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ANGLICAN CHURCH LEAGUE.

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The Second Moore College Library Lecture, given in
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It is not my intention - indeed it is beyond my power - to offer a documented account of the exact steps by which the Anglican Church League came into existence nearly seventy years ago. I cannot even tell you certainly the year in which it began, except that it was about 1909. My purpose therefore must be defined more broadly. The Moore College Library Lecture is designed, I understand, to give the present generation some idea of how we have arrived at where we are, in this part of the Australian church. Last year Professor Cable gave us a picture of Bishop Barker and his clergy. I regard it as an honour to have been asked to follow him in this series, but it is an embarrassing honour. Where he is an expert, I am a spermologos, a "picker up of learning's crumbs". Not that all my crumbs are even the product of learning. Not every item in my story has been checked in the way that historical material should be checked. Much of it is based on secondary impressions. Nevertheless, I hope that my sketch of that thirty-year period which saw the rise and proliferation of party and sectional societies in the diocese of Sydney - from 1879 to 1909 - may not only encourage others to examine the ground more carefully, but may give a sufficiently clear account of the interests and causes which eventually produced what is still a familiar part of our ecclesiastical landscape, the ACL.

Without doubt we owe to Bishop Barker the foundation of much that is still characteristic of the diocese of Sydney: the foundation of a group of strong and effective parishes, of

a band of vigorous and evangelistically-minded clergy and laity, and of institutions like the Church Society, Moore College, and the Lay Readers' Association. Under his guidance the diocesan synod was formed, as well as the chapter of St Andrew's Cathedral, both of which became important instruments of representative opinion and government in church matters. Barker's evangelical influence was exerted through the men whom he attracted into the ministry and through his style of leadership. If you read through the first volume of the Church of England Record, which commenced in July 1880, less than a year before Barker left Sydney for the last time, you will see clearly enough the methods by which the diocese progressed. Parochial missions and the Sunday School Institute figure as largely as anything does. If we add the activities of the Church Society and the Church of England Temperance Society, there is not much else. There is little in the way of unofficial voluntary association that was Anglican in character, even in the cause of overseas missions. The Record is, however, telling its readers about the controversy over ritualism in the English mails, and it is here that the first sign of local activity on the English pattern makes its appearance. "Recent events", said the Record in August 1880, "have brought to light the fact that a branch of the English Church Union is in existence in this diocese. It has been duly established, with a president at its head. The membership, we are glad to say, is small, consisting principally of laymen without much influence". The 'recent events' were no doubt those which surrounded Barker's refusal to give a licence to a clergyman, the Reverend W.K. Brodribb, on the ground that Mr Brodribb had, while in England, become a member of the ECU, and now declined to relinquish his membership. Though Barker strongly protested his adherence to the comprehensiveness of the Church of England, he regarded

the policies of the ECU, which had been founded in England in 1860 to advance the distinctive tenets of the Tractarian movement, as going well beyond the bounds of that comprehensiveness. Brodribb was a Moore College man who had been ordained by Bishop Perry in Melbourne, but Barker acted decisively where he believed the position of the Church required to be defended.

It may be added that the Record carried an advertisement for the Annual General Meeting of the Sydney Branch of the English Church Union in its issue of November 1880, and the secretary was given as A.W.G.Rusden. The meeting was to be held in the Coffee Palace, 391 George St on 2 November, and members and friends were invited. The following month the Record published a leading article on the history and aims of the ECU, and it gave as its grounds for supplying this information, the fact that "as appeared in an advertisement in our last issue, a branch of it has been established in this colony, and its nature and objects are not understood".

Barker's long episcopate of 27 years came to an end in 1882, and Sydney must have seemed a stronghold of evangelicalism in his last years. The Record informed its readers with some satisfaction that, at Barker's last Synod (in June 1880), a motion to deprecate evening communions was supported by only two votes besides the mover and seconder. "Other attempts to decry evangelical religion and exalt sacramentalism signally failed. The Synod is to be congratulated upon the sound Protestant spirit which animated it all through its proceedings. We have nothing to fear from Ritualism while the present Synod lasts." But there were men of different schools of thought within the diocese, and the election of Barker's successor gave some indication of the tension. Francis Bertie Boyce says that, in the first attempt to elect a bishop in the synod itself, there

was "a tremendous struggle between the opposing camps".

Three names were submitted to the bishops of Australia, and the man elected was Edward Parry, whose father, Sir Edward Parry, had been Commissioner of the Australian Agricultural Company in the days when William Macquarie Cowper had been its chaplain. Dr Parry was at this time Bishop of Dover, the life-long and trusted friend of Archbishop Tait of Canterbury. Parry had once been his chaplain, and was now his suffragan. Dean Cowper had stayed with Bishop Parry in England during his visit in 1876. However, Parry declined the appointment to Sydney. The final appointment of Alfred Barry, Principal of King's College London, and Canon of Westminster, by the third method of election to be attempted, gave evangelicals cause for reflection if not alarm. Barry had been rejected as a candidate by the evangelical majority in the first synod election attempt. Now, when the joint committees to whom the synod had committed the choice agreed in advance to accept the candidate to be proposed to them by a committee of English bishops - a blind date, you might say - it was Barry who was proposed. Barry was a scholar and a teacher, a Prayer Book churchman not associated with any party, who professed adherence to the comprehensiveness of the Church of England much as Barker did. But how would things go under his leadership? His manner gave the impression of autocracy, if not of arrogance, and he roused many churchmen to the defence of positions they thought were under threat by his policy. The benign and scholarly Lukyn Williams was succeeded at Moore College by T.E.Hill, whose principalship was a disaster from the evangelical point of view, and although Barry dealt with the situation firmly enough when the crisis came, evangelicals were thoroughly alarmed. So were the high churchmen, who thought Hill was victimized, and ^{they} rallied an impressive memorial in his support.

Barry's introduction of a more distinctively cathedral character into the services at St Andrew's did not please everyone, and with the replacement of the old reredos by a new alabaster reredos whose central panel was, in effect, a crucifix, there were not only alarms, but excursions! By now a second sectional society had appeared, the Church of England Association of N.S.W., modelled on its English counterpart, the Church Association, which had been formed in England in 1866 in direct opposition to the English Church Union and all it stood for. In Sydney the Association began in 1886. It was a lay organization, and in the Cathedral reredos affair it had a cause in which it could make its presence felt. It issued a sheet showing a sketch of the reredos, and with the legend: "Special notice is drawn to the following: One of the Vice-Presidents, two of the Secretaries, and several of the Committee of the Church of England Association of New South Wales, are prepared to prove that they have seen persons bowing down, kneeling, and crossing themselves before the Reredos". What the mild Dean Cowper describes as a "warm discussion" on the subject took place in synod in 1887, and the matter was finally resolved by the Chapter replacing the offending panel with one depicting the Transfiguration, the cost being borne by those who had objected to the representation of the crucifixion.

The Church Association quickly attracted support from leading laymen, many of them prominent in the professional life of Sydney. Ruth Teale reports that in 1889 the Association (nicknamed 'the Church Ass' by its enemies) had a committee of 80 members, of whom 34 were synodsmen. Certainly the Association far outstripped the ECU, which in fact seems to have languished.

Barry was Bishop of Sydney for only five years, but, despite considerable achievements, his regime polarized the diocese. It alerted evangelical churchmen to the possibilities of episcopal infringement of what many regarded as the rights of clergy and laity in synod, and also to the possibilities of an increase in ritualism and in the spread of a high church ethos within the diocese. How far the latter was really due to Barry, and how far due to other influences, is a question for historians. Ruth Teale has given an interesting analysis of the situation in terms of the people and parishes who were coming into prominence during those years. But the position of evangelical churchmen in the synod itself was secure enough at the end of Barry's episcopate. The three candidates^{for the vacant see}/- whose names were to be submitted to the bishops of Australia for a final choice - were the principals of the three evangelical theological colleges in England: Handley Moule of Ridley Hall Cambridge, F.J.Chavasse of Wycliffe Hall Oxford, and William Saumarez Smith of St Aidan's College Birkenhead. It is said that the candidate at first strongly canvassed by the Church Association was H.W.Webb-Peploe, Vicar of St Paul's Onslow Square, London. Webb-Peploe was one of the founders of the Keswick Convention, and is described by Steven Barabas, a historian of the Keswick movement, as "one of the finest orators in England, with a voice reminiscent of Gladstone's in its resonance and compass". Dr Eugene Stock of CMS described him as "universally recognized as the leading evangelical clergyman in London, and one of the first half-dozen in the whole country". However, ^{in the synod ballot} he attained not to the first three. Whether the synod was over-sensitive to the taunt of getting a bishop who was 'long on prayer-meetings but short on Latin and Greek', I do not know, but at least no charge of lack of scholarship could be levelled at any of the final three. Handley Moule was also on the ticket of the Church Association, and it was he who was selected by the bishops of Australia.

However, like Bishop Parry in 1883, Moule also declined to be Bishop of Sydney. Smith was second on the bishops' list, and Bishop Mesac Thomas, the evangelical bishop of Goulburn who was chairman of the bishops, promptly sent off to Smith and offered him the job, which was promptly accepted. A legal objection was raised by those bishops who thought that, since Moule had declined, a new election should have been held. There was a suspicion that Smith had only been second on the bishops' list to ensure that F.J.Chavasse was third. In the end another election was held, but by a different method, by which Smith was virtually appointed by a synod committee, with the consent of the bishops, pro forma. Ruth Teale regards the election of Saumarez Smith by this means as a "party triumph". This is a little hard to accept. Saumarez Smith, though there is no question he was an evangelical in theology, and had wide Christian sympathies, and was a Cambridge DD by examination, and had had missionary experience in India as chaplain to the Bishop of Madras, was nevertheless the least outstanding in leadership of all the evangelicals proposed, and was nobody's hero. Nor is there any reason to think there was any real likelihood of a non-evangelical being elected. Miss Teale's thesis is that it was the party manipulation in the bishopric election which provoked the Sydney high churchmen into counter-organization. *Certainly the cry went up from some of these churchmen* to meet force with force, and in August 1890 the Rector of Christ Church, C.F.Garnsey, led some of his fellows in founding a journal called "The Banner and Anglo-Catholic Review", whose first number reported that the Society of St Alban the Martyr was re-constituting itself under the title of the NSW Church Union. Miss Teale's comment is that "the English Church Union had at last come to the Sydney Diocese". She claims that it was founded "in the heat of the moment, and specifically aimed at the Church Association and the Loyal Orange Lodge". However, this was not the first appearance of the ECU in Sydney, as we have seen, and as a matter of fact it was the ECU, and not the

Church Association, which established the precedent of party organization in the diocese of Sydney. It has also, of course, had a longer history than any other society, since it is still going, unless one judges that the Junior Clerical Society, which was founded in 1888, may have had a longer continuous history.

I do not doubt that the events of 1890 precipitated the burst of Anglo-catholic activity which has been described, and we must note also that the more moderate high churchmen formed the Churchman's Institute, based on St James' King Street, towards the end of 1891.

Men were certainly conscious of the increasing role of church groupings. The Record of May 9, 1891, reported that "the proceedings of the Diocesan Synod" - that is, Saumarez Smith's first synod - "were more than once enlivened by speakers shuddering at the party-spectre". But the Record was not impressed by such hysterics. "In the first place, can any man be said to belong to no party, and was the Church ever free from divergence of opinion? If men honestly believe, and are open and above board in their action, what right has the Synod to be troubled with these appeals to prejudice?" It is fair to add that the Record, now called The Australian Record, and giving a wide coverage of news of activities from many dioceses, was at this time very moderate in its expressions of editorial opinion.

Whether due in any way to weakness of leadership or not, Saumarez Smith's reign of eighteen and a half years was marked by a ferment of activity through a spate of independent organizations. Archdeacon Boyce is apt to be rather free with his opinions, and he may have judged others by himself. But he knew his man well, and his opinion of Saumarez Smith was:

"he was humble-minded to a fault, and the one sphere in which he really shone was in presiding over Synod. But it cannot be claimed, despite his charming personal qualities, that he was a successful bishop or that the church prospered during his reign. He lacked energy and force of personality, and even where the interests of the Church were at stake, he lacked determination and decisiveness".

I do not profess to be fully conversant with all the trends and currents of the 1890's, but I have the impression that it was a decade in which many chickens were hatched which have later come home to roost. The old Australian evangelicals, William Macquarie Cowper and Robert Lethbridge King, were coming to the end of their long ministries, and W.J.Günther, though at the heights of his powers, was somewhat restricted in his influence by being at Parramatta; but leadership was being provided by a ripe crop of Moore College-trained men, men like the Langley brothers, Henry and John Douse, like F.B. Boyce, Robert Taylor, Joseph Barnier, John Vaughan, T.B.Tress, J.H.Mullens, and W.A. Charlton, as well as by men from England like Arthur Wellesley Pain and Mervyn Archdall, and by laymen of the calibre of C.R.Walsh, W.R.Beaver, Dr. A. Houston and Judge Foster. Before the end of the decade Nathaniel Jones had come to Moore College from Perry Hall Bendigo, and an influence began which was to live on in the lives of his students for half a century after his death.

In 1891, soon after the arrival of Bishop Saumarez Smith, there occurred one of the most remarkable and far-reaching religious events ever to happen in Australia, the mission of the Reverend George Carleton Grubb. This was really a series of parish missions held in various parts of Australia, and in Sydney during the last three months of 1891 and into January of 1892 in St Barnabas' George St West, St Andrew's Summer Hill,

St Peter's Woolloomooloo, St John's Parramatta, St Philip's Sydney, St Thomas' Balmain, and culminating in great meetings in the Cathedral and Town Hall. Dr Eugene Stock, the Secretary of the English CMS, who visited Australia shortly after the mission, was to report that "there has been nothing in England, so far as my observation has gone, that can be at all compared with the Rev. G.C.Grubb's Mission in the Colonies". Very many were those, men and women, who received a zeal for Christian service, and a whole-hearted spiritual commitment, through the Grubb mission, and who made their mark on Christian activity for decades. One only need mention names like H.S.Begbie and R.B.S.Hammond, who as young men were deeply influenced by George Grubb, to realize the potential of that mission. One immediate result of the mission was the reconstituting of the Church Missionary Association, and the sending out of the first Australian Missionaries in 1893. Another was the formation of the Moore College Prayer Union by the old students, with F.B.Boyce as secretary. This was soon to become the Sydney Clerical Prayer Union, which continued in existence until about 1966. 1893 was a notable year, in that it saw not only the sending of the first CMA missionaries (including Amy Wilkes, who was to become the wife of Dr Samuel Zwemer) but also the making of the first deaconesses, and the ordaining of the first graduates of Moore College Newtown.

1893 also saw the formation of a new evangelical society, the Churchman's Alliance. The Church Association was still going strong, with Judge Foster as President, and aiming "to use its influence to guide the sound-hearted laity in securing proper representation in the various organizations of their Protestant church". It took a keen interest in the law of the church, and ran a campaign against the introduction of the Kilburn sisterhood into Australia. It also took up the question of the effects of the Archbishop of Canterbury's

Lincoln Judgement, which was delivered in November 1890. It had protested against the consecration in St Andrew's Canberra, in 1889, of Bishop Nathaniel Dawes, the new coadjutor Bishop of Brisbane, "on the ground that (he) was an Englishman who belonged to numerous secret societies of a high church character". But the new Churchman's Alliance seems to have had a wider appeal, and to have been the first society devoted to the general cultivation of evangelical principles. The two societies must have been regarded as having different rather than rival objectives, since Judge Foster was the president of both. (Judge Foster was a Supreme Court judge on the eve of retirement, and, having twice been attorney-general in NSW, was perhaps the leading evangelical layman in public life. He was an Irishman, and had been a vigorous critic of Bishop Barry.) But the evangelical clergy rallied to the Churchman's Alliance. The inaugural meeting was held in June at St Philip's Church Hill, with the Rector, J.D. Langley, in the chair. Men like Robert Taylor and A.W.Pain were to the fore, and the secretary was William Martin, the young Rector of St Barnabas'. The preacher was the Reverend Arthur Killworth, a graduate in Arts and Law of Trinity College Dublin, who had come out in Barry's time to be curate to Pain at St John's Darlinghurst. At this time he had just become Rector of St Peter's Richmond. Some indication of what the Churchman's Alliance was all about may be seen in the account of the conference it held to mark its first anniversary. The chairmen of the various sessions were Dr Andrew Houson, Mr John Kent, and the Rev. A.W.Pain. Arthur Killworth read a learned paper on the Canon of the Old Testament; there was a long discussion on confirmation; Dean Cowper gave a paper on Bible Reading and Meditation; and so much time was taken on these that the paper on how to improve church choirs was deferred. Judge Foster was re-elected as President, and the Vice-presidents were A.W.Pain and J.D.Langley

of the clergy, and Dr Houison and W.R.Beaver of the laity. F.B.Boyce successfully moved that the statement of objects should be amended so as to read: "To maintain and diffuse abroad the principles Catholic and Protestant of our holy religion".

What prompted the formation of the Churchman's Alliance? Partly, I suppose, the evangelical enthusiasm generated by the Grubb Mission; partly a sense of the inadequacy of the Church Association to provide a platform for all that evangelicals might want to do; partly to have an evangelical counterpart to the Churchman's Institute - St Philip's Church Hill not being outdone by St James' King Street. The Church of England Record supported the new Churchman's Alliance, though its columnist, Colin Clout, waxed somewhat cynical about the need for four "sectional societies", as he called them. His classification was: the Church Union, extreme right; the Church Association, extreme left; the Churchman's Institute, right central; and the Churchman's Alliance, left central. One cannot overlook, either, that the situation in England was tending to reproduce itself in Sydney. There was, all round, a strong sense of identity here with the Church in England, and it is not surprising that our "sectional societies" tended to correspond with English counterparts. This was clearly the case with the Church Union and the Church Association. But the clipper-lag (or whatever it was) created some problems of identity. The Church Association had been founded in Sydney in 1886, just about at the time when the CA in England had clearly alienated the majority of evangelicals by its policy of legal prosecutions. In England, a new body of evangelicals was formed in 1889 called the Protestant Churchmen's Alliance, and I guess the formation of the Churchman's Alliance in Sydney in 1893 was partly in imitation of this, and with some sense of affinity. But that very year the English body ceased to exist under that name, and was absorbed in a new

organization called the National Protestant Church Union. I am unable to say what happened to either the Church Association or the Churchman's Alliance in Sydney, but when a new organization was formed in 1898, it adopted the name Protestant Church of England Union, which again suggests an awareness of the position in England.

The Protestant Church of England Union requires some special attention, both because it brings us to the period in our history where the Anglican Church League had its beginning, and also because of its peculiar relationship to Canon Mervyn Archdall, one of the ablest leaders among the Sydney evangelicals.

Mervyn Archdall was born in Ireland in 1846, the son of a rectory. His family was Anglo-Irish, having gone there from Norfolk in the 17th century. Turbulent conditions, including some actual physical danger to the young Archdalls, led their father to accept an English parish, which was why Mervyn went to Corpus Christi College Cambridge rather than to Trinity College Dublin. Two influences of Cambridge days are recorded in the memoir written by his son, the Rev. Henry Archdall. First, there was "the Cambridge tradition of exact Biblical study". J.B. Lightfoot was in the ascendant, and Archdall, who carried off prizes in Greek Testament, Hebrew, and English Literature, rose with enthusiasm to the demands of linguistic discipline as a handmaid to theology. His son says he was "a linguist by nature and training", but that he read very widely, and throughout his life continued to read theology in German, French and Dutch, as well as English. One of his teachers at Corpus was a distinguished classical scholar, C.W. Moule, an older brother of Handley Moule, who was spiritual as well as academic mentor to many generations of Corpus men. (He taught Archdall in the 1860's; he was still senior tutor when he died in 1921.) It may be said in passing that Corpus

Christi College was regarded as a congenial college to young evangelicals, and a number of Australian clergymen received their nurture there: in the 1880's there was the remarkable trio of friends C.H.Nash, A.E.Bellingham, and William Martin, as well as Edward Lampard, and in the 1890's Stephen Taylor (son of Canon Robert Taylor). The other influence in the life of Archdall at Cambridge was the Daily Prayer Meeting, which had been started in 1862, and was part of the rising tide of spiritual activity which resulted in the formation of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union shortly after Archdall's time there. Clearly Archdall's life was touched by the continuing stimulus of the university movement with which Charles Simeon was associated. This is confirmed by the fact that it became his desire to go as a missionary to Persia in the steps of Henry Martyn. This was not to be, because his health was not robust, but throughout his life he remained deeply committed to the spread of the gospel.

One other influence should perhaps be mentioned, to which he himself refers in an intriguing note which prefaces his booklet "Stages in Revelation and Faith" published in 1911. The contents of this booklet, he says, "are largely reproduced from fugitive writings of a brother who, at the early age of 32, was taken to be 'at home with the Lord', and to whom, in God's wonder-working providence, I owe more than to any other teacher in my knowledge of the Bible, and of the Revelation of which it is the record - Professor Auberlen, of the University of Basle, who died in the year 1865." One would like to know more of this Swiss professor, for it is a striking tribute from one who was anything but the devotee of a single author.

Mervyn Archdall was ordained in Carlisle, and after a curacy spent nine years as organizing secretary in the North of England of the London Jews' Society (later known as the Church

Mission to Jews). This increased his interest in Hebrew and the Old Testament, and gave him clear views about the role of Israel in the dispensation of salvation, which became a constituent part of his scheme of theology. He maintained his interest in Jewish evangelization throughout his life. When he arrived in Sydney, Arthur Lukyn Williams was still principal of Moore College Liverpool. One would like to know whether they collaborated in this Jewish interest. Williams was a first-class Hebrew scholar, and devoted much of his long life after he returned to England to scholarship related to Jew-Christian dialogue. He became the leading British scholar in this field, and his books, like his Adversus Judaeos published (in 1937 by Cambridge University Press) when he was 84, are still among the best things published in this field. Lukyn Williams was an excellent rabbinic scholar, and for some time after he returned from Sydney was also a missionary of the London Jews' Society. Did Archdall influence him in this direction? One can hardly doubt that the Sydney Mission to Jews, an Anglican society founded in the 1880's, was in some way due to Archdall.

Archdall was one of the last, if not the last, of Barker's recruits. Barker arrived in England on sick leave in 1881, and heard Archdall preach at Harrogate, Archdall's headquarters in the work of the London Jews' Society. Archdall was then 35. Bishop Barker went into the vestry after the service, and invited him to become Rector of St Mary's Balmain. Barker died in Italy the following April, and Archdall came out to Australia. Here he became, as his son, the Reverend Henry Archdall rightly claimed, "the acknowledged head of the evangelical school of thought" in Sydney. After 25 years at Balmain he spent 6 years as Rector of St Stephen's Penrith, and then lived in retirement for four years at Drummoyne. He was elected a canon of the cathedral by the synod, and took an active part

in diocesan affairs. He was a regular correspondent in the church papers. For instance, in March 1894 he published an open letter to Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania. The letter occupied two long columns, and was on the subject of the manual acts in the communion. The Lincoln Judgement was still fresh in people's minds, and Archdall, with some others, had been distressed by the way the communion had been conducted at the Church Congress in Hobart, where he had been a delegate from Sydney. But the heart of his ministry was in his parish. Here he taught with all diligence. Here he preached in the open air. Here he thoroughly trained his curates - among them the Baker brothers, Donald and H.N., and R.B.S. Hammond - and maintained his parochial school long after others had closed theirs. Here he founded Bethany, the Deaconess Institution. Here many came to him for discussion and counsel. Balmain was the venue of one of the Grubb missions in 1893, and from here, with the assistance of his great friend and parishioner Mr C.R. Walsh, and with others like Boyce, he helped in the re-establishment of the Church Missionary Association which he supported with all his heart.

The most impressive direct legacy of Archdall to the church has been the Deaconess Institution, but in this lecture we must pay attention to the Protestant Church of England Union, of which he was one of the main architects, and which in his lifetime was probably the chief organ of his influence in the diocese as a whole. Not unjustly Henry Archdall says of his father that "to promulgate his views on Church questions, he founded the Protestant Church of England Union, giving up a considerable time to writing and lecturing for it". He also claims that his father's position in Australia was like that occupied among evangelicals in England at that time by Dean Wace, the learned Dean of Canterbury. But how did the PCEU take its rise?

I have mentioned that the spiritual impetus of the Grubb mission continued through various channels, of which the Sydney Clerical Prayer Union was one. When the work of the Church Association and the Churchman's Alliance seemed to languish in the late 1890's, it was the SCPU which took to heart the need to maintain adherence to the Reformation principles of the church. It did not change from its own object of being a fellowship for prayer, but it set in train the events which finally led to the PCEU. An account of what happened was recorded in the Handbook of the Union. It is worth rehearsing:

"At a meeting of the Sydney Clerical Prayer Union held on February 7, 1898, seven Ministers were deputed by some seventeen others to call a meeting of members of the said Union and of such lay friends as they thought likely to be favourable to the project, in order to consider the possibility and desirability of holding a Reformation Festival, that is to say, a united effort by sermons, lectures, addresses, and other means to gratefully emphasise the principles of our Church as reformed in the 16th century. The meeting called by these seven Ministers appointed a committee, which, with additions made to it from time to time, met weekly for eight months. Their work was carried on in a spirit of prayerful dependence upon God. Their first step was to draw up a statement of the doctrinal principles upon which they desired the Festival to be conducted. This statement was forwarded to all the Clergy of the Diocese of Sydney asking those who were prepared to co-operate in holding the proposed Festival to signify their willingness to do so. An encouraging response was received. The Committee issued two pamphlets, "Is there not a cause?" and "Churchmen, Rally", and also a book of "Hymns and Songs for English Churchmen". On two or three occasions they laid before the Clergy who had expressed their sympathy with the movement, what they

had done, and sought suggestions from them.

"Upon the return of his Grace the Archbishop, who had been absent in England, representatives of the Committee waited upon him and laid before him an account of all that they had done, and a statement of what they proposed to do. They specially explained that having been led to think it their duty to hold a Reformation Festival, they had considered that the proper course to adopt, and which they had adopted, was to proceed in the matter without asking for an official sanction from the authorities of the Church. They did not consider it necessary to do so, as they believed they were within their right in adopting this particular means of furthering the word of the truth of the Gospel, and the cause of Christ in the Church. The Archbishop expressed his concurrence with this view of the matter, altogether apart from the desirability or otherwise of holding the Festival.

"Monthly meetings for prayer were held in Sydney on behalf of the movement; and for the last six weeks workers and friends met weekly for prayer. Lectures were delivered, and meetings for explanation and prayer were held in various parishes in and around Sydney. Midday meetings for men were held in the city. In this way a spirit of prayer and expectancy was called out. And in faith and hope the Town Hall was engaged for Monday, October 17th. On the preceding Sunday sermons on the Reformation were preached in many of the Churches, and by God's goodness one of the largest meetings which has ever assembled in the Town Hall cheered and encouraged those who had for eight months been praying and working amid much discouragement".

However, the preparations of those eight months might have terminated with the Town Hall meeting, had not a more

particular concern arisen in the course of the year, which was ventilated in synod. Two episcopal excursions in England greatly agitated Mervyn Archdall and his friends. First, the Lambeth Conference of 1897 had appeared to recognize a ius liturgicum as inherent in every bishop - at least to the extent of authority to provide additions and adaptations to the Prayer Book. Secondly, there was the Responsio of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the papal bull of 1896, Apostolicae curae, in which the Pope had condemned Anglican orders. The arguments used by the Archbishops, and their right to take it upon themselves to issue such a response in the name of the Church of England, were called in question. In order to negate the principle enunciated by the Lambeth Conference, Archdall moved in the Sydney synod of 1898:

"That in view of the present condition of the Church of England in England and in Australia, this Synod thinks it desirable to express, and hereby expresses, its conviction that the right of ordaining, changing, and abolishing ceremonies, or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, and of making, directing, or sanctioning additions, adaptations, or alterations in the formularies used in the public worship of the Church, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word, is inherent in every particular or National Church as a whole, and not exclusively in its ministry, or in any section thereof".

Synod carried the motion by 89 votes to 25, and Archdall must have been pleased enough about that. The other matter was the subject of a resolution at the Reformation Festival. At the Town Hall meeting, chaired by Mr P.L.C. Shepherd MLC, three resolutions were adopted. The first, moved by the Reverend C.C. Dunstan, the Rector of Enmore, expressed gratitude to God for the blessings of the Reformation, and pledged the meeting to maintain the principles of the Protestant and

Reformed Church of England. The second resolution, moved by Archdall, adopted a memorial to the Queen, drawing her attention to "the public action of their Graces the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in taking upon themselves, in their official capacity, to address a brotherly letter to the Heads of the corrupt Latin and Greek churches, and claiming to speak in the name of the Established Church of England, without authority asked from or given by Your Majesty....or of the Parliament of the nation". There was a lot else in this memorial. The Queen was asked to maintain the Reformed character of the Church, to prevent further overtures towards union with unscriptural churches, and to sack Lord Halifax from being an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, "a post for which his religious opinions disqualify him for holding". The third resolution was moved by F.B.Boyce, and it called on those in authority in the Australian church "to energetically endeavour to maintain the doctrine and discipline of the church".

The promoters of the Reformation Festival claimed that the new Protestant movement which had sprung into existence in England in connection with the Archbishops' Responsio, and the Sydney synod debate on the ius liturgicum, had not at all been anticipated at the time it was decided to hold the Festival. "But", the Handbook says, "they cannot but think, that the hand of God....was very visible in the concurrence and combination of these streams of influence. And the Protestant Church of England Union....is a simple organization founded on the third day of the Festival, October 18, 1898, to perpetuate the spiritual impulse given thereby to the faith, love and hope of many". The object of the new Union was defined as "to maintain and extend the efficiency of the Church of England as the original representative of evangelical truth and apostolic order in our country, and as a witness to the principles of the Reformation". The eight doctrinal principles which had been drawn up by the original committee planning the Festival were embodied in the constitution. Branches were formed in

parishes, and membership was open to persons over 18 on payment of a minimum sum of a penny a week. There was a monthly prayer meeting for all members, and support was pledged for Bethany, the Deaconess Institution founded by Archdall. A programme of education and literature was planned. Archdall was the President of the Union, and the first clerical secretary was Alberto Dias Soares, who had been one of Barker's early ordinands (May 1856) and had spent his ministry in the Goulburn area, becoming Registrar of the new diocese and a canon of St Saviour's Cathedral.

In 1900 the General Synod met, presided over by the Primate, Archbishop (as he now was) Saumarez Smith. Archdall was alarmed that in his Presidential address the Primate appeared to endorse the Lambeth Conference's claim for an episcopal ius liturgicum. The Lambeth Fathers recognized, declared the Primate, "that there is a right inherent in every bishop to adapt the services of the Book of Common Prayer to local circumstances, and also to direct and sanction the use of additional prayers". This was too much for Archdall, and he published at once, in a greatly expanded form, the address he had given in Sydney synod in connection with the resolution about liturgical right residing in the church as a whole. The title of the book was "Liturgical Right and National Wrong. A Vindication of the Rights of the Church". The book ran to more than 300 pages, though the second part of it was a series of reviews of books, especially of Wakeman's History of the Church of England, recently recommended by "Bishops and by the Fellows of the Australian College of Theology", which had set its first examinations in 1898. Archdall is described on the title page as President of the Protestant Church of England Union of New South Wales, and the book was published in England by the Church Association, and to some extent under its patronage, since an advertisement invites those who have been convinced by the argument of the book to support the Association. There was a good deal of Church

Association flavour about the PCEU under Archdall's leadership. The ethos of the church was changing quite rapidly in Australia at this time, and Archdall's exposure of the causes of change, and his attempt to define the nature of jurisdiction in relation to the bishops and the synods, make his book an important document for understanding the evangelical position at the turn of the century. He was fearless in attack, and did not hesitate to withstand his Archbishop when he considered that even he had been carried away by the dissimulation of the Lambeth Fathers. But Archdall was widely supported by evangelicals, and in 1902 he was elected a canon by the synod.

In 1903 Canon Archdall carried his campaign a stage further by promoting in synod an ordinance to "regulate and define the vestments to be used in the Diocese of Sydney". The ordinance was ruled out of order, on the ground that it was "restrictive" and "varied from the exercise of the law in England". But Archdall's long and carefully documented speech was published in Sydney by the PCEU under the title: "The Vestments of the Church of England not the Vestments of the Mass: An Historical Inquiry". There was much interest in the whole matter, because of public discussion with the Rector of Christ Church St Laurence, the Reverend F.J. Albery, in whose church the mass vestments were worn at that time - having been introduced by C.F. Garnsey in 1893 - and also because of the involvement of the Governor of New South Wales, Earl Beauchamp, who made public comments on the state of affairs in the Church in England, and who himself had presented a set of vestments to St James' King Street. Archdall's attempt to legislate for the position by ordinance was not successful in 1903, but the principle he contended for was upheld by Archbishop Wright when he came to the diocese in 1909, and it was eventually embodied in "An ordinance to regulate the practice in relation to.....clerical vestures" which was successfully

promoted in synod in 1949 (and which avoided the obstacles which had rendered Archdall's ordinance invalid).

The PCEU was disappointed at what it regarded as Archbishop Saumarez Smith's inability to control the situation. Oddly enough, the virtues of Bishop Barry were now appealed to. He was quoted with approval on the title page of "Liturgical Right and National Wrong". More than once, in PCEU publications words he had spoken in 1887 were cited: "The Church of England does not adopt the Congregational system. She has in her Prayer Book, with its rubrics and with the interpretation thereof by the ecclesiastical courts, a general law of public worship. If an appeal be made to the bishop on the ground of contravention of the law, clearly, so it seems to me, he must protect the law...(The Supreme Court) is the only existing tribunal, ultimately determining what is Church law; and the alternative at present is between accepting its guidance, and leaving every bishop or clergyman to be his own law, or his own lawlessness". This issue of law and order played an important, and perhaps a decisive, part in the election of a successor to Saumarez Smith in 1909. Here at least is the construction on the election given in the second edition of the PCEU Handbook published in 1910:

"When in 1909 the Synod met to elect an Archbishop, it unanimously chose the present occupant of the See, who by a speech in the York Convocation had given promise of being one who as Bishop would govern constitutionally. In his first address to Synod our present Archbishop spoke of constitutional government, of ministering, not making the law. It was very cheering for members of the Protestant Church of England Union who had for about eleven years stood alone in the use of this language, to hear it from the lips of the Archbishop of the diocese.

With the advent of constitutional government the first stage of the Union's work may be said to have come to an end. The aspect of its work upon which it now enters is the educational one".

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You will be wondering what has happened to my subject, The Origins of the Anglican Church League. To tell the truth, I am at a loss to give a clear explanation of its origins, or to trace the steps by which it was organized. I have tried to analyse - not, I fear, always with scientific accuracy - the soil from which it sprang. My hope is that some curious person will dig deeper and find the precise location of the root. But I should like to comment on some of the circumstances

Miss Teale concludes the article to which I have referred earlier in this paper by saying that "by (1909 - the archbishopric election) the party structure had hardened to such a degree that the election was merely a matter of collecting the votes". This is a curious comment. The PCEU was running out of steam. The fact that the ACL began as a rival organization, somewhere about that time hardly suggests a monolithic party structure. But just when was the ACL formed, and what relation did it have, if any, to the election of Wright? It was certainly well established by 1912. In an interview which I had with the late Archdeacon John Bidwell in August 1972, on the subject of the ACL, he confidently asserted that it had been formed by Canon Boyce in 1909 when he, Bidwell, had been Boyce's curate at Redfern. He seemed confident that it was in the year of Wright's arrival. Bidwell was Boyce's curate from 1909 to 1912, so there is some latitude if his memory had played him false. But there is no reason to doubt that Boyce played a leading part in the formation of the ACL, as he also took a leading part in securing the election of Wright as Archbishop. It is therefore pertinent to ask whether

the two actions were connected. But the clear impression of Boyce's autobiography is that the campaign for Wright was not conducted by any existing party organization. The meetings of clergy and laity described by Boyce do not sound like the regular meetings of either the PCEU or of an incipient ACL. My own experience of the elections of two archbishops in Sydney is that, although the ACL had meetings and offered advice to its members it did not play a decisive part in persuading synodsmen how to vote. Much more significant meetings were held for discussion and counsel which were ad hoc, and not under the auspices of any organization. I would guess that the same was the case in 1909. Though I cannot prove it, it seems to me more likely that the formation of the ACL followed the election of Wright rather than preceded it. However, whether just before or just after the election, the impetus may well have come from the election, much as in 1890 the election of Smith precipitated the formation of the Church Union and the Churchmans' Institute. Moreover, there is the significant admission of the PCEU in 1910, quoted above, that "with the advent of constitutional government (i.e. with the election of Wright) the first stage of the Union's work may be said to have come to an end." The PCEU seems to have turned to an educational role, in the knowledge that a new society with a policy of action had already come into being.

But if the election of 1909 was an immediate cause of the formation of the ACL, other explanations must be sought to account for its character.

An obvious clue to motivation in the formation of the ACL is found in its constitution, for from the outset it was affiliated with the National Church League in England, had the principles of the National Church League, and could not alter its constitution except with the approval of the National Church

League. Clearly there was a desire to strengthen links with evangelicals in England, and to make common cause with them. It is easy to see reasons for this. The National Church League had recently (1906) been formed by the amalgamation of the National Protestant Church Union with the Church of England League. That year, the ritualism question had taken a new turn with the publication of the long report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. While the long-voiced complaints of evangelicals were shown to be generally justified, the Commission concluded that the law of public worship in the Church of England was too narrow for the religious life of the present generation, and should be reformed. As a direct result of this Report, Letters of Business were issued to the Convocations in 1906 which began the process by which the revision of the Prayer Book should be undertaken. All parties in the church were now on the alert. What would be the future character of the life and worship of the Church of England? Churchmen in Australia thought themselves as intimately affected by these steps as did churchmen in England. Moreover, within three or four years of the founding of the National Church League, G.R.Balleine could write that it "has grown into the strongest organization that Evangelicals have ever possessed". It is not at all difficult to guess that evangelicals in Australia would want to make common cause with their English brothers, or that many would want a National Church League image, rather than a Church Association image. Evangelicals needed to close their ranks, and to avoid giving the impression of extremism. They were going to need all the influence they could get if they were to affect the future course of events in the councils of the church. In his autobiography, Boyce claims credit for having engineered the successful support for the candidature of John Charles Wright as the new Archbishop in 1909, and he twice says that he feared that the "extreme lowchurchmanship" of the rival candidate, Griffith Thomas, would prove "unacceptable to a large body of Australian churchmen". This may not have been at all fair to Griffith

Thomas, but it shows how some local leaders were trying to assess the situation. (I was told by Archdeacon Bidwell that support for Griffith Thomas had slumped when a photograph of him was circulated showing him in collar and tie!) Boyce had not been personally impressed with Griffith Thomas when he had heard him speak in England, and, of course, he was conscious they were looking for an Archbishop who could also be Primate. He believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Australian bishops might have vetoed Griffith Thomas' appointment. Dr Griffith Thomas was the Principal of Wycliffe Hall Oxford, and he had entered the field as the nominee of Canon Nathaniel Jones, the greatly respected Principal of Moore College, and at first seemed to command overwhelming support from the evangelicals. Boyce says that Canon Archdall also supported Griffith Thomas throughout. One can well believe that, though such support is not inconsistent with his subsequent rejoicing in obtaining in Wright the strong hand of a constitutional Protestant. Archbishop Wright came to regard Archdall as "my revered friend". What I suggest is that Boyce's support of a man like Wright rather than of Griffith Thomas, and his support at the same time for the formation of a new organization of evangelicals affiliated with the National Church League, were of a piece. Both were attempts at consolidation, and at providing as broad a platform as possible on which evangelicals could combine to face the future. And Boyce was a shrewd, and usually successful, campaigner! In 1914 we find Canon Gerard D'Arcy Irvine saying that the ACL "stood for central churchmanship, which implied spiritual, strong, and scholarly churchmanship, and fought for the principles of the Reformation upon which the character of future generations depended". D'Arcy Irvine was a Moore College man of the Lukyn Williams period, who in 1926 was to become Wright's co-adjutor, and the first co-adjutor Bishop in the history of the diocese. His use of

the term "central churchmanship" is interesting. It reflected the view of the evangelicals that their position was not a partizan position, but was true to the central and authentic character of the Church of England as "catholic, apostolic, protestant, and reformed". (Recall Boyce's inclusion of the word "catholic" in the description of the aims of the Churchman's Alliance in 1893) At the same time, the new ACL was anxious not to be unduly exclusive. Among its members were the new Principal of Moore College, D.J.Davies, and the new Dean, A.E.Talbot, who had arrived in 1911 and 1912 respectively. Both were convinced Protestants, but they also represented a somewhat more liberal trend in evangelical theology. I am told that there were conflicts from time to time on theological issues. Dr Digges La Touche, the brilliant Irish philosopher and theologian, who made a deep impression in his short ministry in Sydney before he was killed at Gallipoli, is said to have had an open difference with Principal Davies at an ACL dinner at St Andrew's Summer Hill in 1914 in regard to certain teaching at Moore College of a liberal character. He in fact resigned from the teaching staff on the issue, and announced his resignation at the said dinner, in the presence of the Principal. Archdeacon Bidwell informed me that both Principal Davies and Dean Talbot finally broke with the ACL in 1933 when the League declined to give any support to their nominee for the Archbishopric, Archdeacon J.W. Hunkin, and that they formed the Anglican Fellowship to support their candidate. Archdeacon Bidwell claimed that he himself exposed Dr Hunkin's "modernism" in the ACL meeting when the matter was mooted, and later in the election synod, despite 20 interruptions in the course of his speech from the Dean, the Principal, and others. (I was brought up on an account of the 1933 election debates in the form of some limericks attributed to the late Archdeacon S.M.Johnstone: they expounded the Talbot-Davies platform thus:-

A-Hunkin we will go,
A-Hunkin we will go.
We won't have Moyes,
He's one of the boys,
But a-Hunkin we will go.

A-Hunkin we will go,
A-Hunkin we will go.
We'll catch old Mowll,
And put him in a hole,
And a-Hunkin we will go.

Hunkin was a well-known New Testament scholar, who eventually became Bishop of Truro.) By 1933 the distinction between liberal and conservative evangelicals was becoming clearer, and it was the conservatives which retained control of the ACL. But in 1909-12 the lines were less clearly drawn.

The Anglican Church League did not at once displace the PCEU. Canon Archdall had moved to Penrith in 1907, and retired altogether in 1913. By 1910 the Reverend Richard Nelson-Howard (another of Lukyn Williams' students) had become President, and the secretaries were the Reverend W.H.H. Yarrington and Mr Hugh Corish. A memorial protesting against actions of the Convocation was sent to Canterbury in 1914, but the activities of the Union were generally confined to meetings for edification. The 17th Annual Meeting was held in 1915. Archdall was present, but C.C.Dunstan was in the chair. Among the speakers was the Reverend S.J.Kirkby, Rector of St Anne's Ryde, who was eventually to become the second coadjutor bishop of Sydney. I have not traced its activities beyond that year, but I do not think it outlived Archdall, who died in November 1917. Branches had also continued in some parishes, and I am glad to record, as in private duty bound, that an address was given on "The Dawn of the Reformation" to the St Barnabas' George Street West branch in August 1915 by the curate, the Reverend R.B.Robinson. Perhaps loyalty to Archdall kept the PCEU going. Perhaps some wondered whether there was enough ginger in the ACL. But one important fact is that Archdall himself was openly opposed to the theological basis

of the ACL, that is, to the Principles which the ACL took from the National Church League.

Towards the end of 1912, while Rector of Penrith, Archdall published a 76-page booklet entitled "The Church and the Churches, or, Church and Churchdom". He says in the preface that he could ill-afford to publish it, but did so with the help of a few friends, and "specially out of loving regard for a number of personal friends, members of the Anglican Church League, some of the adopted principles of which are here passed under review". His quarrel was with the whole concept of the church underlying the principles of the ACL, especially the first article of the Principles, that "our Lord founded a distinct and permanent Society of His disciples, by which His work and teaching are to be carried forward...and through which the blessings of His redemption and the gifts of the Holy Spirit are to be continued". This doctrine he subjects to a trenchant and cogent critique. He concludes that it is not the biblical doctrine, but the Roman Catholic doctrine of the church, and, although not stated consistently in the ensuing principles, was basically the doctrine of the church recently expounded by Bishop Charles Gore. Calling Bishop Drury to his support, he writes: "Men must choose between the position of Bishop Drury and the position of Bishop Gore. The Anglican Church League agrees with the latter". This is not the place to discuss the theological issue in detail, except to say that Archdall's view were integral to his whole theological position, and that his concept of the church was strongly eschatological. The notion of the church as an on-going earthly organization and, as such, the divinely-appointed instrument of the blessings of redemption, he regarded as the heart of the Roman error. I do not know what his friends, in or out of the PCEU, thought of his views on this subject. I wonder if they understood them.

The doctrine of the church was not at the centre of evangelical concern at that time, and it was not a cause for which men banged the drum as they did for ritualism or the Prayer Book. There do not seem to be any echoes of Archdall's complaint. Nor was it answered or refuted, so far as I am aware. In any case, he did not live to say much more of a public nature. When he died, members of the PCEU, like Hugh Corish, readily transferred their support to the ACL. Collaboration was in the air. In 1913 a company was formed, chiefly of ACL men, to take over the old Record, and to turn it into a Federal paper in collaboration with Melbourne evangelicals. I believe a branch of the ACL was also formed in Melbourne about this time, and there were inquiries from Adelaide about the rules for a local branch, but I know nothing of what happened. The ACL was certainly meant to be a national body, with numerous branches, like the one formed in Holy Trinity Dulwich Hill where G.A. Chambers was Rector, in August 1913. C.R. Walsh, who had moved from Balmain to Dulwich Hill, was chairman. He was also President of the League itself. Walsh was for many years Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, and later was Registrar and Secretary of the diocese. When he went to England in 1914, Sir Henry Stephen (then 85) became President. A meeting was held to welcome back three vice-presidents at the end of 1914, Walsh, W.R. Beaver (the lay secretary of synod) and W.J.G. Mann. Archdeacon D'Arcy Irvine chaired the meeting. The secretary was the Reverend S.E. Langford-Smith. In 1917 Bishop Pain retired to Sydney from Gippsland, and kept a watchful eye on the affairs of the League. It does not seem to have succeeded to any extent as a national body, though it promoted consultation and offered advice in connection with some elections of country bishops in NSW. Without doubt it consolidated the strength of evangelicals in Sydney, and almost all diocesan leaders have been associated with it at some time or other.

The link with the National Church League was eventually severed, and the ACL became at last a purely Sydney organization. It is not for me here to say how well the ACL has pursued its objectives or succeeded in fulfilling the aspirations of its founders. But I do sometimes wonder whether one day the ghost of Mervyn Archdall may not rise up to haunt it.