Uniting Church
History and Heritage

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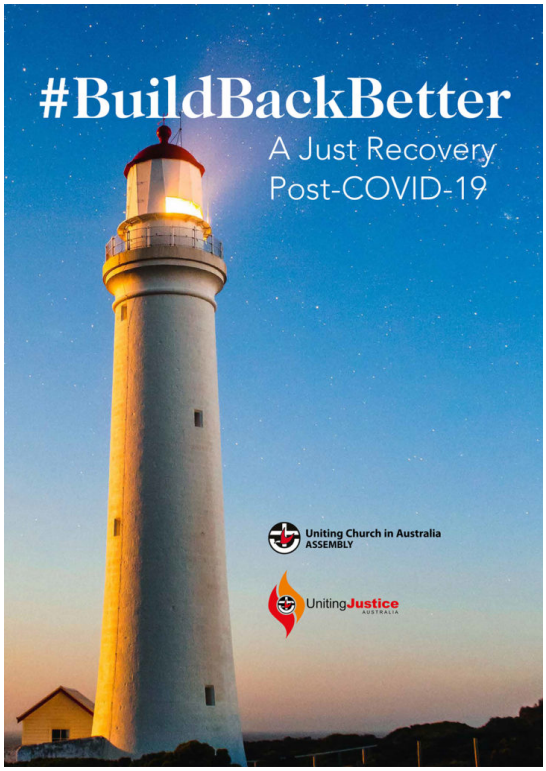


Editorial

As we in Australia emerge from 2020, the year of the COVID19 pandemic, many people are hoping for and happy to work for a better vision for Australian life in all aspects. An historical society has the benefit of being able to help its members reflect on aspects of past practice and thinking that should provide us with an opportunity to put things into perspective and, hopefully, avoid at least some of the mistakes of the past.

The Uniting Church can benefit from the enforced changes to its worship and ways of doing things generally that were brought about by the lockdowns and the necessity to introduce and learn new skills and techniques, especially in the use of electronic media. The UC National History Society in its conferences in 2017 and 2019 has mapped to some extent how the Church has weathered the last 40+ years, and the inescapable conclusion is that a return to just the 'way things were', no matter how much that may be desired by many older members, will simply continue the increasing trend to the failure of so many of our congregations as their members age and shuffle off the mortal coil.

Let's learn from our history!

- Robert Renton

This edition

In the June edition we published an article from the South Australian Uniting Church Historical Society about the motivations for church missions to Aboriginal people by Judith Raftery. One of the more positive stories was of the Ernabella mission in South Australia, which was largely the result of the work of Dr Charles Duguid.

In this edition, we have reproduced an extract from a book of addresses given by Dr Duguid. Published 74 years ago, you will not be surprised to find some of the language and the thinking behind it to be somewhat dated and perhaps a little unfortunate in comparison with today's more enlightened attitudes. However, in comparison with widespread attitudes of the time, Duguid's understanding and concerns were far more enlightened. It's also interesting to note that the extract is of a broadcast to schools!

An extensive book review and an aspect of John Wesley's thinking that's not so often remarked on completes the articles in this edition.

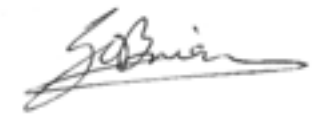
President's Notes

Surveys of Christian history and the textbooks that support them are too often told from the perspective of male protagonists with women consigned to the footnotes or discussed only in relation to their male relatives or coadjutants. I have been considering for much of this year how the teaching of Christian history might be different if this pattern were reversed. For example, could the fourth-century Christian period be studied through St. Monica with Augustine in the background or the medieval period through Julian of Norwich or Catherine of Sienna with Aquinas and Abelard in the footnotes? I recently made an attempt at one chapter in such an alternative history, through an exploration of the life and work of Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791) who formed and led an eighteenth-century Methodist Connexion of preachers distinct from John Wesley's in a number of important ways. The article, shortly to be published in *Colloquium*, explores the agency of one particular Methodist woman with male protagonists viewed only in relation to and as subsets of women's agency I the hope that it might serve as a first step in the direction of an alternative survey of Methodist history that would take more seriously the role of women in the formation and continuation of Methodism. Of course, similar studies need to be undertaken for other traditions as well.

Women have always held a central role in Methodist life. While not holding formal clergy status in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, they have nonetheless always been in the majority in terms of membership and through auxiliary societies dedicated to such concerns as missionary work, temperance and Sunday Schools, have exerted a powerful shaping influence on Methodism's social conscience as well as its financial sustainability. Phyllis Mack, in *Heart Religion and the British Enlightenment*, offered an influential revisionist account of eighteenth-century Methodism that took women's experiences and emotions seriously, showing that it was in the interplay of women's religious experience and emotional states that social agency and identity were formed. Selina Hastings was among the most prominent of such women. One would also need to draw in the contribution of other Methodist women, including Susannah Wesley, Hester Ann Rogers, Mary Bosanquet Fletcher (1739-1815) and others. But Selina was unmatched in her challenging of the authority of male leaders in a new and radical religious movement and offered a maternal presence in the lives of hundreds of young men prepared to submit to her authority in order to gain an opportunity of following their vocation as evangelists. Her spirituality was so radical that she sometimes viewed any opposition to her own wishes as simultaneously a crossing of the divine will. Her high Calvinism, bordering on antinomian in outlook, did not produce the works of charity and social reform that went on to characterise the mainstream branches of Methodism. For this reason, her Connexion ultimately formed something of a *cul de sac* and never brought about the global revival for which she dreamed. Selina Hastings was perhaps too idiosyncratic a figure to serve as an explanation of eighteenth-century Methodism, but as part of the unsettling, subversive, tapestry of the Methodist movement her authority, power, and agency cannot be ignored.

Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to thank all of our members and readers for their support of the aims and objectives of the UCNHS during this history-making year of 2020. May this Advent and Christmas season fill us all once again with wonder at the miracle Charles Wesley referred to as 'our God contracted to a span, incomprehensively made [hu]man.'

Yours,



(Associate Professor Rev. Glen O'Brien, President, UCNHS)

Book Review

Spirit of the Mountains. Tributes in Honour of James Tulip, William W Emilsen and Laurence Woods (eds) (Lawson: Blue Mountain Research and Education Trust, 2020).

This small book is a collection of reflections on the life of James (Jim) Tulip, teacher, scholar, researcher, writer and friend to many. It focuses principally on the later period of Jim's life, the period of retirement, and most particularly of his time living with his second wife, Peggy Goldsmith, in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales (thus the title, *Spirit of the Mountains*). It is a collection of tributes from his friends. I suspect most of us come to recognise and treasure the place friends play in our lives - some met briefly and travelled with for a short while only, others through such long periods of our lives – and, in all that number and variety and depth, such richness. In this small volume there is a profound sense of that richness, of the value placed on friendship with this treasure of a man, and deep gratitude for simply having known him.

For all that connects these tributes they are, nevertheless, very varied in nature and style. So, for the reviewer it does pose a problem of how one might characterise or classify the volume as a whole.

For example, it is not a festschrift, although there are ample references to Jim's quietly distinguished career as a lecturer in the English Department and as the first chair of the new School of Religious Studies at the University of Sydney, and to the impact of that career upon students and colleagues alike. And throughout the collection, there is a recognition of the value of his scholarship and writing, and gratitude for the great many different ways in which that gift was so generously shared over a lifetime. Several pieces dwell solely on Jim's academic contribution. Garry Trompf's detailed chapter focuses not on Jim's varied contributions within the English Department but on his 'role in fostering the study of religion at the University of Sydney'. He regards Jim's involvement as a crucial link 'between the closing of the Board of Studies in Divinity and the emergence of Studies of Religion as a departmental discipline within the Arts Faculty'. Trompf's lively account provides an interesting historical context for Jim's notable achievements in the field of the study of religion in that institution, in particular his working to 'free the study of religion from its long-term denominational and heavily Christian associations'. For this history alone, this chapter is worth a careful read but it is also a fine testament to Jim's collaborative and respectful leadership style and his skills as a negotiator, of bringing others with him and of getting things done. A second celebration of the scholarly dimensions of Jim's life and work is Robbie Tulip's account of his father's doctoral thesis on that remarkable Shakespearian character, Richard the Third, the villain–hero. At the end of his account, Robbie returns to the observation Jim made at the beginning of his thesis, that "Richard is his own best expositor", and suggests there is a sad irony in the fact that his father, while entirely the opposite of a villain such as Richard, could nonetheless "have done with a keener focus on self-promotion", a skill a good many academics manage to exercise with a startling singlemindedness. A third contribution, while principally about Jim's life as an academic, dips in and out of the academic world. Paul Crittenden (former Dean of Arts at Sydney), like Trompf, traces Jim's contributions in helping develop the place of theology and religious studies in a secular university such as Sydney University, but he also sees his contribution as extending beyond the one university and beyond the academic world as such, to "intellectual life more generally in Australia". Indeed, Crittenden's excursions beyond the precincts of the university take him (and us) to the tennis court, with an engaging picture of Jim as a seemingly nonchalant but nevertheless deft tennis prayer, and into the inner workings of the intriguingly and beguilingly named Heretics Club. In the final section of his chapter, Crittenden returns to Sydney University and the changes and adjustments and ongoing restructurings that tested everyone through the 1990s and beyond, but where Jim Tulip's "benign guidance" sustained the growth of something of lasting value.

If this collection is not a conventional festschrift, nor is it simply a chronicle or memoir, although it is brimful of shared stories, shared experiences, endeavours, projects, and of the

joining together with others in "causes of social and moral importance". Joy Connor describes Jim Tulip as "a Renaissance man with a huge range of interests". She lists "public affairs, literature, music, the environment, theology, interfaith and ecumenical dialogue and the future of the church" and saw all of these diverse areas as "having benefitted from his enthusiasm and energy". Several accounts refer to Jim's involvement in the Blue Mountains Refugee Support group and note that, while a member of the Labor Party, he was always keen to ensure open discussion of critical policy issues and, in the run-up to an election, helped organise public meetings where all local candidates had an opportunity to present their party's platform. He supported initiatives with denominational groups and individuals beyond the Uniting Church and was a founding member of the Blue Mountains Interfaith Group.

Jim was "passionately in love with language", to borrow W H Auden's phrase. His great love of literature and especially of poetry shines through in various accounts. He valued its importance as food for the soul but also as nourishment of our life together. Several accounts recall with pleasure his teaching of poetry at Sydney University. Jane Buhler writes of "the sense of intellectual excitement" in the classes she attended and of Jim teaching you how to read poetry, how to be open to wider possibilities in interpretation, "rather than simply explicating an unfamiliar field of literature". Barry Spurr also singles out Jim's giftedness as a teacher of poetry. He writes of owing a deep sense of gratitude to Jim, a response he is "sure is true for numerous other students who enjoyed the privilege of attending his classes". Another former student, Yvonne Smith, also writes of his exceptional qualities as a teacher of poetry. She ends her chapter: "He was a scholar-teacher for life and for faith, for passion and intellect infusing each other to enrich what it means to be human".

David Malouf reflects on a longstanding friendship that stretches back to the mid 1950s when both were Junior Lecturers in the English Department at Queensland University. But that was not his first 'sighting' of Jim. He recounts how, in a Commemoration Day procession, Jim, then a 'fresher', was "being wheeled down Elizabeth Street (in Brisbane) in a barrow, from which he leapt as from a bathtub, every twenty yards or so, shouting 'Eureka', an image that has always seemed to me to be wonderfully evocative of the 'real' Jim, and which has stayed with me for more than sixty years". After a decade's break, the friendship was renewed in 1969 when Malouf, returning from living in the U.K, took up an appointment as Senior Tutor in the English Department of the University of Sydney where Jim was already an established Lecturer. Malouf pays tribute to both Jim's gifts as an English Literature teacher and critic to Jim's "consuming interest in the nature of the sacred and how to make a place for it in daily living". In writing of Jim Tulip's scholarship and teaching he names him as "one of the most influential teachers of his generation, a scholar of Renaissance and American Literature, and as a writer and critic (and as) a powerful voice in the changes that shaped Australian poetry in the late 1960s" and beyond.

One chapter, that by the poet, Noel Rowe (who died in 2007), is devoted to a poem written for Jim about our faltering, stumbling human attempts, in our busy, messy lives, to 'pin down', capture and name the nameless; about the profound necessity of that search for the nameless one, "Sometimes Known as God" (the title of the poem). Rowe's poem is mentioned in the moving tribute to Jim from Erin White (which rather fittingly forms the final chapter of the book). She refers to Rowe's use of language, of metaphor and symbol, which she describes as being "peculiarly Australian expressions of Christianity, of humanity" and of Jim sharing this peculiarity, of being 'at home' in the use of such language. William Emilsen, in his chapter entitled "The Prayers of Jim Tulip", also takes up this feature of Jim's writing and spirituality. The mainly liturgical prayers written for public worship in his local church, display this same imagery, this Australianness. Emilsen writes of worship "with an Australian accent" being especially important to Jim. He valued the distinctive commitment of the Uniting Church to being "an indigenous or Australian Church" and wrote of that church "learning to draw into our worship a sense of Australian space and sound and silence". Emilsen describes Jim's prayers as being "not only poetic and informative but also, and perhaps more importantly, as transformative". He describes Jim as an "adventurer of the Spirit" whose prayers

"opened people's lives to the mystery of God active in the Blue Mountains of Australia and the world today". In his prayers, writes Emilsen, Jim "with great imagination remembered the world", our own immediate world, "before God" and in so doing "made it possible for us to more willingly receive God in our everyday lives".

But to continue with my difficulty in pinning down just what kind of collected volume this might be said to be… If it cannot be described as festschrift or memoir or chronicle, nor can it be categorised as a collection of eulogies, although one tribute is actually named as a eulogy, that of Michael Griffith. Nevertheless, and not surprisingly, there is a eulogetic flavour to the collection as a whole, a summing up and celebration of a well lived life and gratitude for what that life has meant to so many. There are tributes from 'old' friends, some mentioned already but others such as Jean Gledhill, and Eugene Stockton both of whom celebrate a longstanding friendship; and from those who had only come to know Jim in this later period of his life, such as Lyn Phillips, director of the Leura Singers. Eugene Stockton traces his friendship from the 1970s when he was Catholic chaplain in the Newman Society at Sydney University and he and Jim were involved in nurturing ecumenical connections between the Newman Society and the Student Christian Movement. Like many others, Stockton describes Jim as "a dear, dear friend".

A number of pieces might be characterised as reflections that seek not simply to record aspects of Jim Tulip's character or of his many involvements but to prompt in the reader a more general reflection, aspects of Jim's life and character that we should underline and ponder further. I have mentioned several of these already or at least alluded to them. One is the value of the Arts in sustaining and enlarging our lives and, in Jim's case, of the place of poetry and the importance of nourishing a passion for this form of literature in a younger generation. How vital might that message be said to be right now! A second strand in this volume is that of encouraging in our worship, in our use of language in liturgy, an exploration of Australianness, of '"earning to draw into our worship a sense of Australian space and sound and silence". And a third is Jim's qualities as an 'encourager' and of the concept of spiritual encouragement. Several writers make mention of this quality. But it is the central focus of Carolyn Craig-Emilsen's thoughtful essay. We are invited to reflect on this fundamental quality of Jim in his relationships with others. Craig-Emilsen makes reference to other writers on this wonderful concept but also to friends who have experienced Jim's encouragement. They speak of attentiveness and of modesty. She quotes Joy Connor as speaking of Jim as someone for whom "hospitality and encouragement went hand in hand" and that "in the widest sense", this hospitality was enacted in his commitment to "social justice areas around the common good". I found myself drawn to this concept and reflected on how a much-used word such a 'empowerment', has become somewhat denuded of its original impact and oomph. Perhaps we need instead to explore the concept of 'encouragement' and the role of the 'encourager'. I can almost sense Jim's concern that we not over-use and deplete those fine concepts. As part and parcel of that role, Carolyn and Joy lay emphasis on Jim's qualities as a listener. Certainly that is something we could do with encouraging more widely, marking it as a virtue, something to be treasured in a person. And Jim's humility. No excess of that in contemporary society.

Perhaps it is of little consequence that this book is a difficult collection to classify. As I note it is a tribute to a man of so many parts—a Renaissance man—with so many friends who mourn his passing and wish to mark it in this way and give thanks for a well lived life. And its eclectic character makes for a particularly enjoyable and enticing read. It's a short book, but it is, nevertheless, a glorious 'grab bag' of different 'tributes' with different foci, pieces written with different intentions, in different styles by people who have known Jim in various different contexts. It would seem that the Editors has given contributors an expansive brief, a freedom to write as they wished to. Further, they have chosen to order the contributions alphabetically, according to author's name, an unusual choice, no doubt but seemingly a most appropriate response to the sheer variety of pieces.

Finally, it is not unreasonable to ask of this book, of collections of this kind, what is the value of this kind of exercise for the general reader. What is its especial value to those who perhaps have not known Jim or not known him well, those outside the Uniting Church, outside any church? There will be different answers to this question, needless to say. Let me suggest one or two. Here is to be found history and story of a kind that, it might be argued, has not been widely recorded. One obvious example is the account of Jim's involvement in establishing and then serving as Head of the School of Religious Studies at Sydney University. What is especially noteworthy is that this enterprise represents and is based on an enlightened concept of the role of religious studies in a secular university, one that has been marked by an inclusive, questioning, open-minded, scholarly attention to an important dimension to human life, regardless of individual convictions in the matter. The second is that there is value always in ensuring we record the stories of those who have lived lives as full and constructive, as wise and generous as that of Dr James Tulip. Read and be enriched.

— Elizabeth Watson

A note from the treasurer

A very big thank you to those who have already renewed their membership for 2021 and in a few cases beyond!

A reminder that membership fees have been set at $25 as from 1 January 2021.

If you are sending a cheque please write the society name in full on the cheque "Uniting Church National History Society" This is a request from my friendly bank teller. Post to The Treasurer PO Box 2 Wentworth Falls NSW 2782.

A reminder about bank transfer details

BSB: 032-828

ACCOUNT NO.: 301985

ACCOUNT NAME: Uniting Church National History Society.

Don't forget to put your own name on the transfer so we know you have paid!

Writing a parish history

Ever thought you might try your hand at writing a parish history?Here's some hints.

Plan your history—as they used to say about writing an essay, work out what will be in the beginning, the middle, and the end. Try to identify a theme which will help to structure your writing.

Who will be your readers? Who is going to be interested in what you are writing about—so have them in mind.

Tell a story wherever possible. Facts and figures become tiresome very quickly, as does one list of members of the Church Council or the Ladies' Guild after another.

Keep in mind the **historical context of the events** about which you are writing. Keep in mind what was happening in the wider community, state, country, and world at the time. It helps to understand the attitudes and ideas of the time.

Historical accuracy is important. Do the research carefully, and check more than one source. Get someone else to read your work, not just to pick up spelling and grammatical errors, but factual errors as well.

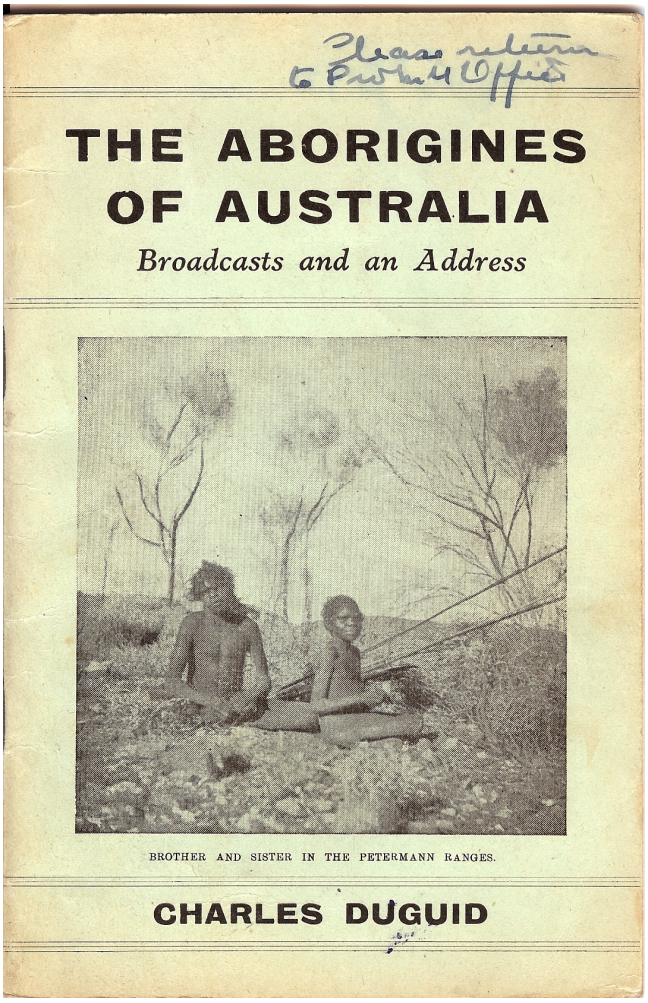
Follow the rules!

- Anything quoted should be referenced correctly.
- Make sure that permission is obtained for any material that is copyrighted.
- Practise inclusive language and avoid any discriminatory language. Remember that history did not start in Australia in 1788! A local church site or family farm was the possession of another community of people for thousands of years before, particularly if you are writing about the days of colonisation of Australia.
- Be consistent with style—if publishing in a journal, you need to follow the style guide for that journal.

The Aborigines of Australia

In September 1946 Dr Charles Duguid published a series of broadcasts that he had made between 1943 and 1946 on the ABC's broadcasts to schools. He also included an address he gave at Scots Church, North Terrace, Adelaide, on Aboriginal Sunday, 28 January 1945. He concluded his introduction with the words: "The future of our minority race rests with the girls and boys of today. It is to them specially that I make my appeal".

He dedicated the booklet to his wife and family, "whose regard for human beings is uninfluenced by color, class or creed".



Here is a reproduction of the broadcast of 25 June 1946 entitled "The Aborigines' Hope of a Future before the War and Now: The Impact with White People".

[It must be remembered that the language and style of this extract from the book is very dated—it was written 74 years ago in a different age. (Editor)]

In the early days of this century the hope of a future for the aborigines was negligible. The Federal Act excluded aborigines from the benefits of our civilisation, and made it illegal for them to vote at Federal elections. The full-blood aboriginal citizen, Reg Saunders, who works alongside white men in Melbourne, who, as an officer in the A.I.F. led white Australians with success in the recent war, cannot cast his vote at the coming Commonwealth elections. He can fight for us but because of his color, and in spite of the fact that his people owned the land, he cannot be entrusted with a vote in the government of the country.

In any discussion on aboriginal affairs, it must be made clear that, although the aborigines are undoubtedly a Federal responsibility, the Federal Government is in law responsible only for the aborigines residing in the Northern Territory. Each state is totally responsible for its own aborigines, each State has different laws for them, and unless exempted, they are not free to cross State boundaries.

So the impact with the white people must be considered State by State, and to present the changing scene I must first review the past. I propose very quickly to review the situation over the 46 years of this century.

Tasmania has no natives. She eliminated them long ago. In Victoria there are no longer any full-bloods, in New South Wales there are very few. In these States the social impact is between the near-white natives and the white Australians. The attitude of the whites to those with native blood is one of apathy. In fact, the great majority of the white people of Victoria and New South Wales aren't aware that aborigines are in their midst. They are tucked away in the slums.

South Australia has between four and five thousand aborigines, almost equally divided into full-bloods and half-castes. More than half of the full-bloods are in the north-west of the State. Up until about 1930 the aborigines here as elsewhere were regarded as cheap labour or as something to be pitied, but in no State in recent years has the social impact between the two races improved more than in South Australia. This is due to the number of people in this State who have fought for aboriginal rights, and to the policy of the Government Aborigines'

Protection Board since it was formed in 1939. In 1945 a white station owner in South Australia was found guilty of ill treatment of employees and fined. This shows a new trend in the recognition of aboriginal rights as human beings.

But the great majority of aborigines are to be found in Queensland, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory. The Queensland Government for many years has improved the lot of her natives, and she has called in the Christian Churches to do much of the work.

Western Australia has the largest aboriginal population of any division of Australia, and it is financially the poorest State. This may explain difficulties, but not the treatment of her aborigines.

In this century she has had three Royal Commissions—in 1905, 1927, and 1935—to investigate atrocities, ill-treatment and neglect, and even in 1946 the social impact between the white population and the natives is most unhappy and, in my opinion, most unjust. The amazing thing is that people overseas know more about it than we do ourselves, and it is not Western Australia that gets the condemnation, but Australia. When will we learn that we cannot as a nation subscribe to the Atlantic and other charters and saddle individual States with the responsibility of carrying them out?

The Northern Territory, controlled by the Federal Government, remains for our consideration. Its aboriginal population is far larger than its white population, and it is predominantly full-blood. It is the part of Australia where the greatest change for the aborigines has taken place since the war began —and the improvement was needed. Up until 1928 shooting of aborigines in cold blood took place, and cruelties were perpetuated right into the forties, but I cannot recall a single case in which a white man was found guilty.

Before the war I visited the interior annually. In 1934 I was appalled at the callousness of the white people of Alice Springs and the surrounded country to the natives. On a cattle station out west from Alice Springs on a cold, drizzly day, I saw on a hillside a collection of the most miserable humpies, from which came the most miserable skeletons—old men, women and children—I have ever seen. But close to the township of Alice Springs was a collection of hovels only a little better, in which lived the aged, the infirm and sick, who received from the Federal Government rations which "must not exceed five pounds of flour, one pound of sugar, a quarter pound of tea", per *week*!

I enquired as to wages of native labourers, and was informed that five shillings was the weekly wage, two shillings of which were entered on a police book. On the cattle stations, if the owner took out a licence costing ten shillings a year, to employ aborigines, and if he agreed to feed the working man, his wife and children, he was exempted from paying wages at all. A small fee is paid for medical attention to his natives. In those days it was, in most cases, a raw deal for the aborigines. The clothing and food were generally of the poorest. When drought came there was little work available, and working natives could not get Government relief unless they were sick.

Mining is another industry in the Territory dependent on native workers. As late as 1942, the worst example known to me of neglect, starvation, and emaciation of aborigines took place at a mining camp well off the beaten track. The case was reported, but no prosecution took place.

In 1941 the Army took control of the Territory, and it was under martial law until the end of the war in 1945. In 1946 I resumed my visits to the inland. Did I sense a difference from that date? Definitely, yes. The attitude of the white population in Alice Springs to the aborigines is more human than before. There is a hospital now that treats the natives. The two doctors at the hospital act also as flying doctors, and go out to the bush if necessary, to bring in aborigines as well as white people. Many of the aborigines living in Alice Springs are well-fed and well-clad. Living conditions for them are greatly improved. On the railway far more aborigines are travelling than formerly. There is little doubt the constant movement of troops, women as well as men, between Adelaide and Darwin, has had much to do with the improved status of the aborigines of the interior. Many protested at the conditions they found, and this had its effect. But a man deeply interested in the welfare of the natives told me this year that the changed attitude has followed the coming of women to the interior—women of the forces—but even more so, he thought, women making their homes on the stations. This has followed the

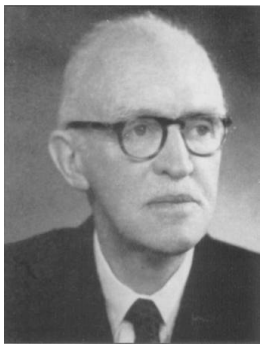
development of the pedal wireless and the coming of the flying doctor.

Christian Missions to aborigines have been of great help to them, but the Church divides its forces in the inland, and the Missions to the white people have nothing to do with the natives. This division does not help to soften the social impact between the races.

I feel strongly that if the Christian Church claims to be the hand-maiden of Christ, it must speak with one voice in the interior—in the voice of Christ. But before the aborigines receive Christian treatment at the hands of Australia another revolution within the Church must come—this time in the cities and towns of the south. Too many people in full membership of the Christian Church still believe that God meant the white races to be overlords, and the black, yellow, and the brown people to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for their benefit. These people are willing to subscribe to keeping the colored people fairly comfortable, so long as they are kept apart, but to love them or to closely associate with them, no. That is beyond their comprehension. I would say frankly that until the Christian Church can challenge the Parliaments and the people of Australia to a Christian approach to the aborigines these folk will never be treated with basic human justice.

The appointment by the Federal Government of two special patrol officers has given help to the aborigines, but more patrols are needed. During the war, too, the Curtin Government extended certain benefits to aborigines, notably child endowment, and this has helped materially. But understanding of these people can only come from increased knowledge of them. This is now assured, for more people are visiting the Interior by train, motor car, and aeroplane than ever before. Now that the war is over it is to be hoped that the Federal Government will give proper heed to the welfare and development of the aborigines. A Department of Native Affairs, responsible directly to the Minister for Native Affairs, is long overdue, and the first thing to be worked out under that department should be medical survey of the aborigines, an enquiry into their medical needs and provision of treatment. I have advocated this for twelve years. During the war the Army medical officers did a magnificent job for the aborigines. Not only did they treat those brought to the hospital, but many of them travelled to the limits of the Territory, examined the natives and treated them. Is all this fine work to stop or is the Federal Government going to equip hospitals to treat natives and supply mobile units that can seek out the suffering? Only in this way can we track down leprosy, malaria, yaws, the eye diseases, tuberculosis, and the many ailments from which the aborigines suffer.

Many of the aborigines served in the Forces. They were treated as men there, and several won decorations. Now that they are back home are they and their cobbers to be treated as free men? Are the promises of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin going to stand, and are the stronger races coming to the help of the weaker? We white Australians have a definite obligation to the aborigines. We must give them civic rights, including the right to vote, the right to good food, good housing, education, and the right to work for decent pay. Alongside this we must seek to foster their sense of responsibility and so fit them to take their place in the civil life of the community. That way lies their hope of the future.



Dr Charles Duguid OBE (6/4/1884–5/12/1986) was born and educated in Scotland. A sea voyage as a ship's doctor in 1911 led to his emigration to Australia in 1912 where he worked as a general practitioner in Nhill until 1914 when he and his family moved to Adelaide. He served as a volunteer medical officer in Egypt during World War I. When a white man was murdered by some Aboriginal men in 1928 he was appalled by the retaliation of the police who shot dead 17 Aboriginal people. His wife, Phyllis, began the Aboriginal Advancement League in 1935 and in 1937 he helped to establish the Ernabella Mission in South Australia. His work for Aboriginal people's rights continued unabated for many years, and this was recognised by the awarding of an OBE in 1970 and the Anisfield-Wolf Award in Race Relations in 1974.

John Wesley's anti-Catholicism

Glen O'Brien

This is a short summary of a paper presented at the University of Divinity Research Conference in June 2020. An expanded version is scheduled to appear in the March 2021 issue of *The Journal of Religious History*.

John Wesley is often thought of as an early ecumenist because of his views on religious toleration. This claim has to be moderated to some extent in light of his evident anti-Catholic sentiment. Wesley believed Roman Catholicism to be both a false religion and a threat to Britain's role as a global Protestant power. Regrettably, he did not extend to Catholic believers the same degree of toleration he was willing to allow other Protestants.

Wesley first travelled to largely Catholic Ireland in August 1747 and the last of his twenty trips took place in 1789. The mostly rural population did not prove particularly open to the Methodist message, though there were at times crowds of curious onlookers. The Catholic Church was faced with severe limitations in Ireland during this period, with bishops and members of religious orders banished from the country and any priest liable to arrest and transportation. An even stronger and more direct rule of Ireland came in the wake of the Seven Years' War and especially after 1760 when the British Parliament felt the pressure of the military needs of its foreign wars. Wartime conditions drove the desire to secure Ireland politically and militarily, for Britain did not want Ireland to be a soft target for its foreign enemies. Wesley's connection to Ireland fits into this broad imperial network of oppression and subjugation of the Catholic Irish.

In his *Compassionate Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland*, written from Limerick in May 1778, Wesley addressed the fears and rumours over foreign invasion from the French in league with America and reports of the growing strength of George Washington's army. His primary concern in *The Compassionate Address* was a pastoral one – to reassure the Irish, including the majority Catholic population, that their lives were not in serious danger while they sat under the protection of the British crown. While written in an irenic and pastoral tone, it carried within it a subtle subtext that places it among his other anti-Catholic writings. The Catholic population of Ireland should entrust themselves to God but also to General Howe's Protestant Army in America which would protect them from any rumoured invasion from Washington's army conveyed to their shores by a French or Spanish navy. Wesley's message for the Irish was that their greatest security lay in making God one's friend. The restless population of Ireland need only submit passively to its beneficent Protestant king and all would be well.

Wesley had his greatest impact in Ireland, not on the Catholic population, but among the German Palatines, a migrant community in whom he encountered a form of religious expression similar to his own. The global features of early Evangelicalism are brought clearly into focus in Wesley's ministry among the Palatines. If Roman Catholicism was a global religion centred in Rome but bridging many cultures and peoples, Evangelical Pietism was also a global faith with porous boundaries, centred in a shared religious experience. In the midst of Britain's global wars, Evangelical piety criss-crossed political boundaries moving effortlessly from Germany to Ireland, and from Ireland to America. Meanwhile the Catholic Irish remained for Wesley a culturally distant and obstinate people.

John Wesley's sermon *Catholic Spirit* (1755) is often set forth as a model of ecumenical relations. Without discounting the value of the ideals of religious toleration that he drew partly from Pietism and partly from the Enlightenment, it is important also to understand that the founder of Methodism supported and attempted to perpetuate the anti-Catholic civil provisions of his era. In this he was not unusual, since anti-Catholicism was a broadly-held ideology among the English after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Toward individual Catholics, Wesley could be quite generous, but he was at the

same time insistent that the Catholic religion needed to be subjected to severe civil restrictions and this was a form of bigotry politically expressed even if accompanied by a "Catholic spirit" on the personal level.

In the rather ambitiously titled, *Short Method of Converting all the Roman Catholics in the Kingdom of Ireland Humbly proposed to the Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom*, Wesley set out the moral argument that if only the clergy of the Church of Ireland would live like the apostles, the Irish population would soon be converted to the Protestant faith, "and in a short time there will not be a Papist in the nation". The oversimplification of the "problem" here is quite breathtaking. In *The Advantage of the Members of the Church of England over those of the Church of Rome*, Wesley argued that the Council of Trent erred in giving Scripture and tradition equal authority and that this interpretive model fails since there are Catholic traditions that are contradicted by the Scriptures.

Wesley's anti-Catholic writings of the 1780s should be read against the background of the perceived threat of a growing and vigorous Catholicism in England. Both the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots in London in 1779 and the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 highlighted a gap between the more tolerant views of the political elite and the still, at times violent, anti-Catholic sentiment of many in the general population. The Gordon Riots have broader implications than the anti-Catholicism that provided their impetus. Rumours circulated in the wake of the riots that French agents were behind the disorder in order to weaken Britain's defences. In Canada, the Quebec Act of 1774 had given freedom of religion to French Canadians. In the eyes of many in Britain this set a dangerous and unwelcome precedent and served only to confirm the conviction of radicals that the government's policies were working against the cause of liberty. The decree that the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes were now part of Quebec further agitated Americans who saw the spectre of popish tyranny threatening their westward expansion, which they were eager to get on with now that the Seven Years' War had concluded. Aiding the Catholic cause was particularly troubling at a time when the Bourbon powers had entered the American war and when there was fear of French invasion of England in the summer of 1779. In such a context, the Quebec Act and the Relief Act of 1778 could be seen to be of a piece, each "an arrow shot from the same quiver". In the eyes of many, an anti-libertarian government was setting the stage for the introduction of a tyrannous policy. John Wesley sits squarely within the public sentiment that perceived increasing the liberties of Roman Catholics to be a threat to Protestant liberty. It's interesting that he visited the instigator of the riots, Lord Gordon, in the Tower and expressed sympathy for his plight.

The claims of the Protestant Association about the danger associated with Catholic growth were given a witty Catholic reply by the Irish Capuchin monk Arthur O'Leary (1729-1802). Hardly a seditious figure, O'Leary supported the British crown and urged Catholics to take loyalty oaths should the French invade. He was, however, something of an Enlightenment thinker, and an advocate for the civil rights of Roman Catholics under British rule. O'Leary incorrectly identified Wesley as the author of the *Defence of the Protestant Association* (1781) and attempted "to storm him from his main positions by a steady force of ridicule and satire". O'Leary argued that the days of persecuting those considered heretics were over; why bring them back again? Wesley would do better for his people if he preached love and unity instead of division. Generations of those descended from the English have called Ireland home. Whether singing in Latin or in English they sing the same Psalms, and never quarrel with their Quaker neighbours who sing none at all.

> [W]e never enquire into the butcher's religion, but into the quality of his meat: we care not whether the ox be fed in the pope's territories, or on the mountains of Scotland, provided the joint be good: for though there be many heresies in old books, we discover neither heresy nor superstition in beef or claret. We divide them cheerfully with one another, and though of different religions, we sit over the bowl with as much cordiality as if we were at a love feast.

Wesley considered his Catholic dialogue partner a "wild" and "rambling writer" whose work was full of inaccuracies and false accusations, and decided, "if he has only drollery and wit to oppose to

argument, I shall concern myself no farther about him". In a touching personal resolution to his dispute with O'Leary, Wesley met his "old antagonist" for breakfast in Cork in 1787 and expressed that he "was not at all displeased at being disappointed. He is not the stiff, queer man that I expected; but of an easy, genteel carriage, and seems not to be wanting in either sense or learning".

Wesley's anti-Catholic writings, while often demonstrating a generous catholicity and an appeal for mutual love to prevail, contain elements that run counter to such sentiments. How warm could Catholics be expected to be toward those who believed them to be untrustworthy, seditious members of a false religion, undeserving of the civil liberties extended to other subjects of the crown? It is a welcome thing in many respects that Wesley should be set forth today as an early ecumenist and that certain of his writings be drawn upon to further ecumenical dialogue between Catholics and Protestants. Celebrations of this on the part of Methodists, however, deserve less triumphalist strains. As his many anti-Catholic tracts evidence, Wesley was implacably opposed to Roman Catholic doctrines and practices and built upon this theological opposition to actively support the maintenance of restrictions on the civil liberties of English and Irish Catholics, restrictions that were being increasingly dismantled through a series of parliamentary Acts. Admittedly, he stopped short of recommending any physical persecution of Catholics. In his brief *Disavowal of Persecuting Papists* written from Bristol on 18 March 1782, Wesley asserted his conviction that persecution was wrong while at the same time arguing for some degree of control over Catholics. Kindness without trust summarises his attitude.

Wesley did not seem to consider that his support for civil restrictions upon Catholics was a form of persecution even if it did not entail physical assaults or violent aggression. While he could have warm friendships with individual Catholics, the Roman Catholic religion remained for Wesley a distortion of true Christianity and a global threat to the liberties guaranteed by Protestant rule. The civil and religious liberties guaranteed by the king-in-parliament were being extended to Catholic subjects of the crown throughout the 1770s and 1780s, a direction Wesley ought to be have been able to celebrate on theological grounds as well as out of the "Catholic spirit" he had learned from his Anglican Arminianism, from German Pietism, and from the spirit of the Enlightenment. However, his conservative political views trumped his deeper religious instincts and he failed to make the contribution he might have been able to make if he had been less constrained by his commitment to global Protestantism understood as a bulwark against Catholic tyranny.

John Wesley, by George Romney, 1789
(National Portrait Gallery, London)

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