



**MONASH** University

The Soft Side of Multicultural Politics: The Cross-Cultural  
Ministry and Mission of the Melbourne Anglican Church,  
1975-1995

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## Abstract

The advent of multiculturalism in the early 1970s, a pivotal time in Australian history, placed the Anglican Church under pressure to embrace changes that seemed of little direct benefit, yet called for a radical review of its identity and mission. The period from 1975 to 1995 witnessed a struggle between small segments of the Melbourne Diocese, who vigorously advocated for a dynamic engagement with the changing society, and a conservative and tradition-bound assortment of alliances that offered an often passive but very strong resistance to change. This thesis examines the prevailing circumstances, the nature and motives of the forces at play, and the outcome of the struggle between the movements for and against change. It demonstrates how the Anglican ethos and internal tensions over a range of issues, as well as the very nature of multiculturalism, hindered the Diocese's efforts to respond to its fast-changing socio-political environment in a purposeful, confident and timely way.

The link between the church's British heritage and its inability or unwillingness to adapt to the changing Australian socio-cultural landscape has been made by other historians, but none has examined in any detail the intricate web of factors that came to the fore in different combinations and at different stages. In this social history, I identify the vision or organising principle that guided the development of the Melbourne Diocese's cross-cultural ministry, the multiple difficulties facing the church's engagement with multiculturalism, and the evolution of the vision during the two decades, with reference to power relationships within the Diocese as a backdrop.

## Copyright notice

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself. While drawing on many sources, the structure and the argument of the thesis are my own work.

Haydée Nicole Tanner, November 2019

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## Abbreviations

AAP	Australian Assistance Plan
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACC	Australian Council of Churches
ACMMM	Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission
ACom	Archdiocesan Commission on Migration (Catholic)
ACOSS	Australian Council of Social Services
AIM	Anglican Inner-City Ministry
AIMA	Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs
AIRDF	Archbishop's International Aid, Relief and Development Fund
ATCM	Archbishop's Theological Commission on Mission
AWCPDAC	Anglican Welfare and Community Policy Development and Advisory Committee
BIMPR	Bureau of Immigration and Population Research
BOAB	Bring Out a Briton
BSL	Brotherhood of St Laurence
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CCM	Cross-Cultural Ministry
CESA	Church of England in South Africa
CHN	Community Holy of the Name
CHOMI	Clearing House On Migration Issues
CIO	Catholic Immigration Office
CIRC	Catholic Intercultural Resource Centre
CMS	Church Missionary Society
Co.As.It	Comitato Assistenza Italiani
CRSS	Community Refugee Settlement Scheme
CURA	Centre for Urban Action
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Government)
DMM	Department for Multicultural Ministry (Melbourne Anglican)
DMREA	Department for Migrant, Refugee and Ethnic Affairs (Melbourne Anglican)
EACF	European Australian Christian Fellowship

ECUSA	Episcopal Church of the United States of America
EMC	Ecumenical Migration Centre
FILEF	Federazione Italiana dei Lavoratori e delle Famiglie
GNC	Good Neighbour Council
HMB	Home Missions Board
ITEMS	Intercultural Theological Education for a Multi-faith Society
MELCOS	Melbourne Council for Overseas Students
MPSC	Mission Priorities and Strategy Committee
MU	Mothers' Union
NCLS	National Church Life Survey
NESB	Non-English speaking
RAMTAM	Richmond Anglican Mission to Asian Migrants
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program
SVdP	St Vincent de Paul
TMA	<i>The Melbourne Anglican</i>
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VCC	Victorian Council of Churches
VICIC	Victorian Inter-Church Immigration Committee
WAP	White Australia Policy
WWII	World War II
WCC	World Council of Churches
Ven	Venerable
Rev'd	Reverend

## Introduction

In 1962, the Immigration Reform Group,<sup>1</sup> an activist group based at the University of Melbourne, published a pamphlet titled *Immigration Control or Colour Bar? The Background to 'White Australia' and a Proposal for Change*,<sup>2</sup> which argued that non-Europeans should be allowed to migrate to Australia and that the White Australia Policy (WAP)<sup>3</sup> was inefficient and damaging to Australia's reputation abroad. The publication was endorsed by the Anglican Dean of Melbourne and Principal of Ridley College, the Very Rev'd Dr Stuart Barton-Babbage.<sup>4</sup> Speaking at a conference in June 2013 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of this publication, Melbourne Anglican Archbishop Dr Philip Freier commended the involvement of young Melbourne Anglicans in the protest of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) against the discriminatory laws, professing that

We should never devalue [...] the importance of the 'soft' side of policy formation and consensus-building. I hope that religious bodies like the Anglican Church can continue to play a constructive role in the building of community harmony and respect across any divides that arise from social, cultural and religious difference.<sup>5</sup>

'Multiculturalism' has many meanings, and without using the term, Archbishop Freier's statement encapsulated the two most important definitions which have been attached to it from its very creation; 'multiculturalism' defines the existence of socio-demographic and socio-cultural diversity as well as the integrative policy to manage it.<sup>6</sup> The two notions may well have travelled in tandem

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<sup>1</sup> Historian Gwenda Tavan argued that this group played a major role in the abolition of the White Australia Policy. Gwenda Tavan, "Role of Immigration Reform Group in Ending White Australia," (Multicultural Research Library, 2009). <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Video/id/1175>, (accessed 3 January 2018).

<sup>2</sup> The Immigration Reform Group, *Immigration Control or Colour Bar? : The Background to 'White Australia' and a Proposal for Change*, ed. Kenneth Rivett, 2nd rev. ed. (Parkville: Melbourne University Press, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> The White Australia Policy aimed to keep Australia free of non-Europeans. On 23 December 1901, the Australian Parliament passed the Immigration Restriction Act for the purpose of limiting non-British migration to Australia, thereby officially establishing the 'White Australia policy'. Attorney-General Alfred Deakin had declared two months earlier: 'That end, put in plain and unequivocal terms ... means the prohibition of all alien coloured immigration, and more, it means at the earliest time, by reasonable and just means, the deportation or reduction of the number of aliens now in our midst. The two things go hand in hand, and are the necessary complement of a single policy — the policy of securing a 'white Australia'. "Defining Moments," ed. National Museum Australia. <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/white-australia-policy>, (accessed 19 October 2017).

<sup>4</sup> *Immigration or Colour Bar?*, xiii.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Brolly, "Social Inclusion the Key to Resisting Discrimination: Dr Freier," *The Melbourne Anglican (TMA)* July 2013: 3.

<sup>6</sup> Jan Pakulski, "Confusions About Multiculturalism," *Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 1 (2014): 25. See also Mark Lopez, *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics 1945-1975* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 446-53.

but the undeniable presence of diversity has not necessarily meant the automatic acceptance of government policies aimed at assisting the settlement process of immigrants and refugees, and creating harmony in diversity. From the beginning multiculturalism has been a contested concept, plastic enough to express both its advocates' most sanguine dreams and its opponents' darkest fears.<sup>7</sup> Churches in their dual status as religious communities and public institutions that influence social behaviour, have had to manage divergent views on the subject both within and outside their own confines.

Religious bodies now willingly participate in discussions about diversity, as witnessed in the aftermath of the recent mass killing of Muslims in Christchurch, New Zealand. On 15 March 2019, an Australian man with explicit anti-Muslim sentiments killed 51 people and injured 49 during Friday prayers at the Al Noor Mosque. The April issue of *The Melbourne Anglican (TMA)*<sup>8</sup> covered the tragedy on its front page, quoting several religious leaders' condemnation of the act of hate. One aspect of the crime that most shocked them was that the victims were slain while 'at prayer'.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, there was strong condemnation of right-wing politicians whose negative comments about immigration and multiculturalism were thought to have fuelled the kind of racial and religious hatred expressed and enacted by the gunman. Senator Fraser Anning was censured in Parliament for linking the incident to immigration.<sup>10</sup> Race Discrimination Commissioner Chin Tan called on all Australians to take a stand against racial and religious prejudice, discrimination and extremism. 'We

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<sup>7</sup> Pakulski, "Confusions About Multiculturalism," xi; Tim Soutphommasane, *Don't Go Back to Where You Came From: Why Multiculturalism Works* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2012). For parliamentarians' opposing definitions of multiculturalism, see also "Official Hansard, Australian Government: House of Representatives," (1986), 1402-03.

<sup>8</sup> Mark Brolly, "NZ Terrorist Act Offends Common Humanity, Says Archbishop Freier," *TMA* 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Melbourne Anglican Bishop Philip Huggins was quoted as saying at a vigil outside the State Library of Victoria on 16 March that 'Our hearts break when people go to say their prayers and are attacked by terrorists'. Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Brett Worthington, "Fraser Anning Not Apologising for Christchurch Shooting Comments, Doubles Down on Muslim Immigration," (2019); *ibid.* <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-18/fraser-anning-reacts-to-egg-christchurch-mosque-terrorism-attack/10910786>, (accessed 20 May 2019). At least two right-wing politicians were criticised by the press for past comments that could have contributed to anti-Muslim sentiments. Ex-Prime Minister Tony Abbott played down a contentious comment made in 2017 about Islamophobia being innocuous. Michael Koziol, "Tony Abbott Backs Away from Infamous 'Islamophobia Hasn't Killed Anyone' Remark." 18 March 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/tony-abbott-backs-away-from-infamous-islamophobia-hasn-t-killed-anyone-remark-20190318-p5156u.html>, (accessed 20 May 2019). Home Affairs Minister Peter Dutton, on the other hand, was reminded that in 2016 he had questioned the wisdom of permitting Lebanese Muslims to immigrate in Australia in the 1970s. David Crowe, "Scott Morrison Warns against 'Shouting from the Fringes'," <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/scott-morrison-warns-hate-blame-and-contempt-are-the-staples-of-tribalism-following-christchurch-attack-20190318-p51561.html>, (accessed 15 June 2019)

must all be vigilant against the resurgence of far-right and extremist activity and against threats to our multicultural harmony'.<sup>11</sup>

Three aspects of the outright condemnations of this act of extreme violence are salient for this thesis. First, the ability to practise religion in peace was widely upheld as an important part of human experience. Second, the faith leaders showed solidarity in advocating for religious tolerance, especially as the gunman had gained publicity by broadcasting his act of hate on social media. Third, the incident and ensuing public debate showed that multiculturalism and religious diversity are still contested in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

The Melbourne Anglican Diocese's unqualified support for the Muslim population in April 2019 showed that it had travelled a long way in its understanding of religious diversity since the first Anglicans arrived among the early settlers in Australia. The Anglican Church had faced challenges from its beginnings in the penal colony, by virtue of having left a country where it enjoyed the privileges and status of being established, for a new setting where religious plurality would become an issue. From being the premier church on arrival, with privileges denied to other faiths, after less than half a century it saw Catholics and Presbyterians receive equal funding from the Australian government.<sup>12</sup> It fought hard to retain the primacy to which it felt entitled in Australian society. By the late 1960s it had journeyed through two main transformative phases, the demise of English Christendom<sup>13</sup> during the early colonial days and, from Federation onwards, the separation of church and state and the subsequent end of Settlement. Political journalist and author Paul Kelly defined Settlement as an ideal created at the time of Federation and consisting of 'the White Australia Policy, tariff protection, centralised arbitration of the labour market, state paternalism and imperial benevolence'.<sup>14</sup> By 1973, a third phase of change had begun for the church with the

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<sup>11</sup>Human Rights Commission, "Solidarity and Unity after the Christchurch Attack," (2019). <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/about/news/solidarity-and-unity-after-christchurch-attack> (accessed 21 June 2019).

<sup>12</sup> The Church Act 1836 extended government subsidies for clergy wages and church building, originally awarded only to the Anglican Church, to Catholic and Presbyterians, and Governor Richard Bourke later extended this to the Jews, Wesleyans and Baptists. This reduced the supremacy of the Anglican Church. State Library of New South Wales, "Religion, Church and Missions in Australia'." <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/religion-church-missions-australia-0> (accessed 1 August 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Bruce Kaye defined Christendom in terms of Christians inhabiting two worlds 'as members of a kingdom that is not of this world and also members of a continuing community that most certainly is of this world' adding that 'a Christendom [is] a realm which professes christian faith and shares power with lay and clerical members of that community'. For Kaye English Christendom is characterised by its dissociation from Rome and the English monarch's close involvement with the mission and government of the Church. Bruce Kaye, *The Rise and Fall of the English Christendom: Theocracy, Christology, Order and Power* (London, New York: NY: Routledge, 2018), vii.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty: The Story of the 1980s* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 1-2.



Whitlam government's promotion of a multicultural, and therefore multi-religious, identity for the nation. Each of these three phases took the church further away from what it considered its life-giving roots, identity and mission.<sup>15</sup> In 1975 the Anglican Church was becoming a competitor in the religious market, watching the Catholic Church grow at a rate that presaged its forthcoming numerical domination.

## Aim and scope

This aim of this thesis is to investigate the response of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne to cultural and religious differences in Melbourne during two decades of significant change in Australian society. Finding itself in an increasingly diverse society, the Diocese had to learn how to incorporate and minister to non-British Anglican immigrants, how to relate to non-Christian immigrants, and how to show leadership in debates about immigration and tolerance of diversity. The broader aim of my study is to further understanding of social change in Australian society through the detailed study of a relatively conservative organisation.

The period from 1975 to 1995 is a pivotal time to study because it was marked by intense discussion about immigration, race, culture and national identity; it was a time of change and a time of both excitement and anxiety about change. A brief chronology of events, which are later discussed in greater detail, gives an indication of the rapid chain of events in the area of immigration and cultural diversity.

The WAP ended in 1973<sup>16</sup> and multiculturalism was adopted as a national policy. In his *Origins of Multiculturalism*<sup>17</sup> Mark Lopez identified four distinctive but not mutually exclusive versions of the ideal of multiculturalism, as espoused by advocates of multiculturalism and reflected in various guises in government legislation during the Whitlam, Fraser and Keating years: cultural multiculturalism favoured diversity and government investment in the preservation of ethnic organisations and cultures; welfare multiculturalism advocated for measures to ensure ethnic groups' social welfare and socio-political rights; ethnic structural pluralism promoted measures to compensate for the disadvantages that were inherent in a hierarchical social structure which favoured some ethnicities over others ; ethnic rights multiculturalism called for policies to address

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<sup>15</sup> In a speech made to the Legislative Council on 27 August 1839, Anglican Bishop William Broughton averred that 'The pillars of our constitution are the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, and the Coronation oath; all of them recognising the right of the Church of England to special protection and encouragement.' W. G. Broughton, Legislative Council Speech, 1839 pp. 11–13, cited in Kaye, *Rise and Fall*, 246.

<sup>16</sup> National Museum of Australia, "End of White Australia Policy". <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/end-of-the-white-australia-policy> (accessed 20 January 2015).

<sup>17</sup> Lopez, *Origins of Multiculturalism*, 446–48.

the disadvantages suffered by the ethnic population, presumed to be largely working class, within a capitalist system.<sup>18</sup> After the arrival of the first 'boat people' in 1975<sup>19</sup> Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser adopted a refugee intake policy that allowed 70,000 Indo-Chinese refugees into Australia between 1976 and 1982.<sup>20</sup> Throughout the 1980s, issues of immigration, race and culture were prominent issues in Australian politics. In 1984 Melbourne University History Professor Geoffrey Blainey made a speech in which he warned about the dangers of multiculturalism and levels of Asian immigration too high for social cohesion in Australia, sparking a long and tense public debate on those issues. The 1988 Bicentenary celebrations occasioned further discussion about nationhood and Australian identity. Following the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, in which an estimated 10,000<sup>21</sup> protesting Chinese students were slain by government troops, Prime Minister Bob Hawke allowed 42,000 Chinese people to remain in Australia, including the 27,000 students who were enrolled in the country at the time.<sup>22</sup> In those two decades, the Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and Keating governments had all been supportive of multiculturalism, but that chapter was about to close. The early 1990s saw an economic downturn, with a peak of unemployment exceeding 10%, which never augurs well for immigration and immigrants. By 1995 the Hawke-Keating years came to an end as Liberal leader John Howard, who had promised in 1988 to end multiculturalism and reduce Asian immigration,<sup>23</sup> led his party to electoral victory in March 1996.

There had also been developments in the Australian Anglican Church, but at a much slower pace. In 1962, the Australian church finally signed its constitution to become independent from the mother church in England. The process had been delayed by the fear of change and suspicion among some states that the wrong faction might seize power, many feeling safer under English rule.<sup>24</sup> The church

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<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of this typology, see Andrew Markus, James Jupp, and Peter McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 104-05.

<sup>19</sup> National Museum of Australia, "Vietnamese Refugees Boat Arrival.", <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/vietnamese-refugees-boat-arrival> (accessed 22 January 2015).

<sup>20</sup> Australian Government: Department of Home Affairs, "Historical Migration Statistics," (May 2018 release). <https://data.gov.au/data/dataset/historical-migration-statistics> (accessed on 20 September 2018).

<sup>21</sup> ABC News, "The Tiananmen Square Protest Death Toll Was 10,000," (2017). <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-42465516>, (accessed 1 August 2019).

<sup>22</sup> Max Walden, "The Australian Chinese Granted Residency after Tiananmen Square," (2019)., <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/06/australian-chinese-granted-residency-tiananmen-square-190602232721328.html>, (accessed 1 August 2019).

<sup>23</sup> John Howard launched the Liberal-National Coalition policy in 1988, advocating for the end of multiculturalism and rejecting the proposal for a treaty with Australian Aborigines. He also suggested that Asian immigration should be decreased. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One\\_Australia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Australia) (accessed 1 August 2019).

<sup>24</sup> Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1965), Book.

continued to be known as the Church of England *in* Australia until 1981, when it finally began to call itself the Anglican Church *of* Australia. In that decade new prayer books and hymn books were developed, containing references to the Australian context, including prayers for reconciliation with the Aboriginal people and diversity.<sup>25</sup> With these and other changes an important development was taking place in that the church was working at becoming Australian as opposed to remaining an English church.

It has been argued that multiculturalism was born in Melbourne<sup>26</sup> and the Melbourne-based Ecumenical Migration Centre (EMC), a not-for-profit organisation dedicated to the provision of direct assistance to immigrants and advocacy for their rights, was its nursery.<sup>27</sup> The role of the Melbourne Anglican Diocese merits attention partly because of its proximity and links to this milieu. Another reason is that, during the two decades under study, the Diocese went through its own phase of change, growth and disruption in cross-cultural interactions. 1975 was the end of an era as the Diocese began discussions about closing its Immigration Office,<sup>28</sup> whose role since 1960 had been to welcome British immigrants on arrival, help them to settle into their local communities and, hopefully, their local parishes. The changes in immigration patterns, which saw the British component decreasing significantly, meant that this service was no longer necessary or appropriate for the Diocese.<sup>29</sup> Between 1978 and 1993 the Diocese conducted four reviews of its policies and practices vis-à-vis immigrants and cultural diversity, three of which ended in detailed analyses of challenges and opportunities for its mission, and recommendations for the future development of

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<sup>25</sup> A comparison between the 1978 edition of *An Australian Prayer Book*, (Sydney Square, NSW: Anglican Information Office, 1978), and the 1995 edition of *A Prayer Book for Australia* shows the progress towards inclusivity. Occasional prayers in the latter include an item on Reconciliation and the prayer for Australia Day refers to 'our diversity, tolerance and respect for each other and a passionate commitment to justice for all'. The Anglican Church of Australia, *A Prayer Book for Australia* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Broughton Publishing, 1995), 204.

<sup>26</sup> Lopez, *Origins of Multiculturalism*, 437-38. Renate Howe claimed that 'This creative city was a diverse city and encompassed the concept of multicultural Melbourne which grew from the involvement of ethnic leaders in inner city campaigns and developed at conferences sponsored by CURA and the Richmond-based Ecumenical Migration Centre. Renate Howe, "New Residents—New City. The Role of Urban Activists in the Transformation of Inner City Melbourne," *Urban Policy Research* 27, no. 3 (2009): 249. DOI: 10.1080/08111140903159781. Michael Clyne and Andrew Markus also noted the resolute support of successive Victorian governments for multiculturalism from the outset. Michael Clyne and Andrew Markus, "Attitudes Towards Immigration and Multiculturalism," in *Building a New Community: Immigration and the Victorian Economy*, ed. Andrew Markus (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2001), 84.

<sup>27</sup> Jim Houston, *A Multicultural Odyssey; a Memoir (Almost) Sans Regrets* (Bayswater, Vic: Coventry Press, 2018), 296.

<sup>28</sup> This body was known under both the titles of Immigration Office and Immigration Department.

<sup>29</sup> James Grant, *Episcopally Led and Synodically Governed : Anglicans in Victoria : 1803-1997* (North Melbourne, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010), 307-08.

cross-cultural ministry. From 1984 to 1989, under the leadership of Archbishop David Penman, who was exceptionally committed to multiculturalism, the Diocese lived through its heyday in cross-cultural ministry. However, it also experienced tensions between, on the one hand, those who found his extensive measures to embrace multiculturalism exciting and promising and, on the other, those who resisted them as part of his broader reform agenda that they considered too radical and deeply troubling. His sudden death in 1989 caused an immediate loss of momentum in the development of cross-cultural ministry, before it had become firmly established and routinised in the church. The next Archbishop had different priorities and faced significant challenges, including near crippling disunity over the ordination of women to the priesthood and the onset of the severe recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s. By 1995 cross-cultural ministry was no longer a high priority for the Diocesan leadership. It had remained the Cinderella ministry.<sup>30</sup>

Church historian David Hilliard aptly summarised the uneasy relationship between the Anglican Church and its multicultural environment by naming the church's difficulty to tailor its style of support for British migrants to the needs of migrants from outside Britain and its hesitation over the appropriateness of ministering to those who belonged to other denominations. In some areas the white congregations looked to the parish church as a last refuge from ethnic intrusion. In the capital cities, with the greatest concentration of migrants, multicultural ministry was a low priority in tight diocesan budgets.<sup>31</sup> These comments point to difficulties in the formulation of an appropriate strategy for and allocation of resources to cross-cultural ministry, as well as a poor reception of the message from most parishes. This thesis probes into the multiplicity and confluence of factors, some seemingly unrelated to ethno-cultural issues, that directly or indirectly impacted on the attempts of the Melbourne Anglican Diocese to develop an effective cross-cultural ministry. However, it does not engage in a detailed theological analysis of the dynamics at play in the evolution of this ministry.

## Genesis of this thesis: My story

The inspiration and motivation for undertaking this thesis came from my own life experience as an Anglican born in a British colony, as a practising member of the Church of England in London for 17 years, and as an immigrant to Australia, actively involved in a Melbourne Anglican parish church. The character of the Anglican Church and its forms of expression within and outside Britain are a subject

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<sup>30</sup> An expression used by Anglican journalist Reita Mason, "Grappling with Cultural Relevance in Sydney," *Church Scene* 20 August 1993, 2.

<sup>31</sup> David Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments in Society and Church, 1967 to the Present," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Norman Kaye, et al. (Melbourne, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 144-45.

of personal interest because I was raised as an Anglican.<sup>32</sup> During my time in Mauritius, the Anglican Bishop of Mauritius was English, the British governor of Mauritius was an Anglican,<sup>33</sup> as were the English police commissioner in my district, the English principal of my English-style grammar school, proudly named Queen Elizabeth College, and a few other high-level government officials. Although there was a strong and lasting French influence that had survived the 1810 Treaty of Paris, I grew up with the conviction that the adoption of British values was the pathway to civilisation, education,<sup>34</sup> morality and self-betterment.

In the 1960s, when it became obvious that Mauritius would become independent from Britain, many Mauritians decided to emigrate, some to Australia, some to Europe, and a few to South Africa, as those countries' immigration laws permitted. For Franco-Mauritians and middle-class creoles, all Christians, '[t]he spectre of complete independence from Britain was regarded with considerable concern',<sup>35</sup> as was the fear of 'Hindu domination.'<sup>36</sup> Anglophilia, once inculcated in a society, is not easily relinquished, and old beliefs and values die hard. Once I finished my secondary education in Mauritius, my parents decided that my sister and I should go to England. Their concern was for their daughters, having had a British education enhanced with a strong French element, to escape the cultural and political morass to which the newly independent island was surely doomed, now that the British were no longer in control. I left Mauritius in 1969, the year after it gained its independence.

My membership of the Church of England would form an integral part of my own re-immersion into British culture. I spent my early adulthood in London, where I attended Sunday services and was able

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<sup>32</sup> In the pre-ecumenism days, under excommunication penalty, the Catholic Church demanded that my father, a Catholic, have my siblings and me baptised in the Catholic faith soon after birth. However, I later chose to join the Church of England, my mother's religion.

<sup>33</sup> One exception was Sir John Pope Hennessy, who was the 15<sup>th</sup> governor of Mauritius from 1883 to 1889. 'Although Hennessy was born into the Anglo-Irish landowning gentry, his status as a Roman Catholic made him something of an outsider, particularly in his dealings with Protestant British colonial elites, whether in Barbados, Hong Kong, or Mauritius'. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Pope\\_Hennessy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Pope_Hennessy). (accessed 20 February 2019).

<sup>34</sup> At least until the 1970s Mauritian secondary school students were proud to know that the examining body for our School Certificate (Year 10) and Higher School Certificate was Cambridge University, and not examiners appointed by the island's education authority. The same attitude was found in a Ceylon-born interviewee named Yvonne, in Andrew Markus and Eileen Sims, *Fourteen Lives: Paths to a Multicultural Community*, vol. 16 (Monash University, Melbourne: Monash Publications in History, 1993), 124.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Duyker, *Of the Star and the Key: Mauritius, Mauritians and Australia* (Sydney, NSW: Australian Mauritian Research Group, 1988), 89.

<sup>36</sup> John Addison and K Hazareesingh, *A New History of Mauritius*, Revised ed. (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers, 1993), 99.

to observe how the church functioned on home soil. I felt at home in my East London parish, where I noticed signs of modernisation in the liturgy and hymns, and a strong West Indian presence.

The Anglican Church's attitudes to cultural and racial diversity were more progressive than those I would encounter in my next country of adoption. In early 1978, the Sunday immediately following Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's statement about British people fearing the country 'might be rather swamped by people with a different culture',<sup>37</sup> my English parish priest delivered a strongly-worded sermon on cultural and racial discrimination as an affront to Christian values. The discussions and resolutions of the Anglican Communion reflected its multicultural character. In the year of Thatcher's controversial statement, the Lambeth Conference included in its resolutions:

We deplore and condemn the evils of racism and tribalism, economic exploitation and social injustices, ... as contrary to the teaching and example of our Lord in the Gospel. Man is made in the image of God and must not be exploited. ... We call on governments to uphold human dignity; ... and to give human value and worth precedence over social and ethnic demarcations, regardless of sex, creed, or status.<sup>38</sup>

After spending 17 years in London, I emigrated to Melbourne in late 1986, in time to see the preparations for the bicentennial celebrations of 1988 and to hear the public debate about nationhood and multiculturalism. I decided to attend my local church, a middle-class parish in the Southern Region, and found yet another expression of Anglicanism. Except for one Sri Lankan family, the congregation consisted of British-Australians and, despite the vicar's welcoming and friendly manner, I felt isolated among the congregation. I noticed that some parishioners sitting not far from me went out of their way to avoid shaking my hand to exchange the greeting of the peace. My attendance went from weekly to monthly to the main festival days. After two years I began to look for another church. At the same time, my young daughter, for whom expensive fees were being paid to the local Anglican grammar school, experienced rejection and discrimination at various stages of her enrolment, until she finally asked to be moved to the local state school, where she had a much happier experience.

I now belong to a multiethnic and multicultural parish in a suburb with a strong immigrant presence and, upon writing its centenary history in 2012, I found that it had had a reasonably smooth transition from being an Anglo-Australian congregation to a diverse community of about eight ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This led me to wonder how the rest of the Diocese had responded to

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<sup>37</sup> Interview on BBC TV, "World in Action," (1978). 30 January 1978.  
<https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/103485> (accessed 12 August 2019).

<sup>38</sup> Resolution 3 'Human Rights', Anglican Communion Office, "The Lambeth Conference Resolution Archive."  
<https://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/127746/1978.pdf> (accessed 26 February 2016).

multiculturalism. I therefore bring to this thesis my perspective, not as a remote observer, but as a participant in an episode of transformation in the history of the Diocese, and one cognisant with the phenomenon of colonial Anglophilia in its many forms.

## Literature review

The Australian Anglican Church has been and continues to be the subject of studies by prominent Anglican historians. There is also a vast body of literature on the connections between immigration, multiculturalism and religious diversity in Australia, and the range of perspectives includes issues of government policy, ethnic claims and religious values, individual denominations and ecumenical associations' approaches to migrant needs, and the aims and activities of interfaith bodies. In addition, a number of studies in the sociology of religion have examined the adaptation process of religions imported from Britain to the Australian landscape.<sup>39</sup> In histories of the Australian Anglican Church itself, the church's encounter with multiculturalism has generally been discussed as a secondary issue within a broader topic and has rarely occupied a whole chapter.

What follows is not an exhaustive review of histories of the Australian Anglican Church, but a brief discussion of four perspectives commonly applied to the study of the period of this thesis. Although this discussion will quote from the writings of four Australian Anglican historians, namely Bruce Kaye, Tom Frame, Brian Fletcher and David Hilliard, this is not to claim that these perspectives are exclusive to them or that their respective historiographies are confined to these areas of investigation.<sup>40</sup> The four perspectives to be discussed merit attention here because of their implications for the issue of diversity. The first is the impact that the history of the Australian Anglican Church and its heritage had on its ability to cope with socio-demographic change after World War II. Second is the nature of the challenges facing the church from the 1960s onwards and the extent of its confidence and ability to respond to these changes. Third is the focus on the divisions between Australian Anglicans over certain theological and doctrinal issues, and their implications for direction-setting and decision-making in the church. Fourth and last is the focus on the role and impact of individuals in shaping the course of the church.

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<sup>39</sup> As an indication of the size of this body of works, a list of suggested reading amounting to 150 to 200 titles, including 20 bibliographies, features in *The Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. Jim Houston (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1986).

<sup>40</sup> These four historians have often discussed two or more of the four facets of Australian Anglicanism in one work. See for example David Hilliard, "Anglicanism," in *Australian Cultural History*, ed. S L Goldberg and F B Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Bruce Norman Kaye, *A Church without Walls: Being Anglican in Australia* (Melbourne: Dove, 1995). T. R. Frame, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney, N.S.W.: University of New South Wales Press, 2007). Brian H. Fletcher, "Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Norman Gen Ed Kaye, et al. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002).

Discussions of the baggage of history and traditions as it affected the Australian Anglican Church has often included the theme of loss. The loss of identity and supremacy, according to Anglican historian Bruce Kaye, was felt keenly by Anglicans and had an inhibiting, if not a paralysing, effect on its ability to interpret and relate to the changing world in which it lived. Kaye argued in much of his oeuvre that the Anglican Church had been 'on the back foot'<sup>41</sup> since the 1960s because it was no longer certain about its identity. The death of English Christendom had been painful for Anglicans, but it had left a Christendom mentality and a sectarian attitude to religion, which explained the Anglican Church's 'considerable reluctance to recognise the multicultural situation that exists now in Australia and [its unwillingness] to engage with the problem presented for public policy by that multicultural situation'.<sup>42</sup> Since Christianity was no longer the dominant religious tradition in Australian society, Kaye believed that 'at root, what was required was not just an adjustment of social attitudes but a rethinking of the mentality that lies behind them'.<sup>43</sup> Another Anglican historian, Tom Frame, took a similar position over the baggage of the past and the difficult task of discerning what should be retained and what must change for the church to function and thrive in an unfamiliar situation. He spelt out the fact that

the church should have pondered the distinction between the socially and historically relative and the substantially and theologically absolute. It was a question the church would ask again and again in the decades that followed as it struggled to find a place for itself in a society that was no longer British and no longer Christian.<sup>44</sup>

The pain over relinquishing the comfort and certainties of some aspects of the past to embrace the uncertainties of the future is a major element in the drama that this thesis examines as the Melbourne Diocese struggled through its transition from an English to a culturally diverse church.

An example of the second historical perspective listed above is found in Anglican historian Brian Fletcher's analysis of the socio-demographic changes that had challenged the church from the 1960s onwards,<sup>45</sup> especially those caused by the change in immigration patterns, new national ideals, and hedonistic attitudes arising from post-war affluence. He blamed the changes themselves for the

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<sup>41</sup> Bruce Norman Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism : A Vision of Confidence, Community and Engagement in Anglican Christianity* (Adelaide: Adelaide : Openbook, 2003), 60.

<sup>42</sup> *Christianity and Multiculturalism in Australia* (Canberra: Zadok Institute, 1989), 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>44</sup> T. R. Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Norman Kaye, et al. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 123.

<sup>45</sup> Brian H. Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia : Church, Society and Nation* (Mulgrave, Vic.: Broughton Publishing, 2008). See also *An English Church in Australian Soil: Anglicanism, Australian Society and the English Connection since 1788*. (Canberra: Barton Books, 2015).



problems facing the Anglican Church, and suggested six reasons why the church found itself in unprecedented difficulties, which sapped much of its vitality. They were the weakening of the ties between Britain and Australia, the changed immigration patterns, which 'undermined the Anglo-Saxon ascendancy from which the Anglican Church had long benefited',<sup>46</sup> the marked decrease in Anglican membership, the diminished regard for Britain from the Australian public,<sup>47</sup> the fact that Australia was no longer called a Christian nation, and finally the 'advancing tide of materialism' and dismissive attitude of the media towards religion as a 'moral minority' intent on denying people's right to make lifestyle choices.<sup>48</sup> In that sense, multiculturalism and religious pluralism were regarded by some in the church as part of a broader development that threatened its future, and not one to be embraced.

The third perspective has focused on the long-standing divisions and factionalism in the church along theological and doctrinal lines, most notably in the Melbourne Diocese. These divisions have commanded significant attention by those who argue that they have inhibited progressive developments and much needed growth. Friction between dioceses caused serious difficulties and long delays in the adoption of the Australian's Constitution, which finally took place in 1962.<sup>49</sup> Hilliard explained how, from the mid-1960s, a new alignment of 'liberals' versus 'conservatives' in the Anglican Church was gaining more significance than the old division between 'high' and 'low', 'Catholic' and 'Evangelical'.<sup>50</sup> The halcyon days of stability and optimism of the early 1960s, when the Anglican Church thrived in the suburbs and felt confident of its position, were over. Hilliard noted that 'In each case there emerged a clear line of division between conservatives, who were worried about what appeared to be a "lowering of standards" and the accommodation of "biblical teaching" to the laxity of "secular humanism", and those who disagreed with the church's absolutist stance and held that its teaching needed to adjust to modern knowledge and human experience'.<sup>51</sup> In the

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<sup>46</sup> *The Place of Anglicanism*, 214.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 215. Fletcher bemoaned the fact that 'Instead of winning acclaim as one of the world's great powers it was viewed in some circles as a nation which had exploited the empire to further its own interests. The period of British rule in Australia came to be depicted as one in which the land was despoiled, the Aboriginal people decimated and their culture destroyed'. *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 216-17. For a more measured depiction of this phenomenon, see Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 146. See also "The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: The Experience of the Australian Churches," *The Journal of Religious History* 21, no. 2 June (1997).

<sup>49</sup> See John Davis, *Australian Anglicans and Their Constitution* (Canberra: Acorn Press Ltd, 1993).

<sup>50</sup> Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 124. See also "Dioceses, Tribes and Factions: Unity and Disunity in Australian Anglicanism," in *Agendas for Australian Anglicanism: Essays in Honour of Bruce Kaye*, ed. Tom Frame and Geoffrey R Treloar (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2006).

<sup>51</sup> "Pluralism and New Alignments," 129.

face of major social change, the dichotomy between the intransigent stance of those who feared excessive relaxation of dogma and the liberalism of those who wanted the Church to be relevant at the expense of tradition is echoed in Frame's claim about the church's struggle to discern between 'the socially and historically relative and the substantially and theologically absolute'.<sup>52</sup> Frame too deplored the ongoing belligerent divisions among the factions within the church striving to achieve dominance.<sup>53</sup> This suggests that the divisions were as much about ambition and power as they were about values, an issue which is discussed in this thesis.

Nowhere was factionalism more evident and virulent than in the debate over the ordination of women to the priesthood. This dispute dominated the discourse of the Melbourne Diocese for most of the two decades and overshadowed other issues like cross-cultural ministry. Ironically, the call for inclusiveness from the Movement for the Ordination of Women (MOW) caused alarm among its opponents about the limits of their demands for change. Conservative religious commentator Michael Gilchrist wrote a small volume titled *The Destabilisation of the Anglican Church: Women Priests and the Feminist Campaign to replace Christianity*,<sup>54</sup> in which he presented the MOW as a 'Trojan Horse', with allegations of political extremism, revolutionising aspirations, slurs of racism and other forms of discrimination against the church behind its demands for inclusiveness.<sup>55</sup> The issue of division is vital to my research, and the above writings demonstrate how divisions blurred the boundaries between personal and ideological values, doctrinal and political beliefs, and between different points of contention. The support for or opposition to cross-cultural ministry could be motivated by fear or desire of other unrelated changes.

Hilliard approached the issue of divisions in the church from the perspective of both 'the glue that held together Australian Anglicans'<sup>56</sup> and the divisions themselves; while acknowledging the significance of the conflicts, he rightly rejected simplistic explanations for their occurrence in favour of a more nuanced appraisal of the question of unity and discord within the church. One of the causes of discord that this thesis identifies is that of leadership styles and, to some extent, personality clashes. The corollary to the narrative about the church fearing or resisting change is the

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<sup>52</sup> T. R. Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," *ibid.*, ed. Bruce Norman Kaye, et al. (Melbourne), 123.

<sup>53</sup> T. R. Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*. See especially chapter 8.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Gilchrist, *The Destabilisation of the Anglican Church; Women Priests and the Feminist Campaign to Replace Christianity* (Melbourne: AD2000 Publications, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 49, 65.

<sup>56</sup> David Hilliard, "The Ties That Used to Bind: A Fresh Look at the History of Australian Anglicanism," *Pacifica* 11 (October 1998): 267.

documentation of visions and legacies of individuals or groups who were the drivers for change, which is the fourth and last aspect of Anglican historiography discussed here. Hilliard reported how, after the War, several Anglican leaders publicly challenged government policies and advocated for the rights of the poor and underprivileged, refugees and migrants. Leaders like Geoffrey Sambell and Peter Carnley in Perth, Peter Hollingworth in Melbourne and then in Brisbane, David Penman in Melbourne, Lance Shilton in Adelaide and Sydney had some success in influencing Christian opinion and government policy on important issues. Hilliard's criticism was that 'they showed that the Anglican Church took political affairs seriously. Yet, there was a tendency to believe that because something had been said, or a synod motion passed, ... something had actually been done. Some individuals had too much to say on too many issues. Church representatives did not always set out clearly the theological basis of their thinking'.<sup>57</sup> As will be discussed later, the big step from advocacy to action, was often hard to take, sometimes from lack of will and at other times from lack of know-how and resources. The articulation of the call for change, the scope of change being attempted and the pace at which the ecclesiastic machinery processed ideas for innovation are all pertinent to my framework.

In regard to cross-cultural ministry, Hilliard specifically named Helen Hunter and Jim Houston in Melbourne, who both feature prominently in this thesis, and Mersina Soulos in Sydney, as rare examples of individuals taking the initiative and actively promoting multiculturalism in the church as it faced the challenges of mass immigration.<sup>58</sup> Academics Lois Foster and David Stockley devoted a chapter to the churches in their *Australian Multiculturalism: A Documentary History and Critique*,<sup>59</sup> which discussed cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese of Melbourne. Mersina Papantoniou (née Soulos) has since recently completed her doctoral thesis on the cross-cultural ministry of the Sydney Diocese, of which she was the Director during the period of her study.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> "Pluralism and New Alignments," 129. Elsewhere Le Fanu and Gilbert White also received some attention as two Anglicans who spoke out against social injustice. See, respectively, T. R. Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," *ibid.*, ed. Bruce Norman Kaye, et al. (Melbourne), 102-08. *Four Bishops and Their See: Perth, Western Australia, 1857-1957*, ed. F Alexander (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1957). For an account of Gilbert White's ministry in Carpentaria see also Keith Rayner, "The History of the Church of England in Queensland" (University of Queensland, 1962), 125-28.

<sup>58</sup> Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 144-45.

<sup>59</sup> Lois E. Foster and Stockley David, *Australian Multiculturalism: A Documentary History and Critique* (Clevedon and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1988), 106-27.

<sup>60</sup> Mersina (Tonys-Soulos) Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglican Identity: A Study of a Minority Radical Tradition, (1987-2000)" (Macquarie University, 2016).

## Histories of the Melbourne Anglican Diocese

Two years after Archbishop David Penman's death in 1989, Anglican Archdeacon Alan Nichols wrote a biography titled *David Penman: Bridge-BUILDER, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*.<sup>61</sup> Nichols, who was Penman's Archdeacon and close ally,<sup>62</sup> made in just over 200 pages what he called 'an attempt ... to write not a definitive biography, but an analytical review of his life and public ministry... [and to ask] [w]hat early experiences shaped his life and theology?'<sup>63</sup> The author gave due credit to Penman's policy and teachings on multicultural ministry, and even appended to his book a transcript of the last public address given by his subject before he died. Penman's last word to the public had been about multiculturalism. However, he had been active and influential in so many areas of social justice and at so many levels, that Nichols' slim volume could not give full coverage of his leadership in multicultural ministry.

For the celebration of the sesquicentenary of the Melbourne Diocese in 1997 the word limit was no object. The occasion was marked by the publication of a narrative history and two collections of historical essays:

- ◇ *Episcopally Led and Synodically Governed: Anglicans in Victoria 1803-1997*<sup>64</sup> by Melbourne Bishop and church historian James Grant
- ◇ *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*,<sup>65</sup> edited by Brian Porter, priest, researcher and archivist at Trinity College, University of Melbourne
- ◇ *People of the Past: The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture*,<sup>66</sup> edited by Anglican historian Colin Holden.

In *Episcopally Led and Synodically Governed* Grant reviewed the achievements of every Melbourne Anglican Archbishop and the developments within and around the Diocese during their respective episcopates. Like *Melbourne Anglicans*, this made brief references to cross-cultural ministry. One chapter of *People of the Past* gave an insight into various aspects of Anglican life in Melbourne,

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<sup>61</sup>Alan Nichols, *David Penman : Bridge-BUILDER, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice* (Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1991).

<sup>62</sup> Nichols acknowledged that Penman was 'not without flaws', but made it clear that his intent was to provide 'an overview of his life in order to explain where the greatness lay so that others may learn and possibly imitate the greatness'. Ibid., 11.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*.

<sup>65</sup> *Melbourne Anglicans : The Diocese of Melbourne, 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997).

<sup>66</sup>*People of the Past? : The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture: Papers to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Colin Holden (Parkville, Melbourne, Vic: History Dept., University of Melbourne, 2000).

including the fraught process of electing Archbishops and the tensions among the leadership over Archbishop Penman's divisional structure, which I discuss in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

The Diocese's centenary closely followed the sesquicentenary of the Church of St Peter's, Eastern Hill in 1996, which Holden marked with the publication of his book titled *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 1846-1990*<sup>67</sup> in 1996, followed by a collection of essays titled *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne: Papers to mark the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of St Peter's Eastern Hill 1846-1996*<sup>68</sup> in 1997. In *from Tories at prayer*, Holden devoted a chapter<sup>69</sup> to a Chinese curate named James Cheong, who was based at St Peter's in the 1940s. Holden discussed the rejection that Cheong suffered on racial grounds from some parishes despite his Melbourne and Oxford education, but also highlighted the respect and esteem that he commanded for his intellect and gift for ministry. The book also traces the rapport between St Peter's Church and the Melbourne Chinese Anglican Mission during that period. Patricia Grimshaw's and Peter Sherlock's contribution to this book<sup>70</sup> is also of interest as it deals with an British-Australian churchwoman named Helen Baillie, engaging in cross-cultural ministry long before multiculturalism had been adopted as a policy. It is a revealing testimony of the church's reaction, 40 years before Helen Hunter's arrival on the scene, to a white woman's vision of Christian assistance to Aborigines, encouraged and endorsed by Canon Farnham Maynard, her parish priest with a socialist affiliation.

Like the national church histories mentioned above, these diocesan histories leave much unsaid about the Melbourne Church in its multicultural environment. However, in a more recent publication, *A Multicultural Odyssey: A Memoir (Almost) Sans Regrets*,<sup>71</sup> the Rev'd Jim Houston recalled his successive experiences as multicultural policy adviser in the Whitlam Government, Anglican priest in a very ethnically and religiously diverse parish of Melbourne, and finally director of cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese. It offers a rare first-hand insight into the political, ecclesial and pastoral aspects of dealing with immigration and multiculturalism, as well as the challenges of

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<sup>67</sup> Colin Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter's, Eastern Hill, Melbourne 1846-1990* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1996).

<sup>68</sup> *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne: Papers to Mark the 150th Anniversary of St Peter's Eastern Hill 1846-1996* (Parkville, Vic: University of Melbourne, 1997).

<sup>69</sup> The chapter is titled "'Undoubted British status': James Cheong, the parish and Melbourne Chinese", *From Tories at Prayer*, 156-68.

<sup>70</sup> Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, "One Woman's Concerns for Social Justice: The Letters of Helen Baillie to Farnham Maynard 1933-36" in *People of the Past? : The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture: Papers to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Colin Holden (Parkville, Melbourne: History Dept, University of Melbourne, 2000).

<sup>71</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*.

changing Anglican attitudes to ethnic and cultural diversity through policy. Like Nichols, Houston admired and esteemed Penman as a leader and an individual, and made no claim to objectivity; to some extent, this sets them apart from other histories discussed here, some of which were critical of Penman while claiming impartiality in their reviews of the conflicts of the time.

Three theses by Melbourne clergy, two Anglican and one from the Church of Christ, directly address developments in the Melbourne Diocese during the two decades of my study. The Rev'd John Batt's 'New Wine, Old Wineskins: Exploring Issues of Change and Power in the Melbourne Anglican Setting'<sup>72</sup> and the Rev'd Philip Huggins' 'The Contemporary Faith-Journey of Anglican Priests in the Diocese of Melbourne'<sup>73</sup> examined the Melbourne Anglican clergy's experiences and perceptions of the diocesan leadership, while the Rev'd Ian Allsop's 'The influence of values and beliefs on leadership behaviour'<sup>74</sup> analysed the bishops' and archdeacons' debates over Archbishop Penman's restructure of the registry and administrative practices. All three made passing but sometimes illuminating references to the issue of multicultural ministry in the Diocese.

## Significance of this thesis

The titles briefly reviewed above all provide a glimpse into the development in intercultural relations within the Melbourne Anglican Diocese, but none explores the subject in any great depth. My thesis is distinctive in that it probes from several perspectives into the Melbourne Anglican Diocese's efforts to develop a structured and coordinated response to multiculturalism, both as a social reality and a philosophy. It examines the prevailing circumstances, the internal and external influences, the ideals of groups and individuals, the different interests at stake at various echelons within Diocese, and how all these interacted around the idea of change to accommodate the diverse society that Melbourne had become.

As a backdrop to this multifocal analysis, I discuss the wider community's changing attitudes to immigration and the policy of multiculturalism, and I show how the Melbourne Anglican Church compared and engaged with other stakeholders in the field, especially the government, other churches, and not-for-profit organisations like the EMC. More than simply a church history, my thesis seeks to promote understanding of the way in which a relatively conservative segment of Australian society responded to the significant change in immigration and integration policy. It

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<sup>72</sup> John Batt, "New Wine, Old Wineskins: Exploring Issues of Change and Power in the Melbourne Anglican Setting" (PhD, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1997).

<sup>73</sup> Philip Huggins, "The Contemporary Faith-Journey of Anglican Priests in the Diocese of Melbourne" (MA, Monash University, 1991).

<sup>74</sup> Ian Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour" (PhD, Monash University, 1996).

depicts the struggle between the progressive and the tradition-bound elements in the church organisation as it was confronted with the need for reform.

As indicated in my introductory paragraphs, some of the issues raised between 1975 and 1995 are still unresolved and multiculturalism is again being questioned as is the broader issue of inclusiveness and its limits. The period under consideration saw the pioneering phase of interfaith dialogue, especially between Christians and Muslims, and warnings were sounded at the time about its importance for social cohesion, a most pertinent issue in Australia today. On the other hand, some seeds were sown in the last quarter of the twentieth century, as exemplified by the current Archbishop of Melbourne's monthly public debates on issues like the government's policy on asylum seekers, the challenges faced by all religions in transmitting the faith to the young and, more recently, the public perceptions of criminality among Sudanese youth.

## Methodology

This thesis is based on a critical reading of the wealth of primary sources ranging from diocesan and parish records. I analyse developments from the inside through contemporary discussions, negotiations and commentaries. Archival documents from the Anglican Immigration Office and the Department for Multicultural Ministry under its successive names, Synod papers, parish histories and titles authored by knowledgeable Anglican clergy and laity are included in the sources that help to understand the developments of the period.

At a very early stage of the project Ethics approval was obtained to conduct interviews with clergy and lay Anglicans involved in the Melbourne Anglican Diocese during the period of my thesis, and 31 interviews were completed and partially transcribed.<sup>75</sup> However, it became evident to me that there were conflicting recollections and controversial opinions of the developments of the period. I therefore made the decision to cease interviewing and to rely instead on the abundant written sources. I judged that this would make for a more objective discussion of the conflict without my becoming part of it.

Since the greatest part of textual evidence used here consists of primary sources, my discussion will also analyse the language of the protagonists' claims and counterclaims. Bruce Kaye suggested, among other forms of analysis

... [a] look at the rhetoric used in the debates between Anglicans. Getting behind the rhetoric to find out what people really believe is always difficult. But an examination of the rhetoric would provide a basis not so much for

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<sup>75</sup> Ethics Approval Ref: CF15/129 – 201500006.

identifying what people using the rhetoric actually believe in the quiet of their own rooms, but rather would reveal what they think are the elements in Anglicanism to which they can publicly appeal with advantage. One fascinating aspect of such an approach would be what it revealed of the nature of the power which was consciously or unconsciously being used and adopted by the deployment of this rhetoric.<sup>76</sup>

The practice of reading between the lines not only helps to uncover motives but also to consider the changes in ecclesiastical rhetoric itself, as the Diocese used or manipulated it while coming to grips with a new secular discourse about culture, ethnicity, diversity and other associated themes. This thesis examines the Diocese's corporate response to challenges, but also the formulation, expression and promotion, by groups and individuals, of arguments constructed on their own understanding of the identity and mission of the Anglican Church. It is therefore an examination of the forces at play in terms of their visions for the Diocese, rather than their own personal ambitions, resentments and allegiances, thereby avoiding attempts to identify 'what people using the rhetoric actually believe in the quiet of their own rooms',<sup>77</sup> or to pass judgment.

I explore the history from different perspectives within the church, namely, its leadership, its field workers, parishes, and non-British and non-European adherents, with the added layer of commentary from external observers. I also deliberately broaden the framework in three main ways. First, I examine the church's ethos with reference to the formative aspects of its history and traditions. Secondly, I situate multicultural ministry in the context of the church's overall mission and corporate life to shed light on the difficulties, caused by factional disagreements and unresolved doctrinal or theological rivalries, in changing directions and priorities. Finally, I discuss socio-political events of the time and parallel efforts on the part of other Australian organisations, some religious, to conceptualise and apply the confused and contested concept of multiculturalism. Secondary sources that inform these frameworks are statistical data, political and social histories of the period and contemporary studies in the sociology of religion.

### *Quantitative data*

Church statistics have been extracted from Year Books and audited financial statements of the Melbourne Diocese, and other records from the Melbourne Anglican archives. I supplement the discussion of Anglican attitudes to immigrants and refugees based on written sources with quantitative data. My main sources are the National Church Life Surveys of 1991 and 1996, and

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<sup>76</sup> Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism*, 4.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.



opinion polls analysed by Hans Mol,<sup>78</sup> Gary Bouma and Beverley Dixon.<sup>79</sup> A survey of Victorians' attitudes to migrants by TQ Consultants has provided a useful point of comparison with the sources listed here, although it did not identify the participants' religions. For my discussion of immigration and settlement I also use census and government data.

In the early 1990s the Catholic, Anglican and Protestant Churches began the five-yearly National Church Life Survey (NCLS) to gauge spirituality, viability of churches, quality of leadership and the churches' relationships with the community. The main limitation to the NCLS is the representativity of their samples. In 1991, out of a total Anglican population of 506,830 in the Melbourne Diocese, only 16,500 adult Anglicans took part in the survey.<sup>80</sup> The 1991 and 1996 NCLS data used here are based on surveys conducted among church attenders on a designated Sunday; the questionnaires on cross-cultural voluntarism and contact were randomly presented to some groups, but not all respondents answered every question. The output for Victoria drew on the Anglican Dioceses of Bendigo, Ballarat, Gippsland, Melbourne and Wangaratta. As an indication of the size of the samples, only one question, regarding involvement with people from different backgrounds, received more than 500 responses in 1991 and the questions on this topic received between 200 and 400 responses in 1996.

Another issue is that of specificity; Bouma and Dixon drew from a 1982 nationwide Morgan Gallup survey and Mol did not disaggregate his data by State. However, overall, the statistical data paints a reasonably consistent picture, even if Mol's survey was done in 1971, before the arrival of the Indo-Chinese refugees and the heightening of negative public attitude towards large numbers of immigrants from Asia. The others were carried out between 1978 and 1996, thus covering the two decades under study.

### *Exclusions*

I have chosen to conduct an in-depth study of cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese of Melbourne rather than broaden my discussion by making extensive comparisons with other states and with the Anglican Church abroad. The vast differences between Melbourne and Sydney, for example, and between the Australian Church and its New Zealand, British, American and Canadian counterparts

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<sup>78</sup> Hans Mol, *Religion in Australia : A Sociological Investigation* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1971).

<sup>79</sup> Gary D. Bouma and Beverly R. Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life* (Melbourne: MARC Australia, World Vision in association with the ZADOK Centre for Christianity and Society, 1986).

<sup>80</sup> Jim Houston, *Seeds Blowing in the Wind: Review of Multicultural Ministry & Mission* (Melbourne: Anglican Diocese of Melbourne 1993), 10.

would make it very difficult to do justice to such comparisons while giving adequate coverage of the situation in the Melbourne Diocese.

Secondly, my thesis does not discuss Aboriginal mission because it would not be culturally appropriate to treat it as a secondary issue in this thesis. The Aboriginal issue is about sovereignty, land ownership and race, a distinction that was reflected in the Diocesan structures; in 1981 the Working Group on Aboriginal Matters was granted its wish to be separate from the newly-established Department for Migrant, Refugee and Ethnic Affairs,<sup>81</sup> of which it had been a part since 1980. However, it made an important connection between the two ministries, warning that

How the church and the wider community deal with the just demands of Aboriginal Australians is the fundamental test of how capable our society is of dealing with the just demands and needs of other community groups.<sup>82</sup>

### *Terminology*

My primary sources show a degree of inconsistency and looseness in the terminology used by different elements in the church for issues of immigration and diversity. Some used terms like 'national', 'racial', 'ethnic', and 'multicultural', 'multiethnic' and 'multiracial' as if they were interchangeable, while others did the same with 'Anglo-Celtic', 'Anglo-Saxon', 'white', 'English' and 'British'. These inconsistencies are revealing in themselves and, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to elaborate in great detail on their rhetorical intent and impact, they merit some attention for the weight that they add to my argument.

Words like 'ethnicity', 'race' and 'culture' were value-laden and part of an evolving discriminatory discourse about various groups of people. In 1975, in an article titled 'Notes for the definition of "Ethnic,"'<sup>83</sup> Vladimir Menart, Deputy Chairman of the New South Wales Ethnic Communities' Council, acknowledged the potential problems and the need for clarity in the use of language to define immigrants from a non-British background. He explained how in the early days of mass migration from Europe, 'Australians were at a loss what to call non-British settlers and as a temporary expedient adopted the expression "New Australians" to replace at least in polite circles the popular "Balt" and offensively vulgar "Wog". The expression "New Australian" was only a temporary solution

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<sup>81</sup> Bishop James Grant, "The Anglican Church as an Ethnic Church," in *Clergy Sensitization Course* (1981), 321.

<sup>82</sup> Report of the Archbishop's Working Group on Aboriginal Matters in *A Garden of Many Colours: The Report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission*, (Melbourne: The Diocesan Registry, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, 1985), 11.

<sup>83</sup> Deputy Chairman of the New South Wales Ethnic Communities' Council Vladimir Menart, "Notes on the Definition of 'Ethnic'," (1975). [http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/menart\\_1.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/menart_1.pdf), (accessed 31 July 2019).

as it is hard to call someone "New Australian" and his Australian born children "Old Australians"''.<sup>84</sup> He then outlined the switch to the term 'ethnic' as an objective term to define the non-British, although he pointed out that in antiquity the church writers used the term for non-Christian people to mean 'heathen, pagan and gentile',<sup>85</sup> warning that such nomenclature was a sensitive issue and should be managed carefully.<sup>86</sup> By 1995 definitions and explanations were still being negotiated, an indication of the insecurity, uncertainty and fear of causing offense of the 1970s had not abated. Australian demographer, academic, and geographer, Graeme Hugo clarified that

'Ethnic group refers to a group of people who, because of shared culture, customs, place of birth and/or language, can be identified as a distinctive community. Within Australia, the term is usually applied to identifiable immigrant groups'.

...

The terms multicultural and multiculturalism are used in this report to refer to the diversity of ethnic groups in Australia, particularly within the major cities. Multiculturalism can also be used in the context of government policy, in which case it refers to the accommodation and support of a wide range of people from diverse origins and with varied cultures within a single society.<sup>87</sup>

By 1995, therefore, despite the recognition that the term 'ethnic' could refer to any group with a shared background, the term was still commonly used for immigrants. In that sense, the second definition 'multiculturalism' cited above carried the evocation of a diversity of immigrant groups, instead of the great diversity of ethno-cultural groups in Australia, including those from a British background.

A closer look at the use of language in the Melbourne Anglican Church also shows a nascent awareness of the importance of such terminology and a growing effort to use it sensitively, but some uncertainty remained over its application in a church setting. In the 1981, when the term

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. Raymond Williams also traced the evolution of the term 'ethnic', from meaning 'heathen or pagan or Gentile' in the nineteenth century, to becoming 'a polite term for Jews, Italians and other lesser breeds'<sup>85</sup> in the United States of the 1960s. As the science of ethnography evolved, the term became synonymous with 'other' cultures and their development. In time, the connotations of inferiority became overlaid with the interest that ethnicity held for scientific enquiry and its appeal for those with a penchant for exotic music, food and dress. It is hardly ever flattering and is often evoked as an antinomy to the mainstream. Raymond Williams, *Keywords : A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Rev. ed. ed. (New York: New York : Oxford University Press, 1985), 119.

<sup>86</sup> Vladimir Menart, "Notes on the Definition of 'Ethnic'."

<sup>87</sup> Graeme Hugo, *Understanding Where Immigrants Live* (Canberra: Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), 2.

'ethnic church' referred mainly to Eastern Orthodox churches,<sup>88</sup> Grant argued at some length in his address at a clergy training course that the Anglican Church was not an ethnic church,<sup>89</sup> yet in the early 1990s, Bishop Bruce Wilson warned that this was indeed the case because of the absence of non-British Australians in most Melbourne congregations.<sup>90</sup> Helen Hunter invited Australian-born Anglicans to acknowledge their own ethnicity and called on the church to take its place in polyethnic living. In her survey titled *Multicultural Challenges: the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Melbourne*<sup>91</sup> she set out to quantify the 'ethnic character'<sup>92</sup> of the Diocese, which included the Australian-born and immigrants from all countries.

Some Anglicans used this terminology with negative intentions: a letter to the church newspaper saw a dichotomy between 'ethnic cultures' and 'White Australia'.<sup>93</sup> These were sensitive issues and potentially inflammatory for the church, and some preferred to avoid mentioning race and culture altogether. However, there were signs that the Anglican Church was becoming aware of the sensibilities of the language of pluralism, even if its application in the context of its ministry and mission was sometimes inconsistent and hesitant. In 1978 Bishop Penman said Australia was *becoming* a multi-racial society,<sup>94</sup> thus excluding the presence of Aborigines, and yet he advised his audience that, instead of 'new Australians' they should refer to 'new settlers', an appellation 'officially changed in 1964' according to him, and that 'assimilation' should be replaced in the Anglican vocabulary, by 'integration', which implied 'the mixing of ways of life'.<sup>95</sup> This was five years after Al Grassby's announcement, which superseded the idea of integration, that Australia was to be a multicultural society.

The term 'ethnic Anglicans' was rarely used in official church publications and internal reports, but there were frequent references to 'ethnic congregations' and 'ethnic churches', a terminology which will be used in this thesis. However, where immigrant groups or individuals are concerned, the

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<sup>88</sup> Robert Lloyd, "Report to General Synod on Behalf of the Immigration Committee of Church of England in Australia," (1977).

<sup>89</sup> Grant, "The Anglican Church as an Ethnic Church."

<sup>90</sup> Bishop Bruce Wilson, "A Church Losing Its Way?," *Church Scene* 792, no. 3 (1995).

<sup>91</sup> Helen Hunter, *Multicultural Challenges; the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Melbourne* (Melbourne: The Melbourne Anglican Diocese, 1983).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>93</sup> Christopher Heathcote, "Letter," *Church Scene* 24 May 1985.

<sup>94</sup> David Penman, "Some Reflections on Our Ministry among Migrants and the New Arrivals in the Diocese of Melbourne," in *Western Region Clergy Conference in the Diocese of Melbourne* (1978).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

acronym CALD will be used in this thesis unless their country of origin is specified. The term Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) was introduced to replace NESB in 1996 by the Ministerial Council of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and prescribed for official communications.<sup>96</sup> It is appropriate here because it defines multilingual as well as non-English-speaking communities not from a British background.

Use of the term 'pluralism' and 'diversity' in the Anglican context also had implications for discussion of multiculturalism. Bruce Kaye's comment in *Church Without Walls* provides a clue about the significance accorded to multiculturalism within the life of the church:

In the early 1970s the theme of multiculturalism was introduced into federal politics as a vote-catching exercise by the Australian Labor Party. It soon came to be part of government policy, and for the past 20 years it has had a secure and protected place there. ... From the point of view of the nature of society, multiculturalism is really plurality viewed through the window of ethnicity. It is a subset of the longer running and more fundamental category of pluralism.<sup>97</sup>

He would later refer to the period from 1960 to 1995 as one of 'Anglicans struggling with the new pluralisms'.<sup>98</sup> Kaye was not dismissive of multiculturalism as an ideal, but more of the slogan surrounding the term, however it is significant that he saw it as a mere part or extension of a pre-existing pluralism within the church.<sup>99</sup> Such a perspective could have significance for the place of cross-cultural ministry in the life of the Melbourne Diocese.<sup>100</sup> In an article for *See*,<sup>101</sup> Anglican journalist and author Muriel Porter included a reference to the claims by British theologian, the Rev'd Dr Chris Wright, about the need for Christians to have clarity about what exactly they believed in a multifaith society. Of the three broad attitudes that Wright posited vis-à-vis other faiths, namely exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism, the latter involving the acceptance of all faiths 'as valid and complementary', Wright warned about inclusivists going 'down a slippery slope that

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<sup>96</sup>Pooja Sawrikar and Ilan Katz, "How Useful Is the Term 'Culturally and Linguistically Diverse' (Cald) in Australian Research, Practice, and Policy Discourse?," (Researchgate Publications, 2009). [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253985570\\_How\\_useful\\_is\\_the\\_term\\_'Culturally\\_and\\_Linguistically\\_Diverse'\\_CALD\\_in\\_Australian\\_research\\_practice\\_and\\_policy\\_discourse](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253985570_How_useful_is_the_term_'Culturally_and_Linguistically_Diverse'_CALD_in_Australian_research_practice_and_policy_discourse) (accessed 30 August 2019).

<sup>97</sup> Kaye, *A Church without Walls: Being Anglican in Australia*, 33.

<sup>98</sup> *Reinventing Anglicanism*, 84.

<sup>99</sup> Michael Hogan took the reverse position to Kaye's by arguing that 'in contemporary discussion of multiculturalism, religion seems to be seen as merely one more complicating factor in a competition of cultures'. Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand; Religion in Australian History* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1987), 288.

<sup>100</sup> Jim Houston warned that 'theological/liturgical pluralism' did not exempt the Diocese from practising cross-cultural ministry. Houston, *Seeds*, 37.

<sup>101</sup> Muriel Porter, "In Multifaith Australia, Who Is Christ?," *See* September 1994, 16.

lands up in pluralism', which was unacceptable because it was incompatible with biblical Christianity. Terms like 'diversity' and 'pluralism' were thus used to mean different things in an Anglican setting, both negative and positive; both reflected and created confusion over the vexed question of multiculturalism at a time when the Diocese was facing the challenge of sending out a clear and consistent message to its members about the Christian way to relate to non-British and non-European Melburnians.

### *Nomenclature*

During the two decades under study some clergy's titles changed from the Reverend to Bishop to Archbishop. I have made every effort to use the title that was correct at the time for every individual. In the interest of brevity, I use the full title on introducing clergy and academics, but only use surnames thereafter.

### *Objectivity and impartiality*

My discussion of the leadership change in a highly political environment poses problems for the interpretation of evidence. When a leader dies, tradition demands, especially in the ecclesiastical setting, that s/he be praised for certain achievements and personal qualities, even as plans are underway to discontinue or even dismantle those said achievements. Veiled criticisms, conflicting assessments of decisions made, and lip service to certain causes, followed by inaction and disinvestment are all part of the institutional reality. In light of Kaye's suggestion, discussed above, to read through the use of rhetoric to arrive at some conclusions about the pursuit of persuasiveness, the challenge for a researcher is to avoid making pronouncements about the sincerity or otherwise of tributes, and to find alternative measurements of attitudes and intentions, such as the setting of priorities and budgetary allocation. Additionally, there were so many threads of contestation running through the history of the Diocese during the two decades of this thesis that it would be easy to misinterpret certain ambiguous or oblique comments and take them out of context. I have, to the best of my ability, remained impartial in my use and discussion of primary sources, and aware of the sensitivity of some of the issues discussed in my thesis, some involving people who are still active in the church.

## **Research questions**

In this study I have tried to incorporate the best of several perspectives, including the four discussed earlier, namely the weight of historical baggage hampering progress in the church, the nature of the challenges facing the church, the internal divisions that inhibited innovation and growth, and the visions and impact of certain individuals.

My research questions are:

1. What were the visions or organising principles guiding the development of the Melbourne Diocese's cross-cultural ministry?
2. What message and call to action did the vision-builders transmit to the rest of the Diocese?
3. What were the difficulties facing the Diocese's engagement with multiculturalism?
4. How did the Diocesan approach to multicultural ministry evolve during the two decades?

## **Thesis overview**

This thesis is comprised of six chapters which, except for Chapter 5, generally follow a chronological sequence, and in which the themes of historical baggage, the nature of socio-cultural and socio-political changes in Australia and Melbourne, the internal diocesan divisions, and the personalities and their visions overlap and interact. Chapters 1 and 2 include developments from 1975 to 1984, Chapters 3 and 4 examine the Penman years from 1984 to 1989, chapter 5 provides the Anglican immigrants' perspectives during the two decades, while chapter 6 considers the post-Penman years from 1989 to 1995. The perspectives and contributions of the grassroots are discussed throughout the thesis, except for the CALD Anglicans, to whom the whole of Chapter 5 is devoted.

Chapter 1 sets the scene by describing the changes occurring in Australian society and compares the respective approaches of the Federal Government, Melbourne Catholic Archdiocese, EMC, and Melbourne Anglican Diocese to the challenges of ethno-cultural diversity in the mid-1970s. It examines the Anglican Diocese's interactions with the ecumenical and secular professional networks that were involved in migrant rights and welfare. Each of these organisations faced the internal conflicts that change invariably brought, the diversity and contention taking different forms in each case. However, the Anglican Church was some way behind the rest in its response to multiculturalism both because of its habitual resistance to change and because its membership was hardly affected by post-war mass immigration from outside Britain. In 1975 the Melbourne Diocese, having decided to cease sponsoring and delivering on-arrival assistance to new British immigrants, was at pains to see what role or obligation it might have in migrant assistance and advocacy when the new arrivals were neither British nor Anglican, and many not even Christian. The closure of its Immigration Office was the first manifestation of an attitude to non-British immigrants that would recur throughout the two decades.

Chapter 2 interrogates the Diocese's motives for creating a Department for Migrant, Refugee and Ethnic Affairs in 1979 and, in an apparent about turn, making its official début in cross-cultural

ministry. It reviews the migrant support initiatives through which its newly-appointed Director, Helen Hunter, tried to educate and engage the whole Diocese, and the obstacles that she faced at every level. Hunter's appointment happened to be in the early stages of the Indo-Asian refugee influx and her first task involved recruiting Anglican parishioners to assist these non-Christians from very different backgrounds, through resettlement and other programs. The discussion explores the tensions between the Diocese's expectations of her and her own vision for this ministry, as well as her interpretations of the negative attitudes in some parts of the Diocese, both at parish and corporate levels. In this chapter, the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of different levels of Diocese are seen through the eyes of a young female employee who had no authority to make structural changes but who, as part of her brief to educate, analysed the forms of resistance to her advocacy as symptomatic of the church's failure to adapt to its changing environment. At the same time, her capitalising on her connections with external stakeholders in the migrant field constituted a concrete example of the form of bridge-building and networking outside the church, discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the leadership of Archbishop David Penman as he promoted and sought to implement cross-cultural ministry from above. Chapter 3 examines three initiatives, one directly concerning cross-cultural ministry and the other two designed to remove barriers to it and guide its implementation. The Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission was a major exercise that had the potential to make the Diocese more attuned and sensitive to its increasingly diverse social environment. The review of Registry and administrative structures led to a new divisional structure, one of its objectives being to facilitate the dissemination and implementation of the central vision for cross-cultural ministry. The Archbishop's Commission on the Theology of Mission included provisions for evangelising non-Christian immigrants. I examine the reasons why none of these three initiatives delivered on their promises and their significance for the Diocese. Multiculturalism was among a web of issues that were difficult for the Diocese, and this reinforced a tendency to resist change. Advocacy for multiculturalism became caught up in conversations about a perceived intent to undermine the church and all that it valued, making cross-cultural ministry part of a greater threat to the status quo and to the precarious entente that existed between factions in the Diocese.

Chapter 4 draws attention away from the internal struggles discussed in Chapter 3 as it discusses Archbishop Penman's theology and message of multiculturalism. It examines his prescriptions for the church's immersion in and service to the outside world in all its diversity. He mapped out the interface between church and multicultural society, and between the church's doctrine and



government policy on multiculturalism, thereby giving full expression to his functional definition of the church as a community organisation and a citizen of the state. He argued that, by learning from and working with other faiths also struggling to adapt to life in Australia, the church could contribute to the uncovering of universal human values, greater than the teachings of any one religion. The chapter also explores further the theme of collaboration between sections of the Diocese and external organisations working for ethnic rights and welfare, where much more was achieved than within the Diocese.

The fifth chapter examines the diversity, experiences and perceptions of Anglican immigrants from outside the United Kingdom and Europe, who worshipped in Melbourne Anglican churches either among mainstream congregations or in separate language-based groups. CALD Anglicans found their own ways of adjusting to life in the Melbourne church and building communities of support, but they also offered a critique of the way the church operated at both the leadership and parish levels. The discussion identifies some historical baggage from the acquisition and experience of the Anglican faith in the CALD Anglicans' places of birth. However, there were also some individuals who distinguished themselves by their vision, initiative and talent as they practised their own ministries to grow and strengthen their ethnic congregations. The chapter also gives an indication of the challenges involved in developing an integrated form of cross-cultural ministry for the diverse community of Anglican migrants.

Chapter 6 examines developments following the sudden death of Archbishop David Penman in 1989 and the policy changes under the leadership of Archbishop Keith Rayner until 1995. It discusses the loss of momentum in cross-cultural ministry from the leadership perspective, and the efforts to maintain growth by the groups most committed to this ministry. The third review of cross-cultural ministry for the period under study was performed by two clergymen, with lukewarm support from the Archbishop. Apart from returning a damning assessment, it signalled and fuelled a new militancy in the discourse from the grassroots. Those who had been committed from the beginning and been inspired by Penman, notably the CALD clergy and people themselves, continued to fight for the cause and showed determination not to let Penman's vision die and his work go to waste.

The deliberations over cross-cultural ministry between 1990 and 1995 bore the same hallmarks of ambivalence that had characterised Diocesan musings in the mid-1970s. There was a growing concern about the implications of failure in inter-cultural outreach for the image and numerical strength of the Diocese, yet the same lack of will to commit resources and make cross-cultural ministry a central issue for the Diocese was manifested in the gesturing towards parishes to pull their weight.

## Chapter 1: Mass Immigration and Cultural Diversity: Perceptions and Responses, 1940s to 1970s

During the 1970s significant milestones were reached in Australia's shedding of its British identity to become a more culturally diverse nation. In 1973, the Hon Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in Gough Whitlam's Labor Government, made his historic proposal for *A multi-cultural society for the future*.<sup>1</sup> Whitlam's dismissal in 1975 could have spelt the end of the ideal of multiculturalism, however, his Liberal successor Malcolm Fraser also supported the policy. In 1978 Fraser accepted the wide-ranging recommendations of a government-commissioned Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants. The report was proclaimed as 'a watershed in the development of multicultural policy, identif[ying] multiculturalism as a key concept for the future development of government immigration policy.'<sup>2</sup>

Milestones, by definition, are not beginnings but rather landmarks in evolutions already in train, and, to understand the situation in 1975, it is necessary to consider the post-war events that influenced the shape Australia and some of its major organisations would take. This chapter situates the Melbourne Anglican Diocese in its geographical and socio-political environment by providing a brief overview of the evolution of immigration policies and the adoption of the vision for multiculturalism by the main stakeholders. They include government, non-government organisations involved in immigrant welfare, namely the Melbourne Anglican Church, other Protestant churches, the Catholic Church of Melbourne, and the EMC. The country and its institutions needed new orientations and new resources to enable them to function in the uncharted social landscape, and each of these bodies developed its own solutions. The application of these ideas into practice proved challenging for all concerned, and the challenges varied from one organisation to another, depending on the type of entity, its history, objectives and specific experiences in the field of migration.

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<sup>1</sup> Grassby A. J., *A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future*, Immigration Reference Paper (Canberra 1973: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Elsa Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas," Social Policy Section, Research Paper no. 6 2010–11 (8 October 2010). [www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06) (accessed 23 March 2016). Commonwealth of Australia, "Statement by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Malcolm Fraser," in Background to the Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, April 1978), 2. (accessed 23 March 2016). [http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/fraser\\_2.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/fraser_2.pdf). The 1978 report by the lawyer Frank Galbally 'made recommendations on initial settlement programs, English language courses, information dissemination, income security, employment, access to legal, health and welfare services, arts grants, and the establishment of an Institute of Multicultural Affairs to conduct research, advise the Government on ethnic affairs and to carry out community education'. John Gardiner-Garden, "The Multiculturalism and Immigration Debate 1973 - 1993," ed. Department of the Parliamentary Library (Canberra: Parliamentary Research Service, 1993), 6.

## Government policies and practices

### Immigration

Immigration has always been, and remains, a contentious issue; governments on both sides of politics have had to manage public opinion as well as internal tensions over any decision to broaden or alter the immigration intake, and race has been a ubiquitous feature in deliberations about immigration. At the time of Federation in 1901, the Australian public supported the idea of a national policy and administration for immigration, a process hitherto managed at a state level. The general consent about excluding non-European immigrants led to the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which found an effective means of eliminating undesirable applicants. They were given one or more dictation tests in any European language until they failed. Thus was born the WAP which, at least in theory, remained in force until the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> Its intent was to keep the Australian population European by three means. First, some groups were prevented from entering Australia or deported or relocated by force to designated parts of the country; second, policies were developed to bring about the extinction of some races or to curtail their reproduction; third, the rights conferred by citizenship were denied to or restricted for some groups, and they were excluded in various ways from the living conditions enjoyed by the dominant majority.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of World War II, the Australian Labor Government adopted an ambitious population policy to further the country's economic development and security through immigration, using the catchphrase 'populate or perish'.<sup>5</sup> The prospect of perishing was associated with being a small population unable to produce enough goods or to defend its vast territory against an invasion by its Asian neighbours to the north.

The fear of an Asian invasion was as keenly felt within the Anglican Church as elsewhere. Bishop Gilbert White of Carpentaria was one of the few bishops to have spoken against the WAP,<sup>6</sup> however, he objected more to the rigid application of the policy than to its essence. 'I myself would infinitely

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<sup>3</sup> Michael Klapdor, Moira Coombs, and Catherine Bohm, "Australian Citizenship: A Chronology of Major Developments in Policy and Law," in *Social Policy and Law and Bills Digest Sections*, ed. Dept of Parliamentary Services (Canberra: Parliamentary Library, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Markus, *Australian Race Relations, 1788-1993* (St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 110.

<sup>5</sup> "Official Hansard, Australian Government: House of Representatives Volume 31, 2 August," (1945), 4912. Arthur Calwell warned the critics of mass immigration from continental Europe: 'We have 25 years at most to populate this country before the yellow races are down on us.' Arthur A Calwell, *How Many Australians Tomorrow?* (Melbourne: Reed & Harris, 1945), 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Frappell, "Imperial Fervour and Anglican Loyalty 1901-1929," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Tom Frame, Colin Holden, and Geoff Treloar (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 77.

prefer a white Australia were it possible', he had declared in 1907,<sup>7</sup> but he and others, like Bishops Frodsham and Feetham, thought exceptions might be made in certain cases, such as the Kanaks who had long settled in Australia. Frodsham argued that 'the principle of a White Australia would not be affected by leaving in our midst a handful of Islanders'.<sup>8</sup> In Bishop White's view, the vast and sparsely inhabited north of the Australian continent was 'a standing temptation to anxious foreign countries who do not know what to do with their surplus population',<sup>9</sup> as he watched the white population in his Diocese of Carpentaria steadily decrease over the years. The Rev'd Keith Rayner's<sup>10</sup> own choice of terminology in his doctoral thesis of 1962 titled 'History of the Church of England in Queensland'<sup>11</sup> reflected the thinking of the 1960s:

The northern bishops knew well from experience the problems raised by the presence of large numbers of Asians within Australia. They saw the shockingly low standards of living that were accepted by these people, with the consequent threat to the standards of European workers; they recognised the racial animosities that could ensue; and they knew, too, the religious problems when large numbers of heathens threatened to swamp a Christian community. They were consequently not at all disposed to make a wholesale criticism of immigration restrictions.<sup>12</sup>

White's 'Labor sympathies'<sup>13</sup> moved him to defend the rights of European workers from cheap Asian labour, reflecting a relatively progressive attitude which did not, however, extend to Asians. His view also showed that the Labor Party did not necessarily enjoy the undiluted support of its voters on the question of immigration.

On 2 August 1945, Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration explained to Parliament the need for a significant population increase which, he argued, could be achieved by taking the unprecedented step of broadening the categories of sponsored migrants to include not just people from the United Kingdom and Ireland but also from continental Europe. Given the contentious and electorally risky nature of the issue of immigration, Calwell sought to reassure the Australian public that the large number of sponsored immigrants from continental Europe, in addition to those from the United Kingdom and Ireland, would benefit the country's security and economic growth without being a

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<sup>7</sup> Gilbert White, "Some Problems of Northern Australia," *Victorian Geographical Journal* xxv (1907): 62. Cited in Rayner, "The History of the Church of England in Queensland," 193-94.

<sup>8</sup> "Bishop's Address," in *Diocese of North Queensland Year Book* (1905-06), 43.

<sup>9</sup> "The History of the Church of England in Queensland," 194.

<sup>10</sup> Rayner would become Archbishop of Melbourne in 1990.

<sup>11</sup> Rayner, "The History of the Church of England in Queensland."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>13</sup> Brolly, "Social Inclusion the Key to Resisting Discrimination: Dr Freier," 3.

threat to its cultural identity.<sup>14</sup> The government considered cultural conformity and uniformity as essential for the cohesion and prosperity of the nation,<sup>15</sup> and expected immigrants to accept, among other values, 'British parliamentary democracy, Christian belief, and ... "the Australian way of life"'.<sup>16</sup> This approach, calculated to appease the opponents of non-British immigration, including trade unionists<sup>17</sup> and other Labor supporters, became known as assimilationist. The government was attempting a delicate balancing act between protecting the nation from a physical and potentially aggressive invasion and a more subtle cultural one.

Table 1 shows the increases in immigrants from some European countries after World War II while Table 2 shows the proportionate decline in the percentage of immigrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland during the same period.

Table 1: Arrivals of permanent settlers from selected European countries of origin by selected year, from 1948-49 to 1964-65

	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1959-60	1961-62	1963-64	1964-65
<b>Greece</b>	1303	2040	1646	1605	5089	12 527	6214	11 698	14 894	16 991
<b>Italy</b>	6362	17 197	19 007	21 906	15 252	20 395	16 126	16 795	12 903	10 309
<b>Malta</b>	2137	5249	4109	1852	3332	10 303	1818	1535	4525	5864
<b>UK &amp; Eire</b>	49 653	52 166	53 341	36 757	26 011	36 281	37 851	30 137	59 361	74 754
<b>Yugoslavia</b>	635	1403	285	415	556	583	6319	3475	5475	5278

Source: Historical Migration Statistics – OAD Statistics, Department of Home Affairs. May 2018 Release.

Table 1 above indicates that the arrivals from Italy increased from just over 6,000 in 1948-49 to exceed 21,000 in 1952-53, before gradually decreasing to 10,000 in 1964-65, while arrivals from Greece increased from just over 1,000 in 1948-49 to exceed 12,000 in 1954-55 and nearly reach

<sup>14</sup> "Official Hansard, Australian Government: House of Representatives Volume 31, 2 August," 4911-15.

<sup>15</sup> Lopez, *Origins of Multiculturalism*, 47.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>17</sup> In an Interview with Mara Moustafine, ex Labor Member of Parliament in the Whitlam Government, Moss Cass explained that: 'In the beginning, charges against foreigners get a resonance in the Labor movement because workers always feel they're going to lose their jobs. And in fact, that's what happens, let's be honest about it too. ... I'm well aware of the fact that there are plenty of Labor people who don't like Jews, but when it comes to the crunch eventually, the party always votes the right way... And we knew bloody well ... – because, you know the Jews take our jobs, ... and then the Italians took our jobs and then the Greeks took our jobs and then the Turks took our jobs. It's always like that'. Mara Moustafine, "Former Politician Moss Cass Examines the Labour Movement Concerns over Migrant Threats to Jobs," ed. A Multicultural Library (31 March 2009).<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Video/id/1463>. Moss-Cass-on-the-labour-movement-concerns-over-migrant-threats-to-jobs, (accessed 1 August 2019). For an examination of the attitudes of trade unions towards immigration, see Douglas Jordan, "Conflict in the Unions: The Communist Party of Australia, Politics and the Trade Union Movement, 1945-1960" (Victoria University, 2011).

17,000 in 1964-65. Between 1948-49 and 1954-55 the numbers of Maltese immigrants increased almost fivefold and arrivals from Yugoslavia increased tenfold between 1948-49 and 1959-60. Immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands also increased significantly at some stage during that period but not in the proportions seen among Greeks and Italians.

Table 2: Permanent settlers from the United Kingdom and Eire compared to all immigrants, by selected year, from 1948-49 to 1964-65

	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1959-60	1961-62	1963-64	1964-65
UK & Eire	49 653	52 166	53 341	36 757	26 011	36 281	37 851	30 137	59 361	74 754
All countries	114 818	184 889	153 290	95 890	86 468	124 180	105 887	85 808	122 318	140 152
UK & Eire % of total	43	28	35	38	30	29	36	35	49	53

Source: Historical Migration Statistics, Department of Home Affairs. May 2018 Release.

During the same period, the percentage of immigrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland fluctuated, as shown in Table 2, but, in the late 1940s and mid-1950s, this percentage was low enough to cause concern among those who wanted the population to remain predominantly British. In 1953 the Melbourne Anglican Synod conveyed to the government its desire to see a greater than 50% British intake.<sup>18</sup>

As intended, Australia continued to take in more settlers from the United Kingdom than any other country, however, in the words of Anglican priest and author Jim Houston, 'not enough Brits were opting in'.<sup>19</sup> The Government launched the Bring out a Briton (BOAB) campaign in 1957 to boost the percentage of British immigrants,<sup>20</sup> and promoted the establishment of Good Neighbour Councils (GNC) to encourage Australians to assist their settlement. A woman's magazine described the BOAB scheme as a 'sound plan' which would help to populate the vast but isolated Australian continent 'during the greatest migration period in modern history'.<sup>21</sup> While recognising the contribution of European immigrants, it maintained that 'this is a British country, with blood ties and responsibilities within a British Commonwealth, and Australians would naturally like to keep a reasonable balance

<sup>18</sup> Brolly, "Social Inclusion the Key to Resisting Discrimination: Dr Freier."

<sup>19</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 180. The British had also acquired the reputation of being 'whingers' about living conditions in Australia, many regretting their decision to emigrate. See Velma Joan Joyson, "Post-World War Two British Migration to Australia: 'The Most Pampered and Protected of the Intake'?" (University of Melbourne, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> Markus, *Race Relations*, 157.

<sup>21</sup> "Bring out a Briton," *Australian Women's Weekly* (13 March 1957): 2. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48201920> (accessed 12 April 2017).

between British migrants and those who come from other countries'.<sup>22</sup> As will be seen below, the Melbourne Anglican Diocese willingly participated in the BOAB scheme and GNC.<sup>23</sup>

Australian social scientist Professor Stephen Castles noted that 'Until the 1970s, being Australian was always defined in exclusionary terms'.<sup>24</sup> The early 'pioneers' were first suspicious of the Aborigines, and later came the concern that immigrants would 'dilute the British character of the nation and undermine the race',<sup>25</sup> and finally there was the fear of the 'yellow peril', especially the Chinese.<sup>26</sup> Castles called Australia's self-image 'racist, justifying genocide and exclusionism, and denying the role of non-British migrants',<sup>27</sup> a reputation that was travelling far. The pressure on the Australian government in 1960s to review its immigration and settlement policies and practices had partly come from overseas during the 1960s, since America, Canada and other countries receiving large numbers of immigrants had begun to remove discrimination from their immigration policies.<sup>28</sup> Closer to home, Australia's past emphasis on admitting only European immigrants had offended the neighbouring Asian countries, and some sections of the Australian community had criticised the government for not being in accord with the post-war socio-political reality.<sup>29</sup> University students, influenced by their contact with overseas students on campuses and by their international networks, were vocal about Australia's immigration and foreign policies.<sup>30</sup>

Liberal Prime Minister Robert Menzies, whose second term in office lasted from 1949 to 1966, was a known Anglophile<sup>31</sup> and it was left to his successor, Harold Holt, to respond to pressure and broaden

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid..

<sup>23</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 237. Garden, 46. Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," 117.

<sup>24</sup> Stephen Castles, "Demographic Change and the Development of a Multicultural Society in Australia," in *Occasional Paper 15, 1988, 41* (Centre for Multicultural Studies, University of Wollongong). <http://ro.uow.edu.au/cmsocpapers/13> accessed 5 August 2019.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Markus, *Race: John Howard and the Remaking of Australia* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2001), 16.

<sup>29</sup> Lopez, *Origins of Multiculturalism*, 69-71.

<sup>30</sup> N Viviani, "The Abolition of the White Australia Policy: The Immigration Reform Movement Revisited," *Australia-Asia Papers, Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, Griffith University*, no. 65 (1992). Rachel Burke, "'They May Come Here to Study but Not to Stay': Print Media Coverage of International Student Migration in the Era of the White Australia Policy," *Limina, Journal of Historical and Cultural studies* 20, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>31</sup> David Goldsworthy, *Losing the Blanket: Australia and the End of Britain's Empire* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2002).

the categories for admissions to Australia, as well as softening the government's position on assimilation. This was a decision that Holt took with measured enthusiasm.<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding internal Liberal opposition to the idea, in March 1966 Immigration Minister Hubert Opperman announced that well-qualified applicants, of any race and nationality, with the capacity to integrate in and contribute to Australian society,<sup>33</sup> could apply for immigration to Australia. The criterion of 'well qualified' non-Europeans replaced the stipulation of 'distinguished and highly qualified',<sup>34</sup> and it was acknowledged that the number of non-European arrivals would be 'somewhat greater than previously'.<sup>35</sup>

The government was forced to relax its policy of assimilation when it realised in the 1960s that European immigration were not assimilating but forming their own communities, establishing associations and amenities to keep their cultures alive.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, many immigrants, in whom the government had invested heavily in the form of sponsorships, were returning to their countries of origin.<sup>37</sup> The policy of assimilation was therefore replaced by that of integration, which acknowledged that the maintenance of their cultures did not prevent immigrants from adapting to the Australian lifestyle.<sup>38</sup> The principle of integration 'encourag[ed] all cultures to meld together and

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<sup>32</sup> Government of Australia, "Transcripts from Ministers of Australia: Meet the Press - Prime Minister Harold Holt," ed. Dept of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (20 February 1966). <http://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-1254> (accessed 21 May 2019).

<sup>33</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, "History of the Department of Immigration: Managing Migration to Australia," <https://www.border.gov.au/CorporateInformation/Documents/immigration-history.pdf> (11 April 2017).

<sup>34</sup> Paul Rodan, "Harold Holt and the Art of Personal Diplomacy," <https://insidestory.org.au/harold-holt-and-the-art-of-personal-diplomacy/>. (accessed 26 May 2019). Richard Campbell, "Did Former Prime Minister Harold Holt Abolish the White Australia Policy?," <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-09-06/fact-check-did-harold-holt-abolish-the-white-australia-policy/10194408>.

<sup>35</sup> Commonwealth Government Department of Home Affairs, "Fact Sheet – Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy - Fact Sheet 8," <https://archive.homeaffairs.gov.au/about/corporate/information/fact-sheets/>. (accessed 5 April 2019).

<sup>36</sup> Castles, "Demographic Change and the Development of a Multicultural Society in Australia," 27.

<sup>37</sup> Phillip Lynch, Minister for Immigration, advised in 1970 that the Commonwealth Department of Immigration spent more than \$74 million of its annual budget on immigration. Phillip Lynch, *Immigration in the Seventies: An Address to the Metal Trades Industry Association* (Australian Government, 1970), 11. The rate of return concerned the government enough for it to request that the Committee on Social Patterns of the Immigration Advisory Council research the problem. In 1973 it issued its final report on the 'Inquiry Into the Departure of Settlers from Australia'. Lidio Bertelli, "'It's Not the Thought That Counts', Reviews of the Immigrant Situation before Galbally," *Migration Action* IV, no. 1 (1979). Australian National University Political scientist James Jupp estimated that the Department of Immigration spent \$240 on each migrant and, by the end of 1965, the government would have lost a monthly sum of about \$840,000 on returning migrants. James Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures* (Melbourne: Cheshire-Lansdowne, 1966), 164.

<sup>38</sup> Koleth, "Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas." [www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp06), (accessed 17 Sept 2018).



form a new culture featuring the best features of all,<sup>39</sup> or 'a new, superior Australian culture'.<sup>40</sup> Sociologist Andrew Jakubwicz saw integration as also providing 'a more sophisticated perspective which acknowledged/recognised the importance of social groups as intermediaries between the individual and the wider society, ... the end point of which [being] still his/her assimilation'.<sup>41</sup>

Overall, the broadening of immigration categories did not translate into regular increases in the annual number of non-European arrivals between 1968-69 under Prime Minister Gorton and 1974-75 under Prime Minister Whitlam, despite the initial spike between 1968 and 1971 immediately after the change in immigration rule. (Table 3)

Table 3 European and Non-European Settler Arrivals for selected years from 1966-7 to 1980-81

Prime Ministers	McEwen	Gorton	McMahon	McMahon/ Whitlam	Whitlam	Whitlam/ Fraser	Fraser			
Year of Arrival	1966-7	1968-9	1970-1	1971-2	1972-3	1974-5	1975-6	1977-8	1978-9	1980-1
Total Arrivals	138 676	175 657	170 011	132 719	107 401	89 147	52 752	73 171	67 192	110 689
Total European incl UK	120 204	141 050	126 026	93 056	74 986	54 641	28 987	31 980	22 229	51 952
Total Non-European	18 472	34 607	43 985	39 663	32 415	34 506	23 765	41 191	44 963	58 737
Non-European % of total	13.3	19.7	25.9	29.9	30.2	38.7	45.0	56.3	66.9	53.1

Source: Historical Migration Statistics, May 2018 release. Department of Home Affairs.

Table 3 shows that even under Whitlam the proportion of non-European immigrants remained much lower than that of Europeans and did not pass the 40% threshold until the cross-over period from Whitlam to Fraser in 1975-76.

Events in Vietnam in 1975 triggered an acceleration in the number of non-European immigrants allowed into Australia. The fall of the Vietnamese Government to a takeover by the Communist regime of North Vietnam in 1975 caused a mass exodus of people to other countries including Australia. In 1976 the first so-called 'boat people' began to arrive from Vietnam. The Fraser

<sup>39</sup> Gardiner-Garden, "The Multiculturalism and Immigration Debate 1973 -1993," 1.

<sup>40</sup> Lopez, *Origins of Multiculturalism*, 58.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Jakubowicz, "The State and the Welfare of Immigrants in Australia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12, no. 1 (1989): 1. [http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/jakubowicz\\_8.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/jakubowicz_8.pdf) (accessed 6 April 2019)

Government allowed them to stay in Australia, and selected 400 Vietnamese refugees from camps in Guam, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia for resettlement by the end of 1975.<sup>42</sup> The Senate's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence launched an enquiry into the crisis and issued 44 recommendations for an appropriate response from the Australian government. Michael Mackellar, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, announced a new policy and procedures in 1977 for taking in and resettling refugees. The refugee program resulted in Australia accepting immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Eastern Europe, small numbers of Soviet Jews, Chileans, El Salvadorans, Cubans and Iraqi. The Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) begun in 1981 brought in people who had suffered severe discrimination or been denied their human rights from Ethiopia, Eastern Europe, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, East Timor and Latin America. The planned intake during the early 1980s was up to 22,000, the greatest intake since the 1940s and never since equalled.<sup>43</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5, some of the arrivals under the categories of refugees and SHP would include Anglicans. The government's decision to significantly increase the intake led to its creation of the Community Refugee Settlement Scheme (CRSS) in December 1979, in which the Melbourne Anglican Diocese would be a participant. (See Chapter 2)

## Multiculturalism

By the early 1970s the ideal of a White Australia had been gradually eroded by concerns over social justice and foreign policy and by the very presence of non-British immigrants in the electorate.<sup>44</sup> Integration had been a notional position, designed to placate rather than bring policy changes and, in the early 1970s, it was replaced by the more robust policy of multiculturalism. The vision for a policy of multiculturalism was a response to a reality that was already present, thought to be better tailored to it than assimilation and integration had been. Multiculturalism acknowledged the presence of diverse cultures and recognised that it was a matter of social justice to ensure that immigrants were not disadvantaged or prevented from achieving their potential and contributing to society because of their ethno-cultural differences.

Gough Whitlam, the first Labor Prime Minister after 23 years of Liberal leadership, introduced multiculturalism and a suite of other policies related to issues of race and culture during his term in

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<sup>42</sup> Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), "Seeking Asylum within Australia, Fact Sheet 61," <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/61asylum.htm>. (accessed 23 January 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Refugee Council, "History of Australia's Refugee Program," <https://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/getfacts/seekingsafety/refugee-humanitarian-program/history-australias-refugee-program/>. (accessed 29 October 2018).

<sup>44</sup> Lauchlan Chipman, *The Canberra Times*, 20 August 1992, cited in Gardiner-Garden, "The Multiculturalism and Immigration Debate 1973 -1993," 4.

office. A few months before the elections, as opposition leader, Whitlam declared in his Federal Elections campaign:

The decision we will make for our country on 2 December is a choice between the past and the future, between the habits and fears of the past, and the demands and opportunities of the future. ... For Australia, it's time ... for a new vision of what we can achieve in this generation for our nation and the region in which we live.<sup>45</sup>

Whitlam's election victory a month later further heightened the sense of a new dawn for Australia. This was a proclamation that the old, with its prejudices and insecurities would make way for the new, with bold hopes for the future of Australia, guided by its 'new vision' of achievements for itself as a nation and, significantly, for the Asia-Pacific region. This was a signal that the remaining ties with the British Empire would be loosened if not broken.

The new Government extended the measures already underway to liberalise public policy and address problems of discrimination, inequality and social cohesion. Immigration Minister Al Grassby famously said in 1973 '[The WAP] is dead, give me a shovel and I will bury it'.<sup>46</sup> On 11 June 1975 the Australian Government passed its *Racial Discrimination Act*, based on the provisions of the 1966 United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, making it

unlawful for a person to do any act involving a distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of any human right or fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.<sup>47</sup>

The global scene had revealed mistakes to be avoided, and the need to manage issues of race with purpose and sensitivity had been brought to the fore in the 1960s with the racial conflicts in America and Europe.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Gough Whitlam, "It's Time," in *Policy Speech for the Australian Labor Party*, 13 November (1972). <https://whitlamdismissal.com/1972/11/13/whitlam-1972-election-policy-speech.html> accessed 17 November 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Gwenda Tavan, "Give Me a Shovel and I Will Bury It." <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/perspective/gwenda-tavan/3443078> (accessed 1 September 2019).

<sup>47</sup> "Racial Discrimination Act No. 52," (1975), s. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 155. Jean Martin, *The Migrant Presence, Australian Responses, 1947-1977 : Research Report for the National Population Inquiry* (Sydney, N.S.W.: Allen and Unwin, 1978), 35.

Also included in Whitlam's legacy are the royal commission into Aboriginal land rights in 1973, which led to the handing of native land titles to the Gurindji people at Wattie Creek in the Northern Territory, withdrawal of Australian troops from the Vietnam War in 1975, the replacement of *God Save the Queen* with *Advance Australia Fair*<sup>49</sup> in 1974, and restoring diplomatic relations with China in 1973. Journalist Heath Aston considered Whitlam's first rapprochement with the Asia-Pacific region as 'vital to the multiculturalism that developed in Australia throughout the 1980s and beyond'.<sup>50</sup>

## Migrant settlement

The context of population management and immigrant settlement provided a rich field of enquiry for government and social scientists alike. From 1970 to 1978 both the Whitlam and Fraser governments commissioned social studies which reported on migrant experiences and the inadequacy of services for their wellbeing and successful settlement into Australian society.<sup>51</sup> They included Professor Wilfred Borrie's National Population Inquiry reports of 1975 and 1978,<sup>52</sup> and Professor Jean Martin's report titled *A Decade of Migrant Settlement*,<sup>53</sup> followed by her book *The Migrant Presence* in 1978.<sup>54</sup> The widespread need for special, linguistically and culturally tailored assistance was becoming manifest.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> The second verse of the new national anthem declared that: 'For those who've come across the seas / We've boundless plains to share'.

<sup>50</sup> Heath Aston, "What Did Gough Whitlam Actually Do? Rather a Lot," *Sydney Morning Herald* 21 October 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Jerzy Zubrzycki, "The Evolution of the Policy of Multiculturalism in Australia 1968-95." <https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-services/programs-policy/a-multicultural-australia/programs-and-publications/1995-global-cultural-diversity-conference-proceedings-sydney/political-aspects-of-diversity/the-evolution-of-the-policy-of-Multiculturalism-in-Australia-1968-95> (accessed 20 September 2018). Other prominent social scientists like Frank Jones, Reg Appleyard, Frank Kunz and Ian Burnley also conducted research in the sociology of migration. "History of ANU Demography - a Talk Given by Peter McDonald," <http://demography.cass.anu.edu.au/history-anu-demography-talk-given-peter-mcdonald> (accessed 6 April 2019).

<sup>52</sup> W D Borrie, *Population and Australia; a Demographic Analysis and Projection; First Report of the National Population Inquiry* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975). See Charles Price, "Borrie, Wilfred David (Mick) (1913–2000) Obituary," <http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/borrie-wilfred-david-mick-133>. (accessed 6 April 2019).

<sup>53</sup> Jean Martin, *A Decade of Migrant Settlement : Report on the 1973 Immigration Survey*, ed. Australian Population and Immigration Council Social Studies Committee (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976).

<sup>54</sup> *The Migrant Presence*.

<sup>55</sup> Martin provided a table showing approximately 20 enquiries, published from 1954 to 1975, on migrant health and welfare, education, employment, legal access and other requirements. *Ibid.*, 38-43.

Meanwhile, the living conditions of immigrants gained further public attention when Economics Professor Ronald Henderson revealed in the report of his 1975 Inquiry into Poverty<sup>56</sup> that certain immigrant groups of non-British origins had 'exceptionally high rates of poverty'.<sup>57</sup> Henderson recommended that the government acknowledge and support the work of voluntary organisations,<sup>58</sup> but he also recognised their limitations. Some did not have the resources to reach many of the most disadvantaged people, and some church volunteers' approach was 'basically that of a judgmental, middle-class service, with a strong Christian value system, [which] could present problems for people with different value systems'.<sup>59</sup> It will be seen in Chapter 2 that the unwillingness of some Christian volunteers to offer welfare assistance without the prospect of evangelism would become an issue for the Diocese of Melbourne.

Like the Henderson report, another government-led initiative would directly affect immigrants without specifically targeting them. In 1972 Whitlam launched the Australian Assistance Plan (AAP), which introduced an integrated social planning system that included community development and participation in welfare. Regional Councils for Social Development were established to coordinate welfare delivery at the local level by community organisations and other groups. The government's aim was to revitalise community volunteering and radically alter its interaction with and funding of voluntary organisations.<sup>60</sup> Churches were among the organisations eligible for AAP funding,<sup>61</sup> as were others engaged in a wide range of activities, including immigrant conversation groups, something that could be very amenable to parish voluntarism.<sup>62</sup> The principle behind the AAP was that government-funded programs would encourage Australians to develop their potential and assume their rights and social responsibilities at the local level, making welfare delivery 'community

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<sup>56</sup> Ronald F Henderson, *Poverty in Australia: Commission of Inquiry into Poverty* (Canberra: Australian Government Printing Service, 1975).

<sup>57</sup> Henderson found that the percentage of newly-arrived immigrants living below the poverty line at 12.3% was almost double the national percentage of 6.7% for all 'adult income units'. *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>60</sup> Melanie Oppenheimer, "Volunteering: The Australian Experience; Public Lecture for the National Archives of Australia," [http://www.naa.gov.au/Images/oppenheimer-paper-2007\\_tcm16-35843.pdf](http://www.naa.gov.au/Images/oppenheimer-paper-2007_tcm16-35843.pdf).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

initiated'.<sup>63</sup> The Anglican Church would later seek to apply in cross-cultural ministry the model of community development and voluntarism introduced by the AAP concept.<sup>64</sup>

In 1977 Malcolm Fraser commissioned lawyer Frank Galbally to conduct a 'Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants' (Galbally Report), explaining that it reflected the government's concern for migrants' special needs to be met effectively, particularly those from a non-English-speaking background.<sup>65</sup> The Galbally Report proclaimed the entitlement of all citizens to preserve their culture, free from discrimination, and highlighted the need for special facilities and support services for the immigrant population, 'to ensure equality of access and provision',<sup>66</sup> a principle that the Melbourne Anglican Diocese would seek to apply at a later stage. In the mid-1970s the discourse on multiculturalism was still focused on the immediate needs of immigrants, and the ideal of equal access had yet to be rooted in the realities of church life.

Both the Whitlam and Fraser governments were keen to consult and involve immigrants in the development of programs and services for their welfare. In 1971, a National Groups Survey identified 1,350 bodies created by immigrants from over 100 parts of the world.<sup>67</sup> The Victorian Directory alone ran to 167 pages, listing 300 organisations,<sup>68</sup> many of them religion-based, that catered for 53 national groups, plus another 23 'multifarious organisations' in Geelong. Among the major Melbourne non-profit ethnic organisations were Co.As.It (Comitato Assistenza Italiani),<sup>69</sup> FILEF (Federazione Italiana dei Lavoratori e delle Famiglie),<sup>70</sup> the Australian Greek Welfare Society, and the Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society. By 1975 the government had contacted 900 of the 2000 ethnic groups it had identified.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 13. Sydney Diocese did this with signal success in their cross-cultural ministry, matching parishes with some ethnic communities. See Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglican Identity."

<sup>65</sup> "Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA), Review 1981," Australian Government Publishing Service.

<sup>66</sup> Andrew Jakubowicz, "Commentary On: The Galbally Strategy for Migrant Settlement " <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/107.The-Galbally-Strategy-for-migrant-settlement>. (accessed 21 September 2018).

<sup>67</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 160.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>69</sup> Italian Assistance Association

<sup>70</sup> Federation of Italian Emigrant Workers and their Families

<sup>71</sup> Henderson, *Poverty in Australia*, 277.

However, in the 1970s, alongside migrant organisations anti-immigrant groups were also proliferating. Al Grassby named a list of bodies that hid 'behind the masks of respectability, dedicating themselves to preserving the [British] heritage', or explicitly publicised their aim 'to keep Australia for the Aryans, or the whites, or the Anglo-Saxons, or whatever the preferred title for their own group happens to be'.<sup>72</sup> Grassby singled out the Australian League of Rights as 'the largest and the most enduring of the extremist groups',<sup>73</sup> whose connection with the Melbourne Anglican Diocese is discussed in another chapter. The League also acted as a façade for other innocuous sounding organisations like the Ladies in Line Against Communism, known as the Lilac League, the Christian Institute for Individual Freedom,<sup>74</sup> the Australian Heritage Society, the Conservative Speakers Clubs, Save our State, Save our Flag, Save our Queen, and others.<sup>75</sup> These organisations could rally to lobby the government and launch mass campaigns against immigration and multiculturalism.<sup>76</sup> By the time the Indo-Asian refugees began to arrive, some sections of the population were openly expressing their displeasure at non-British and non-European immigration, especially the refugees who had arrived by boat, reacting with 'racism, public alarm, [and] concern over their cultural differences'.<sup>77</sup> In a survey of Victorians in 1978, nearly 50% of participants revealed negative attitudes towards immigrants,<sup>78</sup> and the Commissioner for Community Relations listed twelve large 'racist organisations' in its Annual Report for 1980-81, plus another twenty smaller-sized 'One-man bands', several of them with titles that suggested Christian identities or associations.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Al Grassby, *The Tyranny of Prejudice* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1984), 43. Markus, *Race*, 116-25.

<sup>73</sup> J., *A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future*.

<sup>74</sup> Other such organisations with Christian-sounding titles among the 32 'racist organisations' identified in the Annual Report of the Commissioner for Community Relations for the year 1980-81 were the Divine People Mission and the Christian Mission to the Communist World. Grassby, *Tyranny*, 49-50. Eric Butler, who established the League of Rights at the national level, was a member of the Melbourne Anglican Synod during the 1950s and 60s. David Hilliard, "How Anglican Lay People Saved the Church," *St Mark's Review* 207, no. 1 (2009): 49.

<sup>75</sup> Grassby, *Tyranny*.

<sup>76</sup> These groups, including a White Australia Progressive Party, pressured members of the Liberal-National Party to join them. *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>77</sup> Melissa Phillips and Martina Boese, "From White Australia to Stopping the Boats: Attitudes to Asylum Seekers," <http://theconversation.com/from-white-australia-to-stopping-the-boats-attitudes-to-asylum-seekers-15244>. (accessed 9 April 2019)

<sup>78</sup> TQ Consultants, "Attitudes of Victorians to Migrants," (Melbourne: Victorian Ministry of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, 1978).

<sup>79</sup> Grassby, *Tyranny*, 49-50.

The relevance of the above discussion for the Melbourne Anglican Diocese is threefold: it has shown that the governments that had adopted the policies of immigration and multiculturalism found it hard to gain and retain widespread support for them, even within their own ranks; that the translation of the multicultural ideal into practical policies and service delivery programs was a complex process; and that some of the government policy decisions would directly impact on the way churches managed their own welfare policies and their approaches to ethno-cultural diversity.

## Anglican Church

The Anglican Church had dominated the Australian religious landscape until the impact of mass immigration from continental Europe began to change the balance in favour of the Catholics. Table 4 gives the percentages for the two main Christian denominations, Anglican and Catholic, and all other Christian groups, compared with non-Christians and the 'No religion' category.

Table 4: Major Religious Affiliations in Australia by census year 1911 to 1991

	Anglican	Catholic	Other Christian	Total Christian	Non-Christian	No religion	Not stated(a)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	'000
1911	38.4	22.4	35.1	95.9	0.8	0.4	2.9(b)	4455.0
1921	43.7	21.7	31.6	96.9	0.7	0.5	1.9(b)	5435.7
1933	38.7	19.6	28.1	86.4	0.4	0.2	12.9	6629.8
1947	39.0	20.9	28.1	88.0	0.5	0.3	11.1	7579.4
1954	37.9	22.9	28.5	89.4	0.6	0.3	9.7	8986.5
1961	34.9	24.9	28.4	88.3	0.7	0.4	10.7	10 508.2
1966	33.5	26.2	28.5	88.2	0.7	0.8	10.3	11 599.5
1971	31.0	27.0	28.2	86.2	0.8	6.7	6.3	12 755.6
1976	27.7	25.7	25.2	78.6	1.0	8.3	12.2	13 548.4
1981	26.1	26.0	24.3	76.4	1.4	10.8	11.4	14 576.3
1986	23.9	26.0	23.0	73.0	2.0	12.7	12.3	15 602.2
1991	23.8	27.3	22.8	74.0	2.6	12.9	10.5	16 850.3

(a) Includes religion inadequately described.

(b) Includes 'object to state'.

Source: Census of Population and Housing 1991

Table 4 reveals that the percentage of Christians remained in the upper eighties until 1971, before steadily dropping to 74% in 1991. It also shows an upward trend in the Catholic percentage and a downward trend in the Anglican percentage. By 1986 the Catholics would outnumber the Anglicans, whose percentage had fallen below 24%. Between 1976 and 1991 the 'No religion' and 'Religion not stated' categories grew much faster than the other religions. Declaration of religious affiliation has always been voluntary in Australian censuses and in 1971, for the first time, people could indicate that they had no religion, an option taken by nearly 7% of participants.

Table 5: Anglican Population in Australia and Victoria from 1971 to 1991

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991
Anglican % in Australia	31.0%	27.7%	26.1%	23.9%	23.8%
Anglican % in Victoria	25.5%	21.7%	19.5%	17.8%	18.2%

Source: ABS Census for years 1971 to 1991



Anglican membership diminished steadily from 1971 to 1996, as shown in Table 5 but it remained a significant presence. In 1971 the Catholics, being 28.7% of the Victorian population, had already outnumbered Anglicans and reached 28.8% in 1996.

## Melbourne Diocese

The Church of England in Australia had everything to gain from the restrictive immigration laws and the WAP, which it hoped would ensure a continuous inflow of British immigrants, many of them Anglican. Only a handful of prominent Anglicans condemned the racist foundations of the policy. Tom Frame named the examples of Bishops John Moyes of Armidale and John David McKie of Geelong, who in the 1940s and 50s both denounced the WAP<sup>80</sup> in even stronger terms than Bishop Gilbert White. The Australian Church noted the condemnation of the WAP by the 1958 Lambeth Conference<sup>81</sup> and began to advocate for an end to it.<sup>82</sup> Frame commented on the selflessness of the Anglican Church in its stance on the policy.

By supporting non-British immigration after World War II, the church participated in changing the social composition that had been so conducive to the flourishing of Anglicanism in Australia. The newcomers were not middle or upper class and did not possess a natural or obvious affinity with the Church of England.<sup>83</sup>

Ethno-cultural diversity did not come to the Anglican Church in the same way as it came to the general Australian population and the Catholic Church and, while the Anglican church supported the abolition of the racially exclusive immigration practices, it was still in its best interest to attract more Anglicans from Britain.

As shown in Figure 1 below, Archbishop Frank Woods and the Rev'd Dick Pethybridge, Director of the Anglican Immigration Office from 1962 to 1968, actively participated in efforts to attract British immigrants. Back in the 1960s, when sponsorship of British immigrants was pursued in earnest in the Melbourne Diocese, Melbourne Archbishop Frank Woods noted the fact that the Melbourne clergy were responding in lukewarm fashion to new arrival notifications from the London-based Council for Commonwealth Settlement and the immigrant ship chaplains. Parish follow-ups were 'perfunctory'

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<sup>80</sup> Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," 117.

<sup>81</sup> Subsequent synods in 1961 and 1962 had the injustice of the deportation of Malay divers and the plight of Chinese orphans in Hong Kong as topics of debate. Brolly, "Social Inclusion the Key to Resisting Discrimination: Dr Freier."

<sup>82</sup> Some synods pressed for a review of the Immigration Act 1901 between 1948 and 1955. Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," 117.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

and visits to the immigrant hostels 'desultory'.<sup>84</sup> Pethybridge's Springvale parish was held up as an example to others and in 1962 Archbishop Woods made him full-time Director of the Immigration Department. In collaboration with other churches, the Department provided material and spiritual support to the large number of immigrants from Britain, the majority of whom were Anglicans. New arrivals received shipboard or airport welcoming, assistance to settle into local communities and Anglican parish churches.

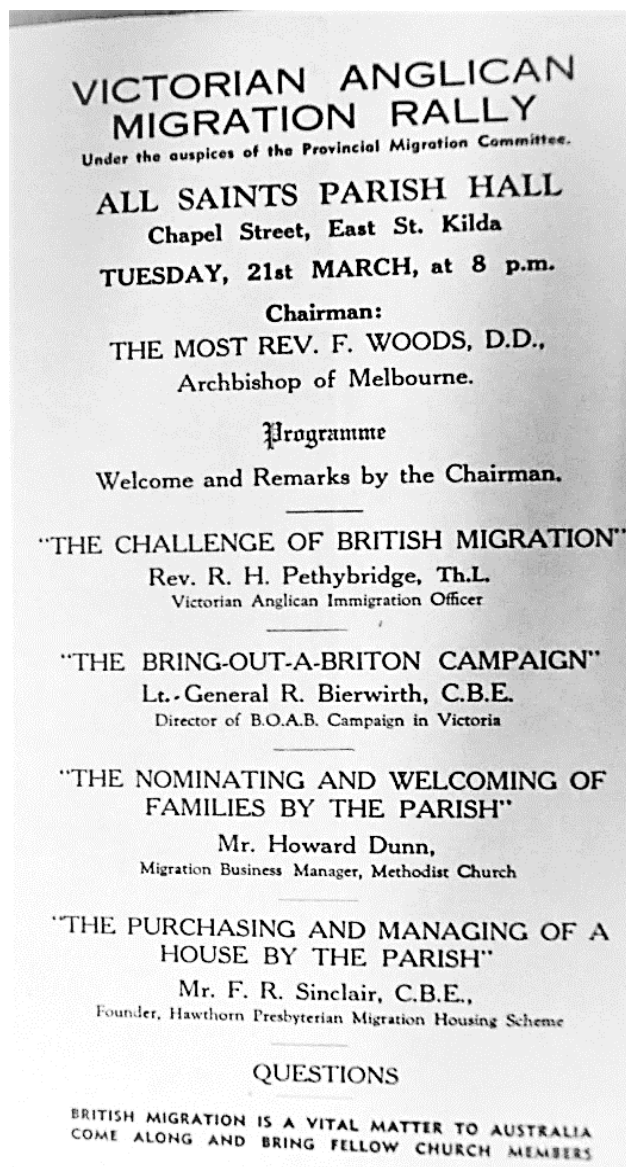


Figure 1: Invitation pamphlet to a rally for the Bring Out a Briton campaign. Ca 1963/4.

Source: Melbourne Anglican archives

<sup>84</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 265.

Pethybridge believed the church was faced with a momentous decision regarding immigration because 'failure to enter this field with vision and sacrificial service [would] mean a lost opportunity, a spiritually impoverished church and land, and a posterity which [would] hold us of this generation responsible'.<sup>85</sup> Finding the overall parish effort in sponsorship 'lamentably poor',<sup>86</sup> he urged Anglicans to offer themselves 'to assist in welcoming and befriending Anglican immigrants',<sup>87</sup> 15,000 of whom were expected to settle in Victoria in the 1964-5 financial year.<sup>88</sup> The January 1965 issue of the diocesan newspaper *The Church of England Messenger* featured an article on sponsoring and resettling a family. It referred to approximately '200 families who have come out without nomination, and who are wanting to leave immigrant hostels. Many of them are first-class church families'.<sup>89</sup> Newly-arrived Anglicans needed to be treated with due regard for their status as top-tier immigrants and desirable additions to parishes. However, although Anglicans supported the admission of British immigrants in principle, most Melbourne parishes were slow to offer their time and effort to assist them in settling in Australia.

In 1974, Pethybridge's successor Robert Lloyd signalled two important developments in his immigration work. First, he had to defend the usefulness of the department against 'the impression that the church's role in welcoming and caring for immigrants is no longer as important as it was'.<sup>90</sup> Lloyd advocated for an urgent extension of the Diocese's pastoral care of immigrants, who represented 'a field for evangelistic outreach and Christian social involvement'.<sup>91</sup> Secondly, he pointed out that an average of 70% of immigrants from the United Kingdom belonged to the Church of England, and that the next British group to arrive in the Melbourne Diocese, expected to number 6,000, would be joined by Anglicans from the USA, South and East Africa, India and Ceylon.<sup>92</sup> The arrivals from South and East Africa were more likely to be white, while most of the Ceylonese and Indians were probably part-European Burghers and Anglo-Indians respectively.<sup>93</sup> However, after 1966, some coloured immigrants with the desired skills were also admitted to Australia, and could

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<sup>85</sup> R H Pethybridge, "Immigration Chaplaincy Report to Synod."

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> "Immigration Chaplaincy Report to Synod."

<sup>88</sup> "Immigration Chaplaincy Report to Synod." (1964).

<sup>89</sup> "Immigration: 43 Anglicans Every Day," *The Church of England Messenger* (January 1965).

<sup>90</sup> Robert Lloyd, "Immigration Department Director's Report: Is There Still a Need for an Anglican Immigration Department? June," (1974).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Lloyd referred to loans being made to 'approved Eurasian Christians'. "Immigration Department Report to Synod." (1970).

have been among the recipients of Lloyd's welcome and assistance. With the gradual diversification of his constituency, he was making his first foray into cross-cultural ministry on behalf of the Diocese, but with little support from the diocesan hierarchy.<sup>94</sup> Lloyd invoked current perceptions of the church, its place in society and its moral duty to extend the same service to all immigrants.<sup>95</sup>

Lloyd's retirement in 1976 presented an opportunity to decide on the future of the Department. The Home Missions Board (HMB) was given news of a *fait accompli* by Archbishop-in-Council, made necessary by the projected deficit of \$51,443 in 1977. Referring to Lloyd's impending departure, the Estimates Committee resolved that 'in a time of expenditure increase far outweighing income potential, the immigration work of the church be phased out by the end of 1977'.<sup>96</sup> It was agreed that the HMB would reassess the necessity for and eventual nature of any future work among immigrants.

A file note<sup>97</sup> in the diocesan archives gives a valuable insight into the thinking of a least one senior member of the hierarchy about the value of immigration work. The unauthored two-page outline of 'considerations' is rich in revelations about the hierarchy's attitude to serving immigrants. Its opening lines are:

The establishment of an Immigration Department for the Diocese of Melbourne was prompted by the need to service the large numbers of British migrants emigrating to Australia throughout the fifties and sixties... However the decline in the seventies in the proportion of British migrants (now only 36% of all arrivals)<sup>98</sup> and the greater availability of government services has forced a review of services in other dioceses... The argument has been propounded (notably by Archbishop Sambell) and accepted, that migrants require our caring, not because they are migrants, but because they have a need.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Lloyd reported assisting the formation of the Australia-India Fellowship to help the integration of immigrants from India and plans to visit Yugoslavs in migrant hostels and providing information translated in Yugoslav. Robert Lloyd, "Immigration Department Report to Synod." (1971).

<sup>95</sup> "Address to the Home Missions Board," (24 September 1976). According to Lloyd his Department had responded to calls for help from 35 different countries and assisted organised ethnic groups from 13 countries. Letter to The Hon M J R MacKellar, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, August 1977. See also "Immigration Department Report to Synod." (1976).

<sup>96</sup> Item 1.6, "HMB Minutes of 24 September 1976."

<sup>97</sup> Anonymous, "Future Operations of the Immigration Department of the Diocese of Melbourne: Some Considerations" (Late 1976 - early 1977). The file note is reproduced in full at Appendix III.

<sup>98</sup> This might include temporary visitors. Permanent arrivals were well below that percentage in the late 70s. (See Chapter 5)

<sup>99</sup> Anonymous, "Future Operations of the Immigration Department of the Diocese of Melbourne: Some Considerations". (Appendix III).

This claimed that the church had fulfilled its duty 'to service the large numbers of British migrants' without questions about their degrees of neediness, yet a case now had to be made about the needs of non-British immigrants. This was before multiple government-commissioned studies had revealed the disadvantages, distress and trauma experienced by immigrants, especially the non-English-speaking, and the author was content to leave it to the government to provide migrant services. Until 1979, at least, the HMB consistently referred to the biblical duty to 'welcome the stranger'<sup>100</sup> or care for 'the stranger and the lost'<sup>101</sup> at the same time as it was disputing the neediness of all migrants and its obligation to keep the Immigration Department open, a sign of the ambivalence in both its rhetoric and its sense of responsibility to immigrants.

The decision to close the Immigration Office must be seen in the broader context of diocesan concern over membership levels and the channelling of resources towards promoting growth. In the mid-1970s the Diocese came to the realisation that the Immigration Office was no longer a viable mission both in financial and demographic terms; it was at pains to find a meaningful role to play in the expanding field of immigration. Bishop James Grant, then Chair of the HMB, overseeing the Immigration Department, would later write that 'While an effective service, the gain in active church membership was minimal',<sup>102</sup> revealing the principal criterion by which this ministry was assessed. He recalled the voyage chaplains' disappointment during the 1950s and 60s, that 'the "C of E £10 migrants" were largely unchurched. This reflected the situation in post-war Britain, but was in some contrast to those who had come in earlier schemes between the wars'.<sup>103</sup> Table 3 above showed that the British were still arriving in relatively large numbers, however, as shown in Table 6, this was not reflected in an increase in parish attendance and the expense of an Immigration Office was not justified.

The Melbourne Diocese had concerns over the failure of church membership to keep up with the Melbourne population growth. Table 6 shows participation in church life in Melbourne parishes and the Melbourne population growth for selected years from 1961 to 1991. The number of people receiving communion (communicants) is indicative of attendance by people aged 14 and over.

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<sup>100</sup> Robert Lloyd, Church of England Immigration Department report to Synod, 1972, Lloyd, "Address to the Home Missions Board."

<sup>101</sup> Home Missions Board, "Report to Synod: Migrants, Refugees and Ethnic Affairs," (1979).

<sup>102</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 266. Helen Hunter also claimed that British-born Anglicans had not done much to boost church membership in Australia. Helen Hunter, "Anglican-Buddhist Interaction: A Case Study," (Melbourne 1980), 2.

<sup>103</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 224. The reason for the low church attendance could be that in 1961, 50% of male workers born in the UK and Ireland were crafts people, process workers or labourers, a social class less closely associated with the Anglican Church than the middle and upper classes. ABS, Census of Australia, 1961.

Table 6: Anglicans in Melbourne 1961-1991

Census Year	Anglicans in Melbourne	Total Melbourne Population	%	Diocesan Year Book	Communicants	Baptisms	Sunday school enrolment/attendance	Confirmations
1961	593 469	1 911 895	31.0	1960-1	82 076	10 346	48 666/ 37 486	6063
1966	604 943	2 110 168	28.7	-	-	-	-	-
1976	548 409	2 604 036	21.1	1970-1	97 095	8654	37 339/ 26 987	4521
1981	492 450	2 578 759	19.1	1980-1	89 003	5110	10 484/ 8299	1852
1986	432 110	2 645 484	16.3	-	-	-	-	-
1991	506 834	3 022 464	16.8	1990-1	21 293*	3174	5652	1049

Source: ABS census data and Diocesan Year Books, compiled by Colin Holden, 'Parish and Organisational Life in the Diocese of Melbourne', in *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997), 84-85.

\* Holden subsequently pointed out that the size of the drop in the figure for communicants in 1991 can be explained by the change in the method of recording diocesan statistics. The earlier figures are taken from estimates, published in the diocesan yearbook, based on the number of adult Anglicans known to the clergy, whereas the figure for 1991 represents the average number of Sunday communicants.<sup>104</sup>

Although the number of Anglicans in Melbourne only fell from 590,000 to 548,000 between the 1960s and 1970s, and church attendance even grew from 82,000 to 97,000 during the same period, the Anglican percentage of Melburnians continued to decrease after 1961. The decrease, from the 1970s onwards, in the number of baptisms, Sunday School attendances compared with enrolments, and confirmations was cause for concern since the number of 'cradle Anglicans', who would ensure the future of the church, was falling at a considerable rate. The Diocesan leadership put great efforts into growth and development and, as exemplified in the closure of the Immigration Office, financial investment was an issue.

Like the State Government, during the 1950s the church thought about extension and development outside Melbourne. This rapid and vigorous expansion motivated the Diocese to focus its attention on the outer fringe of Melbourne, 'from Newport through Sunshine, Essendon, Glenroy, Coburg, Reservoir, Heidelberg, Greensborough, Balwyn, Ringwood, Burwood, Bentleigh, Cheltenham, Mentone to Frankston', instructing its clergy to begin new outreach programs.<sup>105</sup> The State's decision to sell some sites at cost price to each denomination allowed them to build churches in the new areas where, it was hoped, many new Anglican families would look for a place to worship.

In the minds of the affluent or upwardly mobile gentry, the city was often stereotyped as a place of poverty, civil disorder and depravity, and many desired to remove themselves from areas that were becoming multi-ethnic, while cherishing the Australian 'dream of owning your own home on a

<sup>104</sup> Colin Holden, "Correction", *TMA*, August 1997: 9.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

quarter acre block', in the outer suburbs.<sup>106</sup> Papantoniou's comments about the situation in Sydney also applied to Melbourne:

Migrating populations are drawn to urban centres and accessible public transport systems... Typically, demographic change was exacerbated by what became known as 'the white-flight, white fright' syndrome which further depleted the neighbourhood of nominal Anglicans.<sup>107</sup>

The continuous decline in the viability of the inner-city parishes until the 1970s was noted by Grant.<sup>108</sup> However, the subsequent gentrification of the inner-city provided an opportunity for some clergy to experiment with 'specific neighbourhood ministries',<sup>109</sup> including a ministry to Vietnamese refugees in North Richmond, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Like Grant, Holden<sup>110</sup> gave examples of a small number of 'high initiative clergy' in the inner-city, many of whom managed to function with more tension than finance or support from the diocesan leadership, and probably also the knowledge that their work would cease after their departure.<sup>111</sup> The Rev'd Peter White gave pastoral care to Spanish-speaking immigrants in Braybrook, including the development of a Spanish liturgy.<sup>112</sup> His ministry discontinued when he went to South America to do missionary work in 1987.<sup>113</sup> Likewise, the Rev'd Don Edgar, in the Parish of Footscray, while serving in Kensington in 1988-89, welcomed a group of Salvadorians into his church and held services in English and Spanish.<sup>114</sup> Another highly motivated priest who used his own initiative in ministry to a multi-ethnic and multicultural community was the Rev'd Jim Pilmer.<sup>115</sup> He was

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<sup>106</sup> Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglian Identity," 52.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>108</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 306. Hilliard also referred to the decline of Anglican churches in capital inner-city areas by the 1960s as the number of European immigrants increased their presence. Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 143.

<sup>109</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 307.

<sup>110</sup> Colin Holden, "Parish and Organisational Life in the Diocese of Melbourne," in *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997), 102-03.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> On his return to Australia, when he took over the parish of St Aidan's, Noble Park in 1995, the Revd White taught English to new immigrants from Vietnam, China, Cambodia and Palestine. See Nicole Tanner-Kennedy, *Noble Service to God and His People 1912-2012: St Aidan's Anglican Church Noble Park* (Melbourne: St Aidan's Anglican Church, 2012), 55.

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Don Edgar, 10 May 2016.

<sup>115</sup> Pilmer left parish ministry in 1995 to become a police chaplain and, in that role, he set up an inter-faith network of religious leaders to discuss ways of training police officers to deal appropriately and sensitively with members of the public from other religions. Together they produced the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of a guide book for the police. Interview with Jim Pilmer, 28 November 2016.

Assistant Curate then Priest in Charge of St Luke's North Fitzroy and St Andrew's Clifton Hill, as part of the Anglican Inner-City Ministry (AIM)<sup>116</sup> from 1972 to 1977, and also Secretary to the Community and Race Relations Commission of the Victorian Council of Churches (VCC)<sup>117</sup> from 1974 to 1976. He became 'very sharply aware of migrant issues' when he moved to North Fitzroy, and people in his small parish 'were trying to be Anglicans in an area which was primarily Yugoslav, Italian and Greek'.<sup>118</sup> He and his wife improvised by setting up a community library for Italian and Greek children, and a workshop that young people could use, for instance, to repair their bicycles. There was no question of evangelising but only to be a welcoming place for the local community.<sup>119</sup> Pilmer's creative approach was remarkable not just for the effect it had on some sections of the community but also for the fact that, not setting any goals for his ministry, the Diocese left it to him to respond to the best of his ability to a situation that baffled the church.<sup>120</sup>

Historians like Seamus O'Hanlon<sup>121</sup> and Renate Howe<sup>122</sup> have documented the major changes that took place in Melbourne from the 1950s to the 1980s, especially the de-industrialisation of the city, slum clearance, and community activism of the period. Amidst the massive outflow and inflow of people, the inner-city saw the formation of networks, solidarities and influences that interwove in many ways to establish the character of today's Melbourne. Both O'Hanlon and Howe discussed the impact of the gentrification and 'studentification' of the area alongside the continuing presence of working-class British-Australians and immigrants from Eastern Europe. Howe examined the alliances formed by residents' associations opposed to the government's slum clearance program with other community organisations, including ethnic associations, to influence the government's social policies. She described Fitzroy as a 'social laboratory' with 'a unique history as a place where many campaigns,

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<sup>116</sup> See Appendix 1 for an overview of the structures of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne.

<sup>117</sup> The World Council of Churches (WCC) was inaugurated after World War II with a membership of nearly 150 churches. It urged member churches to work for the welfare and rights of refugees, immigrants and the poor, and its Programme to Combat Racism exerted pressure to end apartheid in South Africa. The Australian Council of Churches (ACC, now the National Council of Churches in Australia or NCCA) was formed in 1946, with the VCC as a member. During the 1950s the Resettlement Department of the ACC sponsored large numbers of refugees and displaced persons, and took responsibility on behalf of the WCC to sponsor and host teenagers from Eastern Europe. Until the liberalised position on ecumenism taken by Vatican II, the members of the ACC and VCC were almost all Protestant churches and those that did not have their own immigrant and refugee assistance programs channelled their resources in that area of ministry through the ACC or VCC. The VCC has a strong record in immigrant sponsorship, advocacy and settlement assistance.

<sup>118</sup> This was so popular that the Council decided to transfer the ethnic library to North Fitzroy.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Jim Pilmer, 28 November 2016.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Seamus O'Hanlon, *City Life : The New Urban Australia* (Sydney, NSW: NewSouth Publishing, 2018).

<sup>122</sup> Howe, "New Residents - New City."



innovations and reforms for social justice arose for the first time in Australia'.<sup>123</sup> She credited the residents' associations with having in the long term 'transformed the image of the inner suburbs from the industrial slums, migrant enclaves and no-go zones of the early 1960s to a more attractive image of cosmopolitan diversity'.<sup>124</sup> The café society that established itself as part of the gentrification and studentification process created a diverse city where the literati and artists flourished, and which was amenable to multiculturalism. Ethnic leaders also found this environment congenial to their cause as they participated in inner city campaigns and were able to develop and strengthen the mission of church-based not-for profit bodies like the Centre for Urban Action (CURA) and the EMC, both of which are discussed below.

A small part of the Melbourne Anglican Diocese managed to be part of this dynamic evolution, as some individuals practising their ministry at the coal face were joining forces with other community groups serving the same constituency. By the time the Immigration Office was ending its assistance to newly-arrived British immigrants, these individuals were already engaged in a more disinterested service to non-British and non-Anglican immigrants arriving or already settled in Melbourne.

The best-known inner-city Anglican priest at the time was Fr Gerard Tucker, founder of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, (BSL) and prominent activist for the abolition of slums in the city in the 1930s.<sup>125</sup> The Brotherhood helped the homeless and unemployed, among them immigrants, to find work and accommodation, in many cases in special hostels. It was and still is the strongest supporter and financial contributor to the EMC. The BSL and AIM became aware of the increasing migrant presence among their inner-city constituents as groups, mainly from Eastern Europe, were replacing departing British-Australian residents. By the 1950s and 60s a growing number of immigrants had made the 'depressed areas' of Carlton, Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond their first home, with the aspiration to move to better areas at a later stage.<sup>126</sup> The Rev'd Michael Challen noted the presence of young people from Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy and Turkey as part of his work in the AIM in the early 1970s.<sup>127</sup> He condemned the degrading effect that welfare could have on people in need, deploring a

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 249.

<sup>125</sup> Colin Holden and Richard Trembath, *Divine Discontent : The Brotherhood of St Laurence : A History* (North Melbourne, Vic: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008).; See also John Handfield, *Friends and Brothers : Life of Gerard Kennedy Tucker, Founder of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence and Community Aid Abroad* (Flemington, Vic: Hyland House Publishing Pty Ltd, 1980).

<sup>126</sup> Michele Langfield, "Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne – the First 20 Years," *Making Multicultural Australia* (1996): 2. [http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/ecumig\\_2.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/ecumig_2.pdf) accessed 9 January 2017

<sup>127</sup> Michael B Challen, "Anglican Inner-City Ministry: Discussion Paper for Home Mission Board Meeting of 29 April 1971."

'credibility gap between the Church and Society, especially between the establishment orientated Anglican Church and "the working class"', and urged 'Christians to [put] more meaning into "being in the world but not of the world."' <sup>128</sup> Making comparisons with social injustice overseas, he named imperialism and class distinction as problems for the Melbourne Diocese, themes that would recur throughout the two decades of this study. Anglican Bishop Geoffrey Sambell also had strong sympathies for the inner-city mission, which extended to disadvantaged migrants and may have motivated him to become involved in establishing a migrant support body. <sup>129</sup>

## Female volunteers

Anglican women have traditionally found community work a fulfilling way of expressing their faith and compensating for their exclusion from leadership roles. A short history of the Anglican Mothers' Union (MU) in Melbourne, titled *Thirty Adventuring Years 1937 to 1967, the Young Members' Department of the Mothers' Union, Diocese of Melbourne*, <sup>130</sup> captured a moment when the MU's common sense exposed an embarrassing outcome, in the early 1960s, of the church's aspiration to grandeur and omnipresence. A century before, the Anglican Church in Melbourne had been confident about the growth and permanence of its physical presence and found it easy enough to replicate in Australia English forms of expressions that represented Anglican power and influence. Holden wrote in his history of the grand Gothic church of All Saints in East St Kilda, how

On 8 November 1858, as he laid the foundation stone for All Saints, Melbourne's first Anglican bishop, Charles Perry, reminded his audience that very soon, the new church would be part of a city skyline that would recall the England of 'church towers and spires'. <sup>131</sup>

The 1967 MU history recalled how an Anglican parish church that had once towered over an inner suburb of Melbourne, was dwarfed by even taller blocks of flats that had 'sprung up' around it.

People moved in, about 2000 of them. They came from Britain and other countries and other parts of Australia. ... And now, where was the Church? It used to stand above the small houses; now it stood in the shadows of the

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid. Jean Martin included among those who had already shown a commitment to migrant welfare and rights in the 1960s 'Protestant clergy with views about social responsibility that ran counter to their church's traditional priorities'. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, 36.

<sup>129</sup> Langfield, "Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne – the First 20 Years," 2.

<sup>130</sup> Mothers' Union of the Diocese of Melbourne, *Thirty Adventuring Years 1937 to 1967 of the Young Members' Department of the Mothers' Union, Diocese of Melbourne* (Melbourne: Mothers' Union, 1967).

<sup>131</sup> Colin Holden, *Saints, Sinners and Goalposts: A History of All Saints East St Kilda* (North Melbourne, Vic: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008), 3-4.

big ones. What was it going to do for these people to share in their loneliness, joys and sorrows?<sup>132</sup>

The symbolism of the church being eclipsed by the structures of the expanding and changing society was not lost on the author, and the verb to stand is apposite here in denoting an inactive presence, dumbfounded by the incursion of a population not associated with its usual constituency. Multi-storey blocks in the inner-city took in hordes of non-Anglican newcomers with varying degrees of neediness, among them Yugoslav, Greek and Italian immigrants as well as impoverished Australian-born working-class families. The MU challenged a church that relied on its mere presence to speak on its behalf to come out of its traditional role and step into action to serve this new and diverse constituency. MU leaders, Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Huggins formed the 'Friendship Groups' in 1963 to assist new immigrants in the high-rise flats of North Melbourne, Fitzroy and South Melbourne. About 100 MU members from different parishes visited the flat dwellers, helping them to settle into their country of adoption.<sup>133</sup>

One of the contributors to the MU history mentioned above enthused over the extent to which the Young Member's Department of the MU had developed a sense of responsibility to the community at large and had engaged in welfare work. The author reminded the MU that God had called people for 'special work' at desperate times in the history of Europe and England, and she hoped that the MU would rise to the challenge in present day conditions. The movement was concerned about

[the] inter-racial hatreds and mixed desire for independence but [rejoiced over the] growth of understanding and mutual help among Christians of all races, and amongst the emerging young indigenous churches in so many lands.<sup>134</sup>

This perception of a global dimension to the MU's calling as Christian women translated into direct long-term connections between branches in Australia and other countries, especially Africa. Bette Francis, past MU President of her parish branch, recalled the sense of mission within the movement. 'What did we set out to do in those years? I think our vision was one of awakening'. Apart from assisting needy mothers in society, the MU 'wanted to increase our understanding of the world, to stimulate our minds, to show that Christianity was relevant to every part of living'.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Melbourne, *Thirty Adventuring Years 1937 to 1967 of the Young Members' Department of the Mothers' Union, Diocese of Melbourne*, 12.

<sup>133</sup> Mia March 2015..

<sup>134</sup> *Thirty Adventuring Years 1937 to 1967 of the Young Members' Department of the Mothers' Union, Diocese of Melbourne*, 3.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 9-10.

The MU meetings were very informative and revealed a growing appetite for stimulating discussion. There were 'Oxford debates', and among the speakers who impressed the members most was Mrs (later Dame) Marie Frieda Breen.<sup>136</sup> Breen was a Liberal Party senator in Victoria from 1962 to 1968, a practising Anglican, feminist and committed MU member. She was also an active supporter of the move to improve relations with Asia and an advocate of the Colombo Plan<sup>137</sup> and, in 1957, she became the founding Vice-President of the Australian–Asian Association.<sup>138</sup> The Association's Host Family Scheme continued for many years through the 1960's and 1970's, until it was eventually incorporated into the Government-funded Melbourne Council for Overseas Students (MELCOS) program.<sup>139</sup> MU member Nancy Black wrote a personal testimony<sup>140</sup> of Breen's influence on her, that exemplified the link between Breen's brand of feminism, involvement in the MU and a pro-immigrant attitude. At Breen's behest, Black became Secretary to the Social Responsibilities Department of MU. 'As I wanted to save the world, I became involved in politics, joining firstly the Women's Section of the Liberal Party and, later, the Malvern South branch'.<sup>141</sup> Black joined in the visits to the flats and taught English to some of the flat dwellers.<sup>142</sup>

Since the start of the twentieth century, some Anglican women, denied fulfilling roles within the diocesan structures, had gone abroad to minister to people from non-western cultures. Outnumbering men in the missionary vocation, women exercised special leadership in delivering education and health programs aimed at women and girls in the British colonies. Being white and assumed racially superior, they gained both emancipation and experience from the leadership opportunities that eluded them at home.<sup>143</sup> The beginning of the twentieth century also witnessed a change from a blinkered missionary commitment to proselytising to one of Christian witness and

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<sup>136</sup> "Dame Marie Breen, Senator for Victoria, Lib, 1962–1968," <http://wifp.senate.gov.au/milestones/8/>. (accessed 29 October 2017)

<sup>137</sup> The Colombo Plan was established to provide humanitarian aid to country in the Asia-Pacific region. It is based in Sri Lanka.

<sup>138</sup> The purpose of the Australian-Asian Association was to establish friendship, understanding and a cordial rapport between Australians and the Asian population.

<sup>139</sup> "Biography of Dame Marie Frida Breen," <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/couchman-dame-elizabeth-may-ramsay-12359>. (accessed 15 Sep 2016).

<sup>140</sup> "Remembrances of the Wilson - Boulter Families, Hastings ... and Beyond," <https://templetonps.vic.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/sites/17/2017/08/William-Sorell-Wilson-Timeline.pdf>. (accessed 6 February 2015).

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Nancy Black was a member of the Anglican Welfare and Community Policy-Development and Advisory Committee in 1981, where cross-cultural ministry was a regular item on the agenda. (See Chapter 2).

<sup>143</sup> Anne O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers: Women and Religion in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2005), 162.

greater recognition of other cultures and Eastern faiths.<sup>144</sup> Having been exposed to foreign peoples and cultures, the women missionaries played a leading role in educating Australians about Asia and influencing public opinion on other cultures. They aimed to dispel the nineteenth-century imperial mythology of uncivilised Asian and African cultures and societies.<sup>145</sup> Their knowledge of non-Western cultures was in demand and they were called upon to act as intermediaries.<sup>146</sup> Some also relayed the opinions of people from the colonies back to Australia, notably about its discriminatory immigration policy.<sup>147</sup>

Trained as a nurse in Melbourne in the late 1910s, Maud Pethybridge spent 39 years in Kenya as an Anglican missionary. She returned to Melbourne in 1957, still professing 'her ... great love for the African people'.<sup>148</sup> Until her death in 1986, she helped overseas students in Melbourne and was at one time matron of a hostel created by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) for Asian students attending St Jude's Church in Carlton.<sup>149</sup> Victorian woman and Melbourne University graduate Mary Newell<sup>150</sup> worked in Tanganyika as an Anglican missionary and teacher for 32 years. Back in Australia in 1977, she retired in Woodend and continued to assist the CMS and Bible Society.<sup>151,152</sup> After twenty years as a CMS missionary in Africa, in 1970 Jean Meyer decided to teach English to foreign students in Melbourne. She learnt modern Greek and Turkish to better assist her students and, as a representative of the parish of St Stephen's in Richmond, she visited immigrant children in the high-rise flats and arranged outings for Turkish residents.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Margaret Allen, *Theme Missionaries Abroad*, (Australian Women's Archives Project, 2014), <http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0442b.htm>. (accessed 16 May 2018).

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> "Keith Cole and Dick Pethybridge, *Pethy, Lee and Mary, Three CMS Missionaries in East Africa* (Book Review)," <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/ojs/index.php/ADEB/article/view/908/905>. (accessed 8 Aug 2017).

<sup>149</sup> Keith Cole and Dick Pethybridge, *Pethy, Lee and Mary: Three CMS Missionaries in East Africa* (Bendigo: Keith Cole Publications, 1986), 33-34.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>151</sup> During her career, the Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika and the Diocese of Melbourne became linked. *Ibid.*, 91.636+

<sup>152</sup> Ironically, after the Second World War, when Australia was about to open its doors to large numbers of immigrants from many parts of the world, the opportunities for missionary work decreased. As colonies gained their independence from Britain, missionaries were less welcome, especially in India, China and Malaysia. Allen, *Theme Missionaries Abroad*.

<sup>153</sup> Morna Sturrock, *Fruitful Mother: St Stephen's Richmond Parish History* (Melbourne: St Stephen's Parish, 1993), 77.

A variation on the theme of general welfare to immigrant and refugee support can be found in the history of the Community of the Holy Name (CHN), an Anglican religious order in Cheltenham. This order began as the Mission to the Streets and Lanes in 1885, which Bishop Moorhouse envisaged would assist and positively influence 'the poor and fallen'.<sup>154</sup> By the 1970s the sisters became aware of needs of families, especially the non-English-speaking Turks, Egyptians, Spaniards and Greeks, in the newly built Fitzroy Housing Commission's high-rise flats. They gave whatever assistance they could, including a language-teaching and orientation scheme for the newly-arrived immigrants.<sup>155</sup> The role of the CHN had changed from one of saving the needy from their perceived immorality to serving the immigrant community without moral judgment or evangelisation.<sup>156</sup>

Women volunteers expressed and lived out their commitment to cross-cultural ministry independently of the diocesan structures, usually self-funded and free from male control. They were able to identify community needs and make decisions promptly, without the need for synodic legislation.

## Anglican students

By mid-1970s the political activism of the Student Christian Movement (SCM), which had a branch at the University of Melbourne and included Christians of all Protestant denominations, had virtually ceased. However, it merits some attention here because of the role it had played in the early protests against the WAP, the place it occupied in the broader network of social activists, and also because of some of its members' continuing links with the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne. Its original objective had been missionary but by the post-war decades it had become increasingly political. Its main aim was to address socio-political injustice and to change the world, and during the 1960s it became 'intensely experimental and politically and theologically radical'.<sup>157</sup> Hilliard placed the SCM at the centre of 'a strong liberal Christian presence'<sup>158</sup> at the University of Melbourne since the 1930s, which helped to create a perception, during the second half of the 1950s, of the Diocese

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<sup>154</sup> Shurlee Swain, "Philanthropy and Welfare in the Diocese of Melbourne," in *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997), 124.

<sup>155</sup> Sheila Smith Dunlop, *Some Suitable Women: A Study of an Anglican Religious Community for Women: Its Work with the Mission to the Streets and Lanes in Melbourne and Beyond, 1888-2013* (Northcote, Vic: Morning Star Publishing Pty. Ltd., 2016), 183.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 72-77. Lynne Strahan, *Out of the Silence: Study of a Religious Community for Women - the Community of the Holy Name* (Australia and New Zealand: Oxford University Press, 1989).

<sup>157</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (St Leonard's, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 169.

<sup>158</sup> David Hilliard, "Intellectual Life in the Diocese of Melbourne," in *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997), 39.

as 'a nursery for reformist ideas and progressive policies, a place where new thinking was not stifled'.<sup>159</sup>

The SCM in Melbourne was arguably the most radical of all branches in Australia, and it took a keen interest in issues of poverty, homelessness and social injustice in the context of the inner-city slum clearance in Melbourne. A past member described the Melbourne University campus as the 'engine room' of SCM,<sup>160</sup> while another recalled how the movement was influenced by the left as its members protested against the WAP,<sup>161</sup> which earned it the label of 'the Labor party at prayer.'<sup>162</sup> One past member of the Queensland branch believed Melbourne distinguished itself for its 'intellectual traditions ... for formulating and maintaining arguments about intellectual [and] social matters'.<sup>163</sup>

The height of the SCM's militancy was in the 1960s, during which time it was effective in denouncing the Australian government's immigration policy as well as racial injustices and oppression in the world. Many SCM students were involved in the Immigration Reform Movement, which has been credited with playing a major role in raising Australians' awareness of the injustice of the government's discriminatory immigration policy and practices,<sup>164</sup> and took part in anti-Vietnam War protests in Melbourne,<sup>165</sup> the largest in Australia.<sup>166</sup> Members of the movement welcomed the admission of international students at the University of Melbourne and supported the Colombo Plan.<sup>167</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain the extent of the Anglican involvement in the Melbourne University branch of SCM, however a few individuals who distinguished themselves by their advocacy and actions can

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> ASCM Interview with Dr Maida Coaldrake by Jane Yule, Sydney, 23 May 1996. Renate Howe and Jane Yule, *A Century of Influence: The Australian Student Christian Movement 1896-1996, Oral History Project 1996-1997* (2009).

<sup>161</sup> ASCM interview with the Rev. Dr Sandy Yule by Jane Yule, Melbourne, 11 April 1997. Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Renate Howe, *A Century of Influence: The Australian Student Christian Movement 1896-1996* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), 336.

<sup>163</sup> ASCM Interview with Jim Tulip by Jane Yule, Sydney, 11 June 1996. Howe and Yule, *Century of Influence: Oral History Project*.

<sup>164</sup> Tavan, "Role of Immigration Reform Group in Ending White Australia."

<sup>165</sup> Howe, *Century of Influence*, 336.

<sup>166</sup> National Museum Australia, "Defining Moments: Vietnam Moratoriums, 1970: Moratoriums to Protest Australian Involvement in Vietnam War," <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/vietnam-moratoriums>. (accessed 6 December 2017). Hilliard, "Intellectual Life in the Diocese of Melbourne," 41.

<sup>167</sup> Howe, *Century of Influence*, 345.

be mentioned. According to Hilliard, 'the socially reformist and ecumenical ideas of the SCM influenced another generation of young lay people. Many of them achieved positions of leadership in the church and the professions in the following decades'.<sup>168</sup> Some well-known Melbourne Anglican past SCM members did achieve prominence in the area of social justice for immigrants or support for Australian-Pacific entente; they include John Gaden, Barry Marshall, Peter Hollingworth, Jim Minchin, Frank Coaldrake, John Ball and Doug Dargaville. At least two Anglican members of Melbourne University SCM are known to have developed connections with the EMC during or after their studies, namely Hollingworth and Margaret Holmes.<sup>169</sup>

When asked to reflect about the significance of the ASCM for the mainstream churches, several past members argued that it was a forerunner for later developments in the churches.<sup>170</sup> As David Gill recalled, 'We really were out to change the world and we thought we could'.<sup>171</sup> J Tulip's view was that the church found the SCM's radical stance too 'upfront and futuristic almost, ... too incompatible', and decided to play 'a kind of waiting game', postponing changes until later.<sup>172</sup> M Tibbey regretted the lack of support for SCM from the church, at a time when the SCM was spearheading change, becoming 'Asia oriented long before the rest of the country'. He believed the church was ten years behind the SCM, and he considered the gap between the church and society in the mid-1990s to be a repeat symptom of the gap between the church and the SCM in the 1960s and 70s.<sup>173</sup>

The same duality seemed to be present in the Christian student scene as in the inner-city: some individuals were drawn to the nexus of social activism and continued to express their commitment in their own ways, without necessarily bringing about corporate reform in the church. One of the aspects of the SCM that distinguish it from other groups involving Melbourne Anglicans was the powerful but ephemeral nature of its activism. Hilliard described how the questioning of received religious teaching, including some fundamental elements of theological doctrine, was part of a 'religious turbulence [that] interacted often explosively with the debate over the Vietnam War and

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<sup>168</sup> Hilliard, "Intellectual Life in the Diocese of Melbourne," 39.

<sup>169</sup> Michele Langfield, *Espresso Bar to EMC: A Thirty-Year History of the Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne*, ed. Centre Ecumenical Migration (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University, 1996), 317.

<sup>170</sup> ASCM Interview with Lilian Wells by Jane Yule, Sydney, 28 May 1996. Howe and Yule, *Century of Influence: Oral History Project*.

<sup>171</sup> ASCM Interview with the Rev. David Gill by Jane Yule, Melbourne, 4 November 1996. Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> ASCM Interview with Jim Tulip by Jane Yule, Sydney, 11 June 1996. Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> ASCM Interview with Mandy Tibbey by Jane Yule, Sydney, 2 October 1996. Ibid.



the emergence of the counter-culture in the late 1960s.<sup>174</sup> There was a mixture of strong but in some ways directionless humanitarian passions among young people whose main strength was the ability to protest and express impatience at the lack of movement from the seats of power.

## Other Protestant Churches

The Protestant churches followed very varied patterns of ministry to immigrants, their responses to multiculturalism depending on three main factors: prior involvement in overseas missions and the proximity or presence of some of their converts in Australia, the existence of motivated individuals prepared to act alone, and the early formulation of a mission statement for multicultural ministry. Most if not all were assiduous in assisting migrants who might boost their memberships, and tried in various ways to cater for their non-English-speaking members. There are too many non-Anglican Protestant denominations to discuss here in any detail, so this section will only single out some ways in which three of them were connected to the ecumenical network of professionals and volunteers involved in immigrants' rights and welfare.

In 1971 the Fitzroy Methodist Church became the base for CURA on the initiative of a Methodist minister named Brian Howe.<sup>175</sup> CURA opposed the changes affecting the vulnerable in the inner-city, including marginalised ethnic groups, and published a journal with research on housing, the effect of freeway construction and the development of multiculturalism. It published an important study of the employment conditions of immigrant women in Melbourne industries, titled 'But I Wouldn't Want My Wife to Work Here'.<sup>176</sup> The fact that CURA was supported by the Anglican BSL and the Wesley Mission<sup>177</sup> is testament to the close connections between many organisations involved in social justice and welfare in the city of Melbourne. Another Methodist clergyman, the Rev'd Frank Byatt, joined the inaugural (Protestant-dominated) committee of the European Australian Christian Fellowship (EACF, later renamed EMC – see below) in the 1970s, as a commission of the VCC.

The Presbyterian contribution to cross-cultural ministry came via high-initiative individuals who used their church base to rally support for immigrants. One was Dr David Cox, who, as President of the Victorian Christian Youth Council, involved its members in visiting refugees and played a leading role in the establishment of the EACF. Cox was the Secretary of the EACF inaugural committee and four

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<sup>174</sup> Hilliard, "Intellectual Life in the Diocese of Melbourne," 40-41.

<sup>175</sup> Brian Howe would later become Deputy Prime Minister in the Robert Hawke government.

<sup>176</sup> Centre for Urban Research and Action, *But I Wouldn't Want My Wife to Work Here ... : A Study of Migrant Women in Melbourne Industry. Research Report for International Women's Year* (Fitzroy, Vic CURA, 1975).

<sup>177</sup> Renate Howe, "Centre for Urban Research and Action," <http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00320b.htm>. (accessed 16 March 2018).

other Presbyterians, including Dr Laszlo Benyei, were members. The Rev'd Alan Matheson, pastor in the Church of Christ, member of the WCC Human Rights Committee, and international Officer of the Australian Council of Trade Unions stood out as a defender of migrant workers' rights.

Finally, the Uniting Church deserves a mention for the fact that its founding document included a statement of commitment to diversity. In 1975, negotiations and preparations were well under way for the majority of the Methodist Church of Australasia, two-thirds of the Presbyterian Church of Australia and almost the whole Congregational Union of Australia to join forces as the Uniting Church of Australia. Unification was formalised in 1977, but by 1971 the churches concerned had already approved a text outlining the basis of the Union. It included the statement that

[The Uniting Church] believes that Christians in Australia are called to bear witness to a unity of faith and life in Christ which transcends cultural and economic, national and racial boundaries, and to this end she commits herself to seek special relationships with Churches in Asia and the Pacific.<sup>178</sup>

## Catholic Church

The Australian Catholic Church's experience with multiculturalism differed markedly from that of other Christian denominations. Its form of government, settlement history, welfare traditions and experience of mass immigration placed it in a strong position to become a multicultural church in outlook and ministry. Catholic migrants arrived in droves, among them priests equipped to minister to them in their own languages, and the Australian Church's ministry to them benefited from guidance from the highest level of the global Catholic hierarchy.

From the beginning of European settlement Irish Catholics were considered inferior and viewed with suspicion by Protestants. Although the second largest religious group, Catholics were treated with some disdain because of their Irish origins and, as Bouma explained, 'according to the dry rationalist English Protestant establishment, their irrational and superstitious nature'.<sup>179</sup> After Melbourne Catholic Archbishop Daniel Mannix's public opposition to conscription during World War I, the Protestant majority and Prime Minister Billy Hughes accused Irish Catholics of being traitors to the Empire by not helping the war effort.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Uniting Church of Australia, "Synod of Victoria and Tasmania," <https://www.victas.uca.org.au/aboutus/Documents/Basis%20of%20Union%201971%20and%201992.pdf>. https (accessed 8 April 2017).

<sup>179</sup> Gary Bouma, "Globalization and Recent Changes in the Demography of Australian Religious Groups: 1947 to 2001," *People and place*, vol. 10, no. 4 (2002), p. 17-23. ISSN 1039-4788 (2002).

<sup>180</sup> National Museum Australia, "Daniel Mannix," [http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/the\\_home\\_front/stories/daniel\\_mannix](http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/the_home_front/stories/daniel_mannix). (accessed 22 Sept 2018).

Unlike its Anglican equivalent, the Catholic Church is under one government in the person of the Pope and his global council of bishops, and in that sense, the church's self-identification as 'catholic'<sup>181</sup> emphasises the absolute nature of the Pontiff's power and the universality of its application over the global Catholic Church. This arrangement makes for consistency, expects obedience and facilitates the implementation of new policies, even if they are not universally popular.

In the 1970s, the Australian Catholic Church was discussing and implementing the resolutions from the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II, which its website describes as 'the most significant twentieth century event in the Catholic Church'.<sup>182</sup> The Council had closed under Pope Paul VI in 1965 with important resolutions designed to make the Roman Catholic Church more attuned to the modern world and more accessible to the laity. They included ecumenical dialogue with other religions and the recognition of the right to religious freedom, to name but a few. Even more importantly, in a declaration titled *Nostra Aetate*,

[The Second Vatican Ecumenical Council] called on Christians in particular to be aware of the phenomenon of migration ... and to realise the influence that emigration has on life. The Council ... called upon the laity in particular to extend their collaboration to all sectors of society [...] and thus be a "neighbour" for the migrant ... Welcoming the stranger is [...] intrinsic to the nature of the Church itself and bears witness to its fidelity to the gospel.<sup>183</sup>

Pope John XXIII boldly further averred in *Pacem in Terris* that:

Everyman has the right to liberty of movement.<sup>184</sup>  
... It is an inherent right of the human person to be able to go to any country.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> The term 'catholic' with a small 'c' means universal, and during the 1970s was sometimes contrasted with ethnic churches. The Catholic Church no longer calls itself the Roman Catholic Church. See their websites Australian Catholic Church: [www.catholicaustralia.org.au](http://www.catholicaustralia.org.au); Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne: [www.cam.org.au](http://www.cam.org.au).

<sup>182</sup> *The Ethnic Press in Australia*, ed. Abe W. Ata and Colin Ryan (Melbourne: Melbourne : Academia Press and Footprint Publications). (accessed 28 February 2018).

<sup>183</sup> Pontifical Council, "For the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People " <http://www.acmro.catholic.org.au/about/church-documents-on-migration/the-teaching-of-the-universal-church/other-vatican-documents/45-pontifical-council-for-the-pastoral-care-of-migrants-and-itinerant-people/file>. (23 April 2017).

<sup>184</sup> Paragraph 25, 'The Right to Emigrate and Immigrate', *PACEM IN TERRIS*, Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty (accessed 28 September 2016).

With the relaxation of the immigration laws, more than one million Catholics arrived in Australia from Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Germany, Croatia, Hungary and later Vietnam.<sup>186</sup> In the 1986 census the Catholic Church would finally overtake its Anglican counterpart as the largest denomination. There was a corresponding growth in the number of priests, nuns and brothers,<sup>187</sup> and the church attendance rate was 65%.<sup>188</sup> The church arranged sponsorships and visas for priests from the main source countries and built schools and churches to cater for its increased membership.<sup>189</sup> In 1976 the Australian Catholic Church was the second largest church in Australia, its membership accounting for 25.7% of the Australian population, nearly a million of whom lived in Victoria.<sup>190</sup> (Table 7)

Table 7: Membership of main Christian denominations in Australia and Victoria in 1976

1976	Anglican	Baptist	Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian
Australia	3 752 222	174 151	3 482 847	983 240	899 950
Victoria	791 853	38 591	990 458	209 138	303 496

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The Uniting Church of Australia, formed in 1977, had 712 609 members Australia wide in 1981.

Source: ABS Census 1976

Table 7 shows that Catholics outnumbered Anglicans by nearly 200,000 in Victoria, although Anglicans made up 26.7% of the national population compared to their 25.7%.<sup>191</sup>

The Catholic Church in Melbourne had been ministering to immigrants well before Vatican II. From 1945 the Catholic Rehabilitation Office in Melbourne had helped returned army personnel to find housing and employment, and from 1949, under the new name of Catholic Immigration Office (CIO), it had sponsored and helped settle refugees and displaced persons of all denominations, some of

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<sup>185</sup> Pontifical Council, "Paragraph 106, 'the Refugee's Rights, Pacem in Terris, Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty, 11 April 1963," [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_j-xxiii\\_enc\\_11041963\\_pacem.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem.html). (accessed 28 September 2016).

<sup>186</sup> 'Catholics in Australia', <https://www.catholicaustralia.com.au/church-in-australia/history> (accessed on 16 June 2015)

<sup>187</sup> *The Ethnic Press in Australia*. Between 1947 and 1971 the number of Catholics in Australia increased by 119% compared to the 68% growth in the overall Australian population. Sir Frank Little DD Archbishop of Melbourne, *The Multicultural Church of Melbourne*, Circ Paper No 30 (1982).

<sup>188</sup> Robert Edward Dixon, *The Catholics in Australia*, ed. Philip J Hughes, Religious Community Profiles (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996), 93.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>191</sup> Tricia Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996), 45-46.

them referred by the Anglican Immigration Office. With the help of the St Vincent de Paul Society (SVdP), another Catholic charitable organisation, sponsored immigrants were given assistance and support in a range of ways including English language classes, social events, interest-free travel and settlement loans. The CIO had five staff members in the early 1970s, some of them qualified social workers.<sup>192</sup> The Melbourne-based Catholic Intercultural Resource Centre (CIRC) regularly published articles on the church's cross-cultural ministry.

In November 1975 the Melbourne Archdiocese marked the thirtieth anniversary of settlement assistance with the publication of *The Harmonious Society: Christian Attitudes to Migration*<sup>193</sup> by the Archdiocesan Commission on Migration (ACoM) established three years before. This wide-ranging survey included the activities of diocesan organisations involved in ministry to immigrants and refugees, of Melbourne Catholic schools and of the experience of isolated immigrant women. The Commission began by analysing at some length the importance of terminology in the discourse on immigration. The choice of 'Harmonious Society' as a title was an explicit alternative to the idea of homogeneity,<sup>194</sup> and the publication reviewed successive Australian approaches to immigration and settlement with reference to the Bible. Harmony was thus the Catholic alternative to assimilation, which it deemed a failure, and integration, which it called unjust.<sup>195</sup>

The practice of cross-cultural ministry in the Catholic church has been examined by several authors and some painted a different picture from that presented by the hierarchy. In his honours thesis, titled 'Soup without Salt',<sup>196</sup> Fr Adrian Pittarello considered Italian Catholics' perceptions of the Australian Church. He found that, having come from a Catholic country, they understood religion as a 'social experience' and were frustrated and disappointed with the attitudes of Australian Catholics, whose religion was one among many and who saw religious practice as 'a private experience'.<sup>197</sup> Likewise, author Giuseppe Visentin argued that Italian immigrants were disappointed to find in Australia 'a Catholic Church which does not have the language, religious mentality or pastoral

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<sup>192</sup> "Melbourne Catholic Migrant and Refugee Office," <http://www.cam.org.au/mcmro/Office>. (accessed 6 April 2017).

<sup>193</sup> Catholic Church. Archdiocese of Melbourne (Vic) Diocesan Commission on Migration, *Harmonious Society: Survey of the Work of the Diocesan Commission of Migration since Its Inception in 1972* (Melbourne: Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, 1975).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>196</sup> Adrian Pittarello, *Soup without Salt : The Australian Catholic Church and the Italian Migrant : A Comparative Study in the Sociology of Religion*, 1st ed. ed. (Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Centre for Migration Studies -Sydney, 1980).

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

practices of the Catholic Church they left in Italy'.<sup>198</sup> Catholic sociologist Frank Lewins judged the Catholic Church to be a poor leader in the advocacy of ethnocultural tolerance, arguing that

[b]ehind their universal language and claims that their policy towards migrants is 'Roman' and therefore, Catholic, Australian bishops' attitudes towards migrants are largely Australian attitudes. ... their migrant policy or evolution of policy is not policy at all. Instead it is a 'blowing with the wind' of dominant opinion.<sup>199</sup>

Lewins also described the church's attitude to immigrants, at both the hierarchical and grassroots levels, as more Australian than Catholic, and he concluded that 'culture divides more than religion unites'.<sup>200</sup> Lewins found that the imperatives from Rome were applied selectively and often begrudgingly,<sup>201</sup> that European-born Catholics were met with prejudice and resentment, and expected to assimilate.<sup>202</sup> Defining the three constituent echelons of the church in terms of Rome, the Australian hierarchy and the parishes, Lewins concluded that each of these strata strove to protect its own authority and survival within the church, thus pursuing different goals and interests in the ministry to immigrants. Each level, he argued, was subject to political influence and had its own ideologies, which were not consistent with those advocated by Rome or with the actual care of immigrants.<sup>203</sup>

For all its large intake of immigrants and their accompanying priests, in addition to the clear mission statement from Rome on the care of migrants, in the mid-1970s the Catholic Church faced its own challenges, caused partly by internal politics, partly by migrants' unmet expectations, and partly by external socio-political influences on its clergy and laity. Hilliard found that there was a conservative reaction within the Catholic Church against the provisions of the Vatican over ecumenism, rapport with other faiths and a host of other changes that, in their view, sacrificed orthodoxy for ideals like pluralism and inclusiveness.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Giuseppe Visentin, *Australian Parishes and Italian Immigrants*, vol. 1 (North Fitzroy: Catholic Intercultural Resource Centre, 1979), 1.

<sup>199</sup> Frank Lewins, *Migrant Policy: The Australian Catholic Church* (CIRC Papers, No 14, 1978), 6.

<sup>200</sup> Frank W Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church: Catholic Migrants in Australia* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1978), 127.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>204</sup> David Hilliard, "Defending Orthodoxy: Some Conservative and Traditionalist Movements in Australian Christianity," in *Making History for God: Essays on Evangelism, Revival and Mission, in Honour of Stuart Piggins, Master of Robert Menzies College 1990-2004*, ed. Geoffrey R Treloar and Robert D Linder (Sydney: Robert Menzies College, 2004), 273-92.

## Ecumenical Migration Centre (EMC)

The EMC began life as the European Australian Christian Fellowship in 1961 and changed its name in 1972. For the sake of consistency, I will refer to it as the EMC throughout this discussion.

The history of the EMC up to the mid-seventies is a good illustration of the way in which the paths taken by different bodies involved in supporting immigrants moved in sometimes parallel, sometimes convergent and sometimes divergent directions. Widely considered as the place that nurtured the nascent movement of multiculturalism,<sup>205</sup> the EMC is an independent not-for-profit community organisation with none of the baggage of tradition and politics that hindered or influenced the activities of government and religious bodies involved in immigration and multiculturalism. It began in 1961, as an initiative of the Resettlement Department of the ACC and the Victorian Christian Youth Council. By the 1970s it had become the most prominent advocate of immigrant welfare and rights in Australia, and the extensive support it attracted from the public was surpassed only by the demand for its services. Being a new, independent and small organisation, it did not bear the weight of precedents or red tape and, despite the occasional friction between the strong-willed individuals at its helm, it managed to determine and sharpen its strategic direction with relatively few complications.

The EMC's first beneficiaries were non-English-speaking immigrants, especially youth, from Greece, Italy, Turkey and Yugoslavia. It had initially joined forces with the churches to help these youths adapt to the Australian lifestyle, thereby upholding the ideology of assimilation and integration, while giving assistance not available anywhere else. As it expanded its work, it began to help many categories of disadvantaged immigrants and refugees in Melbourne and became a staunch advocate for their rights and needs. Over the decades the EMC's constituency grew to include Vietnamese, Timorese, African, Central Americans and other nationalities.

Melbourne historian Michele Langfield quoted a statement in the inaugural edition of *The Navigator*, the first newsletter of the EMC, which revealed not only its Christian identity and mission but also its geographical constituency.

The EACF is made up of Christian men and women who are concerned for the migrant community of Melbourne's inner suburbs. The work is carried out by a team operating under the direction of a committee appointed by the Victorian Council of Churches. The team brings together orthodox and protestant in common service to migrant people of all persuasions.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 296.

<sup>206</sup> Langfield, *Espresso Bar* 20.

The EMC was at first controlled by and dependent on the churches, especially the Anglican Church, having become a more formal body with its own Council in 1962, and been made a commission of the VCC. Its newly formed committee was chaired by Geoffrey Sambell and included three other Anglican clergy, five Presbyterians, some clergy and some lay, to whom three Orthodox church representatives were later added. The EMC was responsible to the VCC and, on its behalf, continued to serve immigrant communities in Melbourne. It received funds from the ACC, WCC, BSL, government, and a host of other organisations and suburban parish congregations.<sup>207</sup> It was thought that it would attract more funding and respect from the churches, and secure its longevity and expansion if it remained closely associated with the church.<sup>208</sup> It was almost always church members who answered the EMC's appeals for financial and volunteer support, especially in the form of fundraising, and this kind of benevolence was often combined with Christian teaching<sup>209</sup> and fulfilling personal vocations.<sup>210</sup>

Despite its Christian origins, the heavy Christian representation in its governance in the early decades and the retention of the word 'Ecumenical' in its name, the EMC became much more than a representative or agent of the churches. It was born in the ambiance of activism of the inner-city discussed above and is unique in Australia as an organisation of its kind. It was created by a small group of highly motivated and knowledgeable individuals who knew how to form connections in the right places and spread the reach and impact of the Centre. It also attracted a large cohort of committed and talented individuals who volunteered their time and expertise to the cause. Among them were lawyers, academics,<sup>211</sup> and university students,<sup>212</sup> to name but a few.

The broad support base enjoyed by the EMC included people from different religions. Although it was originally a protestant-dominated body, the Catholic sociologist Lidio Bertelli, one of many all-rounders in the field of migrant work, founded and coordinated its Clearing House on Migration Issues (CHOMI) and was on the editorial committee of *Migration Action*, the quarterly journal of the EMC. He was also on the EMC committee of management.<sup>213</sup> Among the Melbourne Jewish

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid. In 1985 Melbourne historian Dr Andrew Markus and his colleagues donated to the EMC the royalties for their collection of essays titled *Surrender Australia*, a review of Geoffrey Blainey's claims about Asian immigration and multiculturalism. (See bibliography) *ibid.*, 99.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 69.



community, Walter Lippman,<sup>214</sup> as one-time Chair of the Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS)<sup>215</sup> and a prominent member of the Victorian Migrant Task Force established by the Whitlam government,<sup>216</sup> acted as advocate between the EMC and the government. He and his wife Lorna, who chaired the EMC Board in 1986-87, were long-term supporters of the EMC, helping it to connect with other networks like the Ethnic Communities' Councils<sup>217</sup> and the Australian Jewish Welfare Association. Michael Liffman and Renata Singer, also from a Jewish background, were both involved in the EMC's community education.<sup>218</sup> The dual strength of the EMC has been, on the one hand, its ability to work in collaboration with government and other community agencies and, on the other, its independent philosophy as it spearheaded the work of making multicultural Australia a more egalitarian and more congenial place for immigrants and refugees. The EMC gained official recognition and funding from the government, being among the first to secure a grant under the new Grant-In-Aid scheme. In 1968 it became an affiliate of the VCOSS and the GNC.

By the late 1960s, as the role and aim of the EMC began to crystallise, it looked with some critical distance at its relationship with the churches. Work began on a revised constitution and it was thought that the organisation needed a new name that better reflected the nature of its work. The Christian identity and base of the EMC had become less appropriate for the mixture of religious affiliations of the clientele and 'indeed somewhat of a barrier in work with non-Christian immigrants'.<sup>219</sup> The name Ecumenical Migration Centre was adopted and formally used from 1972.<sup>220</sup>

The EMC's role became increasingly political as it pushed for more compassionate immigrant selection processes and services that took linguistic and cultural differences into consideration, and

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<sup>214</sup> Lipmann was another individual with connections to many different organisations and participating in the sharing of ideas and influence. Andrew Markus and Margaret Taft wrote that 'His thinking was influenced by, and he in turn influenced, leaders in the welfare sector, including David Cox, Peter Hollingworth, Jean Martin, Jean McCaughey, and Merle Mitchell, to name but a few'. *Walter Lippmann, Ethnic Communities Leader: 'Creative Thinker, Dogged Worker, the Kindest of Men'*, Edited by Andrew Markus and Margaret Taft. (Melbourne: Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, Monash University, 2016), 20. Lippman used the term 'multiculturalism' in 1967, years before Grassby's famous speech of 1973. Walter Lippman, "'Whither Australian Jewry', Address to B'nai B'rithd.G.L Convention,," in *Walter Lippman, Ethnic Communities Leader: 'Creative Thinker, Dogged Worker, the Kindest of Men'*, ed. Andrew Markus and Margaret Taft (April 1967), 104. Jean McCaughey, a Presbyterian, was a former ASCM member at Melbourne University. Howe and Yule, *Century of Influence: Oral History Project*.

<sup>215</sup> Langfield, *Espresso Bar* 24.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 95,118.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*

it lobbied for immigrants' rights and participation in decisions affecting them. By the mid-1970s the EMC had asserted itself as an independent and commanding voice on ethnic affairs. Its research database CHOMI was established in 1973 'well before academic institutions and community organisations were thinking about resources on immigration, and for many years it published documents and papers containing information not available from any other source'.<sup>221</sup> Employees and volunteers went abroad to broaden the global network and bring back knowledge of migration matters and their management in Europe. The EMC was one of its kind and 'As a disseminator of knowledge about migration,' Langfield argued, 'it stood alone in Australia at the time'.<sup>222</sup> At the same time, it engaged in community education by writing articles for the religious press and helping churches to spread the message about the needs and experiences of immigrants in their neighbourhoods.

Sambell, a strong advocate within the church for the inner-city, was instrumental in the formalisation of the EMC and its incorporation as an independent body. As BSL Chair, he ensured that it continued funding for the EMC and he became Chair of the inaugural committee of EMC. The fact that Hollingworth, then Associate Director of the BSL, became Chair of the EMC in 1975 showed that the Anglican Church still played a prominent role in the governance of the organisation,<sup>223</sup> however, at that time 'the Christian message throughout the [EMC] journal ... became less obvious, ... which was indicative of the growing secularisation of the agency as a whole.'<sup>224</sup> Additionally, at the coal face the collaboration between Christian volunteers and other workers was coming under strain. The EMC reviewed its future directions from a church-based to a professional and secular organisation with increasing expertise, and there were tensions between those who expected standard rate salaries commensurate with their qualifications and those who worked out of a sense of mission. Among the causes of discord was also the feeling of alienation among some long-term supporters over the shift away from the EMC's Christian goals and ethos towards community development and awareness programs.<sup>225</sup>

As the EMC strove to become more cognisant with its research and mission field, which was itself becoming more complex, it aimed to adapt its response to the new and growing needs that it

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>222</sup> "Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne – the First 20 Years," 7.

<sup>223</sup> Ten years later 'the Chairmanship had passed from the clergy to the laity, from male to female and from Anglo to ethic'. *Espresso Bar* 120.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 44.

identified. This in turn required a continual reappraisal of its mission, strategies and self-definition, with significant implications for its relationship to the churches, on whom it had depended so heavily from the outset. For the churches associated with the EMC, the latter had represented a valued envoy in the mission field; the role of supporting immigrants and refugees had been semi-formally delegated to the EMC *qua* expert, and the churches' role was one of background support and control. As this relationship altered, the Anglican Church was left only with boasting rights for having been instrumental in the creation of the EMC, an organisation that had come to view the association as something of a hindrance.

## Conclusion

### *Diversity of challenges*

This chapter has shown that the Australian government and the large organisations discussed here encountered ethnic and cultural diversity in different circumstances, and each formulated its vision in different ways. The government invited large numbers of certain categories of immigrants as part of its population policy, the Catholic Church received and had to cater for many new members from some of these categories, the EMC chose as its mission to work for the interests of the most disadvantaged of all types of immigrants, while the Anglican Church had only tenuous connections with a relatively small number of non-British and non-Anglican migrants, its service to British immigrants having become unproductive and unnecessary. I have argued that their respective visions had their origins in different places and times, and followed different objectives.

Some of the challenges facing government, churches and the EMC were common to all of them and some unique to each. Successive Labor and Liberal governments had to manage internal tensions as well as a mixed and changeable public opinion about immigration, the EMC needed financial support from churches but reserved the right to remain independent and non religious in its policies, and the Catholic Church had to obey orders from Rome and maintain its existing structures and practices while trying to accommodate its new members. Perhaps the most difficult challenge for most was the implementation of the ideal of diversity into practice. In the words of Mauro di Nicola,<sup>226</sup> an AAP project officer, 'I was ... employed at a time of rapidly expanding activity and confusion, by an organisation which was still working out its fundamental philosophy'.<sup>227</sup> Government employees and contractors in the welfare sector faced the challenge of putting high-level principles into practice

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<sup>226</sup> Di Nicola was Migrant Welfare Liaison Officer of the Inner City Regional Council, Sydney, in June 1975. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, 50.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

within the government framework. In 1975, di Nicola, addressing colleagues from various government departments, explained how

the migrant field has exploded within the past 12 months and it is difficult, if not impossible to obtain an overview of what is happening. We meet to discover perspectives to pool our resources, to solve common problems... Some of us are very new at our jobs and some of the jobs themselves are very new.<sup>228</sup>

Di Nicola had depicted a fluid and exploratory phase in the implementation of multiculturalism, which sounded easier in principle than in practice, and over which there was no common agreement. David Cox would later echo the same view about the churches, who claimed to be committed to multiculturalism, but for whom 'the task of translating the ideology into specific practices in the life of the church [was] by no means easy'.<sup>229</sup>

### *Bridge builders and networkers*

In Melbourne there was a cross-pollination of ideas between committed and proactive community rights and welfare organisations, among them the EMC, which had strong connections with these organisations and with government agencies, while attracting a willing source of voluntary manpower and talent. Some Anglicans were drawn to that network and shared its ideals and goals. However, the EMC was the centre of gravity in the field of migrant rights and welfare and, from a corporate perspective, the Anglican Diocese was on the periphery of this centre of activism. There had been a significant Anglican contribution to the establishment of the EACF/EMC in the 1960s and the BSL continued to be its strongest financial supporter. However, the Anglican influence weakened as the EMC began to divest itself of its Christian image and to favour a secular form of socio-political advocacy; although it still depended on the financial support of the church bodies, especially the BSL, it believed that its originally Christian identity and the religious teaching that had accompanied the early voluntarism of its Christian supporters was a disincentive for non-Christian immigrants to seek its help.

### *Closure of Immigration Department*

The Melbourne Anglican Diocese understood its role in migrant service mainly as a service to British Anglicans and, by 1975, it considered this function to be redundant. For the sake of church and country, it had played its part in the Bring Out a Briton scheme, given assistance to British immigrants on arrival and summoned the parishes to embrace them as prospective members.

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>229</sup> David Cox, "The Church Confronting Multiculturalism," in *The Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. Jim Houston (Melbourne: The Board of Christian Education, 1986), 120.

However, post-war changes in immigration patterns and new government welfare programs in the 1970s led the Diocese to the conclusion that its Immigration Department was no longer viable or necessary, despite its retiring Director's plea for this work to continue. The Diocesan Council and HMB were not convinced by Lloyd that the Anglican Church had a role to play and a duty to continue assisting new immigrants of all nationalities, regardless of their religion. Insofar as he had begun to practise an early form of cross-cultural ministry by welcoming and assisting non-British and non-European immigrants from the Commonwealth among its clients, the decision by the Diocese to cease this ministry on financial grounds and on the basis that it was not converting British immigrants into parishioners, was significant. It was an indication of the leadership's pragmatic and disinterested attitude to non-British immigrants, at least in the early days of multiculturalism, because they were not the responsibility of the Anglican Church. This reflection introduces what will be a recurring theme of this thesis, which the next chapter explores in greater detail in the context of policy-making and implementation.

## **Chapter 2: Department for Migrant, Refugee and Ethnic Affairs, 1976-1984**

The decade from the mid-seventies to the mid-1980s saw the Melbourne Anglican Diocese's transition from sponsorship and settlement of British immigrants to early involvement in cross-cultural ministry. The Department for Migrant, Refugee and Ethnic Affairs (DMREA) was created in 1979, as a successor to the now defunct Immigration Department. In what was conceived as a specialist ministry, the DMREA's newly-recruited Director, Helen Hunter (née Parkes) was to keep the Diocese informed and represented on external bodies, and to delegate to parishes the task of responding appropriately to immigrants and refugees.

This chapter examines the circumstances surrounding the creation of the new department and its Director's efforts to educate and involve the whole Diocese in the practice of cross-cultural ministry. It then traces the progress and challenges of Hunter's advocacy campaign and explains the resistance from large sections of the Diocese to a centrally administered form of cross-cultural ministry. The Diocese's encounter with Indo-Chinese refugees provides the setting for a discussion of Anglican parishes' attitudes to other cultures and religions. Hunter's dealings with her colleagues, on the other hand, reveal the ambivalence within the home missions and welfare arm of the church about cross-cultural ministry. Finally, her survey of the ethnic groups in the Diocese gives an indication of the degree of inclusiveness in the Diocese. Her findings are used as a prism to highlight some constituent elements of the Anglican ethos, including its history and traditions, governance and administrative structures, socio-cultural and political identity, and, to some extent, its attitudes to race and culture.

Following the stage-setting in Chapter 1, this chapter takes further the contrast and collaboration between the Melbourne Anglican Diocese and other Melbourne organisations involved in migrant rights and welfare. It addresses my first three research questions in that it discusses the articulation of a first vision for cross-cultural ministry by an employee of the Diocese with no executive powers to effect structural change, and the difficulties she encountered in attempting to put this vision into practice. Of the four main themes discussed in the introduction, those of personalities and their visions, of challenges facing the Diocese and of the Anglican heritage will feature most prominently in this chapter.

### **Creation of DMREA**

After the closure of the Melbourne Anglican Immigration Office at the end of 1976, a sub-committee of the HMB, chaired by Grant, was formed to review the Diocese's immigration chaplaincy. By the

meeting of 27 September 1977, the sub-committee was still considering what it should recommend to the Diocesan Council. Grant recorded the committee's suggestion that 'the welfare content of the migrant work may be quite easily accommodated by an established body - e.g. Ecumenical Migration Welfare Organisation' [sic].<sup>1</sup> This would only leave the task of deciding 'how best to provide the best resource for the small appropriation the Anglican Church is providing'.<sup>2</sup> Consultations with the Uniting Church, the Resettlement Department of the ACC, and the EMC, Grant opined, might confirm that there was no need for

- ... an Anglican Department to
- (1) organise the resettlement of refugees
- (2) visit Chileans, Vietnamese, etc.
- (3) welcome Finns, Turks and Hindus
- (4) work with ethnic churches.<sup>3</sup>

Grant also wondered whether ethnic welfare organisations were already adequately looking after their community groups without the help of the Anglican Church.<sup>4</sup> What was lacking but necessary, he acknowledged, was a 'specifically Anglican component in migrant and ethnic services', in other words, 'an Anglican focus - person or group'<sup>5</sup> to educate and motivate parish interest and voluntarism in migrant and ethnic issues. This strategy looked outwards, to ensure that one or more delegates represented the church in the outside world, and downwards to parishes to promote volunteer interaction with 'Chileans, Vietnamese, etc... Finns, Turks and Hindus', who were the church's non-British other.

By 1978, however, Grant's reports were showing a distinct inclination towards continued involvement in what he now termed 'the Diocesan ministry to migrants and refugees'.<sup>6</sup> Referring to the Fraser government's intention to extend its immigration program and take in large numbers of refugees, he acknowledged that

Although the non-British component in this intake is now very much higher than when the Diocesan Department was established, it is not valid to assume that Anglicans have no interests in non-British migrants. This reduces Anglicanism to a 'tribal religion', denies the claims of compassion,

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<sup>1</sup>"HMB Minutes of 27 September 1977."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop James Grant, "Memorandum to Archbishop Robert Dann: Re Migrant and Ethnic Community Services," (9 Nov 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid..

and ignores the successful experience of E.C.U.S.A. in recruiting church members from non-British communities.<sup>7</sup>

Grant's concern to avoid sending the wrong signal and attracting criticism about exclusionism was tempered with a hint of optimism over membership gain. In another internal communication Grant also expressed the hope that the government might provide a financial incentive for 'church oriented agencies' if it followed the recommendations of the Borrie report<sup>8</sup> to increase the immigrant intake.<sup>9</sup>

In late 1978, the Melbourne Diocese duly resolved to establish the DMREA, the process for creating its Director's position suggesting that this mission was a fairly low priority. The contract presented to Hunter was almost an exact replica of the role description for the Welfare Officer (Figure 2), except that the latter was approved by Synod while the former was decided by the HMB and made no reference to the Social Questions Committee.<sup>10</sup> The absence of any cross-reference between the two descriptions made it clear that the DMREA was a specialised ministry, outside the Church's mainstream welfare program.<sup>11</sup> Also noteworthy was the omission of the term 'multiculturalism' from the title and responsibilities, three years after it became an official policy of the Australian government. At this stage, the Diocese saw 'migrant and refugee service and action' as charity, and prescribed awareness as an appreciation of needs and problems. Seen in that light, the reference to 'development at all levels of diocesan life of appropriate responses' was more suggestive of behavioural adjustments than structural or policy changes; the church wished to be told what it should do for immigrants and refugees, and not in what ways it should change to accommodate their presence.

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<sup>7</sup> ECUSA stands for the Episcopal Church of the United States of America. A J Grant, "The Diocesan Ministry to Migrants and Refugees: Possible Restructuring," (ca 1978).

<sup>8</sup> Borrie, *Population and Australia; a Demographic Analysis and Projection; First Report of the National Population Inquiry*. Discussed in Chapter 1.

<sup>9</sup> "HMB Minutes 24 September 1976."

<sup>10</sup> The Social Question Committee was created by an Act of Synod in 1952, to assist the Archbishop and the whole Diocese of Melbourne in discharging more effectively their collective and individual Christian responsibilities to society. During Archbishop David Penman's episcopate, a new act (The Social Responsibilities Committee Act 1985) extended its responsibilities to include the duty to 'Reflect on and engage in social and ethical issues which impact on the community, identify and act on opportunities for informed dialogue that build a community that values social cohesion over marginalisation, fear and difference; and stand with and give voice to the oppressed and voiceless in our community', <http://www.melbourneanglican.org.au/Search/default.aspx?k=social%20responsibilities%20committee>, (accessed 29 October 2018).

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the philosophy of mainstreaming, see Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, and Bill Cope, "W(h)ither Multiculturalism?," *Australian Society* (October 1986): 10.



Figure 2: Job Descriptions for Director DMREA, Director Diocesan Welfare Officer

<b>Job Description for Director of DMREA – late 1978<sup>12</sup></b>	<b>Job Description for Diocesan Welfare Officer – mid-1978<sup>13</sup></b>
To become familiar and keep contact with the activities and thinking of	To become familiar and keep contact with the activities and thinking of –
i. Government, community and ecumenical agencies [...] ii. Anglican agencies, societies and parishes [...]	Anglican welfare agencies and parishes; other voluntary and government agencies and programmes; the Social Questions Committee
To promote within the Diocese, and especially within its parishes, awareness and study of migration and refugee issues.	To promote within the Diocese and especially within its parishes, awareness of community needs and study of social issues.
To assist in the development at all levels of diocesan life of appropriate responses to these needs and issues: in particular, to assist parishes to develop pilot projects in migrant and refugee service and action.	To assist in the development at all levels of diocesan life of appropriate responses to these needs and issues; in particular, to assist parishes to develop pilot projects in community service and action.
For the above purposes, to enlist the resources of Anglican departments, agencies and parishes	For the above purposes, to enlist the resources of Anglican departments, agencies and parishes

Source: Diocese of Melbourne Archives

Hunter, aged 27, holding a degree in Education and a Diploma in Theology, was appointed DMREA Director in early 1979. In 1974 she had been accepted for ministry as a woman church worker, the highest rank to which women could accede in the Australian Anglican Church at the time. Her application to become a missionary had been rejected on the grounds of immaturity<sup>14</sup> and, while waiting for a more substantial posting, she worked in the AIM. She had already shown a strong interest and aptitude in cross-cultural ministry, including interfaith rapport.<sup>15</sup> She accepted the appointment of Director of the DMREA feeling ‘appallingly unprepared for this kind of work’.<sup>16</sup> Her gender and the fact that it was not a plum job played a part in the decision to offer her the role: ‘I was a woman and they didn’t know what to do with me’.<sup>17</sup> The position had been declined by four or five (male) clergy and, as Hunter recalled, ‘I think I was the last resort. ... I was told this was a full-

<sup>12</sup> "Immigration Department Report to Synod 1979."

<sup>13</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 309.

<sup>14</sup> Hunter was told she laughed too much. Interview with Helen Hunter, 31 January 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Hunter’s interfaith activities included attending the mosque in Preston ‘to learn more’, teaching religious education to mixed classrooms at the local multi-ethnic school and visiting immigrants in nearby high-rise flats, accompanied by a volunteer Vietnamese interpreter. Genevieve Cutler, "North Richmond Sandwich," See September 1978, 16. She had participated in the Christian Conference of Asia’s congress in Malaysia, and attended a course on living with people of other faiths, conducted by the Rev’d (later Archbishop) David Penman. At the time he was the Principal of St Andrew’s Hall, the institution responsible for training Anglican ordinands for overseas mission. Interview with H Hunter 31 January 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Email from Hunter to the author, 13 May 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Helen Hunter 31 January 2015.

time position commensurate [with] a clergyman's appointment.<sup>18</sup> Hunter later had to remind the church bureaucracy that it was not 95% but 100% of the clergy stipends that she had been promised.<sup>19</sup>

Grant chaired the management committee that oversaw the work of the DMREA, and its 15 members included several clergy with intercultural professional experience, one of them Iranian-born and one Mauritian-born, a judge and other lay members specialising in welfare. Since Hunter's role description contained no overall vision, it was sufficiently vague for her to decide on her own interpretation and implementation.<sup>20</sup>

## Diocesan Welfare

The reasoning behind the brief to both the DMREA Director and the Diocesan Welfare Officer to familiarise themselves with and educate the Diocese about the activities and thinking of government and other agencies was as much for the Diocese's own benefit and reassurance as it was for the intended beneficiaries of the two types of service. This concern needs to be understood in the broader context of the developments in welfare after World War II.

During his term as Executive Director of the Melbourne-based Anglican family and child welfare Mission of St James and St John, Alan Nichols commented on the fact that, although the benevolent welfare work became professionalised between 1950 and 1970, and the Whitlam years raised the ephemeral hope of redistribution of wealth, the church had been 'rather a "sleeping partner"... unaware of changes occurring in the social security system, in marriage patterns, in mores and in the professional nature of social welfare'.<sup>21</sup> In Nichols' view this created 'a significant gap in understanding' between the churches and welfare bodies, including the church-based ones.<sup>22</sup>

The church's distance from and ignorance of social developments necessarily led to doubts about the way to relate to them. The minutes of a 1980 meeting of Diocesan welfare agencies, including the DMREA, recorded how

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Helen Hunter, 31 January 2015; "HMB Minutes of 21 October 1980."

<sup>20</sup> Helen Hunter wrote in her Report to Synod for 1980: 'The job specification for this Department to date has been very broad. The number of interesting and productive issues being referred to this Department by Anglicans is growing. The Committee and Officer-in-Charge of this Department intend to consolidate policy and plan future areas of development in the near future'. Helen Hunter, "DMREA Report to Synod 1980."

<sup>21</sup> Alan Nichols, "From Charities to Social Justice," in *The Shape of Belief: Christianity in Australia Today*, ed. Dorothy Harris, Douglas Hynd, and David Millikan (Homebush West, NSW: Lancer Books, 1982), 142.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

[a]s a member of the church and at the same time a professional in the field, Ray [Cleary] felt it was becoming more and more difficult for the church to identify itself as being unique or having some kind of specialist role alongside the government Departments and large private welfare agencies. ...We do have a role and we should be consistently and continually looking at what that role is. The primary expression of that role needs to be in the life of the local parish.<sup>23</sup>

The Diocese had become uncertain of its role in society and the communication of that role to parishes, who were supposed to embody it in their interactions with their surrounding communities. A year after the role description for a Diocesan Welfare Officer was approved by Synod, Archdeacon David Chambers was entrusted with a consultancy on welfare.<sup>24</sup> His report for the period 1979 to 1982 revealed long-standing weaknesses in the Diocese's relationship with its own welfare agencies. Several problems identified by Chambers were relevant to cross-cultural ministry. It was within the Anglican ethos to leave welfare to the agencies, who took care of it on the Church's behalf,<sup>25</sup> rather than practise it at the parish level, but now the Diocese was losing control of its welfare agencies to government, the new source of funds and rules.<sup>26</sup> Social welfare had become 'a specialised area of work with little relevance to the church's total mission, or local parish situation'.<sup>27</sup> The agencies had no connection with the Diocesan Social Questions Committee, which was concerned with social justice issues.<sup>28</sup> In 1982, the Melbourne Diocese was told by its consultant that it had failed to inculcate a spirit of community and welfare involvement of any kind in its parishes.

It should be noted, however, that despite the absence of any cross-reference between the job descriptions of the Diocesan Welfare Officer and the DMREA Director, in practice there was an overlap since Chambers had discussions with two representatives of the EMC to discuss migrant support<sup>29</sup> and devoted a page in his report to the work of a parish in resettling an Indo-Chinese

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<sup>23</sup> "AWCPDAC Minutes of 29 July 1980." In 1980 Ray Cleary was an Anglican layman employed as Executive Director of Child Care Services for the Uniting Church and Copelen Street Family Centre in South Yarra.

<sup>24</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 309.

<sup>25</sup> David H Chambers, "Report of Melbourne Diocese Consultant in Welfare and Communication," (Melbourne: Melbourne Anglican Diocese, 1982), 2.

<sup>26</sup> Canon Ian Ellis, Director of St John's Homes for Boys and Girls, was reported as remarking that 'welfare agencies which were set up to orbit around the Church have been pulled across into orbit around the government departments'. 'Background on Legal Incorporation for 1983 Synod, Incorporation of Anglican Welfare Agencies file, Melbourne Diocese Archives. Cited bin Swain, "Philanthropy and Welfare in the Diocese of Melbourne," 134.

<sup>27</sup> Chambers, "Report of Melbourne Diocese Consultant in Welfare and Communication," 12.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The EMC consultants were Di Batzias and Michael Liffman. Ibid., 18.

refugee family.<sup>30</sup> Some field workers thus disproved the diocesan wisdom of keeping cross-cultural ministry separate from general welfare issues.

The welfare sector had become crowded, highly regulated and competitive, making it difficult for the church to keep or find its place within it.<sup>31</sup> However, the government's promotion of and incentives for community development<sup>32</sup> also inspired the church to persuade parishes to act on its behalf in serving immigrants and refugees in their local environments. This decision had its own implications for parishes and their priests, whose willingness and aptitude for the task are discussed later in this chapter.

## **Representation and influence: Diocese's relationship with the EMC**

It was a concern for the Diocese that its welfare agencies had stopped thinking of themselves as representatives of the church. The Anglican Church used to think it represented and spoke for the majority of Australians<sup>33</sup> and now its own delegates in society were distancing themselves from it. In 1976-77 discussions of the closure of the old Immigration Department had identified the need for 'what might broadly be termed Representational Services',<sup>34</sup> noting that the Sydney Diocese migrant services included 'representing the church on migration organisations'.<sup>35</sup> In the Home Missions, the Anglican presence and influence were exemplified by its representatives on the Board of the EMC,<sup>36</sup> other bodies like the Victorian Inter-Church Migration Committee (VICMC)<sup>37</sup> and the Commission on Community and Race Relations of the VCC.<sup>38</sup> The Melbourne Diocese's relationship with the EMC illustrates how short the steps could be from representation to delegation to outsourcing. Leaving it

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 48. St Stephen's Belmont helped resettle refugees from SE Asia.

<sup>31</sup> Nichols, "From Charities to Social Justice," 142.

<sup>32</sup> Oppenheimer, "Volunteering: The Australian Experience; Public Lecture for the National Archives of Australia". (accessed 1 April 2019).

<sup>33</sup> Hunter, "Anglican-Buddhist Interaction: A Case Study," 12; Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," 257; Gary Bouma, "The Changing Australian Religious Mosaic: Implications for Anglicans" *St Mark's Review* 107 (1981).

<sup>34</sup> Anonymous, "Future Operations of the Immigration Department of the Diocese of Melbourne: Some Considerations".

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Langfield, *Espresso Bar* 5,6.

<sup>37</sup> Helen Hunter, "DMREA Report to Synod 1982," (Melbourne: Anglican Diocese). David Cox, "Victorian Churches Come Together around Immigration," *Migration Action* Vol IV, no. 3 (1980): 45.

<sup>38</sup> Helen Hunter, "DMREA Report to Synod 1983," (Melbourne: Anglican Diocese). Hunter became Chair of Victorian InterChurch Immigration Committee (VICIC) and the VCC Commission on Community and Race Relations Department in 1983. Ibid. The VICIC was an ecumenical association whose membership was broader than the more mainstream VCC and included some ethnic Churches.

to the experts was a convenient way to separate core business from auxiliary community service. Not only was the Diocese strongly represented on the EMC Board, but it also saw the EMC as its representative in Melbourne society. In November 1976, Hollingworth, as the EMC Board Chairman, wrote to Grant asking whether

... there might be any prospect of providing a direct grant to our work, which should be seen as part of the overall mission of the church. A further question which could be considered in the future is whether the Ecumenical Migration Centre might eventually become the main focus of the churches' ecumenical endeavours in relation to ethnic affairs.<sup>39</sup>

The anonymous departmental file note discussed in Chapter 1 acknowledged and supported this request for a grant and emphasised the relationship between the Diocese and the EMC. It stated that the Diocese already 'participate[d] indirectly' in migrant welfare through the EMC, 'established by Archbishop Sambell ... and now headed by the Reverend Peter Hollingworth'.<sup>40</sup> EMC was deftly being claimed as an Anglican creation headed by an Anglican clergyman, and mutual representation meant the EMC acting as the Church's envoy in the community, with the Church strongly represented on its governing body.<sup>41</sup> The suggestion that the EMC might become 'the main focus' could preclude the need to support other ecumenical bodies on ethnic affairs. When this comment is examined in the context of closing the old Immigration Department, it must be assumed that the outsourcing of responsibility to the EMC, coupled with financial assistance, was envisaged at least for a time, as the only involvement in cross-cultural ministry.

The EMC, as discussed in Chapter 1, was keen to distance itself from the churches' influence despite its reliance on church funding. It needed to remain philosophically independent because of its role as government watchdog and critic of other bodies engaged in migrant affairs and, in that context, there was some ambivalence in its relationship with the Diocese through Helen Hunter. The latter enjoyed the full support and assistance of the EMC in her work at the same time as the Diocese

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<sup>39</sup> Letter from the Rev'd P Hollingworth to Bp J Grant, 19 November 1976. Peter Hollingworth's title changed from the Reverend to Bishop when he was consecrated Bishop of the Inner-City in 1985.

<sup>40</sup> Contrary to anonymous writer's claim, Sambell had been instrumental in helping the EACF gain official status but was not solely responsible for its establishment. In her history of the EMC Michele Langfield explained that 'the emergence of the EACF can be seen as part of a broad movement in the Church which, over a considerable period, had seen the formation of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, the Resettlement Department of the Australian Council of Churches, the Centre for Urban Research and Action and many other new initiatives in community development and social welfare'. Langfield, *Espresso Bar* 1. Bishop Geoffrey Sambell, Director of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, was the Convenor when the EACF was made a commission of the VCC in March 1962. Ibid., 5.

<sup>41</sup> After the incorporation of the EACF in 1962, Bishop Geoffrey Sambell was Chair of the 12-member Board, which included three Anglican priests. Ibid., 4,5. Peter Hollingworth was Board Chair from 1975 to 1978. Ibid., 176.

faced its criticism. In June 1981, Diana Batzias,<sup>42</sup> a social worker and senior staffer at the EMC, attended a meeting of the Anglican Welfare and Community Policy Development and Advisory Committee (AWCPDAC) to discuss the work of the DMREA. Two aspects of that special meeting marked a shift in the discourse about the Diocese's cross-cultural ministry. First, the tabled papers included an extended version of the DMREA's original mandate. Figure 3 compares Hunter's original job description with the departmental brief presented at the meeting with Batzias in attendance.

Figure 3: Job Description for DMREA Director 1978 and 1981

Excerpt from Job Description for Director of DMREA – late 1978 <sup>43</sup>	Goals of DMREA as at June 1981 <sup>44</sup>
To become familiar and keep contact with the activities and thinking of	a) to promote within the Anglican diocese and especially in the parishes, the study of migration and refugee <u>and settlement issues</u>
i. Government, community and ecumenical agencies [...]	
ii. Anglican agencies, societies and parishes [...]	b) to assist in the development at all levels of Diocesan life of appropriate responses to these needs and issues: in particular to assist parishes to develop pilot projects in migrant and refugee service <u>and undertake actions on issues pertaining to social justice as appropriate</u>
To promote within the Diocese, and especially within its parishes, awareness and study of migration and refugee issues.	
To assist in the development at all levels of diocesan life of appropriate responses to these needs and issues: in particular, to assist parishes to develop pilot projects in migrant and refugee service and action.	c) <u>to promote understanding and communication between the Anglican Church and other religious groups</u>
	d) to become familiar and keep contact with the activities and thinking of Government, community and ecumenical agencies, working in the areas of Migrants, Refugees and Ethnic Affairs.

The emphases on newly introduced duties are mine.  
Source: Melbourne Diocese Archives.

The references to settlement issues and liaison with other religions referred to recent events that will be discussed below, but it should be noted here that understanding of and communication with other faiths constituted a major step not initially envisaged by the Diocese for the DMREA. Likewise, the addition of 'undertaking actions on issues pertaining to social justice' was a very significant step from simple benevolent assistance to a political fight for equity and fairness. A year later the same message would be delivered to the Diocese from within, when Alan Nichols wrote about

'[a] new view of biblical justice ... beginning to bring about a revolution in the church's social welfare programmes. No longer are church agencies content simply to provide charity for the poor and powerless; they are

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of Batzias' values and her own Anglican affiliation, see *Empowering Social Workers: Virtuous Practitioners*, (Springer, 2017), 45.

<sup>43</sup> "Immigration Department Report to Synod 1979."

<sup>44</sup> Item 1.3, "AWCPDAC Minutes of 30 June 1981."

looking seriously at the social and political structures which create or perpetuate unemployment and other symptoms of injustice'.<sup>45</sup>

The church's welfare agencies, staffed by professional social workers, were moving with the times even if the Diocese was not. A similar situation existed in government where, according to Jean Martin, AAP project officers understood the lived realities of immigrants' needs and, their extensive practical experience and nationwide networks were 'of unprecedented import'.<sup>46</sup> Like the Diocese, the secular employing institutions that developed the policies knew less about the social realities than their employees dealing with those realities.

At the AWCPDAC meeting, Batzias asked whether it was envisaged that the DMREA would continue in isolation as a specialist ministry or aspire to its own closure within a decade 'because it ha[d] done the job of consciousness raising throughout the diocese'.<sup>47</sup> Describing DMREA as 'a separatist [agency], as it deal[t] with all the areas of migrants, refugees and ethnic affairs within a large structure',<sup>48</sup> Batzias explained that the EMC had moved away from 'an outright assimilationist approach', whereby one body with limited resources catered for every kind of migrant need, to a recognition of the need for ethnic workers with a mandate to participate in policy and structural changes and in the distribution of resources within existing public services. This would imply incorporating cross-cultural ministry in every aspect of diocesan life as well as enabling ethnic participation in the church's decisions on policy and structures, an area that Hunter would later investigate. Batzias had brought into the discussion about the Diocese's cross-cultural ministry an issue that was being debated in the broader discourse about migrant services. In the same period Jean Martin was reviewing the options taken by various organisations in their structural responses to migrants' needs, ranging from remaining unchanged, to adapting their structures to migrant needs, to hiring ethnic staff to provide a service to migrants within existing structures.<sup>49</sup> For the time being, the HMB was not disposed to envisage the employment of numerous ethnic workers or make structural changes to accommodate its ethnic constituents' needs, although it denied that the Diocese was assimilationist.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Nichols, "From Charities to Social Justice," 143.

<sup>46</sup> Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Item 1.3, "AWCPDAC Minutes of 30 June 1981." It is significant that these issues should have been raised at a meeting where Batzias was in attendance, possibly to strengthen Hunter's position vis-à-vis the Committee.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *The Migrant Presence*, 58; "AWCPDAC Minutes of 30 June 1981." Chambers, "Report of Melbourne Diocese Consultant in Welfare and Communication," 18.

<sup>50</sup> "AWCPDAC Minutes of 30 June 1981."

Batzias' empowering influence on Hunter should not be underestimated. Batzias had been very active in the EMC's review and application of the 1978 Galbally Report,<sup>51</sup> and Hunter's explicit intention to apply in the church setting its principles of equality of opportunity and access, of culture maintenance and of ethnic consultation<sup>52</sup> was a clear example of the inspiration she derived from the thinking of government and community agencies, as per her job description

## **Indo-Asian refugees: CRSS, Buddha and interfaith relations**

The arrival of large numbers of Indo-Asian refugees from the late 1970s prompted the DMREA to concentrate on them as the first subject of its medium to long-term parish education and volunteer program.<sup>53</sup> The first major encounter between the Diocese and refugees from very different cultures, socio-economic and political backgrounds, most with little or no knowledge of English, would be a test of the preparedness of the Melbourne Anglican community to 'welcome strangers'. Questions would be asked not just about whether but how to interact with them.

In 1979 the Commonwealth Government created the CRSS to settle selected refugees directly into the community within a week of arrival at a migrant centre. The target was to settle 2,000 refugees from the 14,000 allowed into Australia that year.<sup>54</sup> In December 1980, the Melbourne Diocese accepted an invitation<sup>55</sup> from Ian Macphree, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, to take part in the CRSS.<sup>56</sup> This would be an ecumenical collaboration with the CIO, the Resettlement Department of the ACC and representatives of other churches who formed part of the Victorian Inter-Church Immigration Committee (VCIC).<sup>57</sup> Barbara Chin, a qualified social worker, was employed as DMREA part-time Settlement Coordinator assisting Helen Hunter, and working directly with the parishes participating in the scheme.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Langfield, *Espresso Bar* 65.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Helen Hunter 31 January 2015. Hunter successfully applied for funding under one of the Galbally recommendations to organise the clergy training program 'Living Together in the Eighties'. Helen Hunter, "DMREA Report to Synod 1981."

<sup>53</sup> "DMREA Report to Synod 1979."

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Chin, "An Evaluation of Settlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees under the C.R.S.S. By Some Anglican Parishes in Melbourne," (Melbourne: Anglican Diocese, 1983), 2.

<sup>55</sup> Hunter, "DMREA Report to Synod 1980."

<sup>56</sup> Letter from Minister Ian Macphree, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, to Bishop James Grant, 1 December 1980. Melbourne Diocese Archives.

<sup>57</sup> *Garden*, 101.

<sup>58</sup> Chin, "An Evaluation of Settlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees," 4.



The DMREA's appeal to assist the Indo-Chinese refugees initially met with a weak response from parishes. Table 8, reproduced from a CRSS progress report, shows statistics for the first year of refugee resettlement in Victoria by sponsorship groups.

Table 8: Refugee Arrivals and CRSS sponsorship – November 1979 to 30 November 1982

Type of Sponsor Group	Metropolitan Families - Persons	Country Families - Persons	Total Families - Persons
Ecumenical	12 - 60	73 - 317	85 - 377
Catholic	31 - 156	13 - 65	44 - 221
Uniting	13 - 60	2 - 13	15 - 73
Anglican	8 - 35	2 - 13	10 - 48
Baptist	3 - 21		3 - 21
Reformed	3 - 11	1 - 4	4 - 15
Ethnic	28 - 75	2 - 6	30 - 81
Individual/Community	6 - 23	3 - 15	9 - 38
TOTALS	104 - 441	96 - 433	200 - 874

Source: CRSS Victoria gml/4628c ca. December 1982. Melbourne Anglican archives.

The government figures in Table 8<sup>59</sup> show that within one year of joining the scheme only ten families, consisting of 48 individuals, were settled by support groups from Anglican churches. Compared to the Uniting, and especially the Catholic Churches, this seemed a pale effort, surpassing the achievement of community individuals and groups by only ten persons. Of the 230 parishes in the Diocese, eight<sup>60</sup> had participated in the CRSS, leading Hunter to remark that it was 'very difficult to get parishioners out of the "holy huddle" to become involved'.<sup>61</sup> Chin was also disappointed that, after their first experience of settling a family, some of the parishes ceased their involvement.<sup>62</sup> Administrative blunders on the part of the authorities and cultural differences sometimes caused frustration and disappointment among parish-based support groups, leaving both volunteering

<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that the government figures went back to November 1979, whereas the Anglican Church was not invited to join the Scheme until December 1980. This might have inflated the record for other participants who began a year earlier.

<sup>60</sup> The parishes of West Heidelberg, East Burwood, Boronia, Rosanna, Glen Waverley, Kilsyth each resettled one family while the parishes of Blackburn and All Saints, Newtown, each resettled two families. 'Refugee Arrivals and CRSS sponsorship – November 1979 to 31 November 1982, CRSS Victoria gml/4628c', ca. December 1982, Diocesan archives. This list compiled by the government's CRSS administration corresponds to a list in the DMREA Minutes of the Meeting of 8 October 1981.

<sup>61</sup> "Inter-Agency Meeting Minutes 30 June 1981," (1981).

<sup>62</sup> Chin, "An Evaluation of Settlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees," 12.

parishioners and resettled individuals with unmet expectations.<sup>63</sup> However, in her 17-page report titled 'An Evaluation of Settlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees' Chin declared the Diocese's participation in the CRSS a promising start to collaboration with government, which could lead to a contribution to the government's overall policy development in refugee resettlement.<sup>64</sup> This was an example of DMREA sensing progress and empowerment from its broader professional network, despite failing to gain traction within the Diocese itself.

It is difficult to make generalisations about Anglican support for refugees because of the discrepancy between government and DMREA records, and the inconsistencies and contradictions in parishioners' behaviour patterns.<sup>65</sup> The goodwill of those participating in the CRSS was attested by their willingness to undertake a six-month preparation course with reading requirements, followed by their gradual introduction to the families they intended to sponsor, interspersed with debriefing sessions. Support groups who volunteered to participate in the scheme agreed to offer immediate accommodation, help with social security benefits application, with registration at Commonwealth Employment Service Offices, and with English language class enrolment and attendance. In the early stages support groups also guided the refugees' first steps with shopping, public transport and health facilities, and helped them to connect with their own ethnic communities. This intense level of assistance was expected to decrease after 3 to 6 months, or later if necessary.<sup>66</sup>

It also appears that many more Anglicans helped refugees in a variety of ways but without committing to the CRSS. Chin claimed that between 1982 and 1985, some Anglican parishes had been involved 'either alone or ecumenically' in the resettlement of 36 families made up of about 220 individuals,<sup>67</sup> a much larger number than that recorded by the government for the previous two years. There are no details of the proportion and intensity of the Anglican participation and it is possible that minor contributions were counted alongside more generous ones. An undated DMREA

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 5-16.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>65</sup> Hunter sometimes found it hard to fathom 'the true motivation of Christian people'. Helen Hunter, "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia: The Establishment and Growth of Buddhism among the Indo-Asian Refugee Community Ex-Vietnam, in Melbourne, 1975-1982," (Melbourne: Anglican Diocese, ca 1983), 37.

<sup>66</sup> Chin, "An Evaluation of Settlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees," 5.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 3.

information leaflet listed sixteen parish initiatives,<sup>68</sup> including sponsorship, settlement, English classes and sewing classes, hosting and open nights for refugees. Hunter reported to Synod at the end of 1985 that, in July of that year, refugees originating from Ethiopia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Iran and Sri Lanka had been resettled by more than 20 Anglican parishes. One deanery had cared for over 200 people and assisted in their settlement in various ways, and one parish alone had helped 11 families in the same way. A residential unit had also been established in the western suburbs for homeless migrant youths.<sup>69</sup>

Parishes, schools and other diocesan organisations usually responded generously to appeals for funds for refugee settlement. The Diocese launched three fundraising initiatives and was pleasantly surprised by the response it attracted from parishes.<sup>70</sup> The Migrants and Refugee Settlement Fund, established in 1983, raised nearly \$35,000 in its first two years, which helped to settle nearly 200 people under CRSS in 1983 alone.<sup>71</sup> The next section examines the apparent inconsistency in lay Anglicans' generosity with their time, effort and money, and what this might reveal about the reception of church teaching.

In Hunter's view, the church's lack of understanding of the experience of migration dated back to the time of mass British immigration. The Diocesan hierarchy had seen no reason to organise an orientation process for parishes volunteering to sponsor and settle British immigrants because it was assumed that the British would assimilate easily into the church and society,<sup>72</sup> a form of reasoning dating back to the WAP. The church's obliviousness to their cultural differences had marred the parish experiences of sponsorship and settlement, and now some of the older clergy, remembering the difficult and unrewarding experience of resettling British immigrants, '[would] have nothing to

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<sup>68</sup> The parishes of Altona, Box Hill South, Mitcham, Glen Waverley, Ascot Vale, Vermont, Beaumaris, West Heidelberg, Geelong, Northcote, Wiltona,, Templestowe and Bulleen, Box Hill North, Essendon, Surrey Hills and the Mothers' Union were named among the participants, with a statement that 'this list is by no means a full compilation of activities undertaken within the Diocese'. Leaflet ca 1982/3, 'Anglican Response to IndoChinese Refugees'. Helen Hunter was named as the contact person for further information. David Chambers also reported on the parish of St Stephen in Belmont taking part in an ecumenical initiative to help resettle 12 Indo-Chinese families and three single people. P48

<sup>69</sup> Helen Hunter, "DMM Report to Synod 1985."

<sup>70</sup> "DMM Report to Synod 1987."?

<sup>71</sup> "DMREA Report to Synod 1983."

<sup>72</sup> "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia," 44.

do with Immigration and Ethnic Affairs'.<sup>73</sup> This was a case of past assumptions and practices in the Diocese unintentionally disadvantaging the Indo-Chinese refugees.

The church's advocacy to and influence over parishes has been the subject of discussion from within its own ranks. Frame argued that after World War II, the Anglican Church encouraged private religion and morality within the safe confines of family life and parish membership, and was more concerned with issues like divorce and alcohol consumption than with government policies on defence, foreign relations or immigration.<sup>74</sup> This might explain why Melbourne parishioners responded with lukewarm enthusiasm to the invitation to participate in the CRSS, however, the issue could also be the nature of the church's moral authority over its faithful. While giving credit to the churches for their advocacy of humanitarianism and social justice, especially in their denouncement of the WAP, in 1971 Hans Mol observed that 'this does not mean that the churches have been able to affect the opinions of their following. We ... know that in Protestantism in particular, even the active church-goer is anything but inclined to have his opinions and attitudes determined by his religious organisations'.<sup>75</sup> The church could advocate but not always rally support for social causes.

The Rev'd Alan Cadwallader, Anglican priest and theologian, addressed the issue of authority and influence in the context of the triangular relationship between the church leadership, ordinary members and society at large.<sup>76</sup> He described ecclesial authority from the perspective of the laity, or church 'volunteers', as an informal and diffuse property, closer to the notion of rights and choices, that included the ability to resist or ignore directives from formally appointed bodies or individuals.

The ordinary 'volunteer' in its membership neither thinks nor acts necessarily as the official church leadership and its theological script writers 'resolve'<sup>77</sup>...

The *vox/lex populi* is a significant component of the power and authority of the church ...[and] is as much informed by the ideas operating within the society in which that voice is produced as it is by ideas that emanate from the dragomen of scripture and tradition.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 45. For a discussion of the experiences of British immigrants, see Joyson, "Post-World War Two British Migration to Australia: 'The Most Pampered and Protected of the Intake'?"

<sup>74</sup> Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," 122-23.

<sup>75</sup> Mol, *Religion in Australia*, 67.

<sup>76</sup> Alan Cadwallader, "Authority and Power in a Voluntarist Church," in *'Wonderful and Confessedly Strange': Australian Essays in Anglican Ecclesiology*, ed. Bruce Kaye (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2006), 273.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 272.

Cadwallader added that '[v]oluntarist activity [among Australian Anglicans] is not necessarily confined to the church; indeed such activity may well become negligible'.<sup>79</sup> Also commenting on the degrees of independent mindedness among Anglicans, Hilliard argued that 'Anglicans were always more inclined to throw their efforts into community-based rather than specifically church organisations',<sup>80</sup> as attested by the NCLS statistics for 1991 and 1996. In both surveys, more than twice as many Anglicans reported involvement in community activities as in parish initiatives. (Table 9).

Table 9 Nationwide percentages involved in wider community through community-based and parish-based initiatives by denomination in 1996, with comparisons to 1991.

		Anglican	Lutheran	Presbyterian	Seventh Day Adventist	Uniting
1996	Parish-based	17	18	18	28	25
1991		17.4	18.1	18.6	32.1	25.8
1996	Community-based	39	31	32	29	44
1991		36.2	28.5	30.9	28.3	40.5

Source: NCLS 1991 and 1996

It would be unwise to speculate on the reasons for the low parish participation in the CRSS, and difficult to estimate how many lay Anglicans were supporting refugees in other ways, outside their parishes. Hilliard found that 'Anglicanism in Australia has had such a massive presence with so many faces that it is often hard to see common themes'.<sup>81</sup> His categorisation of lay Anglicans according to their church attendance patterns and faithfulness to the church carried an indication of their susceptibility to religious influence. His Type A Anglicans were 'the pillars of the church, the "loyal churchpeople"' who attended church regularly, identified strongly with the institution and its clergy and ... largely accepted the latter's view of the church'.<sup>82</sup> The more numerous Type B Anglicans were somewhat regular attendants 'but they held more loosely to the doctrines and rules of the church, as defined by the clergy. In many areas they had views that differed markedly from the church's official position ... [T]hose people ... see the Christian faith primarily as a set of ethical principles and a means of offering direction and meaning to life, not as a set of doctrines concerning a way of

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 281.

<sup>80</sup> Hilliard, "How Anglican Lay People Saved the Church," 50. As an example, Michele Langfield made many references to 'Church people' volunteering for the EMC, including some from the Anglican parish of St John's Toorak. Langfield, *Espresso Bar* 151.

<sup>81</sup> Hilliard, "How Anglican Lay People Saved the Church," 52.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 41,42.

salvation'.<sup>83</sup> The even larger Type C were nominal Anglicans who rarely went to church and only had loose connections with it.<sup>84</sup>

Type C would be difficult to differentiate from non-Anglicans or people of no religion in their attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism. The category about which most is known is Type A, which happens to be a small percentage of Anglicans. However, many of the individuals and groups discussed in this chapter could belong to Type B, who listened critically to the church's teaching about socio-economic, political and spiritual matters, and acted independently without self-identifying as Anglicans.

However, 1996 NCLS questions about assistance to immigrants and refugees provided a clearer indication of attitudes to refugee welfare, as per Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10 Victorian Anglicans' responses to the question 'If the churches were able to expand their welfare programs, how important do you believe it is for the churches to provide help for refugees?'

	Number	Valid percent
The most important thing	14	7.5
Extremely important	37	19.9
Very important	49	26.3
Fairly important	64	34.4
Not important	10	5.4
The Church should not do it	12	6.5
TOTAL	186	100.0

Source: NCLS 1996

The combined percentage of respondents who considered refugee welfare as the most important thing, extremely important, and important for the church was 53.7%, while 34.4% expressed lukewarm support, calling it 'fairly important'. This is an overall positive picture since only 11.9% either dismissed refugee welfare as not important or opposed it altogether. However, Table 11 below reveals that very few respondents personally assisted non-English-speaking immigrants or Aboriginal people.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

Table 11 Victorian Anglicans' responses to the question 'In the past 12 months how often have you been involved in helping other people through activities for non-English speakers or aboriginal people (not your own household)?

	Number	Valid percent
Never	121	87.7
Less than monthly as a volunteer	3	2.0
More than monthly as a volunteer	6	4.0
As part of my paid work	6	4.0
Both as part of paid work and as a volunteer	3	2.3
TOTAL	138	100.0

Source: NCLS 1996

Compared to the 39% nationwide who engaged in community efforts in 1996, only 12% helped non-English-speakers or Aborigines, whether in a voluntary or paid capacity. Allowing for the size of the samples, the figures in Table 11 suggest that the will to assist immigrants and refugees was much less than the interest in general community service, although more than half of respondents thought it very important for the church to deliver this service. Parishioners and church leaders each believed the other should assist refugees, just as, in the past, each had expected the other to sponsor and settle British immigrants.

It would be reasonable to assume that most NCLS respondents belonged to Hilliard's Type A, since they were in church on the day of the survey, along with a smaller percentage of Type B less regular attenders, and that the low level of parish participation in ministry to ethnic communities outside the church was as much a reflection on the clergy as it was on the laity. The 1996 NCLS showed that only 5% of all Anglican and Protestant parishes nationwide engaged in 'migrant support activities (eg English as second language, refugee support, interpreting services)', although 14% were 'involved in ethnic ministry', and 12% 'shared with a non-English-speaking congregation'.<sup>85</sup> Here, the terms 'ethnic ministry' and 'congregation' implied catering for CALD Anglicans and helping CALD congregations from other denominations, usually by allowing them to use Anglican church premises, which was more prevalent than service to the broader ethnic community.<sup>86</sup>

Parish histories generally reveal little about intercultural interactions at the community level. From a dozen parish histories covering the two decades of this thesis, taking into consideration the fact that the tone of such accounts is customarily celebratory and the contents largely non-controversial, only three reported varying degrees of negative experiences with cultural diversity. In *Highs and Lows*:

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in Peter Kaldor et al., *Taking Stock: A Profile of Australian Church Attenders* (Adelaide: Openbook Publishers, 1999), 68.

<sup>86</sup> See Tanner-Kennedy, *Noble Service to God and His People 1912-2012: St Aidan's Anglican Church Noble Park*.

*The Anglican Parish of Christ Church Brunswick – 1855-2002*,<sup>87</sup> Paul Nicholls described Brunswick as an area populated by a minority of ‘citizens well educated [and] working in professional positions’, as well as many unemployed and ‘pockets of significant disadvantage’,<sup>88</sup> where the Anglican parish church found it difficult to relate to its culturally diverse environment. He reported that acts of vandalism, such as the removal of a crucifix of no financial value from the memorial garden and ‘Islamic graffiti’<sup>89</sup> on church property, were all part of a trend that affected morale in the parish and was symptomatic of a growing apart of church and community. Nicholls viewed these developments in the context of a ‘sharp move to the Left in the local politics of Brunswick’ in 1969, noting that this ‘leftward tendency’ was

also broadly in keeping with trends in the Anglican Church itself, for the symbolic politics often associated with the headline issues of multiculturalism, refugees and reconciliation seem to co-exist quite happily with the opinions and attitudes that predominate in turn-of-the-century Anglicanism.<sup>90</sup>

In this case, the Anglican parish church was clearly not in its element in a multicultural working-class suburb, and the Diocese’s teachings about intercultural and interfaith cordiality appeared to bring neither suasion nor comfort. On the rare occasions when Christ Church allowed Turkish and Lebanese groups to use its premises, there were tensions over ‘inappropriate use of the facilities by the clients’ and the ‘Anglican chant, canticle, anthem, versicles and responses inside the church building [fighting] an unequal contest with amplified singing and dancing in the street outside’.<sup>91</sup>

The parish of St Peter’s Murrumbena was happy to accommodate a Tamil congregation when it formed in 1980 (See Chapter 5), however, after a few years the arrangement ended because of tension between the host congregation<sup>92</sup> and its tenants over the use of church premises and financial contribution to the parish.<sup>93</sup> The outcome tended to support Lewins’ contention that

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<sup>87</sup> Paul Nicholls, *Highs and Lows: The Anglican Parish of Christ Church Brunswick - 1855-2002* (Brunswick, Vic: Christ Church Press, 2007).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 214-15.

<sup>92</sup> By then the Rev’d R Williams had replaced the Rev’d André Hassing, who had first welcomed the Tamils as Vicar of St Peter’s.

<sup>93</sup> Letter from the Rev’d A J Selvaratnam, Priest in Charge of Tamil Congregation, to Bishop John Wilson, 27 February 1991, attaching proposed terms of agreement by the Priest and Vestry of St Peter’s Murrumbena.



‘culture divides more than religion unites’;<sup>94</sup> in 1992 the Tamils finally moved to St John’s East Malvern,<sup>95</sup> where they are based to this day.

John Rickard’s history of St Mary’s North Melbourne<sup>96</sup> recounted mild resentment among parishioners in the 1960s about the transformation of their neighbourhood by new housing developments and the exodus of long-term residents, affectionately known as ‘the worthies’, to the outer suburbs. ‘Nor did they necessarily welcome with open arms the Italian and Maltese immigrants who gravitated to North Melbourne. Insofar as these new comers were mostly RC’s they contributed to a further weakening of the Anglican presence.’<sup>97</sup> However, the incumbent Rev’d Barry Martin welcomed the challenge of finding a role for the church in community building amidst such a diverse environment.<sup>98</sup> In this instance, the tensions were as much about denomination as they were about ethnicity and culture and, to the community minded incumbent,<sup>99</sup> ecumenical entente seemed a reasonable and attainable solution.

On the other hand, there were outstanding examples of Melbourne Anglican groups and individuals who very proactively applied their specialised interests and skills in their own missions across cultures. Bette Francis’s history of the Noble Park branch of the MU told of a link between her branch and one in South Africa since 1985.<sup>100</sup> She recalled how ‘[a] highlight for our branch was a visit by their Link Secretary, Johanna Michaels, who helped widen our vision. Although separated by vast distances, by race and colour, by widely differing surroundings, we shared a faithful friendship’.<sup>101</sup> The two sister branches corresponded regularly by letter. In early 1989 a MU delegation accompanied Archbishop David Penman and his wife, Jean, then *ex-officio* Associate President of the MU, to Grahamstown. The Melbourne MU members met their South African counterparts and discussed the work of the local MU. Back in Melbourne, the delegation embarked

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<sup>94</sup> Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church: Catholic Migrants in Australia*, 127.

<sup>95</sup> *Tamil Christian Congregation Victoria; Celebrating 25 Years of Worship*, (2006), 37.

<sup>96</sup> John Rickard, *An Assemblage of Decent Men and Women : A History of the Anglican Parish of St Mary's North Melbourne 1853-2000* (North Melbourne, Vic.: North Melbourne, Vic. : St Mary's Anglican Church North Melbourne, 2008).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> In 1984-5 Barry Martin would be in one of the working groups of the Archbishop’s Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission, discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>100</sup> Melbourne, *Thirty Adventuring Years 1937 to 1967 of the Young Members' Department of the Mothers' Union, Diocese of Melbourne*, 6.

<sup>101</sup> Bette Francis, *A History of Mothers' Union in the Parish of St. Aidan's, Noble Park, 12 October 1961-12 October 2011* (Noble Park: St Aidan's Anglican Church, 2011).

on a mission to raise awareness and funds, beginning with the showing of the films, *Cry Freedom*, *Any Child is my Child* and the sale of three books<sup>102</sup> related to apartheid.<sup>103</sup> At a later meeting, it was reported that 44 MU branches and groups had asked to see both films.<sup>104</sup> Awareness of socio-political injustice abroad had a significant bearing on the MU's attitude to migrant needs in Australia and it maintained a strong collaborative relationship with the DMREA. MU newsletters show that its members played an active role in cross-cultural ministry and were keen to keep abreast of developments. In 1985 MU and the DMREA organised a seminar titled *Walking Hand in Hand* in every diocesan region. It was a sign of the maturity of the collaboration and that their ministry had shifted from welcoming strangers to living with diversity and its potential conflicts. Subjects discussed at such seminars included voluntary work, inter-cultural issues and discrimination.<sup>105</sup> Beth Hookey, past President of the Melbourne Diocese MU, suggested that Hunter gained more traction with the MU than she did with parish clergy.<sup>106</sup> The majority of volunteers in the Department were women, many of them MU members, and several names were acknowledged in annual reports to Synod for helping Hunter in the office and with the Multi Links shop. Multi Links was a not-for-profit venture established by Hunter to sell imported third world goods, with an annual turnover nearing \$100,000; its Shop on Wheels with its trading table raised funds by visiting parishes.<sup>107</sup>

Among other lay Anglican volunteers who stood out by their examples was Professor Michael Clyne, whose work in reforming the language of worship in the Church is discussed in Chapter 3. John Ball was involved with the EMC as part of his work on refugee and displaced persons issues under the aid and international development commission (under various names) of the ACC,<sup>108</sup> and contributed to a diocesan commission on cross-cultural ministry in 1984-5 (discussed in Chapter 3). He also had extensive involvement in international development, refugee and indigenous issues.<sup>109</sup> In the 1970s Robert Coles, of the Coles supermarket chain and other stores, a self-identifying Anglican, sponsored a child from Vietnam, became one of the founding members of World Vision Australia, and provided

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<sup>102</sup> *Cry Freedom*, *Biko*, and *Asking for Trouble*. Also sold were copies of the Findings of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group. "1988 - MU Council 17th October – Grahamstown", record loaned by Beth Hookey.

<sup>103</sup> *Any Child is my Child* depicted the struggle of children who continued to resist the apartheid regime. Mothers' Union, *Mia* October 1988

<sup>104</sup> Mothers' Union Council Executive Meeting, "Makabongwe Project," (27 August 1990). Loaned by Beth Hookey.

<sup>105</sup> "Walking Hand in Hand," *Church Scene* 11 July 1986.

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Beth Hookey 24 January 2017.

<sup>107</sup> Letter from Helen Hunter to Archbishop Keith Rayner, 28 May 1991.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with John Ball 19 January 2016.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

a scholarship for a young Korean music student to pursue his studies in America.<sup>110</sup> At least two lay Anglicans, Hilda Samuel and David Spitteler, both overseas born, created their own charities for the benefit of refugees and asylum seekers in Dandenong.<sup>111</sup>

The available evidence on parish service to refugees is incomplete and patchy, but it suggests that Type B Anglican volunteers' tendency to act independently of the church organisation, and Type A attenders' limited contact with immigrant and refugee needs could be responsible for the weak response to the Diocese's appeals for participation in refugee support. The level of parish participation in the CRSS was the first measurable Melbourne Anglican response to Indo-Asian refugees, however it revealed little about the attitudes behind this result. The views of lay Anglicans on immigration and multiculturalism at the time are as difficult to gauge as their direct involvement in cross-cultural ministry. In *Religion in Australia: A sociological investigation*,<sup>112</sup> Hans Mol conducted a survey of the beliefs and opinions of various Christian groups, using samples from New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania. He came to the conclusion that 'there is no Australian evidence supporting overseas research which shows that church-goers are more prejudiced; if anything it supports the research which shows that they are less so'.<sup>113</sup> Tables 12 and 13 show that Anglican regular church goers, like their Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic counterparts, were more disapproving of opponents of Asian immigration than irregular church goers.

Table 12: Church goers' responses to the question: 'If a person is against any Asians migrating to Australia, I would (i) admire him for it (ii) think it was all right (iii) be mildly disapproving (iv) be highly disapproving of him.

	Admire him	Think it was all right	Mildly disapproving	Highly disapproving	No answer
All respondents -1825 *	9%	24%	35%	27%	5%
Irregular church goers - 1218	11%	28%	33%	25%	
Regular church goers - 604	7%	18%	38%	31%	

\*It is possible that the 5% of 'no answer' included some who did not indicate their pattern of church attendance.  
Source: Mol, *Religion in Australia*, Melbourne, Nelson, 1971, 70.

<sup>110</sup> World vision, [https://www.worldvision.com.au/docs/default-source/looking-back/book/wv50yr\\_book.pdf?sfvrsn=2](https://www.worldvision.com.au/docs/default-source/looking-back/book/wv50yr_book.pdf?sfvrsn=2). (accessed 1 Nov 2017).

<sup>111</sup> Hilda Samuel established a not-for-profit organisation to assist Tamil Sri Lankans, which was later incorporated as the Jesuran Wellness Centre. <https://www.jesuranhealing.com.au/about-us.html>. David Spitteler established and manages the Asylum Seekers Centre in Dandenong. [www.asylumseekerscentre.org](http://www.asylumseekerscentre.org).

<sup>112</sup> Mol, *Religion in Australia*.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

Table 13: Christians who disapproved of someone who was against Asian immigration to Australia by religion by church attendance pattern

	Regular attenders disapproving %	Irregular attenders disapproving %
Methodist	75	53
Presbyterians	73	55
Anglicans	66	59
Catholics	69	63

Source: Ibid.

Table 13 shows that Anglican regular churchgoers expressed the lowest rate of disapproval of the four denominations, but a much higher level of disapproval than the irregular attenders.

Bouma and Dixon's 1986 study of *The Religious Factor in Australian Life*,<sup>114</sup> based on an International Values Survey by Morgan Gallup in 1983, also showed that '[t]hose who are more religious are more open to the idea of having persons of a different race as neighbours'.<sup>115</sup> Responses to the question of tolerance of certain groups in Table 14 show, first, that the variation between religious groups' attitudes to racial and religious differences was very small and, second, that a neighbour's ethnicity was of much less concern than the potential for confronting or disruptive behaviour.

<sup>114</sup> Bouma and Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life*, 53. The data were obtained from an Australian Values Systems Study carried out by Morgan Gallup in 1983.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., vii.

Table 14: Percentage of respondents, by religion, to the question 'Which of the following groups would you not like to have as neighbours?'

	Anglican	Catholic	PMU*	RWP**	None	Total
Heavy drinkers	54.9	58.0	56.2	56.6	51.4	55.6
Criminal Record	44.5	46.5	42.1	41.6	31.4	42.4
Emotionally unstable people	43.0	39.1	34.0	34.5	40.0	38.8
Members of minority religious sects or cults	33.1	30.1	35.3	25.7	32.6	31.3
Homosexuals	32.0	35.6	35.3	36.3	26.3	33.2
Left-wing extremists	30.2	29.8	33.2	33.6	20.0	29.5
Right wing extremists	23.5	25.6	25.1	25.7	32.0	25.9
Aborigines	18.6	14.4	17.4	8.8	18.3	16.1
Immigrants / foreign workers	7.0	3.5	4.3	5.3	10.9	5.9
People of a different race	7.0	3.8	6.4	1.8	8.6	5.6
People with large families	4.7	5.8	4.3	6.2	11.4	6.1
Never-married mothers	3.2	2.6	2.6	4.4	2.9	3.1
Students	1.7	1.6	2.6	0.9	1.1	1.7
Unemployed persons	1.2	1.9	3.0	0.9	2.9	1.9
N	344	312	235	113	175	1179

\*PMU = Presbyterian/Methodist/Uniting Church \*\*RWP = Right wing protestant.

Source: G D Bouma & B R Dixon, *The religious factor in Australian life*, 53.

It should be noted that these data reveal opinions gathered over hypothetical questions, and it is reasonable to assume that most respondents had not had the experience of living nextdoor to the types of people listed in the survey and were therefore speculating on the experience of having such a neighbour. A diocesan Commission would later detect an Anglican tendency to recoil when confronted with some immigrants' lifestyles, despite an acceptance of the exotic charm of a multiculturalism that was packaged for public consumption. There appeared to be a discomfort with difference in customs and rituals in family life, marriage and death, seen as 'things which [were] *too* different'.<sup>116</sup> However, it would be worth investigating why Anglicans discriminated much more against Aborigines than against people of other races (19% compared to 7%), and why, along with the other Protestants, they feared extremism on the left much more than on the right (30% compared to 23%).

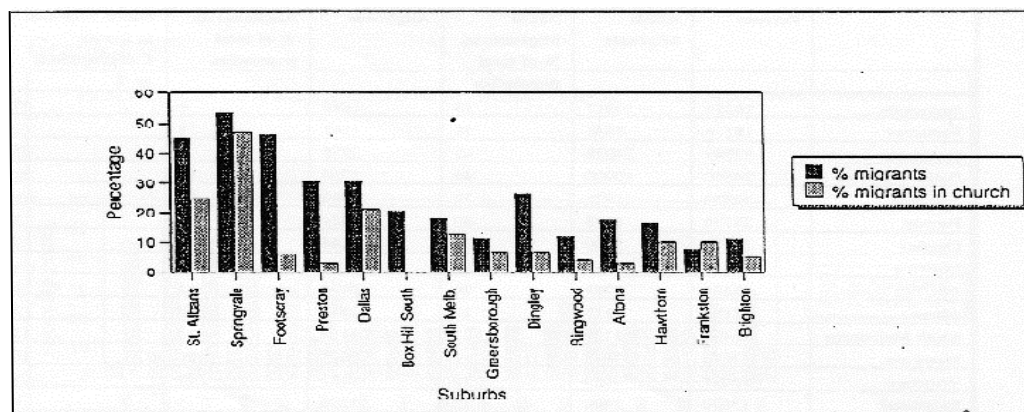
Negative attitudes to immigrants might have been based on a suspicion or dislike of difference, yet Australian-born Anglicans themselves were separated by differences in their social situations. Hollingworth conceded in 1989 that

<sup>116</sup> *Garden*, 16.

we are a bourgeois church. Our response [to community relations and attitudes and issues about racism and sexism and ageing] is muted because the poor and the alienated and the unemployed are simply not in our congregations.<sup>117</sup>

There were structural reasons for the distance between the Anglican world and that of the dispossessed. Using ABS statistics, in *Seeds Blowing in the Wind (Seeds)*,<sup>118</sup> Houston showed that in the 1970s and 1980s, if one compared the affluent suburbs of Melbourne to the poorer ones, there was an inverse correlation between the Anglican and the migrant presence; more Anglicans and fewer immigrants lived in the richer suburbs and vice versa. (Figure 4) The modest ethnic presence in the larger and wealthier parishes was mainly from the higher professional class.<sup>119</sup>

Figure 4: Immigrants in Community and Anglican Church – Selected Melbourne Suburbs



Source: ABS Statistics from 1991 Census compared with NCLS statistics for Melbourne Diocese (parish comparisons), provided by Christian Research Association. Table compiled by J Houston, *Seeds Blowing in the Wind*, 1993, 14.

Houston also observed that '[t]he "social class" dimension of our Church has proven to be more enduring than the dimension of ethnicity or culture which has been subsumed by it. .... Anglicans make alliances with wealthy and powerful people from all over the world more readily than they do with Anglo-Australian working-class people, say in Northcote'.<sup>120</sup> The 1991 NCLS revealed that 40% of the Victorian 523 respondents interacted daily with 'people who are quite different to [them] in background or culture',<sup>121</sup> while 41% of 299 respondents were 'involved with people who are very different ... in background or culture'.<sup>122</sup> The respondents' understanding of involvement and

<sup>117</sup> Peter Hollingworth, "Social Issues and Anglican Perceptions Today," in *Anglican Social Strategies from Burgmann to the Present*, ed. John A Moses (St Lucia, Qld: Broughton Press, St John's College, 1989), 23.

<sup>118</sup> Houston, *Seeds*.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>121</sup> National Church Life Survey (NCLS), (1991). Question e36

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* Question i46

interaction may have varied but these percentages tend to confirm Hollingworth's and Houston's claims above that Anglicans had limited contact with the poor, unemployed, working class and immigrants.<sup>123</sup> They could also reflect the fact that the 60% or so with little or no contact included older church goers in their retirement years.<sup>124</sup>

Anglicans were known for 'keeping to themselves',<sup>125</sup> and this was sometimes associated with an undefined sense of superiority and affectedness. The Rev'd Jim Minchin captured some of the most colourful glib comments about Anglican smugness in the labels of 'snobbishness, humbug, lordly ennui, "the Tory party at prayer" worldliness, repetitive worship and lukewarm fellowship punctuated by the odd patronising gesture of charity'.<sup>126</sup> The reference to an aristocratic type of ennui and to the Tory party evokes an old elitist vision of the Church of England<sup>127</sup> imported in the late eighteenth century and still lingering.

Despite Houston's claims about the Anglican acceptance of wealthy and influential immigrants, some middle-class Anglicans resented well-heeled immigrants. A diocesan Commission (discussed in Chapter 3) reported on its 'listening experiences' that:

attitudes or prejudices about social class and status are often linked with attitudes to race and culture. Stereotypically, the middle class Anglican sees migrants or members of ethnic groups as working class people, or as members of the sub-class of the unemployed. Wealthy or highly educated migrants are even said to have risen about their ethnic backgrounds.<sup>128</sup>

For those who held such views cultural difference was synonymous with social inferiority.

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<sup>123</sup> After his regional consultations and survey of parishes and clergy for a review of Anglican welfare in 1976, the Ven David Chambers concluded that 'In contrast to other denominations [Anglicans] generally opt for a low profile in their community efforts and do not identify themselves readily... Anglicans identif[y] themselves as middle class ... They cope reasonably well with their own problems, but don't readily perceive the [problems] of those around them'. Chambers, "Report of Melbourne Diocese Consultant in Welfare and Communication," 13.

<sup>124</sup> Based on 1991 NCLS, Tricia Blombery saw 'a tendency for attendance to be higher with increasing age' in the Anglican Church. Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 67.

<sup>125</sup> Hollingworth, "Anglican Strategies," 23.

<sup>126</sup> Jim Minchin, "Yesterday and Today: What of Tomorrow?," in *Melbourne Anglicans : The Diocese of Melbourne, 1847-1997*, ed. Brian Porter (Melbourne: Mitre Books, 1997), 209.

<sup>127</sup> Alan Cadwallader [1994] included among the 'unhealthy aspects' of the imitation of English ways that had persisted in the Australian Church was the superior status of bishops sent from England during settlement. The latter lived in 'palaces' and people in the Church showed '[d]eference to the 'Lord Bishop', as if the Church was established. Alan Cadwallader, "Introduction: Antipodean Descriptions of the Art of Episcopacy," in *Episcopacy: Views from the Antipodes*, ed. Alan Cadwallader and David Richardson (North Adelaide, South Australia: Anglican Board of Christian Education, 1994), 4-6.

<sup>128</sup> *Garden*, 16.

Looking at Anglicans from the perspective of socio-economic status, Tricia Blombery added further details to the picture sketched by Mol, and Bouma and Dixon. Using statistics from the 1991 NCLS, she found that 32% of church attenders came from households in which the highest income earner was a professional, compared to 18% for all Anglicans. 20% of attenders had university degrees (7% of them with higher degrees) compared to 5% of nominal Anglicans. 41% of attenders had post-secondary qualifications compared to 21% of all Anglicans.<sup>129</sup> Anglicans church attenders were therefore more educated and more likely to be in professional jobs than non-attenders.

A comparison of the NCLS statistics used by Blombery above with the findings of a 1978 government-commissioned survey of Victorian's attitudes to race tends to confirm the assessment made by Mol and Bouma and Dixon, that Anglican church goers could be expected to be generally racially and culturally tolerant. There appeared to be a correlation between church attendance, levels of education, and tolerance of difference. TQ Consultants were appointed by the Victorian Ministry of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs to conduct a survey of negative attitudes to immigrants in Victoria; the aim was to increase understanding of the nature, breadth, depth and basis of these attitudes and to inform the government's communication strategy to modify them. The survey used a questionnaire based on issues raised by participants in preliminary informal group discussions,<sup>130</sup> administered to 1000 participants, 17 of whom were British immigrants and the rest Australian-born or of Australian-born parents. 800 lived in the metropolitan area and 200 in Geelong. The report titled 'Attitudes of Victorians to migrants',<sup>131</sup> found that Victorians with a high level of education were less racist or culturally prejudiced than the uneducated.

As many as 49% of Victorians 'display[ed] negative attitudes towards migrants, perceived migrant behaviour and the entire concept of migration'. Of these approximately 31% were labelled by the consultants as 'Conscious Bigots' and 18% as 'Unconscious Bigots'. 29% were 'uncertain' and 22% belonged to the category of 'Cosmopolitans' who thought that multiculturalism enriched their lives.<sup>132</sup>

The consultants made a comment about the 29% who were uncertain that merits consideration in discussing the work of the DMREA. They argued that, since this second largest group generally

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<sup>129</sup> Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 75-77.

<sup>130</sup> 140-170 adults took part in general discussions about life in Australia, into which moderators gradually introduced the subject of immigration and attitudes to it. Consultants, "Attitudes of Victorians to Migrants." Appendix I, 1.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 33-35.



tended to follow the *via media*, with some pressure, it might move either way off that path,<sup>133</sup> hence the government should take a sensitive and targeted approach in seeking to reinforce its relatively positive attitude.<sup>134</sup> The newly-appointed Hunter was told by Grant that one-third of the parishes would follow her, another third she could persuade, and the last third would resist. She considered it an interesting approach, which helped her as a professional to have more realistic expectations.<sup>135</sup> The attitudes survey appeared to confirm that the winnable third of her constituency should be the target of her advocacy.

The Victorian survey established that 'Cosmopolitans' were very pro migrants and considered them not inferior, but rather capable of becoming successful professional people.

The Cosmopolitan has the highest proportion of those who have lived for significant periods overseas. These views would be held by both males and females. Only 17% of the Cosmopolitans are over 45. 67% are under 36. 61% had completed secondary education, while a resounding 37% had completed tertiary studies. 34% lived in the Eastern Suburbs.<sup>136</sup>

It could be claimed that the 'Cosmopolitan' profile closely resembled that of the Anglican church attender. Unfortunately, it is impossible to match these categories with any certainty, especially as only an estimated 10% of self-identifying Anglicans attended church regularly<sup>137</sup> and, unlike the majority of Cosmopolitans, approximately 55% of Anglican church attenders were aged 50 years or over in 1991, compared to 23 % of the national adult population, and only 28 per cent were under 40 years-old, compared to 51% of the adult population.<sup>138</sup>

An incident in July 1980 would soon reveal that there was yet another problematic dimension to Melbourne Anglican perceptions of and attitudes to Indo-Asian refugees.

### **The Buddha incident: parish symptoms, corporate causes**

An incident over a Buddhist event would reveal that there was a difficult threshold to cross from charity to inter-cultural acceptance and respect; the incident opened a public discussion about interfaith relations. It was in the context of understanding the refugees' need for the comfort of their religious community and for cultural self-expression that the Buddha controversy arose. In July

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Helen Hunter 31 January 2015.

<sup>136</sup> Consultants, "Attitudes of Victorians to Migrants," 35.

<sup>137</sup> Gary Bouma, "The Myth of Declining Churches: The Case of Victorian Anglicans," *St Mark's Review* (December 1982): 32.

<sup>138</sup> Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 73.

1980 an act of kindness towards the local Vietnamese community by the Anglican parish of Holy Trinity, Surrey Hills, provoked a strong reaction that would divide the Diocese. At Helen Hunter's suggestion and with the consent of Archbishop Robert Dann, the parish offered the use of its church hall to a Vietnamese group who had been looking for a venue to celebrate Buddha's birthday, an important annual ritual for Buddhists. The Diocesan newspaper, *See*, reported on the event and the support it had received from the Diocese through the DMREA, adding a photograph of the gathering with a large statue of Buddha on the stage. The reaction from some of the readership was swift and forceful. Letters protesting about such use of church property were sent to the Diocesan newspaper, to the offending parish and to the Archbishop. The latter responded by declaring his support for the decision to allow the event to take place, citing Scriptures, the public resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops and the thinking of the CMS in the United Kingdom. This added fuel to the angry debate, some of the protestors vowing to stop subscribing to the Diocesan newspaper and financially supporting the CMS, many of the letters containing accusations of syncretism and apostasy, and some using derogatory words to describe the Buddhists. The parish of St Timothy in Bulleen, leading the charge, also wrote to vestries in every other parish in the Diocese to explain the enormity of the Buddha incident as a betrayal of the faith and failure of leadership on the part of the Archbishop. Letters were written by 59 parishes and 22 individuals. 70% of the parishes involved approved of the events in Surrey Hills, 22% were opposed and 8% were undecided. However only 45% individuals who took part in the debate supported the actions of Holy Trinity Surrey Hills.<sup>139</sup>

Hunter analysed in some detail the historical and cultural context in which the controversy was able to arise.<sup>140</sup> She noted an incongruity between, on the one hand, parishioners' willingness to give material support to refugees in response to the CRSS appeal and, on the other, the inability to accept them as equals, to the point of understanding their need to practise their own faith.<sup>141</sup> She saw in the reactions to the Buddha celebration three types of mindsets and practices inherited from the past, namely missionaries' attitudes to their intended converts during the Empire days, assimilationist approaches to settling British immigrants by the 'established' church in Australia, and the English-style governance structures of the Anglican Church.

Turning her attention towards the Anglican mentality as a product of history, more specifically, colonial history, Hunter examined the style and content of the correspondence over the controversy, to fathom the beliefs about the identity and role of the church in a multicultural and multi-faith

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<sup>139</sup> Hunter, "Anglican-Buddhist Interaction: A Case Study," 22.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia," 37.

society. Her assessment was that in this clash of religions and cultures, 'elements of Australia's multicultural society came together uneasily, for the structure with community influence and authority was challenged to share in the cultural and religious diversity of our community, in terms of mutual respect and co-operation'.<sup>142</sup> She spelt out the fact that the religious terrain had changed and the Anglican Church was called to abandon its illusions of territorial domination and accept a new arrangement of space sharing on even terms.

Hunter saw in the Buddha incident some vestiges of colonial evangelism among those who argued that the church should convert and not encourage the Buddhist 'pagans and idolaters' in their practices.<sup>143</sup> Echoing the views of Catholic priest and CHOMI researcher Peter Wilkinson,<sup>144</sup> she invoked imperial expansion and the missionary era when the church justified the denigration of the 'other Great Faiths of the World'.<sup>145</sup> Wilkinson claimed that missionaries 'regard[ed] non-Christians as no more than savages, pagans, idolaters and infidels, and their religions as little more than corruptions of the human spirit',<sup>146</sup> and 'Christians in the home churches still think and act as if nothing has changed'.<sup>147</sup> In the 1980s some Anglicans professed their concern for the salvation of Buddhists in Melbourne in terms that once echoed the justification of self-righteousness and truculence as part of the mission to bring education and salvation to uncivilised peoples.

The controversy over the incursion of Buddhism into Anglican territory constituted a reverse form of occupation and thwarted old assumptions from Anglicanism's imperial history among some parishioners. This made it difficult to accept multiculturalism as it was understood in the Australian context. The depth of feeling over interfaith relations was revealed in the letter addressed to Archbishop Robert Dann by the vestry of St Timothy's Bulleen, in which they directly challenged his authority. Commenting on his public defence of the Surrey Hills parish in his opening address to Synod in October 1980, they wrote,

We believe that the stand taken by the Parish of Surrey Hills and yourself amounts to a form of syncretism and is quite contrary to the clear implication of Scripture in both Old and New Testaments. Perhaps more

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<sup>142</sup> "Anglican-Buddhist Interaction: A Case Study," 1.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>144</sup> Dr Peter J Wilkinson was a Columban Catholic priest until his resignation in 1975. He was the Co-ordinator of CHOMI and Senior Research Fellow at the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs during the 1980s. [http://www.catholica.com.au/gc2/occ2/067\\_occ2\\_print.php](http://www.catholica.com.au/gc2/occ2/067_occ2_print.php) (accessed 30 October 2018).

<sup>145</sup> Hunter, "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia," 38.

<sup>146</sup> Peter Wilkinson, "Refugees, Resettlement and Evangelisation," *Migration Action* IV, no. 3 (1980): 22-23.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

pertinently, we believe that it is just the sort of situation which is specifically addressed in Article XVIII of the Prayer Book.<sup>148</sup>

As our Archbishop, and conscious of the leadership and authority which is yours, we respectfully ask you to reconsider your public stand on this matter and, in accordance with the terms of the Ordinal,<sup>149</sup> to set out clear guidelines for your people in their ministry to those other faiths.<sup>150</sup>

In the covering note<sup>151</sup> to all parishes was the comment that 'We feel this is a very basic issue which could well become a "watershed" in our church and lead to deep division', and a call for comments that would reveal the general opinion of the Diocese on the issue.<sup>152</sup> This was very significant as it presented the Archbishop with a clear choice between the church's doctrine and interfaith rapport of the kind seen in Surrey Hills, and indicated a preparedness to incite rebellion if necessary.

The nature of governance and authority in the Anglican Church became salient here because the Catholic Church had not hesitated to help the Buddhists find premises for their religious meetings. Sr Bernadette had secured funds from the CIO to help them acquire a house in Richmond for that purpose.<sup>153</sup> Hunter saw a direct connection between the Bulleen church's threat of division and the 'more diffused [Anglican] authority structure than the Roman Catholic Church', claiming that the Anglican governance 'enable[d] a more laissez-faire approach'.<sup>154</sup> Since the Anglican Archbishop lacked the power to impart to his faithful a single interpretation of the church and the world, Hunter would later call for a mission statement on cross-cultural ministry such as those adopted by the Melbourne Catholics and the Uniting Church.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Article XVIII is titled 'Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ', The Articles of Religion, Australia, *APBA*, 829.

<sup>149</sup> An Ordinal is a service book, especially one with the forms of service used at ordinations.

<sup>150</sup> Letter from Edna Cameron, Secretary to Vestry of St Timothy's, Bulleen, to Archbishop Robert Dann, 27 Oct 1980. Loaned by Jim Pilmer.

<sup>151</sup> The author clearly aimed to force the Archbishop's hand by circulating the letter addressed to him before he had had the opportunity to reply to it.

<sup>152</sup> Covering letter from Edna Cameron, Secretary to Vestry of St Timothy's, Bulleen, to all parish vestries in the Melbourne Anglican Diocese, 27 Oct 1980. Loaned by Jim Pilmer.

<sup>153</sup> Since the house would have been too small for the large gathering expected to attend the Buddha's birthday celebration, Hunter was asked if she could find an Anglican hall spacious enough for their celebration. The Surrey Hills parish church hall was considered 'conveniently large and well located – near Eastbridge Migrant Centre and close to public transport and shopping facilities'. Hunter, "Anglican-Buddhist Interaction: A Case Study," 16,21.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 30,31.

<sup>155</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 8 October 1981."

The Buddha incident was a revelation and catalyst for discussion and action. It raised questions about interfaith relations and evangelisation, it prompted many parishes and individuals to reflect and express their views on intercultural relations in the Diocese, and it forced the Archbishop to make a pronouncement on all these issues. Importantly, the controversy revealed that some Anglicans were already interested in the study of other faiths or supportive of those who were. A Vicar wrote to congratulate the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Surrey Hills, Jim Pilmer,<sup>156</sup> and his vestry 'for their vision and courage' in the decision to assist the Buddhists, adding that, several years previously, the Belgian Catholic Church had financially assisted the construction of a Mosque for Muslim immigrants.<sup>157</sup> Another letter cited the example of some Christian churches allowing Jews to use their buildings for worship during World War II.<sup>158</sup> Some Anglicans were already well informed about other religions, as witnessed by a third lay letter writer, who distinguished between 'Bridge builders' and 'Wall builders'. She cited the example of the Rev'd Dr George Mullins, Vicar of All Souls', Sandringham, who has studied Buddhist spirituality extensively without syncretism or compromising his own Christian faith.<sup>159</sup>

Pilmer was overwhelmed by the show of solidarity from many parishes and individuals,<sup>160</sup> he closed the chapter on the subject for *See* with a letter to the Editor thanking all those who had expressed their support for the action of his parish and adding:

Naturally we are in no position to anticipate decisions of future vestries or clergy at Holy Trinity. However, we can say that it is the unanimous decision of the present vestry that given the same circumstances we would be happy to respond again in precisely the same way.<sup>161</sup>

The last letter on the subject, addressed to Holy Trinity, Surrey Hills, was dated February 1981, seven months after the Buddha event.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Jim Pilmer was the same inner-city priest mentioned in Chapter 1.

<sup>157</sup> Letter from the Revd Canon R L Butterss, of the Australian Board of Mission, to N McNeil, Churchwarden of Holy Trinity Surry Hills, 13 August 1980. Loaned by Jim Pilmer.

<sup>158</sup> Letter from Revd Stephen Ames to Vestry Secretary, St Timothy, Bulleen, 30 December 1980. Loaned by Jim Pilmer.

<sup>159</sup> Letter from Mrs Faye Harris, Vestry of St Stephen's Highett to Edna Cameron, at St John's Diamond Creek: 31 January 1981. Loaned by Jim Pilmer.

<sup>160</sup> Interview with J Pilmer, 28 November 2016.

<sup>161</sup> Jim Pilmer, "Letter to the Editor," *See* September 1980.

<sup>162</sup> Letter to the Secretary of Holy Trinity, Surrey Hills, from S G Boydell, Hon Secretary, St Jude's Carlton, 18 February 1981. Loaned by Jim Pilmer..

## Clergy education

After the Buddha incident, Hunter intensified her efforts in parish and clergy education, distributing research papers and leaflets with briefings on the emotional and psychological states of refugees after the trauma of migration, on the Vietnamese culture and customs, the refugees' political backgrounds and their understanding of Australian politics.<sup>163</sup>

Another form of parish advocacy and education was through a clergy training course devised by Hunter and the DMREA Committee, titled 'Living Together in the Eighties'.<sup>164</sup> The six-month course was government-funded under a Galbally Report recommendation, 'for the training of professional people, to equip them for their work in a multi-cultural society'.<sup>165</sup> One of the discussion points in the course was 'culture and its effect on religious tradition, e.g. To what extent do we maintain our "Anglican Traditions", while extending our membership to people of different cultures and religious expressions'.<sup>166</sup> Participation was voluntary and invitations were sent out through the regional Bishops.<sup>167</sup> There were only 27 participants, of whom 22 were clergy, 3 sisters and 2 lay people; on average, 20 participants attended the course regularly.<sup>168</sup>

The training program represented an opportunity to address a tendency in some suburbs for Australian-born parishioners to see the parish church as a place free of migrants. Hunter's review of the training course reported participants' admissions, including some from areas with a large immigrant population, to having little or no cross-cultural contact over the past year and 'strong feelings of inadequacy'.<sup>169</sup> A major review in 1985 would confirm that some parish clergy whose local communities included a large ethnic component were more concerned about the isolation and neglect of their minority white Australian-born parishioners, while many others admitted to not knowing how to engage in multicultural ministry,<sup>170</sup> sometimes seeing a conflict of interest between

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<sup>163</sup> Hunter's report to The Social Questions Committee, titled "The Political Problems Involved in the Resettlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees," (Unpublished: Melbourne Anglican Diocese, 1980).

<sup>164</sup> Helen Hunter, "Living Together in the Eighties - Final Report," (DMREA, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, 1981).

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. (Preface)

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission: Working Group on Welfare, Report of 14 December 1984. Kaldor et al., *Taking Stock*, 138.

meeting the expectations of their parish and those of the episcopal leaders.<sup>171</sup> For the ambitious, engagement with multiculturalism could be a smart career move to win episcopal approval.<sup>172</sup> Another study found that many parish clergy ignored directives from diocesan leaders, whom they considered remote and ignorant of the situation in parishes. One priest was dismissive of the Bishops' 'monochrome' correspondence addressed to all parishes as if they were socially and economically equal, while he struggled to minister in a poor working-class suburb. He referred to the common practice among priests of throwing 'bits of paper in the bin, ... blocking it out by attending to work here [in the parish]'.<sup>173</sup> This painted a portrait of an alienated and disaffected clergy concentrating on the safe and familiar routine of caring only for the congregation.

While handing over responsibility for migrant care to parishes may have been a logical solution for the Diocese, the challenge for the ordinary parish clergy to define their own role in the broader community was also considerable. Hollingworth argued in his 1980 MA thesis<sup>174</sup> that

[t]he changes that have taken place in modern society are ones in which organisations are required to differentiate and to specialise in their functions. Yet, ... the parish priest now has to operate in a multi-stranded society from an organisational base which is no longer central to the operations of that society. This poses problems in terms of his understanding of those operations and these are exacerbated because he still has to exercise multiple functions as a community generalist.<sup>175</sup>

Without explicit reference to cross-cultural ministry, Hollingworth had identified with acuity that the dilemma facing Anglican priests was to meet the demands of differentiation and specialisation, alongside the continual provision of 'general' service. The clergy were expected to perform their 'traditional functions [while] developing new contemporary functions'.<sup>176</sup> This appraisal assumed that the two forms of ministry were separate and, if not incompatible, at least very difficult to combine because of the demotion of the 'organisational base' in the new society. The diocese had the dual challenge of defining its own role in society and communicating it to parishes for its embodiment, with specialised cross-cultural ministry as an added layer of complexity. Hollingworth blamed a lack of theological training and guidance for the parish clergy's mission to a changing

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<sup>171</sup> Huggins, "The Contemporary Faith-Journey of Anglican Priests in the Diocese of Melbourne," 82.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 83,84.

<sup>174</sup> Peter J Hollingworth, "The Anglican Parish Priest and the Welfare Obligation; an Exploratory Study of Welfare Involvement of Parish Clergy in the Arch Diocese of Melbourne" (University of Melbourne, 1980).

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., vii.

environment.<sup>177</sup> Hunter's department straddled the threshold between the general ministry of the diocese and her specialist ministry, however, although she concentrated her efforts on clergy education in cross-cultural issues, she was unable to persuade more priests to enrol.

It is possible that Hunter was largely preaching to the converted in her clergy course, however, the committed clergy faced their own difficulties in the parish setting. Among the studies on the sociology of religion published during the 1970s and 1980s, some focused specifically on the experience of clergy and the difficult circumstances in which they were attending to their parishes. Australian sociologist Norman Blaikie looked into the challenges facing Australian clergy and the context in which they arose.<sup>178</sup> His study, based on a survey of the major Protestant churches in Victoria, referred to a period from the 1960s, when some clergy openly engaged in discussion and protest about social and political issues, concluding that 'Those clergy who felt the need for radical changes found many of their ideas and actions did not gain acceptance. In time, the quest for relevance was attacked by those who saw it as a neglect or denial of "the Gospel"' .<sup>179</sup>

There were some important lessons learnt from the clergy sensitising course for future directions in theological education in a multicultural society. Hunter's job description charged her with raising awareness and promoting action in parishes, but there were limits to what could be achieved, among the clergy and laity alike, by parish education and volunteer recruitment programs, without more fundamental changes at the higher levels of the Diocese. In April 1982 the Ethnic Affairs Task Force of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs stated in a discussion paper titled *Multiculturalism For All Australians* that 'it is not possible to change attitudes and minimise prejudice if the structural conditions which encourage them are maintained'.<sup>180</sup> This was one of the challenges experienced by reformists in both church and government.

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid., v.

<sup>178</sup> Norman W H Blaikie, *The Plight of the Australian Clergy: To Convert, Care or Challenge?* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1979).

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>180</sup> Cited in Jerzy Zubrzycki, "Making Multicultural Australia: National Consultations on Multiculturalism and Citizenship " (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1982), 4.  
[http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/deptimm\\_2.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/deptimm_2.pdf) accessed 24August 2016.



On the other hand, some clergy did work with the Diocese, assisting the DMREA and calling on it for guidance and support as required.<sup>181</sup> In general, the lower clergy's commitment to cross-cultural ministry depended on their taking ownership of it, and this applied as much to overseas-born as to Australian-born clergy. In addition to the dedicated inner-city clergy discussed in Chapter 1, other examples include the Rev'd John Davis, who practised a very successful and rewarding multicultural ministry in his multi-ethnic Springvale parish, where convivial fellowship was enhanced by the generous sharing and enjoyment of food. The Indian-born Rev'd Paul Samuel very happily ministered to three mostly white congregations; having been a musician before his ordination, he delighted his congregation by playing his trumpet at appropriate points during Sunday services. Davis and Samuel found that direct contact, fellowship and goodwill enabled the sharing of worship, personal stories, friendship and, importantly, the opportunity to learn and understand other cultures. Both argued that separate culture and language-based congregations were not essential and that the quality of ministry and fellowship was more effective than a focus on cultural differences.<sup>182</sup>

It transpires from the above discussions that there was a great diversity of attitudes and mentalities among the Anglican laity and clergy, which prevents anything more than tentative generalisations, with many exceptions, about inter-racial and inter-cultural attitudes in parishes.

## **Corporate attitudes to multiculturalism**

Since Hunter's job description included a mandate 'to enlist the resources of Anglican departments, agencies and parishes',<sup>183</sup> she participated in regular Inter-Agency Meetings<sup>184</sup> and meetings of the AWCPDAC. She later described those meetings as 'abysmal' and recalled the resistance she encountered from the welfare agencies and departments when she tried to bring multiculturalism into the discussion. While some present at the meetings gave her their support, others sometimes made contentious comments about her ministry, revealing an aversion to the risk of experiments in uncharted areas, a fear of controversy, an insistence over separation of responsibilities and a competition for the parish dollar. The minutes of the DMREA Committee itself recorded

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<sup>181</sup> Letters from the Rev'd Peter Ormond to the Rev'd W Graham and H Hunter, 13 May 1992. Peter Ormond, Vicar of the parish of Holy Spirit in Watsonia, concerned about a 'prayer letter' that associated Islam with 'the power of Satan', written by a CMS missionary in Pakistan and distributed in his Church, reported the incident to Helen Hunter and his Bishop, seeking their advice and support for his efforts to educate his parish and local schools about other faiths.

<sup>182</sup> Interview with John Davis 31 July 2017; interview with Paul Samuel 3 May 2016.

<sup>183</sup> Job description of DMREA Director.

<sup>184</sup> At Inter-Agency Meetings, DMREA, the Mission of St James and St John, the Mission to Streets and Lanes, the Brotherhood of St Laurence, St John's Homes for Boys and Girls were represented.

disagreements between Hunter and the body appointed to oversee her work, and a sometimes wary corporate response to her enthusiasm for new initiatives.

Chambers' 1982 review of welfare discussed above showed that the church had not articulated a strong message to parishioners about the duty to serve the broader community.<sup>185</sup> Involving parishes in cross-cultural ministry would constitute an even bigger leap. Hunter commented that, before the arrival of the Indo-Chinese refugees, Anglicans had had no involvement with the ethnic groups already on the scene because they had no connections with the Anglican Church. 'This has been our excuse for not becoming involved. "They are Roman Catholics so leave them alone" so to speak'.<sup>186</sup> In late 1979, before the DMREA involvement in the CRSS, its management committee had expressed strong reservations about undertaking parish sponsorship of refugees, despite Hunter's advice that the ACC was considering such a move.<sup>187</sup> One of the problems was that the DMREA committee tended to set directions on an ad hoc basis, observing what other bodies did and rarely being proactive.

In December 1980 the DMREA committee acknowledged that it had 'no clear policy e.g. regarding [the] integration versus assimilation concept' and 'what [would] multi-culturism imply',<sup>188</sup> and Grant conceded that 'the nearest to an Anglican policy statement was in a 1973 General Synod Motion in general terms which did not require any action'.<sup>189</sup> With characteristic dismissiveness if not suspicion of current social studies, a member 'suggested that [its] policy should be based on experience rather than theory'.<sup>190</sup> Whereas Hunter looked to current developments and the latest social theories for practical solutions, the conservative elements in the committee were content to rely on their very limited experience, favouring tradition over innovation. Nearly a year later, the policy had not yet been written and the minutes again recorded the agreement that

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<sup>185</sup> Chambers, "Report of Melbourne Diocese Consultant in Welfare and Communication," 13.

<sup>186</sup> "AWCPDAC Minutes of 30 June 1981." Interview with Helen Hunter, 31 January 2015. At the 29 July 1980 meeting of AWCPDAC, when Hunter advised that migrant groups, especially Muslims, had approached her for help to apply for government funding for their elderly members, the response was that people were being encouraged to be self-sufficient and 'The care force for ethnic people should have its own committee from its own people'.

<sup>187</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 28 November ", ed. 1979. When the Melbourne Archbishop asked for guidelines 'in order to contact with parishes with some directive', the Committee made several awareness-raising suggestions as alternatives to sponsoring and resettling.

<sup>188</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 4 December 1980."

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

... this committee should be looking at an Anglican response to immigration issues. Noted that the Uniting Church had had a day seminar to consider their policy and the R.C. Church had published a booklet about 10 years ago setting out their policy (The Harmonious Society).<sup>191</sup>

Houston would later reflect that 'Perhaps the relative lack of programmatic documents reflects the traditional Anglo-Saxon aversion to theory and predilection for the pragmatic'.<sup>192</sup> However, the failure to produce a strategic plan masked a deeper weakness in the system, which is the subject of the next section.

The absence of a policy was largely the result of a lack of consensus within the Diocese over the meaning of multiculturalism in a church setting and what a cross-cultural ministry would entail. For a start, there was disagreement over the meaning of welfare and its applicability in the current social context. Some like Cleary saw the need to convey the duty of the Church to 'suffer with those who suffer',<sup>193</sup> while others preferred to concentrate on conversion, recruitment and capacity building in parishes.<sup>194</sup> Hunter was challenged on several occasions, by clergy and welfare colleagues with evangelical leanings, over her responsibility to convert refugees to Anglicanism. Her explanation that the DMREA's role was 'to assist the Anglican Church to live in a multicultural society'<sup>195</sup> was rejected, because it was clear for some that her task was to Christianise the non-Christian environment. This understanding of the objective of cross-cultural ministry among sections of the diocesan welfare committees echoed some of the letters of protest over the Buddha celebrations.

Inter-faith dealings had caused discomfort not just for some parishes but also for some members of the DMREA, who thought it wise to restrain Hunter's venture into this sensitive area. In the aftermath of the Buddha incident, when Hunter raised 'the need to cultivate dialogue' some members 'expressed [some concern] on what was meant by dialogue'.<sup>196</sup> Regarding her attendance at lectures on Buddhism, Grant warned her, 'Just don't become a Buddhist yourself'.<sup>197</sup> In this light, encounter with other faiths was seen as predatory, perhaps necessitating a pre-emptive strike.

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<sup>191</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 8 October 1981."

<sup>192</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 24.

<sup>193</sup> Ray Cleary, "AWCPDAC Minutes of 29 July 1980."

<sup>194</sup> The Rev'd Albert Sage argued that 'the issue now is one of evangelism and where the Church really is at the moment, along with ecumenism and what the christian is doing in a non-christian environment'. Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Hunter, "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia," 38,39.

<sup>196</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 5 June 1980.". When she mentioned the possibility of assisting ethnic groups to relate to one another, 'involving the crossing of the inter-faith boundary', again 'there was some discussion of this very sensitive area' and recommendations that this was best referred to David Cox at his Inter-Church Migration Committee'.

<sup>197</sup> Interview with H Hunter 31 January 2015.

Hunter faced constant pressure to restrain her enthusiasm for interfaith involvement and to leave it to experts outside the Diocese to take the lead.<sup>198</sup>

Diana Batzias from the EMC had raised the issue of incorporating cross-cultural ministry in every aspect of the church's ministry, however this would require goodwill and collaboration from all engaged in the home missions. Service to immigrants was considered, by some, at best a specialist branch not included in mainstream ministry and, at worst, an unnecessary distraction and waste of resource. Some committee members were concerned about the extra burden placed on parish priests with requests to involve their parishes in cross-cultural ministry. At the March 1980 meeting of the AWCPDAC, there was discussion about the appropriate place for developing initiatives for immigrant care. One clergyman

... felt that often parishes were asked to do a multitude of fund raising and caring activities without a real understanding of the problems which a parish faces in organising its own group life, surely the churches primary responsibility is to preach the Gospel and if it doesn't who will? ... And how can the parish exist or progress in the theatrical phrase "without bums on seats?" Infinite [sic] demands are made on the parish priest all the time.<sup>199</sup>

One of the reasons why Hunter received a weak response to her appeal to assist Indo-Chinese refugees was that DMREA literature on interfaith liaison sent to parishes was 'not well promoted or utilized' and, in some cases, not distributed to parishioners.<sup>200</sup> Grant advised her 'not to push too hard or expect to see change being imbedded [because] a day is like a year in the Anglican Church; nothing moves quickly here.'<sup>201</sup> As Cadwallader explained, 'There is no communication until what is communicated is appropriated. Power therefore lies in the volunteer, the unofficial handler of the tradition, in the way of listening and enacting'.<sup>202</sup> In this case, the deaf ears did not belong to just volunteers in parishes but to some inside the Home Missions, the part of the diocesan structure responsible for transmitting its vision to parishes and the broader community, and who were described as a resource in Hunter's job description.

Another great fear was that of alienating parishes by distributing controversial and confronting material in clergy correspondence and the church's newspaper. In response to the suggestion that a 'Statement Regarding Welfare and Community' be circulated for Social Justice Sunday 27 Sept 1981,

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<sup>198</sup> "AWCPDAC Minutes of 18 March 1980."

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Hunter, "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia," 53.

<sup>201</sup> Interview with H Hunter 31 January 2015

<sup>202</sup> Cadwallader, Alan, 'Authority and Power in a Voluntarist Church' in *'Wonderful and Confessedly Strange': Australian Essays in Anglican Ecclesiology*, (Hindmarsh, S. Australia: ATF Press, 2006), 283-84.

Bp. Grant felt there could be violent reaction from many parishes to this statement as there was to the Buddhist [sic] issue at Surrey Hills.<sup>203</sup>

However, one member expected parishes to ignore the statement rather than object to it, while others saw the possibility of discovery and growth in the expression of concern. On that occasion the committee decided that such a controversy would be welcome, and the motion was carried. There was little appetite for further controversy after the Buddha incident and this meant avoidance of raising difficult issues with parishes. At a DMREA meeting in 1982, '[i]t was noted that racism exists throughout various areas of community life',<sup>204</sup> however, no resolution was recorded over a possible response, although the committee welcomed the news of the MU searching for evidence of racism in children's books.<sup>205</sup> Leaving it to a women's group to deal with sensitive matters was a convenient solution. A year later, on hearing of a recent Conference on Racist Propaganda in Melbourne, the Committee again hesitated over what its own response should be. 'Should it be overt and aggressive [sic] or, should [racism] not be mentioned on the basis that it is better to reinforce righteousness rather than attack sin?'<sup>206</sup> Deferment seemed the best solution, and it was agreed that this item should remain on the agenda during the following year and that the issue be suggested 'as a possible theme for Social Justice Sunday in 1984'.<sup>207</sup>

The Church newspaper, *See*, should have been an effective vehicle for spreading the message about multiculturalism and racism. When the Rev'd Barry Huggett, Anglican Director of Information, attended a DMREA meeting to discuss his editorial policy, he explained the economics of producing the paper, the importance of marketing and working with parish priests, because priests and vestries should be wooed and not be alienated. In 1984, after Hunter had complained about the newspaper rejecting her material, Huggett was again invited to a special meeting to discuss his policy regarding Home Mission activities. The following extract from the minutes is revealing:

The Revd'B. Huggett: "See' is a newspaper and therefore its object is to print "news"; news being what is of interest to large numbers of people. 30,000 copies are printed. The paper is aimed at ordinary people, not necessarily at church each Sunday."<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> "AWCPDAC Minutes of 30 June 1981." (1981)

<sup>204</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 27 April 1982."

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 30 November 1983."

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 10 May 1984."

Huggett intended to report what he considered as news rather than to create news by raising awareness of important subjects. He argued that *See* was more people than issues orientated. With a subsidy from the Diocese, on the other hand, he could devote a page to the home missions, 'otherwise the space must be given to items that sell. The paper must be viable. ...Initiative rests with people who have something of value to submit copy'.<sup>209</sup> Not only did he suggest Hunter's articles were without value, but he was also mindful of the threat of mass subscription cancellation after the Buddha incident:

Helen Hunter's articles interest only a few and in some parishes articles on immigrants arouse hostile responses. However, the purpose of a Church paper is to glorify Christ ... Provincial papers deal with local items. Parish papers with parish matters. 'See' tries to give reasonable variety.<sup>210</sup>

This reduced issues of race and culture to matters of local interest that were discussed at local or parish levels, but not of general interest across the Diocese. Huggett's editorial concerns and priorities were a hindrance rather than an aid to Hunter's efforts to promote cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese.

Some representatives of the welfare agencies and departments saw Hunter as a competitor for parish funding, arguing that departments should not make direct approaches without specific approval from the HMB, because 'parishes might choose to support specific projects and thus disrupt the overall effect of Diocesan budgetary planning and the Diocesan voluntary assessment', with a potentially 'disastrous' outcome.<sup>211</sup> Without funding from the central diocesan funds from parish assessment, the DMREA depended on donations from parishes, yet Hunter was accused of 'diverting money, not raising new money'.<sup>212</sup> One clergyman suggested that DMREA seek a partnership with the Department of Ethnic Affairs 'especially in the light of the proposed massive immigration of British migrants over the next few years'.<sup>213</sup> Notwithstanding the assumption within the Church that immigrants, especially the British, should be the financial responsibility of government, Hunter had to explain that, unlike the Catholics, the Anglican church did not qualify for government funding, allocated on the strength of ethnic membership.

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> "HMB Minutes of 9 May 1985."

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

## Challenges: ethnic presence

In 1983, turning her attention to cross-cultural relations within the Anglican Church, Hunter wrote a 72-page essay titled *Multicultural Challenges: The Anglican Church in the Diocese of Melbourne*,<sup>214</sup> in which she presented the results of her survey of all ethnic groups in the Melbourne Diocese and the degree to which they were included in the life of the church. Her survey targeted 20% of parishes in each of the three diocesan regions, ensuring representation of the inner city, suburbs, country districts and Geelong. Of the 46 parishes who were invited to participate, all except two responded. Approximately 33% of parishioners (2,369 in total) from participating parishes completed the survey questionnaire, which asked their ethnic origins, their involvement in their own ethnic communities and in the church.

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<sup>214</sup>Hunter, *Challenges*.

Table 15: Birthplace of Melbourne Anglicans in *Challenges* Survey Sample

Birthplace	Numbers surveyed	Per cent
Australia	1840	77.7
UK & Ireland	340	14.3
Total Other Europe	35	1.5
Total Asia	80	3.4
Total America	11	0.4
Total Africa	30	1.3
Total Oceania (incl New Zealand)	33	1.4
TOTAL SURVEYED	2369	100

Source: Multicultural Challenges (1983), 27-29.

Table 15 shows that 77.7% of Hunter's sample were born in Australia, a percentage that confirmed a downward trend from 81.6% of Anglicans in Melbourne in the 1976 census to 81.2% in the 1981 census.<sup>215</sup> The total percentage of Hunters' survey respondents born overseas or with at least one parent born overseas was 40.3%, and of these 64% were of British origin.<sup>216</sup> All the participating parishes except one had overseas-born members, and more than 35 countries of origins were represented.<sup>217</sup> The survey revealed a strong immigrant presence in the Southern Region parishes, notably Dandenong and Springvale, with Anglicans from India, Sri Lanka, South Africa, and New Zealand Maoris. They attended church more regularly than British immigrants, yet only a very small percentage was involved in the church's decision-making processes. Only 1% of overseas-born respondents were Synod representatives,<sup>218</sup> 50 immigrants from 22 parishes were members of vestries,<sup>219</sup> 9 were churchwardens<sup>220</sup> and treasurers. However, many more served their parish in non-executive roles: 53 attended Bible study and 27 mid-week prayer groups, 30 were on social committees, 16 were active fundraisers, 23 participated in Sunday services and 42 were members of

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 27-29.

<sup>218</sup> 5 in total, 4 from the UK and 1 from NZ. Ibid., 37.

<sup>219</sup> Parish governing committees.

<sup>220</sup> A Churchwarden is a lay official in a parish or congregation of the Anglican Communion, usually working as a part-time volunteer. Holders of these positions are ex-officio members of the parish board, usually called a vestry, parochial Church council, or in the case of a Cathedral parish the chapter. In each parish two Churchwardens are elected by the congregation and one appointed by the incumbent priest.



one or more church groups.<sup>221</sup> A total of 162 respondents indicated that they spoke at least one other language than English,<sup>222</sup> however, Hunter found there was little opportunity to worship in their native tongues or to use these skills in their parish ministry.<sup>223</sup>

Hunter claimed that the church used an assimilationist approach to incorporate its overseas-born members. First, it had failed to imagine other ways of expressing religious faith than its own: 'Socialization in the Anglican Church takes place within an ordered framework which assumes a common ideology and quest'.<sup>224</sup> Hunter was concerned that, by not allowing overseas-born Anglicans to make their imprint on the church's culture, the latter was failing to embrace multiculturalism, remaining 'Anglo-Celtic conformist [and] assimilating migrants by socialization processes which reflect the establishment interests of the majority'.<sup>225</sup> It is a measure of Hunter's boldness of vision that she should envisage a reform from below through the participation of CALD Anglicans in the governance system of the church. This would occur through their membership of parish councils or vestries and their election as Synod representatives for their parishes. Such change was required to equip the church 'for new forms of ministry relevant to multicultural living'.<sup>226</sup> The slow 'infiltration [of] the processes of synodical government'<sup>227</sup> which Hunter advocated would also challenge the church's outmoded style of church governance. Hunter called for fundamental reform, which she had no authority to initiate, but considered essential for the church's health and continued growth.

An important consequence of the church's neglect of its ethnic members was the risk to its own future. Hunter saw opportunities in ethnic ministries for the church to enrich and revitalise itself as well as ensuring its connectedness and relevance to its multicultural surroundings. '[The church's migrant constituents] are minority Anglicans, and yet they could be the cutting edge for social interaction between the Diocese and the unexplored dimensions of polyethnic living'.<sup>228</sup> Hunter named two ethnic groups, one Maori consisting of 40 to 50 members,<sup>229</sup> and one Sri Lankan, whose

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<sup>221</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 36.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 31.

cultural, welfare and spiritual needs were not being met by the Diocese, and who had recently severed links with the parishes of St Kilda and Springvale North<sup>230</sup> respectively, to make alternative worship arrangements. Hunter attributed this to the Diocese's neglect.<sup>231</sup> If the church continued to ignore its ethnic congregations, Hunter argued, 'an interlocking bridge with the ethnic community life of Melbourne' might not be built, 'leaving the Diocese a more isolated sub-culture in Melbourne than its present potential would suggest'.<sup>232</sup> Chapter 5 discusses the gap between the church and its ethnic congregations from the latter's perspective.

## Conclusion

This chapter has identified the main features of the Melbourne Diocese's first experience with cross-cultural ministry, as one individual tried to realise her own vision for cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese, met with resistance from some colleagues and parishes, but performed the first systematic examination of Melbourne Anglicans' responses to cultural diversity and the reasons behind them.

### *The HMB's vision*

The Diocese put little thought into the creation of the DMREA and, having made the decision partly for the sake of appearance, probably had low expectations of it. The HMB would have been content with being represented on external bodies involved in immigrant and refugee assistance and welfare, as it relied on its welfare agencies to serve the needy in society its behalf. This was a difficult period during which the whole issue of Anglican welfare, especially the Diocese's relationship with its agencies and its failure to advocate social responsibility to its parishes, was brought into question. I have argued that the distance between church and agencies was in some ways repeated in the leadership's failure to engage with the laity in voluntarism. Seen in that context, the church's lukewarm attitude to cross-cultural ministry was part of a larger problem for the Diocese in that it no longer knew how to fulfil its mission to society.

The frankly expressed disinterest and occasional hostility with which some of Hunter's colleagues responded to her efforts to make cross-cultural ministry a central part of the Diocese's mission have been interpreted in this chapter as a reflection on the systemic monocultural character of the Diocese. Hunter's ministry was perceived as a new endeavour competing for limited funds,

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<sup>230</sup> Hunter reported that 'The Sri Lankans had no representation in parish decision-making processes, nor in the processes of synodical government, and so could not express themselves effectively. The Church did not hear them at all. ... The Maori community was 'separating gradually from Diocesan life and developing their own traditions, religious practices and resources. Their evolving structure is related directly to their particular ethnic identity'. Ibid., 55.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 56.

resources, and coverage in the diocesan newspaper, and advocating for changes in traditional patterns of Anglican praxis.

Hunter's experiences with the leadership, colleagues and parishes were examples of the marginalisation of cross-cultural ministry as a proposal that was unfamiliar and deemed unimportant; it was an unnecessary complication for a system already under strain.

### *Encounter with Indo-Chinese refugees*

Hunter was thrown in at the deep end by having to motivate Anglican parishes to support refugees from very different cultural and religious backgrounds. She found a mixed reaction from the laity when she tried to engage them in the CRSS and other programs: some responded with remarkable generosity while others showed no interest in her education programs. A methodological problem for this thesis has been the scarcity of records on Anglican voluntarism outside the church. Many lay Anglicans chose to act independently of the church and engaged in their chosen forms of voluntarism in a secular setting. It has been suggested here that the diverse parishes' responses to Hunter's advocacy programs are better explained in terms of structures, class distinction and typically Anglican postures, and that attitudes to race and culture were not the only or prime factor, although there was some evidence of prejudice present. This theme is further explored in Chapter 3.

The Buddha incident in 1980 marked a turning point in the cross-cultural encounter between parishioners and the Buddhist faith, but the strongly negative reaction from a minority of parishes and individuals served to initiate an open conversation on interfaith relations. The debate was a significant moment for the Diocese as it involved the Archbishop and inspired many to come forward and support the action of the parish that had welcomed the Buddhists. This was the first official diocesan pronouncement on interfaith relations and a first indication of feelings on the subject across the Diocese, which were overall positive. The incident pointed to an urgent need for leadership on the best form of Christian intercultural engagement.

### *Helen Hunter's vision and revelations*

Hunter's approach to her ministry signalled a continuation of the strong interface between individuals in the Diocese and the broader network that revolved around the ecumenical scene, especially the EMC, and government. Instead of being a mere Anglican envoy and enquirer among external organisations involved in immigration and settlement, Hunter capitalised on her connections with them to broaden her own knowledge. This enabled her to increase the profile and responsibilities of DMREA, achieve more prominence on some of those bodies, and gain enough confidence to seriously challenge the Anglican Church's traditions and prejudices.

Apart from the direct assistance and support that Hunter and her Anglican volunteers managed to give to immigrants and refugees, she achieved something new and significant, at least in the Melbourne Diocese. Sociologist and Anglican clergyman Gary Bouma wrote that until the mid-1970s 'If you were Church of England no further explanation was required...'.<sup>233</sup> The church that had remained unexplained was now being forced to explain itself. Mass immigration and multiculturalism threw the Anglican Church into a state of crisis as the Anglican identity, hitherto taken for granted and never before questioned or contested, went from being unreflected to being problematised. Hunter proceeded to systematically analyse the workings of the ecclesial machinery and demonstrate to what extent it was unfit for its duty. She did not have the backing of the hierarchy for her bold vision and ideas for reform, but what she exposed could no longer be veiled under the mystique of the unexplained.<sup>234</sup>

Hunter concluded that a change of attitude at all levels was needed, but that this would require a fundamental reform of the Diocesan sense of its identity and its mission in a pluralistic society. She found that the resistance from some groups and individuals at all levels of the Diocese were due to the structures and traditions of the church. She blamed much of the resistance to cross-cultural ministry on the Church's English heritage and structures, but she lacked the required backing and empowerment of the hierarchy to attain her full potential in her ministry. A strong vision for cross-cultural ministry needed to be articulated and implemented at the highest level, a development which is discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>233</sup> Gary Bouma, "From Hegemony to Pluralism: Managing Religious Diversity in Modernity and Post-Modernity," in *Managing Religious Diversity: From Threat to Promise*, ed. Gary Bouma (Erskineville, NSW: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1999), 22.

<sup>234</sup> It should be noted that the removal of obscurity around the church was not seen by all Anglicans as the panacea to its problems. Tom Frame warned that 'even if the church becomes more inclusive, welcoming, friendly, open, gregarious, *explicable*, generous and high-tech, here is no guarantee that Australians will return to God and become part of an Anglican congregation'. (My emphasis) Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, 259.

## Chapter 3: Archbishop David Penman's Leadership of the Diocese of Melbourne 1984-89

In 1978, a year before the creation of the DMREA, the Rev'd David John Penman, Principal of St Andrew's Hall, had invited the clergy of the Western Region to reflect on the church's responsibilities in a culturally diverse society and the need for 'a concerted and carefully planned ministry of caring and service to ... new Australians'.<sup>1</sup> In his view, the creation of this ministry depended on 'the direction and encouragement of the whole Diocese, and our leaders, if this is to be acceptable to our colleagues and make a worthwhile contribution'.<sup>2</sup> This chapter aims to ascertain to what extent his vision for a diocesan-wide approach to cross-cultural ministry proved acceptable to his leadership team and enriched the ministry of the Diocese to immigrants and refugees. I have demonstrated in Chapter 2 that, although Helen Hunter had a similar outlook, her mission as Director of the DMREA did not enjoy strong support from the hierarchy. When Penman became Archbishop of Melbourne, however, cross-cultural ministry was promptly made a high priority and it headed for its crowning point in the history of the Diocese. He set out to articulate and disseminate his own idea of a carefully thought out and unilaterally supported ministry.

Penman's five-year episcopate was characterised by attempts at reforming the Diocese to make it better equipped for and more responsive to the challenges of the period. This chapter examines his attempt at a major reform in cross-cultural ministry and its reception by the Diocese in the wider context of his overall episcopate. A concurrent reform of administrative structures was intended to increase efficiency and remove some logistical obstacles to cross-cultural ministry, while a submission to Synod on the theology of mission aimed to provide a framework for the Diocese's overall mission, including the spiritual care and evangelisation of immigrants. All three were important for cross-cultural ministry, but none enjoyed enough diocesan acceptance and support to achieve their full potential.

The discussion about Penman's vision and leadership incorporates the four historical perspectives discussed in my introduction. It will be argued that reverence for the history and traditions of the church caused some to interpret Penman's reforms as a threat to the very core and heritage of Anglicanism; that the nature of the challenges facing the Diocese, including immigration, government policies for multiculturalism and the presence of religious diversity, caused anxiety over

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<sup>1</sup> Penman, "Some Reflections on Our Ministry among Migrants and the New Arrivals in the Diocese of Melbourne," 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

the nature and extent of changes required of the church, and over the pressure to engage with difficult socio-political issues; that divisions and factions, some based on theology and others on personal agendas and diocesan politics, made for strong, if sometimes passive, resistance to change; and that individuals' personalities, their visions and influence came into play in a very significant way. Following Kaye's suggested approach of analysing rhetoric, the chapter will also review the form of ecclesiastic debate over innovation versus conservation, especially in regard to multiculturalism as a social ideal and a ministry.

While the traditionalist and conservative influences within the church were largely indifferent to multiculturalism, Penman and his supporters argued that the situation called for urgent and radical structural changes. He believed minor and piecemeal reform to deal with contingencies would have limited and ephemeral effect but, in the event, the scope of the stronger measures proved too daunting for the forces of conservatism and were met with resistance. An added complication was that the church's defensiveness in the face of strong and sustained pressure on other fronts, notably, the movement for the ordination of women, made it less amenable than it might otherwise have been to reforms relating to inclusiveness and cultural sensitivity. Insofar as Penman's detractors also opposed the broader reforms that might have benefited cross-cultural ministry, the latter was a victim of collateral damage.

Penman's background had some elements that largely explain the passion and confidence with which he directed his reforms. In 1965, three years after his ordination to the priesthood, he and his wife Jean came to St Andrew's Hall in Melbourne to train as Church Missionary Society (CMS)<sup>3</sup> missionaries. During their first mission, having first learnt Urdu, he gained an MA in Islamic Sociology and a PhD in the Sociology of Religion from the University of Karachi in Pakistan. He believed that, to explain Christianity to Muslims in a respectful way, he should first understand their faith.<sup>4</sup> In 1972 he pursued his missionary work in Lebanon, then in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Iran, Iraq and other parts of the region.<sup>5</sup> On his return to Australia in 1976, he was appointed principal of St Andrew's Hall, where he included a substantial component of cross-cultural experience in the CMS curriculum prior to students' leaving for overseas. Using multicultural Melbourne as a training ground for contact with other cultures abroad was an early indication of his integrative and global concept of

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<sup>3</sup> Church Missionary Society, an Anglican global mission organisation with an evangelical emphasis, which works in collaboration with many Anglican dioceses worldwide.

<sup>4</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 33-34.

intercultural mission. He also demonstrated his interest in educating the Australian public about cross-cultural and interfaith relations by giving open lectures that non-enrolled people could attend.<sup>6</sup>

After a two-year spell in New Zealand as a parish Vicar, Penman returned to Australia in 1982 to begin his new role as Bishop of the Western Region in the Melbourne Diocese and, upon his consecration, he told the diocesan monthly newspaper *See*:

With the privileges of a multi-cultural background, I come to bring these insights into my ministry. They will influence my approach to and application of the scriptures, which will be central to my thinking and spiritual life.<sup>7</sup>

He soon gained prominence with his public comments on unemployment and poverty, social benefits, multiculturalism and refugees, and the environment.<sup>8</sup> In February 1983, his reputation as a leader who expressed his faith in action was reinforced by his care of victims of the Ash Wednesday bushfires in his episcopal region.<sup>9</sup> His views about the church's mission in the world informed his ministry for the rest of his life, and he remained consistent in his interest in social issues and commitment to justice for Aborigines and immigrants.<sup>10</sup>

Penman's election to the highest office in the Diocese in 1984 was controversial. Topping the list of nominees presented to the Electoral Board appointed by Synod were Bishops James Grant, a senior bishop, and Peter Hollingworth, Executive Director of the BSL, both with strong support in the Diocese. In Alan Nichols' judgment,<sup>11</sup> 'Hollingworth was probably the best known cleric in Australia, adviser to prime ministers and advocate for the poor. Grant was the most experienced clergyman in the Diocese of Melbourne, with the greatest accumulated knowledge of the clergy and parishes of the diocese'.<sup>12</sup> There was an impassable deadlock as neither candidate won the mandatory two-thirds of the vote. Penman's name, having been eliminated early in the selection process, was

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<sup>5</sup> Colin Holden, "Penman, David John (1936–1989)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2012), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/penman-david-john-15060/text26259>. (accessed 1 May 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Helen Hunter was a regular attender at those lectures. Interview with Helen Hunter 31 January 2015

<sup>7</sup> "David Penman, Melbourne's New Regional Bishop," *See* 1982.

<sup>8</sup> Alan Nichols, "Penman, David John (1936-1989)," (2004), <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/ojs/index.php/ADEB/article/view/900/897>. (accessed 1 May 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Holden, "Penman, David John (1936–1989)."

<sup>10</sup> 'Address by David Penman on multiculturalism', at the School of Christian Studies at Robert Menzies College, Macquarie University, Sydney, on Monday 3 July 1989. In this, 'his last major public address in Australia', Penman reiterated his long-held views on racism, diversity and equality, for Aborigines, immigrants and people of other non-Christian faiths. Reproduced in Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 223-36.

<sup>11</sup> The Venerable Alan Nichols was Archdeacon of Melbourne.

<sup>12</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 113. Bp James Grant also happened to be a prolific church historian.

reintroduced to break the stalemate, a move which encouraged his supporters to exert more pressure on his behalf.<sup>13</sup> Houston wrote in an unpublished version of his memoirs that, 'In the end a group of "concerned Anglicans" had taken out a whole-page ad in *The Age* calling on the church to exercise some leadership, and in the ensuing Synod the compromise candidate came up the middle, David Penman, clearly elected as a cleanskin. So he had the moral authority to put his mark upon the Diocese'.<sup>14</sup> Penman would not be beholden to or controlled by any faction in the Diocese, but his leadership team included a good number who viewed his election on 23 May 1984 with resentment. He was enthroned on 28 July.

Penman's overseas mission made him a strong advocate for multiculturalism and inter-faith dialogue, partly because it had included the experience of being part of a racial, cultural and religious minority. His widow, the Rev'd Jean Penman, reflected on the unavoidable influence of the Middle-Eastern experience on her late husband's ministry,

... having come from working in another culture and being very conscious of what it's like to be in a minority - you're one white person, and a Christian, in a sea of Muslims, and all the rest of it... [then] coming back into this culture and experiencing the diversity not only of cultures but also of religions, and [seeing] the need for there to be some communication between the groups.<sup>15</sup>

Penman had the authority of personal experience, and for him the co-existence of a multitude of ethnicities, cultures and faiths in Australia posed a challenge that required a thoughtful and creditable response from the church.

Outside the church, Penman won public respect through his unwavering support for the ordination of women to the priesthood and his public advocacy for some unpopular causes. He accepted the Commonwealth Health Minister's invitation to become a trustee of the Australian AIDS Council, and refused to pronounce this disease the manifestation of the 'wrath of God' on homosexuals.<sup>16</sup> His

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<sup>13</sup> Anglican author Paul Nicholls blamed the ineffectiveness of the Selection Board for the impasse. He contended that 'Having a small selection committee had worked well when the diocese had to find a suitable Englishman for the post - indeed, it was probably the only way to operate given the assumptions prevailing before the 1960s about the appropriate criteria (English training and experience) for leadership of the church in Melbourne'. Paul Nicholls, "Barchester in Australia? Elections to the See of Melbourne, 1847-1990," in *People of the Past? The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture*, ed. Colin Holden (Melbourne: History Department, The University of Melbourne, 2000), 114.

<sup>14</sup> Jim Houston, *Ride of a Lifetime: The Life and Times of James Houston* (Unpublished), 355. Quoted with permission of the author.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Jean Penman, widow of the late Archbishop David Penman, 2 May 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Holden, "Penman, David John (1936-1989)." <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/ojs/index.php/ADEB/article/view/900/897> (accessed 28 May 2016).



commitment to ecumenism saw him being elected president of the ACC in 1988.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, his interest and involvement in interfaith dialogue and in government policies on race and culture won him many supporters.

On the other hand, from the time of his election until his death five years later, controversy would surround Penman's episcopate. In 1990, Gerald Davis, editor of the national Anglican newspaper, *Church Scene*, reporting on the electoral process for Penman's successor, agreed with '[the] view that the wounds and hurts of the election process – by committee – which chose [Penman] are still not fully healed'.<sup>18</sup> Calling himself a fan of Penman, he paid tribute to 'a brilliant leader who might, in the Lord's will, have led Melbourne to fulfil great visions in evangelism, multi-cultural bridge-building, contemporary exegesis of biblical truths, easing of the structures of ordered ministries, and more'.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, he listed what he saw as the late Archbishop's idiosyncrasies, including 'his difficulty in suffering fools, in particular the well-meaning, persistent, limited-success folk with ideas of their own that did not make sense to him, ... [relating] easily to high achievers, in whatever field, and to the obviously needy'.<sup>20</sup> It is clear that parts of the Diocese had taken offense at Penman's upstaging of the two favourite candidates, at his style of leadership, his personality and dynamism, and had found it difficult to cooperate with him. After Penman's death, Nichols, who had worked closely with him as his archdeacon, remembered how Penman was rejected by a number of senior Anglicans: 'Throughout his time as archbishop he felt tensions and strains which could not all be eliminated by the authority of the office or by the considerable charm and time he spent dealing with those with whom he differed'.<sup>21</sup> Some thought that, as an evangelical, he would upset the equilibrium in churchmanship<sup>22</sup> that had been carefully preserved in the Melbourne Diocese. He was viewed with suspicion by some as a foreigner and an evangelical.<sup>23</sup> Apart from his immediate predecessor, Australian-born Robert Dann, all previous Melbourne Archbishops had been imported from Britain. Penman was a New Zealander who considered the Middle East, not England, as his spiritual heartland. Others frowned on his readiness to have open and constant dialogue with

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> C G Davis, "It Could Be a Slow Process," *Church Scene* 26 January 1990, 18. Davis was the editor of *Church Scene* and a member of the Electoral Synod.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Nichols, "Penman, David John (1936-1989)".

<sup>22</sup> For an explanation of the concept of churchmanship, see Appendix I.

<sup>23</sup> Holden, "Penman, David John (1936-1989)".

journalists and politicians,<sup>24</sup> and, by chance, the Labor Party, not traditionally associated with the Anglican Church, happened to be in power at both the Federal and State levels.<sup>25</sup>

## **Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission (1984-1985)**

In June 1978, Penman had observed that some parts of the church saw no reason or urgency to respond proactively to cultural pluralism. He warned that

Australia is rapidly becoming a multi-racial society. The sooner we accept this as a basic factor, the easier will be our planning. One of the dangers of our present situation is to continue to believe we have time before a new approach is taken towards the multi-racial parishes in this region.<sup>26</sup>

In 1984, just months after his enthronement as Archbishop, Penman appointed a Commission on Multicultural Mission and Ministry (ACMMM) to conduct an in-depth survey of all aspects of cross-cultural interaction in the Diocese. In his own subsequent review of cross-cultural ministry,<sup>27</sup> Houston described Penman's move to place multicultural ministry on centre stage as

... a historic decision, the first by any Australian denomination in any State, to re-examine the entire life and work of a church in the light of the multicultural society.<sup>28</sup>

Although the DMREA had accomplished a great deal in the form of refugee support and parish education, for Penman and his team the time had come for 'a reconsideration of [the Diocese's] whole relationship with today's multicultural, poly-ethnic and inter-faith society'.<sup>29</sup> The aim was to examine the place and role of the church in the broader Melbourne society, with all that this entailed for its engagement with a diverse and largely unknown constituency, and to reaffirm its *raison-d'être*. This was a far more ambitious and engaged vision than that been entertained by the

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<sup>24</sup> In the words of James Grant, 'For comments on public issues, there was always a choice between the Archbishop and the Dean and the Cathedral pulpit or the Synod. Archbishop Booth intervened only rarely in current debates and was content for Dean Babbage to offer an Anglican opinion'. James Grant, *St Paul's Cathedral Melbourne* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd, 2014), 171.

<sup>25</sup> In 1985 Penman accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Bob Hawke to chair the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs (AIMA). Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 140.

<sup>26</sup> Penman, "Some Reflections on Our Ministry among Migrants and the New Arrivals in the Diocese of Melbourne," 1.

<sup>27</sup> Houston, *Seeds*.

<sup>28</sup> Jim Houston, "ITEMS Report to the VCC Commission on Community and Race Relations, August 1984."

<sup>29</sup> Speech notes for Archbishop David Penman's Tyndale Fellowship address, signed Jim Houston, Helen Hunter, Peter Wilkinson, and John Ball, 'Notes on Multiculturalism: "Celebrating diversity & doing justice", ca late 1984.

HMB in the mid-1970s, for a resource centre run by an underworked parish priest and part-time assistant.

The 20-member commission included seven Anglican clergy, some lay members, and representatives from other churches, four of whom advised government in a professional capacity. This was testament to Penman's commitment to ecumenism, his involvement in multifaith activities, and his readiness to relate to government as a listener as well as a critic. In addition, ten working groups were formed to investigate and discuss a range of specific issues, and contribute towards the Commission's final report. Their members numbered 109,<sup>30</sup> one-third of whom were born overseas or had special connections with specific ethnic groups.<sup>31</sup> The enquiry lasted six months, with contributions from all Australian Anglican dioceses and Anglican leaders in several countries.<sup>32</sup> Premier John Cain gave the opening address at the *Christ Across Cultures Conference*, held at Melbourne Grammar School in January 1985 to provide an opportunity for further input from approximately 400 delegates.

The Commission's 190-page report entitled *A Garden of Many Colours*<sup>33</sup> (*Garden*) ended with recommendations for reform across the Diocese, to make the church more relevant, influential and effective in its multicultural ministry. The 99 recommendations included 9 on Synod membership and practice, 18 on possibilities for parish engagement with diversity, 7 concerning the welcoming of non-British-Australian Anglicans into the church, 12 on the role of Anglican chaplains and other employees of the Diocese in the health, education, industry, naval and military ministries, 15 on theological education, 5 on Anglican schools, 7 on interfaith relations, 6 on Aboriginal matters, the remainder on social issues, disability, empowerment of specific groups, and overseas mission. Bold and controversial proposals at the central level were presented alongside relatively modest reforms at community level. Inclusiveness and social justice were the supreme goals of *Garden*, in the form of treating all groups fairly and compassionately, recruiting all categories of Anglicans in active ministry and integrating Anglicans of non-British and non-European extraction as valued members of the church. Houston described *Garden* as a 'veritable blockbuster of a report, compared to which earlier and subsequent documents produced by Australian Churches [were] piecemeal and unimpressive.'<sup>34</sup> He pronounced it 'the most comprehensive public policy on multicultural ministry &

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<sup>30</sup> *Garden*, 190.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 23.

mission of any Victorian church - or indeed any church in Australia'.<sup>35</sup> From being years behind the rest in intercultural mission, the Melbourne Anglican Diocese had moved to first position nationwide with an ambitious and extensive reform program.

The concluding paragraphs of the introduction to *Garden* indicate that the report was not a strategic plan with clear measurable goals, but an invitation to a journey of discovery and enlightenment.

[The recommendations] in some cases refer to the need to adjust the structures of the Diocese, to motivate agencies and organizations, and to assist the sensitizing process of attitudes of all Anglicans...

Long-Term Goals: The purpose of this Report is to look at ourselves as an Anglican Church, and reflect on how we may open ourselves to each other and the world.<sup>36</sup>

Rather than focusing on results, the plan was more process-oriented and the objective was to engage in critical self-examination, to become rather than to deliver; it would be a medium to long-term learning experience instead of an investment for instant and quantifiable returns.

Some within the Diocese expressed scepticism about the idea of administering a detailed program of multicultural ministry, considering this as either unnecessary or even potentially harmful. Grant, who was by then Dean of St Paul's Cathedral and had no involvement in the ACMMM, wrote a letter to a recipient named Philip,<sup>37</sup> in which he expressed doubt about the concept of multiculturalism. He aptly observed that the word 'culture' was 'a chameleonlike term which since it was first popularised by Matthew Arnold has become one of the most overworked and least helpful words in the English language', but then added that 'I am convinced that what inhibits our mission in this country is the cultural divide between working-class and middle-class Australia, ... [and that] ethnic difference can be transcended by cultural affinity'.<sup>38</sup> A submission to the Commission by Dr Robin Sharwood, then Warden of Trinity (Anglican theological) College also warned against the 'over-emphasis on multiculturalism, especially at the levels of law and government, and generally in relation to the institutions in our society'.<sup>39</sup> Sharwood was concerned that 'the deliberate and "official" promotion of multiculturalism could threaten the cohesiveness and identity of our community to a potentially damaging extent'.<sup>40</sup> He favoured 'non-interventionist' or 'evolutionary' strategies to achieve

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> *Garden*, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Handwritten letter from Grant to Philip (probably Archdeacon Philip Newman). 19 July 1985

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Robin Sharwood, letter to Penman, 10 January 1985.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

‘acculturation’, adding that these considerations applied as much to the church as to society.<sup>41</sup> Sharwood’s recommendations echoed the tendency within the church, discussed in Chapter 2, to avoid challenging the status quo and provoking discontent, but it also conjured up within the church the spectre of divisiveness and loss of identity, which had already become the catchcry of the New Right. (See Chapter 4)

Not all critics of the Commission presented their views in such constructive terms. At least two Anglicans penned their suspicion of a conspiracy to victimise white Australians and their institutions. Christopher Heathcote wrote to *Church Scene* claiming that the *Christ Across Cultures* Conference had ‘failed to offer Anglicans a realistic approach to leading their lives in our “multicultural society”’, which did not help Christians at work because ‘as a single Christian amongst a group of Moslems in the workplace, one rapidly discovers [that] whilst they may be quick to demand strict respect for their beliefs, they also reserve the right to ridicule Christ!’<sup>42</sup> He had previously claimed that ‘the occasion [of the Conference] was used as a platform to press the current mythology that White Australians are not Australian. Unsurprisingly, most discourse tended to imply only “good things” come from ethnic cultures, whilst only “bad things” have come White Australia’.<sup>43</sup> Another correspondent named John Bennett wrote to Penman to take issue with the statement in *Garden* that the church should change its style of government. He presented his case thus:

I was confirmed as an Anglican and believe that at least 90% of Anglicans are ‘Anglo-Celtic’. If the Church is to shed its Anglo Celtic conformist style, will it also change its name to accord with its new style? Could you indicate what new system of government will be supported by the Church if it distances itself from the Westminster system of government. The Anglo Celtic style has promoted democratic governments throughout the world. If the Anglican Church sheds its Anglo Celtic style will it support a totalitarian system of government, more consistent with non Anglo Celtic styles?<sup>44</sup>

The voice of outraged victimhood misconstruing the intent of *Garden* was a response to the Diocese apparently going a step too far. Bennett saw himself as a champion of human rights,<sup>45</sup> and to him

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Christopher Heathcote, *Church Scene* 1985., (undated). Melbourne Diocese Archives.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. Heathcote also sent a letter dated 24 January 1985. Melbourne Diocese Archives.

<sup>44</sup> John Bennett, 27 March 1985. Melbourne Diocese Archives.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. For good measure, Bennett attached to his letter an annual report of the Australian Civil Liberties Union. Among the Union’s achievements the following were listed: ‘representations... to the programme managers of various television stations in relation to the programmes which may incite racial hatred, particularly against people of German extraction, [lobbying] the Human Rights Commission ... with a view to ensuring that legislation to create a new “thought offence” of incitement to racial hatred is not passed, ... a letter supporting freedom of speech for Professor Blainey on the immigration issue ...in “The Age”’.

the church faced a straight choice between the British path of democracy and the models of despotism that, for the sake of making non-British and non-European immigrants feel more at home, an altered style of government might adopt.

It did not help that the opponents of change were defending what they considered sacrosanct and immutable while Penman was still developing his concept of multiculturalism as it applied within the church. They clung to certainty and the notion of permanence while he experimented with new possibilities. The author of *Garden* wrote about Penman that '[t]o date he has not defined the term "multiculturalism", although he has given several hints regarding the dynamic processes which involve the community, the church, and the Christian in responding to a multicultural society'.<sup>46</sup> For Penman, the development of a fully conceived and articulated multicultural ministry was work in progress, and progress depended on the collaboration of Synod and the rest of the Diocese. He hoped that the considerations and recommendations of the ACMMM would 'provide a substantial basis for a policy statement across the Diocese, on which future directions [could] be based'.<sup>47</sup> This exercise had the potential to finally bring the Anglican Church into line with other churches that had formulated and normalised such a policy a decade before.

As Director of the DMREA, Hunter would play a leading role in the implementation of the ACMMM's recommendations. This was to be a labour of love which depended not solely on Hunter's assiduity for its accomplishment but also on continuous momentum and corporate support beyond the initial appeal of novelty and enthusiasm. While Penman was in office, Hunter could count on such official backing and endorsement. An early step following the tabling of *Garden* at Synod was to review the DMREA to increase its impact in the Diocese. Its new title of Department for Multicultural Ministry (DMM) reflected its place in the church's mainstream ministry as distinct from a welfare-oriented specialty service to select disadvantaged groups. With a revised position description, a nearly 40% budget increase,<sup>48</sup> a higher profile and stronger mandate than before, Helen Hunter explored possibilities that had previously been beyond her brief or capabilities. She critically assessed every point of contact between the church and society for its appropriateness to the changing cultural character of the environment.

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<sup>46</sup> *Garden*, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Letter from Helen Hunter, on behalf of Abp David Penman, to prospective working group members, c.a mid-1984. Diocesan Archives.

<sup>48</sup> The budget for multiculturalism ministry increased from \$36,743 in 1984 to \$50,315 in 1985. Statements of Receipts and Disbursements for selected years, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne.

A fairly typical statement recorded by one of the ACMMM's discussion group was that: 'Our British inheritance ... has created a set of expectations among Anglicans that ... the marks of privilege are part and parcel of their Christian inheritance'.<sup>49</sup> The corollary to this attitude was an inability to understand and relate to other cultures or the struggle of disadvantaged immigrants whose experiences of immigration were particularly difficult.<sup>50</sup> One CALD parishioner explained that: 'Many Australian Anglicans feel threatened by ethnic peoples. They, especially the British group, don't understand different cultural expressions and cannot cope with other languages'.<sup>51</sup> Dealing with ignorance required discernment, sensitivity and patience, as Hunter tried to persuade British-Australian Anglicans to acknowledge their own ethnicity and culture as factors influencing their forms of religious expression and experience.<sup>52</sup> She understood the potential shock value of this approach to those who had 'never been compelled ... to consider themselves as "ethnic"'.<sup>53</sup> In 1994, Australian historian John Hirst deplored the way in which, through multiculturalism,

Mainstream Australian society was reduced to an ethnic group and given an ethnic name, Anglo-Celt; its right to primacy was denied; indeed it became the most suspect of all ethnic groups given its atrocious past; its desire to perpetuate itself was denounced as Anglo-conformism in contrast to the migrants' virtuous wish to preserve their cultural identity; at best the Anglo-Celts were offered the chance to be one of the many contributors to an entirely new body multicultural Australia.<sup>54</sup>

This echoes Heathcote's complaint, cited above, that the Diocese was intent on demonising white Australians and idealising 'ethnic' immigrants. In a sense, it is true that, while Penman and Hunter advocated for CALD Anglicans' rights to maintain and celebrate their own Anglican cultures,<sup>55</sup> British-Australian Anglicans were being told that the attachment to an English heritage helped to perpetuate the establishment mentality and inhibited the contextualising of the faith in an Australian setting.<sup>56</sup> All was not clear cut and paradoxes needed to be acknowledged and addressed constructively.

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<sup>49</sup> Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission; Report from a Discussion Group at Conference, Thursday 24 January 1985, Jim Houston Group Leader.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> *Garden*, 57.

<sup>52</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 48.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> John Hirst, "National Pride and Multiculturalism," *People and place* 2, no. 3 (1994): 2.

<sup>55</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 49.

<sup>56</sup> *Garden*, 26.

One of the ACMMM's working groups found that the exotic aspects of multiculturalism appealed to some British-Australian Anglicans but not so the customs that seemed alien or confronting, practices that were 'too different'.<sup>57</sup> The difficulty in devising any education program was that it would lack credibility if it did not address concerns about some practices in the immigrant communities.

Chapter 4 examines Geoffrey Blainey's use and validation of such fear and intolerance in the so called 'old Australian'.<sup>58</sup> Hunter had to counter such negative perceptions and carefully navigate through the complexities of cultural diversity in her education programs.

An even greater challenge was to invite Anglicans to revise their views of other religions. Hunter's new role description included 'involve[ment] in dialogue and inter-faith activities alongside other faith communities in Melbourne'.<sup>59</sup> The conversation about the intersection of diverse religious mores and practices with Australian values had barely begun in the late 1980s. Bouma, while treating all faiths as worthy of serious and respectful analysis, was mindful that not all religious practices were socially acceptable.<sup>60</sup> He remarked on the absence, even in 2012, of any mechanisms for examining and addressing, or preventing, conflicts between religious freedom and the equal treatment of all Australian citizens.<sup>61</sup>

Some of *Garden's* recommendations were simpler to implement, including two discrete structural reforms to the rules of Synod membership and the recognition of ethnic Anglican congregations. In 1985 the ACMMM's first nine recommendations called for changes in the governance system of the Diocese, acknowledging that

The dominant culture is male, in the 45-plus (often plus a lot) age group. Those on General Synod outside this group are often something of a token presence. This group is in a minority as a proportion of church members, with women, young men and women, and all people of non-British background, and indeed non-middle/upper class background, effectively disenfranchised... [The Diocesan Synod] reflect[s] the same trend as General Synod.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>58</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *All for Australia* (North Ryde, N.S.W.: Methuen Haynes, 1984).

<sup>59</sup> Report of the Steering Committee on Multicultural Ministry to The Archbishop-in-Council, Review of the Department for Migrants, Refugees and Ethnic Affairs, July 1985.

<sup>60</sup> Gary Bouma, 'From Hegemony to Pluralism: Managing Religious Diversity in Modernity and Post-Modernity, in Bouma G ed, *Managing Religious Diversity : From Threat to Promise*, ed. Gary D. Bouma (Ersleville, N.S.W.: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1999), 24.

<sup>61</sup> Gary Bouma, "Religious Diversity and Social Policy: An Australian Dilemma," *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, The 47, no. 3 (2012): 281.

<sup>62</sup> *Garden*, 53.



The church needed to face the dual problem of having a relatively small homogenous and powerful group controlling decision making and deciding the future of the Diocese<sup>63</sup> while certain groups were excluded and their interests overlooked. This was an early indication that exclusion of non-British-Australian Anglicans was not simply based on ethno-cultural discrimination but was part of a larger problem of internal politics that would need to be addressed in its entirety.

The same section of the report indicated that the system, with its old-style and esoteric executive structures, its forbidding and 'lawyer-dominated' procedures and language discouraged all except British-Australians belonging to the privileged classes from seeking Synod membership.<sup>64</sup> These barriers were favourable to the continuous monopoly of Synod and its committees by a cartel that had everything to gain by maintaining the status quo.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, the first recommendation in *Garden* was 'that membership of the General Synod and our Diocesan Synod be immediately broadened to include more women, youth, members of ethnic communities and other minority groups'.<sup>66</sup> The argument was that a change of Synod composition had the potential to make multicultural ministry a higher priority; no doubt referring to Hunter's detailed reports on her ministry, it was the ACMMM's view that

... [d]iscussions [about multiculturalism] have occurred *around* Synod, but on the whole not *in* it. It is unfortunate that, while presented, material has not been explored further, discussed and debated. Only when this happens can policy be developed and expressed.<sup>67</sup>

The next five recommendations aimed for the recognition of, and granting of Synod representation to, non-parochial ethnic congregations, the simplification of the language of Synod, the exploration of alternative forms of church government to the Westminster system, measures to limit the tenure and membership of multiple committees for any individual, affirmative steps to include minority groups, and the appointment of a bishop or archdeacon as 'focal point' for multicultural ministry and mission.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> In *Challenges*, Hunter noted that, with a Synod dominated by a small interest group, 'Some issues ... may be dismissed as irrelevant because they are appealing only to the less-well represented. And again, other issues may be omitted from synodical discussion because they belong to the new era of life and thought which may not be understood or supported by the hierarchy of the church members'. Hunter, *Challenges*, 10.

<sup>64</sup> *Garden*, 54.

<sup>65</sup> *Challenges*, 55.

<sup>66</sup> *Garden*, 140.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-41.

Like Archbishop Penman, Hunter and her department encouraged CALD Anglicans to congregate and worship in their own languages and cultural styles if they so wished. Therefore, in 1988 the Diocesan Council passed a resolution to accord formal recognition and Synod representation to the Chinese Mission of the Epiphany, and the Sri Lankan, El Salvadoran, Maori and Persian Anglican congregations.<sup>69</sup> Informal assemblies of language-based worship and prayer groups were now centrally recorded and the DMM actively surveyed the availability of bilingual and multilingual priests to minister to more diverse groups. In 1991 Hunter reported the existence of nearly 20 language communities and multi-lingual priests.<sup>70</sup> She researched the level of episcopal support given to current CALD clergy as well as measures to motivate CALD Anglicans towards ordained ministry. Minutes of various diocesan committees involved in multicultural ministry also show the inclusion of a few CALD Anglicans among their members after 1985.<sup>71</sup>

Synod passed the recognition of ethnic churches with relative ease because this did not entail any other changes at the macro level that might have attracted the attention and objections of vested interests in the church leadership.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, the ecclesial language review proposal from Professor Michael Clyne, a language specialist at Monash University and member of the ACMMM, did not receive the same prompt response. The Culture, Communications and Anglican Practices Working Group of the ACMMM had been given the broad brief of examining 'the ways in which culture affects the expression of our religious beliefs and the way the church structures its life'.<sup>73</sup> As its Chair, Clyne subsequently drafted a discussion paper titled 'Some thoughts on an Anglican Church language policy' which suggested reforms for implementation at the national and diocesan levels.<sup>74</sup> Reviewing *Garden's* four recommendations on language, Clyne invoked the example set by government by its acceptance of a draft for 'a cohesive National Policy on Language',<sup>75</sup> and the absence of a coordinated church language policy despite ongoing discussions over the last decade. He emphasised the need to make changes to prayer and hymn books and other literature, to acknowledge the linguistic diversity within the church, recommending a 'Christian style of

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<sup>69</sup> "DMM Report to Synod 1988."

<sup>70</sup> "The LINK, December," (1991).

<sup>71</sup> For example, the Rev'ds Khalil Razmara (Iranian), André Hassing (Mauritian), Rick Cheung (Chinese), and Mrs Penny Gouy (coloured S African) were on the Executive Committee of the DMM. Minutes of 1986 meetings.

<sup>72</sup> The changes to Synod composition and membership rules only affected the laity.

<sup>73</sup> Letter from Helen Hunter on behalf of Archbishop David Penman to prospective Working Group members, ca mid-1984.

<sup>74</sup> Michael Clyne, "Some Thoughts on Anglican Church Language Policy: Discussion Paper," (ca 1987).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

discourse ... be developed which was non-judgmental, non-racist, non-sexist, non-aggressive'.<sup>76</sup> Here, multicultural reform in the Melbourne Diocese was seen as an opportunity to address related issues, in this case language and communication and, as an expert linguist, Clyne aimed for a comprehensive review, at the risk of causing alarm. As it is, the creation of an *Australian Prayer Book* to replace the English *Book of Common Prayer* caused enough discontent over the departure from tradition.<sup>77</sup> As already mentioned, in the 1970s, the newly formed Movement for the Ordination of Women, begun in Melbourne, studied and experimented with feminist theological thinking and spirituality, created new liturgies, and composed hymns, prayers and poems.<sup>78</sup> Some of Clyne's proposals must have presaged the dreaded 'next step in the "feminist agenda: the feminisation of God"'.<sup>79,80</sup> As it stood, the conservatives in the church were faced with the choice of opposing all change or direct their efforts towards the most immediate threats. It was unlikely that changes to make ecclesial language more multicultural would receive immediate attention or prompt legislation. Clyne's proposal finally came to fruition in 1993, when the General Synod approved the adoption of the 'Guidelines on the Use of Inclusive Language'.<sup>81</sup>

## Diocesan restructure 1988

The ACMMM had made the following assessment of the structural problems which impeded multicultural ministry:

One of the most puzzling matters in the Anglican Church is that authority does not really rest anywhere in particular, but is shared by the Scriptures, Traditions, the Canon, Synod, Bishops, the Clergy, and the Local

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<sup>76</sup> A popular hymn titled 'Onward Christian Soldiers' includes in its third verse:

Like a mighty army  
Moves the Church of God.

Text: Sabine Baring-Gould, 1834–1924; Music: Arthur S. Sullivan, 1842–1900.

<sup>77</sup> Hilliard, "Defending Orthodoxy," 283. A Melbourne parish Incumbency Committee wrote to Bishop Grant in 1979 to complain that the introduction of the *AAPB* had changed 'the general tenor of worship' and caused 'a loss of the parish's central Anglican atmosphere and position in favour of an informal approach'. H L Speagle, *A Light on the Hills: A History of St Michael and All Angels, Mount Dandenong, Victoria* (Mount Dandenong: The Vestry of the Church of St Michael and all Angels, 2010), 138.

<sup>78</sup> Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 134.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>80</sup> The Women's Ordination Conference: A voice for Women's Equality in the Catholic Church, created in Washington in 1975, lists on its website several Biblical quotations with female images of God, usually as a mother. Significantly, their guiding principles include 'Diversity, inclusion and racial justice'. "The Women's Ordination Conference: A Voice for Women's Equality in the Catholic Church", <http://www.womensordination.org/resources/female-images-of-god-in-the-bible/> (accessed on 25 February 2018).

<sup>81</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 384.

Congregations.

Of the authorities listed above - apart from Scripture which must obviously be basic to any Church and remains the touchstone for every part of its life - the others, without exception, militate against the Church being multicultural.<sup>82</sup>

This was a very negative verdict on the church's ability to adapt to the multicultural society in which it lived, a judgment which, to some extent, evokes the four areas of historiography discussed before, namely history and traditions, challenges facing the church, divisions and factions, and personalities with their own visions. Chapter 4 will discuss Penman's postulation that Scripture affirmed the philosophy of multiculturalism, while the remainder of this chapter considers the heated debates that took place over tradition, bishops' powers, and some interpretations of the Canon,<sup>83</sup> all of which worked against cross-cultural ministry.

The judgment that almost every form of authority in the church hindered cross-cultural ministry also echoed some of the concerns raised by Hunter about the Diocese's failure to adapt its lifestyle to its multicultural environment.<sup>84</sup> A glance at the 99 recommendations in *Garden* reveals how many of them included provisions or suggestions for the creation of new structures to promote and expand the Diocese's cross-cultural ministry. In Penman's view, the problem of a poor distribution of authority in the Diocese did more than just prevent the church from being multicultural. He declared in 1986 that it was time 'to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of our committees and departments at every level of diocesan life'.<sup>85</sup> That year he obtained Synod's approval for a corporate restructure of the Diocese. In 1984 consultations based on the concept of *Partners in Mission*, developed within the global Anglican Communion in 1973, had taken place in the Victorian Anglican Province over ways to enhance the church's mission in the world. At the Melbourne consultation the delegates agreed that the church should move from maintenance to mission mode, and a new framework for diocesan management and administration was agreed upon.<sup>86</sup>

It is noteworthy that, in the restructuring exercise, Penman was targeting not the Church's mission or values but its management and administration, focusing specifically on strategies, financial management and priority setting. He aimed to make it more efficiently run and more accountable at all levels for the deployment of resources. However, he also made a clear connection between the

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<sup>82</sup>*Garden*, 52.

<sup>83</sup> The Canon is the body of laws made for the government of the church.

<sup>84</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 1.

<sup>85</sup> Archbishop David Penman, "The Synod Address," See 1986.

<sup>86</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 353.

review of diocesan structures and the ACMMM, envisaging that 'The Partners-in-Mission Overview currently being done through the Council of the Diocese will need to co-operate with the recommendation of [the] Commission [for Multicultural Ministry and Mission]'.<sup>87</sup> In other words, the review of structures would take into account the findings and proposals of *Garden*, thereby working towards structures that would reflect and promote the multicultural outlook of the Diocese.

Structural reform was vital for the success of the Commission. Penman appointed an internal Mission Priorities and Strategy Committee (MPSC) to bring forward proposals to increase efficiency in policy-making, broaden access to the policy-making system, and make different areas of the Diocese accountable to the central administration. After eighteen months, the Committee's report included this observation:

Many Anglican dioceses are inefficient in the way they use resources. They tend to keep administration economical, but sometimes this means that not enough financial or human resources are put into administration to make it efficient.

The result is a kind of genial incompetence. An unfortunate by-product is that the diocese is not geared for mission, does not use its resources well, cannot sort out priorities. Leadership tends to be autocratic, around the person of the bishop. Lay people often feel not consulted and do not embrace the bishop's goals. The mission of the church is thereby impeded.<sup>88</sup>

This was an indictment of both the system and of some of the Bishops' oversight of their regions, which explicitly named administrative inefficiency and poor leadership as obstacles to the Church's mission. The administration of the Diocese was therefore restructured into five divisions, namely Parish Development (which included the Program for Multicultural Ministry),<sup>89</sup> Administrative Services, Pastoral Care and Education, Community Care, and Mission and Ecumenism. The new structure was put in place in January 1988; each of the five divisions had an executive officer in charge and a bishop as chair, the intention being the continued integration of administration and pastoral care.<sup>90</sup> Multicultural ministry was now part of the mainstream parish ministry, and not working as a discrete entity alongside other specialist ministries in the Home Missions, namely chaplaincies, Christian education, and missions to industry and to the inner-city. (Compare the organisation charts in Figure 6 in Chapter 6 and in Appendix I).

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<sup>87</sup> Invitation letter from Archbishop David Penman to prospective members of the Commission's Working Group on Governing Bodies of the Anglican Church, undated. Ca. August 1984.

<sup>88</sup> Mission Priorities and Strategy Committee, quoted in Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 155.

<sup>89</sup> Hunter, "DMM Report to Synod 1988."

<sup>90</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 184.

The decision to centralise the management and administrative functions of the Diocese was meant to ensure proper consultation, wider participation in policy-making and greater ownership of the goals set for all levels of the Diocese. One of the working groups at the *Christ Across Cultures Conference* had commented on the fact that ‘resources were distributed willy-nilly across the Diocese, with little apparent awareness that parishes in high-migrant-density areas ... which are well placed to really get alongside migrants and identify with them, struggle simply to survive financially so that their limited resources ... are unable to be set free for ministry’.<sup>91</sup> The aim to eliminate duplication and waste, and to create synergies and efficiencies also had the potential to benefit the deployment of resources to cross-cultural ministry. Some sections of the Diocese welcomed the reform while others protested for a range of reasons, some of which masked a distaste for change of any kind.

Anglicans’ capacity for maintaining the status quo is legendary, and in Melbourne Penman came face to face with a feature that Bruce Kaye, in his *Rise and Fall of the English Christendom*, described as ‘the extensive institutional wherewithal available to the church in England to resist change’.<sup>92</sup> Tracing the unravelling of the Anglican monopoly over the colonial landscape in the nineteenth century, Kaye reflected on the ecclesiastical protest and chagrin as social, political and economic pragmatism on the part of the government eroded the Anglican Church’s public status, authority and benefits. Successive actions to meet public needs and expectations caused a ‘significant change in the underlying character of the place of the church in the colony by needs driven practical considerations’.<sup>93</sup> The church leadership fought hard over every concession that saw ‘the English Christendom diminished by a thousand cuts to something entirely different’.<sup>94</sup> In a sense, the 1980s saw a repeat of this Anglican reaction when Penman tried to implement practical reforms in the face of changing socio-political and economic conditions. A posthumous tribute to Penman captures this view succinctly:

In many ways, David was a catalyst for change in a church that desperately needed and still needs to change, but was and is too fearful to do so. It is a church whose leadership, inherited from a past era and locked in mediocrity, was and is incapable of matching the energy and flexibility of David’.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Archbishop’s Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission; Report from a Discussion Group at Conference, Thursday 24 January 1985.

<sup>92</sup> Kaye, *Rise and Fall*, 238.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>95</sup> Peter Corney, cited in Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 119.

The Diocese was aware that change was needed because it was in danger of appearing out of touch and irrelevant to a much-altered society, however, it preferred to maintain what Sharwood had described as

a 'non-interventionist policy' [which] can be regarded as one of 'benign neglect', or 'creative inertia', or ... 'masterly inactivity', [because] an 'interventionist' policy coupled with a commitment to 'multiculturalism' [was] to some extent, frightening'.<sup>96</sup>

The reasons for the anxieties in the diocesan leadership aroused by Penman's raft of changes were analysed when, as part of his research for a doctoral thesis,<sup>97</sup> a management consultant and minister in the Church of Christ named Ian Allsop<sup>98</sup> closely observed the response to structural change in the Diocese from 1988 to mid-1991. He attended meetings of bishops and policy committees (Gaiters), and interviewed several bishops and archdeacons involved in discussions of the restructure. In his thesis, he examined the nature of the changes that took place in the Diocese and the conflicting responses of the leaders (bishops and archdeacons) to those changes. When Penman died in 1989, Allsop was encouraged to continue his research and in 1990 he presented his findings to the bishops in a confidential report. Given his intimate knowledge of the leaders' debates over the divisional structure, the incoming Archbishop Keith Rayner invited him to review this structure for efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Allsop administered a questionnaire to the Diocesan Council and senior clergy, conducted interviews and later met with them to discuss his findings. His doctoral thesis, completed in 1996, is a valuable source for this thesis in that it affords a rare insight into the senior clergy's opinions of Penman's vision for the Diocese.

## **Culture of the past**

Allsop's conclusions were that some leaders perceived the changes to the executive and administrative structures and systems as a threat to their fundamental 'core values and beliefs', which they nurtured and expressed within the diocesan culture. For the supporters of change, the restructure opened up new possibilities to express 'new understandings of values and beliefs'. Allsop saw this phenomenon in terms of some leaders' bondage to the corporate culture as a vehicle for their deeply held values, and other leaders' ability to envisage and build a different future based on

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<sup>96</sup> Robin Sharwood, Letter to Penman 10 Jan 1985.

<sup>97</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour." Allsop was encouraged by the diocese and by Jean Penman to continue his observations after the death of Archbishop Penman. Ibid., 206.

<sup>98</sup> Ian Allsop, minister and Federal Secretary of the Churches of Christ, had known Archbishop David Penman and Alan Nichols for some years, all three having been involved with the Australian Council of Churches and other ecumenical settings. Interview with Ian Allsop, 4 December 2017.

new paradigms that would enable the creation of a new culture for the Diocese.<sup>99</sup> He observed that the opponents of change tended to invoke past practices to determine present decisions and plan the future,<sup>100</sup> and that

those bishops and archdeacons who had been in their positions for a number of years... were able to, and frequently did, make references to historic precedents for particular decisions and outcomes... [M]any changes were resisted because they were considered 'unwise given the history'.<sup>101</sup>

Such warnings used history as justification for the status quo and, despite changed circumstances, as a warning against imprudent experimentation with change.<sup>102</sup>

For others, there was much more at stake than administrative structures; as Allsop observed, 'The combination of all the changes observed and identified led to a perceived and for some an intentional cultural change within the Diocese.'<sup>103</sup>

One supporter of the changes and an advocate for restructure, the ordination of women, the greater participation of lay people in the life of the church, the lesser management role for bishops, and one who valued the higher profile of the church, said 'we are creating a new animal!'<sup>104</sup>

This consciously provocative choice of imagery is significant in that it depicts the desired metamorphosis of a static church, symbolised by stone buildings modelled on English architecture, into a live and dynamic entity. Another commentator, seizing on the imagery of living beings versus inanimate structures, described the restructure as 'a monster'<sup>105</sup> that undermined 'the house of Bishops, ... the "marrow of the bones" of the Anglican people' and 'the Episcopate thing [which, together with the Liturgy] is at the heart of Anglicanism'.<sup>106</sup>

Allsop's observations were borne out in the Rev'd John Batt's interviews of several Melbourne clergy in 1997, for his own doctoral thesis.<sup>107</sup> One of Batt's interviewees claimed that the Diocese 'still largely has got an organisational structure, a leadership structure, a legal structure that is predicated

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<sup>99</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 45.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 222.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 216.

<sup>102</sup> Houston similarly observed that 'The modern church desperately needs to be liberated from captivity to the past...'. Houston, *Seeds*, 69.

<sup>103</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 166.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. See also page 219 where an archdeacon spoke of 'creating a different animal'.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>107</sup> Batt, "New Wine, Old Wineskins."



on an old world that has gone, so it is really not in a very good position to adapt'. One clergyman<sup>108</sup> reflected that the chasm between the Anglican culture and broader society was widening at such a rate that the Melbourne Anglican Church was 'in danger of becoming a much smaller beast than it ever was before'.<sup>109</sup> Another described the inflexible church structures 'as windmills of rigidity' which inhibited adaptation to modern day culture.<sup>110</sup> Nearly a decade after Penman's structural reforms the leadership was living up to its reputation for resisting progress.

Significantly, after Penman's death, Allsop found that some opponents of change spoke with nostalgia about past leaders and argued that the church's past had been superior to its present.<sup>111</sup> In this case the pre-Penman past to which they referred was not necessarily a distant one. Hilliard noted a similar nostalgia among the conservative Christian movements formed as a reaction to the upheavals of the 1960s; they had in common an 'interpretation of recent church history, in which the 1950s are remembered as a golden age when churches were full and the faith was taught'.<sup>112</sup> The Anglican attachment to the past rested on the belief that the Church's English heritage was a source of strength and some thought the advent of multiculturalism had disrupted this process of nourishment and empowerment. Fletcher captured this sentiment by bemoaning the demise of the British Empire, which had considerably upheld the place of the Anglican Church in Australia.

The newly constituted society was ... one from which the church was even less able to draw strengths of the kind it had previously possessed. The fact that by the late 1970s Britain was less well regarded in Australia, weakened one of the props on which Anglicanism had rested.<sup>113</sup>

Fletcher named the ascendancy of other cultures, 'some of them non-Christian and far from democratic', and the loss of respect for the Commonwealth and the Empire, now 'identified with the subjugation and exploitation of native peoples' as reasons why the Anglican Church lost public support; '[a] source from which it had drawn strength had either vanished, or was in the process of disappearing'.<sup>114</sup> Here, multiculturalism and the loss of empire were seen as two concomitant adversities for the Anglican Church. If Fletcher believed that the church had lost the rich heritage of the past that should have taken it into the future, the opposite view was that the richness of the

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>111</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 248.

<sup>112</sup> Hilliard, "Defending Orthodoxy," 288.

<sup>113</sup> Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism*, 217.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 218.

past was an anchor that hindered its progress. In her study titled *The Anglicans in Australia*,<sup>115</sup> Tricia Blombery, a researcher with the Church Research Association, pointed to the inhibiting effect of the church's English heritage on its ability to adapt to multicultural Australia.

The Anglican Church in Australia often faces problems from its history of being the church of the British, of the ruling group, and of the privileged. While these perceived aspects are also great sources of strength they can be great stumbling blocks in any attempt to reach out to an increasingly multicultural Australia.<sup>116</sup>

The Australian Anglican Church had already been undergoing significant changes since the adoption of its own Constitution in 1962: it had Australian adaptations of the English prayer and hymn books, and changed its name from the Church of England in Australia to the Anglican Church of Australia. In one of his more positive accounts of the church's adaptation to socio-political change, Fletcher overstated the smooth progression, since the 1940s, to greater inclusion of ethnic groups, Aborigines and women in the church, claiming that 'Multiculturalism was ... embraced after the dangers of becoming a "monocultural church in a multicultural society" came to be appreciated. People of every race were accepted and multicultural ministries were established in the capital cities'.<sup>117</sup> However, in Muriel Porter's opinion, 'Protestant church structures, processes and liturgies retain their British flavour. Even where modern local alternatives have been developed, they have often been adopted somewhat apologetically'.<sup>118</sup> There was no consensus over the nature, extent and pace of change, and some saw an ever-present danger of removing or altering features that were vital to the essence and integrity of the church.

Even in 2007, while acknowledging that there had been a need for a revival,<sup>119</sup> Frame saw some pitfalls in adapting to the opinions and expectations of the world, pointing out that renewal was a double-edged sword. He warned that the first responsibility was to study the world's need for redemption because 'The Anglican Church will not grow by the mere revamping of its current practices in a more business-like manner'. He argued that change needed to be managed carefully to avoid allowing unwanted elements of the outside world into the church to corrupt its true nature<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Blombery, *The Anglicans*.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>117</sup> Fletcher, "Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society," 312-13.

<sup>118</sup> Muriel Porter, *Land of the Spirit? The Australian Religious Experience* (Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches Publication, 1990), 87.

<sup>119</sup> Frame, *Anglicans in Australia*, 256.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

and, since the Anglican Church no longer spoke for the majority of Australians, it was to be expected that 'the Anglican corporate ethos [should be] alien and even antithetical to popular culture'.<sup>121</sup>

## Debate over episcopacy

Penman and Hunter might have hoped for at least two improvements in the episcopal approaches to cross-cultural ministry. One was that the restructure would remedy the haphazard distribution of resources across the Diocese, as mentioned above, with no regard for poorer parishes in high immigrant density areas. The second was that bishops would now give better leadership over cross-cultural ministry to their parish clergy, in light of the failure of communication and the priests' feeling of isolation and disaffection discussed in Chapter 2. Following the ACMMM's comments about the autocratic leadership of the bishops and the fact that many of Penman's policies were not transmitted to the parishes by the bishops, the restructure was designed to strengthen the policy making and implementation process across the Diocese. Under the new arrangements, Nichols explained, 'Decisions would now not be made in the corridors of power in the cathedral building, but out in the open at policy committees, with lay people participating. A new capacity for developing policy and making it available was established and would make the diocese a more open and available organisation'.<sup>122</sup> For the bishops this meant more accountability and less autonomy, and consequently much of the debate centred around the prospect of their losing status and power.

Tradition had seen to it that Bishops enjoyed prestige and expected deference to their high office.<sup>123</sup> Much of the opposition to Penman's restructure concentrated on the alleged attempt against the sacred nature of episcopacy.<sup>124</sup> In the Anglican Church a bishop plays the key role of transmitting and maintaining the faith in his diocese while carrying high-level administrative responsibilities for his geographical constituency. His<sup>125</sup> authority has a major theological importance for the church in that it emanates from his historic descentance from the apostles, who were the very first bishops and

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid., 257.

<sup>122</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 156-57.

<sup>123</sup>Cadwallader, "Antipodean Descriptions," 5.; Brian Fletcher, "Memory and the Shaping of Australian Anglicanism," in *Agendas for Australian Anglicanism: Essays in Honour of Bruce Kaye*, ed. Tom Frame and Geoffrey R Treloar (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2006), 6-7.

<sup>124</sup> Penman earned Grant's displeasure by causing the pre-1984 arrangement, whereby 'regional bishops were assisted by their archdeacons who were concerned mainly with temporalities but gave some pastoral care [to] disintegrate'. Penman allegedly allowed 'high initiative archdeacons, Nichols, Newman and Smith [to] assume quasi episcopal roles, ... from time to time by-pass[ing] the regional bishops and work[ing] directly with archdeacons'. Bishop James Grant, Memorandum to Archbishop Keith Rayner, re: Regional Bishops and Archdeacons, 13 September 1994.

<sup>125</sup> The use of the masculine pronoun reflects the fact that the majority of clergy were male at the time, except for women deacons from 1986 onwards, and there were no female bishops.

‘the depository of the power committed unto them by Christ’.<sup>126</sup> The church was seen as a community united by its shared beliefs, and for some this unity was embodied in the person of the bishop as ‘shepherd’ of the church.<sup>127</sup>

For some Melbourne bishops, being taught how to manage their regions was an insult to their office. Nichols believed the course’s impact was not just from its contents but also by the message it sent ‘that efficiency is not inimical to the Anglican way and that pastors and church leaders are not above learning’.<sup>128</sup> When 35 members of the church leadership were sent on management training courses to learn goal setting, strategic planning, and managing budgets and human resources, one bishop deliberately ignored the presenter and openly busied himself with hand-writing letters during seminars.<sup>129</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the debates within the church about the true meaning (or meanings) of episcopacy,<sup>130</sup> but the disagreement between those who favoured an ontological concept of episcopacy, whereby its unchanging and sacred role was defined by doctrine, history and tradition, and those who preferred a functional approach based on the needs of the constituency is salient here. The Rev’d Stephen Ames, one of the critics of the restructure, considered the restructure ill-conceived, badly managed and without theological foundation.<sup>131</sup> For him, curtailing Bishops’ autonomy reduced them to the position of assistants (or curates) to the Archbishop, as opposed to being leaders of their regions, and even denying them the right to have any other vision than his.<sup>132</sup> This was a significant distinction for the dissemination of the vision for cross-cultural ministry, which not all bishops shared.

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<sup>126</sup> <http://www.biblestudytools.com/dictionary/bishop/> (accessed 18 Oct 2017).

<sup>127</sup> Cadwallader has commented on the aspects of Anglican literature, especially biographies, that represent the person of the bishop as the epitome of virtue and piety. Cadwallader, "Antipodean Descriptions," 13.

<sup>128</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 157.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> *Episcopacy : Views from the Antipodes; Essays on Episcopal Ministry Presented to the Primate, Archbishop Keith Rayner, on the 25th Anniversary of His Consecration as Bishop*, (Adelaide: Anglican Board of Christian Education, 1994).

<sup>131</sup> Stephen Ames, "Real Oversight or the Chimere of *Episcopacy*?", in *Episcopacy: Views from the Antipodes*, ed. Alan H Cadwallader and David Richardson (North Adelaide, S Australia: Anglican Board of Christian Education, 1994), 43n.

<sup>132</sup> Stephen Ames, "Assistant Bishops in the Diocese of Melbourne: The Tension between Centralisation and Regionalisation," in *People of the Past? The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture*, ed. Colin Holden (Melbourne: History Department, The University of Melbourne, 2000), 127.

A discussion witnessed by Allsop illustrated how, for some, reverence for the episcopacy involved a dismissive and assimilationist attitude to church members from non-British Australian cultures. At a meeting to discuss the place of ethnic congregations within the parishes, when asked what made them qualify as Anglicans, some replied, 'Do they accept the oversight of the bishop?'<sup>133</sup> This paternalistic definition showed no consideration for cultural needs, acceptance and belonging in the parishes,<sup>134</sup> an attitude that had unfortunate implications for the dissemination of Penman's vision for cross-cultural ministry.

The issue of episcopal oversight of the regions of the diocese is also relevant here because of the socio-economic, class and ethnic diversity between regions. As indicated in Chapter 2, Houston showed that in the 1970s and 80s, more Anglicans and fewer migrants lived in the richer suburbs and vice versa, and the modest ethnic presence in the larger and wealthier parishes was mainly from the higher professional class.<sup>135</sup> Given Hollingworth's comment discussed in Chapter 2 about being 'a bourgeois church'<sup>136</sup> whose people did not know or see any persons from the disadvantaged groups, including refugees, bishops of the more affluent regions, concentrating on the needs of their constituents, were less likely to see the relevance of cross-cultural engagement in their ministry.

### **Marginalisation of cross-cultural ministry**

In discussions about structural reform, cross-cultural ministry was marginalised in two ways, first by laconic dismissal or plain silence on the subject and, second, through an unfavourable prioritising process. Paradoxically, the association of multiculturalism with other worthy causes also proved problematic.

As the breadth and depth of Penman's reform program expanded to include more structural changes, multicultural ministry receded into the background and occupied a smaller place in discussions about the church's ethos and mission. With their attention firmly fixed on the perceived threats or opportunities for the culture of the Diocese, the participants in the debate over restructure only referred to cross-cultural ministry in passing. Their casual attitudes were surprising, given that not ten years had passed since the ACMMM and publication of *Garden*. When discussions over the restructure briefly turned to cross-cultural ministry, some of the leaders showed little enthusiasm for Penman's goal to make it a central part of the diocesan mission. Some respondents

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<sup>133</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 192.

<sup>134</sup> Eventually, Archbishop Rayner did agree to move multicultural ministry to the Division of Community Services, which made it no longer core business but part of the church's extra-mural service to the community.

<sup>135</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 11.

<sup>136</sup> Hollingworth, "Anglican Strategies," 23.

to Allsop's questionnaire thought Multicultural Ministries was not part of parish ministry and therefore did not belong in the Division of Parish Development. A sympathetic voice acknowledged that 'the Division ... has been weak in stewardship<sup>137</sup> and allowed multicultural ministries to be isolated',<sup>138</sup> but most other comments were negative. One individual argued that 'Multi-cultural work does not relate to parish life. It is a work on its own and in some ways is a "maverick,"' a qualification that not only disqualified it as core ministry but also had connotations of exotic multiculturalism.<sup>139</sup> Another complained that 'Multi-cultural ministry does not have a clear strategy and there are personality clashes with others in the division',<sup>140</sup> implying that Helen Hunter had confrontations 'with others', but not elaborating on the issues over which the conflicts had arisen. Some wanted the DMM stripped of its major fundraising activity, the Archbishop's International Aid, Relief and Development Fund (AIRDF), claiming that it competed for funds with other missions in the Diocese and duplicated the efforts of the ACC.<sup>141</sup> These views go a long way to explain why, as seen in Chapter 2, Hunter found it so difficult to argue the merits of her ministry and receive collegial support amongst the welfare agencies. In a game of political football with this ministry, some claimed that 'Multi-cultural Ministries ... ought to be with community services',<sup>142</sup> implicitly relegating them to the category of aid and welfare dispensation. These arguments augured badly for the prospect of cross-cultural ministry becoming widely practised and routinised across parishes. Penman's message about the centrality and importance of this ministry was lost to these commentators and some had obviously not read *Garden* or had decided to ignore its message. Cross-cultural ministry was still treated as an extra-curricular and not strictly necessary activity for the Diocese, not a core element of the parish sphere. These serious objections to investment in cross-cultural ministry, not heard during the Commission, were made to Allsop after Penman's death.

The conservatives' priorities were largely driven by their insecurities, and cross-cultural ministry by posing a low-threat, was a low priority. According to Fletcher, the church felt more challenged by the female ascendancy than by the presence of immigrants and refugees.<sup>143</sup> In turn, the supporters of the ordination of women were concerned that the introduction of lay presidency would harm their

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<sup>137</sup> This is a reference to funding after Penman's death in 1989.

<sup>138</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 365-66.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 366.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 365-66, 76.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 366.

<sup>143</sup> Fletcher, "Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society," 313.

campaign,<sup>144,145</sup> and that protracted discussions about the restructure were pushing women's ordination into the background.<sup>146</sup> Thus, a hierarchy of priorities in these three issues ranked resistance to women's ordination first, followed by opposition to lay presidency, both threatening to bishops, and leaving multicultural ministry to stagnate at the bottom.

Marginalised groups' efforts to gain attention by joining forces could also work against them. There were some attempts to collectivise the different categories that were excluded or ostracised, in the hope of strengthening the case against the church's reactionary stance. The push for female ordination emboldened homosexuals to claim their own place in the church. AngGay, a gay activist group in Sydney, aimed its criticism at the church's ideal of the nuclear family. In a magazine article it invoked 'the great diversity and all pervasive nature of God's love' and demanded a more inclusive model of the family which would include 'the divorced, separated or unmarried parents, refugees, orphans, the old, straight single people, gay women and men'.<sup>147</sup> This was an attempt to force the door wide open to categories previously kept out by the white male theocracy, but the joining of issues was more likely to strengthen the resolve of those guarding against the thin end of the wedge. After all, the proponents of reform in Melbourne made it clear they were out to create 'a new animal'. Likewise, opposition to the ordination of women to the priesthood included suspicion of other moves to subvert the ecclesial order. In 1991, Michael Gilchrist, author and associate-editor of the conservative religious journal *AD2000*, wrote a small volume titled *The Destabilisation of the Anglican Church: Women Priests and the Feminist Campaign to replace Christianity*,<sup>148</sup> in which he presented the MOW as a 'Trojan Horse', with allegations of political extremism and revolutionising aspirations behind its demands for inclusiveness.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 157,203.

<sup>145</sup> Muriel Porter examined the conservative Sydney diocese's tactic at General Synod to oppose the accession of women to the priesthood and episcopate by using lay presidency at communion as a bargaining tool. If other dioceses did not ban homosexuality and the appointment of women bishops, Sydney threatened to institute lay Eucharistic ministry. Many considered the Eucharistic sacrament the exclusive responsibility of (male) clergy ordained by (male) bishops. This was a way of holding the authority of bishops ransom to their demands. Muriel Porter, *Sydney Anglicans and the Threat to World Anglicanism*, ABC Religion and Ethics (2011), 88.

<sup>146</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 156.

<sup>147</sup> Anne O'Brien, "Anglicanism and Gender Issues," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Norman Kaye, Gen Ed, et al. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 290-91.

<sup>148</sup> Gilchrist, *Destabilisation of the Anglican Church*. *AD2000* is a 'Catholic traditionalist' magazine created by the Australian Catholic political writer B A Santamaria in reaction to the liberal message of Vatican II. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B.\\_A.\\_Santamaria#Traditionalism\\_in\\_the\\_Catholic\\_Church](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._A._Santamaria#Traditionalism_in_the_Catholic_Church)

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 52.

Since the leadership could not agree on the structures and culture of the Diocese, it is appropriate to ask whether there was consensus over its mission.

## **Archbishop's Theological Commission on Mission 1990**

Anglicans are divided over the origins of the church, some seeing its beginnings as the time when the Church of England formally separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, while others point to time of the Reformation<sup>150</sup> and the complete departure from the Roman tradition towards an evangelical theology. This has a strong bearing on issues like the ordination of women to the priesthood, the nature of the lay people's participation in some church services, and the issue of evangelisation. In the 1980s the Melbourne Diocese, while members of both camps coexisted in reasonable harmony,<sup>151</sup> they were, according to Houston, 'more like two poles around which opinions cluster... [with] ... the issue of multicultural ministry and mission [lying] at the cross-over point'.<sup>152</sup> Evangelicals believe in following scripture, preaching to sinners to repent, and converting non-believers for their salvation, whereas Anglo-Catholics, true to the Roman tradition, see the church as a mediator between God and people.

Recommendations 73 to 79 of *Garden of Many Colours* addressed the issue of interfaith relations, the first four concerning the fight against injustice to people of other faiths, welcoming and assisting new immigrants where possible, including giving access to non-consecrated Anglican property for non-Christian ceremonies, and observing other faiths in practice. Recommendations 77 to 79, which contained guidelines for those who wished to be involved in interfaith worship, specifically prohibited syncretism and proselytising. This was as far as the report went regarding faith sharing between Anglicans and non-Christians, not specifically recommending that all Anglicans engage in preaching and converting immigrants, but urging them to get to know and understand them. However, a section was devoted to the idea of applying knowledge and experience of overseas mission to the imported mission field in the form of immigrants. As a past missionary in the Middle East and trainer of missionaries, Penman was keen to explore the potential of this translation and application of skills in the Melbourne Diocese.<sup>153</sup> In 1983, a Home Mission Association was established, with him as inaugural Chairman, to develop ministry and evangelism at home.

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<sup>150</sup> See Appendix II for a brief history of the Church of England.

<sup>151</sup> Except for the ordination of women to the priesthood.

<sup>152</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 45.

<sup>153</sup> *Garden*, 137-39.



The official, although not unanimously upheld, position of the Diocese on the difficult question of evangelisation, is discussed here as outlined in *Garden*, in Penman's own statements in various written sources, and in a publication by Canon (later Bishop) Robert Butterss, Chairman of the Anglican Board of Mission.<sup>154</sup> Penman maintained that evangelism and social responsibility were 'the twin responsibilities of the gospel',<sup>155</sup> however, he cautioned Anglicans to radically change their thinking about the meaning of Christianity and evangelism before they approached people of other or no faith, with a view to converting them. He recommended a contextual approach with three basic components. The first step was to consider the history of past relations between Christians and other faiths, as in the eras of the Crusades and missionary work accompanying European expansion.<sup>156</sup> Penman called for repentance for past Christian arrogance and an understanding of the image of Christianity that had been left among the peoples concerned.<sup>157</sup> Second, he explained that Anglicanism, like all religions, was expressed in cultural forms,<sup>158</sup> and he invited Anglicans to study cultures, faiths and languages of non-Christians in their midst, to appreciate the context in which they acquired and maintained their beliefs, an essential bridge-building exercise if there was to be any sharing of faith.<sup>159</sup> Third, he asked Anglicans to treat non-Christians with respect, Christian love and a passion for justice,<sup>160</sup> remembering to see God in them.

If the first condition concerned self-preparation and the second self-equipping for teaching, the third was arguably the most demanding in that it concerned the way of sharing the Gospel that was consonant with the terms of the Gospel itself. Penman, Butterss and *Garden* all affirmed the importance of evangelism for the mission of the church,<sup>161</sup> and were largely agreed on what it was not. Evangelisation should not involve manipulation in the course of interfaith fellowship. Helen Hunter joined the EMC social worker, Anne Frost, in strongly condemning an incident that had

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<sup>154</sup> Canon Rob Butterss, *Called to Serve, Committed to Change through Evangelism, through Dialogue, through Justice, through Local Culture, through Prayer, through Global Mission* (Melbourne: Anglican Media, for the Diocese of Melbourne, 1982). A study booklet carrying an endorsement by Penman.

<sup>155</sup> David John Penman, "Lambeth Anglican Conference of the Decade: What Can the World Expect When Bishops Gather for Their 12th International Conference?," *International Christian Digest* 2, no. 2 (1988): 10.

<sup>156</sup> David Penman, 'David Penman, "Mission and Resistant Religions: An Address to the 1976 Spring School of the NZCMS," (31 August 1976)., private paper loaned by Jean Penman. Butterss, *Called to Serve*, 9. Private copy provided by Jean Penman.

<sup>157</sup> Penman, "Mission and Resistant Religions: An Address to the 1976 Spring School of the NZCMS."

<sup>158</sup> Archbishop David Penman, "Comment: Religions in Australia - Can They Cope with Multiculturalism?," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 8, no. 1 (1987): 56.

<sup>159</sup> David Penman, "Walking the Two-Way Street between the Church and the World (Sermon)," (February 1988). Private paper loaned by Jean Penman. Butterss, *Called to Serve*, 25.

<sup>160</sup> *Called to Serve*, 17.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

occurred during an organised trip, by invitation from a country parish, for about twenty Indo-Chinese refugees to see the countryside. Hunter considered the decision by the hosting parish to distribute Biblical tracts in translation to the unsuspecting day-trippers<sup>162</sup> an exploitation of a small community that was 'vulnerable, emotionally naked and in need of good pastoral care'.<sup>163</sup> Penman was a devotee of the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelism, which in its Manila Manifesto stated

Christians renounce unworthy methods of evangelism. Though the nature of our faith requires us to share the gospel with others, our practice is to make an open and honest statement of it, which leaves the hearers entirely free to make up their own minds about it.<sup>164</sup>

On his personal copy of the program for the Congress of July 1989, which he attended despite already feeling very unwell, Penman had highlighted two paragraphs, where the following sentence featured: 'Our continuing commitment to social action is not a confusion of the Kingdom of God with a Christianized society.'<sup>165</sup> Evangelism should not be a recruitment exercise with the aim to fill churches.

The antinomy of dialogue versus proselytisation was common to Penman, Butterss and also the Rev'd Gordon Dicker, a Uniting Church minister whose views Penman supported and often quoted. In Dicker's words, 'Proselytisation is basically concerned with adding members to a religious group, getting people to swap religion. The proselytiser remains closed, and is not open to dialogue. There is a lack of humility and lack of personal concern for the subject. In fact proselytisation is not concerned with salvation at all; it is fundamentally egocentric'.<sup>166</sup> In a 'two-way traffic', Anglicans should learn how other faiths understood God,<sup>167</sup> with openness<sup>168</sup> and not as a powerful presence, ready for confrontation.<sup>169</sup> Finally, the church should lead by example, mindful of its own internal divisions and exclusionary practises.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Anne Frost, "The Dilemmas of Helping," *Migration Action* IV, no. 3 (1980): 27.

<sup>163</sup> Hunter, "Indo-Asian Spirituality in Australia," 41.

<sup>164</sup> The Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation, "The Manila Manifesto: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World," (1989), 11.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>166</sup> Gordon Dicker, "Evangelism in a Multicultural Context: Coming to Faith in a Secular Age," in *Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. Jim Houston (Melbourne: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1986), 131.

<sup>167</sup> *Garden*, 30, 42.

<sup>168</sup> Butterss, *Called to Serve*, 13.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Garden*, 37.

After the Lambeth Conference<sup>171</sup> passed a resolution in 1988, 'recognising that evangelism is the primary task given to the church, [that] each province and diocese of the Anglican Communion ... make the closing years of this millennium a "Decade of Evangelism" with a renewed and united emphasis on making Christ known to the people of his world',<sup>172</sup> Penman ordered a 13-member Archbishop's Theological Commission on Mission (ATCM), involving theologians from interstate, which had the potential to flesh out and reinforce the theme of mission introduced by *Garden*.

Apart from a few direct allusions to multiculturalism, such as the recognition that the Diocese was not 'attracting people from the diverse ethnic communities or from youth, young adults or men',<sup>173</sup> and the challenge to build bridges 'across the great human divides of race, gender, status and religion',<sup>174</sup> the ATCM report also considered the necessity of inter-faith dialogue.<sup>175</sup> Like the ACMMM and the MPSC, the ATCM found that that the Diocese was 'not adequately involved in mission',<sup>176</sup> and gave similar reasons for it. The ATCM called on the Diocese to 'examine the specific historical, social and institutional factors that shape the process of doing theology and engaging in mission'.<sup>177</sup> In a reflection that prefigured the findings of Allsop, it warned that the world was changing rapidly and 'the world out of which Anglicanism emerged is quickly fading', which meant that present assumptions and wisdom were fast becoming obsolete. Current knowledge and understandings would no longer be applicable to the realities of the world and would leave the church unprepared for the future, which 'is constantly breaking in on the present at a pace unprecedented in our history'.<sup>178</sup> The ACTM recommended a revision of the structures and theological assumptions that underpinned the Diocese's ministry<sup>179</sup> to ensure that they did not militate against mission,<sup>180</sup> and that the Diocese be managed efficiently, despite the aversion among

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<sup>171</sup> 'The Lambeth Conference is a gathering of all active bishops of member churches of the Anglican Communion. It takes place approximately every ten years at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and enables senior Anglican leaders to meet, pray together, discuss common concerns and, in prayer, to seek a common mind'. <https://www.lambethconference.org/> (accessed 15 May 2015).

<sup>172</sup> Lambeth 1988 Resolution 43, Decade of Evangelism. <https://www.anglicancommunion.org/resources/document-library/lambeth-conference/1988/resolution-43-decade-of-evangelism.aspx> (accessed 10 December 2018).

<sup>173</sup> "Report of the Archbishop's Theological Commission on Mission," (1990), 11.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8..

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

some to the notion of bringing corporate practices into the church.<sup>181</sup> The issues of a sound missiology and theological practice in the community were tied to the church's loss of appeal<sup>182</sup> and credibility in society.<sup>183</sup> It is also noteworthy that the ACTM acknowledged the fact that the Diocese was influenced by other organisations in Victoria, an observation made in Chapter 1, and was adopting some of their systems and values.<sup>184</sup>

The three commissions discussed above were consistent in their criticisms of the influence of tradition on the life of the Diocese and its denial of and resistance to change, however vital this change was for the image and future of the church. The report of the ATCM was tabled at Synod in 1990, but not endorsed.<sup>185</sup> In 1993, Archbishop Keith Rayner suggested that the non-endorsement might be due to the abstract and obscure language of the report, which he claimed would be beyond the comprehension of most lay Anglicans and even most clergy.<sup>186</sup> For his part, Jim Houston read more into the non-endorsement of the ATCM's recommendations, when he discussed its significance in *Seeds Blowing in the Wind* in 1993. Like the review of multicultural ministry and mission, the restructure of administration, the submission on mission had obviously faced opposition, and Houston attributed its rejection by Synod to internal theological divisions. His rhetorical questions cited below captured succinctly the disagreement about multicultural ministry and mission:

...we are simply not agreed on what the nature, scope, target, strategies and significance [of cross-cultural mission] are. Is it basically outreach to the NESB unchurched (a vast transplanted mission field in our midst?) May we target people of other denominations (e.g. Orthodox) or other faiths (e.g. Muslims)? Is cross-cultural evangelism desirable and legitimate? By what means? Or is it rather the challenge of identifying with the life-situation and struggles of immigrants, and working with them to empower their own growth in community?<sup>187</sup>

These were very difficult questions for the Diocese and, in typical fashion, were set aside rather than addressed. The impact of internal divisions such as this spilled over into the public domain and was potentially damaging for the church. During an interview for an article for *On Being* magazine,

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 46.

<sup>186</sup> Letter from Archbishop Keith Rayner to The Rev'd Dr Dryden Black, 29 December 1993.

<sup>187</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 45.

Penman was asked if it was possible to speak on God's behalf when the church was divided on some important issues.<sup>188</sup> He replied that the truth was to be found in the Bible, yet the ACTM found that the theological interpretations of the Gospel were themselves a subject of contention.

Penman was adamant that, in a multifaith society, Christians should have clarity and confidence about what exactly they believed and, for that, he continually advocated for greater knowledge of other faiths. In 1994, in the lead up to a Melbourne conference on the subject, organised by Ridley College and the CMS, the Rev'd David Wood declared that 'Ordinary believers need to be grappling with this issue because it comes down to Mrs Tiggywinkle chatting over the back fence with her neighbour, who happens to be a Muslim', adding that this issue was 'too important to be left just to experts ... Parish priests have to be involved in it too, because it is **the** question of our time'.<sup>189</sup> Seen in this light, years after Penman's death, the need for a central policy on mission and guidance for every level of the Diocese was still being argued.

Every Anglican diocese in Australia has its own style of operation and approach to ethno-cultural diversity and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to make systematic comparisons between them.<sup>190</sup> However, on the issue of evangelism, it is worth mentioning the contrasting approach taken and results achieved in New South Wales. The evangelical Diocese of Sydney is commonly described as monochrome. In the words of one of its most ardent critics, Anglican journalist and academic Dr Muriel Porter, '[i]t is the oldest and largest of the 23 Australian dioceses and until [recently],<sup>191</sup> was the richest. ... It is also the most conservative, and is strident in defence of that conservatism'.<sup>192</sup> From the creation of its Cross-Cultural Ministry (CCM) Department in 1987 until its closure in 1997, the Diocese established 38 language-based congregations.<sup>193</sup> It offered its immigrant clients parish-based assistance that combined free English classes, community-building and evangelism. In 1993

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<sup>188</sup> Owen Salter, "Here a Nudge, There a Nudge, Everywhere a Nudge Nudge: Archbishop David Penman on How the Church Can - and Should - Try to Influence the Ways of the World.," *On Being* (September 1987): 31.

<sup>189</sup> Porter, "In Multifaith Australia, Who Is Christ?."

<sup>190</sup> The practice of cross-cultural ministry gained momentum in the Dioceses of Perth and Brisbane during the 1990s, and in 1993 the Diocese of Newcastle elected Sri Lankan-born Roger Herft, as its bishop. Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 145.

<sup>191</sup> Linda Morris, "Jesus Saves, but Shattered Anglicans Regret Not Having That Luxury, 20 October," *Sydney Morning Herald* 2009.<http://www.smh.com.au/national/jesus-saves-but-shattered-anglicans-regret-not-having-that-luxury-20091019-h4zn.html> (accessed 25 February 2018).

<sup>192</sup> Porter, *Sydney Anglicans and the Threat to World Anglicanism*.  
<http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2011/08/29/3304954.htm> (accessed 17 April 2016).

<sup>193</sup> Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglian Identity," 358. The Non-English-speaking congregations in Sydney included 'Aboriginal, Arabic, Chinese, Italian, Maltese, Maori, Mar Thoma (South India), Persian, Turkish, Vietnamese' groups. *ibid.* 193n. Papantoniou also makes separate mention of a Spanish ministry. *ibid.* 194.

Sydney's expenditure budget for multicultural ministry was \$660,000, with a budgeted amount of \$785,000 for 1994. Melbourne's budget in 1992 was \$70,000, with a budget of \$10,000 for 1993.<sup>194</sup> Apart from the willingness to invest in cross-cultural ministry, it would be fair to conclude that its consistency of approach also explained the achievement of its goals. Ironically, Mersina Papantoniou, the past Director of the Sydney Diocese CCM claims to have been greatly inspired and guided by *Garden of Many Colours*.<sup>195</sup>

## Conclusion

In this chapter Archbishop Penman's reforms in cross-cultural ministry have been examined in the context of his broader structural reforms in the Diocese and through an analysis of the discussions among the supporters and objectors to these reforms. The struggle to achieve acceptance of his vision and leadership illustrated some significant preoccupations and priorities among the leaders. The conclusions of this chapter point to internal confusion and discord over the true mission of the Diocese, and show how little traction Penman was able to gain over his leadership team on some important issues affecting cross-cultural ministry.

### *A leader's vision*

It has been demonstrated that there were diverse factors behind the resistance to cross-cultural ministry, including and especially diocesan politics. The circumstances surrounding Penman's election as Archbishop, feelings of resentment or disappointment towards him, and perceptions of his vision as subversive all contributed to an often strong and passive resistance to his initiatives. His academic and professional training and his experience of overseas mission meant that he was exceptionally well equipped for and strongly attracted to this ministry, however, many in his team had different visions for the Diocese and very limited experience with other cultures.

### *Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission*

Penman's reform program for cross-cultural ministry proved too ambitious in scope, which made it easy to oppose on several grounds. He had favoured immediate, broad and radical changes which tested the forces of resistance to their limits and provoked a defensive reaction. The reforms envisaged for cross-cultural ministry called for substantial material and personal investments of the kind that could lead to a significant change of perceptions of and attitudes to multiculturalism. However, Houston later concluded about *Garden* that 'its very comprehensiveness proved its

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<sup>194</sup>Houston, *Seeds*, 43-44.

<sup>195</sup> Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglian Identity," 84.

undoing. Its vision dazzled rather than enticed, and the Diocese seemed daunted by its holistic scope. So the great leap forward never came'.<sup>196</sup>

Garden not only seriously challenged the Anglocentric culture of the Diocese, but it also advocated the abandonment of long-held traditions and beliefs in favour of a ministry that involved risk taking,<sup>197</sup> exploration, discovery and self-reinvention. This proved unnerving for the conservative elements in the Diocese.

I have also argued that cross-cultural ministry was sometimes grouped with other contentious issues, such as gender equality and lay ministry, which further reduced its chances of being supported. For some it was perceived as part of a larger threat to the status quo.

### *Revised Divisional Structure*

The new divisional structure also met with opposition because it challenged traditional values and beliefs that underpinned the existing structures. Some leaders were captive to the existing corporate culture, in which they had invested personally, with the result that cross-cultural ministry was marginalised and treated as unimportant. It was argued that this ministry had no proper place in the life of the Diocese, certainly not in the Division of Parish Development, which would have made it a part of mainstream ministry. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the divisional structure put in place by Penman was dismantled after his death.

The assumptions among some sections of the Anglican Church about the supremacy of British traditions as transported to Australia, including Anglicanism, were present in the Melbourne Diocese, and some members of the leadership and laity were loath to relinquish them. In turn, this attachment to the past prevented them from imagining a future that was different from the beliefs and practices with which they were familiar, and which made them feel secure. The attachment to history and tradition made some leaders see Penman's reforms as a threat to what they claimed was the essence of Anglicanism and the Diocese's culture.

### *Archbishop's Commission on the Theology of Mission*

Synod's failure to endorse the report of the ACTM when it was tabled after Penman's death suggested a lack of confidence in addressing the contentious issue of theological differences. This meant that there was no central policy for this type of mission and, according to Houston, the

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<sup>196</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 111.

<sup>197</sup> Soon after Penman's death, his widow Jean told Angela Grutzner about his acceptance of risk as an intrinsic part of his mission. Angela Grutzner, "Risk Taking Was an Expression of David's Ministry," See November 1989, 7.

subject remained too difficult to address. This was a clear case of theological divisions in the Diocese negatively impacting on direction-setting for cross-cultural ministry.

This chapter has examined the clash between, on the one hand, Penman's vision, shared by his supporters, for a reimagined mission and direction for the Diocese and, on the other, some of the leaders' bondage to the status quo. All three reviews found the Diocese wanting in the discharge of its mission, and each made recommendations for significant change in the way it understood and performed its work in the community. The next chapter develops further the theme of the church in the world by considering Penman's theology of multiculturalism, or the application of multiculturalism inside and outside the church in a consistently Christian way.



## Chapter 4: Archbishop Penman's Multicultural Church and World

### Theology of Multiculturalism

This chapter addresses my third and fourth research questions as it draws attention away from the internal struggles discussed in Chapter 3, to focus on the Diocese's relationship to the outside world under Archbishop Penman's leadership. The rise of a neo-conservative movement within and outside the church which promoted, among other ideals, its own views about inter-racial and inter-religious rapport, provides the backdrop for this chapter's examination of Penman's theological and political understanding of multiculturalism and his approach to other faiths and Christian denominations. He prescribed the church's immersion in and service to the world in all its diversity, first, by (re)discovering and embracing its mission to Australia's multicultural society and, second, by sensitively engaging with other faiths to contribute to the uncovering of universal human values, greater than the teachings of any one religion. In so doing he managed to reconcile the apparent contradiction between respectful interfaith entente and evangelisation, both of which he supported.

Several authors including historians, sociologists and social commentators have discussed the demise of past constructions of Australianness and uncertainty over the emergence of a new national identity from the 1960s onwards. *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity* (1981) by Richard White, *Reinventing Australia* (1993) by Hugh Mackay, *The end of Certainty* (1994) by Paul Kelly, and *Where to Now? Australia's Identity in the Nineties*, edited by J Beaumont (1993) constitute a sample of this genre. These publications examined the individual and institutional responses to the challenges of a changing society, identifying a loss of confidence and bearings on the part of Australians. Psychologist, sociologist and social researcher Hugh Mackay claimed in *Reinventing Australia* that '[s]ince the early 1970s, there is hardly an institution or a convention of Australian life which has not been subject either to serious challenge or to radical change'.<sup>1</sup>

Australian political and cultural historian, Frank Bongiorno introduced the discontent of the decade in *The Eighties: The Decade That Transformed Australia*,<sup>2</sup> from the perspective of economic difficulties and insecurity, leading to social turmoil and a nostalgia for a past happy era of material and social comfort.

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Mackay, *Reinventing Australia: The Mind and Mood of Australia in the 90s* (Pymble: Angus and Robertson, 1993), 17.

<sup>2</sup> Frank Bongiorno, *The Eighties: The Decade That Transformed Australia* (Collingwood, Vic: Black Inc., 2015).

The period began and ended in national pessimism. Australia of the early 1980s was still an overwhelmingly white country of just 15 million people, with 'double-digit' unemployment, inflation and interest rates, a trifecta that in combination with the drought led some pundits to consider that the country was in the grip of a deep and possibly permanent malaise. Pessimists warned of an Argentine fate for Australia, a future of 'economic stagnation ... social intolerance ... political decay, and ... nostalgic memories of a good life'.<sup>3</sup>

Bongornio's explanation of the 'deep and possibly permanent malaise' was that economic insecurity had grown into a sense of irretrievable loss of a past order, a time of prosperity and wellbeing. One symptom of the malaise was a reversal of public attitudes to diversity and, after two decades of relative tolerance of immigration and acceptance of multiculturalism, a desire to return to the era before non-European mass immigration. During the 1980s, this social intolerance concentrated on the number of Indo-Chinese refugees allowed entry into Australia since the mid-seventies. Historian Andrew Markus explained how

These years are characterised by overt attempts to return to the past; the perception that change was going beyond acceptable bounds, and threatening to alter the basis of society, led to a drive to withdraw or halt the extension of special privileges to sectional groups, particularly with regard to land rights policy; to modify immigration policy to more clearly favour European groups; and to reaffirm what were depicted as traditional Australian values.<sup>4</sup>

The nostalgic longing was for a happy past when Australia was a British-European country. This blissful era, at the start of which 'the basis of society' was bedded down, had specific timelines and superlative hallmarks; it began after the appropriation of land from the Aborigines and continued unchallenged until the 1970s, at which point the arrival of large numbers of non-European immigrants threatened to bring it to an end. As Markus pointed out, during the 1960s and 70s, immigrants had generally managed to take advantage of opportunities for work and prosperity, and to adapt to what was presented to them as Australian mores and customs.<sup>5</sup> The policy of assimilation had since been abandoned but 'there [had] been little reorientation of social goals, of the basic ethic of society as defined by Anglo-Australian elites'.<sup>6</sup> It was this very basis of society that now appeared to be in jeopardy with, on the one hand, a suspected political plot to return to a past when the Aborigines were the rightful owners of the land and, on the other, a propulsion to a future where other cultures would dominate or destroy the British-European cultural fabric of Australia.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., xii-xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Markus, *Race Relations*, 175. See also *Race*, 49-81.

<sup>5</sup> *Race Relations*, 215.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

The wish to return to exclusively European immigration and a past when Australia was white and culturally homogenous was more complex than simple racism or cultural intolerance; it was a fight for the survival of an ideal of Australian society, complete with its Eurocentric historiography and social construct. The common feature in the pictures painted by Bongornio and Markus is the extension of a specific complaint into a more general sense of brokenness that inspired distrust of change and a yearning for a happier past.

For his part, while recognising that the great changes taking place were causing alarm to some sections of the population, Penman saw the period as one of potential renewal and growth, stating that '[i]t is not a matter of giving up, but of taking on, the rich varieties of perception and experience that are now available to our diocese'.<sup>7</sup> He argued that Christians should think creatively about multiculturalism and be guided by 'love of our country and its people' instead of a competitive spirit. This would be the substance of his theology of multiculturalism for the achievement of a peaceful, just and cohesive society, with its unique cultural identity characterised by diversity.

## **New Right and Christian Right**

The psycho-social malaise that afflicted those prone to nostalgia permeated into the religious sphere, adding to the Church's confusion and angst over its own identity, values and purpose. Although in some ways the disquiet inside the Church resembled that of the nation, one was not a microcosm of the other. The Anglican Church had its own difficulties in facing social change because of its British pedigree, but it had the additional challenge of proving to itself and the world that it had a role to play in finding a solution to social turmoil; it had to be seen to be delivering a meaningful message to guide society through its woes. Religion was caught up in this existential discomfort both by being publicly reassessed for its relevance to society and by being forced into a rigorous self-evaluation.

In his *Reinventing Anglicanism*<sup>8</sup> Bruce Kaye identified the links between, on the one hand, the national turmoil over identity, past understandings and future directions and, on the other, the Anglican Church's own crisis over its role and identity in Australia. He agreed with political journalist and author Paul Kelly's theory expounded in *The End of Certainty: The Story of the 1980s*,<sup>9</sup> that the national malaise of the 1980s was due to the collapse of an ideal which he termed the Australian Settlement.<sup>10</sup> Reflecting on the collapse of the Settlement, Kaye claimed that this ideal had allowed

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<sup>7</sup> Archbishop David Penman, "The Synod Address 1985," See 1985, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism*.

<sup>9</sup> Kelly, *The End of Certainty*, 1; *ibid*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

Anglicans to retain the delusion of being part of an established religion even if the conditions that had engendered this image were disappearing.<sup>11</sup> He also claimed that Anglicans experienced anguish over their identity in 'a more acute form than do their fellow Australians'.<sup>12</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, this made for prolonged and harmful divisions over what constituted the essence of Anglicanism and what could be altered to make the church better adapted to its social surroundings.

However, all was not hand-wringing and paralysis, and some reacted to social changes with vigorous negativity. Australian author Michael Hogan argued in his 1987 publication, *The Sectarian Strand : Religion in Australian History*,<sup>13</sup> that one reaction to the uncertainty and turmoil that pervaded the Church and nation was ultra-conservatism and fundamentalism, which materialised in a shift to the right in some sections of the religious and political spheres.<sup>14</sup> The New Right emerged in the eighties, as a strong reactionary and conservative movement, opposed to immigration and liberalism. It was called the New Right because it wished to distance itself from the old right that it deemed too liberal. In September 1984, a few weeks after Penman had pledged his commitment to multiculturalism at his enthronement, he wrote in his monthly column in *See* about the widespread attacks on multiculturalism. He had received letters arguing that some immigrants should be sent back to their countries and that 'a multicultural and multilingual society is contrary to the purpose and plan of God'.<sup>15</sup> He described some of the letters addressed to him 'in the name of Christianity [as] harsh, intolerant and quite simply racist',<sup>16</sup> exemplifying 'the growing divisions that are present in our community and within our church'.<sup>17</sup> While some in the church aspired to create a new animal under Penman's leadership (see Ch 3), the Christian Right showed renewed vigour as it became aligned with the New Right over the preservation of traditional values.

A close examination of the anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism discourse in the secular domain reveals the commonalities between attitudes inside and outside the church. In March 1984

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<sup>11</sup> Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>13</sup> Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 263-68. The New Right was 'made up of diverse elements, including free-market devotees, libertarian political thinkers, moral conservatives, religious fundamentalists and biological determinists'. *Australia and the New Right*, (Sydney, London, Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), viii.

<sup>15</sup> "From the Archbishop: A Family Event," *See* September 1984. Markus, *Race*, 61.

<sup>16</sup> "From the Archbishop: A Family Event."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

Melbourne historian Geoffrey Blainey<sup>18</sup> made a speech, in which he claimed that Australia had taken in too many Asian immigrants, a policy which was unfair to the host community and had the potential to cause racial tensions. He repeated and elaborated on this idea in interviews and further speeches, and subsequently gave it full expression in *All for Australia*<sup>19</sup>, which would trigger a major and controversial debate on the current levels of Asian immigration. The debate continued in the media through talk-back radio broadcasts, television interviews and multiple articles in the press, and prompted opinion polls about the levels of immigration.<sup>20</sup> Blainey's statements also reverberated inside the Anglican Diocese. Penman included in his first public address as Archbishop a response to *All for Australia*<sup>21</sup> and, conversely, John Bennett, who had written to Penman to complain about the attack on Anglo-Celtic culture in *Garden*, (See chapter 3) wrote several letters to the national and state newspapers in defence of Blainey.

In the same year, Hugh Morgan, director of the Western Mining Corporation, whose company's interests were threatened by the government's proposal to extend hitherto restricted land rights to Aborigines in all parts of Australia, made equally controversial comments on what he saw as the catastrophic effect this would have on Australian civilisation. Admitting that what little knowledge of history he possessed came from reading Blainey,<sup>22</sup> Morgan depicted traditional Aboriginal society as savages given to too many barbaric rituals to be fit for ownership of more Australian land. In a speech delivered to the Australian Mining Industry Council on 2 May 1984, he warned that land rights for Aborigines could destroy the country's mining industry and 'represented a spiritualism which was anti-Christian and would create a backlash with the wider community'.<sup>23</sup> He added that capitalism and mining were 'part of the divine order', and that land rights would enable Aborigines to practise 'infanticide, cannibalism, and ... cruel initiation rites'.<sup>24</sup> While conceding that he was not

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<sup>18</sup> Blainey was the 'son of 'a Methodist minister with Anglican "sympathies"', Terence Handley MacMath, "Interview: Geoffrey Blainey," *Church Times* (28 October 2016). <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2016/28-october/features/interviews/interview-geoffrey-blainey-historian> accessed 18 February 2017

<sup>19</sup> Blainey, *All for Australia*.

<sup>20</sup> Murray Goot, "Public Opinion and the Public Opinion Polls," in *Surrender Australia? Essays in the Study and Uses of History*, ed. Andrew Markus and M C Ricklefs (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985); *ibid*.

<sup>21</sup> David Penman, *Multiculturalism in Australia : A Christian Perspective*, ed. Footscray Institute of Beanland Lecture, Technology (Footscray, [Vic.]: Footscray Institute of Technology, 1984).

<sup>22</sup> Henry Reynolds, "Blainey on Aboriginal History," in *Surrender Australia? Essays in the Study and Uses of History*, ed. Andrew Markus and M C Ricklefs (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 82.

<sup>23</sup> Janine Perrett, 'Outspoken mine chief dismisses "racist" tag', *The Australian*, 4 May 1984, 7.

<sup>24</sup> Mark Davis, "At War with Ourselves," *Meanjin* (Winter 2016). <https://meanjin.com.au/essays/at-war-with-ourselves/> accessed 14 October 2017. Markus, *Race*, 62.

very religious,<sup>25</sup> Morgan warned that as landowners, Aborigines posed a dire threat to Australian civilisation and Christianity,<sup>26</sup> an appeal to Christian values that resonated with some Christians. The New Right not only appropriated the Christian discourse,<sup>27</sup> but it also had direct influence on the decision-making processes of at least one church. In 1983 the Australian Mining Industry Council pressured the Catholic Episcopal Conference into instructing the withdrawal of some Catholic educational publications for Aborigines.<sup>28</sup> Melbourne cultural studies academic Mark Davis described that decade as one of triumph for the new conservatism that had swept Australia, 'Blainey and Morgan [having] kicked off a rolling backlash that continued through the 1980s into the 1990s, from one orchestrated media event to the next'.<sup>29</sup>

One organisation stood out in the way it encompassed conservative views on immigration, traditional values and religion. The newly-established Festival of Light, imported from Britain in the mid-seventies, was a conservative Christian movement with a mission to fight the 'moral pollution' and spiritual darkness of the new age. As a reaction to Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's policies on immigration and his repudiation of imperial values and traditions, the Festival of Light began to preach a return to what it saw as true Christian values. This was a fiercely evangelical movement that concentrated on individual morality, focused on conversion, upheld family values, fought moral decay, and had little time for structural reform.<sup>30</sup> This conservative combination typically involved a reactionary view of the role of women in the home, society and church, the determination to convert non-Christians to the 'right' faith, and an obsession with purity that could extend to the physical body as well as to race.<sup>31</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 1, Al Grassby discovered the existence of twelve large 'racist organisations' in 1980-81 and twenty more smaller bodies, several with links to Christianity. Most shared the understanding that Australia was a Christian country, whereas Bob Hawke's policy of close rapprochement with Asia, as noted by Paul Kelly, involved negotiating a 'reconciliation between the growing Asianisation of Australia and

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<sup>25</sup> Davis, "At War with Ourselves."

<sup>26</sup> For its part, the League of Rights saw the campaign for land rights as a Jewish communist conspiracy linked to Asian immigration to annihilate the Australian nation. Grassby, *Tyranny*, 27. Markus, *Race*, 117.

<sup>27</sup> For an examination of the use of the Bible for socio-economic and political gains, see Meredith Lake, *The Bible in Australia: A Cultural History* (Sydney: NewSouth Books, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 262.

<sup>29</sup> Davis, "At War with Ourselves."

<sup>30</sup> Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 132.; Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 272.

<sup>31</sup> See Zoe Anderson, "At the Borders of Belonging: Representing Cultural Citizenship in Australia, 1973-1984" (University of Western Australia, 2009). Hugh Mackay found that some opponents of multiculturalism were concerned that immigrants would bring diseases like hepatitis and tuberculosis to Australia. Hugh Mackay, *Multiculturalism*, The Mackay Report (Lindfield, NSW: Mackay Research Pty Ltd, 1995), 14.

maintenance of the dominant Anglo-Saxon Judaic-Christian value system'.<sup>32</sup> Asian immigration was considered incompatible with Christian principles. Grassby had found that, although some racist organisations were very open about their discriminatory agenda, others hid their prejudices behind Christian titles and principles.<sup>33</sup> Christian conservatism acted as an organising principle for diverse and apparently secular arguments over land rights and business interests, Asian immigration, multiculturalism, social justice, harmony and cohesion.

The belief that Australian society, succumbing to radical, misguided and mischievous appeals to social equality and justice issues, had strayed too far from its path of righteousness was found in parts of Australian churches. In an article titled 'Defending Orthodoxy: Some Conservative and Traditionalist Movements in Australian Christianity',<sup>34</sup> Hilliard outlined the motives, triggers and developments of reactionary groups in the Catholic, Uniting and Anglican Churches in Australia from the 1970s. Alienated elements in each denomination acted on their commitment to the restoration of their church to its fundamental values.<sup>35</sup> For these groups and organisations, the challenges came from both outside and within the church; in their judgment, the legacy of the socially, morally and theologically turbulent 1960s was a church led astray by liberal theologians. Therefore, 'los[ing] its direction, [it] became captive to liberal-leftist and feminist thinking, submerged its religious message in fashionable political and social causes, and slipped into numerical decline'.<sup>36</sup> Their mission was to save it from decay and extinction, and, like Morgan, they claimed to be defenders and upholders of the divine order.

The ultra-conservative Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) was, according to its website, created in 1976,

a period marked by much social and political discontent. The turmoil and controversy of the Whitlam years had given way to disappointment and stagnation under the Fraser government, yet the notion that governments were the solution to any problem prevailed, particularly in the media'.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Kelly, *The End of Certainty*, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Grassby, *Tyranny*, 43.

<sup>34</sup> Hilliard, "Defending Orthodoxy."

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.cis.org.au/about/mission/> (accessed on 21 October 2017).

The CIS had set itself the task of denouncing the weaknesses of Australian society and to take the upper moral ground. Hugh Morgan contributed \$40,000 to its foundation,<sup>38</sup> explaining that the purpose of giving financial support to think tanks was to recast the policy program and influence public opinion because 'Politicians only accept what is in public opinion polls, so we have to change public opinion.'<sup>39</sup>

In its aim to influence public opinion the New Right could count on the Christian Right to refute Christian advocacy that it considered too far to the left.<sup>40</sup> In 1983 the Anglican Social Responsibilities Commission, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the Commission on Social Responsibility of the Uniting Church and the ACC jointly published a booklet for national circulation, titled *Changing Australia*.<sup>41</sup> Highlighting unjust power and wealth distribution in Australia, and other issues like the disadvantages suffered by Aborigines and some immigrants, it called for greater public ownership and control of the major industries. The following year right-wing social commentators wrote a robust rebuttal to this message, dismissing it as the views of a left-wing minority in the churches. Several practising Christians were among the contributors to *Chaining Australia: Church Bureaucracies and Political Economy*,<sup>42</sup> published by the CIS. The co-editor, Geoffrey Brennan, and another contributor, Paul McGavin, were Anglicans, the latter being cited in the publication as a deacon within the Melbourne Diocese; Hugh Henry and Greg Sheridan were Catholics, the former a seminarian, and Brennan's co-editor, J K Williams, was a minister in the Uniting Church.

While McGavin made no reference to immigrants or refugees, he expressed a conservative biblical explanation of toil, and named wage increases, female employment and 'social security transfer' as contributors to the country's unemployment and economic problems. Another essay by philosophy

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<sup>38</sup> Wilson da Silva, "Think Tanks: The New Social Focus: Australia's Think Tanks, Their Influence and Their Change of Direction," *Australian Financial Review Magazine* (June 1996).

<sup>39</sup> *The New Right's Australian Fantasy*, edited by Ken Coghill, (Melbourne: McPhee-Gribble, 1987), 29. Markus, *Race*, 58.

<sup>40</sup> Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 267.

<sup>41</sup> Anglican Social Responsibilities Commission et al., *Changing Australia* (Blackburn, Vic: Dove Communications, 1983), 30.

<sup>42</sup> *Chaining Australia: Church Bureaucracies and Political Economy*, (St Leonards, NSW: Centre for Independent Studies, 1984).



Professor Lauchlan Chipman<sup>43</sup> titled 'An Excess of Equality' was typical of the general tenor of the publication. He wrote about *Changing Australia*:

This document is in essence a sugar-coated neo-Marxist one, the motivational force of which flows from harnessing the language of compassion to the psychology of envy, and the language of love to the powerful drive of hate. The hate objects are familiar from the political literature of the political left.<sup>44</sup>

Chipman, who played a pivotal role in the creation of the CIS, went on to condemn the injustice of 'granting large tracts of land to Aborigines on terms and conditions not available to Australians of non-Aboriginal origin – a privilege that is difficult to square with their call for "an end to discrimination"'.<sup>45</sup> The true victims of discrimination and 'hate objects' of the left, according to this theory, were the white Australians, while the objects of left-wing compassion posed a threat to ordinary Australians, as claimed by Blainey. We have seen in Chapter 3 that in his submission to the ACMMM in 1985, Robin Sharwood thought along the same lines about the dangers of ignoring public disquiet over multiculturalism. He had warned that the 'over-active promotion of minority cultures [would] denigrate the main-stream culture, which is the essential prerequisite for social unity and for the effective working of society's major institutions'.<sup>46</sup> Invoking the notion of labour and just reward, Sharwood warned that 'our long, long struggle towards a truly Australian national identity, which we seem at last close to achieving, will be put in jeopardy'.<sup>47</sup> This passage encapsulated the whole gamut of concerns and discontents from the right, applied in a church setting.

Other self-identifying Melbourne Anglicans<sup>48</sup> made public their views on immigration, multicultural ministry and interfaith dialogue without necessarily engaging directly with the Diocese. However, they must be considered to have had an impact in the discourse on this ministry. Sir Reginald Sholl was an ultra-conservative barrister, judge, diplomat and political commentator, and also a member

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<sup>43</sup> Lauchlan Chipman, "An Excess of Equality," in *Chaining Australia: Church Bureaucracies and Political Economy*, ed. Geoffrey Brennan and John K Williams (St Leonard's, NSW: Centre for Independent Studies, 1984), 131-39. Professor Chipman, former Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Monash University, and Vice-Chancellor of Central Queensland University, had academic backgrounds in Law, Philosophy and Educational Administration. He was described as 'A Christian libertarian, he was conservative, right-wing and sometimes controversial in his views'. Monash University, "<https://www.Monash.Edu/Vale/Home/Articles/Vale-Professor-Lauchlan-Chipman>". (accessed 28 August 2019).

<sup>44</sup> Chipman, "An Excess of Equality," 132.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>46</sup> Robin Sharwood letter to Penman, 10 Jan 1985. Melbourne Diocese Archives.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> In addition to individuals like Heathcote and Bennett, discussed in Chapter 2.

of the Melbourne Synod and Advocate of the Diocese for eleven years.<sup>49</sup> He was a vocal opponent of communism and joined the League of Rights.<sup>50</sup> Sholl expressed himself controversially on topics ranging from community morals and homosexuality to the supposed perils of non-White immigration and declining media standards.<sup>51</sup>

Peter Howson, Member for Fawkner and Casey successively, and minister in 1964–68 and 1971–72, was a practising Anglican and, in his record of his political life titled *The Howson Diaries* (1984), he mentioned having lunch with Anglican Archbishop Woods at the Melbourne Club. With some disappointment, he accepted the newly-created portfolio of Minister for the Environment, Aborigines and the Arts in 1971, complaining that 'The little bastard [Prime Minister McMahon] gave me trees, boongs and pooftas'.<sup>52</sup> Howson often commented on indigenous affairs, arguing that Aborigines should be culturally assimilated and dismissing the notion of the Stolen Generation as 'a silly fairy tale', although at some point it was claimed that he showed concern to improve their living conditions.<sup>53</sup>

Norman Banks, an ex-candidate for the Anglican priesthood, was a radio broadcaster who 'remained a regular communicant [and] whose religiosity was to influence aspects of his broadcasting career'.<sup>54</sup> In 1970, just three years after talkback radio was introduced in Melbourne, he commanded an audience of more than 300,000, 'that shared his obsessions and prejudices' for two hours every

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<sup>49</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 394.

<sup>50</sup> Incidentally, Eric Butler, the League's founder, was himself a member of the Melbourne Anglican Diocesan Synod in the 1950s. Hilliard, "How Anglican Lay People Saved the Church," 49.

<sup>51</sup> Laurence W. Maher, "Sholl, Sir Reginald Richard (1902–1988)," Also published in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 18, (MUP), 2012, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sholl-sir-reginald-richard-15488>. (accessed 23 July 2017).

<sup>52</sup> Howson was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George in 1980 for services to Parliament and was awarded the Centenary Medal in 2001 'for long and devoted service to improving conditions for Australia's indigenous people' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter\\_Howson\\_\(politician\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Howson_(politician)) (accessed 23 July 2017).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. On the other hand, Robert Fordham, a Labour politician in State Parliament, was the member for Footscray, a high immigrant density area, from 1970 to 1992. In his inaugural speech on 16 September 1970 he said about education that, '[a]fter examining statistics and research that has been undertaken in this field, I contend that for anyone to assert that equal educational opportunity exists in Victoria today is to utter a myth...There is also a tremendous problem of migrant children being deprived of proper education'. He spoke of the alienation and estrangement of 'the young and the aged, the worker and the migrant, people living in poverty, and students'. He was the exception rather than the rule, as Anglican politicians were more likely to be in the Liberal coalition than the Labour Party. Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Victorian, "Parliamentary Debates," (1970). [https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/images/stories/historical\\_hansard/VicHansard\\_19700617\\_19700922.pdf](https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/images/stories/historical_hansard/VicHansard_19700617_19700922.pdf). 213-4 (accessed 7 November 2017)

<sup>54</sup> John Lack, "Banks, Norman Tyrell (1905–1985)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 17 (2007), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/banks-norman-tyrell-12170>. (accessed 10 December 2018).

week. He openly supported white supremacy and the apartheid regime, while opposing feminism and homosexuality. He was labelled a racist and anti-Semitic when one of the guests on his program on GTV-9 was Eric Butler, founder of the Australian League of Rights. Banks was known for his fundraising work for charity and starting what is now the annual festival of Christmas 'Carols by Candlelight' in Melbourne.<sup>55</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that these characters had some considerable influence on the Melbourne population,<sup>56</sup> and there is little evidence that the church sought to disown them or, before Penman's time, to publicly address their prejudices. What was significant was that they publicised their own brand of Anglican beliefs.

### **Penman's historical reading of multiculturalism**

Penman directly challenged the logic of returning to a happy past where there was homogeneity, order, unity, certainty and security. He outlined his theology of multiculturalism, in which he suggested that the current uncertainty could be met with positivity and creativity instead of nostalgic escapism to a mythical Australian golden age.

When asked about multiculturalism, during the 1980s and 90s, Australians who considered it detrimental to the country often responded using a terminology of ownership. Hugh Mackay's reports on interviews conducted during that period<sup>57</sup> contained multiple references to entitlement, dispossession and loss, with associated notions of envy, greed and stealth, and this applied equally to their experiences of being and having. Some expressed anger because 'our identity has been given away',<sup>58</sup> and 'We have this background based on the Christian ethic. How can anyone understand our music, art, literature or our laws without some background in the Christian religion? You have to understand Christianity to understand Australia'.<sup>59</sup> Australian culture was wasted on immigrants whose non-Christian background was a barrier to aesthetic sensibility, and it was too easy for them to appropriate material wealth. Some argued that immigrants 'come here because they like the way we are, and what we have, and what we do ... and what our principles are',<sup>60</sup> yet

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> In a chapter titled 'Organised voices of hate', Al Grassby identified talkback radio among the popular means of spreading racist propaganda. *Grassby, Tyranny*, 46.

<sup>57</sup> Mackay, *Multiculturalism*.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 20.

‘It’s the migrants who are ripping off the social security system for all they are worth’.<sup>61</sup> Asian immigrants were especially guilty of exploiting the country’s generosity to the poor and unemployed, or else being too hardworking, ambitious and successful in ‘taking jobs and careers’<sup>62</sup> and buying expensive cars.<sup>63</sup> Excess of generosity on the part of Australians was a recurring theme in reference to both Aborigines<sup>64</sup> and immigrants. ‘I think the way we help migrants financially is very generous on a world scale. How long can we keep being generous? And at what price?’<sup>65</sup> Patience was running out and so would resources, they argued, if the situation continued unchecked.

For their part, Penman and other like-minded Anglicans prescribed the abandonment of old ‘social goals and ethic of society’ for something intangible, uncertain, yet to be discovered, which made his message difficult to sell. While Australians were wondering who they were,<sup>66</sup> Penman was citing a message of hope from the Bible, ‘It does not yet appear what we shall be’.<sup>67</sup> His message was that the church and people should embrace the uncertainty and the void, and adopt a sacrificial attitude to multiculturalism in the hope of great cultural and spiritual enrichment. Gordon Dicker, a theologian and moderator<sup>68</sup> in the NSW Uniting Church, made a controversial and potentially disquieting comment on the invalidity of old certainties, which appealed to Penman.

Prior to the Second World War most Australians were of British or Irish descent. It was a fairly homogeneous society. The massive post-war immigration programme has changed the situation completely. ... Pluralism inevitably relativizes all things. Nothing is absolutely true anymore; it just depends where you were born and how you are brought up. In the churches we really have not found yet how to deal with this phenomenon. And even after a quarter of a century of migration the Protestant churches, on the whole, still do not know what to do about migrants.<sup>69</sup>

Confirming the nightmare of ‘complete change’, Dicker proposed to replace the dearly-held one absolute truth with several new aspects of truths brought to Australia by immigrants from many lands, for ‘[n]ot only new ethnic groups, but new customs, new life-styles and new philosophies have

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>66</sup> Kelly, *The End of Certainty*, xxiv.

<sup>67</sup> I John: 3.2

<sup>68</sup> Leader of Synod

<sup>69</sup> Gordon Dicker quoted in "Australia: A Multicultural Society?," *International Review of Missions* 269 (Jan 1979): 4.

been introduced'.<sup>70</sup> These were not the reassuring words that some needed to hear. Penman acknowledged the powerlessness and paralysis caused by angst over uncertainty, and the appeal to mythology as a reaction; however, he saw mythical fabrications about cultural threats to the Australian identity as the temporary pangs of a nation searching for its true identity.<sup>71</sup> The warning here was that, more than just a myth about a golden age of homogeneity, Christianity, prosperity and harmony, the current malaise was metastasising into contemporary myths about immigration and multiculturalism, and paranoia about moral bankruptcy caused by social change. For Penman, acceptance of immigrants was part of the solution since they were an integral part of the nation's new and uniquely Australian identity.

Penman offered two new definitions of Australia's national identity, the first being its national integrity. He argued that if Australia did not address the injustices faced by immigrants and Aborigines it could not claim to be a democracy.<sup>72</sup> He saw little justification for the Victoria's 150<sup>th</sup> celebrations until the injustices of the past were acknowledged and remedied,<sup>73</sup> and similarly, in 1987, with the approaching bicentennial celebrations, he warned the Church that

As a church, we are not able to hold our heads high, nor are we able to demonstrate our righteousness in an uncaring society. We have been at the forefront of those who have mouthed our regrets, and then consistently disappeared in the anonymity of the society in which we are meant to be light and salt.<sup>74</sup>

In that sense, national and Anglican identity was defined by history and present opportunities to remedy past wrongs. Penman reminded Australians that global conventions expected their nation to care for the disadvantaged and the oppressed, and not to judge people by their ethnicity or origins.<sup>75</sup> The table was turned, and it was not a matter of Australians deciding which ethnic or religious group met their criteria for acceptance, but of Australia measuring up to universal standards. These standards were not the exclusive property of any culture or religion but applied equally to all peoples.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> David Penman, "Address on Multiculturalism," in *Forum on Multiculturalism* (School of Christian Studies, Robert Menzies College, Macquarie University 1989). In Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 235.

<sup>72</sup> *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 237.

<sup>73</sup> Penman, "The Synod Address 1985."

<sup>74</sup> "The Synod Address 1987."

<sup>75</sup> Penman, *Multiculturalism in Australia: A Christian Perspective*, 22.

Penman's second definition of identity was equally controversial in that it was defined not as the property of any ethno-cultural group or generation of occupants. It was borrowed from principles suggested by the Rev'd Denis Edwards to 'provide a basis for cultural identity and social cohesion which [was] theologically responsible'. Edwards' proposition was that, first, the land itself, previously owned by Aborigines, symbolised Australian identity, secondly, that Australia was a nation of immigrants and, finally, although its mainstream culture had come from Britain, it was geographically and politically part of the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>76</sup> These representations of Australia's identity were diametrically opposite to those of the New Right and religious right, and pointed to an alternative basic ethic of society. Penman claimed that if the country remained in its indulgent state of nostalgia, it would always be 'a purely derivative society', following American fashion and attempting to recreate an old Australia that never was.<sup>77</sup>

Instead of dwelling on the void caused by loss of meaning, Penman's antidote for hopelessness was an optimistic and proactive response to change.<sup>78</sup> There was a treasure to be discovered which contained the key to the new Australian identity. Penman suggested that the old certainty of the Australian Church's 'culturally bound spirituality' could be replaced by the trusting and liberating unknowing of identification with the incarnated Christ and an experience of rebirth in humility.<sup>79</sup> The way forward was to embrace uncertainty and admit that Christians did not have all the answers to the current dilemmas.<sup>80</sup> It was also a matter of changing perceptions of the social reality. Other authors have made the same point about positive aspects of the uncertainties that caused so much angst among many Australians. Bruce Kaye suggested that the real problem was the difficulty of knowing how to live as Christians in the current society, and that Christians and their church needed to be reinvented. This would involve learning how to use their critical faculties and consider their actions as Christians in a diverse environment.<sup>81</sup> The difficulty was not a decision about what to believe so much as how to think about the present and make judgments; this was much an epistemological as a religious issue and a leap of faith was required at a time of self-doubt.

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<sup>76</sup> "Address on Multiculturalism." Reproduced in Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 235-36.

<sup>77</sup> *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 235.

<sup>78</sup> Penman, "The Synod Address 1985."

<sup>79</sup> David Penman, "Cultural Pluralism - a Pattern for the Future," *International Review of Missions*, no. 269 (1979).

<sup>80</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 186.

<sup>81</sup> Kaye, *Reinventing Anglicanism*, 86-87.

## Penman's theological and political reading of multiculturalism

The conservative elements in church and society had appropriated the Christian discourse to defend Australia's traditional Judaeo-Christian and imperial values. This was a fight for the high moral ground, and Penman was adamant about the relevance of socio-political issues for every Christian. He repeatedly 'rejected [the] false dichotomy between the sacred and the secular'.<sup>82</sup>

Penman envisaged placing Anglicanism at the forefront of Christian participation in contemporary social debates while directly contributing to the policy-making process in multiculturalism. As indicated in Chapter 3, his restructure of the Diocese reflected an intention to move the church from a maintenance to a mission mode and make it more effective in its engagement with society. He aimed to achieve this partly through an impactful presence in the media and an increased involvement of the laity in the church's mission. As church leader, a further aspect of his involvement in public affairs was to work closely with the government on policy formation. In contrast to the internal resistance that he experienced from some of the bishops, both the state and federal governments recognised his commitment to social issues and made use of his expertise and influence.

Despite criticism from within the church about his involvement in social and political issues,<sup>83</sup> Penman maintained a very collaborative relationship with the State government, as witnessed by Premier John Cain's delivery of the opening address at the 1985 *Christ Across Cultures Conference* in 1985. His constructive relationship with the federal government involved frequently acceding to requests from Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans for confidential advice on the Middle-East.<sup>84</sup> In 1985 he accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Bob Hawke to chair the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), the highest advisory body for government policy creation in that area.<sup>85</sup> AIMA's role was 'to raise awareness within Australia of its diverse cultures and how they serve to

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<sup>82</sup> Archbishop David Penman, "The Synod Address," *See* (1988). Compare with Tom Frame's belief that 'the focus of public theology is quite simply public policy and that the objective of public theology is to inform and influence public policy in the direction of the Kingdom of God. It is, then, a blend of reflection and advocacy. The focus of the reflection is the identification of values and virtues that bear upon every deliberation over public policy; the focus of the advocacy is the practical proclamation of those values and virtues in the church's own life and in its interaction with the host society'. Tom Frame, "Public Theology and Public Policy," *St Mark's Review*, no. 214 (2010): 34.

<sup>83</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 134.

<sup>84</sup> On one occasion, according to Peter Sheldrake, director of AIMA, Penman played an important role in negotiations between the government and Imam Al-Hilaly of the Lakemba Mosque, whom Chris Hurford, the Minister for Immigration, tried to deport in 1988 for making controversial statements that were 'against Australian values'. *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

enrich the whole; to promote tolerance, understanding, harmony and mutual esteem among communities; to promote a cohesive Australian society; and to assist in promoting an environment which allowed everyone to fully participate in that society'.<sup>86</sup> Penman welcomed the appointment, later claiming 'My appointment in July as Chairman of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs has sharpened my awareness of the rich diversity of our society. There are many strains and some areas of tension, which we would be foolish to ignore'.<sup>87</sup> He took his role seriously and believed AIMA's scope should be extended if it was to fulfil its true mission.<sup>88</sup> However, under public pressure, Prime Minister Hawke decided to close down AIMA along with a number of other ethnic services in the lead-up to the 1989 election. Penman publicly condemned this political pragmatism as cynical and destructive, accusing Hawke's government of 'deal[ing] a dramatic and devastating blow to the future of Australia as a just and fair society', and adding that 'In a few key and highly selective measures the Government has abandoned multiculturalism completely – it has disappeared into our very own Bermuda Triangle'.<sup>89</sup> The decision to close down AIMA was a matter of personal disappointment for Penman, which he expressed in his final report as Chairman. In the face of the government's 'retrograde step'<sup>90</sup> he conveyed the AIMA Council's recommendations for continuing and expanding the government's commitment to multiculturalism through the new structures to be put in place within the Department of Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs.<sup>91</sup>

It was mentioned in Chapter 3 that *Garden* had singled out Scripture as the only element in church life that did not militate against the Church being multicultural.<sup>92</sup> Penman expanded on this claim by presenting theological arguments in support of multiculturalism. In the preface to *The Cultured Pearl*,<sup>93</sup> he expressed surprise that 'the interface between theology (or even church life and ministry) and the multicultural reality all around us' had been overlooked in the abundant literature about

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<sup>86</sup> Andrew Jakubowicz, "Commentary On: Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs," <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/112.Australian-Institute-of-Multicultural-Affairs>. (accessed on 21 October 2017).

<sup>87</sup> Penman, "The Synod Address 1985."

<sup>88</sup> Penman spoke approvingly of the provisions of the 1985 amendment to the Act to establish AIMA, extending its brief to include Aborigines and 'mainstreaming and sensitising' of public services to multicultural issues. Dr David Penman, "Richness in Diversity: Address to the Asian Community Information and Resource Centre on 7 December," (AFAR, December 1985).

<sup>89</sup> "Multiculturalism Disappears without Trace: Australia's Bermuda Triangle, Post-Budget Comment by David Penman, Chairman of AIMA," *Il Messaggero* Settembre 1986, 35.

<sup>90</sup> Council Chairman Dr David Penman, "Future Directions for Multiculturalism: Final Report of the Council of AIMA, 1986," (Melbourne: AIMA), 2.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>92</sup> *Garden*, 52.

<sup>93</sup> *Cultured Pearl*.



multiculturalism.<sup>94</sup> He drew a picture of a multicultural Kingdom of God, which encompassed the religious, social and political dimensions, and where scriptural precepts and political ideology were in accord over multiculturalism.

I find it very difficult to escape the conviction that in the biblical records we find embedded an affirmation and an encouragement for the diverse and complex multicultural societies that we possess today... I wish to affirm that from a Christian perspective, it is within the *purpose of God* that the nations should be diversified, both for salvation *and* judgment, and that it is in plurality and multiplicity that these fundamental elements of his purpose will be fulfilled... the diversity and complexity of the nations become a reflection of his own amazing diversity and creative genius.<sup>95</sup>

Penman saw multiculturalism not as one option among several but the will of God, and he reinforced the convergence of Biblical and political reasoning about multiculturalism by using the terminology of sin to describe opposition to it; he described as 'almost blasphemous' the claims by many Anglicans that God wanted a 'a white Australia with a certain historical tradition'.<sup>96</sup> As for those who opposed the government's policies to address inequalities that saw immigrants trapped in the lowest employment and economic echelons and the underlying structural causes, Penman saw them as idolaters who put power and money before social justice.<sup>97</sup> The sense of urgency in Penman's plea for action came largely from his personal experience and witness of the violent consequences of long-term racial and religious divisions in the Middle East. He had seen inequity leading to polarisation and 'inevitable disintegration into racially explosive ghettos',<sup>98</sup> and warned that the failure to provide for the needy was a recipe for social unrest rather than a return to the golden age.

In what would be his last major public address in Australia, Penman defined the policy of multiculturalism as an optimal application of Scripture in a diverse society.

Multiculturalism is not holy writ, still less is it some sort of government conspiracy, but merely the best suggestion so far devised for facilitating a 'fair go' for all in a society of great cultural diversity... For Christians, above all, multiculturalism is a social justice issue ....I am convinced that multiculturalism as currently formulated in official documents is the best

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., xii.

<sup>95</sup> Penman, *Multiculturalism in Australia : A Christian Perspective*, 10-11.

<sup>96</sup> Salter, "Here a Nudge, There a Nudge, Everywhere a Nudge Nudge: Archbishop David Penman on How the Church Can - and Should - Try to Influence the Ways of the World.," 28-33.

<sup>97</sup> Penman, "Address on Multiculturalism." In Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 233.

<sup>98</sup> Penman, "The Synod Address 1987," 2.

solution available for the issues posed by the cultural diversity of the Australian population.<sup>99</sup>

After the speculative discussions about the nature and relevance of multiculturalism by the various diocesan committees (Chapter 2), here was a definitive guiding philosophy offered by a leader to his Church. On the one hand, his advocacy of the policy of multiculturalism needed to have a pragmatic grounding, to counter the appeal to reason from the New Right and other opponents of multiculturalism, with their claim to be the defenders of demographic and economic responsibility, equality and social harmony. On the other, Penman was not a politician but a church leader with a consistent message of hope mixed with some unpalatable truths. More importantly, he was in a position to advocate for principles like generosity, humility and sacrifice, even at a time when the dissenters were calling out 'enough is enough'.<sup>100</sup> In a Bible study of Paul's letter to the Romans, under the title 'The Call for Sacrifice: Living Life to the Fullest', he addressed among other themes that of 'Christian citizenship', which he associated with living faith, or 'the holiness of living that leads to social, economic, and political transformation'.<sup>101</sup> It was a measure of Penman's conviction that, to the fears promoted by the New Right of an ethnic take-over, he should respond with recommendations for humility and sacrifice, especially in regard to the sensitive subject of inter-religious encounter. In his address to the 1985 'Christ across Cultures' Conference, he gave the following advice.

There are two concerns for me to address: the universal Lordship and uniqueness of Christ, and the transformation of culture. It is an exceedingly difficult task. The approach is to be that of a servant, gently and deferentially, with the example of the foot-washing<sup>102</sup> as our model. Or, ... quoting Canon Max Warren: 'Our first task in approaching other people, another culture, another religion, is to take off our shoes, for the place we are approaching is holy. Else we may find ourselves treading on men's dreams. More serious still, we may forget that God was here before our arrival'.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Penman, "Address on Multiculturalism." In Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 229.

<sup>100</sup> Mackay, *Multiculturalism*, 48.

<sup>101</sup> 'The Call for Sacrifice: Living Life to Its Fullest (Romans 12:1-2), David Penman, "Bible Studies on Romans 9-15; Living Life Fully," in *Bible Studies on Romans 9-15*, 261.

<sup>102</sup> In the New Testament, Christ washes his disciples' feet as an example of humble service to them.

<sup>103</sup> *Garden*, 157. Max Warren was a British missionary theologian. F D Dillistone, "The Legacy of Max Warren," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, (July 1981), <http://www.internationalbulletin.org/issues/1981-03/1981-03-114-dillistone.pdf>. (accessed 6 December 2016). In a sermon titled 'Walking the two-way between the Church and the world', (1988) Penman wrote that '[a] barrier to communication is the inclination to see things through our own cultural eyes, and often unwittingly simplify and condemn. Our cultural identity, [to] which we have given so much credence in this bicentennial year, can be a great strength. But it may stop us from recognising the incredible qualities of the other cultures'. Private paper loaned by Jean Penman.

It is not surprising that the rich poetry in this passage should have captured Penman's imagination.<sup>104</sup> It brought together several elements of his views on life in a culturally diverse society. Even a superficial analysis identifies images of Jesus' humble act of washing his disciples' feet, the removal of shoes as practised in mosques and other places of worship, Aboriginal dreaming and sacred sites, and the presence of God in Australia before the arrival of the first fleet, all transcending the confines of any one religion. The removal of shoes also represents a willing sacrifice of pride and possession from the golden age, in preparation for a new sacred experience.

However, there remained the dilemma of proclaiming 'the universal Lordship and uniqueness of Christ' at the same time as aiming to celebrate the cultural diversity of Australian society. The next section complements Penman's position on evangelisation, discussed in Chapter 3, with his invitation to respect God's presence among other faiths.

## **The Anglican Church and other faiths**

If internal divisions in the Diocese hindered the dissemination of Penman's message about cross-cultural ministry, those in the Diocese who were committed to multiculturalism found willing allies among people of other faiths. Religious leaders and representatives in Melbourne were united by a common concern about the place of religion as a faith system and a force for good in society. Transcending denominational and doctrinal barriers, they provided the impetus for and strength of interfaith dialogue and collaboration, to raise the profile of religious belief and association in public discourse, and to find ways of ensuring its transmission and continued effectiveness. Addressing some of the issues raised by Penman surrounding Australian Christians' ambivalence towards other faiths, Bouma explained that '[t]he fear of religious diversity arises in part from our past experience with it and our experience about it. .... The challenge is to come to see religious diversity actually as part of that which is good, that which we should nurture. In time we may come to understand that cultural and religious diversity is important for the sustainability of a society as biodiversity is for the sustainability of the biosphere'.<sup>105</sup>

Meanwhile, government attitudes and policies in regard to religion were changing with the times. Referring to the fear of religious pluralism shown by governments, Houston commented that '[a]cross much of the world religion is perceived as rather a curse than a blessing: religion, politics

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<sup>104</sup> Penman also quoted this in his 1987 and 1988 Synod Charges.

<sup>105</sup> Gary D. Bouma, *Being Faithful in Diversity : Religions and Social Policy in Multifaith Societies* (Hindmarsh, S. Aust.: ATF Press, 2011), 1.

and race is a volatile cocktail'.<sup>106</sup> However, the danger of religious clashes was more imagined than real, according to Bouma, who claimed that 'Australia has become religiously plural demographically and is still moving to becoming culturally a religiously pluralistic society. Levels of intolerance, discrimination, and harassment based on religious difference are comparatively low. Australia's religious institution includes norms that promote harmonious religious intergroup relations'.<sup>107</sup> The collaboration of the Department of Immigration and Prime Minister's Office with the ABC over a documentary series on different faiths in 1988 was a sign, for Penman, that religion had become 'finally after 30 years, ... an area of government interest as an ineradicable element of multiculturalism in what had hitherto been regarded as a secular area, where religion would be too inflammatory'.<sup>108</sup> Government recognition of the value and influence of religions for social harmony was further demonstrated by the presence of several faith leaders at the opening of the new Parliament House in Canberra in 1988.<sup>109</sup>

To understand how Penman, a man with a great interest in other faiths but calling himself an evangelical Anglican, was able to reconcile the principles of evangelisation and interfaith liaison, a good place to start is the context in which he held these positions. There had been a time when relations between Anglicans and Catholics had been bitter and uncompromising,<sup>110</sup> however, ecumenism gradually gained acceptance, especially after Vatican II, and mass immigration accelerated this trend. As will be seen in Chapter 5, immigrants sharing the same ethnicity and language but belonging to different faiths tended to come together in a religious setting. The ecumenical movement in Australia played a significant part in shaping the churches' response to multiculturalism. Before the period of mass Asian immigration, the Australian Catholic and Protestant churches had experienced cross-cultural interaction through their ecumenical dealings with the Greek, Yugoslav and other Eastern Orthodox churches, peopled with post-war immigrants to Australia.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Houston, *Ride of a Lifetime: The Life and Times of James Houston* 27.

<sup>107</sup> Gary Bouma, "Social Justice Issues in the Management of Religious Diversity in Australia," *Social Justice Research* 12, no. 4 (1999): 293.

<sup>108</sup> Penman's draft to Bp Holland, ca February 1989.

<sup>109</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 72.

<sup>110</sup> Penman, "Comment: Religions in Australia - Can They Cope with Multiculturalism?," 60.

<sup>111</sup> Jupp wrote of 'a long tradition of Protestant support for the Orthodox' and 'the Anglican support for some of the smaller Orthodox groups from Eastern Europe'. James Jupp, "Religion and Integration in a Multifaith Society," in *Multiculturalism and Integration: A Harmonious Relationship*, ed. M Clyne and J Jupp (Canberra: ANU Press, 2011), 137-38.

Hogan claimed that the ecumenical movement begun in the 1950s had triggered a profound and ongoing reappraisal of the role of churches on religious and social issues.<sup>112</sup> One illustration of this development was the publication of *Changing Australia* in 1983, discussed above. There was but a short step from ecumenical collaboration between different cultures to dialogue between Christians and non-Christians, given that some socio-political and economic challenges were common to people of many faiths, and believers shared similar understandings of the importance of religion in their lives. In his article titled 'Religions in Australia – can they cope with multiculturalism?'<sup>113</sup> Penman began by discussing the importance of religion as a belief system. He explained that all religions were established in a historical and cultural context that left their imprints on them, and which needed to be considered if they were to be understood.<sup>114</sup> He argued that every faith in Australia was confronted by its own internal multicultural character, the multicultural nature of Australian society, and its acknowledgment in the wider society.<sup>115</sup> This called for an effort to overcome internal cultural differences, engagement in multifaith dialogue, a united fight for the importance of religion in the face of growing secularism with its destructive potential for religious faith, and a common opposition to religious discrimination or prejudice.<sup>116</sup>

Apart from facing the common challenges to religion as an institution, Penman saw the potential for mutual enrichment in inter-religious interaction. The idea that immigrants were a source of knowledge and wisdom was not new, as witnessed by the inclusion of the cultural contribution of immigrants in the four main recommendations of the Galbally Report.<sup>117</sup> In a special 1980 issue of *Migration Action* on the topic of 'Immigrants, Refugees and the Churches',<sup>118</sup> Dr Bryan Deschamps, then Dean of Trinity College in Melbourne, had evoked both the respect due to immigrants and the wisdom of enlisting them in the enrichment of the science of human migration. He condemned the

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<sup>112</sup> Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 266.

<sup>113</sup> Penman, "Comment: Religions in Australia - Can They Cope with Multiculturalism?."

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>117</sup> The fourth principle of the Galbally Review was that immigrants should be consulted in the development of services and programs to benefit them and the main objective should be to assist them achieve self-reliance as early as possible. Frank Galbally, "Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, (Galbally Review) " (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, May 1978).

<sup>118</sup> Bryan Deschamps, "Migrants, Refugees and Christian Responsibility," *Migration Action* IV, no. 3 (1980): 4.

“perpetuation of [the immigrant’s] status as an instrument and object and not as a responsible participant in a community”,<sup>119</sup> adding that

If any group should be involved in community education it should be the Church. A public sensitised to all the facets of the phenomenon of immigration would produce the right ‘public knowledge’ which in turn would influence policy decision. But more to the point would be for immigrants themselves to contribute to this ‘public knowledge’ on immigration.<sup>120</sup>

Since religious diversity was a significant part of the reality of immigration, shared public knowledge about how to live together as a nation of immigrants necessarily involved shared knowledge about faith.<sup>121</sup> In 1985 Penman told Synod that ‘in many ways we reflect the world of nations, right here in Melbourne. ...Melbourne is [a] fascinating and compelling city in which to live. I am told that there are at least 130 different ethnic peoples, with more than 80 languages, in our relatively small population’.<sup>122</sup> With religious plurality came diversity in definitions of and prescriptions for a peaceful, just and harmonious society, and taken collectively these could lead to an agreement on universal values. Since the church did not have all the answers,<sup>123</sup> Penman argued that it had to learn from other faiths.<sup>124</sup>

In his opening address at the Victorian Labor Party Conference of 1986, named evocatively ‘A Fairer Australia’,<sup>125</sup> Penman defined a responsible society as a just and ordered one, in which freedom meant that those in power were answerable to God and to the people affected by their decisions. He specified that ‘it makes no difference if this framework is to [sic] a society which develops from a Muslim, Jewish or Christian perspective - the principles still apply, even if they are not recognised’.<sup>126</sup> Social justice, leading to peace and social cohesion were therefore the mark of a society that was functioning well and benefited all its members, and this was not the privilege or distinction of any

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<sup>119</sup> World Council of Churches Villigst Conference (October 1968) Report, 44, cited in *ibid.*, 7.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Penman agreed with Ninian Smart’s claim that ‘To understand human history and human life it is necessary to understand religion, and in the contemporary world one must understand other nations’ ideologies and faith in order to grasp the meaning of life as seen from perspectives often very different from our own’. Ninian Smart, *The Religious Experience of Mankind* (Glasgow: Collins, 1971), 11. cited in DP, Penman, "Comment: Religions in Australia - Can They Cope with Multiculturalism?," 55.

<sup>122</sup> "The Synod Address 1985."

<sup>123</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 186.

<sup>124</sup> See, for example, David Penman, "Islam," *Wherever* 2, no. 2 (1977).

<sup>125</sup> A reference to the Australian national anthem, ‘Advance Australia Fair’.

<sup>126</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 161.

national, ethnic or religious community; it was the embodiment of what Penman described as 'universal human values', and the framework, according to the above quotation, was faith-based.<sup>127</sup>

The case for solidarity between faith groups was greater than the benefits of gaining traction with government and other funding bodies. Bouma reflected on the limits of individual religious doctrines in their social applicability and the complementarity of religious wisdom from different faiths, explaining that

'...as diversity becomes pervasive, no group provides an all embracing over-arching community of meaning coterminous with the boundaries of society or globe. Diversity is now so pervasive that religious groups are internally diverse and many do not provide embracing, overarching, totalising meaning for their adherents. Their meanings have become one set among others, which is made even more complex by the rise of profound levels of internal diversity within religious groups. Those who insist that religious groups speak with a single voice are harking back to the former order'.<sup>128</sup>

Here the former order is a variation on the theme of the golden age, which denoted a time of unity in uniformity. Penman also claimed that the church was not called to provide the solution to every issue since the 'crucial elements in the life of any society ... are not just derivations from an exclusively religious history... but are rooted in the created order'.<sup>129</sup> This was consistent with his idea that the Australian identity resided in the land itself and in the phenomenon of creation. What the church should do, according to him, was not to dictate or engineer, but to 'participate in shaping ... society's moral and ethical standards'.<sup>130</sup>

Bouma, who did extensive research on the interaction between religion and society in Western societies including Canada, the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Europe, was one of a number of Melbourne Anglican clergy who made notable academic contributions in the areas of cross-cultural ministry and interfaith relations. Other examples include the Rev'd Dr Charles Sherlock, a Theology lecturer at Ridley College who had a strong interest in cross-cultural ministry and played a major role in the drafting of *Garden*, and the Rev'd John Baldock, a former Associate Secretary General of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) in New York, who worked for global agencies on religious matters. A few Melbourne Anglican clergy are known to have studied other faiths as part of

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<sup>127</sup> Penman, "The Synod Address."

<sup>128</sup> Bouma, "Managing Religious Diversity," 21.

<sup>129</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 188.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

their spiritual and professional development.<sup>131</sup> Their studies and publications helped to promote understanding and tolerance of other cultures and religions within the church. Houston, who had come to the Anglican Church with a background in policy development in the Commonwealth Department for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, used his skills in policy writing at the diocesan level as well as practising an experimental form of cross-cultural ministry in his own multiethnic and multifaith parish of Dallas-Broadmeadows.<sup>132</sup> Other Anglican theologians who supported Penman in cross-cultural ministry were the theologian Rev'd Dr John Gaden and Religious Studies expert, Professor John Painter.<sup>133</sup>

### **Intercultural Theological Education for a Multi-faith Society (ITEMS)**

The ITEMS project had as its objective to incorporate in the training curriculum of future clergy, ministers and pastors of all denominations a theology study component that would prepare them for the challenges of ministering in an ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse society. Hunter as Convenor, David Wood as Chair and Sr Marylou Moorhead as General Secretary of the VCC had been the prime movers in the project application by the VCC's Commission on Living Faiths and Community Relations.<sup>134</sup> The Victorian Government's decision to select it as one of the community-based initiatives for funding under Victoria's 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebrations of 1984-5 was a State recognition of the importance and potential benefit of interfaith collaboration.<sup>135</sup> Official endorsement of ITEMS came from the Governor of Victoria, Sir Brian Murray, who agreed to become Patron for the project, and Premier, John Cain, who commended ITEMS to the Heads of major churches.<sup>136</sup> Houston, then still employed in the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, but seconded to manage the project in Victoria on an invitation by the VCC, believed the funding decision was 'quite a miracle in itself, ... doubtless express[ing] the Government's concern for the future well-being of a society incredibly diverse in language, cultural values, religious practice and skin colour'.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Peter Ormond undertook Islamic Studies at the University of Melbourne and studied at St George's College in Jerusalem, and George Mullins studied Buddhist spirituality. Correspondence over Buddha controversy. Painter contributed a chapter to *Cultured Pearl*, the course reader for ITEMS.

<sup>132</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 35. *Multicultural Odyssey*, 336-67.

<sup>133</sup> <https://au.linkedin.com/in/john-painter-8aa58829> accessed 15 Dec 2018

<sup>134</sup> DMREA flyer appealing for funds for ITEMS ca 1984. See also the preface by Sr M L Moorhead, RSCI, *Cultured Pearl*.

<sup>135</sup> Jim Houston, "ITEMS Report to Victoria 150th Committee January 1985."

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Unauthored (presumed J Houston) letter addressed to O'Connor friends 28 My 1984 re ITEMS funding. Diocesan archives.



Penman supported the ITEMS project and asked Houston to draft an additional subject including mandatory practical experience among immigrants, that might be made compulsory for both Ridley and Trinity Colleges. He had already voiced his criticism, in 1978, of the narrow focus of the Melbourne Anglican theological colleges' curricula:

... my observations are that little serious attempt is given in our theological colleges to preparation for cross-cultural ministry in a multi-racial society. There is little compulsory preparation in comparative religions, anthropology, sociology and communications theory. ... In other words we demonstrate, even at this level, a type of 'theological ethno-cultural insensitivity' which leaves us ill-equipped to understand the problems of our diverse Australian peoples, let alone the very complex issues of life that new arrivals inevitable face.<sup>138</sup>

For Houston, the challenge was to persuade even the most 'intellectually adventurous' theologians to take cultural diversity into account in their teaching programs.<sup>139</sup> In his unpublished memoirs, he commented on the Protestant churches' tardiness in showing awareness of and interest in the increasing cultural plurality surrounding them, a theme already addressed in Chapter 1 of this thesis:

... the church leaders seemed oddly unaware of this significant cultural shift happening around them, compared for instance with marketers, advertisers and educators. At very least it seemed to highlight the cultural captivity of the Protestant Churches in associating the Gospel with the status quo, rather than unchaining it to critique and transform every culture.<sup>140</sup>

ITEMS needed to be promoted not just to the theologians themselves but also to those who held the purse strings and had the final say over such a novel initiative.<sup>141</sup> It was thus a point of tension between, on the one hand, the external forces applying pressure for a stronger involvement of religious faiths in the State's efforts to foster community awareness and inter-faith entente and, on the other, the internal passive resistance on the part of some churches, especially the Protestant denominations, to such incursion into their traditions and existing practices.

The timeliness and significance of ITEMS needs to be gauged in the context of the history of theological pedagogy in Australia, as discussed by Australian academic Geoffrey Treloar in 2009.<sup>142</sup> Treloar examined the 'theological settlement' dating back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>138</sup> Penman, "Some Reflections on Our Ministry among Migrants and the New Arrivals in the Diocese of Melbourne," 2.

<sup>139</sup> Houston, *Ride of a Lifetime: The Life and Times of James Houston* 394.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 404.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>142</sup> Geoffrey Treloar, "Towards a Master Narrative: Theological Learning and Teaching in Australia since 1901," *St Mark's Review* 210 (November 2009).

century, which replicated the British theological teaching curricula without consideration for their suitability for the Australian context.<sup>143</sup> This style of theology did not aim or claim to be relevant to the Australian setting; on the contrary, 'Theology was ... one of the main supports of the "civic Protestantism" at the heart of the dominant Anglo-Protestant culture [and] also a significant force in the reproduction of Britishness'.<sup>144</sup> However, as Australian society began to change in the 1960s, increasing secularisation and the fall in the popularity of Christianity prompted some innovations in theology, including genuine attempts to indigenise it.

With the dismantling of the WAP, there was a need for a new theology that was sensitive to society's needs, to the extent that its contextualised substance validated personal experience over dogma, respected diversity and preached acceptance, both vital in a multi-faith society. Treloar specifically cited as examples several chapters from *The Cultured Pearl*, the course reader for ITEMS, which interpret Christian beliefs in terms of Aboriginal culture.<sup>145</sup> The findings in Hollingworth's Master's thesis about the inadequate training of parish priests for ministry in Australia's changing and increasingly diverse society, and the arduousness of Hunter's task to engage more clergy through her sensitising course, both discussed in Chapter 2, corroborate Treloar's conclusions about a nascent awareness in the 1980s of the need for a contextualised form of theology.

Treloar also made the point that theology had failed to follow other aspects of Australian culture as they gained in self-consciousness and creativity between the two World Wars, because the churches had a fixed understanding of theology as something immutable, 'dealing as it does with such fundamentals as God, creation, Christ, sacraments and so on [therefore] an entity to be reproduced and learned with minimal attention to context'.<sup>146</sup> This goes some way to explain Allsop's findings about some of the Melbourne Diocese's leaders refusal to contemplate change in the role of bishops, women and other excluded groups within the diocesan culture and structures.

With his expertise in policy formulation and his network of stakeholders in multiculturalism, Houston was able to draw on a large pool of talent and expertise to plan ITEMS and to expand his own activities in inter-faith collaboration. ITEMS was a collaborative venture which brought together the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Churches as well as some non-Christian religions; several faith leaders, including Aboriginals, led various components of the course. The Buddhist Foundation of

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 35.

Victoria and Rabbi John Levi joined in discussions during the drafting stage.<sup>147</sup> Many academics were also involved in interfaith work, including John Bodycomb, former professor of Theology and minister of the UCA, and Dr Abdul Khaliq Kazi, a Muslim lecturer in Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Melbourne, whose expertise included Christology from an Islamic perspective and who became President of the Multi-Faith Resource Centre.<sup>148</sup>

Ironically, the Christian community, as host religion, stood to benefit from this coming together of many faiths. Penman noted that the government had decided to fund ITEMS 'not in recognition of Christianity's contribution to our development, but rather because of the presence of other faiths and the need for the Churches to find new ways of relating to the multi-faith society in which we now live'.<sup>149</sup> He even hoped that Christianity might be rediscovered as the newly-arrived religions commanded attention.<sup>150</sup> Their presence offered opportunities as well as challenges for the Anglican Church, and the role of government was important insofar as it provided financial support for what it saw as a positive influence for social cohesion. Trinity (Anglican) College offered the ITEMS course for some years beyond 1985 and in 2012 Whitley (Baptist) Theological College was still offering the course in its original form, while Ridley (Anglican) College offered a similar course.<sup>151</sup>

## Multi-Faith Seminar 1985

Also as part of the Victorian 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebrations, on 27-28 October 1985, about 100 representatives of Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikhism took part in a seminar at Monash University Centre for Religions, each giving a presentation on the subject of 'Transmission of Religious Values to the Next Generation'.<sup>152</sup> Under the aegis of the VCC, the participating faiths organised the event, which was funded out of the ITEMS budget.<sup>153</sup> It ended with a shared meal and a resolution to request the formation of a permanent body to build on the work begun that day and to play an advisory role in government policy. The Multi-Faith Resource Centre was duly incorporated by an Act of the Victorian Parliament with a \$25,000 grant from the Office of Multicultural Affairs in the Prime Minister's Office. The Centre was expected to work for the Prime

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<sup>147</sup> Jim Houston, "ITEMS Report to Victoria 150th Committee June 1984."

<sup>148</sup> Penman's notes for his reply to a letter from Bishop John Holland, dated 20 January 1989.

<sup>149</sup> Foreword by the Most Reverend Dr David Penman, *Cultured Pearl*, xii.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 320.

<sup>152</sup> "ITEMS Report to Victoria 150th Committee (Final Report) November 1985."

<sup>153</sup> *Multicultural Odyssey*, 322.

Minister and assist the government with policy guidelines for the role of religion in a multicultural Australia.<sup>154</sup>

Apart from their value to government policy-making, the faith leaders were independently practising intercultural outreach and building bridges. High on the agenda for the seminar, as indicated by the title, was the sharing of concerns about the future of religion. The intent was not to practise syncretism or compromise on the beliefs of any one faith, but to pose the questions that concerned all the faith leaders:

Will there be faith in the future? Or will secularism destroy faith whether it be Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim or Sikh?<sup>155</sup>

Something greater than the will to proselytise united the participants; for those newly arrived in Australia, the real or imagined signs of secularism had caused a 'culture shock', even if Australian churches had grown accustomed to it.<sup>156</sup>

As part of his research for ITEMS, Houston drew up a list of at least eight areas of ongoing activities in an ecumenical and interfaith setting in Victoria during the 1980s.<sup>157</sup> Some notable examples were the drafting of a 'Churches' strategy against racism' by a group of individuals in the ACC in Melbourne, involving the principal Protestant and Orthodox churches. The Catholic Commission on Justice & Peace, although based in Sydney, had strong links with Melbourne organisations, some of which ran community education programs on Asian immigrants and non-Christian religions. The VCC's Commission on Community & Race Relations continued to be active and was engaged in dialogue with Muslims, Jews, and the Orthodox churches, and working on a theological approach to multiculturalism and community relations. It also worked in collaboration with the VICIC and Victorian Inter-Faith Council. The Anglican, Uniting and Baptist Churches and the Salvation Army each with its programs for ministry in a multicultural and multifaith society, and the Joint Board of Christian Education worked collaboratively for the promotion of good entente among the followers of many faiths in Victoria.

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<sup>154</sup> Penman's notes for his reply to a letter from Bishop John Holland, dated 20 January 1989.

<sup>155</sup> John Painter, "Multi-Faith Concern within the Multicultural Society: 1985 – Year of Beginnings", in *The Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. Jim Houston (Melbourne: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1986), 144.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>157</sup> Houston, "ITEMS Report to the VCC Commission on Community and Race Relations, August 1984."

## World Conference on Religion and Peace

The special edition of *See* in November 1989, celebrating the life and mission of the recently deceased Penman, included an article titled 'Local priest to international post',<sup>158</sup> which referred to a 'baton-handing operation' in the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). The WCRP, also known as the World Conference on Religions for Peace, is an international multifaith congress that first met in Japan in 1970 and has since met every five years.<sup>159</sup> At its fifth Congress held in January 1989 at Monash University in Melbourne, its four aims related to peace and human and religious rights, to religious collaboration for peace and justice, to the development of a well-organised and strong international network, and to learning through dialogue.<sup>160</sup> The article in *See* highlighted the fact that John Baldock, newly appointed as the first Australian secretary-general of the WCRP, was following in the footsteps of Penman, past president of the WCRP. At the fifth Congress, Penman had chaired the steering committee to oversee the work of the assembly, while Philip Huggins was local staff director.<sup>161</sup> The choice of Melbourne as the location for the 1989 Congress was a recognition of the very multireligious character of Australian society. The fifth Congress had received strong support from government, the inaugural address being delivered by Prime Minister Bob Hawke, and Victorian Minister for Ethnic Affairs Caroline Hogg pledging the support of the State government if a permanent WCRP office were established in Melbourne.<sup>162</sup> In October 1989 the Victorian government announced a yearly grant of \$45,000 to the WCRP/Australia 'as a direct result of the impact of WCRP V on the people and government of Victoria'. In the *See* article, Baldock made it clear that the church's involvement with other faiths would 'determine our religious future', emphasising a common interest in good entente and a shared destiny for all faiths living in Melbourne.

## Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the significance of the rise of neo-conservatism for the church and nation during the 1980s. In response to this movement, which came in both a secular and a Christian

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<sup>158</sup> Robyn Douglass, "Local Priest to International Post," *See* November 1989.

<sup>159</sup> World Conference on Religion and Peace - Australia, "Constitution," <http://religionsforpeaceaustralia.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/rfpa-constitution.pdf>. (accessed 2 November 2018).

<sup>160</sup> Homer A Jack, *WCRP: A History of the World Conference on Religion and Peace* (New York: World Conference on Religion and Peace, 1993).

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

version and advocated against the liberal ideals of an inclusive nation, Penman expounded his own concept of multiculturalism for Christians as Church members and citizens.

### *Challenges from the right*

The New Right and Christian Right were both closely linked to the nostalgia for a golden age of the White Australia era when the nation thought of itself as Christian. They shared some common ideals and borrowed each other's terminology to issue warnings about the moral and social dangers of liberalism and multiculturalism. Penman provided his own understanding of multiculturalism, defending it by citing Scripture, history and political common sense, and arguing that no better means had been developed to achieve equity, social justice and harmony in Australian society. He dispelled the myth of the golden age of a white Christian Australia and, addressing the Australian and Anglican angst over the loss of identity, he proposed a notion of Australian identity that was aspirational and involved the celebration of diversity.

Penman's vision changed during his five-year episcopate in so far as it bore an obvious merging of the sacred, secular, political and intellectual, as he sought to break down barriers between peoples and religions. After his term of chairing AIMA, his message became more sharply focused on current developments in Australian society and the church, countering specific claims from opponents of multiculturalism.

### *Ecumenical and interfaith collaboration*

This chapter has demonstrated that Penman saw no contradiction between the Church's mission to evangelise and the obligation to hold dialogue with people of other faiths, without syncretism or the ulterior motive to proselytise by manipulation. The recognition of a potential contribution from other faiths to national wisdom and moral capital shifted the locus of moral authority beyond the institutional boundaries of the church. Penman taught the church that immigrant communities, their organisations and their religions should be considered a source of learning; his theology combined inclusiveness and the existence of universal positive human values to which every faith contributes.

Through ecumenical and interfaith associations, a movement was under way to create a space of greater understanding, tolerance and harmony, involving motivated Christians in an ecumenical setting, interfaith associations, and government. These collaborative endeavours gained momentum at a pace which was in stark contrast with the disengagement and obstructiveness that characterised some aspects of the Diocese's engagement with cross-cultural ministry. The active involvement of some Melbourne Anglican individuals in these networks echoed the extramural associations and activities discussed in Chapter 1 in the context of the Melbourne inner-city. By the time of Penman's

death, this collaboration had extended to working more closely with government and international agencies.

Dialogue with other cultural and faith communities as bridge-building was a vital element of cross-cultural ministry for both Hunter and Penman. The next chapter returns to the scene within the church walls to consider the perceptions, aspirations and experiences of CALD Anglicans as members of the Church and potential bridge-builders to their ethnic communities.

## Chapter 5: Ethnic Churches and Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) Anglicans

The Melbourne parish could be an uncomfortable and unfamiliar setting for Anglican immigrants of diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds, making it difficult for them to experience spiritually nourishing worship or feel a sense of belonging. The Melbourne Anglican Diocese sought to develop a policy that was sensitive to the cultural aspects of religious practice, based on suppositions and speculations about these CALD Anglicans' needs. They were a minority in the Diocese and their few mouthpieces cited in Chapter 3 indicated that they generally felt unheard and ignored, however, using available evidence gleaned from official records and personal testimonies, this chapter examines CALD Anglicans' perspectives on the Diocese's attempts to reform its cross-cultural ministry. It investigates their experiences and perceptions, and the influence of their socio-political backgrounds and the circumstances of their emigration on their expectations from and experience of the Melbourne Anglican Church. Both Hunter and the ACMMM addressed the relative merits of encouraging the formation of separate congregations and incorporating CALD Anglicans into mainstream congregations, while maintaining that CALD Anglicans had the potential to make a substantial contribution to the life of the Diocese if they were given the voice and opportunity to do so. This chapter also explores CALD Anglicans' views on the subject.

Since this chapter deals with the experiences and opinions of CALD Anglicans over the twenty-year period of this study, it includes discussion of a review of cross-cultural ministry which is more fully examined in the next chapter. This review was conducted by Jim Houston in 1993, and the CALD perspectives presented in his report titled *Seeds Blowing in the Wind* form an important part of the discussion in this chapter. Hunter's 1983 survey<sup>1</sup> of the immigrant presence in the Diocese quantified their presence and level of participation in the life of their parishes and in the diocesan Synod, but did not seek their opinions. A few migrants' voices were heard at the *Christ Across Cultures Conference* of January 1985 and the Consultation of August 1993,<sup>2</sup> but these records, even when supplemented by recent interviews with those speakers, cannot be taken as representative of any group. For the purposes of this thesis, interviews have been conducted with eleven overseas-born Anglicans, including six clergy, three lay ministers and two laypeople, not all of whom are

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<sup>1</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*.

<sup>2</sup> This Consultation was held at St Oswald's church in Glen Iris, as part of the enquiry for Houston's report titled Houston, *Seeds*. About 70 people attended, including clergy and laity from other denominations. Ibid., 127. See Chapter 6.



quoted, but whose recollections and insights have greatly contributed to the overall picture of the period under study.

The next section gives an indication of the diversity among CALD Anglican groups in Melbourne and examines their critique of the church's doctrinal and corporate policies.

## Demography

The 1976 census counted 791,582 Anglicans in Victoria, but by 1981 this number had fallen by over 30% to 527,471; however, the percentage of Australian-born Anglicans remained constant (81.6% and 81.2%) during that period. Of the 17% overseas-born, the majority came from the UK and Ireland, with immigrants from New Zealand coming a distant second.<sup>3</sup>

Table 16 shows the 20 largest groups of overseas-born Anglicans in Victoria between 1961 and 1996. After the successive changes in Australian immigration rules after World War II, while 'invisible' immigration continued from the UK, New Zealand, Europe, the United States and white South Africa, the waves arriving under different categories from countries outside Europe included varying percentages of Anglicans. Not included in Table 16, is a small group of Iranian Anglicans who are discussed in this chapter because they practised a distinctive and very active intra and intercultural ministry.

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<sup>3</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 23. ABS censuses, Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 46.

Table 16 Selected groups of overseas-born Anglicans in Victoria by birthplace in selected census years

	1961	1971	1976	1986	1996
UK	98,948	119,935	104,634	90,100	83,768
NZ incl Maori	4370	4820	4246	6441	7765
India	1378	1875	1868	1733	2089
S Africa (white, black and coloured)	923	1043	1099	2157	2661
Ceylon/Sri Lanka	554	1385	1806	2065	2739
Germany	1291	1039	1064	988	1018
Netherlands	690	693	690	650	762
Canada	578	673	594	661	703
Malaysia	-	464	483	632	890
USA	543	595	532	560	783
Singapore	128	221	319	349	472
Hong Kong	154	201	195	278	533
Papua NG	-	-	365	349	322
Italy	135	125	150	301	153
Austria	187	169	184	126	128
China / PRC	238	233	160	150	*
Fiji	137	129	130	127	207
Mauritius	-	97	126	191	209
Zimbabwe	-	-	152 in 1981	246	218
Malta	66	109	111	181	110
Kenya	-	-	114 in 1981	124	127

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria

\*China/PRC figures for 1996 were possibly included in Other Christians, total 354

Helen Hunter's 1983 survey<sup>4</sup> of a section of the Diocese revealed that, of the 44 participating parishes, 78% of parishioners were born in Australia, the overseas-born coming from more than 35 countries.<sup>5</sup> 162 of them spoke at least one other language than English,<sup>6</sup> the total number of foreign languages totalling 36, and the most widely spoken being French, German, several Chinese dialects, Sinhala and Dutch.<sup>7</sup> By 1990, the DMM quarterly newsletter *LINKS* had adopted the practice of publishing a list of ethnic congregations and clergy. One volume also listed the following ethnicities and linguistic capabilities among the clergy: African, Burmese, Brunei-Chinese, Cambodian, Chinese, Ethiopian, Fijian, French, German, Indian, Japanese, Malagasi, Malay-Indian, Persian, Philippino, South African, Spanish, Sri Lankan, Turkish, and Vietnamese.<sup>8</sup> The compilation of this list reflected the growing interest in ministering to CALD Anglicans in their own languages, but it did not signify the existence of a language-based group for each. Some of the smaller linguistic groups did not last long, partly because the individuals who convened them moved away from the area,<sup>9</sup> but also because some congregations' cultural needs were not met simply by having a bilingual or multilingual priest conducting services in a language other than English.

As Houston rightly pointed out in *Seeds Blowing in the Wind*, most CALD Anglicans had a sound knowledge of English,<sup>10</sup> which suggests that linguistic proficiency *per se* was not the most important reason for separate worship. In her examination of the role of language in ethnic churches, titled *Medium or Message? Language and Faith in Ethnic Churches*,<sup>11</sup> Anya Woods found three factors, namely the familiarity of the worshipper's native tongue, the conviction that there was an appropriate language for prayer and worship,<sup>12</sup> and the influence of the church as maintainer of

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<sup>4</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-29.

<sup>6</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 27-29. Table 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>8</sup> "LINKS, December," 1980. Australian-born priests were also encouraged to declare and use their knowledge of foreign languages. LINKS was the newsletter of the Multicultural Forum within the Department of Multicultural Ministry.

<sup>9</sup> "DMM Report to Synod 1991."

<sup>10</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Anya Woods, *Medium or Message? : Language and Faith in Ethnic Churches* (Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> After his participation in the ABCMMM, Professor Michael Clyne observed in a file note, 'I have observed among some lay people evidence of a register shift in bible readings, intercessions and hymn singing to an ultra-cultivated Australian or Standard British English which they do not otherwise use. Many cultures speak to God in a "special way" but it would appear to some Australians that we must talk to God the way the British (upper class) do'. Clyne, "Some Thoughts on Anglican Church Language Policy: Discussion Paper."

language and culture.<sup>13</sup> In the case of bilingual or multilingual Anglican immigrants, participating in a service in English might therefore not necessarily mean relating to it in a spiritually satisfying way. Uniting Church theologian, the Rev'd Dr Graeme Ferguson, examined a more profound aspect of faith among immigrants in terms of loss and grief, quoting Psalm 137 where the Jewish captives in Babylon asked 'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'.<sup>14</sup> In a chapter of *The Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*,<sup>15</sup> titled 'Tears for A Lost Land: the Exilic Experience in Australia,' Ferguson described the exile's sense of having lost God, whom s/he left behind on emigrating.

In the new land, they are cut off from those places which gave them their liminal experiences through which they become open to the beyond, the other and their God. These places of centring holiness focused the lives of the people, gave coherence to their experiences and granted them peace. This is what people have lost.<sup>16</sup>

To gain some understanding of the pain of worshipping in exile, it is necessary to look at the experience of exile from its beginning and in its diverse forms.

## Ethnic churches

Four ethnic Anglican congregations officially existed in 1985, namely Chinese, Tamil, Persian, and Maori, however, the following discussion about the relationship between ethnic worship groups and the Diocese will be based on the experiences of the first three.<sup>17</sup> To understand the significance of the ethnic churches for the Diocese, it is necessary to begin with the circumstances surrounding their formation and the way they operated. The nomenclature of 'church' is used here for these

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<sup>13</sup> Woods, *Medium or Message?*, 147.

<sup>14</sup> Psalm 137:4.

<sup>15</sup> Graeme Ferguson, "Tears for a Lost Land: The Exilic Experience in Australia," in *The Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. Jim Houston (Melbourne: the Joint Board of Christian Education 1986). This point is even more poignant when linked to what Andrew Markus and others have argued about the importance of migrants' culture for their health. 'Critics of pluralism or multiculturalism fail to understand that ... retention of cultural identity is a significant element in the mental well-being of individuals'. Andrew Markus, "1984 or 1901? Immigration and Some 'Lessons' of Australian History," in *Surrender Australia: Essays in the Study and Uses of History*, ed. Andrew Markus and M C Ricklefs (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 15.

<sup>16</sup> Ferguson, "Tears for a Lost Land: The Exilic Experience in Australia," 5.

<sup>17</sup> See *Garden*, 66. Very little is known about the views and claims of the Maori and El Salvador congregations. A community of Maoris that had been meeting in a St Kilda parish was gradually severing its links with the Anglican Diocese by 1983 and developing its own format of worship based on tradition, cultural practices and available resources. Hunter, *Challenges*, 55. It was later reported that the Rev'd Don Cowan had decided to return to New Zealand in 1991 and the Diocese was at pains to find another Maori minister to lead this group. "DMREA Report to Synod 1991." The El Salvadoran group, first formed by the Rev'd Peter White in Kensington in 1985, was later led the Rev'd Don Edgar as part of an English-speaking congregation. Interview with Don Edgar, 10 May 2016.

ethnic worship groups, in keeping with the terminology of the time, although some were non-parochial congregations.

## Sri Lankans

Immigrants to Australia from Sri Lanka came in three waves. The first wave brought the English-speaking Dutch-Burghers who believed they would be adversely affected when Ceylon became independent from Britain in 1948. Being of predominantly European (Dutch) descent, some had been allowed entry before 1965 because they could provide genealogical evidence of being 75% European, and met other criteria like skin colour, for fitting into the white Australian society.<sup>18</sup> In 1966 the rules for mixed-race immigrants were further altered to remove the prerequisite of predominantly European descent and to include criteria based on close kinship ties in Australia, profession, skills and qualifications that would benefit Australia,<sup>19</sup> which caused the average annual intake of Sri Lankans to treble between 1966 and 1972. (Table 17)

Table 17 Annual intake of immigrants to Australia from Sri Lanka in selected years

Year	1966	1968	1972	1974	1975	1980	1984	1987	1991	1995
N	430	642	1,296	2082	999	301	1451	2795	3271	1953

Source: Dept of Home Affairs, Historical Migration Statistics, May 2018 release

In 1976 more than 60% of Sri Lankan immigrants lived in Victoria, the majority in Melbourne, compared to 20% in New South Wales,<sup>20</sup> but by 1991 these percentages had changed to 51% and 28% respectively.<sup>21</sup>

The continuing political upheaval in Sri Lanka coincided with the removal of race as a selection criterion for immigration to Australia in 1973. This led to a second wave of immigrants, almost all Christian, well educated and many in the clerical professions, whom sociologist Sisira Pinnawala<sup>22</sup> described as 'a Westernised culture type which included Burghers, mainly non-Dutch Burghers, and Sinhalese and Tamil Christians'.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Markus, *Race Relations*, 167-68.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>20</sup> 1976 Census Report ABS

<sup>21</sup> 1991 Census Report, Community Profiles

<sup>22</sup> Professor Sisira Pinnawala is a sociologist at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. Sisira Pinnawala, "Sri Lankans in Melbourne: Factors Influencing Patterns of Ethnicity" (Australian National University, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 79.

The third wave arrived from Sri Lanka in the 1980s when a bloody civil war broke out between the government and Tamil Tiger insurgents. This led many Tamils, both Christian and Hindu, and some Sinhalese Buddhists to emigrate to Australia as refugees or on humanitarian grounds.<sup>24</sup>

Tables 18 and 19 show that from 1976 to 1996 the majority of Sri Lankan-born Victorians was Christian and spoke only English at home, the number of Anglicans increasing over the years but remaining at a quarter of the number of Catholics. The increases from 1986 in the number who also spoke either Sinhalese or Tamil and in the number of non-Christians reflect the third wave of immigrants fleeing the upheavals of the 1980s.

Table 18 Sri Lankan-born living in Victoria by religion in census years from 1976 to 1996

Year	Catholic	Anglican	Buddhist	Other Christian	Hindu
1976	4386	1806		1800	
1981	4389	1752	406	1637	
1986	5387	2065	761	2048	456
1991	7958	2827	2879	1804	1938
1996	8766	2739	5250	2002	2650

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

Table 19 Languages spoken by Sri Lankans in Victoria in selected years

	1986	1991	1996
English	*9312	10,997	11,326
Sinhalese	1775	5047	7544
Tamil	751	2796	3850

\*Spoke English only at home

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria

Table 20 shows that the top occupation for Sri Lankan immigrants was clerical, however, the number of professionals increased over the years. From 1986 to 1991 the workforce participation rate of Sri Lankans increased from 68.7% to 70.7%, the percentage for those in Victoria reaching 71.1%.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Siri Gamage, "Curtains of Culture, Ethnicity and Class: The Changing Composition of the Sri Lankan Community in Australia," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 19, no. 1 (1998): 40.

<sup>25</sup> BIMPR, "Community Profiles Sri Lanka Born," (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1991 Census), 22.

Table 20 showing top 4 occupations of Sri Lankan-born in Victoria, in selected census years from 1976 to 1996

	1976		1981		1986		1991		1996
Clerical	2286	Clerical workers	2330	Clerical	2606	Clerical	2648	Intermediate clerical; sales & service workers	2486
Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers	1287	Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers, n.e.c.	1250	Professionals	1052	Professionals	1581	Professionals	2369
Professional, technical & related workers	709	Professional, technical & related workers	991	Labourers & related workers	958	Labourers & related	1366	Associate professionals	1350
Service, sports & recreation workers	283	Service, sports & recreation workers	361	Sales persons & personal service workers	598	Sales persons & personal service workers	1003	Labourers & related	1350

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

The migratory experiences and attitudes of Sri Lankan immigrants in the first two waves were shaped both by political events in Sri Lanka and by the Australian immigration policies of the time, and their style of appurtenance to the Anglican church mirrored these patterns. The Dutch Burghers in Wave 1 saw themselves as white and welcomed the notion of assimilation into Australian society, earning Pinnawala's classification as 'ethnic assimilationists'.<sup>26</sup> They felt at home in mainstream parishes and preferred the old English style of worship.<sup>27</sup> However, the non-Dutch Burghers, Christian Tamils and Sinhalese in Wave 2, whom Pinnawala described as 'ethnic integrationists',<sup>28</sup> found the policy of multiculturalism amenable to their wish to integrate into Australian society while retaining their Sri Lankan cultural identity. Accordingly, many Tamils belonged to their local mainstream parishes but also congregated separately in the Tamil church, which gave them a greater sense of belonging.

### *Sri Lankan Tamil Anglicans*

A group of Tamil Anglicans belonging to different parishes across Melbourne decided to come together in 1980 to worship in the Tamil language. They had found a Tamil Anglican priest from Marysville to minister to them, and the Mauritian-born vicar at St Peter's in Murrumbeena had offered them the use of his church. An average of 50 people attended monthly services at the Tamil

<sup>26</sup> Pinnawala, "Sri Lankans in Melbourne: Factors Influencing Patterns of Ethnicity," 104.

<sup>27</sup> Personal observation from Burghers in my parish.

<sup>28</sup> Pinnawala, "Sri Lankans in Melbourne: Factors Influencing Patterns of Ethnicity," 107.

Christian Church of Victoria (TCCV).<sup>29</sup> There were 110 families on the roll in 1985 and, by 1991, the church had 383 adults and 187 children, some special services attracting about 500 people.<sup>30</sup>

In his published doctoral dissertation titled 'The Myth of the Universal Church',<sup>31</sup> Catholic author, Frank Lewins claimed that 'culture divides more than religion unites'<sup>32</sup> but, conversely, the Tamils were more united by their culture than divided by their respective faiths. The composition of the Tamil group was ecumenical, bringing together Tamils from the Anglican, Uniting, Catholic<sup>33</sup> Churches and the Church of South India, but Tamil Hindus and other non-Christians sometimes also joined in their gatherings.<sup>34</sup> One of TCCV's aims was to recover the cultural and linguistic rights lost during the civil war in Sri Lanka and ensuing socio-political domination by the Sinhalese. The Tamil church assisted the maintenance of, or reversion to, the Tamil identity and its transmission to the next generation, among whom there was a trend to shift to English.<sup>35</sup> The group also gave welfare assistance to newly arrived refugees and immigrants of every age group,<sup>36</sup> and used their network to increase employment opportunities for their fellow Tamils in Melbourne.<sup>37</sup>

## Persians

The Iranian revolution and the war between Iran and Iraq a decade later, caused an influx of Iranians into Australia. By 1986 the number of Iranian-born in Australia was 7,496, a number that increased to 12,914 by 1991.<sup>38</sup> Table 21 shows that the number of arrivals steadily increased between 1982-83 and 1987-88, but gradually decreased thereafter.

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<sup>29</sup> *Tamil Congregation Victoria*, 86.

<sup>30</sup> "Sri Lankans in Melbourne: Factors Influencing Patterns of Ethnicity," 72-74.

<sup>31</sup> Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church: Catholic Migrants in Australia*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>33</sup> After two or three years the Catholics formed a separate congregation. *Tamil Congregation Victoria*, 21.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>38</sup> Hossein Adibi, "Iranians in Australia," in *Mehregan in Sydney*, ed. Garry Tromp (Sydney: Sydney University, 1998), 103-29. <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/SSR/article/view/695/676>, (accessed 28 January 2019).



Table 21 Average annual intake of immigrants from Iran

1979	1982	1985	1988	1989	1992	1994	1995
124	463	901	1355	1148	668	409	654

Source: Dept of Home Affairs, Historical Migration Statistics, May 2018 release

Many Iranians came under the 1981 special humanitarian assistance program for Iranians escaping persecution and other immigration categories such as the Skilled Migration Program. Iranians had a strong preference for New South Wales, where the first Iranian arrivals had already settled, over Victoria, but Table 22 shows that their relatively small presence in Victoria more than doubled from 1981 to 1986, and increased by a further 77% by 1991.

Table 22 Distribution of Iranians in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia in 1981, 1986 and 1991

	NSW	Victoria	Western Australia
1981	2592	581	157
1986	4535	1227	647
1991	7596	2167	1062

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Population Census data, Canberra

The socio-economic situation of the average Iranian-born immigrant was different from that of her/his Sri Lankan counterpart. In 1986, compared with 5% of the total Australian population, 13.9% of Iranians had a degree or higher qualification and only 50.3% had no qualifications compared with 60.2% for the national average, yet Iranians had the fourth highest level of unemployment of all ethnic groups.<sup>39</sup> Of the 50.3% without qualifications, 14% were aged 60 years or over, and had limited knowledge of English, which severely limited their employment opportunities in Australia.<sup>40</sup> Table 23 shows that only a minority of Persian immigrants in Victoria spoke English at home. Their low competence in English was compounded by the difficulty of having their Iranian qualifications recognised in Australia, a problem less often encountered by immigrants from the Commonwealth.<sup>41</sup> Iranians were given limited information in their native language to guide them through the process of seeking training and employment, and were in the very early stages of forming community networks.<sup>42</sup> Tehran University social scientist Hossein Adibi found that the small population of Iranians immigrants encountered discrimination and, compared to other ethnic groups, faced the

<sup>39</sup> ABS Population Census 1986, ABS, Canberra.

<sup>40</sup> Adibi, "Iranians in Australia," 119.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 127.

greater possibility of being socially isolated and ill-equipped to take advantage of available public welfare benefits.<sup>43</sup>

Table 23 Top Three languages spoken at home by Iran-born in Victoria by year

	1986	1991	1996
Other language	718	1478	409
Arabic, incl Lebanese	305	445	252
English only	144	202	-
Persian			1891

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

### *The Persian church in Alphington*

The Rev'd Khalil Razmara, like the other Iranian-born people in his church, had experienced religious persecution in Iran before coming to Australia. After the Islamic Revolution that followed the fall of the Shah in 1979, the Anglican Church in Iran was targeted during the 1980s because of the number of Muslims who had converted to Anglicanism.<sup>44</sup> Razmara himself converted from Islam at the age of 19, before he graduated in literature in Shiraz and studied theology in India. He was ordained to the Anglican priesthood in Iran in 1966 and practised in Tehran. During his long service leave in Melbourne, he heard of a fellow Anglican priest's beheading in Iran and went back to minister to his people, surviving two assassination attempts in the process. He later emigrated to Australia, where he was appointed Vicar of St Paul's, Fairfield in Victoria in 1980, then transferred to St Jude's, Alphington, both with English-speaking mainstream congregations. His presence attracted Farsi-speaking Iranian Christians to his church and, by 1984, his congregation had grown large enough to justify the official opening of the Persian Church of St Jude's, with Archbishop Penman presiding and 200-300 people in attendance.<sup>45</sup> The core group of Persian Anglican worshippers remained small, numbering between 20 and 25 in 1997, however Razmara also welcomed other CALD immigrants to

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Faith J H McDonnell, "Iran's Decades of Christian Persecution: The Iranian Church Grows as Brutal Crackdowns Increase," <http://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/83535/irans-decades-christian-persecution-faith-j-h-mcdonnell>. (accessed 28 August 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Khalil Razmara, 28 April 2016.

his church, who claimed his 'simple and broken English' was easy to understand.<sup>46</sup> His congregation was a multicultural community, formed partly on the basis of a community language and partly on the shared deficiency in English. There were services in Farsi and English and, at the monthly bilingual services, parishioners brought Australian and Persian food to share.<sup>47</sup> Soon, with his support, his parishioners were able to form a much needed non-political and non-religious Iranian Cultural Association, that held its meetings in his church hall while remaining a separate body from the parish.<sup>48</sup>

## Chinese

The Chinese community in Melbourne has a history unlike that of other ethnic Anglican groups in that it was much older, it had experienced intense racism and over time had developed enough resilience to become commercially successful. Over the years, its numbers were boosted by the arrival of generally wealthy professionals, and it was they who, during the 1980s, would begin their mission to new arrivals from China, Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia, and to poor and less-educated refugees from Indo-China.

### *Chinese immigration to Australia*

The first Chinese immigrants came to Victoria as indentured labourers between 1847 and 1853<sup>49</sup> and were joined by tens of thousands of others who from the mid-fifties came to seek their fortunes on the Victorian gold fields. By 1857 they numbered over 25,000,<sup>50</sup> but that number fell to just over 6,000 in 1901, with the end of the gold rush and the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. About a third of Chinese-born residents settled in the China town area of Little Bourke Street.<sup>51</sup> Of those 40% were of working age and their occupations included medicine, law administration and other professions, as well as domestic service, commerce and transport, manufacturing and primary industry. Only a small number remained in the mining industry.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Interview recorded at *Christ Across Cultures Conference*, 25 January 1985, Video: "'Garden of Many Colours'. Video of Interviews Recorded on 24 January 1985, GTV Channel 9, 1985," (Dandenong, Victoria: Employ Media Group).

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Khalil Razmara, 28 April 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Paul Jones, "Chinese Sojourners, Immigrants and Settlers in Victoria : An Overview," *The MMA Project: Making Multicultural Australia for the 21st Century* (2008), [http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/Jones\\_ChinOverview.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/Jones_ChinOverview.pdf). (accessed 7 Feb 2019).

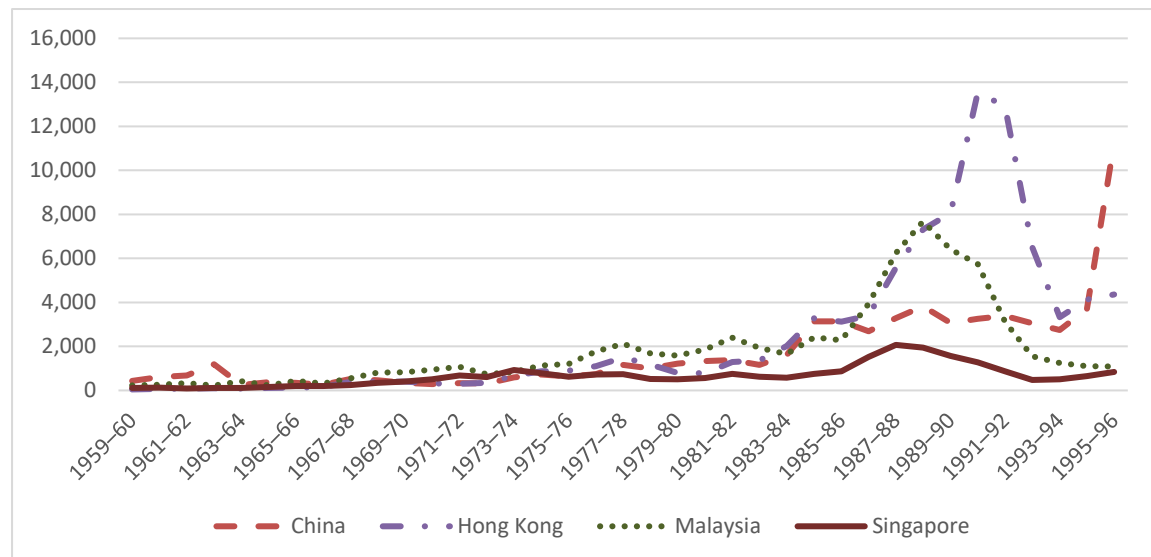
<sup>50</sup> <https://museums victoria.com.au/origins/getpopulation.aspx?pid=9> (accessed 7 Feb 2019).

<sup>51</sup> Jones, "Chinese Sojourners, Immigrants and Settlers in Victoria : An Overview".

<sup>52</sup> Census of Victoria, 1901.

Figure 5 shows the arrivals from China, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore into Australia from 1959 to 1996, while Table 24 shows the presence in Victoria of immigrants from these countries from the period of the gold rush to 1996.

Figure 5 Settler Arrivals from China, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore June 1959 to 1995



Source: Dept of Home Affairs, Historical Migration Statistics, May 2018 release

The peaks in the intake from these four countries reflected political decisions in Australia and abroad. The 1970s were a turning point for Chinese immigration as the removal of race as a qualification for entry and residence in Australia was accompanied by the establishment of commercial links between Australia and China. Chinese citizens with the desired qualifications began to arrive in Australia in the professional immigration category. As can be seen in Table 24, this administrative change, coupled with the number of Chinese students seeking residence after the Tiananmen Square incident of 1989, caused the population of Chinese-born in Victoria to double to exceed 20,000 between 1986 and 1991.<sup>53</sup> Elsewhere in Asia, events that precipitated the exodus to Australia included the Vietnam war, the Communist revolution in Cambodia, and the lead-up to the British transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to Beijing.

<sup>53</sup> Origins: Immigrant Communities in Victoria; History of immigration from China. ABS statistics as analysed by Museums Victoria. <https://museums victoria.com.au/origins/history.aspx?pid=9> accessed 21 Jan 2019

Table 24 Victorians born in China, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, by selected Census year

	1854	1857	1871	1891	1911	1921	1947	1961	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
China	2341	25,424	17,857	8467	4302	2825	1506	2864	4163	5519	8594	20,209	28,101
HK	-	-	63	7	79	49	159	864	2099	3507	6365	14,000	15,599
Mal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5495	9930	14,662	22,976	23,034
Sing	-	-	25	25	-	-	-	713	1832	2438	3233	5357	6559

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

### *Chinese Mission of the Epiphany*

In 1861 Chinese settlers accounted for 7% of the Victorian population, many having established a range of businesses and places for social and religious gatherings. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, with its dictation test as an elimination measure, caused a significant restriction in new arrivals. During the gold rush missionaries managed to convert a few Chinese diggers to Christianity and persuade them to attend services led by Anglicans and other denominations,<sup>54</sup> and by the time *Garden* was published in 1985, there had been a Chinese Anglican presence in Melbourne for a century. The Chinese Mission was established in 1898 by the missionary and social reformer Cheong Cheok Hong,<sup>55</sup> to evangelise Chinese immigrants in Victoria, including those on the goldfields. In 1890 Cheong complained about the harassment the small Chinese congregation was experiencing during meetings at the Carlton hall provided by the CMS and asked to be moved to China Town.<sup>56</sup> The Chinese Mission was moved to Little Bourke Street, where it is still located. In 1904 it was officially recognised by the Church of England and renamed the Church of England Chinese Mission

<sup>54</sup> Mo Yimei, "Harvest of Endurance: A History of the Chinese in Australia 1788–1988," (1988), <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/yimei>.

<sup>55</sup> Holden, *From Tories at Prayer*. Chapter 12.

<sup>56</sup> Stones and other objects were thrown at attenders and on the roof of the small hall. *The Australasian Missionary News*, 3 January 1890.

of the Epiphany (the Mission),<sup>57</sup> without however being a legal entity of the Melbourne Anglican Diocese.<sup>58</sup>

Until the 1980s the Mission had evolved alongside the Diocese rather than in partnership with it. Their formal relationship consisted of a clause in the constitution requiring that a Chinese priest nominated by the Diocese preside over services at the Mission. The WAP had seen the Mission's congregation decrease steadily and by the 1960s it found itself low on funds and without a clear sense of direction for its ministry to the small Chinese community.<sup>59</sup> However, it was confronted by the sudden wave of Chinese immigrants arriving in Victoria in the 1980s (Figure 5).

That many Chinese immigrants already were or should be willing to become Christians can partly be explained by the religious revival in the Asian World since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the end of his anti-religious regime.<sup>60</sup> The Mission had now been joined by new members from China, who brought with them a renewed zeal for Christianity. *Guardian* Journalist Tom Phillips wrote in 2014 about Christian congregations, especially Protestants, 'skyrocketing' in China since churches were allowed to reopen after Mao's death in 1976.<sup>61</sup>

The Mission called on the Diocese of Melbourne for help,<sup>62</sup> but the two bodies soon came into conflict over money. The Mission's Board of Directors, which held executive powers over its mission, and its Trustees, who had control over its finances, became embroiled in a legal dispute with the Diocese over disbursement of funds for mission and mutual responsibilities.<sup>63</sup> The resolution

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<sup>57</sup> Apart from his mission to evangelize the Chinese population of Victoria, including those on the gold mines, Cheong had been a strong advocate for the Chinese community of Victoria. He condemned the Victorian immigration Acts and published pamphlets titled *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1878-79* (Melbourne, 1879) and *Chinese Remonstrance to the Parliament and People of Victoria* as well as writing to Prime Minister Edmund Barton about the discriminatory immigration laws and ill-treatment of Chinese people in Australia. Ching Fatt Yong, "Cheong Cheok Hong (1853–1928)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 3 (1969), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cheong-cheok-hong-3198>. Accessed 29 August 2017.

<sup>58</sup> It is governed by its own Board of Management, that controls its finances. "The Vision and Mission of MST Chinese Department," *TMA Special Supplement on Chinese Ministries* October 2013, 13. Interview with Rick Cheung, 6 June 2016

<sup>59</sup> Rick Cheung, "The Origins of Cantonese-Speaking Congregation of St Michael's," in *Journeying on Together : The inside Story of a Bicultural/Bilingual Church in an Australian Suburb, Bennettswood*, ed. Jim Houston (Bennettswood, Victoria: St Michael's Anglican Church, 2001), 56.

<sup>60</sup> David, "China in Christian Revival," <https://christiantoday.com.au/news/china-in-christian-revival.html> <https://christiantoday.com.au/news/china-in-christian-revival.html> (accessed 12 October 2019).

<sup>61</sup> Tom Phillips, "China on Course to Become World's Most Christian Nation within 15 Years," *The Telegraph* (19 April 2014), <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/10776023/China-on-course-to-become-worlds-most-Christian-nation-within-15-years.html>. (accessed 2 January 2017).

<sup>62</sup> Cheung, "The Origins of Cantonese-Speaking Congregation of St Michael's," 58.

<sup>63</sup> Helen Hunter, "DMM Report to Synod 1990."

involved drafting a new constitution for the Mission in 1991, 'to refocus its original vision as a specialised agency for evangelising the Chinese in Victoria'.<sup>64</sup> This led to a joint effort with the Diocese, which accelerated the development of a Cantonese-speaking church<sup>65</sup> in the eastern suburbs, where a community of immigrants from Hong Kong was forming.<sup>66</sup>

### *The creators of Chinese churches*

The history of the Chinese congregation is in sharp contrast to those of the Tamils and Persians; this was a case of well-equipped CALD Anglicans ministering to groups originating from the same continent, but in very diverse life situations. Tables 25 and 26 show that professionals consistently ranked among the top four employment categories of Chinese-born Victorian residents and among the top three for Hong Kong-born throughout the period of this thesis.

Table 25 showing top 4 occupations of Chinese-born in Victoria, by selected year

	1976		1981		1986		1991		1996
Service, sport & recreation workers	556	Service, sport & recreation workers	714	Tradespersons	897	Labourers & related workers	2619	Intermediate production & transport workers	2093
Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers	543	Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers n.e.c	637	Labourers & related workers	722	Plant & machine operators & drivers	1726	Professionals	1954
Professional, technical & related workers	502	Professional, technical & related workers	558	Professionals	594	Tradespersons	1655	Labourers & related workers	1728
Clerical	326	Administrative, executive & managerial workers	349	Managers & administrators	385	Professionals	982	Tradespersons & related workers	1645

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

<sup>64</sup> Cheung, "The Origins of Cantonese-Speaking Congregation of St Michael's," 58.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with Victor and Winnie Yu, 25 April 2016

<sup>66</sup> Cheung, "The Origins of Cantonese-Speaking Congregation of St Michael's," 59.

Table 26 showing top 3 occupations of Hong Kong-born in Victoria, by selected year

	1976		1981		1986		1991		1996
Professional, related and technical	355	Professional, related and technical	531	Professionals	776	Professionals	1334	Professionals	1930
Service, sport & recreation workers	158	sport & recreation workers	427	Salespersons & personal service workers	481	Salespersons & personal service workers	862	Intermediate clerical, sales and service workers	990
Clerical	149	Clerical	304	Clerks	421	Clerks	640	Clerks	844
Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers	112	Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers n.e.c.	209	Tradespersons	328	Tradespersons	510	Tradespersons & related workers	409

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

Although the numbers vary, a similar pattern was found among the Malaysian and Singapore-born in Victoria (Tables 25 and 26). This goes some way to explain the presence of enough capable Chinese Anglicans to take the lead in establishing Chinese congregations in Melbourne.

Table 27 showing top 3 occupations of Malaysia-born in Victoria, by selected year

	1976		1981		1986		1991		1996
Professional, technical and related	1272	Professional, technical and related	2381	Professionals	2375	Professionals	3641	Professionals	5129
Clerical	362	Clerical	656	Para-professionals	1041	Para-professionals	1561	Intermediate clerical, sales & service workers	1561
Tradesmen, production process workers & labourers	202	Service, sport & recreation; workers	513	Clerks	924	Clerks	1542	Associate Professionals	1346
Service, sports & recreation workers	171	Tradesmen, production-process workers, labourers n.e.c	379	Salespersons & personal service workers	819	Salespersons & personal service workers	1265	Managers & administrators	900

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.



Table 28 showing top 3 occupations of Singapore-born in Victoria, by selected year

	1976		1981		1986		1991		1996
Professional, technical and related	286	Professional, technical and related	472	Professionals	446	Professionals	637	Professionals	898
Clerical	182	Clerical	256	Clerks	310	Clerks	415	Intermediate clerical, sales & service workers	428
Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers	60	Tradesmen, production-process workers & labourers n.e.c.	125	Para-professionals	198	Salespersons & personal service workers	334	Associate Professionals	318
Administrative, executive and managerial workers	55	Service, sport & recreation workers	101	Salespersons & personal service workers	171	Tradespersons	262	Tradespersons and related workers	227

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

In contrast to the Persian and Sri Lankan churches, the creators of the Chinese churches did not aim to reconnect with any form of ancestral Christian heritage; instead they displayed the kind of missionary determination and zeal that had surfaced in several waves in recent Chinese history, as the Gospel was spread to the masses under difficult and even dangerous circumstances.<sup>67</sup>

Between 1975 and 1995, three Anglican Chinese ministries were established in Melbourne. Two of the principal agents were approached by Hunter in response to the growing Asian presence in the inner-city, although neither had previously envisaged this form of ministry. Rick Cheung was a pharmacist by profession but, as a member of the Church of Christ in Melbourne, he studied theology at Ridley College in the 1980s, with a view to missionary work in Macau.<sup>68</sup> Archbishop Penman invited him to join the Anglican Church and participate in the ACMMM. His transition from being a non-Anglican layman to an ordained Anglican priest was expedited because of his knowledge of Cantonese and his theological potential. In 1987, he began work as Assistant Curate at St Jude's, Carlton, where he launched an experimental ministry in the high-rise flats, especially with the Vietnamese refugees.<sup>69</sup> To help his mission, of his own accord, he attended evening classes in the Vietnamese language at Monash University. He was priested in 1989 and, as the only Chinese-speaking Anglican clergyman in the whole Anglican province of Victoria at the time,<sup>70</sup> was appointed as Executive Missioner of the Mission in 1991. He was instrumental in bringing the Mission closer to

<sup>67</sup> Phillips, "China on Course to Become World's Most Christian Nation within 15 Years". (accessed 29 April 2016).

<sup>68</sup> <https://au.linkedin.com/in/rickcheungprofile>

<sup>69</sup> "Multicultural Ministry and Anglican Multi Links Report to Synod," (1989).

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Rick Cheung 6 June 2016

the Melbourne Diocese and establishing a stronger collaboration than had existed during the previous century. He formed a Cantonese-speaking congregation at St Thomas' in East Burwood<sup>71</sup> and one at the Church of the Ascension in East Burwood in 1994, which transferred to St Michael and All Angels, Bennettswood in 1995.

### *Indochinese refugees*

In the mid-1970s the first 'boat people' fleeing the political turmoil in Vietnam, Cambodia and East Timor began to arrive in Australia from Vietnam while many others were flown in from refugee camps in South-East Asia. By 1981 Victoria was home to more than 12,000 Vietnamese-born residents and, after the joint agreement between the Australian and Vietnamese governments on a migration program, based principally on family reunion, that number more than doubled by the 1986 census and doubled again by 1996. (Table 29)

Table 29 showing Indo-Chinese born living in Victoria by year

Census Year	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
Birthplace					
Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam combined					
Laos	101	1101	1689	2177	2171
Cambodia (Khmer)	234	1478	4889	6745	8257
Vietnam	382	12 845	27 901	44 388	55 141

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

Between 1971 and 1991 the average age of the Indo-Chinese refugees in Victoria was 33 years and most had little or no knowledge of English (Tables 30, 31, 32). Helen Hunter directly approached a few Anglicans from an Asian background to provide some ministry and support, especially to the many youths who were experiencing isolation in the inner-city.

Table 30 showing main languages among Vietnamese-born in Victoria

	1986	1991	1996
Vietnamese	18 665	32 646	41 493
Chinese languages	8163	9564	11 202
English	*687	*702	1086

\*English only

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

<sup>71</sup> Mark Brolly, "Preaching the Gospel a Tall Order in Any Language," *TMA Special Supplement on Chinese Ministries* October 2015, 15.

Table 31 showing main languages among Cambodian-born in Victoria

	1986	1991	1996
Khmer	2849	4258	5336
Chinese (various dialects)	1636	1872	2205
Vietnamese	124	224	216
English	*144	183	246

\*English only

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

Table 32 showing main languages among Laos-born in Victoria

	1986	1991	1996
Lao	1268	1630	1513
Other		154	164
Chinese languages	231	196	204
English	*65	*48	100
Vietnamese	63	70	70

\*English only

Source: ABS Census data as analysed by Museums Victoria.

### *St Matthias, North Richmond*

When Mrs Winnie Yu, a high-school teacher, and her husband Professor Victor Yu, a consultant paediatrician, arrived in Melbourne from Hong Kong in 1976, they joined the parish of St Mark's in Templestowe. Winnie remembers being 'very happy worshipping there. That was our home church'.<sup>72</sup> In 1981 Helen Hunter suggested that she join the MU Friendship Groups volunteers from St John's Toorak in visiting the Indo-Chinese refugees, mostly Vietnamese and East Timorese, in the high-rise flats of Richmond. Out of a total population of approximately 6,000 in the housing commission flats, 31.9% were Vietnamese, 10.4% Timorese, 2.9% Laotian and 0.7% Cambodian.<sup>73</sup> Winnie was able to communicate in Cantonese with many of the Indo Asian flat dwellers.<sup>74</sup> Gradually replacing the MU's Friendship Group in the ministry to the Indo-Chinese, she and her team lay the foundations of the Chinese congregation in the child care centre of the church of St Matthias' in North Richmond. The church building at St Matthias had been sold to the Uniting Church by the 1970s, but its small congregation was still gathering in its child care centre for worship, although St Matthias' and St Philip's in Collingwood had been merged into a single parish under one Vicar. The same child care centre would become the place of Winnie's burgeoning ministry to the refugees.

Archbishop David Penman officially commissioned the Cantonese-speaking Chinese congregation in 1986, naming it the Richmond Anglican Mission To Asian Migrants (RAMTAM). For the first five years, Winnie engaged members of the Indo-Chinese community through various activities that included

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Victor and Winnie Yu, 25 April 2017

<sup>73</sup> Winnie Yu, "Background on Our Cross-Cultural Ministry to the Indo Asian Peoples in Richmond," (Melbourne Anglican Archives October 1985).

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Victor and Winnie Yu, 25 April 2017.

weekly visiting, a youth group, a Bible study group, excursions and other forms of fellowship. To achieve the conversions that she had hoped for, she persuaded the Diocese to invite two missionaries from the Diocese of Singapore, which enjoyed a strong reputation in the mission field. In 1988, the British-Australian part of the St Matthias' congregation moved to St Philip's Collingwood and the Chinese congregation at St Matthias' continued to grow. In 1996, the Chinese church was large enough to warrant the appointment of the Rev'd Robert Vun as first full-time Chinese-speaking Vicar, with a knowledge of English, Mandarin, Cantonese and Hakka.<sup>75</sup> The previous year, the congregation had raised \$645,000 to purchase the St Matthias' church building and vicarage from the Uniting Church, and after two years, they spent another \$600,000 on renovations.<sup>76</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the formation of the three types of churches point to a diverse range of needs and motivations behind their creation. The next section examines the CALD Anglican perspectives on the Church as an organisation.

## Africans

In April 1987 Helen Hunter and her husband, the Rev'd John Hunter, held the first monthly service of the Melbourne African Christian Community at St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne, with 38 people in attendance. In a draft paper<sup>77</sup> for discussion about the future of this group and the place it might occupy in the Anglican Diocese, the Rev'd Titus Mubiru outlined the problems facing his fellow immigrants from the African continent and his thoughts for developing a mission framework to support them. Mubiru's reflections are briefly discussed here because they give a sense of the complexities of ministering to a very ethnically and culturally diverse community that did not have the same resources as the Tamils or the Chinese, and were a more disparate and scattered group than the Iranians. At the same time, they reveal that CALD Anglicans were taking an active role in the development of such a ministry by offering their own insights. Mubiru had three objectives: first, to shed light on the historical and political backgrounds of immigrants from the African continent; second, to highlight the racial discrimination they experienced in Melbourne; and third, to suggest forms of interaction between the parishes and African immigrants that might help to remove barriers and engender Christian fellowship.

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<sup>75</sup> Victor Yu, "Mission Impossible: From a Friendship Group to an Anglican Parish; the Story of St Matthias' Anglican Church, Richmond North," *TMA Special Supplement on Chinese Ministries* October 2015, 14,16. For more details of the history of this congregation, see the St Matthias' Anglican Church website; 'About us' by the Reverend Professor Victor Yu, AM, [https://kooliktong.wixsite.com/stmatthias/about\\_us](https://kooliktong.wixsite.com/stmatthias/about_us) (accessed 12 August 2019).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>77</sup> Titus Mubiru, "Melbourne African Christian Community," (April 1987).

Some Australians, argued Mubiru, had a notion of a pan African group from the large continent about ten times the size of Western Europe, whereas these immigrants were a very diverse group. He referred to the existence of some 50 nations speaking between 800 and 1000 languages, and explained how 'The boundaries having been applied for the convenience and pleasure of colonising powers, have artificially masked a fluidity of the demographic situation, absorbing an even larger number of ethnic groups – who have been "unified" where there was no unity, or cast into opposing positions against their tribal brethren across the border'.<sup>78</sup> This was a poignant reminder of what Penman and others emphasised about the lasting impressions that European imperialism had left among people to whom the church now sought to preach Christian values.

Secondly, the majority of Africans immigrants were white and, like the black minority, they had emigrated to escape political turmoil. Mubiru wished Australians to understand that black Africans were traumatised people who often suffered rejection in Melbourne, not least because the media used labels like 'black' and 'African' to publicise the stereotype of savagery, backwardness and violence. Unlike the Persians, who also suffered discrimination, the Africans were not united by language and culture. Nor did they have the equivalent of the professional and well-established Chinese clergy and lay ministers who took the Indo-Chinese refugees under their wings. They were a relatively small group with few resources.

Thirdly, Mubiru's aim was for parishes to make Africans feel welcome, gain a sense of belonging and become able to make their contribution to parish life. He believed that parish priests should 'face the racism within themselves realistically in order to engage in educating their congregations'.<sup>79</sup> Forming separate language-based congregations seemed neither feasible nor desirable for such a disparate group of African Christians; however, the recommended immersive experience would only work if enough parish priests accepted Hunter's invitation to attend clergy sensitisation training. Mubiru also suggested that well-organised interactions between parishes and Africans, 'including preaching during services or celebration of the Eucharist by African ministers in local parishes' might help to address the misinformation and distrust between the two groups, adding pointedly that 'This may apply too at the Deanery and Archdeaconry levels'.<sup>80</sup> It was not until the mid-1990s that the Melbourne Diocese saw the establishment and growth of large black African Anglican congregations in suburbs like Footscray, Dandenong and Noble Park, and more recently in Cranbourne and Box Hill. Most of their members had fled the Sudanese civil war that saw the repression of Christians of

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

Southern Sudan by the Islamist governments in the north, and caused a massive diaspora to several western countries.

## Dynamics between ethnic churches and the Diocese

CALD Anglicans generally placed a high value on their membership of the Church and, apart from the Indo-Chinese converts of the 1980s, almost all began by attending a mainstream church with the expectation of feeling at home within it. However, the belief that their religious experience improved by congregating separately along cultural lines calls for an explanation. CALD Anglicans found their own ways of adjusting to life, and the ethnic churches created a place in the margins of the mainstream church in which their members could live their faith in a culturally congenial way.<sup>81</sup> However, it could be that the mainstream church was failing to meet the needs of non-Australian-born Anglicans, given that both the Persian and Chinese churches attracted other CALD groups and so were themselves multicultural. How much was this an issue of cultural identity and how much a reaction to their experiences in the Australian church? According to Sue Fernandez and Michael Clyne, the Sri Lankan Tamils' decision to maintain or revert to the Tamil language was influenced by several factors including education, 'religion and degree of devoutness, core values and attitudes to the majority culture'.<sup>82</sup> Or did the CALD Anglicans have their own visions of Anglicanism that was not shared by the Diocese?

One perceived difference between the mainstream parishes and the ethnic churches was that the former were more concerned with following the correct rituals and practices than with adapting them to attract more people and achieve growth, whereas ethnic churches, by virtue of being in exile and starting with a small membership, made inclusiveness, a warm welcome and active mission a high priority to ensure their survival and, hopefully, their growth. In her book, *The Suicidal Church: Can the Anglican Church survive?*<sup>83</sup> Melbourne author and academic, Caroline Miley commented on the fact that many Anglican parish congregations were 'usually, even abnormally, homogeneous'<sup>84</sup> in that the members were elderly, white Anglo-Australians, which made newcomers not from the 'dominant' cultural group feel uncomfortable.

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<sup>81</sup> See Andrew Markus on the importance of ethnic organisations for the process of settlement. Markus, "1984 or 1901? Immigration and Some 'Lessons' of Australian History," 15.

<sup>82</sup> Sue Fernandez & Michael Clyne, "Tamil in Melbourne," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28, no. 3 (2007).

<sup>83</sup> Caroline Miley, *The Suicidal Church: Can the Anglican Church Survive?* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2002).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

The fact [is] that in its origins, its ethos and its present existence, the Anglican church in the West is a white middle-class institution. ... The Anglican ethos is actually that of the English middle-class. [The main qualities] include an excessive preoccupation with appearances, with 'having things nice', with correct language, good education, not making a fuss, knowing and using correct procedures, homogeneity ('our sort of people'), not rocking the boat, tradition, material comfort and good manners; and dislike of vulgarity, of anything that smacks of being 'common', of ostentation, and of emotion – all English middle-class values, and Victorian values at that.<sup>85</sup>

Bourgeois aloofness among Anglicans, noted by several observers discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, emphasis on reserve and decorum, and avoidance of subjects that might cause discomfort are mirrored in the four main issues that caused most dissatisfaction among CALD Anglicans, namely their degree of acceptance in mainstream parishes, the perceived spiritual shallowness shown by some of these churches, the apparent obliviousness among some Anglicans to issues of socio-political justice, and the Diocese's casual understanding of inclusiveness. The following section discusses the experiences of the CALD Anglicans at the receiving end of the Australian Church characteristics discussed above.

The first and most common complaint that CALD Anglicans made about the Melbourne Church was the lack of warmth shown to newcomers from overseas, hence their inability to feel a sense of belonging in the church family. In her thesis titled 'Belonging to the Catholic Church in Contemporary Australia: The Case of Immigrants and the Australian Catholic Church', Mary Noseda explained how membership of a religious community enabled immigrants to establish their identity, to grow and thrive, as well as being part of something greater than themselves as individuals.

For immigrant Catholics the Church is a ready-made community... the Church provides a familiar community to which the immigrant can belong as he or she did in their home country. The Church also provides people with whom the immigrant can readily connect and with whom relationships can be built on the common values and ideals. One's identity as a Catholic may be able to be carried from home culture to host culture.<sup>86</sup>

There are some good examples of parishes with an educated and progressive congregation, that made CALD Anglicans feel at home,<sup>87</sup> but this was the exception rather than the rule, and, even then, the motive was sometimes questionable. According to Victor Yu, 'Chinese migrants, mostly educated professionals proficient in English, were encouraged to worship in English-speaking congregations to

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>86</sup> Mary Noseda, "Belonging to the Catholic Church in Contemporary Australia: The Case of Immigrants and the Australian Catholic Church" (Australian Catholic University, 2008), 14.

<sup>87</sup> *Garden*, 172.

help them assimilate into Australian Society'.<sup>88</sup> For many CALD Anglicans, feeling unwelcome in the mainstream church led to a sense of betrayal and added to the pain of discrimination, disadvantage and hardship felt as new immigrants. Razmara commented that 'On the whole, our Anglican Church does not project a multicultural image'.<sup>89</sup> As mentioned above, CALD immigrants felt comfortable in his church because he was a CALD Anglican priest who spoke in simple English. Winnie Yu said about the young Timorese and Vietnamese to whom she was ministering, '...for these refugees, there was no way that they could come into an English congregation and feel at home. And it wasn't just the language'.<sup>90</sup> Anglicans' predisposition to only accept people of their own kind and with the same upbringing is embodied in Sri Lankan-born Hilda Samuel's recollections of 'smiles of indifference' in her first parish, where the priest took ten months to learn her name,<sup>91</sup> and coloured South African Penny Gouy's impression of being 'happily tolerated as visitors' in her local church even after weeks of regular attendance.<sup>92</sup> These parishes equated cross-cultural interaction with being polite hosts to the foreign visitors, assuming that their presence was transient and not indicative of suitability for permanent membership of the church family.

Razmara welcomed all Iranian refugees who met in his church hall as members of the Iranian Cultural Association, including some Muslims, and assisted them in practical and material ways, in much the same way that the Tamils supported one another at the TCCV. Helen Hunter had envisaged the possibility of the church capitalising on these mixed groups to build bridges to the wider ethnic community.<sup>93</sup> Since these ethnic churches were extensions of their support groups and social circles, they could have made an ideal starting place for the bridge-building exercise.

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<sup>88</sup> Yu, "Mission Impossible: From a Friendship Group to an Anglican Parish; the Story of St Matthias' Anglican Church, Richmond North," 14.

<sup>89</sup> Razmara could not convince the local shopkeeper to whom he introduced himself that he was the new vicar of the Anglican church, 'because you are not Australian and not Anglo-Saxon'. *Garden*, 165. Having a non-Anglo-Australian priest ministering to a white congregation was not just rare but, for some, a humiliation and a punishment. Having conducted a service for a white congregation in a country parish, Mauritian-born André Hassing was told by an Australian-born male who had asked him about his country of birth, 'Well, fancy that! Instead of us going out to preach to people from other lands, now people from other lands come over here and preach to us. I suppose we deserve it'. Interview with André Hassing 16 April 2015.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Victor and Winnie Yu 25 April 2016.

<sup>91</sup> *Garden*, 172.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>93</sup> These included the Ceylon Tamil Association and the newly-formed Iranian Cultural Association in Alphington. *Ibid.*, 170, 66.



An important aspect of belonging for Noseda was 'sharing common values and ideas'.<sup>94</sup> The Anglican faith of the overseas-born Anglicans was an integral part of their identity, but they suffered an existential dislocation when they experienced church membership in the Melbourne setting. Whereas there was a wide overlap between their private and religious life,<sup>95</sup> Australian-born Anglicans seemed to keep the two separate. For both the Sri Lankans and Iranians the need for community support often went hand in hand with spiritual growth and the preservation and transmission of religious and cultural values.<sup>96</sup> Family values, especially parental authority, and social obligations formed their core cultural principles. Adibi explained that 'Iranians are willing to adapt in many ways but they are not willing to give up their food, language, music or marriage customs'.<sup>97</sup> Church membership ensured cultural continuity and survival, which was one of the motivations for the multifaith seminar of October 1985, where the new challenge of secularism was felt even more keenly among the immigrant religions than the Australian Christian churches.<sup>98</sup>

Adibi contended that Iranians maintained their culture partly as 'a reaction to the exclusionary practices of the dominant "Anglo-Australian culture" and institutions'<sup>99</sup> and partly out of 'a feeling of moral superiority and "prejudice" which should not be mistaken [for] "reverse racism"', finding Australians 'inhospitable' and criticising them for 'abandoning their old people in homes for the aged, drinking, gambling and setting a bad example for the young'.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, members of the Tamil church hoped to protect their young from some of the dangers of 'terrorism, high suicide rate,

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<sup>94</sup> Noseda, "Belonging to the Catholic Church in Contemporary Australia: The Case of Immigrants and the Australian Catholic Church," 75.

<sup>95</sup> These sentiments echo the aspirations of another category of nurturers: the MU, mentioned earlier in this chapter, wanted 'to increase our understanding of the world, to stimulate our minds, to show that Christianity was relevant to every part of living'. Melbourne, *Thirty Adventuring Years 1937 to 1967 of the Young Members' Department of the Mothers' Union, Diocese of Melbourne*, 9-10.

<sup>96</sup> Adibi, "Iranians in Australia," 128.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. See also *Ethnic Family Values in Australia*, Compiled by the Institute of Family Studies, Editor in Chief Des Storer. (Sydney, NSW: Prentice-Hall of Australia Pty Ltd, 1985), especially Chapter 8.

<sup>98</sup> Painter, "Multi-Faith Concern," 144-45.

<sup>99</sup> Adibi, "Iranians in Australia," 127.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 128. Commenting on the 'traditions of great delicacy and sensitivity in human relations, expressed in concern for the feelings of others, politeness, respect' brought to Australian by Asian immigrants, Penman expressed the view that 'Many fine values of family life, such as respect for parents and the elderly, mutual co-operation and concern for the weaker members of the family, have already been largely lost to many Western civilisations in the wake of the industrial and post-industrial experience'. Penman, "Richness in Diversity: Address to the Asian Community Information and Resource Centre on 7 December." Handun Athukorala identified a sense of moral superiority over Anglo-Australians, among the participants in her research on second generation Sri Lankans; many named family values and cohesion, the spiritual and moral upbringing of the young and respect for elders as some of the most important elements of Sri Lankan culture. Handun Rasari Athukorala, "Inclusion and Exclusion: Identity Construction of Second-Generation Sri Lankans in Multicultural Australia" (Monash University, 2014), 93-99.

divorce, drugs and job insecurity', which they believed would invariably affect the later generations of the Tamil community in Melbourne.<sup>101</sup> The ethnic church was a place to gather in 'close-knit families and groups', providing the young with opportunities for fellowship, networking and even 'meeting likely partners from similar backgrounds [because] any union between such couples have a much greater chance of survival'.<sup>102</sup> Ethnic churches and associations thus offered some protection from what they considered as the less desirable aspects of living in Australian society which, in a sense, was the exact opposite of assimilation through belonging to the mainstream churches.

Closely linked to the concern over moral standards was the determination to remain truer to the faith than mainstream Anglicans in Melbourne. The Tamils' claim to being people of greater and more openly expressed faith also suggests a different Anglican identity from that of Anglo-Australians. The Tamil church saw a paradox in that Australians proudly claimed to live in a Christian country and the majority identified as Christians, but without taking their faith seriously, whereas

... perhaps, [because we lived] in a relatively poor country in which Christians are a minority group, and perhaps with the zealous spirit of the missionary movement still fresh in our minds, the dedication to Christianity is stronger and more overt.<sup>103</sup>

This claim to a spiritual heritage from the missionary days of the Empire was a trenchant remark for the erstwhile supreme church of the British colony, whose star was now fading, but it also evoked the 'British is best' colonial mindset discussed in my Introduction. Here too a British education and the acquisition of the Anglican faith were closely linked. The British had created a mostly Christian, elite class in Sri Lanka by bringing to the Tamils, Burghers and low country Sinhalese an English education, a concomitant westernising influence and eventually the highest-paid government jobs.<sup>104</sup> Missionaries also educated inhabitants in other areas, especially Tamils, which helped raise their career prospects and social status.<sup>105</sup> Language and Asian Studies expert, A. Suresh Canagarajah<sup>106</sup> explained how under 'during British rule, Christians were privileged, and many others in English schools ended up as Christians'.<sup>107</sup> Ironically, the sense of British Anglican superiority

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<sup>101</sup> *Tamil Congregation Victoria*, 62.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>104</sup> Pinnawala, "Sri Lankans in Melbourne: Factors Influencing Patterns of Ethnicity," 53.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>106</sup> Professor A Suresh Canagarajah is the Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Applied linguistics, English, and Asian studies at Pennsylvania State University.

<sup>107</sup> A S Canagarajah, "Dilemmas in Planning English/Vernacular Relations in Postcolonial Communities," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9, no. 3 (2005): 422., cited in Clyne, "Tamil in Melbourne," 142.

seemed to have followed them to Australia, where they could compare notes with the local variety of this attitude.

According to Adibi, Iranians considered Australian society a 'young and immature culture'<sup>108</sup> compared to their own, whose roots went back to antiquity.<sup>109</sup> Like the Tamils, the Iranian-born Anglicans had suffered persecution and owed their concept of church not just to their recent experiences of repression but also to their long-term history. Razmara reflected in 1985 how 'Many of you know from what a background of persecution we Iranian Anglicans come. ... We were a minority group in Iran ... and we paid a great price for our faith, ... which is why we value our faith'.<sup>110</sup> He taunted the Diocese with a suggestion that Persian Anglicans could teach the Australian Anglican Church, which took its place and status for granted, some lessons about being a minority religion in its own country.<sup>111</sup>

Several references were made by CALD Anglicans to what they saw as shallow and undemonstrative faith in some mainstream parishes, while South African-born Penny Gouy, described their fellowship as mainly social.<sup>112</sup> The emphasis on etiquette and protocol among the laity found its aesthetic expression in formal liturgy, elaborate rituals and classical music, especially in high churches. Given those stylistic preferences, the mainstream churches were likely to find any exotic or exuberant style of worship from another culture more unpalatable than contagious. Hence, CALD Anglicans who congregated separately feel freer to express their faith in their own culture groups, while young Anglicans converted in droves to very welcoming Pentecostal congregations,<sup>113</sup> where the style of worship was and still is modern, loud, uninhibited and strikingly multicultural.

The above discussion about the operations of the ethnic churches and their ideas about true Christian practice indicates that they had their own answers to the dilemmas facing the Diocese. My Introduction and Chapter 1 named welfare and social engagement as two major dilemmas for the church as it tried to control its welfare agencies and admitted to not knowing how to respond to the needs of the inner-city, with its many non-Anglican immigrants, or to motivate its parishes to engage

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<sup>108</sup> Adibi, "Iranians in Australia," 127.

<sup>109</sup> Louis Raphael I Sako, "Patriarch of Baghdad: Iran's Chaldeans, "Light, Salt and Leaven" in the Church of Persia," *Asia News* (2015), <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Patriarch-of-Baghdad:-Iran%E2%80%99s-Chaldeans,-light,-salt-and-leaven-in-the-Church-of-Persia-34367.html>. (accessed 22 January 2019).

<sup>110</sup> "'Garden of Many Colours'. Video of Interviews Recorded on 24 January 1985, GTV Channel 9, 1985."

<sup>111</sup> *Garden*, 164.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>113</sup> Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 80.

in community welfare. For the ethnic churches, on the other hand, community outreach was commonplace, and it was second nature to support all immigrants and refugees who sought their help. Secondly, the spokespersons for the Tamil and Iranian ethnic churches made pronouncements about their faithfulness to the true Anglican heritage while in exile that flew in the face of claims made by conservative church leaders who invoked the same heritage to resist change. (Chapter 3) In this context, the CALD members of the church claimed superiority over the church that ignored, neglected and rejected them.

In a period of political turmoil, when the church was at pains to prove its relevance, worse than its emotional reserve was the fear of engaging with controversial issues, the habit of 'not making a fuss, ...not rocking the boat'.<sup>114</sup> This reticence applied particularly to immigration and multiculturalism. We saw in Chapter 2 that the editor of the Melbourne church newspaper was reluctant to publish Helen Hunter's articles for fear of a backlash from the readership, especially after the Buddha affair, while others in the DMREA shied away from denouncing racism in correspondence to parishes, suggesting that language should not be accusatory but limited to reinforcing righteousness.<sup>115</sup> This meant avoidance of issues of human rights and an apparent reluctance to engage with political issues, at the risk of appearing indifferent and insensitive. CALD immigrants had no choice but to be conscious of injustice and to fight it; out of necessity, they engaged in acts of charity and solidarity, effortlessly embodying the ideal of the church being in the world, whereas many Australian-born Anglicans found it convenient to keep the two separate. A working group of the 1984-85 ACMMM reviewing the Social Questions Committee (SQC) of the diocese found that the latter was not sufficiently concerned with human rights, given that 'Among the membership in the Anglican Church there are people who come with backgrounds of political oppression and injustice.'<sup>116</sup> Penny Gouy, was used to a church that was a champion of the people, fighting alongside the people for social and political justice, but felt 'quite disillusioned' after her first services in a Melbourne church. She and her husband found

...the whole function of Christianity in society ... to be quite different. In Zimbabwe and South Africa the Church was very committed to fighting injustices and oppression and people found strength and faith around this common goal. The Anglican Church from which I came believed in

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<sup>114</sup> Miley, *The Suicidal Church: Can the Anglican Church Survive?*, 57.

<sup>115</sup> "DMREA Minutes of 30 November 1983."

<sup>116</sup> *Garden*, 129. Referring to the background of repression and political violence from which many immigrants came, Penny Gouy recommended that 'Australian Anglicans ... be sensitive to the needs of new migrants, and the way to be sensitive is to listen'. "'Garden of Many Colours'. Video of Interviews Recorded on 24 January 1985, GTV Channel 9, 1985."

liberation of all people and we found God's strength in each other. Entering the Australian Church was something of a culture shock. These people [in my first Melbourne church] expressed their Christianity differently. There was the absence of any burning determination to fight for the relief of oppression. Religion seemed to be based on social interaction with little or no emphasis on political objectives.<sup>117</sup>

The ignorance about and indifference to non-British-born immigrants was one of the manifestations of the Anglocentric Anglican ethos discussed in my Introduction; it made for an insular church that, even in the face of decline to the point of near extinction, continued to believe that it could ignore multiculturalism because it represented neither a danger nor an obligation.

Razmara also believed there were lessons that the Australian church could learn from his experience in Iran. Having experienced the Muslim-led persecution of Anglicans in Iran, he held strong views about the Diocese's promotion of interfaith relationships. He continued to view Muslims with distrust and, during the Penman years, he successfully moved at Synod that the Diocese include in its welcome address to Islamic leaders visiting from the Middle East that they should reciprocate by respecting the human and religious rights of Christians in their own countries.<sup>118</sup> In this case, a mission that was very dear to Penman himself was met with strong reservations from an Anglican refugee who had his own story to tell about the Middle East.

The terms of appurtenance to the 'mother church', issues of autonomy and, above all, financial independence could determine the strength and future of each ethnic church. In the late 1980s, Allsop heard some church leaders declare that acceptance of the authority of bishops was the defining criterion that made ethnic congregations Anglican.<sup>119</sup> The many issues about acceptance of diversity and belonging, recently raised by the Archbishop's Commission about culture, had bypassed their reasoning. This lack of discernment about the relevance of cultural diversity in Anglican traditions was part of the tendency to use stereotypes while making sweeping statements about them. As mentioned before, Hunter criticised Anglicans for neglecting immigrants on the assumption that they belonged to other faiths. However, there was more to unreflected assumptions about immigrants, whether Anglican or not. Cheung raised two issues about the approach the Diocese made to him. In the first place,

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<sup>117</sup> *Garden*, 162. The first church that Gouy attended was a high church of the kind where prayers would be said for the Queen, her representatives and ministers, her parliaments.

<sup>118</sup> Interview with Khalil Razmara April 2016. This was before the WCRP 1989 conference in Melbourne.

<sup>119</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 192.

It was taken for granted that I could start a church because I'm a Chinese migrant. Just because you can speak Cantonese does not mean you can preach in Cantonese.<sup>120</sup>

The assumption that a Cantonese-speaking Chinese theology student could be asked to minister to different groups from China and Indo-China, speaking a variety of Chinese dialects, is salient here. Cheung's point was not about Asian stereotyping,<sup>121</sup> although the case could be argued, but about the theological implications of forming separate churches. In a special 2015 edition of *The Melbourne Anglican* Mark Brolly wrote about Cheung that

It is challenging enough to convey a faith that emerged in the Middle East and grew in Europe in the language he knows well and one familiar to many of the Chinese who have come to these shores since the 19th century: it is harder still for him to do so in Mandarin, the official language of the more recent waves of mainland Chinese who have settled in Australia.<sup>122</sup>

It was not only the Diocese, Cheung maintained, that had not reflected on the ecclesiological implication of ethnic churches but also the Chinese congregations themselves.

Many people in the Chinese congregations just think to themselves, 'we are migrants and we just get together and worship', and they don't think beyond that and reflect on the question of what is the church.<sup>123</sup>

I always challenge them by asking how they understand the word Chinese. Is it linguistic? I can accept that because the Gospel involves languages and you cannot put a barrier for people to learn the Gospel, so there are Chinese churches that share a language. But, in these churches there are second generation immigrants who speak English like anybody else and yet they still gather together on the basis of ethnicity.<sup>124</sup>

Cheung agreed with his Trinity College mentor, the Rev'd Dr Charles Sherlock, that this was a form of spiritual apartheid 'because you are separating yourselves from the mother church', and CALD Anglicans who were not part of the mainstream became ghettoised. A potential vicious cycle could

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<sup>120</sup> Interview with Rick Cheung 6 June 2016.

<sup>121</sup> Cheung felt very privileged to be asked. He recalled how 'Helen Hunter asked me on behalf of Abp Penman if I'd like to join the Anglican church. That is actually how I was recruited. I see that period as the peak. I was offered ordination into the Anglican Church... I was with the Church of Christ. And that openness to accept me was against the paradigm of the White Australia Policy that to be an Anglican priest you had to be brought up in the English tradition. To allow people to jump ship so to speak and be ordained made me feel very much at home. The welcoming made so much difference and that's why I've adopted the Australian identity. In those days you weren't received in the Church. That was a bold move by the leadership, by Archbishop Penman. Without his insight, his vision and leadership, it would never have happened'. Interview with Rick Cheung 6 June 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Brolly, "Preaching the Gospel a Tall Order in Any Language," 15.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Rick Cheung 6 June 2016.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

result from the fact that shrinking white congregations failed to attract non-Anglo-Australian people while attenders of ever-growing Chinese churches formed religious ghettos, doing little for the unity and growth of the Anglican church.

The ethnic churches developed a life of their own, their priorities often based less on diocesan rules than on their leaders' notions of church and the perceived needs of their congregations. This meant that the degree of autonomy they sought or enjoyed could create tensions with the Diocese. The Management Committee of the TCCV challenged Hunter's authority as liaison officer and delegate of the Diocese,<sup>125</sup> while the Australian-born priest overseeing the burgeoning congregation of St Matthias in Richmond expressed some concerns when the Chinese ministry team in Richmond invited two Singaporean missionaries to Melbourne to advise and assist them in their ministry. Archival records record his comments about their style of evangelising and his insistence that his own authority should not be undermined.<sup>126</sup> Razmara took the licence to produce his own translation of liturgy and hymns into Farsi while the General Synod was still debating the merits and details of having a language policy for the entire Australian church.<sup>127</sup>

The limitations on the growth of the ethnic churches were partly determined by their financial dependence on the Diocese. When Razmara's ministry received a bequest of \$30,000 to continue his work among Iranian Anglicans, he was asked by Archdeacon Andrew Curnow to repay the sum of \$5000, previously gifted from the Diocese for the production of material in Farsi.<sup>128</sup> On the other hand, the Tamil church's financial situation was healthy enough for it to consider funding or subsidising scholarships for students of the Tamil language, in addition to its other Tamil community support activities.<sup>129</sup>

By far the boldest move on the part of an ethnic Anglican group was the initiative to increase the number of Chinese priests in Australia. Yuk Liong recalled how 'In 1991, over 200 Chinese church leaders in Australia received a vision from the Lord to establish a Chinese theological education ministry in the nation.'<sup>130</sup> The decision to act on this vision came to fruition in 1996, when a Chinese theological establishment, the Bible College of Victoria (BCV) Chinese Department, was established

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<sup>125</sup> Helen Hunter's private papers.

<sup>126</sup> "RAMTAM Founding Committee Minutes of 18 February 1986," (1986); "RAMTAM Founding Committee Minutes of 9 December 1985," (1985).

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Khalil Razmara 28 April 2016

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> *Tamil Congregation Victoria*, 62.

<sup>130</sup> Liong, "The Vision and Mission of MST Chinese Department," 15.

to offer fulltime theological programs in Chinese. The Chinese leaders found their own funds and teaching staff for the successful establishment of this college. Cheung reflected back on that time as one when 'we had to think out of the box. We started the mission and at least through these contacts we could begin to evangelise and maybe some of these people might become Christian'.<sup>131</sup> He recognised that, seeing the size of the Chinese congregations, the Diocese took a risk in promptly ordaining the first graduates from the Chinese theological college, since in those days there were no established criteria for ordaining CALD priests who were to minister in another language without having proven themselves in a congregation. On the other hand, Cheung maintained that, after Penman's passing, had it not been for the Chinese college, the majority of the Chinese clergy enrolled there and being trained in Chinese, would never have graduated at Ridley college or been ordained.<sup>132</sup> The strong growth of the Chinese congregation would not have occurred. In this instance, the initiative was almost totally in the hands of the Chinese church leadership and the Diocese had to take the risk of giving its blessing.

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the circumstances in which CALD Anglicans emigrated from their homelands to settle in Australia influenced their expectations and perceptions of the Melbourne Anglican Church. Apart from the Indo-Chinese refugees who were evangelised in Melbourne, the others all had prior experience and ideals of Anglicanism, which they brought with them to Australia. Usually these ideals were formed by their faith acquisition and, for some, strengthened by difficult if not traumatic conditions that led to their decision to emigrate. The Sri Lankans were sustained by their faith during the political upheavals, the Iranians risked their own lives and saw others lose theirs for their Anglican faith, and some of the Chinese had left at a time of Christian revival in Asia. Many expected but were disappointed not to find more fervour in Anglican worship in Melbourne and more engagement with socio-political causes in other parts of the world.

Starting an ethnic church held a great significance for these CALD Anglicans as it played many roles in their lives. Unlike the complacent mainstream parishes that took their continuity for granted, the ethnic churches worked at building up their congregation, where language, culture, family values and social mores could be shared, maintained and passed on to the younger generations. Ethnic churches were places of worship, learning, caring, welfare dispensation and enjoyment; they were multicultural and multilingual, even including 'broken English' as a positive vehicle of communication.

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<sup>131</sup> Interview with Victor and Winnie Yu 25 April 2016.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Rick Cheung 6 June 2016.



Most importantly, according to Graeme Ferguson, they were a recreation of the site where they first met God and where they could find Him once more.

These churches had a natural impulse to remain solid and inclusive and to grow because they were in exile. Their leaders were very dedicated and assiduous in their service, making maximal use of their own capabilities and resources, whether linguistic, financial or personal. The congregations were all multi-ethnic and multicultural in their own ways, growth-oriented and dynamic, therefore a model to the mainstream Church. Representatives of the ethnic churches and individual CALD Anglicans were not totally introspective; they had their own views on the Diocese's *modus operandi* and held up a mirror to it by telling their stories of rejection and neglect in some parishes. Adding to the voices of progress within the church leadership, their reaction to and evaluation of the diocesan multicultural ministry provided an important insight into the life of the church and evidence that change was needed. Meanwhile these churches added to the growing number of new spaces where ideas, experience and advice on multiculturalism were exchanged and trialled, whereas all this should have been taking place inside the mainstream church. On another level, this chapter has demonstrated that many CALD Anglicans were doing 'their own thing' and adding to the dispersal of authority from the church leadership to one of the new virtual spaces in the margins or exterior of the church.

CALD Anglicans brought with them their culturally-given visions of what life in the Anglican Church should be and expressed this in a context of opposition to that of the mainstream church. Apart from the Indo-Chinese refugees who were converted in Melbourne, therefore, most brought with them and upheld an Anglican heritage of sorts. They were inclusive and not obviously hindered by internal divisions and had their own selective ways of accepting change for the sake of adapting to Australian Anglican life.

There is no evidence that Penman's advocacy for becoming acquainted with immigrants and learning about their life experiences and cultures was heard and followed. Contrary to Hunter's vision outlined in *Challenges*, the Diocese and parishes did little to connect with ethnic associations and build bridges to the broader multicultural community. The next chapter returns to her warning about the likely consequences of the Diocese's and parishes' deliberate isolationist attitudes and asks whether her predictions materialised.

## Chapter 6: The Church from 1989 to 1995

In July 1989, Archbishop Penman was admitted to hospital with a heart attack and died ten weeks later, on the day that a suitable donor heart was found for him. The expressions of shock and grief at the news of his passing at the age of 53, after only five years at the helm of the Diocese, included a perception of work left unfinished.<sup>1</sup> This chapter outlines the developments in the Diocese following Penman's death and considers contemporary assessments of his attempts at reforming cross-cultural ministry. It also interrogates the likelihood of his work in cross-cultural ministry being carried forward after his death, given the new Archbishop's style of leadership and the Diocese's weakened financial situation.

The future direction of the Diocese would depend not only on the new leader but also on an external factor beyond his control. The nine-months of intense politicking and speculation leading up to the election of the next Archbishop were followed by a severe recession beginning in late 1990. The economic crisis, considered by some as the worst since World War II,<sup>2</sup> lasted for a year, lowering the Gross Domestic Product by 1.7% and raising the national unemployment rate from 7.6% to 10.8%. Victoria was more severely affected than other states, its employment rate falling by 8.5% compared to their average of 2.1%.<sup>3</sup> By late 1991, 33% of new immigrants in Australia were unemployed.<sup>4</sup>

The setting of new directions for the Diocese can be explained at two levels, the more obvious one being the difference in background, personality and style between Penman and his successor, combined with the much less favourable economic situation, and the deeper and more complex substratum being the behind-the-scenes motives, ideologies and politics that accompanied the change of leadership in a divided Diocese. Taking into consideration the ethnic churches' aspirations and capabilities examined in the previous chapter, this discussion will include ethnic voices in the deliberations about and shaping of the future of cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese, now that its champion was gone.

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<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 218-20.

<sup>2</sup> "The Real Reasons Why It Was the 1990s Recession We Had to Have, 2 December," *The Age* (2006), <https://www.theage.com.au/business/the-real-reasons-why-it-was-the-1990s-recession-we-had-to-have-20061202-ge3pce.html>. (accessed 4 September 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Chair of the BSL Bishop Michael Challen, "The LINK, October," (1991).

## Leadership change, game change

Penman's sudden death in October 1989 strongly affected many in the church, the nation and the world. Thousands attended his funeral, among them parliamentarians,<sup>5</sup> religious leaders from Australia and abroad, and ordinary people whose lives he had touched. Messages of condolence were received from international state and religious leaders. Several members of the House of Representatives at the 5 October 1989 sitting of the Federal Parliament, paid tribute to his courage and compassion as a leader both in the church and in the nation. Roger Shipton, Member for Higgins, declared that

He was a catalyst for action and at times created controversy. He realised that. I think he courageously involved his church into controversial issues. He took the church into the community in the broadest sense and he answered the challenge of the church in that way. He took controversial issues to the Anglican community. He gave the church that he loved so dearly that challenge, and he responded to it.<sup>6</sup>

It was indicative of Penman's national standing that politicians should pay tribute to his efforts to engage the church with the world, as per the Member for Dunkley, Bob Chynoweth's recognition that 'He had a lot of battles within his own church, but he stood firmly for what he believed in'.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, in the same embattled church, prospects of losses and gains were being counted.

From the time Penman was admitted to hospital until his death ten weeks later, factions in the Diocese speculated and canvassed over tactics for handling the unfinished reforms, especially the ordination of women to the priesthood.<sup>8</sup> While prayers were said for his recovery and doctors fought to save him, tactical discussions were already underway, some challenging the powers of the Vicar General to convene Synod without the Archbishop in the Chair, a move which had implications for the ongoing process towards women's ordination.<sup>9</sup> Factions were forming around individuals' understanding of the nature of Anglicanism or their personal allegiances and associations.<sup>10</sup> Amid the frantic jockeying for position, Ian Allsop recorded the fact that 'Previous working coalitions of power and convenience under the leadership of the previous Archbishop were now breaking down as new power and advocacy groupings emerged'.<sup>11</sup> A new era was about to begin with doors closing

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<sup>5</sup> The Australian Parliament adjourned for the occasion. Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 359.

<sup>6</sup> "Official Hansard, Australian Government: House of Representatives 5 October," (1989), 1599.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1600.

<sup>8</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 208-09.

for some, especially those who had been closely associated with Penman, and opening for others who knew how to capitalise on new opportunities.

Penman's death in late October brought uncertainty and disruption.<sup>12</sup> Since many had been dissatisfied with the process that had led to his election in 1984, the Diocesan Council decided to review procedures for electing the next Archbishop.<sup>13</sup> However, the revised election protocols did not prevent the usual factional lobbying and number-crunching behind the scenes. In the words of the Presbyterian minister, historian and theologian, Professor Ian Breward,

Penman had been elected because other groups could not agree on a common candidate. Evangelicals had grown in confidence and influence during his episcopate. They hoped for another Evangelical and came very close to having Bishop John Reid from Sydney elected on the first ballot... By the time the next vote was taken, those who suspected that a Sydney takeover was in progress had rallied enough votes to prevent Reid's election. A long search for an acceptable candidate followed, with nominees from both overseas and Australia. Finally, Archbishop Keith Rayner of Adelaide was elected as the first Anglo-Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne in 1990.<sup>14</sup>

Reid had played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Department for Cross-Cultural Ministry (DCCM) in the Sydney Diocese.<sup>15</sup> Penman had been a personal friend of Reid's<sup>16</sup> and, in his justification for commissioning a review of multicultural ministry and mission, he had quoted Reid's concern that 'the Anglican Church is a monocultural church in the midst of a multicultural nation, and this implies the need for significant change.'<sup>17</sup> Mersina Papantoniou saw the decision to pass over Reid as a double setback for the Melbourne Anglican evangelicals because they 'had now lost a second leader after Penman's cross-cultural heart, [someone with] a proven record of cross-cultural ministry at home and a leading player on the world mission stage'.<sup>18</sup> The Board of Nominators'

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>13</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 361. Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 211.

<sup>14</sup> Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 214.

<sup>15</sup> Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglian Identity," ix.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>17</sup> Reid, quoted by Penman in the Foreword. *Garden*, 4.

<sup>18</sup> "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglian Identity," 242-43.

chosen candidate was a high churchman with little experience in cross-cultural ministry.<sup>19</sup>

Archbishop Keith Rayner, who was elected on 30 July and enthroned on 18 November 1990, differed from Penman by his background, interests and personality. With a doctorate in history, his distinguished academic career included a Rotary Foundation Fellowship at Harvard College. At the time of his election as Archbishop of Melbourne in 1990, he was Archbishop of Adelaide,<sup>20</sup> having previously been Bishop of the smaller Diocese of Wangaratta. He had held high positions on international bodies, including one at Lambeth,<sup>21</sup> and as Acting Anglican Primate of Australia, was touted as becoming, and did become, Primate in 1991.<sup>22</sup>

Under new leadership, the Diocese would engage on a rebranding exercise which required a rhetoric of differentiation and redefinition; it would meet similar challenges to those faced by the previous leadership, but with a change of priorities and, in some respects, a return to old and trusted ideals and strategies. However, there was continuity on one very controversial issue for the Diocese: against strong opposition from some quarters, Penman had ordained eight women as deacons in 1986,<sup>23</sup> and Rayner was prepared to take the next step in 1992 by carrying out the first ordination of women to the priesthood.<sup>24</sup> The ensuing backlash was not as serious as anticipated<sup>25</sup> but he was mindful of the need to restore some unity in the Diocese and avoid further controversy.

## Comparisons

A notable reaction to the appointment of the new Archbishop was the comparisons made with his predecessor. As discussed in Chapter 3, Ian Allsop noted that some leaders were very critical of Penman's reforms and compared his episcopate unfavourably with previous diocesans,<sup>26</sup> and now his successor provided even more parameters for comparisons. In his foreword to a volume of

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<sup>19</sup> The Anglican Church in South Australia is distinctly high church in its liturgical character. The Province of South Australia prides itself on having been created in a colony of free settlers, soon after the foundation of the colony in 1837. Its website advises that the Diocese of Adelaide is 'predominantly Anglo-Celtic in background although it has a multi-cultural mission and ethos'. Adelaide Anglicans, <https://adelaideanglicans.com/history>, (accessed 4 July 2019). For a historical account of the Province, see David Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia* (Netley, SA: Wakefield Press, 1986).

<sup>20</sup> *Year Book of the Diocese of Melbourne*, (Melbourne: The Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Rayner was Chair of the section on dogmatic and pastoral concerns at the 1988 Lambeth Conference. Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 362.

<sup>22</sup> Davis, "It Could Be a Slow Process," 18.

<sup>23</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 137.

<sup>24</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 366.

<sup>25</sup> Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments," 136.

<sup>26</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 248.

essays published in 1994 in honour of Rayner,<sup>27</sup> the Melbourne Anglican Rev'd David Richardson vigorously defended Rayner against unnamed critics at the same time as he praised the traits that distinguished him from other unspecified church leaders. Dismissing the nickname 'cautious Keith', used by some sections of the Diocese because of Rayner's circumspect approach to decision making,<sup>28</sup> Richardson defended him by contrasting him with one 'prone to gallop Gadarene-like<sup>29</sup> towards the latest fashion'.<sup>30</sup> Rayner's background as a historian, Richardson claimed, made him immune to the temptations of fashion and, as for the critics who rated Rayner less than a theologian, the author was disparaging of their 'non-Anglican response' because 'one of the glories of Anglicanism has long been its amateurism. Amateurism is not fashionable today; its opposite is professionalism which, with its popular partner, specialisation, is touted as the model towards which all should aspire'.<sup>31</sup> Richardson's praise of amateurism in the leadership of a diocese appeared to overlook the fact that clergy were asking for more guidance from their bishops;<sup>32</sup> as argued by Hollingworth, they were called upon to be 'community generalists' as well as delivering a specialist service to a diverse community, for which they had not been professionally trained.<sup>33</sup> It has been demonstrated in Chapter 3 that both the MPSC and the ATCM had advocated for more efficiency in the structures and management of the Diocese. The church's service to the community had also become highly professionalised,<sup>34</sup> many in the welfare agencies having qualifications in or a knowledge of sociology, which happened to be Penman's own academic background. However, Richardson reserved his sternest comments for those who might have expected Rayner to seek more media exposure and to be the 'prophetic voice' of a church that followed its own direction rather than God's.

The 'thirty second grab' for the media is not Keith Rayner's gift. The Rayner style involves rather the long appraising glance, the carefully considered

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<sup>27</sup> *Episcopacy*.

<sup>28</sup> David J L Richardson, "Foreword," in *Episcopacy: Views from the Antipodes*, ed. Alan H Cadwallader (North Adelaide, SA: Anglican Board of Christian Education, 1994). See also Bishop Barbara Darling, "Sydney and Melbourne Anglicans from 1836 to 2009: Historical and Personal Reflections," in *Address to the Anglicans' Get Together* (20 November 2009).

<sup>29</sup> 'Gadarene' is defined by the Merriam Webster Dictionary as 'involving or engaged in a headlong or potentially disastrous rush to do something', but it also has biblical connotations, all generally negative. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Gadarene>. (accessed 11 July 2109).

<sup>30</sup> Richardson, "Foreword," ix.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>32</sup> "Church Is Self-Absorbed," See September 1993.

<sup>33</sup> Hollingworth, "The Anglican Priest," 230.

<sup>34</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 286. Swain, "Philanthropy and Welfare in the Diocese of Melbourne," 134.

response. While he has taken a prophetic stance, Keith Rayner lacks the wild-eyed look of the prophet, and is too much the 'Churchman'. Besides the very idea of bishops shaking ecclesiastical foundations has about it something farcical, like workers standing on the top floor of a building which they are setting out to demolish.<sup>35</sup>

Without mentioning Penman, Richardson's portrait of Rayner gave clear indications of the contrast between the two Archbishops. A whole essay could be devoted to the analysis of allusions to Penman in Richardson's portrait of Rayner, including the obsession with professionalism. Angela Grutzner, media adviser to Penman and Rayner successively from 1984 to 1994, without recourse to caricature, offered a different articulation of one dissimilarity between the two men.

[Keith Rayner] was a lovely man but not a media person, not an attention seeker, [but] it was very hard work getting him to say anything about anything to the media. When he came he really wondered what I was going to do in the job, except he was really keen for me to keep publishing the paper. I wondered whether I was in for a quiet time or was going to work desperately hard to get something to happen. Eventually I realised that nothing would ever be as exciting for a media officer as working for David Penman. I was flying by the seat my pants a lot of the time but I flew with him. But then I left, the role of media officer was fairly quiet, and I remember my successor Roland Ashby saying, 'we will have to change all that. We'll have to get his views on things'.<sup>36</sup>

As an Anglican journalist, academic Muriel Porter also appreciated Penman's public engagement with Melburnians through the press. Her opinion of him was that

He came across as one who cared passionately about the concerns of ordinary people. Never frightened to tackle controversial issues, he directly engaged himself in local, national and international issues, drawing no distinction between sacred and secular. The media were always interested in his comments, and the general public listened attentively.<sup>37</sup>

Penman considered it a priestly duty to promote public debate on issues of social justice and peace<sup>38</sup> and argued that 'the mainstream Churches have often described and treated the media ... as though they are blockages to communication, alien structures and so secular that they could not be used for the proclamation of the Christian faith... We must have a positive approach to journalists, script writers, producers and editors, rather than leaving their particular world "untouched"'.<sup>39</sup> However,

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<sup>35</sup> Richardson, "Foreword," xi. Penman's perceived iconoclasm preoccupied many in the Diocese. Angela Grutzner once answered the telephone to an anonymous caller who referred to Penman as the devil incarnate, intent on destroying the church. Interview with Angela Grutzner 1 February 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Angela Grutzner, 1 February 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Porter, *Land of the Spirit?*, 100.

<sup>38</sup> David Penman, "Address at the Peace Picnic of 23 March 1986.". Script provided by Jean Penman.

<sup>39</sup> "Viewpoint: Media Monopolies and Freedom," (Undated). Typescript provided by Jean Penman.

in the early 1990s, the tide had turned, and Rayner's media shyness was extolled as a virtue and sign of wisdom. Given the polarised accounts of Penman's episcopate, Nichols' biography of Penman has proved very useful for this thesis in that it was a portrait drawn by one who had worked closely with his subject, and was written not long after his passing, while the facts were fresh in Nichols' mind, with access to the deceased's abundant personal papers and the collaboration of his widow Jean Penman. Nichols wrote of greatness as well as flaws, and made it clear that the biography was 'not a hagiography by someone personally close to him – although [he] was – but as honest an account as possible of a man gifted by God in a time of critical importance for the church in Australia'.<sup>40</sup> His account of Penman's episcopate contradicts the depiction of the period by some as euphoric, reckless and improvident.<sup>41</sup>

## Efficiency redefined

It is not uncommon in large organisations for the departure of a leader to be followed by that of his closest supporters. By 1992, Helen Hunter, Alan Nichols, Archdeacon David Chambers, Registrar Ron Crosbie, Peter Adam, Executive Officer of the Division of Pastoral Care and Education, were among those who had chosen new paths, while Jim Houston could see a door closing to him. In his memoirs<sup>42</sup> he recalled his own reaction to the news of the death: 'My longer-term dreams lay in ruins. After gaining the necessary parish experience at Dallas I had expected to be appointed to his office as advisor in multicultural and Aboriginal affairs'.<sup>43</sup> Houston had been looking forward to becoming Penman's 'minder' and moving into the flat at Bishopscourt when it became vacant.<sup>44</sup> Diocesan politics meant both a new entourage for the incoming Archbishop and the re-emergence of actors and voices who had chosen to distance themselves from Penman's administration. One important such individual was Bishop James Grant, a fellow historian, whose working relationship with Rayner is discussed below. Under these circumstances, the likelihood of continuing and building on the work begun by Penman was slim.

For a start, a new narrative was needed to indicate that there would be a departure from the directions taken by the last leadership. As quoted in Chapter 3, in 1985, the Mission Priorities and Strategy Committee had judged that some Anglican dioceses practised false economies by not

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<sup>40</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 11.

<sup>41</sup> Archdeacon Stephen Ames referred to the late 1980s as a period of 'inflated sense of the possible and of the role of the leader'. Ames, "People of the Past."

<sup>42</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 342.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 324. Instead, when he became part-time Director of Cross-Cultural Ministry, he would move into St Stephen's vicarage in Richmond Hill. *Ibid.*, 377.



investing adequately in administration for the sake of efficiency. It had also identified 'a kind of genial incompetence' which left those dioceses ill equipped for planning and for mission.<sup>45</sup> It is obvious that not all leaders in the Diocese were convinced by these arguments; Nichols wrote in his bibliography of Penman that 'there were some in the diocese who tried to create a myth that the Penman years were financially profligate, and that the first large deficits occurred then. The truth was that from 1984 to 1990 diocesan investments increased in value from around five million dollars to seventeen million dollars and balanced budgets were achieved for the first time in years'.<sup>46</sup> Under Rayner's leadership and with the help of his hand-picked entourage, efficiency was about to be redefined in terms of prudence and parsimony, illustrative of what Hugh Mackay termed the 'recession mentality', with its 'emphasis on maintenance, survival, postponement'.<sup>47</sup>

Since his dual role as Archbishop of Melbourne and Primate of the Australian Church would require heavy national and international commitments,<sup>48</sup> Rayner delegated some of his responsibilities to a select support team. Upon his election as Primate in 1991, he made retired Bishop Oliver Heyward his Primatial Assistant in Melbourne, later succeeded by Andrew Curnow, who was by then Bishop of the Northern Region. According to Grant, the Assistant 'was able to relieve the Primate of many diocesan responsibilities'.<sup>49</sup> Archdeacon Howard Dillon, who succeeded Alan Nichols as Archdeacon of Melbourne in 1991, became Rayner's 'right-hand man'.<sup>50</sup> Both Curnow and Dillon demonstrated a strong commitment to 'streamlining' and tightening the diocesan budget.

As indicated in Chapter 3, in 1990, Rayner invited Ian Allsop to review the divisional structure put in place by Penman and propose alternative models that could be approved by the leadership.<sup>51</sup> At the meeting to discuss Allsop's findings, Archdeacons Curnow and Dillon were charged with the task of reviewing his report and assessing the soundness of its conclusions for the next Council meeting.<sup>52</sup> Their recommendation was that Penman's five divisions be reduced to two: the Archbishop would personally head the Administrative Services, which included Administration, Media and the Registry,

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<sup>45</sup> Mission Priorities and Strategy Committee, quoted in Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 155.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>47</sup> Hugh Mackay, *Keynote: The Recession Mentality*, The Mackay Report (Lindfield NSW: Mackay Research Pty Ltd, May 1991), 22.

<sup>48</sup> 'In accepting the See of Melbourne, Rayner had warned that, even as Acting Primate, he would be absent on extra-diocesan duties'. Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 363.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglican Identity," 310.

<sup>51</sup> Grant, *Episcopally Led*, 372.

<sup>52</sup> Allsop, "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour," 278.

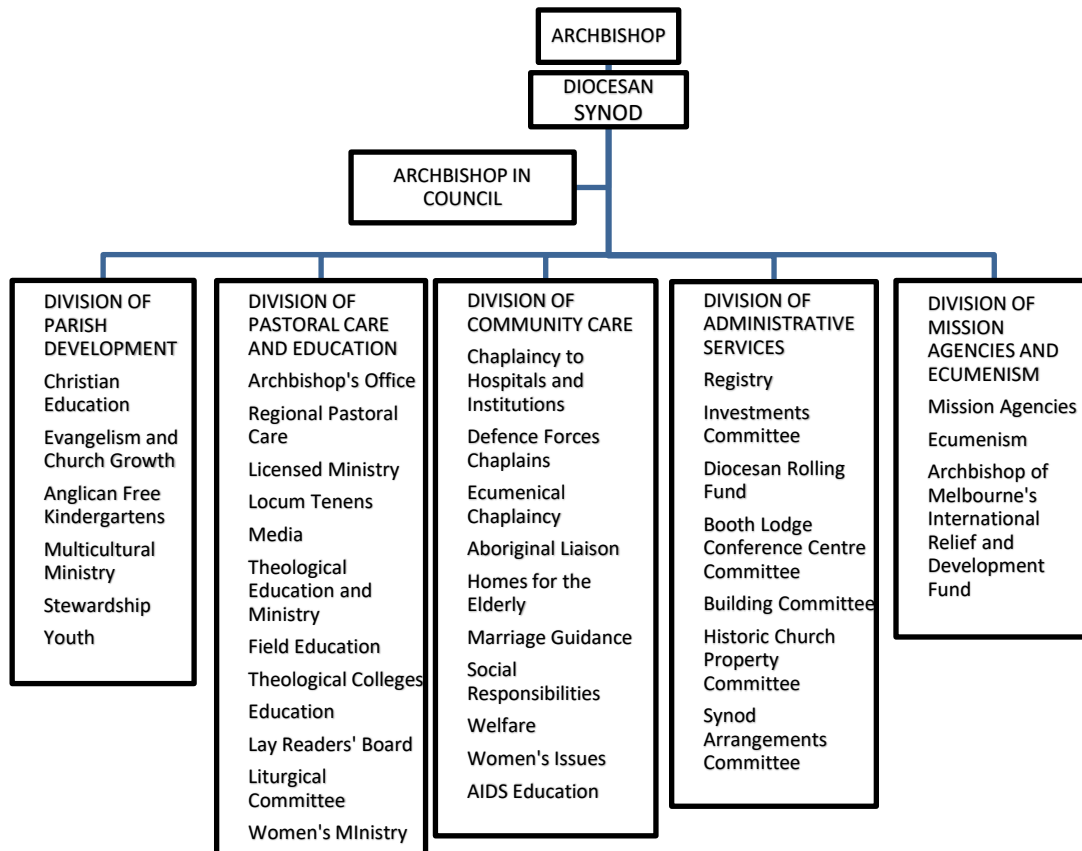
while Dillon, reporting directly to the Archbishop, would be in charge of Diocesan Services, which included Community Care, ministry with families and children, Evangelism and Church Growth, Education and multicultural Ministry.<sup>53</sup> Figures 6, 7 and 8 show the displacement of Multicultural Ministry from a position of prominence to the bottom of the structure between 1987 and 1993.

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<sup>53</sup> A discussion paper tabled at Council on 15 July 1993 on the new structure promised 'more outcomes with less resources, maximising efficiencies'. "Diocese to Reshape," *See* 1993, 1.

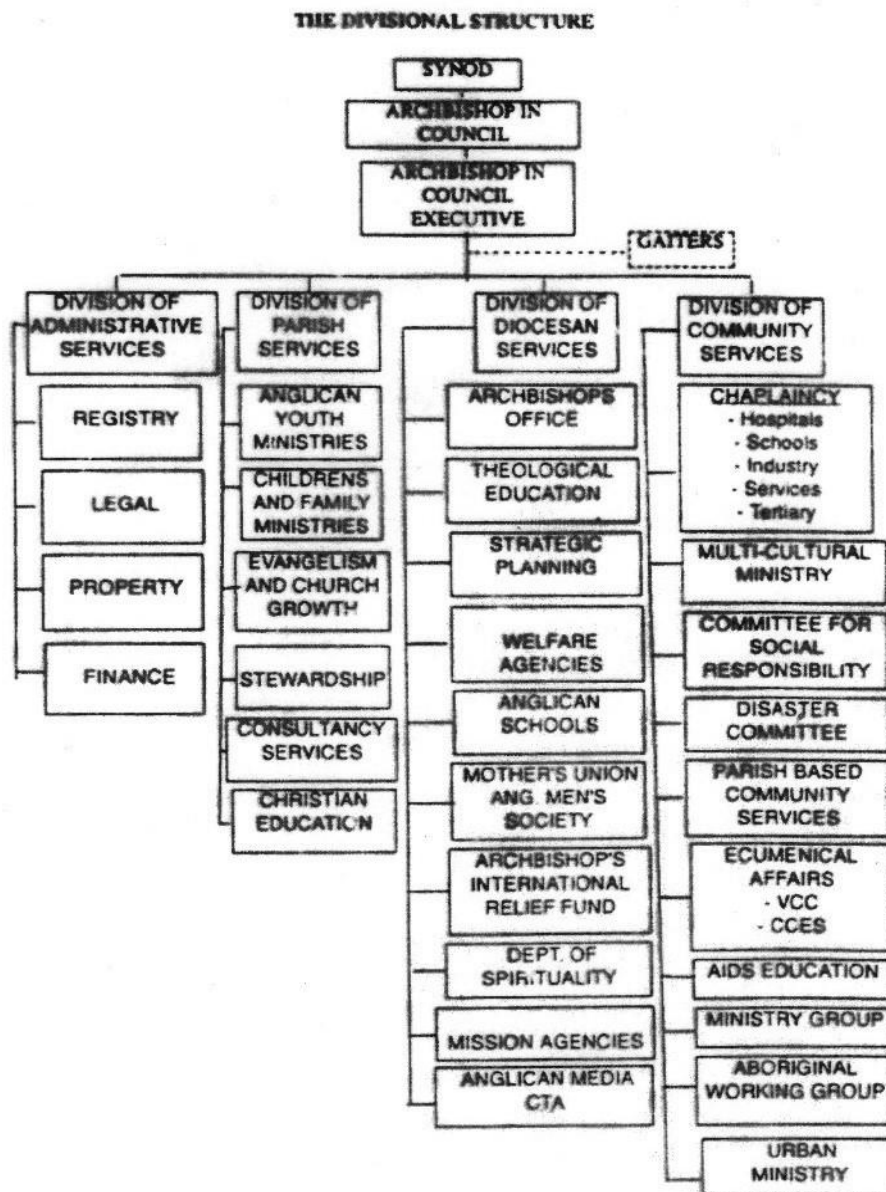
Figure 6 Divisional Structure under Archbishop David Penman

### DIVISIONAL STRUCTURE 1987



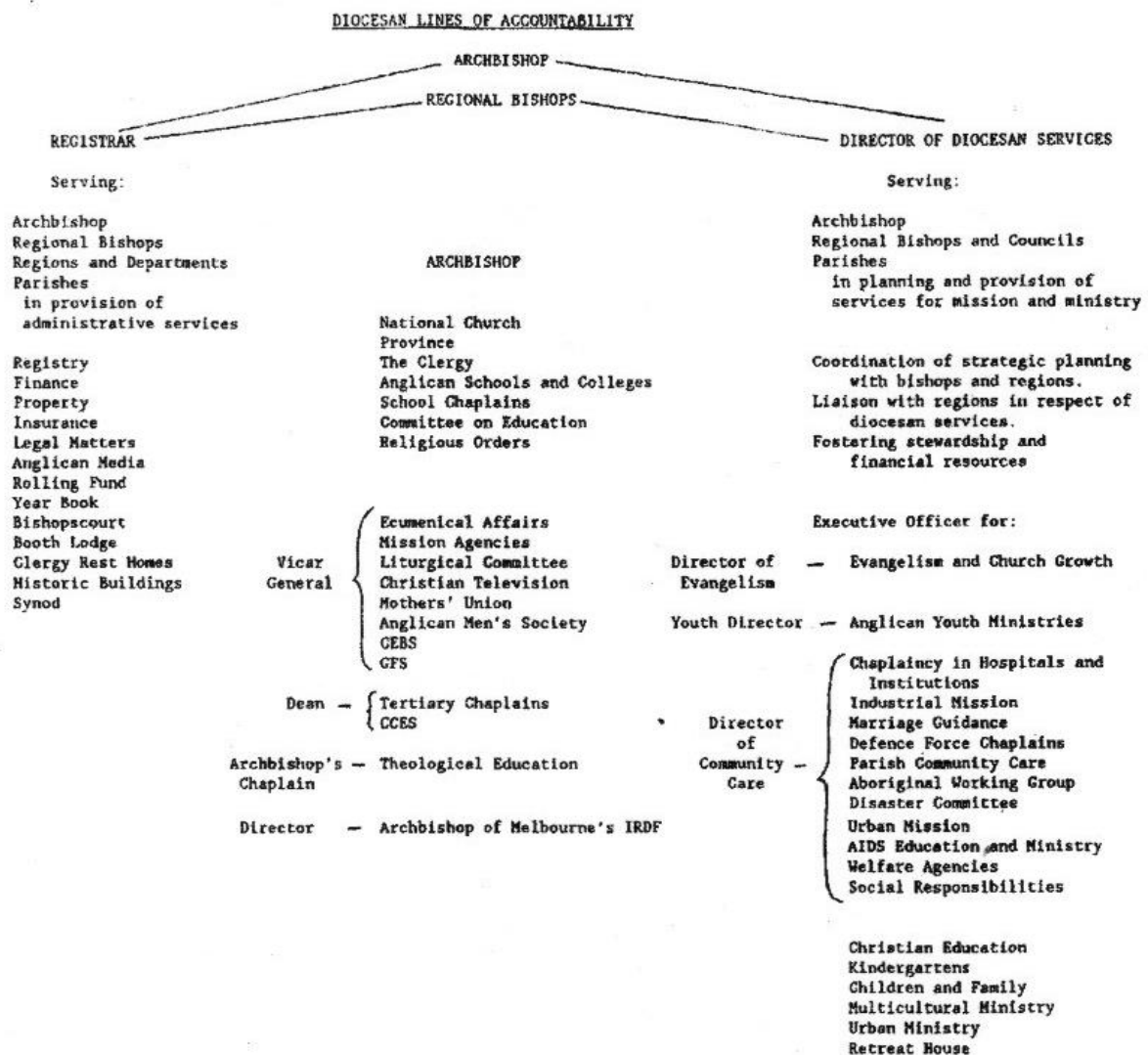
Source: Information extracted from a 5-page descriptive document titled 'Anglican Diocese of Melbourne: The Organisation of the Diocese. (Melbourne Diocese Archives)

Figure 7: Ian Allsop's Proposed Model for Divisional Structure 1991



Source: Allsop, Ian. "The Influence of Values and Beliefs on Leadership Behaviour." PhD, Monash University, 1996, 426

Figure 8 Diocesan Lines of Accountability 1992-



Source: Memo from Archbishop in Council to Regional Conferences of Members of Synod, 20 August 1992 (Melbourne Diocese Archives)

A comparison between the decision made under Rayner in 1992 (Figure 8) with the model proposed by Ian Allsop in 1991 (Figure 7) and the structure put in place under Penman and adopted by Synod in 1987 (Figure 6) shows the extent to which cross-cultural ministry was downgraded in 1992. Figure 8 indicates that it was now listed fourth in a small cluster of ministries at the bottom on the structure, without a director, although Ecumenical Affairs topped the list of the Vicar General's area of oversight and the Aboriginal Working Group formed part of the larger group of ministries under the Director of Community Care, while the AIRDF, originally part of Hunter's portfolio in DMREA had its own Director.

Allsop had heeded the leaders' wish to move Multicultural Ministry out of the Division of Parish Services, and placed the Aboriginal Working Group with Multicultural Ministry, Ecumenical Affairs, and other external services in the Division of Community Services, although he had kept the Welfare

Agencies, Mission Agencies and the AIRDF under the Division of Diocesan Services, which included the Archbishop's Office.

In a memo to Council, Rayner advised that 'The bureaucracy will be reduced to the lowest level consonant with efficient management'.<sup>54</sup> The terminology of self-control and measured moves for simplification as a strong foundation for efficiency provided a neat contrast with the counter image of profligacy, irresponsible exuberance and unhinged euphoria evoked by Richardson and others. The same dichotomy between prudent stewardship and reckless profligacy can be traced in the discourse about cross-cultural ministry. One of the early priorities for the new administration was to reduce its budget. In her report to Synod for the year 1992, Hunter advised that, in response to a divine call to parish ministry, she had resigned as Director of the DMM in June of that year, mentioning in passing that

This decision freed the Budget Priorities Committee to significantly reduce the allocation to Multicultural Ministry furthering a direction already set in place by the Policy Committee Division of Parish Development. This resulted in a redistribution of Divisional monies that has left Multicultural Ministry with a program allocation of \$10,000 for 1993.<sup>55</sup>

In the circumstances, Hunter would have had no hesitation to respond positively to the call to parish ministry, having seen the writing on the wall for the future of cross-cultural ministry funding. In 1991 she had reported to Synod that the DMM had participated in Allsop's structural review and 'await[ed] expectantly for cross cultural issues to be identified as areas of concern in the Diocese's program for the Decade of Evangelism'.<sup>56</sup> Her report gave no indication that, at the end of 1991, she had plans to leave this ministry. The financial statements reveal that the budgeted \$10,000 was eventually not disbursed, probably because of Hunter's departure. Table 33 shows the progression of funding levels for the Cross-cultural ministry from 1984 to 1995.

Table 33 Expenditure on Department of Multicultural Ministry 1984 to 1995 by year

Year	Budgeted under Archbishop David Penman's leadership							Inter-regnum	Budgeted under Archbishop Keith Rayner's leadership			
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990		1992	1993	1994	1995
\$	36,743	50,315	60,000	50,923	55,466	64,763	68,480	71,904	61,907	-	17,038	19,676

Source: Statements of Receipts and Disbursements for selected years, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne.

<sup>54</sup> Archbishop Keith Rayner, "The Synod Address," *ibid.* (1992).

<sup>55</sup> Helen Hunter, "DMM Report to Synod 1992."

<sup>56</sup> "DMM Report to Synod 1991."

The increase from \$36,743 in 1984 to \$50,315 in 1985 reflected Penman's commitment to this area, and the further increase to \$60,000 followed the publication of *Garden of Many Colours* in 1985, showing outlays for expanding the ministry.

The recession would have been a factor in the reduction in funding for cross-cultural ministry, however, not all ministries were equally targeted. In March 1991, Hunter had made a submission to Grant, as Cathedral Dean, to relocate her Department, together with the AIRDF, the Migrant and Refugees Settlement Fund, and the Multilinks shop from the Alphington parish hall to the old CMS Bookshop site in Flinders Lane, to make them more visible and accessible to the public. Grant replied that this property, which belonged to the Cathedral, would be let 'on a strict commercial basis' at rates by far exceeding the rental amount offered by Hunter.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, three years later Dillon was able to fund the renovation of the cathedral building, to be completed in 1996, at the cost of \$600,000, to relocate the management structure of the Diocese, the Anglican youth ministries, the Aboriginal Working Group and the Department of Health and Welfare Chaplains. Dillon was quoted as saying that, being currently located separately, these units were inclined to work in isolation, with little collaboration and exchange with one another, but he and Grant had no such concern about the DMM operating from Alphington. The Cathedral Chapter would meet the balance of this \$1.1 million project.<sup>58</sup>

Grant, who had been beaten to the archiepiscopal post by Penman in 1984, ceased being the Chair of DMREA Committee in 1984. He subsequently expressed interest in and was appointed to the position Dean of St Paul's Cathedral when it became vacant in 1985, thereby removing himself from the responsibilities of bishop assisting the Archbishop. His absence from an involvement in the ACMMM is as telling as his expressed scepticism about multiculturalism.<sup>59</sup> His own vision for cross-cultural ministry was very different from Penman's. There is no doubt that after Penman's death Grant returned to a more prominent role in the Diocese. In his first Synod charge,<sup>60</sup> Rayner acknowledged the support that Grant and the other bishops had given to Bishop John Stewart as Vicar General during the interregnum. Archival records suggest that Rayner also received Grant's advice and support in his reorganisation of cross-cultural ministry. On 22 September 1992, Rayner sent Grant a memo outlining his plans for dismantling and reallocating Helen Hunter's portfolio,

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<sup>57</sup> Letter from James Grant to Helen Hunter, 19 March 1991, responding to her request for relocation of DMM to old CMS Bookshop in Flinders Lane.

<sup>58</sup> "Major Upgrade for Cathedral Buildings," See November 1994, 1. Reita Mason, "Gothic Gloom to Networking Newness," *Church Scene* 3 November 1995, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from James Grant to 'Philip' (probably Archdeacon Philip Newman) 19 July 1985.

<sup>60</sup> Archbishop Keith Rayner, "The Synod Address," See 1991.

outlining her areas of activities. He listed just three areas of activity supposedly carried out by the DMM, namely ethnic congregations, immigration and refugees, and interfaith issues. He claimed that the department had already 'largely ceased' encouraging the formation of ethnic congregations, that other organisations were adequately ensuring advocacy and support for immigrants and refugees, and that interfaith relationships needed careful consideration at some later stage. The department had apparently already lost its *raison d'être*, since the only part of Hunter's portfolio, omitted from the above list, for which a successor was found was the AIRDF. Beth Hookey, then President of the Melbourne Diocese MU, took over this responsibility on a pro bono basis but with a modest expense allocation.<sup>61</sup> In his reply to Rayner's memo, Grant highlighted the omission of the VCIC, of which he was Chair. He expressed his disappointment that Hunter had withdrawn from that Committee some years before, and that 'Anglican Multicultural Ministry has been conspicuously absent from the ecumenical migration scene', adding that 'After twenty three years I want to hand on the torch handed to me by Geoffrey Sambell!'<sup>62</sup> Apart from the significance of this self-identification with Sambell, to whom the anonymous file note (at Appendix III) accorded fulsome praise, Grant's memo of October 1992 typified his now open criticism of Hunter's work. When he participated in an attitudinal survey for *Mission in Australia*,<sup>63</sup> he saw cause for regret in the fact that, partly because of Penman's death, the DMM had not responded to the General Synod's Missions and Ecumenical Commission recommendations. For this he blamed the ethos of service instead of inter-cultural mission and the department's leaning towards interfaith 'dialogue',<sup>64</sup> (his inverted commas) rather than conversion. It has been demonstrated in Chapter 2 that some members of the Welfare Agencies' meetings were sceptical about the very meaning of dialogue in the context of cross-cultural ministry when Hunter reported on her plans to engage in this.

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<sup>61</sup> Beth Hookey was offered an annual car travel allowance of \$5,396, a discretionary account of \$3,000 and (work-related) travel of \$5,000. Rayner suggested she work from a parish office, such as that of St John's Toorak. Letter from Archbishop Keith Rayner to Mrs Beth Hookey, 22 September 1992.

<sup>62</sup> Memorandum from Bishop Grant to Archbishop, dated 22 September 1992, re Your memo of 22 September on Multicultural Ministry. Grant appeared to bracket off the intervening Penman years to reconnect with the Sambell era and legacy.

<sup>63</sup> Deaconess Margaret M Thornton, "Mission in Australia: Attitudinal Survey of Bishops," (Missions and Ecumenical Commission of the Australian Anglican General Synod, 1994).

<sup>64</sup> Grant used the feminine third person pronoun to refer to the Director who neglected mission. Ibid. As interfaith relations gained more prominence in the Diocese's discourse about multiculturalism, confusion and lack of consensus over the meaning of 'dialogue' made the term as problematic as others like 'diversity' and 'pluralism'. Helen Hunter had caused 'concern' among the welfare agencies over the idea of dialogue with Buddhists (See Chapter 2). Razmara reported an adversarial telephone conversation with a Muslim in which the link between dialogue and differences of opinion was contested. Khalil Razmara, "Dialogue without Compromise," See November 1994.



In his 1992 Synod Charge, Rayner reported, in the context of the dismantling of Penman's divisional structure, that expenditure would be significantly reduced and bureaucracy minimised to a degree that efficient management would permit; funding for some ministries, including evangelism, multicultural ministry, ministry to children and families, and parish community care, had been curtailed. However, he added that

I should add that it is not all loss. A degree of fat creeps into any organisation over a period of time, and some thinning can be done without loss of efficiency. Besides, there is always a danger that when we have specialists, say in multicultural ministry or evangelism, we assume that this ministry is their responsibility and the rest of us leave it to them.<sup>65</sup>

Rayner now hoped that, in the absence of salaried 'specialists', the whole Diocese, including parishes, would assume full responsibility for cross-cultural ministry, and increased efficiency would result from the budget cut.

### ***Seeds Blowing in the Wind: Review of Multicultural Ministry & Mission (1993)***

By chance, on Rayner's list of loose ends relating to the closure of the DMM there remained two items to be addressed, one being an obligation and the other the perfect solution to it; the first was a 'review of multicultural work' with plans for the future, recommended by Hunter, and the second was the possession of a tied grant of about \$23,000 from the ANZ Trustees, to be employed in 'the multicultural area and for purposes which are charitable in the legal sense'.<sup>66</sup> Rayner found a pragmatic solution in the application of part of this grant to the review, and keeping the remainder for specific actions to which it might lead. He ended his memo with the reflection that 'One side effect of the abolition of this Department means that the Persian congregation will lose their rent to the extent of about \$3,500 per annum. This may make their financial position rather more difficult'.<sup>67</sup> It is noteworthy that the Persians' loss of income was named as the only negative impact of the closure, overlooking any exchanges and synergies with the DMREA that might have benefited the parish.

Serendipity had thus precipitated a new review of cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese, and Rayner's approach to the review process was faithful to the principles of simplification, cost-saving and expediency. He duly invited Houston to conduct the review of cross-cultural ministry, on a part-

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<sup>65</sup> Archbishop Keith Rayner, "The Synod Address," *ibid.* (1992).

<sup>66</sup> Archbishop Keith Rayner, memorandum re Multicultural Ministry, 22 September 1992. (Addressee not indicated)

<sup>67</sup> The Department of Multicultural Ministry was a tenant of the Persian Church of St Jude's in Alphington.

time basis over six months, later extended to eight.<sup>68</sup> In late October 1992, on behalf of a small committee formed for the review, Archdeacon Philip Newman, presented a project submission to Rayner. The latter replied in early January 1993, apologising for not attending to this sooner, owing to his 'preoccupation with other important matters' and admitting that he was responding 'in considerable haste on the eve of [his] departure for overseas'. The letter, dictated by Rayner and signed by his secretary in his absence, contained the following comment:

I have to say that the submission envisages a project much bigger than I had in mind. It seems to me to reflect the spirit of the 1980s when government (and church) departments spent considerable sums and employed considerable time in producing long reports which frequently could not be implemented and sat upon shelves gathering dust. I envisage a review which will be reasonably speedy and which will result not in extensive reports but in precise recommendations which are capable of being implemented.<sup>69</sup>

This response, with its image of *Garden* gathering dust on shelves, was clearly dismissive of the spirit and intent of the ACMMM. It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that, instead of aiming for instant results, its objective had been to put in place processes that needed embedding to achieve progressive normalisation, and that required investments in time and resources. Rayner mentioned the sum from the ANZ Trustees but recommended that Houston keep the cost of the review to \$10,000, thereby leaving the balance for 'the practice of multicultural ministry as distinct from the review of such ministry'. His criticisms of the submission for its size, ambit, likely duration and impracticability, not to mention its implied similarities to Penman's Commission of 1984-85, not only reaffirmed his strategy of simplification and cost-cutting, but they also revealed a focus on promptly achievable tasks instead of grand long-term plans for cross-cultural ministry. Besides, any implementation should not exceed \$13,000 in cost, being the balance of the ANZ grant.<sup>70</sup> Rayner asked for the proposed two-day seminar, at which Houston hoped he would at make an appearance, to be reduced to one, and made no reference to his own attendance. Houston was instructed to discuss the final preparations with the Vicar General and have a report ready for the February meeting of Archbishop in Council.<sup>71</sup>

In the event, Houston wrote a 135-page report, personally bearing the printing cost. His report, evocatively titled *Seeds Blowing in the Wind*, strongly criticised the Diocese for not implementing the

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<sup>68</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 368.]

<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Keith Rayner, memorandum re Multicultural Ministry, 22 September 1992.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

recommendations of *Garden of Many Colours* and for lacking the interest and courage to carry the ministry forward. The 1993 review of cross-cultural ministry involved about 80 people and took eight months. The report was based on evidence from interviews, written submissions and the proceedings of a conference at Glen Iris on 5-6 August 1993, which nearly 70 people attended, representing several denominations and ecumenical organisations and one former senior official, who had worked with Penman in AIMA.

Houston's choice of title was doubly significant: its botanical imagery identified it as a sequel to *Garden* and, at the same time, it was a poignant invocation of the biblical parable of the sower, some of whose crop seeds, representing the word of God, were scattered by the wind and so never germinated or bore fruit. The substance of *Seeds* was analytical, strongly denunciatory and recriminatory, the tone often indignant and angry,<sup>72</sup> as the author dissected the failure to implement the 99 recommendations of *Garden*. One of the many disappointments was that neither of the two Anglican Theological colleges replied to the review questionnaire.<sup>73</sup> This did not augur well for the future success of ITEMS (See Chapter 4). Uptake of the cross-cultural awareness courses at the theological colleges was voluntary and so depended on encouragement from the colleges themselves.<sup>74</sup>

The substance and impact of Houston's review is discussed below but, equally revealing are the diocesan leadership's part in and response to it. The first striking feature is the absence of any statement or a foreword by Archbishop Rayner. The publication begins with a brief covering letter to him from Houston, commending the commissioned report for his consideration. Neither Rayner's nor Grant's name appears on the list of participants at the Conference or of contributors to the publication; Rayner's distance from the process is very different from the stance taken by Penman 9 years before and indicative of his degree of support for it.

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<sup>72</sup> Those who wanted change shared a common impatience over the passive resistance from the Diocese, something which the opponents of change used in their defence of the status quo. Michael Gilchrist's diatribe against the movement for the ordination of women made much of those women's anger and 'virulence', describing the movement as a Trojan horse that concealed unimaginable aspirations to subvert Christianity under the banner of inclusiveness. He associated these manifestations of anger with destructive intentions and 'an assault on two thousand years of Christian teaching and practice'. Gilchrist, *Destabilisation of the Anglican Church*, 67-77.

<sup>73</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 88.

<sup>74</sup> In Deaconess Margaret Thornton's questionnaire for the Mission in Australia survey, to a question about education and training for cross-cultural mission, Grant replied 'I do not see cross cultural mission as the primary area of training. Rather what is needed is general equipping for evangelism and then the specialist focus'. It is noteworthy that cross-cultural ministry was again being seen as a specialist and not a mainstream form of ministry for all priests. Thornton, "Mission in Australia: Attitudinal Survey of Bishops."

In his memoirs titled *A Multicultural Odyssey: A Memoir (Almost) sans Regrets*, Houston eloquently recalled his misgivings and speculations as he waited for a reaction to his report:

I might have as well have saved myself the trouble. The silence of the Diocese and the parishes was deafening. Was the Report too polemical? But so was the *Garden of Many Colours*. It was well-reasoned, amply backed by evidence, and literate. After eight months' work would a mealy-mouthed response have been more appreciated? Now that I think of it, I cannot recall receiving any letter or word of appreciation for my labours (and expenses) from anyone in authority.<sup>75</sup>

In 1994, nearly a year after the publication of *Seeds*, Houston was surprised to receive a job offer from the Archbishop. He was to continue as parish vicar in Dallas, with the assistance of a part-time priest, while working part-time as Director of Cross-Cultural Ministry, based at the St Matthew's church office in Glenroy, five kilometres away.

The article in *See* announcing Houston's appointment as Director of Cross-Cultural Ministry (CCM) specified the limited area of ministry for this portfolio. Houston was 'now a member of a team ministry in the newly linked parishes of Dallas/Coolaroo and Broadmeadows; ... the director's appointment [would] be confined to the parishes in which the team ministry [was] at work', and was 'almost exclusively a ministry within the Turkish, Muslim community', although there were other cultural and linguistic communities present in the area.<sup>76</sup> The article pointed to the significant difference between the new cross-cultural ministry and the department once managed by Helen Hunter, which had been generously funded by the Diocese. Houston's part-time salary of \$15,000 would come from the Diocesan Foundation.<sup>77</sup> Given that, in the same year, Rayner issued a warning in *See* that 'financial considerations ... may well mean that some clergy will need to engage in self-supporting or non-stipendiary ministry',<sup>78</sup> Houston was fortunate to receive any wages. However, he was committed enough to cross-cultural ministry to determine to work full time on half wages,<sup>79</sup> aiming to serve not just the urban fringe but other areas of Melbourne that could benefit from his work, knowing that 'Without resources nothing will happen'.<sup>80</sup> He was given no budget for administrative or travel costs, and Synod's near unanimous resolution in 1994 'to grant the Department a staff of one' was never implemented, despite Houston's resignation from the parish of

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<sup>75</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 373. "Diocese to Work across Cultures," *See* March 1994, 1.

<sup>76</sup> "Diocese to Work across Cultures."

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> "Archbishop Rayner's Vision for the Diocese," *See* August 1994, 8.

<sup>79</sup> *Multicultural Odyssey*, 376.

<sup>80</sup> "Diocese to Work across Cultures."

St Mary Magdalene in Dallas in 1996, to work fulltime as Director of CCM.<sup>81</sup> In his report to Synod for 1995, Houston described himself as 'a lone outposted worker' in the Glenroy parish office.<sup>82</sup> However, he was later moved to the Cathedral buildings.<sup>83</sup>

Houston's terms of employment as Director of CCM invites the exploration of an intriguing link with the past. In Chapter 1 I mentioned an anonymous file note<sup>84</sup> which envisioned possible developments in late 1976, after the retirement of Robert Lloyd, then Director of the Immigration Office. If, as I believe, this note was written by Grant, then his patience was rewarded in 1994. The vision in the file note (ca 1976) was that

A possible restructuring of the Immigration Department might well see the dismantling of the present welfare-oriented central office and the establishment in an inner-suburban parish of an Anglican Resource Centre on Migration. This might be operated by an inner-city Vicar with light parish commitments, but would probably require the services of at least a part-time administrative officer.<sup>85</sup>

Houston did indeed have a small congregation, but he did not fit the profile perfectly. His duties had not been light, given his extensive community outreach.<sup>86</sup> Dallas is well outside the inner city, but, in the event, with his skills in multicultural affairs, Houston was a better option than the hypothetical idle inner-city vicar of the 1970s without such skills. He was made Director of the ministry, being a department of one, and his office was hardly a resource centre. Instead of a part-time administrative officer he was offered a part-time parish priest for St Mary Magdalen's in Dallas-Coolaroo and Broadmeadows. In these respects, the new arrangements constituted something akin to a return to the past or, at least, to a particular vision from the past.

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<sup>81</sup> "CCM Report to Synod 1996."

<sup>82</sup> "CCM Report to Synod 1995." In his memoir, Houston described the office as an 'isolated, sterile, setting'. *Multicultural Odyssey*, 375.

<sup>83</sup> *Multicultural Odyssey*, 379.

<sup>84</sup> It is my considered opinion that this note was drafted in 1976 by Bishop James Grant. It used some phrases which recurred in other correspondence authored by him, bore the tone of one in a position of authority in the Immigration Department, and recommended making a financial contribution to the EMC at around the time when the Director of the EMC had written to Grant with a request for such a donation from the Home Missions. In the 1994 arrangements for Houston's employment there were strong similarities with Grant's suggestion in 1976 for the creation of an 'Anglican Resource Centre on migration, perhaps associated with an inner-city parish', advising that 'an amount of \$10,000 is provided in the 1979 Estimates'. Undated proposal (ca mid-1978) titled 'The Diocesan Ministry to Migrants and Refugees'.

<sup>85</sup> Anonymous, "Future Operations of the Immigration Department of the Diocese of Melbourne: Some Considerations".

<sup>86</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 336-63.

## New visions for cross-cultural ministry

After Penman's death, Newman made the following reflection on Penman's legacy:

[Penman] started something which meant that the diocese could never be the same, after a period where there had been relatively little change for some time. But then David died, with the reform only just starting. The changes were incomplete, but I don't think we could ever go back to where the church was before David Penman. We will always now have a certain restlessness about our structures. It was not so much the changes he brought about, but that he started a process of change which I think can never be stopped.<sup>87</sup>

*Garden* had raised high expectations among CALD Anglicans and the proponents of cross-cultural ministry, judging by the many references to its promises,<sup>88</sup> and there was now a strong determination not to allow Penman's campaign to end in failure. As leader, he had been the mouthpiece for the movement at the same time as he had tried to avoid alienating those in his leadership team whose cooperation he needed. Nichols recalled that 'His way of dealing with ... opposition was to bring opponents together, invite them to pray with him, and talk things through in the fellowship of Christ. It disarmed some opponents, but not all. Throughout his time as archbishop he felt tensions and strains which could not all be eliminated by the authority of the office or by the considerable charm and time he spent dealing with those with whom he differed.'<sup>89</sup> After his death those whom he had motivated and rallied to the cause of multiculturalism did not need to tread so carefully around the unsupportive leadership, but rather expressed their frustrations and demands assertively, and sometimes angrily.

The expectation that the minority of CALD Anglicans in the Diocese should adapt to the long-established traditions and practices of the majority had concerned Hunter in 1983, and she had noted that this 'as yet has generated little militancy among the minority to initiate and secure change'.<sup>90</sup> A notable change after 1993 was the coverage that cross-cultural ministry received in *See*, including an occasional column by layman Jon (Wei-Han) Kuan. Possibly, after the loss of an Archbishop who led the way on advocacy of multiculturalism, the grassroots took the lead and

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<sup>87</sup> Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 158.

<sup>88</sup> A sample of references to *Garden of Many Colours* were found in: Reita Mason, "Can the Garden of Many Colours Bloom?," *Church Scene* 13 August 1993, 2. Rick Cheung, "Vote of 'No Confidence'," *See* May 1994, 6. John Kuan, "Anglicanism Irrelevant to a Third of Population," *The Melbourne Anglican* June 1994. Reita Mason, "Finding the Will to Engage," *Church Scene* 23 September 1994.

<sup>89</sup> Nichols, "Penman, David John (1936-1989)". accessed 5 September 2017.

<sup>90</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*, 54.

voiced their frustrations and expectations more forcefully. In May 1994, Rick Cheung expressed strong disappointment with the diocesan paper for not giving fair coverage to significant developments in the Chinese church, reporting on important events in two lines or not at all:

I wish I am totally wrong, but the cynical impression that SEE is not interested in covering multicultural ministries happening within the diocese cannot be denied. Although I have restrained from submitting my vote of no confidence, I write to express my personal disappointment – often shared by many members of our mission – about SEE's dismal coverage of multicultural ministries within this diocese.<sup>91</sup>

Things had changed since the time when Barry Huggett was Editor of *See*. (Chapter 2) The struggle for recognition and support of cross-cultural ministry in the Diocese continued but the voices making demands were louder and bolder. Jon Kuan quoted Houston as saying in 1994 that

In the broadest sense we have to tap into the social resources of the diocese. If we can't then multicultural ministry will always remain an outsider, a poor relation, a tokenistic thing where appointments are made, nice words are spoken, encouragement is given, but not backed by the financial and human resources that make it all meaningful.<sup>92</sup>

The waste of existing social and missional resources, in the form of committed and talented overseas-born as well as Australian-born Anglicans, was contrasted with the Diocese's preoccupation with financial management. Khalil Razmara, whose own vigorous ministry needed more funding from the Diocese, expressed his wish to see 'the diocese support ethnic churches as they support ordinary congregations. We would like to be the same as them'.<sup>93</sup> Patience was running out and the delegates asked for 'A diocesan statement on multi-cultural ministry that was not an apology or a budget report'.<sup>94</sup> Characteristically, Andrew Curnow responded that 'So far, we have done some window dressing, but it is behind this public façade that the real problems exist'.<sup>95</sup> He then outlined a vision for closing and selling empty or near-empty churches, making provision for clergy retraining and redundancies, acknowledging how painful this would be. He saw no contradiction in affirming that 'the diocese needed to increase its commitment in the areas of christian education, multicultural ministry, stewardship and income development and planning and social services'<sup>96</sup> and drastically reducing the cross-cultural ministry budget. He explained that these goals could not be

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<sup>91</sup> Cheung, "Vote of 'No Confidence'," 6.

<sup>92</sup> Kuan, "Anglicanism Irrelevant to a Third of Population."

<sup>93</sup> Mason, "Can the Garden of Many Colours Bloom?," 2.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

achieved until 'the resources dilemma was confronted'. Such was his elaboration on 'the importance of vision and long term planning to increase the effectiveness of the church's mission, [once it became] a fitter, leaner church'.<sup>97</sup> There was still some significant distance to conquer between the perspective of those who held the purse strings and those who wished to see stronger investment in cross-cultural ministry.

However, Penman had created a space which the grassroots, especially CALD Anglicans, now claimed as their own. Through articles in the Diocese's newspaper they became more vocal, telling their stories and making their claims for recognition and support. In 1996, the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministry discussed the place that this ministry should be accorded in the following year's sesquicentenary celebrations of the Diocese. It was decided that an approach would be made to Grant, who was writing a history of the Diocese, 'to work on rethinking and rewriting Melbourne's Anglican history for presentation during the 150<sup>th</sup> Celebrations' because the Committee felt that this history 'should emphasise the strong Chinese and Aboriginal ministry roots of the diocese'.<sup>98</sup> This was a significant claim for the ethnic Anglican presence as a long-standing feature in the making of the Diocese rather than a late addition.

Houston may have been unable to persuade the diocesan leadership to invest more funds in cross-cultural ministry, but his review provoked frank discussion about the leadership's interest in this ministry, and the dissatisfaction felt by those committed to it. In retrospect, he wondered if he had crossed 'a bridge too far' on one occasion. As Director of Cross-Cultural Ministry, having been invited to address the Bishops' Council, he ended by

... ma[king] so bold as to issue a final challenge along the lines of 'Gentlemen, ... unless the will to respond is present in this room, we will see no change across the Diocese' or some such impertinence – as true as it was. I was icily thanked and departed in disarray. Just slightly injudicious?<sup>99</sup>

Houston was not part of the establishment and, as one whose work was poorly rewarded by the Diocese, he fought alongside the dedicated supporters of multiculturalism; they rallied around him, CALD clergy being among those expressing their views most forcefully. He restated Penman's argument about the compatibility of biblical teaching and government policy, with reference to the

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> "DMM Advisory Committee Minutes 20 September 1996," (1996). However, Grant proceeded to write *Episcopally Led*, devoting a chapter to each Archbishop and his achievements since the creation of the Diocese.

<sup>99</sup> Houston, *Multicultural Odyssey*, 380.



Hawke government's *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, which was issued after Penman's death in 1989.<sup>100</sup>

On the constructive side, notwithstanding the disappointment it expressed, *Seeds* was not a simple reiteration or exhumation of the goals of *Garden*. Reita Mason judged *Seeds* 'in some ways a more realistic document which views the huge potential for multicultural ministry over against the psychological mind set of the diocese, and the gaping divide between the two dominant streams of churchmanship when addressing the issue of mission'.<sup>101</sup> As an example, Houston had specifically emphasised the pressing need for the Anglo-Catholics and evangelicals to agree on the way to address cross-cultural ministry, especially as this convergence was happening at the global level.<sup>102</sup> *Garden*, on the other hand, was a more optimistic broad plan, focused on possibilities and methods, trustful of the compelling nature of its arguments for the Diocese to be won over.

A significant challenge for cross-cultural ministry in the early 1990s was that the benefits and interpretations of multiculturalism, and the way it was used for political ends were again being contested in the public domain, sending mixed messages to the Christian community. In 1993 Australian professor of Politics, Murray Goot critiqued recent studies by Ian McAllister,<sup>103</sup> Katherine Betts,<sup>104</sup> and L Foster & A Seitz,<sup>105</sup> which gave different interpretations to the findings of an 1988-89 OMA survey of Australian attitudes to multiculturalism. Goot found that, although more Australians supported than opposed multiculturalism, the majority were 'caught somewhere in between', and that respondents associated multiculturalism with a variety of values and practices.<sup>106</sup> He concluded that 'Australians as a whole are neither pro-multicultural nor anti-multicultural. Many, even most, see multiculturalism as something of a mixed bag'.<sup>107</sup> Given the TQ Consultants' findings in 1978 about 29% of Victorians being 'uncertain' about immigrants and therefore possible to influence, and

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<sup>100</sup> Penman, "Address on Multiculturalism." Houston, *Seeds*, 17.

<sup>101</sup> Mason, "Finding the Will to Engage."

<sup>102</sup> "Can the Garden of Many Colours Bloom?."

<sup>103</sup> Ian McAllister, "Public Opinion, Multiculturalism and Political Behaviour in Australia," in *Multicultural Citizens: The Philosophy and Politics of Identity*, ed. C Kukathas (St Leonards: Centre for Independent Studies, 1993).

<sup>104</sup> Katherine Betts, "Australia's Distorted Immigration Policy," in *Multicultural Australia: The Challenges of Change*, ed. D Goodman, D J O'Hearn, and C Wallace-Crabbe (Newham: Scribe, 1991).

<sup>105</sup> L Foster and A Seitz, "The Oma Survey on Issues in Multicultural Australia," *Australian Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (1990).

<sup>106</sup> M Goot, "Multiculturalists, Monoculturalists and the Many in Between: Attitudes to Cultural Diversity and Their Correlates," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 29, no. 2 (1993): 226.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

Hunter's strategy of aiming to win over the third of her constituency who could be open to persuasion, as discussed in Chapter 2, the church should have taken these clues for being more proactive in publicly stating its own interpretation and promotion of multiculturalism, since this ideal represented different things to different people and the majority of people were unsure of its meaning.

One ecumenical body openly revealed an overall conservative religious attitude to multiculturalism. In August 1995 the Galatians Group<sup>108</sup> held a conference in Melbourne, because it had identified an 'urgent' need to stimulate discussion about the way multiculturalism was being managed and politically exploited. The foreword to the proceedings reported the consensus 'that the term "multiculturalism" itself is no longer helpful in addressing the complex issues surrounding the need for national unity and acceptance of racial and cultural diversity'.<sup>109</sup> In 1994 Peter Hollingworth, by then Archbishop of Brisbane, also warned in a newspaper article that multiculturalism tended to stifle debate about issues that were important to Australian life and could lead to 'further fragmentation and social disintegration'.<sup>110</sup> The Melbourne Anglican Diocese did not engage with this debate, as Penman did during his episcopate, but the message that Melbourne Anglicans were receiving was that multiculturalism had already gone too far.

Work continued also on interfaith dialogue by those committed to this ministry. The Gulf War that began in 1990 drew the Diocese's attention to other faiths and cultures, and Huggins, then officially involved in the WCRP, took the initiative to organise a gathering at St Paul's Cathedral to pray for peace, which was attended by church leaders, a Jewish Rabbi and Muslim Imam.<sup>111</sup> For at least four years, the role of the church in promoting domestic and world peace between people of different faiths was discussed intermittently.<sup>112</sup> The fear of a religious war and violent clashes at home also inspired discussions about having and expressing faith in a multifaith environment.<sup>113</sup>

*Seeds* and Houston's ministry also triggered a reality check for the Anglican Diocese. From 1994 onwards the Church's credibility became a burning issue and was linked to its social and spiritual

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<sup>108</sup> The Galatians Group is an ecumenical organisation established in 1994 'to promote public debate on issues dealing with the relation between the Churches and the challenge of Australian civilisation'. Max Champion, "Foreword," in *Multicultural Australia? Ethnic Claims & Religious Values - Proceedings of the Galatians Group Conference* (Armadale, Vic: The Galatians Group Inc, August 1995), i.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Peter Hollingworth, "Moral Vacuum Threatens Liberal State," *The Australian* 8 November 1994, 19.

<sup>111</sup> "Peace Service Draws All Faiths," *See* February 1991, 1.

<sup>112</sup> John Baldock, "Tolerance and the Power of Multi-Faith," *The Melbourne Anglican* March 1995, 5.

<sup>113</sup> Porter, "In Multifaith Australia, Who Is Christ?," 16.

impoverishment, caused by its failure to engage with ethnic communities.<sup>114</sup> There were mentions of a suicidal tendency within the church as it stared at the prospect of continued decline.<sup>115</sup> Anglicans were now in a weaker bargaining position than in the post-war period, and it was no longer possible to sustain the delusions of numerical strength that had persisted into the mid-1970s. The NCLS of 1991 prompted the leadership of the Melbourne Diocese to have a three-day strategic meeting to respond to the decline in membership. Caroline Milburn described the crisis in *The Age*:<sup>116</sup>

White, middle-class and stuffy. The Anglican Church has an image problem. Australia's establishment church is in danger of being strangled by its British roots.

It has remained aloof from multicultural Australia. More than other mainstream churches, its congregation tends to be elderly and of Anglo-Saxon stock. Too many vicars preside over Sunday sermons where 15 people in the congregation is considered a good turn-out.<sup>117</sup>

Several commentators were now associating numerical decline in parishes with their being homogenously white, Anglo-Saxon and elderly; 1995 Bishop Bruce Wilson saw a stark choice for the Church: 'Put bluntly, the crisis of Anglicanism is the question. Does being an Anglican matter a fig any more? If no, then is it better to have the Anglican Church mercifully put down rather than allowing a lingering death to take its course?'<sup>118</sup> One of his observations was that immigration had had a greater effect on the Anglican identity than on others, and 'the most significant impact is that with every increasing social plurality in Australia the Anglican Church appears more and more to be an ethnic, i.e. English Church'.<sup>119</sup> The case for attributing membership decline to the neglect of immigrants was not proven, since the Catholic Church continued to welcome immigrants but was not growing at a proportionate rate, and the hypothesis did not take into account the exodus of young Anglicans to Pentecostal churches. What is significant, however, is that outreach to immigrants had suddenly become a topic of discussion among a generally indifferent leadership, although this new interest was not backed up with a will to allocate resources in that direction. Tying

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<sup>114</sup> Archbishop Keith Rayner, "A Different World, a Different Church," *ibid.* May 1994, 4.

<sup>115</sup> Mason, "Can the Garden of Many Colours Bloom?." Miley, *The Suicidal Church: Can the Anglican Church Survive?* Houston, *Seeds*, 47. Milburn quoted Dillon as saying in typical administrator language, 'If we were to continue the way we are going, we would go out of business...' Caroline Milburn, "Anglicans at the Crossroads," *The Age - News Extra* 18 June 1994, 3.

<sup>116</sup> "Anglicans at the Crossroads," 3.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Wilson, "A Church Losing Its Way?," 9. Rayner made the same observation about being an ethnic church in a multicultural Australia on more than one occasion. Archbishop Keith Rayner, "The Synod Address," *See* 1993. "A Different World, a Different Church," 2.

<sup>119</sup> "A Different World, a Different Church."; Wilson, "A Church Losing Its Way?."

the survival of the Diocese to its cross-cultural ministry was a far cry from Grant's doubts about the necessity 'to visit Chileans, Vietnamese, etc. [and] welcome Finns, Turks and Hindus'<sup>120</sup> and a preference for limiting intercultural contact to arm's length involvement.

Milburn's association of a declining church attendance with the failure to attract CALD Melburnians may have been unproven, however, it was also true that some Anglicans had remained aloof from multiculturalism and Anglophilia was still a dominant trait in the church. Houston found that, nearly a decade after the publication of *Garden*, 'Sometimes it is the perception of the clergy as well as the lay people that the Anglican Church is really only for the "old" Australians. It is hardly surprising that some of these parishes cannot point to a single NESB worshipper. It is almost unthinkable that they would wish to join.'<sup>121</sup> The diocesan newspaper still published occasional letters claiming Anglicans should push for the maintenance of a stronger British and European presence in the Australian population.<sup>122</sup> Rayner used his May 1993 letter to the Diocese to address anxieties over the future of the Australian church if the country should become a republic; addressing the concerns of those who occasionally asked him why prayers for the Queen were being said less often than in the past, he assured them that this did not signify 'a subtle republican propaganda',<sup>123</sup> and encouraged them to continue to pray for the monarch.

## Conclusion

The first half of the nineties was a period of tensions in the Diocese but also of some renewal. Penman's death left many feeling that his unfinished work should be continued, that the only way forward was to strive to deliver on his objectives and to uphold his legacy. Others saw an opportunity to wind back the clock and return to what they saw as the traditional values and forms of Anglicanism.

### *Leadership vacuum in cross-cultural ministry*

A change of leadership necessarily implied some changes of direction, especially in cases when the institution deliberately chose as its leader a person with a different pedigree, vision and priorities.

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<sup>120</sup> Memorandum, Bp James Grant to Archbishop Robert Dann, 'Re Migrant and Ethnic Community Services', 9 November 1977.

<sup>121</sup> Houston, *Seeds*, 82.

<sup>122</sup> Nigel Jackson, "An 'All White' Australia?," *See* March 1994.

<sup>123</sup> 'The Archbishop's letter', May 1993. In May 1993 Labour Prime Minister Paul Keating had appointed a Republic Advisory Committee and had set a time-table to make Australia a republic by 2001. John Warhurst, "From Constitutional Convention to Republic Referendum: A Guide to the Processes, the Issues and the Participants, Research Paper 25 1998-99," (29 June 1999). [https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp9899/99RP25](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp9899/99RP25) (accessed 22 October 2019)

The rejection of Bishop Reid, a kindred soul to Penman in regard to cross-cultural ministry, was very significant for the future of that ministry in the Diocese, as the movement had now not only lost a passionate leader and powerful advocate and but had missed the opportunity to gain a similar successor. However, in addition to the personal differences between Penman and his successor, other factors converged to downgrade cross-cultural ministry in the mission of the Diocese.

### *The place of cross-cultural ministry*

The major recession would have required budget revisions under any leader, however, the priorities set by Rayner and his close advisers saw cross-cultural ministry being downgraded and deprived of resources. Helen Hunter's resignation was caused, at least in part, by the impending drastic cut to her budget and, in turn, it triggered the dismantling of the DMM. The intent to dismantle Penman's divisional structure occasioned discussions which revealed that some leaders considered cross-cultural ministry as a marginal element of the Diocese's mission. The new structure duly pushed this ministry out of its former place among other mainstream ministries into a significantly inferior position, on a budget commensurate with its new status.

### *Seeds Blowing in the Wind*

The recruitment of Houston as Director of CCM, like Hunter's appointment to the DMREA 15 years before, was a remarkable display of pragmatism without conviction on the part of the Diocese. His was a low key and low paid appointment and, like Hunter, he exceeded his brief by investing more into his ministry than was expected of him. However, whereas she had enjoyed Penman's support to expand her ministry from 1984 until his death, Houston's ministry gained from the foundation already laid by him; *Seeds Blowing in the Wind* reignited the passion aroused by Penman and *Garden*.

The loss of their leader may have stirred the supporters of cross-cultural ministry among the grassroots, especially the ethnic Anglican clergy and laity. After the Consultation at Glen Iris and the publication of *Seeds*, in particular, they manifested a new and vocal militancy against the lack of support from the leadership.

CALD ministers continued their vigorous ministries among their cultural and linguistic groups and, unlike the Anglo-Australian congregations, theirs continued to grow. They also showed initiative in developing their own structures, resources and networks, in acknowledgment of the fact that their reliance on the Diocese should be kept to a minimum.

### *'Ethnic Church' in need of more 'ethnics'*

Two developments unrelated to cross-cultural ministry prompted the Diocese to discuss intercultural and interfaith relations. The numerical decline of the church membership, as reported

in the NCLS of 1991, caused concerns that the future of the church, with its image as a dwindling and ageing, white British-Australian minority somehow depended on cross-cultural outreach. By 1995 the church's credibility was thought to depend on its cross-cultural ministry, however, this did not move the leadership to invest more resources into it. The hierarchy was not sufficiently moved to think in terms of making courageous decisions about structures or funding that might make the Diocese more attractive to CALD communities or make its existing CALD members feel more valued and better cared for. Their intentions were good, but unmatched by resolve. In 2018, reflecting about Prime Minister Bob Hawke's failure to deliver on his promise of a treaty to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, trade union leader Bill Kelty said in a televised interview, 'He failed not because his heart wasn't in it, but because his heart wasn't in it enough.'<sup>124</sup> A similar if not greater lack of commitment and will, after Penman's death, stopped the Diocese from passing the point of paying lip service to an active and well-resourced cross-cultural ministry.

Similarly, the fear of religious conflict and the possibility of violence in Australia caused by the Gulf War prompted conversations about interfaith relations. Here again, more was achieved ecumenically than by the Diocese on its own.

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<sup>124</sup> "Hawke: The Larrikin and the Leader," (ABC, 18 February 2018). <https://iview.abc.net.au/show/hawke-the-larrikin-and-the-leader>.

## Conclusion

By analysing the development of a ministry to immigrants and refugees in the Melbourne Diocese between 1975 and 1995, this thesis has shown how it traversed a period of significant challenges for both the church and the Australian nation, and re-examined its own identity and role in increasingly diverse surroundings.

This thesis has been guided by four commonly found perspectives in the historiography of the Australian Anglican Church, namely the baggage of settlement history and the English heritage in the life of the church, the major challenges that beset the church from the 1960s, the theological and doctrinal divisions within the Diocese, and the leadership roles of individuals in determining the Church's direction. From them I developed a loose conceptual framework to demonstrate the confluence of several factors that aided or hindered progress in the development of a cross-cultural ministry. Reference to these aspects of the history of the church helped to show how diverse these factors were and how, in some cases, unrelated to issues of race, ethnicity and culture. Favouring this flexible structure for my discussion over a tight theoretical framework has allowed me the freedom to evaluate the impact of diverse clusters of factors at various times and in different circumstances. At the same time, the occasional analysis of discourse has made it possible to describe a fluid situation whereby the church modulated its own language according to the evolution of secular discourse on multiculturalism, race, culture, ethnicity and nationhood. In my exploration of the Diocese's response to diversity, my finding that there was more discussion about change than actual achievement of change has confirmed the importance of rhetoric in the key players' arguments for and against promoting and practising multiculturalism in the Diocese.

Since my thesis traces a developing situation over a set period, I organised my discussion around a chronological structure, except for the chapter that examined the perspectives and experiences of CALD Anglicans throughout the two decades. This structure facilitated my discussion of vision building as a cumulative process, as each key player entered the scene and made her or his impact, as supporters and opponents reacted to their visions, and external events served to either reinforce the message of multiculturalism or discredit it inside the Church.

## Research questions

The four research questions that underpinned my discussion related to the formulation of a vision or organising principle that, in its various guises, informed the development of the Diocese's cross-cultural ministry, the process of its dissemination and implementation, the challenges it encountered, and its evolution during the period under study.

## **1. What guiding principles underpinned the development of the Diocese's cross-cultural ministry?**

Initially, the Home Mission Board had little interest in and no concept for the Diocese's future engagement with multiculturalism, although Robert Lloyd, the retiring Director of the Immigration Office, had outlined a tentative vision for this ministry. He had argued that it was the duty of the Diocese to serve immigrants of all backgrounds and that its standing in the community would benefit from this. With the creation of the DMREA, a clearer vision began to take shape. Although this vision gained in complexity as circumstances changed and external events served to accentuate some of its aspects, it consistently proclaimed the Diocese's Christian duty to become more inclusive and welcoming of diversity, to be involved at every level from the leadership to the parishes, to amend its structures and culture in order to adapt to social change, and to provide leadership in the community by example and advocacy. Both Hunter, as employee of the Diocese, and Penman, as its leader, built on a vision for the Diocese's embracing of and total immersion in multiculturalism as a philosophy that was both biblically and politically sound, each trying to advocate for this from their respective position within the hierarchy.

This vision did not enjoy unilateral support within the Diocese. I have demonstrated that there was a recognition within the Diocese of the significance of multiculturalism for the broader society but not a shared appreciation of its relevance for the church. Some believed the Diocese could engage with multiculturalism at arm's length and by proxy, and those who discounted the option of evangelising or converting non-Anglican immigrants saw no other meaningful role for the church in that area, except for the dispensation of some measure of charitable support. Others saw the Diocese as inextricably linked to the social environment in which it lived and made a compelling argument for urgent action, if the church were to remain true to its mission, safeguard its relevance in society and avoid severe decline.

One common thread in all these positions was the important contribution they expected of parishes in making the Diocese more multicultural. However, those in the leadership who were strongly committed to cross-cultural ministry believed in providing enough resources for a comprehensive education and motivation program, while others who were less committed were content to delegate the responsibility for intercultural engagement to parishes, at no cost to the Diocese.

The ACMMM had observed a trend in General Synod, reflected in the Melbourne Diocesan Synod and Regional Conference, whereby non-British-Australian Anglicans, women, the young and those



not from the middle or upper classes were inadequately represented, if represented at all.<sup>1</sup> I have shown that, independently of the diocesan hierarchy, some Anglican students, women and immigrants created and upheld their own visions for inclusive and caring Christian living in a multicultural society. The ethnic churches each developed their own visions and sought to nurture and implement them within the constraints but without the support of the diocesan structures.

## **2 How was the vision disseminated by the vision-builders to the rest of the Diocese?**

The method of spreading the message in the Diocese varied according to the position and level of authority of the advocator at the time. Field workers like Helen Hunter and Jim Houston disseminated the vision by promoting and facilitating direct and practical interactions between mainstream parishioners and immigrants. However, apart from their practical work, they also surveyed and reported on the situation in the Diocese vis-à-vis cross-cultural activities and attitudes, using their findings as a teaching tool and submitting this to the hierarchy to inform policy. As the ACMMM had noted, not much of this research had been fed into policy making or even discussed at Synod.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Penman was able to use his position as leader of the Diocese to disseminate the vision through policies to guide and promote cross-cultural ministry as well as to remove barriers to its effectiveness that existed at all levels. The ACMMM aimed at extensive structural reforms to make cross-cultural ministry a central part of the church's mission. Being a clergyman as well as a corporate leader, in his sermons and in communication with the press, Penman emphasised the Christian duty to care for and respect people of all cultures and ethnicities. However, not all bishops were interested or diligent enough in the transmission of their leader's vision to their regions of episcopal care. A few self-motivated clergy, on the other hand, quietly practised an effective and rewarding form of cross-cultural ministry in their own parishes.

Studies of the sociology of religion by Anglican and other scholars helped to reinforce the message to the church and its people, however, the transmission of the vision had to compete with counter messages from outside and sometimes from inside the Church, as public opinion about the benefits of multiculturalism ebbed and flowed.

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<sup>1</sup> *Garden*, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

### **3 What were the difficulties facing the Diocese in its engagement with multiculturalism?**

The obstacles to a unified and purposeful response to multiculturalism were fourfold. First, some conservative elements in the Diocese responded defensively to the idea of engaging too deeply in cross-cultural ministry because they adhered to an old notion of the Church as heir to the ideals and values of the British Empire. Some Anglicans in Melbourne treated cross-cultural ministry as a secondary issue, with only tangential links to their prime concerns. There was no consensus over what exactly constituted the Anglican identity, yet there was a persistent suspicion that, if multiculturalism was made a high priority, some of that identity would be eroded, if not permanently weakened, by any kind of change to the structures or the culture of the Diocese. The second difficulty, closely related to the first, was the theological division and lack of consensus over evangelisation, including that of non-Christian immigrants. During the Penman years, this kind of division overlapped with diocesan politics and personal rivalries, which motivated groups and individuals to oppose or sideline cross-cultural ministry for a range of reasons, many unrelated to the issue of multiculturalism itself. The third issue was the Diocese's defensiveness against the social changes that had begun in the 1960s. The liberalisation of Australian society not only made the Church seem out of touch but one of its products was the contentious push for the ordination of women to the priesthood. The acrimonious debate over this issue robbed cross-cultural ministry of the attention it might otherwise have received and, at the same time, it inspired a defensive reaction to change of any kind. Fourthly, like all organisations involved in the implementation of multicultural ideals, the Diocese experienced the systemic difficulty of translating ideology into action, except that the nature and distribution of authority within the Diocese, characterised as it was by a lack of coercive powers and a heavy reliance on voluntarism, exacerbated the challenge of rolling out its policies in an efficient and impactful way. Internal research showed that the Diocese had not found a way of transmitting to parishes any form of theology of welfare and social responsibility. The data analysed for this thesis does not suggest that the average Anglican was more intolerant or racist than other Australians, however, many showed negligent or negative attitudes towards social support and justice for immigrants that had either been fashioned by Anglican traditions of disengagement with community welfare or were mirrored in the broader public opinion.

### **4. How did the Diocese's approach to cross-cultural ministry evolve during the two decades?**

The shape and evolution of the vision was influenced by the individuals most committed to it, their backgrounds and their engagement with other stakeholders in the field. The vision had to be adjusted according to its reception inside the church and in response to external circumstances,

including political events, shifts in public opinion, and the economic climate. The message gained in force and sophistication as individuals with experience of the ethnic world, and more ethnic voices themselves, commanded more attention and brought new dimensions to what began as a simple exercise of 'charity'. Penman's advocacy and mission was pivotal to the upgrading of cross-cultural ministry to an essential issue for the church, deserving of attention and investment. At first the church asked itself how it should treat immigrants, but this later changed to what it should become because of their presence.

When viewed from a distance, the message about cross-cultural ministry came full circle in at least one respect. While the HMB had argued at one stage in the mid-1970s that the Diocese had neither a responsibility nor an incentive to engage in cross-cultural ministry, Hunter, like Lloyd before her, warned that the Diocese risked damage to its reputation and social isolation if it ignored its multicultural surroundings. Penman maintained that cross-cultural ministry was an essential and central part of the Diocese's mission in its status as church and citizen. Under Rayner, cross-cultural ministry was again relegated to the margins, but the fear of depletion, isolation and loss of reputation caused by the failure to engage with multiculturalism returned.

What did not change was the role of an extraneous dynamic space where individual Anglicans who were visionary, motivated and knowledgeable about society and cultural pluralism continued to come together to work for change. In 1975, Melbourne, the birthplace of multiculturalism, was ebullient with activity in the migrant field, with the EMC as 'the nursery of multiculturalism',<sup>3</sup> while the Anglican Church was disengaged from the city and all its social activism, and from multiculturalism. While the church had remained 'White, middle-class and stuffy [with] an image problem [and] in danger of being strangled by its British roots',<sup>4</sup> there were individual Anglicans, many unidentified, who on their own initiative studied other faiths and passed on their knowledge. Ecumenical groups and their representatives continued to meet to discuss religious faith and multiculturalism from the broad perspective of social and political benefits to Australia. To that extent, the gap between the church and its surroundings persisted and the Diocese remained at odds with its environment, while some of its members found other avenues for exploring and expressing their commitment to cross-cultural ministry. The Anglican ambassadors to external networks continued to build bridges between two unstable planes, even as both planes became more unstable than they had been two decades before.

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<sup>3</sup> Papantoniou, "Multiculturalism's Challenges to the Sydney Anglian Identity."

<sup>4</sup> Milburn, "Anglicans at the Crossroads," 3.

My discussion ends as it began with a contextualisation of the Anglican Church in its culturally diverse environment. In 1975, the Anglican Diocese, like other organisations in Victoria, was struggling to come to terms with cultural diversity. In 1995 it was still divided over the issue of investment into the ideal of multiculturalism, however it was not alone in this form of indecision of the merits of multiculturalism for its future. As discussed in Chapter 6, there were renewed discussions among social and political scientists, in the early 1990s, about the meaning, perceived benefits and dangers of multiculturalism, and the debate was taking place in both the religious and secular contexts. The time for claiming that multiculturalism was mere common sense for Christians appeared to have passed. In 1995 Zubrzycki, who had extensive experience as a consultant on migration issues to governments and other professional organisations, warned that Australia 'looked like entering a time of trouble, even a dark age',<sup>5</sup> and recommended that churches embark on

a serious reassessment of ministries, manpower and other resources to see how their potential can be brought to bear most effectively on the problems of race and politics; training during the years of formation through personal experience of the practical problems of the inner city where immigrants live; the persistent teaching and preaching of inter-racial justice; and co-operation with all, whoever they may be, non-Christians or non-believers, who make substantial contributions to the cause of inter-racial justice and charity.<sup>6</sup>

This pointed to a greater leadership role for the church in fostering social justice, harmony and social cohesion in Australia's diverse society, and not a retreat from the principles of *Garden* towards a low-cost and inward-looking ministry, content with tolerating ethnic congregations and wishing it could achieve numerical growth by attracting more CALD Melburnians into the church.

## Beyond 1995

In the twenty-first century, interfaith entente and the role of organised religions in engendering social cohesion and denouncing religiously and racially based violence are recognised as critical issues for Australia. In 2016 a pro-multiculturalism Anglican bishop offered the Geelong Muslim community the use of a decommissioned church when its mosque was destroyed by fire,<sup>7</sup> even as other groups, including some Pentecostal Christians, continue to oppose the building of mosques in

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<sup>5</sup> Jerzy Zubrzycki, "Multi-Racial Australia: A Christian Perspective," in *Multicultural Australia? Ethnic Claims & Religious Values - Proceedings of the Galatians Group Conference* (Armada, Vic: The Galatians Group Inc, August 1995), 127.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>7</sup> "Anglicans Reach out to Geelong Muslims Following Mosque Fire," *TMA* May 2016.

certain areas of Melbourne.<sup>8</sup> Nowadays the Faith Communities Council of Victoria brings together representatives of many faiths and has as its mission to promote social harmony, interfaith entente, and the right of individuals to practise their faith. Mosques and other places of religious worship hold open days to educate the public about their faiths, interfaith services are held to show support for victims of religious hatred, the right to worship in safety is generally accepted and upheld, and the issue of what is permissible in the expression of faith can command extensive media attention.<sup>9</sup> These are all signs that religious faith and religious diversity are more relevant to Australian life than ever and merit academic attention. Many if not all the above issues were first raised within the setting and period of my study.

The Australian Anglican Church will continue to redefine itself as it has done in the past, and to find the process painful. Achieving agreement over the constitution for the Australian Church was protracted. After listening to the warring dioceses in 1951, the Archbishop of Canterbury felt compelled to write to the Australian Church, urging it to seek its autonomy.

Despite its filial relationship with the Church of England, Archbishop Fisher persuaded the Australian bishops that their church had reached a point in its life when it had to face the world on its own.<sup>10</sup>

Since the Australian church heard this call to show maturity, Australian-born bishops have gradually replaced those imported from Britain, and the Australian church has adopted its own liturgy. In 1993, John Davis, who had discussed the long and arduous task of formulating and agreeing on the 1962 Constitution, heralded more developments arising from the tensions over 'achiev[ing] change without sacrificing organisational continuity'. He reflected that 'Current Australian Anglican problems include discussion of the possibility of a break with the 1962 constitutional arrangements on this very issue. As things stand in the early 1990s there appears to be less of a consideration of continuity **and** change than that of continuity **versus** change'.<sup>11</sup> As society changes, so the church is challenged to review its response. In the 2010 decade, debates over the church's handling of the alleged sexual abuse of minors by clergy, over euthanasia and LGBTQI issues have all led to some

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<sup>8</sup> Vince Chadwick, "Plan for Mosque Draws Anti-Islam Sentiment," *The Age* 20 December 2012. <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/plan-for-mosque-draws-anti-islam-sentiment-20121220-2bpku.html> (accessed 18 July 2019). See also Lisa Martin, "A Blessing in Disguise? Bendigo at Peace with Its Mosque after Years of Far-Right Protest," *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/jul/30/a-blessing-in-disguise-bendigo-at-peace-with-its-mosque-after-years-of-far-right-protest>. (accessed 11 September 2019).

<sup>9</sup> "Israel Folau's Posts About 'Homosexuals' and 'Sinners' Draws Criticism from Rugby Union Figures and Fans," <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-11/israel-folau-slammed-over-latest-anti-gay-comments/10991574>.

<sup>10</sup> Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," 119.

<sup>11</sup> Davis, *Australian Anglicans*, 1.

reconsideration of the church's position. In view of these ongoing revisions and adjustments, it does well not to neglect cross-cultural ministry while it attends to other issues that it judges potentially more damaging.

Sociology Professor Jan Pakulski warned 'that while tolerant cultural pluralism has always been a central feature of Australian society and culture, this pluralism needs more deliberate and systemic cultivation'.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, Penman's comments about the state's obligations also apply to the church: 'It is now realised that [the goals of multiculturalism] need to be pursued by careful government planning, in collaboration with those whose interests are involved ... and with the commensurate commitment of public resources'.<sup>13</sup> In other words, the moral and social principles of multiculturalism that are supported by Scripture must be continually upheld, transmitted and reinforced, and this demands ongoing dialogue with cultural groups, government and the public at large, as well as purposeful investment of funds and resources from authorities that claim to play a leadership role in justice and peace.

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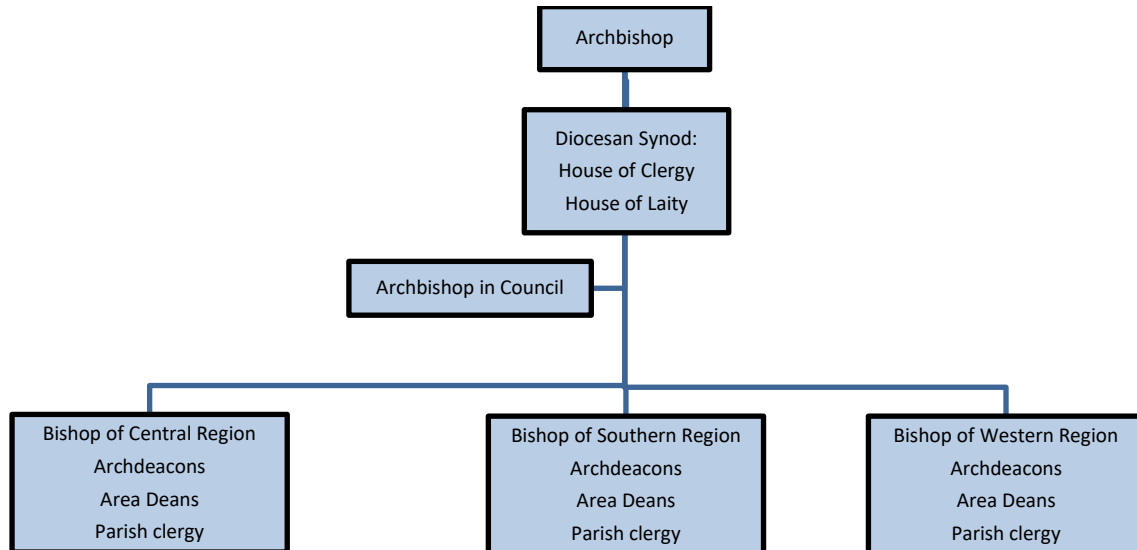
<sup>12</sup> Pakulski, "Confusions About Multiculturalism."

<sup>13</sup> Address by David Penman on multiculturalism at the School of Christian Studies at Macquarie University, Sydney, 3 July 1989. Nichols, *David Penman: Bridge Builder*, 232.

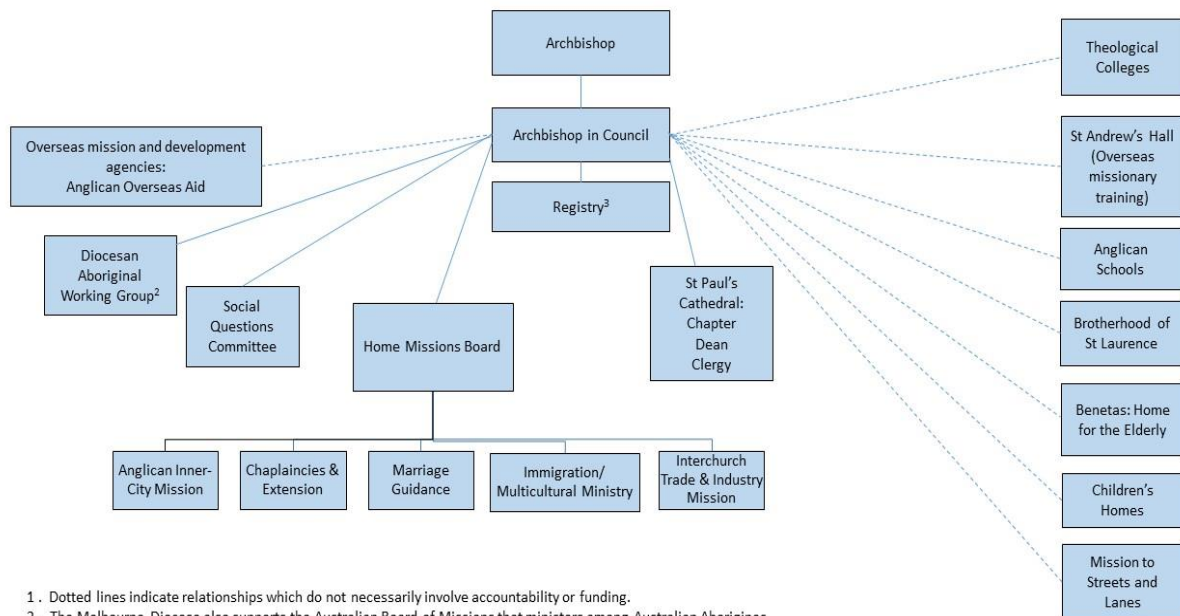
## Appendix I

### Governance Structure of the Melbourne Anglican Diocese in 1983

Diocese of Melbourne -Regional Structure



Diocese of Melbourne – Administrative Structure and Agencies<sup>1</sup>



1. Dotted lines indicate relationships which do not necessarily involve accountability or funding.

2. The Melbourne Diocese also supports the Australian Board of Missions that ministers among Australian Aborigines

3. The Registry is responsible for the financial and administrative affairs of the Diocese, including partial or full funding for various missions and agencies

The Anglican Church of Australia, as a branch of the worldwide Anglican Communion, is completely autonomous as is each of its dioceses. It acknowledges the Archbishop of Canterbury as the titular head of the Anglican Communion but has no formal or legal ties to the Church of England. The Australian Church is divided into Provinces, which are subdivided into administrative districts called dioceses, each led by a Bishop and governed by a synod, on which clergy and laity are represented. The General Synod, presided by the Primate, an archbishop elected to the position and considered first among equals, is a national governing body on which each diocesan Synod is represented. Provincial and General Synods have no actual legislative powers and their resolutions only bind the dioceses that accept them. The Archbishop of Canterbury has no coercive powers over the Anglican Church of Australia any more than the Australian Primate has over the dioceses that form part of the national body.

The chain of command, such as exists, is neither very tractable nor very strong, especially in comparison with those of the Catholic and Uniting Churches.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Melbourne presides over the Province of Victoria, which in the period under consideration included the dioceses of Melbourne, Ballarat, Bendigo, Wangaratta, Gippsland and Tasmania. Each diocesan Synod, officially described as 'a bishop acting with the advice and consent of representatives of the clergy and laity of the diocese'<sup>2</sup> comprises a House of Laity and a House of Clergy, and follows the Westminster model.

Synod meets annually for discussion and decisions on administrative matters, including budget, and any issues of concern, and elects individuals to a number of boards, committees and agencies to which it delegates responsibility for various aspects of its work.

Halfway through the period of this thesis (1983), the Diocese of Melbourne was a conglomeration of 230 parishes, 'swearing allegiance to the Faith and obedience to the Archbishop of Melbourne'.<sup>3</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Pope has supreme and complete power and jurisdiction to decide questions of faith and morals and to arrange the discipline of the universal Church. The power of the Pope *extends* over every single church, every single bishop and pastor, every one of the faithful.'  
<http://www.catholicbook.com/AgredaCD/MyCatholicFaith/mcfc057.htm> downloaded 16 April 2016. The National Assembly of the Uniting Church, whose chief officer is the General Secretary 'has determining responsibility for matters of doctrine, liturgy and government and discipline including the promotion of the Church's mission, the establishment of standards of theological training and reception of ministers from other communions and the taking of further measures towards the wider union of the Church. It makes the guiding decisions on the tasks and authority to be exercised by other councils'. [Assembly – Uniting Church of Australia 1992, paragraph 15 (e)]. 'The Synod is basically the State council of the church'. Cited in Peter Bentley, Peter Bentley and Philip Hughes, *The Uniting Church in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996), 35-37.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.melbourneanglican.org.au/Whoweare/Governance/Pages/governance.aspx>, (accessed 14 May 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Hunter, *Challenges*. P 6.



the early 1980s they were divided into three regions each with its own regional bishop: the Western Region had 72 parishes, the Central Region 85 and the Southern Region 72. The 1981 census revealed the presence of 777,852 Anglicans in Victoria, or 20% of the State population.

## Appendix II

The English Church, originally part of the Roman Catholic Church, severed its ties with Rome in the sixteenth century, after a quarrel between King Henry VIII and Pope Clement VII. Later that century it was formally established as the Church of England and, influenced by the Reformation movement in Europe, considered itself a via media between Catholic and Reformed or Protestant approaches.

### Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics

Although independent of Rome, under Henry VIII the Church had maintained the Anglo-Catholic theology and worship practices but, under successive monarchs, the Church found itself under the influence of two opposing schools of thought, which exist to this day. Evangelicals see the mission of every church member as urging sinners to repent, preaching the gospel and bringing salvation to non-believers through conversion. To evangelise means to win souls for Christ by preaching the gospel. Anglo-Catholics, on the other hand, are more faithful to the Roman tradition, based on a doctrine that considers the church as having a mediatory role between God and people, and ascribes special status and powers to ordained priests. For them, church members relate to God through sacraments, or ceremonies with special and traditional meanings, usually performed by ordained clergy.

### High church and low church

The difference between high and low church overlaps, but is not necessarily synonymous, with the difference between evangelism and Anglo-Catholicism. Most evangelical churches tend to belong to the low church category in that they prescribe the wearing of plain clerical vestments during services, and place little emphasis on church ornaments, rituals and sacraments. Anglo-Catholics, on the other hand, are usually high church in style and look for 'the beauty and mystery of Catholic worship' in ornate church décors, rich clerical vestments, elaborate rituals and stylised singing like chanting.

To this day, the Anglican Church includes adherents to these two streams and a range of combinations between them. In Australia, the Sydney Diocese is the most strictly evangelical and low church, the South Australian Province distinctly high church, and the Melbourne Diocese the most diverse, including as it does, both extremes and several variations in between.

## Appendix III

Figure 9 Anonymous File Note late 1976/early 1977

### FUTURE OPERATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT OF THE DIOCESE OF MELBOURNE

#### SOME CONSIDERATIONS

The establishment of an Immigration Department for the Diocese of Melbourne was prompted by the need to service the large numbers of British migrants emigrating to Australia throughout the fifties and sixties. Melbourne was not alone in this: in Perth and Sydney similar diocesan Departments were established, while in Adelaide a very active chaplaincy operated. Functions of sponsoring, welcoming, visiting, counselling, caring and publicising, together with programmes of community and church education and representation were undertaken most effectively.

However, the decline in the seventies in the proportion of British migrants (now only 36% of all arrivals) and the greater availability of government services has forced a review of services in other dioceses. As a result in both Perth and Sydney the diocesan Immigration Department has been merged with other welfare services. The argument has been propounded (notably by Archbishop Sambell) and accepted, that migrants require our caring, not because they are migrants, but because they have a need. Consequently, specific migrant Welfare Services have been discontinued in Perth and Sydney.

So far as Melbourne is concerned, this general line of policy might be followed, namely, that we should cease to provide directly the present general welfare and counselling services. It is a difficulty that we have nothing comparable to the Perth Anglican Welfare Services or the Sydney Home Missions Counselling Service. However, St. John's Homes Care Force would be prepared to accept some specific responsibility for migrants in need.

This leaves what might broadly be termed Representational Services. In Sydney these are provided by one full-time officer of the Home Missions department who arranges a limited amount of

welcoming but who spends most of his time working with parishes in the development of awareness, of church and community discussion of migrant issues, of local visiting and support schemes, and in representing the diocese on migration bodies. There is much to be said for continuing these functions at a diocesan level in Melbourne and also for extending Anglican relations with ethnic communities. The Diocese already participated indirectly in this work through the V.C.C. Ecumenical Migration Centre (from whom an application has been received seeking direct funding). However there is great need for Anglican parishes, especially in suburbs with a high ethnic content, to be helped to relate to Christians and neighbours of other cultural and religious origins.

A possible restructuring of the Immigration Department might well see the dismantling of the present welfare-oriented central office and the establishment in an inner-suburban parish of an Anglican Resource Centre on Migration. This might be operated by an inner-city Vicar with light parish commitments, but would probably require the services of at least a part-time administrative officer. At the same time consideration should be given to making a grant to the Ecumenical Migration Centre which has grown out of the European Australian Christian Fellowship established by Archbishop Sambell when in Melbourne and now headed by the Reverend Peter Hollingworth.

Mr. Frank Garforth, the Resource Officer for Migrants within Sydney Home Missions, works with an Advisory Committee and it would seem necessary to offer this support to whomsoever is responsible for the Diocese's continuing participation in the migration field.

#### POSSIBLE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the present central welfare-oriented Immigration Department be discontinued at 31st December, 1977.
2. That an Anglican Resource Centre on Migrants and Migrant Issues be established in an inner-city parish with at least a part-time Director and part-time Administrative Officer.
3. That a grant be made to the Ecumenical Migration Centre.
4. That an Advisory Committee be appointed to work with the Director of the Migration Resource Centre.

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With Ethics Approval Ref: CF15/129 – 201500006, thirty-one interviews were conducted and partially transcribed. Excluding two clergymen and two lay persons who asked to remain anonymous, the following interviews were conducted:

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Ball, John	30 December 2016
Brooking, Joan	8 February 2017
Browning, the Rev'd Ron	27 April 2017
Cheung, the Rev'd Rick	7 June 2016
Conolly, the Rev'd David	2 December 2016
Davis, the Ven Dr John	31 July 2017
Dongalen, the Rev'd Geoffrey	13 December 2016
Donohoue-Clyne, Dr Irene	22 March 2017
Edgar, the Rev'd Don	10 May 2016
Francis, Bette	25 May 2016
Grutzner, Angela	1 February 2017
Hassing, the Rev'd André	16 April 2016
Hookey, Beth	24 January 2016
Houston, the Rev'd Jim	19 April 2016
Hunter, the Rev'd Helen	31 January 2015
Kerr, the Rev'd Harry	14 December 2016
Nichols, the Ven Alan	19 April 2016
Peeler Eleanor	7 September 2017
Penman, the Rev'd Jean	2 May 2016
Pilmer, the Rev'd Jim	28 November 2016
Razmara, the Rev'd Khalil	28 April 2016
Samuel, Pastor Hilda	5 May 2016
Samuel, the Rev'd Paul	3 May 2016
Spitteler, David	27 April 2016
Yu, the Rev'd Professor Victor and Mrs Winnie	25 April 2016

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