I will work in unity and comradeship with my fellow nurses. I will be ready to give assistance to those in need of my help, and will abstain from any action which may bring sorrow and suffering to others.

At all times I will endeavour to uphold the highest traditions of Womanhood and of the Profession of which I am part.

BELLBRAE UNITING CHURCH

Martin E. Hooper

This brief history of the Bellbrae Uniting Church has been drawn from Martin Hooper's *The Churches of Bellbrae: A History* (Privately published 2022). It has been edited with permission to focus on the Bellbrae Uniting Church (Ed.)

From the introduction

Bellbrae is a unique pocket in the vastly spreading residential boom which is afflicting the Surf Coast Shire. Neighbouring Torquay is undergoing a population explosion and is rapidly spreading in all directions. Many residents of both Torquay and Bellbrae can see the 'Torquay Octopus' slowly enfolding Bellbrae and the town's unique position being lost in a welter of urban sprawl. This would be a tragedy as Bellbrae became a community well before Torquay was even thought of.

The early settlers of Bellbrae were farmers. To establish a community centre, early settlers would first select a place to establish a school for their children and a church to satisfy their religious needs. These places became a meeting place for the community and were followed by shops, houses, post office etc. Etc and ergo, a town is born. Initially called Jan Juc, the town changed its name to Bellbrae in 1922.

Knowing the history of your town gives you a deeper understanding of where your roots are and how they have come about.[1]

The Jan Juc Congregational Church

In 1863 a tea meeting was organised to take place at Spring Creek, Jan Juc, on Christmas Day to plan for regular preaching on

[1] Spencer Leighton, past president of the Torquay & District Historical Society.

Sundays. There was to be discussion held on naming the village which was then being government surveyed. The meeting was a resounding success, with around 250 people attending. Some £50 was raised to support a chapel, and a Rev. Mr Cuttle, who was in attendance, pledged to work to achieve the goal of a church building. It seems clear that the schoolmaster, William Cook, was a driving local force towards this goal.

The meeting strongly supported 'Jan Juc' as the name of the township, and although adopted as such, it did not become officially a township until some 20 years later.

As was common for such gatherings of this time, the ladies put on a splendid spread. Further singing was conducted by Mr Cook who had developed a local choir involving the school children.

In 1865 a Congregational (Independent) church was built at the site of now No. 5, Cunningham Drive, Bellbrae. It was built in brick from Joseph Gundry's brick-making plant, and the site was made possible by the donation of two roods (half an acre) of land by William Cook, the schoolmaster. He had bought two blocks from the Crown at a land sale on 22 July 1864.

The town of Jan Juc already had two brick buildings—the home of pioneer Joseph Gundry (built around 1859) and the school which had been built in 1861–62 on the first school site beside Spring Creek, now 31 Wood Road. None of these brick buildings has survived.

The opening of the new Congregational church was reported in the *Geelong Advertiser* 10 May 1865:

> On Sabbath last [7 May 1865] the New Congregational Church at Jan Juc was opened, the services being, in the morning, by the resident minister, the Rev. Jas. Apperly; in the afternoon, by the Rev. Mr Cuttle; each service being very fully attended.
>
> On Monday the opening tea meeting was held under the chairmanship of the Hon. John Lowe, M.L.C. The meeting was

> crowded, and in addition to the special talent of the hon. chairman for his position, there was a goodly array of "town talent" in the Rev. Messrs Cozens, Scales and Higgins, who severally addressed the meeting, with very marked success.
>
> Messrs Hope, McKenzie, Coulston, Bland and Musgrove gave addresses, pertinent to the matter in hand; and as something very new, the response to the vote of thanks to the ladies was actually made by two young ladies.
>
> The financial statement was read by Mr Butler, by which it appeared that the amount, required to entirely free the church from debt, was only £28 14s 6d, the whole of which, with a small balance, was raised by the collections and the tea.
>
> The ladies of the neighbourhood gave the tea, and so abundant was the supply, that an intimation was given through the hon. chairman, that all the little ones should be gathered together for a feast on the following day. Where there was so much to applaud it would be invidious to point out a single feature of the meeting; but the singing class connected with the locality certainly deserves mention.[1]

There appears to have been great cooperation across the Protestant denominations in those early days, and it is not uncommon to read of meetings attended by neighbouring members and even have leaders from these other denominations take a leading role. At a tea meeting held at the Church of England schoolhouse, Modewarre, in 1865 there were over 200 people present. Mr A.E. Butler of Jan Juc presided, and the Rev. Mr Apperly from the Jan Juc Congregational Church gave an address.

> The annual tea meeting of the Presbyterian church, Duneed, was held on the 24th inst. That day being the celebration of Her Majesty's birth, and a general holiday; a large number of people from Duneed and the surrounding parishes were induced to

[1] *Geelong Advertiser*, 10 May 1865, "Jan Juc Congregational Church".

> attend. At the appointed hour the company sat down to an excellent tea which, with cakes and more substantial eatables, was abundantly provided by some of the ladies of the congregation who came forward spontaneously and offered their services for the occasion.
>
> After rea, the people assembled in the church, which was crowded and those who could not find seats clustered near the door. The younger portion, as is frequent on such occasions and when the moon is clear, desired to enjoy themselves outside. Appropriate addresses were delivered by the minister of the congregation, the Rev. John Brownlie, the Rev. J. Apperly, Jan Juc, James Campbell Esq. Geelong, Mr Edward Hall, catechist, Birregurra, and Mr Bland. During the evening the choir from Jan Juc enlivened the meeting considerably with some excellent pieces of music which were sung in good taste. After the usual formalities the people separated about ten o'clock, highly delighted with the proceedings of the evening. Altogether, it was one of the happiest and most successful meetings held in the place for a long time.[1]

On 10 June 1878 the Rev. James Apperly (and Mrs Apperly) said goodbye to their Jan Juc congregation where he had been minister for 14 years from the time of the founding of the church. It seems that during this whole time they had been living in a house in Geelong, situated (now) at 1 Bendigo Road West Geelong.

In many ways, with the schoolmaster William Cook retiring and leaving the district in 1876 and Apperly retiring in 1878, the Congregational church went into decline and by 1895 it had been closed. The building was sold to Mrs Susan Cunningham, the postmistress at Jan Juc, and remained in the Cunninghams' hands for almost 100 years, despite attempts at selling it in 1903 and 1910.

[1] *Geelong Advertiser*, Saturday 26 May, 1866. "Current Topics".

Jan Juc Wesleyan Church

A Wesleyan Class Meeting was held in Jan Juc in 1866, with a gathering of 32 settlers under the leadership of Messrs Bland and Musgrove, but it is not known whether this was the first. There was a Wesleyan chapel in Freshwater Creek by 1867, and in 1868 permission was given by the Geelong Methodist Circuit for the building of a church in Jan Juc. The *Geelong Advertiser* on 8th May 1868 reported that the Rev. James Bickford had paid a visit to Jan Juc where a new Wesleyan congregation was in the process of formation. Ultimately, this was to become the Bellbrae Uniting Church.

Bellbrae Uniting Church, March 2022

Bickford conducted a worship service at which over 100 attended, and 12 people registered their names as members of a new church. Trustees were formally appointed in June 1868, and a church completed in January 1869 on an acre of land granted by the government. The early membership had 51 members and 42 Sunday School children.

As with many organisations, church membership can fluctuate up and down, and historical news about the events and happenings of a church can be lost. The little Bellbrae Methodist Church's story is no different. So, we take up the story in the twentieth century, thanks to a Mr George Imer (1869–1950) who was the local Jan Juc community correspondent for the *Geelong Advertiser*.

> Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, quite a large crowd assembled at the Jan Juc Hall last night on the occasion of the testimonial to Miss Gundry. Miss Gundry had acted as organist to the Methodist church here for the past ten years, and on her

> retirement her friends decided on presenting her with some token of their esteem for her valuable services …. Mr George Imer, whose hard work contributed much to the success of the movement, arranged for a concert on the evening of the presentation, and the Rev. Hoban, besides kindly consenting to preside at the meeting, arranged to bring out a company of singers from Geelong. The musical portion of the programme was admirably rendered, after which the Rev. Hoban, in a neat speech, made the presentation, and on Miss Gundry's behalf, the gift was thankfully acknowledged by Mr J.T. Anderson. A vote of thanks to the chairman and singers, who had come so far and given an excellent entertainment, was carried with acclamation.[1]

The Sunday School's attendance had apparently waxed and waned over the years, ending up in it being closed. On 17 March 1908 the *Geelong Advertiser* reported that a meeting of interested persons was held, and promises of support made, and a decision to re-open on the following Sunday. The re-opening was successful, and the *Geelong Advertiser* recorded the holding of anniversary services in succeeding years to 1915.

Harvest Festivals

Harvest festivals were held regularly in the Methodist church. The festival featured a display of crops and a variety of produce, including items produced in the home environment such as knitted wear, sown items, and bread and cakes. There were special hymns, solo performances, and participation by children in choirs and recitations. There was often a sale of produce on the Monday after the service, where an auctioneer, with much lively banter, sold the items at ridiculously high prices. Buyers were often generous as the proceeds went to a worthy cause or charity. Funds raised at the

[1] *Geelong Advertiser*, 20 June 1902, "From Our Correspondent".

Harvest Festival auction were donated during World War I were given to the Belgian Relief Fund.

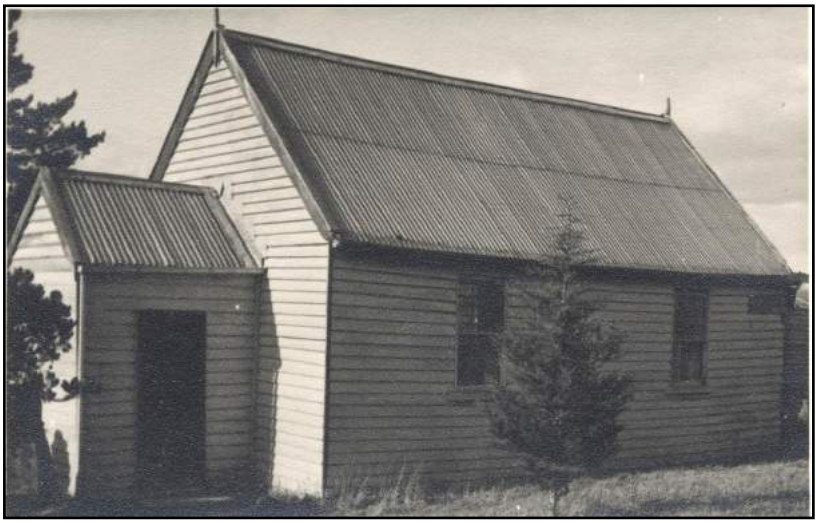
One member of the congregation, Valda Connelly (née Imer) recorded her memories of Harvest Festivals of the early 1950s.

> I remember warm afternoons in the local Methodist church, the rank sweet scent of chrysanthemums, the shafts of golden light slanting across the congregation, and the comfortable drone of the minister's voice. The regular church goers were just a handful, but the whole district contributed to and participated in the Harvest Festival. Planks were placed on fruit boxes at the front of the church as makeshift tiers to display the produce. Sheaves of oats and heads of sweetcorn were ranged at the side to frame baskets of glowing apples, freshly pulled bunches of carrots and beetroot, tomatoes split by the sun, onions, apple cucumbers, eggs, grapes purple and green, the prized pineapple and numerous jars of jam, pickles and chutney. Central place was given to a jug of water and a large round loaf donated by the baker who delivered to the district.
>
> Apart from the pineapple, all of the fruit and vegetables were home-grown—common seasonal fare, with none of the exotic spices available in supermarkets today. The odd box of cornflakes and tin of soup witnessed to less successful gardeners.

Another recalled an incident:

> My grandmother entered into the Harvest Festival folklore years before when she was boarding the local school teacher. The teacher overheard the big boys plotting to raid the display of goods on the Monday afternoon after school before they were transferred to the hall. Granny went ahead of them and hid behind the organ. The boys entered boldly laying claim to one item or another—"I'll have the grapes!" "I'll have the pineapple!" "Will you indeed!" exclaimed Granny, springing from her hiding place, brandishing her stick!

By 1956 the Methodist church building had aged and reportedly had some wood rot. It needed to be replaced. The final service in the old building was held on 30 December 1956, by the Rev. C.F. McRae of Belmont.



The church had stood since 1869, and was sold for removal. A new

The original Methodist church in January 1957, just prior to demolition. (Roy Dixon collection)

church was built by volunteer labour during 1957, and was opened with the first church service there on September 15, conducted by the Rev. C.F. McRae. There were numerous newspaper reports of the "cooperation between town and country folk" and "building of this church was very much a community effort".

It was not until November 1958 that the Department of Health officially approved the opening of the Methodist church, Anglesea Road, Bellbrae!

The completed 1957 church, painted blue, with a small kitchen and water tank at the rear

In 1993 Bellbrae received a donation of a Sunday School hall. It had originally been built on the Connewarre church site in October 1959, moved to the Anglesea Uniting Church site in 1982, and then relocated to Bellbrae in August 1993. People from all congregations in what was then the Surf Coast Parish of the Uniting Church joined the Bellbrae people in renovating and painting the hall and the church, with work completed in 1994.

Initially, it was intended that the hall be used for a Sunday School, but with the decline in Sunday Schools generally, it was turned into the Bellbrae opportunity shop, known as Bellbrae Bric-a-Brac.

In 2011 a new building was added to the site—the Bookroom, which was opened officially on 2 January 2016.

150 years of church in Bellbrae

On 1 November 2015 90 people from across the Surf Coast and Greater Geelong attended the 150th anniversary service and lunch for the 150 years of church at Bellbrae. The first church was the

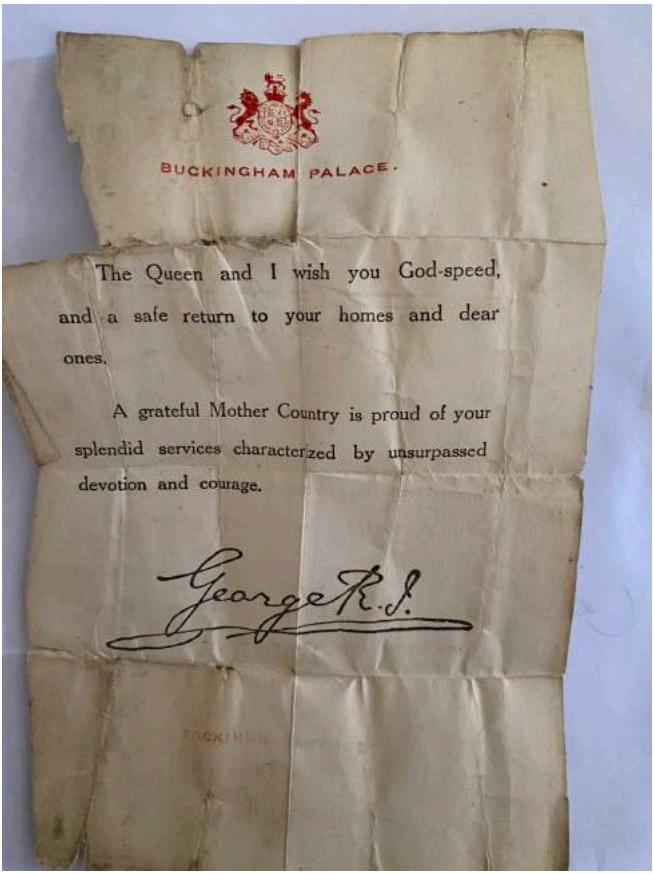
Congregational church which opened in 1865, followed by the Methodist church in 1868. The 2015 service was conducted by the Rev. Helen Robinson, minister of the Surf Coast parish, with the Occasional Address being delivered by the Rev. Ann Key, a Presbytery Minister for Port Phillip West Presbytery, of which Bellbrae forms a part.

The story of the Bellbrae Uniting Church has been drawn from The Churches of Bellbrae: A History *by Martin A. Hooper of Jan Juc, Victoria. A copy of the full history may be obtained from the author by sending an email to martin.hooper@hotmail.com.*

WHAT DO YOU KEEP IN YOUR WALLET?

Peter Sutton

Peter Sutton is a member of Uniting Church Historical Society who has taken a keen interest in both his own family's history and the memorials in the Victorian country town where he grew up that have been erected to the memory of those who served in the two world wars.



BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

The Queen and I wish you God-speed, and a safe return to your homes and dear ones.

A grateful Mother Country is proud of your splendid services characterized by unsurpassed devotion and courage.

George R.I.

This is a telegram that Walter William Sutton kept in his wallet all of his life after WW1. It is of course now over 100 years old. Walter was born 11 June 1896 and lived his early life at Bearii. After WW1 he purchased a farm at Yalca, later selling this and purchasing a farm at Mywee/Strathmerton. He retired into Cobram, residing there until his death on 6 May 1978 aged 81 years. After his return from the war, he married Annie Christina Black and they raised a family of six. When he died, he was also survived by nineteen grandchildren. During his lifetime he attended the Bearii Methodist Church, later the Methodist Church on Strathmerton where he was an elder and Trustee and later the Cobram Methodist Church.

SPRINGTIME FOR HYMNS: THE GROWTH OF CONGREGATIONAL SONG IN THE 19thC.

D'Arcy Wood

The original version of this article was a talk presented, with singing, at Auburn Uniting Church, Melbourne, on 4 June 2023. If readers have a copy of *Together in Song*[1] available as they read, that would be advantageous although not essential. The Rev. Dr D'Arcy Wood was on the editorial team which produced *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977), *Sing Alleluia* (1987) and *Together in Song* (1999). He was national president of the Uniting Church 1991–94.

Histories of the Christian Church pay too little attention to the role of music, particularly singing. There are many books about church music, but even they do not give enough attention to congregational singing. It's different with reformers and evangelists—they recognised the power of singing. I give five examples.

1. The Lutheran Reformation: the Catholic Mass was in Latin and therefore "not understanded of the people" as the *English Prayer Book* expressed it. Martin Luther led worship in the vernacular and encouraged people to sing. He wrote many hymns, the most famous being "A mighty fortress is our God" (TIS 103). Luther wrote a paraphrase of the Nicene Creed in German so that people could affirm the faith in their own language—in song. (TIS 435)

2. In the 18th century the writing and singing of hymns were a vital part of the Evangelical Revival. John Wesley translated hymns from the German and Charles Wesley, of course, wrote some thousands of hymns, nearly all based firmly in Scripture. The Methodists produced a series of hymnals and in the preface to the 1780 collection John Wesley described the book as "a little body

[1] *Together in Song: Australian Hymn Book II* (East Melbourne: Harper Collins Religious, 1999).

of experimental and practical divinity", by which he meant that the singing of hymns was not simply for evangelism but for the teaching of the faith.[1]

3. In the first half of the 19th century another revival took place in England, variously described as the Oxford Movement or Anglo-Catholic Revival. Its proponents were disturbed by the apathy in English parishes and sought a revival of biblical faith and holiness, also of prayer and liturgical worship. They regarded singing as central to the participation of worshippers, as did the Methodists in the previous century. It is sometimes thought that the Evangelical Revival and the Oxford Movement were polar opposites: evangelical on one hand and 'high church' on the other, but this contrast can be overdone. Both movements sought inspiration from Scripture and the early church; both emphasised prayer and growth in holiness; both believed in frequent celebration of the eucharist; and both saw the singing of hymns as an important adjunct to the process of reform. Indeed, the rapid growth of hymn writing and hymn singing in the 19th century was like spring in the natural world—a "springtime" for singing by congregations. I shall give examples, below, of hymns from the Oxford Movement.

4. The Charismatic Movement is usually dated from the beginning of the 20th century. This movement gave rise to the various Pentecostal denominations, all of which employed hymns, Scripture songs and choruses in their worship. As well as using hymns and songs from earlier writers, new songs were written. An example from TIS is "O let the Son of God enfold you" (TIS 655) by John Wimber (1934–97). As in the 18th century, so with Pentecostals, many books have been published, and in the 21st century recordings and computers have made possible the rapid dissemination of new worship songs.

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[1] *The Methodist Hymn Book with tunes* (London: Methodist Conference Office, 1933), v.

5. Evangelistic missions of the 20th century made much use of choirs and of audience participation by singing. Billy Graham is the most famous example. In his missions, choirs were recruited and rehearsed well in advance of the arrival of Dr Graham. These choirs were trained not so much for choral pieces as for leading the singing by the whole audience. The emotional power of this singing was an impetus for people to 'come forward' and make a 'decision for Christ'. This led to thousands of conversions in a variety of countries. Earlier evangelistic movements like those of Moody and Sankey and the Chapman-Alexander Mission emphasised singing and published their own hymnals.

In this article I am dealing with 19th century hymn writing, beginning with three members of the Oxford Movement. My choice of hymns is partly governed by the attachment of 19th century tunes to the words.

John Keble (1792–1866) was a professor of poetry. The Oxford Movement is usually dated from 1833 with a sermon preached by Keble. His ideas met with a ready response, but it wasn't long before some evangelicals and traditional Anglicans began objecting to the Catholic tendencies and 'high' ritual of the Movement. Soon after the Keble sermon, John Henry Newman began a series of publications called "Tracts for the Times", which gave the name Tractarians to followers of the Oxford Movement.

In TIS we have "Hail, gladdening light" (TIS 191), translated by Keble from the Greek *Phos hilaron*, a 4th century evening hymn. The tune is by **Sir John Stainer (1840–1901)**, a very influential figure in the 19th and 20th centuries.

His oratorio "The Crucifixion" was almost a fixture for Protestant choirs in Melbourne, sung during Holy Week, in the early and middle years of the 20th century. In the latter part of that century musical purists in England tended to look down their noses at Stainer's music, but recently his reputation has been rehabilitated and a new critical edition of "The Crucifixion" has been published.

The late Dr A.E. Floyd of St Paul's Cathedral Melbourne once remarked that Stainer wrote for parish choirs and congregations rather than for cathedrals.

A quite arresting paraphrase of *Phos hilaron* is at TIS 255, written by Sylvia Dunstan with a tune by the Australian organist Heather Moen-Boyd.

John Henry Newman (1801–90) was a considerable scholar, preacher and organiser as well as hymn writer. In 1845 he switched from Anglicanism to the Roman Catholic Church. Later, the Pope made him a Cardinal. Newman's hymn "Praise to the Holiest in the height" (TIS 141) has stood the test of time, having strong theological affirmations as well as inspiring lines. The tune "Gerontius" is by John Bacchus Dykes, a composer of some 300 tunes, six of which are in TIS. The word 'height' in the first line is on a sustained high note, which helps to explain why text and tune are wedded together.

Newman also wrote "Lead, kindly light" (TIS 582) which was intended as a poem rather than a hymn. Once published in hymnals it soon gained popularity. The "encircling gloom" in the first line probably refers to two things: Newman's ill health and fatigue, also the fact that the poem was written at sea while the ship was becalmed.

Frederick William Faber (1814–63) was brought up in a strict Calvinist family, but, under the influence of Newman, became a Tractarian and was ordained a priest of the Church of England. In 1845 he made a further move into the Roman Catholic Church, despite having attacked that Church in his earlier years. He founded a community devoted to prayer. Although a Catholic, he remained an ardent admirer of Charles Wesley's hymns, which is another link between the Evangelicals and the Tractarians.

Faber published several volumes of poetry as well as writing 150 hymns.

His hymn "There's a wideness in God's mercy" (TIS 136) had 13 verses originally and began with the words "Souls of men, why do you scatter/like a crowd of frightened sheep?" Hymnal editors in various books have moved the verses around and have begun with "There's a wideness…". I believe this makes a stronger beginning. In the *Companion* to *Together in Song* my colleague, the late Professor Wesley Milgate, describes verse 4 as a "shot across the bows of all legalists in the Church".[1] It could also be read as a critique of 19th century Calvinists with their doctrine of predestination.

The tune "Cross of Jesus" was composed by John Stainer for "The Crucifixion" but has been re-purposed for other texts including this one. Words and music are a very good 'fit'.

Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847) was an Anglican priest born in Scotland. He was ordained in Northern Ireland. He was not known as a Tractarian. Some of his hymns have established themselves right across the English-speaking world, including "Praise, my soul, the king of heaven" (TIS 134). It is used frequently as an opening hymn for Sunday worship. The tune by Sir John Goss, a professor at the Royal College of Music, is unusual in that the harmony changes with each verse, with a direction that some verses are to be sung in unison and some in harmony.

Lyte's "Abide with me; fast falls the eventide" (TIS 586) is probably not sung as much today as in past generations but is still chosen for Anzac Day observances and occasionally for funerals. The tune is by William Henry Monk, a professor of music who was also an editor of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, a standard hymnal for Anglicans in England and Australia for several generations.

The harmony for "Abide with me" is a major reason for the appeal of the hymn.

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[1] Wesley Milgate and D'Arcy Wood, *A Companion to Together in Song*, (Sydney: The Australian Hymn Book Pty Ltd, 2006), 91.

James Montgomery (1771–1854) was born in Scotland and for most of his career was editor of the town newspaper in Sheffield. He wrote about 400 hymns, which is a lot, but his output pales by comparison with Charles Wesley and Fanny Crosby (more about her later). Montgomery had a very interesting life which is summarised by Wesley Milgate in the TIS *Companion*. One of his hymns is "Angels from the realms of glory" (TIS 309), sung in Advent and Christmas in Australia as well as overseas. The tune is a traditional French melody. Another is the short communion hymn "Be known to us in breaking bread" (TIS 514). Jesus' journey to Emmaus after his resurrection is recalled in this hymn. According to Luke, Jesus' two companions recognised Jesus "in the breaking of the bread" (line 1). Just prior to that the disciples had prevailed on Jesus to stay with them rather than continue his journey (line 2). The tune is a simple one but its rhythm suits these words admirably.

George Matheson (1842–1906) was a minister of the Church of Scotland who became blind in his teenage years. His blindness did not stop him from becoming a noted scholar. Hymn 602 "O Love that wilt not let me go" reflects his experience of losing his faith but later regaining it. His mental health was a continuing problem. He wrote this hymn in 1881, saying "it was the quickest bit of work I ever did in my life". It seemed to him that an inner voice dictated the words to him. The hymn has been included in many hymnals over the past 100 years and more. Albert Peace composed the tune specifically for these words.

Our next three writers are women. The 19th century was marked by the increasing number of lay people, men and women, writing hymns. This meant a broadening of both the content and the style of hymn writing, which could be seen as part of the 'springtime' in the history of hymns.

Cecil Frances Alexander (1818–95) was born in Ireland and devoted much of her life to the education of children, including the writing of hymns for children.

She thought it important that children learn the Apostles' Creed, something that doesn't happen much these days. She based a series of hymns on the various 'articles' of the Creed. In all, she wrote more than 200 hymns and more than 200 poems. TIS includes six of her hymns, the best known being "All things bright and beautiful" and "Once in royal David's city". Also popular is "There is a green hill far away" (TIS 350), sung mostly on Good Friday. Hymn 589 "Jesus calls us! O'er the tumult of our life's wild restless sea" evokes several incidents from the Gospels, including the calming of the storm in verse 1 and Jesus' calling of the disciples by the sea of Galilee. The theme of obedience in verse 5 is very common in hymns of the 19th century but not so popular today.

Anna Laetitia Waring (1823–1910) began life as a Quaker but became convinced of the importance of the sacraments and was baptised in the Church of England in 1842. She learned Hebrew and developed the habit of reading one or more psalms in Hebrew every day. The highly personal nature of her hymn "In heavenly love abiding" (TIS 588) is typical of much of the hymnody of the 19th century, both by Evangelicals and those of more Catholic conviction. The tune by the Welshman David Jenkins used to be sung with a long pause at the end of each line but the TIS editors have managed to 'speed up' the tune by restricting the pauses to one—at the end of the sixth line of words.

Fanny Crosby (1820–1915) was a prolific hymn-writer. She wrote her first poem at the age of 11 and finished with about 9,000 hymn texts, only about one-third of which were published in her lifetime. Both she and her husband were blind. She is listed in TIS as Frances Jane van Alstyne, the surname being her husband's. She also used a variety of pseudonyms. She was an American Methodist and her hymns were used in the evangelistic missions of Moody

and Sankey, and later by Billy Graham. Hymn 147, "To God be the glory", has retained its popularity for many years, partly, I think, because of the vigour of the tune by William Howard Doane who wrote more than 2,000 tunes, many of them for the words of Fanny Crosby.

The personal piety evident in the hymns of Matheson, Waring and Crosby, among others, continued into the 20th century, especially with the Charismatic Movement and the evangelistic campaigns such as the Chapman-Alexander Missions, but this personal emphasis was soon to be balanced by emphases on the unity of humanity, on social justice and on the church as servant of the people. Hymn writing declined for a while in the early 20th century but soon picked up speed, especially after World War II. A colleague on the hymn-book committee describes it as a 'hymn explosion'. The number of hymnals published in this period is simply huge. The Iona Community, the Taizé Community and a host of other writers lent new flavours to hymn writing.

Unison songs became more common, as did accompanying the singing with a variety of instruments, but that is a story for another occasion.

Historical articles sometimes conclude with pointers for further research. I would say that further research is needed on the role of local Australian choirs in the 19th and 20th centuries. Choirs were important not just in worship but as significant social groups in towns and suburbs across Australia.

USING ILLUMINATE

Moira Bryant

Moira Bryant is the Library Manager of Camden Theological Library in North Parramatta, NSW. She has developed a wonderful research aide for documents associated with the Uniting Church, which is now available to any reader through the UCA Assembly website or directly through the *illuminate* home page.

Illuminate is a resource which has been developed at Camden Theological Library at North Parramatta, NSW.

The repository has been created to provide a gateway to a range of digitized resources. These have been curated in 'Tiles' which can be explored via the *illuminate* home page:

https://illuminate.recollect.net.au/

Both Official Records and Publications of the organization which originally created the documents can be accessed via the Tiles.

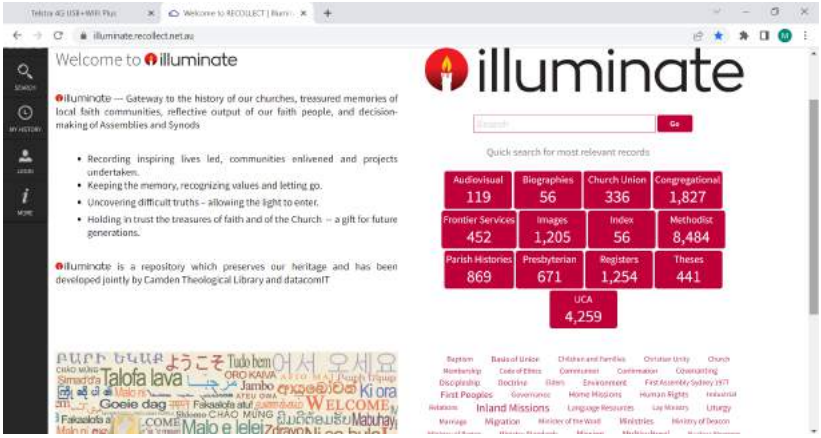
From the same home page, it is also possible to search the Metadata for each record using the Search Box and to search for certain topics which are accessed via the 'Topic Cloud'.

Originally, *illuminate* was created to provide easy access to resources which reflected, to varying degrees, the history of the pre-Uniting Church denominations, the discussions relating to the formation of the UCA and post union documents of the NSW/ACT Synod.

It has since included a wide range of Assembly resources and a selection of material which has been provided by the South Australian Methodist Historical Society and most recently, the Vic/Tas Historical Society.

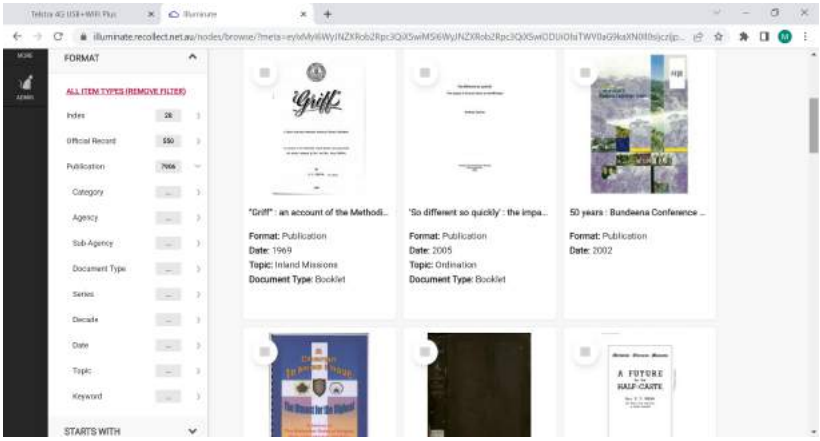
Illuminate now holds over 20,000 documents.

The home page looks like this:



A brief description of how to Search *illuminate.*

Once a Tile has been selected, the LH column of the results screen allows the filtering by 'Document type' (e.g. Official Record or Publication') and then to further filter by a number of relevant categories (e.g. Agency, Sub-Agency, Document type, Series or Decade).

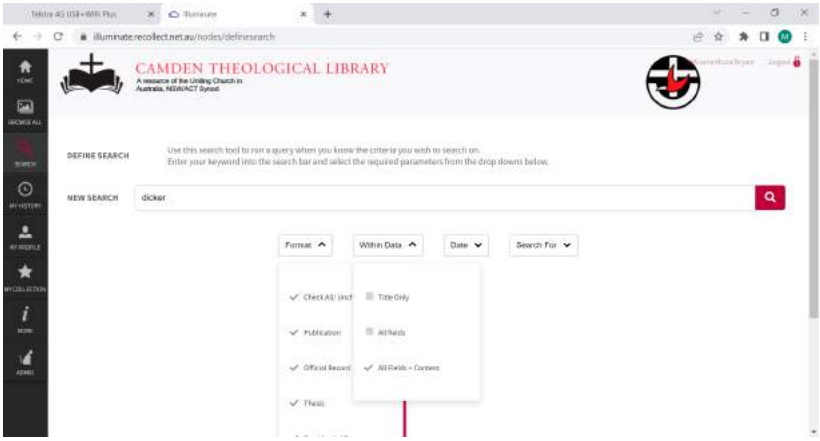


Searches via the **Search box, Tile or Theme** are accessing the metadata for each record.

It is also possible to carry out a **full text search**, though this will take longer to retrieve the results.

To carry out a search within the text of the documents, select the 'Magnifying glass' in the LH column on the home page.

This will take you to a page with various options which can be selected from drop-down menus.



To carry out a full-text search, select 'All Fields + Content' and decide if you wish to limit to specific types of records.

Because illuminate was originally created using an earlier version of the software, it has not been possible to retrospectively edit all the records to support the new 'To-From' date metadata, so it is to better filter once relevant records have been retrieved.

I hope that you will find illuminate a rewarding resource to use.

Please make contact at library@nswact.uca.org.au if you wish for further information.

UNITING CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Synod Lectures

1983 Walter Phillips, *The Protestant Churchmen's Campaign against Secularism in the Australia in the late 19th Century*
1984 L. Farquhar Gunn, Raymond Abba, A. Harold Wood, (Ed. I. Breward), *The Future of our Heritage*
1985 Geoffrey Blainey, *The Heyday of the Churches in Victoria*
1986 Max Griffiths, *Distance Lends Enchantment*
1987 Graeme Davison, *Faulty Towers - the Church and Historical Conservation*
1988 Jean Skuse, *The Ecumenical Movement - Personal Reflection*
1989 Renate Howe, *A Reappraisal of the Relationship between the Churches and the Working Class*
1990 Kay McLennan, *Religious Broadcasting in Australia*
1991 T. Maxwell O'Connor, *Protector Edward Stone Parker: Port Phillip Gentleman*
1992 (not published to date)
1993 Shurlee Swain, *Constructing the Good Christian Woman*
1994 J. Davis McCaughey, "The Formation of the Basis of Union" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 1, No. 1)
1995 Bernard Thorogood, O.B.E., D.D.(Lambeth), "The London Missionary Society and Australia: Three Phases of Relationship" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 2, No. 2)
1996 Professor the Hon. Evan Walker, "Sources of Protestant Church Design" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 3, No. 2)
1997 The Rev. Dr D'Arcy Wood, "Twenty Years of the Uniting Church: a Personal Reflection" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 4, No. 2)
1998 Walter Phillips, "Protestants And Australian Patriotism From Federation To The First World War: A Bunch Of

Imperial Jingoists?" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 5, No. 2)

1999 Geoffrey Blainey, "A Son's Reflections on Life in a Methodist Parsonage" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 6, No. 2)

2000 Shirley Horne, "The story of Tally Ho Boys' Village" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 7, No. 2)

2001 Katherine Massam, "To be a pilgrim: Billy Graham, Janet Mead, John Bell, and Songs of the Church in the World" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 8, No. 2)

2002 Bruce Barber, "Calvert Barber 1893—1967: Methodist, Apologist, Ecumenist" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 9, No. 2)

2003 Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, "Children of Missionaries in Tonga" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 10, No 2)

2004 Margaret Scanlon, "Uniting Church Schools" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 11, No. 2)

2005 Brian Howe, "Australia's Niebuhr? The Formation of Alan Walker" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 12, No. 2)

2006 Laurie Turner, "An Ordinary Person's Pilgrimage" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria)*, Vol. 13, No. 2)

2007 Dorothy Underwood, "The Underwoods of Korea" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria & Tasmania)*, Vol. 14, No. 2

2008 David Merritt, "Christian Education in the 20th Century: Sunday Schools, The Joint Board of Christian Education and the Uniting Church" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria & Tasmania)*, Vol. 15, No. 2

At the 2008 Victoria & Tasmania Synod, the decision was taken to hold Synod on an 18 month basis, hence, no "Synod" lecture was held in 2009. In its place, a new annual lecture was instituted.

2010 Barry Jones, "From Lay Preacher to Politician" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria and Tasmania)*, Vol. 17, No. 1)

2011 Barry T. Brown, "William Witton (1811-1886): 'Almost Perpetual Curate'" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria and Tasmania)*, Vol. 18, No. 2)

2012 Rosemary Young, "100 Years at the Heart of Remote Australia" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria and Tasmania)*, Vol. 19, No. 1)

2013 Alistair Macrae, "From Peacock to Feather Duster" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society (Victoria and Tasmania)*, Vol. 20, No. 1)

2014 Denis Oakley and John Smith, "Child Welfare: The influence of the Uniting Churches and the Uniting Church on the development of child welfare before and through the 1900s until now" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society of the Synod of Victoria and Tasmania*, Vol. 21, No. 2)

2016 John Blacker, "The Charismatic Movement" (in *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society of the Synod of Victoria and Tasmania*, Vol. 23, No. 1)

Synod lectures were discontinued after 2016.

Other Lectures

1985 E. Anne Amos, *The Rev. Graeme Bucknall in Ministry 1965-70*

1986 Joan Montgomery, *Church-related Schools*

1986 David Rankin, *A Garden in Milan Revisited*

1988 Norman Young, *Charles Wesley - a Tribute*

1988 Ian Breward (Ed.), *John Bunyan*
1989 Barry T. Brown, *Men with a Vision*
1990 E. W. Russell, *Oswald Barnett - Housing Reform and the Christian Social Order*
1991 Alison Head, *The Ladies - God Bless Them*
1991 *John Wesley, 1703-1791: A Commemorative Symposium*
1992 Edgar Wells, *Art and Religion in Arnhem Land*
1992 Catherine Ritchie, *Presbyterian Deaconesses in Victoria*
1993 Ian Breward, *Enhancing our Memory*
1994 T. Maxwell O'Connor, *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Architecture in the 19th Century*

Subsequent lectures have been published in these *Proceedings*.

Books

Charles Wesley, UCHS Melbourne 2007, written by Barry Brown

A Brief History of the Bulla Church, published for the 150th Anniversary of the Bulla Uniting Church, 29th March 2009 (Original 1959 history written by Charles McKenzie, 1960-2009 section added by Bruce Tozer, and edited by Robert Renton)

Kuanua Stories: Stories of events, customs and fables from the New Guinea District, UCHS Melbourne, 2010. (Collected by the Rev. Wesley Lutton and translated by the Rev. Dr Phyllis Gorfine. Edited by Robert Renton)

Scots Church Campbellfield: A Brief History, a reprint of Lyndall R. Moore's 1982 history, *A Time to Build Up: A History of Scots Church Campbellfield Since 1842*, edited and updated by Robert Renton), UCHS Melbourne 2009. Second edition updated to 2016 by Robert Renton.

Aboriginal People and the Church: A collection of documents of the early years of the 20th Century from the Uniting Church Archives, UCHS Melbourne, 1st Ed. 2009, 2nd Ed. 2010, edited by Robert Renton

Noel Jackling, *Dancing to Damnation: Harold Wood and John Woodhouse in the fight to lift the ban on dancing on Methodist Church property*, UCHS Melbourne, 1st Ed. 2009, 2nd Ed. 2010.

Missionary Memories, UCHS 2010, compiled by Phyllis Gorfine during 2008-10, edited by Robert Renton.

Women in the Church: A Memoir, UCHS 2011, written by Jean Yule, and edited by Cathy Edmonds and Jane Yule.

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