

**METHODISTS AND REVIVALISM  
IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1838-1939:  
THE QUEST FOR 'VITAL RELIGION'**

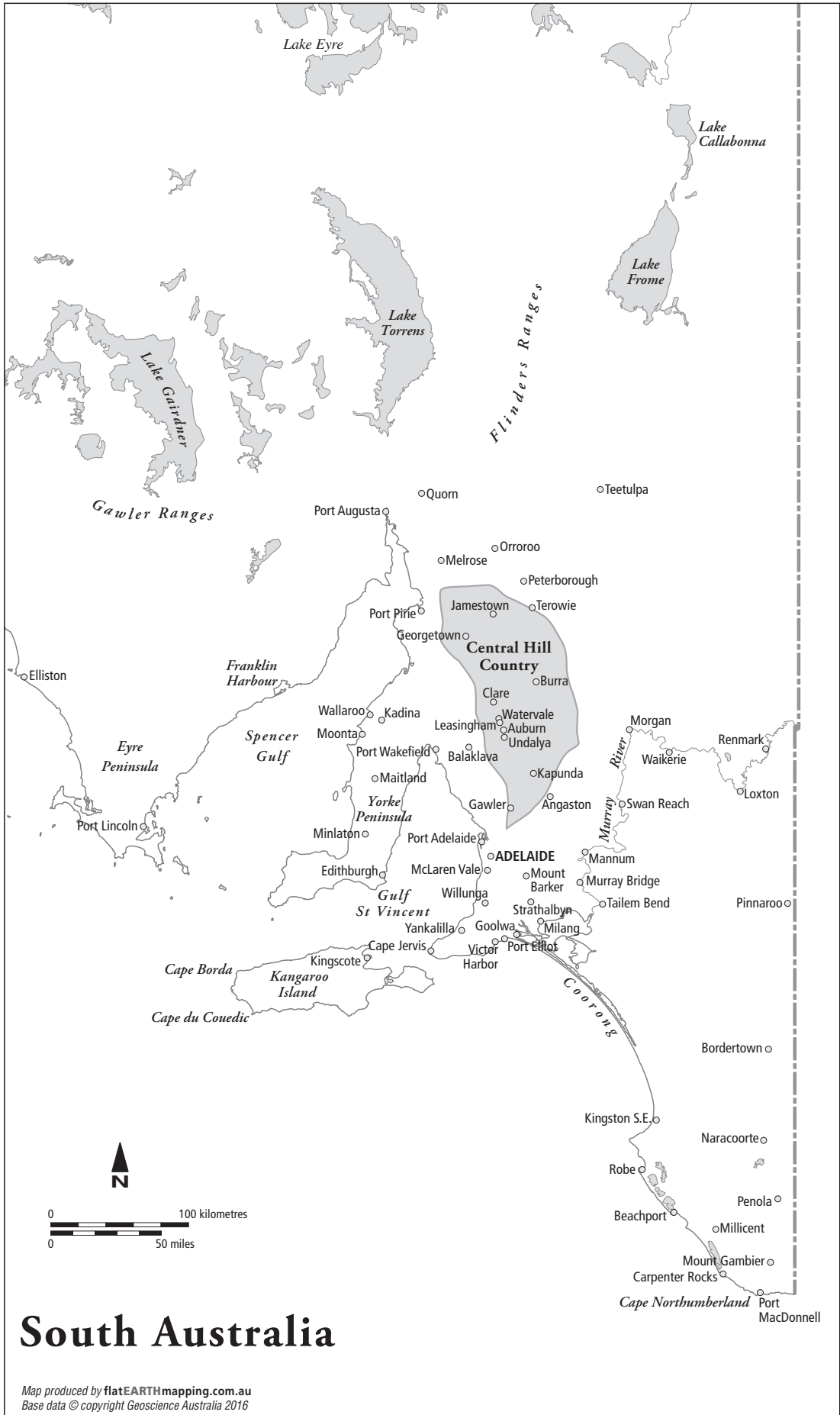
**Brian Chalmers**

BA (Mil.) (UNSW)  
BTh (Flinders), MA (Flinders)  
Grad. Dip. Pastoral Studies (Adelaide College of Divinity)

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Flinders University

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Methodism was the most vigorous religious group in South Australia with the largest body of regular church attenders and Sunday school enrolments. A handful of Methodists were present at the commencement of the colony in 1836. By 1900, self-described Methodists comprised 25 per cent of the state's population, and hovered around the same figure through to 1939. This thesis explores the contribution of revivalism to conversionary growth and institutional expansion in the period from 1838, with the first recorded religious revival, to 1939. It results from a conviction that the study of revivalism within Methodism has received too little attention from historians. It is argued in this thesis that revivalism provided the Methodist churches with an effective methodology for conversionary growth in the quest for 'vital religion' – a religion of the heart.

This study includes a chronology of recorded revival activities. Collation of the evidence has depended in large part on Steve Latham's taxonomy of revival. His six distinguishing forms of revival events provided the methodological framework for arranging and categorising the relevant information. The narrative includes a selective utilisation of both statistics and topics relevant to the argument. In addition, an 'Annual Conversion Index' locates each revival within its denominational context, while an examination of the number of reported conversions against membership data also enables an assessment of the contribution of revivalism to denominational growth. The main sources for reported conversions, membership, and narrative information were denominational periodicals and church statistics.

Part One examines the place of revivalism in the initial colonial period from 1838 to 1865, with particular reference to the foundational elements within South Australian Methodism which aided revivalism. Part Two covers the period from 1866 to 1913. This examines the contribution of specialist revivalists of international or Australian origin who conducted large-scale missions in Adelaide alongside the revivals that occurred in rural and suburban Methodist circuits as the result of local evangelistic preaching. Part Three, from 1914 to 1939, examines how traditional

revivalism adapted to various challenges, both intellectual and internal. There was diminished revival activity in the inter-war period. The thesis demonstrates that revivalism was far more extensive than previously thought, and was a very significant factor in the numerical growth of South Australian Methodism during the period studied.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACC</i>	<i>Australian Christian Commonwealth</i>
<i>ADB</i>	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>
<i>ADEB</i>	<i>Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography</i>
<i>CW&amp;MJ</i>	<i>Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal</i>
<i>MJ</i>	<i>Methodist Journal</i>
<i>PMR</i>	<i>Primitive Methodist Record</i>
<i>SABCMag</i>	<i>South Australian Bible Christian Magazine (1867-1891)</i>
<i>SABCMon</i>	<i>South Australian Bible Christian Monthly (1892-1900)</i>
<i>SAPMR</i>	<i>South Australian Primitive Methodist Record</i>
<i>SAPP</i>	<i>South Australian Parliamentary Papers</i>
<i>SAPM</i>	<i>South Australian Primitive Methodist</i>
<i>SAWM</i>	<i>South Australian Wesleyan Magazine</i>
<i>SLSA</i>	State Library of South Australia
<i>SRG</i>	Society Record Group (SLSA)
<i>YMCA</i>	Young Men's Christian Association

## DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Brian J. Chalmers  
28 February 2016

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# INTRODUCTION

This thesis finds its origin in the teaching of the late Rev. Dr. Arnold D. Hunt on nineteenth-century South Australian Methodism, which he delivered to ministerial candidates of the Uniting Church in Australia in 1981. Over the next thirty years, amid reports of declining church attendances, the growth of Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement within Australia, and a desire often articulated by many in the churches for a "revival", I became convinced that a re-examination of South Australian Methodist revivalism needed to be undertaken. In my experience as a church minister, which often included attempts to apply the latest church growth methods, I found little in the literature to suggest an appreciation of the methods, experience, or rationale employed by Australian churches since colonial days to propagate the faith in a new land. In addition, there was a general understanding that religious revivals were relatively unknown in Australia. Hence, the challenge to investigate the extent of Methodist revivalism in South Australia from the time of the first recorded revival in 1838 to the Second World War (1838-1939).

In this period, Methodism looked for and utilised the revival, whether of the spontaneous popular type or the arranged planned measure, to promote "vital religion". The following three statements, which refer to the beginning, middle, and end of the period, are indicative of a sustained interest in revivals:

The first Lovefeast was held on June 3, 1838, presided over by Mr. Abbott. It was a most blessed season. Many testified with tearful eyes and grateful hearts of their Christian experience, rejoicing in their happy assurance of an interest in the redemption by Jesus Christ and in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit to sanctify and save. This Lovefeast was soon followed by a glorious revival in the Circuit. A Sunday-school was established, and many young persons, as well as older grown, were added to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

In July 1878, the editor of the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record*

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<sup>1</sup> David Nock, *The Life of Pastor Abbott* (Adelaide: Hussey & Gillingham, 1909), 16. The Lovefeast and associated revival took place eighteen months after the colony of South Australia was proclaimed on 28 December 1836, and approximately five months before the unexpected arrival of the first Wesleyan minister, the Rev. William Longbottom in August 1838. Jacob Abbott was a local preacher with a "burning passion for souls". Along with another local preacher, John C. White, as lay superintendent, the two were instrumental in establishing a Wesleyan presence before Longbottom's arrival. See *ACC*, 28 May 1937, 2.

observed:

Religious life is by no means vigorous in South Australia. From all parts of the land there comes a complaint of the low state of religion in the province. Not Primitive Methodism alone, but almost all churches complain of a general declension and deadness. The church's great need is for a widespread and permanent revival of religion.<sup>2</sup>

In 1938, while reviewing the work of the Methodist Church in South Australia, the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* remarked:

From far and near, in spite of the unsolved problems and the undeniable frustration of humanity come the evidences of revival. Revival is a great religious word, and today, as we believe, it has a noble connotation. Most definitely, the battle is not lost.<sup>3</sup>

These three statements raise the principal question of this thesis, namely, what was the extent and nature of Methodist revivalism? This thesis claims that little attention has been paid by historians to Methodist revivalism in South Australia in the period 1838 to 1939. It will demonstrate that revivalism was more significant than previously thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It will then analyse the reasons for the decline in revivalism up to the Second World War. Finally, the study will help clarify the meaning of the term 'vital religion' and its relationship to revivalism within the South Australian context.

## **Purpose of Methodism**

As revivalism is the focus of this thesis, it is important to locate the revival within the broader context of the purpose of Methodism. In the statement above about the work of Jacob Abbott in 1838, the author, David Nock, refers to the 'presence and power of the Holy Spirit to sanctify and save'. The reference to 'sanctification' (growth in holiness or being made like God), relates to the goal of Wesleyan Methodism in the early nineteenth century, understood as the 'spread of scriptural holiness through the land'. This statement of purpose, derived from Methodism's founder, John Wesley (1703-1791), and re-stated at the 1820 and 1835 English Wesleyan Methodist Conferences, provided the objective goal of Methodist

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<sup>2</sup> *SAPMR*, July 1878, 227-228.

<sup>3</sup> *ACC*, 9 September 1838, 1.

mission activity throughout the world.<sup>4</sup> To Methodists, holiness was exemplary moral conduct, which emphasised love for God and people, and which began with conversion.<sup>5</sup> It continued throughout all of life and was progressive in nature. However, holiness or entire sanctification could also be understood as a distinct second work of grace subsequent to conversion, which should be sought by believers. Both aspects (two stages) were present in colonial Methodist preaching.<sup>6</sup>

The second part of the statement referred to save or the salvation of souls. This was vitally important to early Methodists. Hence John Wesley's admonition to his followers: "You have nothing to do but to save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work."<sup>7</sup> Although estranged from God because of sin, people could be reconciled through conversion.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, the salvation of souls was a priority for Methodist preachers, for whom the preaching of the gospel was the chief method of winning converts.<sup>9</sup> For Wesley, conversion led on to holiness. In Wesley's words, the goal was to "bring as many sinners as you possibly can to repentance, and, with all your power, to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord."<sup>10</sup> Holiness of life, therefore, was both the evidence and the object of the Christian life.<sup>11</sup> Holiness was one of the marks of a Methodist minister. When the Rev. John Thorne died in 1914, one who had known him in his youth said of him: "Because of his influence we aimed higher, we cherished loftier ideals, we thought nobler thoughts, we lived cleaner and better lives."<sup>12</sup> Effective preaching of the

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<sup>4</sup> John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley* (New York: Mason and Lane, 1839), v, 212. Henry W. Williams, *The Constitution and Polity of Wesleyan Methodism: being a Digest of its Laws and Institutions brought down to the Conference of 1880* (London: Wesleyan Conference Centre, 1880), 117, 313. The Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians had similar statements.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Collins, *John Wesley: a Theological Journey* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2003), 186-189.

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of the place of the doctrine of entire sanctification within Australian Methodism from its colonial beginnings to the mid-nineteenth century see, Glen O'Brien, "Christian Perfection and Australian Methodism" in Sean Winter ed. *Immense, Unfathomed, Unconfined: The Grace of God in Creation, Church and Community* (Melbourne: Uniting Academic Press, 2013), 234-248.

<sup>7</sup> *Large Minutes*, 1797, 678.

<sup>8</sup> John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998), v, 76.

<sup>9</sup> D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 5.

<sup>10</sup> Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., viii, 310. See also, the *Handbook of the Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church*, 1877, 78 for the inclusion of Wesley's words.

<sup>11</sup> Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., viii, 366-446.

<sup>12</sup> ACC, 4 September 1914. Well known throughout the mid and far-north of South Australia during the 1870s to 1890s, Thorne (a Bible Christian) ministered in such places as Riverton, Gladstone, Crystal Brook, and Port Augusta.

gospel, which produces converts who then progress in holiness, was the goal of Methodism. Conversion was the entry-point to a life of holiness, an essential component of the spread of Methodist piety. The emphasis within Methodism on conversion and growth in holiness was essential to understanding the nature and purposes of the church, which the Oecumenical Methodist Conference (London, 1881) defined as:

A divine institution for the salvation of men, by clear conversions and entire sanctification [holiness], through faith in Christ, by the power of the Holy Ghost, by continued growth in grace, and by the constant, faithful labours of all its members.<sup>13</sup>

Conversion and growth in Christ (holiness) formed a summary statement of the two stages in the religious life of the Methodist. The first centred on justification and the new birth, the second on sanctification, where, under grace, perfection is possible in this life.<sup>14</sup>

On the wider evangelical canvas, conversion was similarly important. David Bebbington has characterised evangelicalism as 'conversionist', asserting that 'conversion was the one gateway to vital Christianity'.<sup>15</sup> John Wolffe, in his assessment of the spread of evangelicalism in North America from 1790 to 1820, states that 'revivals did not on their own account for the expansion of evangelicalism, but they were showing themselves to be an important factor in its growth'.<sup>16</sup> Wolffe makes a similar claim for the period 1820 to 1850, particularly in relation to Methodist expansion, which resulted from a 'more universal and enthusiastic embrace of revivals'.<sup>17</sup> Revivals and popular multi-day camp meetings on the American frontier persuaded Francis Asbury (1745-1816) in the early nineteenth century of the value of revivalism to produce converts as a means of Methodist

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<sup>13</sup> 'Address of the Oecumenical Conference', *Proceedings of the Oecumenical Methodist Conference*, (Hamilton: S. G. Stone, 1882), 582-587. This address was published in full in the *SABCM*, February 1882, 57-61. Notes on Conference proceedings appeared in the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record*, January 1882, 205-211. The Conference was widely reported on in the colony. See *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 12 November 1881, 7-8.

<sup>14</sup> William J. Abraham, 'Christian Perfection', in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 587-601.

<sup>15</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2006), 67.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

growth.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the importance of the revival and conversionism to stimulate Methodist expansion occurred in England as well. In the second half of the nineteenth century and first few years of the twentieth, the growth of Methodism was marked by a pattern of pulsation, with high rates of growth in years when revival was common.<sup>19</sup> The ability of the revival to deliver conversions and its inherent power to effect change, widely understood and looked for within international Methodism, inspired the 1881 London Oecumenical Methodist Conference to call on worldwide Methodism to cry out to God night and day for a great awakening, for a revival that shall shake the nations.<sup>20</sup> We can say, therefore, that revivalism was an intensification of Methodist ministry with the aim of saving souls or producing converts.

Methodism pursued revivalism because of its ability to produce converts and subsequent denominational growth. After Wesley, Jabez Bunting (1779-1858), the notable and cautious Wesleyan leader, referred to revivals as spiritual thunderstorms while he counselled against excess emotionalism.<sup>21</sup> Chadwick states that Methodists confessed that every preacher ought to be at heart a revivalist.<sup>22</sup> The English Methodist scholar, Gordon S. Wakefield (1921-2000), claimed that nineteenth-century worldwide Methodism made a perennial call for revival, revival, and still more revival.<sup>23</sup> In his analysis of revivals in Methodist churches in the cities and large towns of eastern America in the first thirty years of the nineteenth-century, Richard Carwardine concluded that Methodism was wholeheartedly a revival movement: it had been born out of revival; its churches grew through revivals; its ministers preached revival; and its success was talked of in terms of revival.<sup>24</sup> Throughout North America, Martin Marty credits the rapid expansion of Methodism

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<sup>18</sup> J. Wigger, *American Saint: Francis Asbury and the Methodists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005), 99.

<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings of the Oecumenical Methodist Conference*, 1881, 583-587.

<sup>21</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970), 378-379.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 378.

<sup>23</sup> Gordon S. Wakefield, *Methodist Devotion: The Spiritual Life in the Methodist Tradition 1791-1945* (London: Epworth Press, 1966), 60.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centres: An Examination of Methodism and the New Measures," *Journal of American History* 59, no. 2 (September 1972): 327-340, at 330.

in the nineteenth-century to the impact of numerous revivals.<sup>25</sup> Interest in revivalism as invoking activity from above and conversion narratives, often known for accounts of physical manifestations and spiritual experiences, also attracted interest beyond institutional churches.<sup>26</sup> Wherever Methodism founded societies and established a presence, enthusiastic gospel preaching and prayer created an expectation that revivals would occur and result in many conversions.<sup>27</sup> Just eighteen months after the colony of South Australia commenced, a revival among the colonists in 1838 resulted in conversions and accelerated growth for the early Methodists. Sixty-three years later, while reflecting on his life's ministry throughout Australia, including three years in Adelaide (1862-1865), the Methodist evangelist, John Watsford (1820-1907), claimed that if we went through our Church today, we should find that the majority of our members were converted in revivals<sup>28</sup>

We can say, therefore, that in Methodism, revivals were a vital part of producing converts who then went on to build a life characterised by holiness. Clearly, for Methodists, revivals meant soul-winning and holiness. For many Methodists, the spiritual experience of the revival-induced conversion was an important part in verifying and validating many people's religious faith<sup>29</sup> However, the spiritually and temporally astute Wesley observed that growth in holiness was neither guaranteed, uniform, nor continuous. He pointed out that revivalism, prosperity, and indifference, often intersected the life of the vital religionist:

I fear, wherever riches have increased, (exceeding few are the exceptions,) the essence of religion, the mind that was in Christ, has decreased in the same proportion. Therefore do I not see how it is possible, in the nature of things, for any revival of true religion to continue long. For religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality; and these cannot but produce riches. But as riches increase, so will pride, anger, and love of the

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<sup>25</sup> Martin Marty, "North America" in John McManners, ed. *Oxford Dictionary of Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 396-436.

<sup>26</sup> William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1917), 186-253. Quote from 223.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), 158-161.

<sup>28</sup> John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901), 133. Stuart Piggin associated John Watsford with numerous revival meetings throughout Sydney and country New South Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Stuart Piggin, "Local Revivals in Australia" *Renewal Journal* 2 (1993): 35-42.

<sup>29</sup> Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 173.

world in all its branches. How, then, is it possible that Methodism, that is, the religion of the heart, though it flourishes now as a green bay-tree, should continue in this state? For the Methodists in every place grow diligent and frugal; consequently, they increase in goods. Hence they proportionately increase in pride, in anger, in the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eyes, and the pride of life. So, although the form of religion remains, the spirit is swiftly vanishing away. Is there no way to prevent this? This continual declension of pure religion?<sup>30</sup>

Wesley's followers answered their founder's question with a perennial call for revival. Hence, the importance of the revival, predicated on loss, deterioration, and spiritual vacuity, to restore vitality in the church.

This thesis will examine the nature of revivalism within South Australian Methodism from 1838 to 1939, including its ability to generate conversionary growth and institutional expansion. The theme of holiness is not the primary object of this study, although how it worked itself out in the life of the Methodist affected the practice of revivalism, and therefore warrants some investigation.

## Context

Overall, little has been written on the topic of revivals with respect to Australian religious history. According to the Australian historian Stuart Piggin, one of the stereotypes about Australian Christianity is that there has never been a religious revival in Australia.<sup>31</sup> Piggin, however, suggests that they have been relatively frequent throughout the history of Australia, and identifies thirty-one revivals that occurred in five states between 1834 and 1869.<sup>32</sup> Arnold Hunt, author of the standard

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<sup>30</sup> Letter from John Wesley to an unnamed clerical correspondent dated 4 August 1786, "Thoughts Upon Methodism" quoted by John Emory in *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley*, American edn., vol. VII (New York: Emory and Waugh, 1831), 317. Max Weber quoted it from Robert Southey, *Life of Wesley*, chap. xxiv, 2<sup>nd</sup> American edn, vol. II, 308 in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons, 1930 (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons and George Allen & Unwin, 1950), 175.

<sup>31</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World: Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Brunswick East, VIC: Acorn, 2012), 39. The Australian Pentecostal historian, Barry Chant is of the same opinion. See, Barry Chant, *The Spirit of Pentecost: The Origins and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in Australia 1870-1939* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2011), 26.

<sup>32</sup> Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 40. In an earlier study published in 1994, Piggin identifies seventy-two revivals that occurred in six states between 1834 and 1894. See Stuart Piggin, "The History of Revival in Australia" in Mark Hutchinson and Edmund Campion, eds., *Re-Visioning Australian Colonial Christianity: New Essays in the Australian Christian Experience 1788-1900* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994), 175-177. See also, Piggin, "Local Revivals in Australia" 35-42.

history of the Methodist Church in South Australia, came to the measured conclusion that Methodists experienced ‘many missions, no revivals’ despite the fact that they were the ‘most confident denomination’ in their expectation of recurring religious revivals.<sup>33</sup> R. B. Walker, in his analysis of the growth of Wesleyan Methodism in New South Wales in the nineteenth-century, also acknowledged this.<sup>34</sup> Two years earlier, Walker, in a study of South Australian Methodism in the nineteenth century, rightly claimed that revivalism was central to the work of the church. Furthermore, Walker suggests that 1883 was ‘probably the last year in which revivals conflagrated generally throughout the colony’<sup>35</sup> Hunt’s analysis on the effect and extent of revivalism in the period 1870 to 1900 is summarised in one key statement:

What is clear from all these campaigns is that in the last 30 years of the nineteenth-century a pattern of evangelism became fixed in Methodism as in other Protestant bodies. Every minister was still expected to be a winner of souls, but increasingly it was believed that the church could only be saved from spiritual anaemia by a periodical injection of revivalist religion administered by a visiting physician.<sup>36</sup>

His conclusion understates the extent of Methodist revivalist practice. Although Hunt’s narrative is compelling, he downplays the importance of conversionism as the gateway to ‘vital religion’ and therefore, omits to draw the linkage between conversion and revivalist preaching as the mainstay of Methodist expansion and influence.

Two years after the publication of Hunt’s *This Side of Heaven* in 1985, Hugh Jackson in *Churches & People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, went further than Hunt when he noted the importance of the conversion experience in the revitalisation of the Protestant churches in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Jackson relied on membership figures and observations on immigration to

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<sup>33</sup> Arnold Hunt, ‘The Moonta Revival of 1875’, cassette produced by New Creation Publications, Blackwood, SA. Quoted by Stuart Piggin, *Spirit of a Nation* (Sydney: Strand, 2004), 42.

<sup>34</sup> R. B. Walker, ‘The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales 1812-1901’, *Journal of Religious History* (December 1971), 334.

<sup>35</sup> R. B. Walker, ‘Methodism in the ‘Paradise of Dissent’ 1837-1900’, *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1969), 331-347; at 339-340.

<sup>36</sup> Arnold D. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985), 1, 130.

<sup>37</sup> H. R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin in association with Port Nicholson Press, 1987), 5, 48. Jackson’s book is based on his earlier PhD Thesis, ‘Aspects of Congregationalism in South Eastern Australia, circa 1880 to 1930’ (PhD



credit revivalism with the growth of the churches in Australia and New Zealand. This study examines conversion data and membership statistics to assess the impact of revivals in the growth of South Australian Methodism. In 1994, Brian Dickey, as editor of *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, also noted the important linkage between revivals and conversions:

They (Methodists) were the evangelicals par excellence through the nineteenth-century: they carried revival and their Bibles all over Australia and beyond to proclaim the cross as the way of salvation, to call men and women to repentance and conversion, and on to an active life of service. They were the Protestant light cavalry of Australia.<sup>38</sup>

The place of the revival within Methodism to deliver conversions was fundamental to the itinerating Methodist preachers of the nineteenth-century.

The most recent comprehensive history of Australian religion is Ian Breward's wide-ranging *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (2001). Breward acknowledges the "evangelistic and conversionist ethos of Methodism" but limits his treatment of revivalism and Methodism in South Australia to noting how the much "longed-for revival" failed to materialise.<sup>39</sup> His article on Methodism in the *Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia* acknowledges that "Wesley's advocacy of vital personal religion sought to integrate grace and responsibility" Breward's only reference to local revivals noted their occurrence and that Methodist papers included reports of these.<sup>40</sup>

Research undertaken by Robert Evans, on the other hand, has demonstrated the extensive nature of revivals in Australia from early colonial settlement until 1914. His two volumes (2000, and 2005) provide the researcher with an invaluable survey of the widespread incidence of revival occurrence throughout most of the Australian colonies/states, although he limits in the main his South Australian research up to the

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Thesis, Australian National University, 1978).

<sup>38</sup> Brian Dickey, ed., *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), ix.

<sup>39</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 178, 192.

<sup>40</sup> Ian Breward, "Methodists" in James Jupp, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 404-415. Reference to revivals at 407.

mid-1880s.<sup>41</sup> Appendix 1 extends the chronology past the mid-1880s, identifying 574 revival-type events that occurred within South Australian Methodism from 1838 to 1939, encompassing a century of Methodist interaction with revivalist influences.<sup>42</sup> As a result, therefore, a more detailed focus on Methodist revivalism will provide a perspective only hinted at, but not previously viewed.

Renewed interest within worldwide Methodism on the writings of John Wesley, Methodist studies, and the search for a 'new identity' featured in the contributions in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (2009).<sup>43</sup> Despite an initial statement on the nature of 'the primary categories that capture what Wesley was and did are those of evangelist, spiritual director, revivalist, and renewalist' the theme of 'revival' is lacking from the suite of forty-two separate articles.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the comment by Thomas R. Albin indicates why revivalism merited little historical analysis and re-evaluation:

The weakness of many Methodist and Wesleyan movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had to do with their focus on the past glories of revival and renewal. The impact of the early Methodists were often idealized and exaggerated, creating an inappropriate standard to evaluate the work of God's Spirit in the present day and obscuring the need for innovation and change in order to live faithfully into the future.<sup>45</sup>

On the other hand, the assessment is suggestive of the need for further work within the academy to explore appropriate 'standards' by which to assess any contemporary application of revivalism within the historic Methodist penumbra.

Likewise, the only national history of Australian Methodism since James Colwell's *Illustrated History* (1904), also lacks a comprehensive assessment of revivals within Australian Methodism. Apart from isolated references to revivals from different authors within the scholarly *Methodism in Australia: A History*

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<sup>41</sup> Robert Evans, *Early Evangelical Revivals in Australia: A Study of Surviving Published Materials about Evangelical Revivals in Australia up to 1880* (Hazelbrook, NSW: Robert Evans, 2000), and *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia 1880-1914* (Hazelbrook, NSW: Robert Evans, 2005). Evans does make brief reference to the Chapman-Alexander missions in South Australia during 1909 and 1912.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 1 for details.

<sup>43</sup> William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, viii.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas R. Albin, 'Experience of God' in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, 379-397, at 394.

(2015), only two authors include well-researched sections on revivals within their chapters.<sup>46</sup> Glen O'Brien observes that "a good deal of organisational energy was put into revivals as part of the machinery of Methodist expansion"<sup>47</sup> Of South Australian Methodism in the nineteenth century, David Hilliard makes a similar observation when he states that, "the surest way for the church to grow, almost everyone agreed, was through revival"<sup>48</sup> In an earlier work, Hilliard acknowledges the strivings of Methodist leaders in South Australia in their efforts to repeat the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century, and although the much-anticipated revival never eventuated in the colony, Methodism experienced "record growth rates" in the 1880s.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps the most significant recent contribution to the study of international localised revivals that included a South Australian Methodist example (Moonta, 1875) is David Bebbington's *Victorian Religious Revivals* (2012).<sup>50</sup> His micro-history approach locates the Moonta revival within a late nineteenth-century common evangelical and revival culture within English-speaking Protestant communities. Bebbington's approach to integrate the specific aspects of seven individual revivals within a broader analysis of international revivalism, provided a model for the examination of the Burra revival (1858-1860) in chapter 4 of this thesis. Bebbington also attributes the importance of the Moonta revival to deliver an estimated 1,250 conversions.<sup>51</sup>

The only published book on South Australian Methodism since Arnold Hunt's *This Side of Heaven* (1985), is Edwin A. Curnow's *Bible Christian Methodists in South Australia 1850-1900* (2015).<sup>52</sup> Curnow's extensive and detailed research contains numerous references to localised revivals in the second half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, owing to its recent availability and the time

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<sup>46</sup> David Hilliard, "Methodism in South Australia" in Glen O'Brien and Hilary M. Carey, eds., *Methodism in Australia: A History* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015), 59-74, at 61; Glen O'Brien, "Australian Methodist Religious Experience" 167-179, at 170-173.

<sup>47</sup> O'Brien, "Australian Methodist Religious Experience" 171.

<sup>48</sup> Hilliard, "Methodism in South Australia" 61.

<sup>49</sup> D. Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism in South Australia from the 1870s to the 1920s* (Adelaide: Uniting Church Historical Society, South Australia, 1982), 5, 17.

<sup>50</sup> David Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>51</sup> Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 199.

<sup>52</sup> Edwin A. Curnow, *Bible Christian Methodists in South Australia 1850-1900: A Biography of Chapels and their People* (Black Forest, SA: Uniting Church SA Historical Society, 2015).

constraints of this thesis, I was unable to undertake a detailed examination of Curnow's work against the evidence presented in Appendix 1. It is likely that additional Bible Christian revivals can be included in the chronology.

We can see, therefore, acknowledgement of the importance of revivals to deliver conversions, and, as a consequence, to advance the cause of 'vital religion'. The thesis will examine South Australian Methodism from 1838 to 1939 to determine the nature and extent of revivalism. As no detailed study of this nature has been undertaken, this thesis will be a significant contribution to the knowledge of South Australian Methodist revivalism.

## Definitions

We have established that the quest for 'vital religion' within Methodism began with conversion and continued with evidences of the vital Christian life as the member progressed in holiness. This stood in contrast to mere nominalism. This study examines revivalism as the preferred means within colonial and state Methodism to obtain individual conversions. In order to clarify the meaning of the term 'vital religion' and its relationship to revivalism, reference will be made to themes of moral reform such as temperance and Sabbath observance as evidence of the vital Christian life of the Methodist.

In this study the following definitions apply:<sup>53</sup>

### É 'Vital Religion'

A religion of the heart initiated by individual conversion, which sought to embed Protestant morality into both the private and public spheres of life.

The background for an understanding of the term 'vital religion' is found in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century European movements for a 'religion of the heart'. These movements highlighted affective devotion and appeared in Catholicism

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<sup>53</sup> Further comment on the definition of revival is in chapter 2. The definitions of 'vital religion', 'revival', and 'conversion' contain representative elements included in statements made by various Methodists and published in denominational periodicals. See for example, *SABC Mag*, February 1868, 57; August 1874, 4; *ACC*, 14 December 1923, 3; 30 January 1925, 3; 18 February 1925, 3; 24 July 1925, 3; 20 May 1927, 1; 2 November 1928, 14; 22 February 1929, 7; 18 August 1933, 4; 12 August 1938, 4.

in the form of Jansenism (France) and Quietism (Spain). In England, the pursuit of heartfelt religious experience found expression among Quakers and Puritans and came to the fore again during the 'Evangelical Revival' in eighteenth-century Britain and the 'First Great Awakening' in the British colonies of North America. Pietism among Continental Protestants developed its own form and ethos.<sup>54</sup>

John Wesley experienced a significant personal and experiential religious event in 1738, which proved foundational in the eventual emergence of Methodism as a 'religion of the heart' movement within Evangelical Protestantism.<sup>55</sup> Stemming from Wesley's experience, Methodism emphasised the sufficiency of Christ alone for salvation, the assurance of forgiveness and the affective nature of the experience.<sup>56</sup> Doctrinal belief was important to Wesley, but the 'Aldersgate' experience demonstrated how faith could become personal and vital. These emphases were central in the subsequent preaching of Wesley during the Evangelical Revival of 1739 and later years. Such emphases, Wesley insisted, were not new, but were part of 'old religion' 'true primitive Christianity'<sup>57</sup>

Ian Bradley's *The Call to Seriousness*, which analyses the effects of the Evangelical movement upon Victorian England, provides a nuanced account of 'vital religion' as distinct from a plurality of religious topics more in keeping with a generalised evangelicalism.<sup>58</sup> Like Hunt, Bradley locates the origins of 'vital religion' within the Evangelical Revival of mid-eighteenth-century Britain. He emphasises the 'doctrine of conversion at the heart of Evangelical theology' but limits his treatment to the efforts made by Evangelical clergy to revitalize the Church of England, and omits any reference to the practice of revivalism and its ability to initiate conversion. Having made the claim for the revivalist origins in what the 'founding fathers of the Evangelical Revival' described as 'vital religion',

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<sup>54</sup> These movements are outlined in Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> This event which took place at Aldersgate, London, on 24 May 1738 is often referred to as the 'Aldersgate Experience' or when he 'felt his heart strangely warmed'. See A. Harold Wood, *The Aldersgate Experience of John Wesley* (Melbourne: Uniting Church Press, 1988), 24.

<sup>56</sup> Wood, 4. 'Salvation by Faith' was the first of John Wesley's 'Standard Sermons' which became part of Methodist doctrine and teaching. The sermon has been described as the 'Manifesto of Methodism'. See, Wood, 10.

<sup>57</sup> Albert C. Outler, ed., *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 498.

<sup>58</sup> Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., (Oxford: Lion, 2006).

Bradley acknowledges the followers of John Wesley as those who embraced the new vital religion and who became known as Methodists.<sup>59</sup> As Bradley situates vital religion in the context of the Evangelical Revival reaction against the worldliness and complacency of eighteenth-century England, he, therefore, defines vital religion variously as a movement with the characteristics of Evangelicalism and as an intense, urgent, all-consuming faith which appealed wholeheartedly and unashamedly to the emotions. Furthermore, Bradley identifies a number of characteristics of vital religion, including its introspective nature and animating power, which encouraged seriousness of purpose, personal stewardship, self-denial, personal usefulness, and a lifestyle governed by its evangelical orientation.<sup>60</sup>

#### É Revival

A time of increased spiritual intensity in which conversions take place and believers are revitalized in their faith.

#### É Revivalism

Evangelical activism to produce a revival [which] is the result of the *right* use of the appropriate means<sup>61</sup>

#### É Conversion

The personal acceptance and assurance of justification by faith in the atoning death of Jesus Christ for salvation.

The importance of the life-changing conversion experience, according to Mark Noll, was what the evangelicals themselves would have uniformly affirmed that at the bottom of their religion was a work of God that genuinely redirected lives, genuinely reoriented perspective, genuinely led on to lives of holiness. It was new in what it claimed for the power of God in creating and sustaining authentic religious existence.<sup>62</sup> For the Methodist, the power manifested in the conversion experience

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 11-12; 17.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 15-28.

<sup>61</sup> Steve Latham, "God came from Teman: Revival and Contemporary Revivalism," in Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune, eds., *On Revival: A Critical Examination*, (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 2003), 175. Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, (Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich, 1868), 13. This is the fundamental premise of Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*.

<sup>62</sup> Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (Leicester, IVP, 2004), 269-270.

was no work of mere nominal faith. It was, as Isaac Watts wrote, ‘True Christianity, where it reigns in the heart, will make itself appear in the purity of life’ The fruits of the Spirit are found in the life and the heart together<sup>63</sup> Hence the centrality of the conversion experience in generating the power to live a life of holiness.

#### É ‘Moral Reform’

Self-conscious, organised efforts by Methodists to change moral values and to modify people’s patterns of behaviour accordingly.<sup>64</sup>

This definition is considered adequate for the study as it encapsulates the often-repeated Methodist desire to ‘Christianise Australia’, which included alignment to Methodist morality.<sup>65</sup> For many, revivalist conversionism was not the path to inert moralism, but the initiator for an activist humanitarianism inspired by the gospel. John Wesley’s two emphases of both personal and societal transformation have been described as his ‘functional holistic model of salvation’<sup>66</sup>

#### É ‘Evangelicalism’

David Bebbington’s widely accepted definition of evangelicalism as a movement characterised by conversionism, biblicism, crucicentrism, and activism, is helpful and instructive to establish the parameters of evangelicalism for this study.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Isaac Watts, *Abuses of the Emotions in Spiritual Life* (1746), quoted here from Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 67.

<sup>64</sup> Adapted from the definition of ‘moral reform’ by the British historian, M. J. D. Roberts in *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>65</sup> See for example, the statement by the Rev. W. F. James to ‘Christianise Australia’ included in the annual address to the Bible Christian Conference in 1890. *SABCM*, August 1890, 227-236.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Reclaiming Holistic Salvation: A Continuing Wesleyan Agenda’ in Nathan Crawford, Jonathan Dodrill and David Wilson, eds., *Holy Imagination: Thinking About Social Holiness* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2015), 41-54.

<sup>67</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1-17. Carey suggests that the term ‘evangelicalism’ has three meanings: ‘Protestant’ – a network of Protestant movements throughout the world and ‘evangelicals’ identified with the Church of England (‘Evangelicals’), in Hilary Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 149. Stuart Piggin suggests that there are three strands in evangelicalism: ‘Spirit, Word, and World’ which correspond to experiential, Biblicist, and activist. According to Piggin they ‘aim to produce right-heartedness (orthokardia), right thinking (orthodoxy) and right action (orthopraxis)’ in Piggin, *Spirit of a Nation*, v-xii. W.R. Ward has declared that Bebbington’s definition is ‘magisterial’ but acknowledges that there are problems with it. He claims rightly, that all Christians are to some extent, ‘biblicist’ and that ‘conversionism’ had a prior history within the Pietist tradition. See W.R. Ward, ‘The Making of the Evangelical Mind’ in Geoffrey R. Treloar and Robert D. Linder eds.,

Finally, two comments about usage of the term 'revival' need to be made. First, Methodists tended to use the word 'revival' whether the event described appeared to be spontaneous in origin (Calvinist overtones of God's sovereignty aligned with human waiting and passivity), or whether the revival appeared to be the result of conditions fostered by the revivalist (revivalism). Second, the term 'revival' in the main, referred to a single church that underwent a brief period of increased spiritual intensity, which produced a number of conversions and revitalizations with or without any apparent effect on the surrounding community. However, the term could also refer to a revival that included multiple churches across a larger geographical area, with numerous conversions over an extended period that affected the wider community, such as Burra from 1858 to 1860, and Moonta in 1875.

## Scope of Thesis

Although the nature of the revitalisation of faith is as old as Christianity itself, the study is bounded by two significant dates. As revivalism first appeared in 1838, some eighteen months after the commencement of the colony, and continued in various forms for the next hundred years until 1939, although diminished in extent and reach during the inter-war years, these two dates serve as chronological markers for the study's context. The terminal date coincides with the outbreak of the Second World War, and with the re-appointment of the Conference evangelist to undertake evangelism especially within the church. With increased emphasis of the work of the Conference evangelist, the date also marks the diminution of the circuit-based revival as the preferred means for the conversion of those outside the church.<sup>68</sup>

## Methodology

In order to investigate Methodist revivalism the following steps were undertaken:

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*Making History for God: Essays on Evangelicalism, Revival and Mission* (Sydney: Robert Menzies College, 2004), 309. For the view of a theologian on the meaning of evangelicalism, see Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 121. His 'cluster of four assumptions' is identical to Bebbington's four key ingredients.

<sup>68</sup> The study's end-date of 1939 does not signify the end of Methodist revivalism in South Australia. Revivalist activity diminished during the Second World War, but found a new emphasis afterwards with the conduct of the Thanksgiving Memorial Crusade in the immediate post-war years.



## Review of Primary Sources

The Methodist denominational periodicals, official records and proceedings such as the *Minutes of South Australia Conference* (annual), and the *Minutes of General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia* (triennial), *Laws and Regulations*, and the minutiae of local church organisations and groups provided the main sources of primary material. Included in the former were the *Wesleyan Magazine* (1864-1874), *Methodist Journal* (1874-1881), *Illustrated Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* (1881-1882), *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* (1882-1900), *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine* (1867-1891), *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly* (1892-1900), *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record* (1863-1900), and the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* (1900-1939). Painstaking examination of these serials provided an extensive collection of subject matter. Editorial interest and leading articles often shed understanding on the nature and extent of revivalism. Reports of local revivals were numerous. Various terms used include: 'revival', 'showers of blessing', 'evangelistic mission', 'crusade', and the more theologically charged, nineteenth-century 'glorious outpourings of the Holy Ghost'. Such terminology can indicate what the commentator thought was happening when describing the event, and allows for changes over time to be appraised. A varied terminology also indicates that there was no longer a common definition of revival, or at a deeper level, understanding of what constitutes revival.<sup>69</sup> Hence, this study will often refer to 'revival-type event/s' as a somewhat inclusive term given the variety of original descriptors used.

Information about revivals often appeared in columns dedicated to 'Revival News', 'Church News', local church histories, obituaries, personal news, biographies, reminiscences, or letters to the editor. Critical to this study was the inclusion of conversion statistics provided by local church representatives. Conversions were widely reported in the denominational periodicals, often in association with revivals and missions. As Conference statistics did not include these figures, the periodicals provided a valuable source of information. Circuit quarterly

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<sup>69</sup> For a brief account of changes to the meaning of the term 'revival' see David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, Leicester, Inter-Varsity Press, 2005, 99-102.

returns, as well as annual District and Conference returns provided membership figures.

Beyond the denominational periodicals, secular newspapers added to the abundance of church-produced material. They were of particular importance for the period of colonial settlement from 1838 to the mid-1860s, before the commencement of denominational periodicals. The valuable, though limited, searches undertaken were specific in nature, but suggestive of further work required to encompass a more complete understanding of colonial Methodism. Of particular value were the *Register*, *Advertiser*, and *Observer*, whilst local country newspapers such as the *Kadina and Wallaroo Times* often reported details not included in the Adelaide papers.<sup>70</sup> Hence, the thesis relies on primary sources whenever possible, but their use in the interpretative narrative required the use of appropriate secondary sources as well, particularly when assessing conformity to evangelicalism.

As with most sources, there are gaps and partialities reflected in the literature. In the official publications, particularly the denominational periodicals, the editors were ordained men and tended to reflect a bias, in published sermons and articles, toward the institutional priorities of the Methodist churches, such as denominational growth and advocacy of the moral reform agenda. In addition to editorial selectivity, circuit officials and revivalists responded in different ways to requests for news.<sup>71</sup> Not surprisingly, lay-authored letters to Methodist periodicals at times indicated a strong lay perspective on issues, which tended to reflect longevity of perspective, often denied to the itinerant minister. The lack of female voices in the denominational periodicals limited the range of perspectives offered.<sup>72</sup> Editors of secular periodicals

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<sup>70</sup> The *Register*, *Advertiser*, and *Observer* often included country news items as well, and therefore provide important source material before the commencement of local serials. The *Kadina and Wallaroo Times* included information on the evangelistic visit of the Rev. Lionel Fletcher in 1915 that supplemented the reports in the Adelaide serials.

<sup>71</sup> This is apparent with the different coverage given to the visits in 1894 of Thomas Cook (British Wesleyan connexional evangelist), and John MacNeil (Presbyterian Church of Victoria evangelist). The former's coverage was extensive and detailed while the latter was limited and general. The same comment could be made about the first two Wesleyan Conference appointed connexional evangelists, who self-reported their activity. David O'Donnell's (1887) reporting and coverage was more detailed than G. W. Kendrew's (1888-1889) brief and sporadic reportage.

<sup>72</sup> A notable exception was Serena Lake (nee Thorne) whose diary provided valuable reflective insights during her work as a preacher, and social reformer. Serena Thorne's original diary is held by the Uniting Church Historical Society of South Australia. See also "Serena Thorne's Diary," Uniting Church in South Australia Historical Society, *Newsletter*, no. 1 (January 1978): 5-9. A microfilm copy

also exercised judgment as to whether religious events, including revivals, warranted press coverage, and copy was often dependent on the availability and interest of city and country reporters. As the number of revivals and conversion statistics are key components of the thesis, some comment on their collection and use is necessary.

## Data Gathering and Treatment

Denominational periodicals provided the main source for conversion data and reports of revivals. A meticulous examination of every available issue of the South Australian Methodist denominational papers from 1838 to 1939 provided the necessary figures and reports of revivalist activity. This data and selected information, arranged sequentially, comprises a *Chronology of Revival Events 1838-1939*, as Appendix 1. In order to arrange and analyse the historical record, this study adopts Steve Latham's taxonomy, comprising the R1 to R6 typology of six forms of revival.<sup>73</sup> Latham's expansionist typology accommodates different understandings of revival from an individual 'spiritual quickening' to a 'possible reversal of secularisation'. There are three reasons why this methodology is helpful for this study.

First, this typology overcomes the limitation of restricting the term 'revival' to only those events that meet arbitrary numerical criteria. It also accommodates all revival-type events that were reported as 'revivals'. This is of benefit in notating the many revivals that took place in small to medium-sized rural and township communities, often homogeneous in nature, with various societal levels of face-to-face encounter. The high level of intimacy often associated with small rural townships of no more than a few hundred people, despite its often intrusive nature, was expedient for the demands of 'experimental religion', which in Methodism in part, was prescribed by personal testimony and enquiry within the class meeting. Revivalist fervour and Methodist polity were willing co-participants in the quest for conversionist vital religion within a widely dispersed rural community.

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of the Diary is held at the Flinders University of South Australia.

<sup>73</sup> Steve Latham, 'God came from Teman: Revival and Contemporary Revivalism', in Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune (eds.), *On Revival: A Critical Examination*, 171-186. The typology is outlined at the beginning of Appendix 1.

Second, the classification allows for a differentiation between 'revival' as a spontaneous, sent from above (God at work) event, and 'revivalism' as evangelical activism to produce 'a revival [which] is the result of the *right* use of the appropriate means'<sup>74</sup> The analysis, therefore, excludes neither God's sovereignty nor human agency. To exclude one or the other, would allow for a reductionism that the evidence neither demands nor warrants. Both forms of revival, whether influenced by Calvinism or Arminianism, and recognised within South Australian Methodism, are thus included:

It is true that in the history of the Churches revivals have come in which the instruments have not been recognizable; they have seemed to come from God unasked and unexpected by His people. But, on the other hand, revivals have mostly come by the blessing of God through human means, and human seeking, and human effort. The only revivals which we can with certainty expect are such as the Church lays herself out to secure.<sup>75</sup>

Third, Latham's typology allows for changes in the meaning of the term 'revival' which in practice, Latham acknowledges as 'slippery' Consequently, this makes due allowance for the commentator to 'slide easily from one level to another' This, suggests Latham, accounts for the difference in understanding between speaker and hearer, and gives credibility to the varying claims made by the revivalist, commentator, and hearer.<sup>76</sup>

## Data Analysis

In order to determine the relative 'converting activity' for each revival-type event, a 'Conversion Index' calculated by expressing the number of conversions as a

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<sup>74</sup> Steve Latham, 'God came from Teman' Revival and Contemporary Revivalism', in Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune (eds.), *On Revival: A Critical Examination*, 175. Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, Oberlin, Ohio, E. J. Goodrich, 1868, 13. This is the fundamental premise of Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. For a critique of 'revival' and 'revivalism' focussing on Jonathan Edwards and Charles G. Finney see, Gerald L. Priest, 'Revival and Revivalism: A Historical and Doctrinal Evaluation' *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal*, vol. 1 (Fall 1996), 223-252. Priest claims that 'true revival is a work originating solely with God' (225). His analysis of Edwards and Finney leads him to that conclusion. For a more recent discussion on 'revivals' and 'revivalism' see John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 43-90. For an account of Finney's life see Keith J. Hardeman, *Charles Grandison Finney 1792-1875: Revivalist and Reformer*, Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1987.

<sup>75</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference of the*, 1883, annual address to members, 45-46.

<sup>76</sup> Steve Latham, 'God came from Teman' Revival and Contemporary Revivalism', in Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune (eds.), *On Revival: A Critical Examination*, 172.

percentage of total denominational membership, is shown as Appendix 2. The relative index situates each revival event within its denominational context and provides a crude but helpful measure of the effectiveness of each revival. An Annual Conversion Index (ACI) for all recorded conversions in the Methodist denominations in each year is shown as Appendix 3. Graphs of the respective ACIs are shown as Appendices 4-1 and 4-2 and clearly indicate levels of converting activity over time.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore, by examining the relationships between conversions and membership statistics, and the location and frequency of revivalist activity, we can draw reasonable conclusions about the contributions that revivalist-conversions made to membership growth. A comparative analysis between city and country revivalism furthers our understanding on the relationship between the two regions, and overall, why rural revivalism pre-dominated in South Australian Methodism. The pattern of these revivals is traced through the annual returns of membership and reported conversions. The internal dynamic of conversion as a methodological tool to analyse revivals lies outside the scope of this study. This is because of a lack of conversion narratives within the primary sources examined.

The ready availability of Census data since 1844 for South Australia provided figures for self-described religious adherence data against which to compare the figures for church membership and to make comparative observations between Methodism and other Christian denominations.<sup>78</sup> The lack of church-published statistics prior to the 1850s required an examination of the secular newspapers to provide detail not available elsewhere.

### **Form of Argument**

The argument is presented in narrative form, which, because of the lengthy period covered, presents a selective overview of both statistics and topics relevant to the argument, whilst the method employed is largely inductive. Analysis of the conversion and membership statistics enables an evaluation of revivalism, and

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<sup>77</sup> For a more detailed explanation of the conversion indexes, see chapter 3.

<sup>78</sup> Census data and incomplete denominational membership data is provided in Wray Vamplew, ed., *Australians: Historical Statistics* (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987).

whether Methodists pursued revivalist conversion as the gateway to vital religion.

## Upcoming Chapters

Chapter 1 contextualises colonial Methodist revivalism within a larger international framework. The foundations of Methodism encouraged the movement's expansive and revivalist ethos, while the relevance of an internationalist 'Methodist Pattern of Revival' is examined.<sup>79</sup> Methodists, eager for spiritual revival looked for it within the smallest spiritual provision.

Chapter 2 demonstrates that revivalism was present in seed form within early Methodism. The first expression of revivalism occurred in 1838 and produced the earliest known converts, thereby adding spiritual and numerical traction to the initial establishment and early expansion of Methodist 'vital religion'. In addition to a religious emphasis on conversion, early Methodism calibrated the social dimension of its message to include such matters as temperance and Sabbath observance, partly out of a pragmatic necessity to help establish the early components of a well-ordered, stable and industrious colony.

Chapter 3 examines the establishment and expansion of revivalism by a statistical analysis of revival activity from 1838 to 1865. The chapter demonstrates that revivalism produced the converts necessary for the instigation and expansion of vital religion.

Chapter 4 advances the argument that revivalist conversions were central to the quest for vital religion. We see how the Burra and associated Central Hill Country revivals of 1858 to 1860, influenced by the revivalist dimension of evangelical internationalism and examined as a mini-study within the thesis, consolidates revivalist momentum within colonial Methodism. By 1860, Methodist vital religion is imbued with an indefatigable belief in the validity and expectation of further revivals.

Chapter 5 provides a statistical analysis of revivalism from 1866 to 1913. We see how conversions enabled Methodism to expand vigorously its self-described

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<sup>79</sup> As outlined by David Bebbington in *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 9-11.

population and maintain relative parity between its membership growth and the increase in overall population. By 1911, ascendant revivalism propelled Methodism to first place in a list of Christian denominations in South Australia according to size. This membership (19,262) was well ahead of the Anglicans (15,589 communicants) the second largest denomination. Overall, Methodism commanded the allegiance of one-quarter of the state's census population. The period blended international evangelist activity with local revivalists, and saw the introduction of the Gospel-temperance message by the Wesleyan Matthew Burnett. Prominent among the local revivalists were the 'lady evangelists' of the 1890s, used predominantly by the Bible Christians, and the establishment of Conference evangelists within both Wesleyan Methodism and the Bible Christians. These measures facilitated the predominance of the locally-planned rural revival over that of the city counterpart, and further illustrated the value of revivalist activity to deliver subsequent waves of converts.

Chapter 6 examines the consolidation of revivalist inclusivity in the quest for 'vital religion'. Methodism innovated in its use of revivalist lay-leadership to expand beyond the bounds of the traditional circuit environment.

Chapter 7 identifies some of the external intellectual challenges faced by Methodism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their effect on revivalism. Furthermore, we see how Methodist revival activity was also affected by internal challenges such as the continued prosecution of the denomination's moral reform program.

Chapter 8 examines the Chapman and Alexander missions of 1909 and 1912. In the aftermath of the Welsh Revival of 1905, many looked to Chapman and Alexander as the instigators of a national revival of religion. Despite large attendances and numerous conversions, their visits effectively marked the end of widespread support for the international revivalist as the appointed harbinger of revival.

Chapter 9 demonstrates that despite the evangelistic success of Lionel Fletcher in 1915, and in the aftermath of diminished revivalism during the First World War, the marginalisation of revivalism was well underway by the early 1920s. In the

absence of a confident, well-supported, effective, revivalist strategy supported by Conference, revivalism faltered.

Chapter 10 focuses on the emergence of early Pentecostalism in the 1920s, which, despite its close historic relationship to Methodism, benefitted from the latter's adaptation to a more settled form of an established and respectable evangelical church. The inter-war period documents the shift in Methodism away from centre-stage as the flag-bearer of revivalist conversion. It was unable to re-assert its revivalist credentials in the face of intensified evangelical fragmentation, internal uncertainty, and the rise of other revivalist agencies.

Chapters 11 and 12 examine how Methodism attempted to pursue traditional forms of revivalism while it experimented with and adapted newer forms, typified by the group-centred Oxford Movement, reminiscent of an earlier era dominated by the membership-required class meeting. In Chapter 12, we analyse the factors that led to the decline of revivalism before the Second World War, particularly the fundamentalist-modernist debates of the 1920s and 1930s. By 1939, despite brief moments of revivalist zeal producing conversions, the inability of Methodism to produce converts was apparently clear. In the previous twenty-five years, conversions accounted for marginally less than one-half of the membership growth, while from 1866 to 1901 there were two and a half times more conversions than membership additions.<sup>80</sup> Clearly, the doctrine of salvation that insisted on the efficacy of personal conversion as the gateway of 'vital religion' was not the only way to enter one's name on the membership roll. Methodist 'vital religion' was losing its 'vitality' and spiritual potentiality because of a diminished emphasis on conversionism.

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<sup>80</sup> The statistical analysis is outlined at the beginning of Chapter 9.



# PART I 1838 – 1865

## CHAPTER 1

### METHODIST FOUNDATIONS AND REVIVALISM

The allied partnership of religious revival and evangelicalism was common within British and North American Evangelicalism.<sup>1</sup> The revival of religion in all its forms was always at the centre of evangelicalism.<sup>2</sup> According to D. W. Bebbington, evangelicals in the late nineteenth century continued to display much of the vigour they had inherited from the Evangelical Revival. They were still concerned above all with the cultivation of vital Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Within South Australian Methodism, the argument is made that revivalism was an essential component of vital religion, which this thesis will establish.

Methodist revivalism was a feature of denominational growth in other nineteenth-century Australian colonies as well. In New South Wales and Queensland, the Conference sanctioned and commended such activity to the Circuits in its charge.<sup>4</sup> David Bollen observed that Methodists in New South Wales were the most determined and successful of all denominations in revival activity.<sup>5</sup> Revivals produced conversions, and subsequent growth in membership, though they were often uneven, sporadic, and affected by economic and other factors.<sup>6</sup>

In 1853, the Rev. Robert Young, as representative of the British Wesleyan Conference, inspected the Wesleyan Methodist churches in all the Australian colonies to determine whether to grant connexional independence from the British Conference. A representative told Young, during a reception in Melbourne in June 1853, in front of 500 people, that the infant Methodist Church would be the means

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<sup>1</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 2005; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 2004; Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 235.

<sup>4</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Proceedings of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference*, 1877, 52-54; 1884, 22.

<sup>5</sup> J. D. Bollen, *Religion in Australian Society: An Historian's View*, (Enfield, NSW: Leigh College, 1973), 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> R. B. Walker, 'The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales 1812-1901', 337-338.

of the conversion of multitudes, because it had been built on a strong foundation.<sup>7</sup> Before an examination of the nature and extent of revivalism in the period from 1838 to 1939 is undertaken, it is necessary to consider the nature of this foundation. This chapter will examine some of the key foundational elements within South Australian Methodism, which were conducive to the practice of revivalism.<sup>8</sup>

## Organisational Structure

First, the organisational structure of Methodism suited its expansive ethos.<sup>9</sup> Before his death in 1791, John Wesley's chief concern was the preservation of his highly successful evangelistic organisation.<sup>10</sup> Methodism's organisational structure, which operated in a connexional, or inter-linked manner, attempted to maintain its evangelistic work.<sup>11</sup> As converts were linked together in class meetings and societies they developed local religious identity. Later, the connexional system provided the Methodist with an expanded identity through its circuit, district, and conference structures. The organisational structure supported local preachers and circuit itinerant ministers, and was well suited to dispersed and thinly populated regions.<sup>12</sup> By the end of the nineteenth-century, connexionalism had made the task of spreading scriptural holiness throughout South Australia more complete than could have otherwise been

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Young, *The Southern World: Journal of a Deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia: including Notices of a visit to the Gold Fields* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1854), 73. See also W. H. Daniels, *The Illustrated History of Methodism in Great Britain, America, and Australia from the Days of the Wesleys to the Present Year* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1890), 800-801. *SAWM*, April 1874, 17. Young was the one-man delegation sent from England. The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Connexion was constituted by the British Conference in 1854 (with effect from 1855) as a distinct and unaffiliated entity of the English Conference. From 1815 (the arrival of Samuel Leigh in Sydney) until 1855, the Methodist Church in Australia was under the control of the Missionary Committee in London. In 1855, South Australia was one of nine districts with all chairmen appointed by the Australasian Conference. In 1874, four annual Conferences: New South Wales and Queensland, Victoria and Tasmania, South Australia (and Western Australia), and New Zealand, and a General Conference were established. This continued until Methodist Union in 1900. The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church held its first South Australian Conference in 1874.

<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to David Bebbington's analysis of the Methodist Pattern of Revival in developing this chapter. See Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 9-11.

<sup>9</sup> *SAWM*, 'The Connexional Principle' August 1865, 146.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Currie, *Methodism Divided: A Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), 26.

<sup>11</sup> Russell E. Richey, 'Connection and Connectionalism' in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 211-227.

<sup>12</sup> *SAWM*, August 1865, 145-147.

possible<sup>13</sup>

Local preachers were able to establish churches as they gathered people together and exercised governmental and oversight functions, whilst awaiting a minister.<sup>14</sup> This ensured regular pulpit supply, consistent doctrinal teaching, and produced the most vigorous and successful agencies for unlimited extension<sup>15</sup> Held generally in high regard, local preachers, according to the Rev. John Watsford, were worthy of double honour without whose help Methodism was confined to a crippled and dwarfed state.<sup>16</sup> The constitution of Methodism favoured growth, promoted the expansion of its footprint through its societies, classes, Sunday schools, love feasts, camp meetings, hymns, and written material, designed to foster scriptural holiness despite the lack of egalitarianism within its leadership structure; it was hierarchical, even authoritarian<sup>17</sup>

Lay leadership was fundamental in enabling Methodism to achieve a physical presence that maintained pace with the expansion of European settlement throughout the colony. Primitive Methodist lay leadership emerged well before the first missionaries arrived in 1844. John Wiltshire, supported by his wife and relatives, conducted the first Primitive Methodist service in Light Square in June 1840. Aided by the help of both male and female co-workers in preaching, the group maintained regular worship, class meetings, and open-air work for the next four years, and managed to build a primitive structure for 120 people in Elizabeth Street. Within nine months, the society had seven local preachers and sixteen members, and a Sunday school established with twenty scholars.<sup>18</sup> Preaching places opened in the suburbs, and at Mount Barker, the first preaching station outside of Adelaide, all

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<sup>13</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1897, 104.

<sup>14</sup> John Blacket, *The Early History of South Australia: A Romantic Experiment in Colonization 1836-1857* (Adelaide: Methodist Book Depot, 1907), 306.

<sup>15</sup> *SAPM*, August 1865, 146. Local preachers were subject to the discipline of the circuit local preachers meetings. In addition to doctrinal matters, regular reviews of the conduct and performance of Local Preachers took place at such meetings. See W.S. Kelly, *Early History of the Kapunda Methodist Circuit* (Adelaide: South Australian Methodist Historical Society, 1959), n.p.

<sup>16</sup> Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, 124. On the honour and respect accorded to Local Preachers, see Kelly, *Early History of the Kapunda Methodist Circuit*, n.p.

<sup>17</sup> David Hempton, John Wesley (1703-1791) in Carter Lindberg, ed. *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 259.

<sup>18</sup> *SAPM*, July 1894, 50-51.

organised and resourced by lay leaders.<sup>19</sup> Lay leaders managed the first recorded Wesleyan revival in June 1838, two months before the unexpected arrival of the Rev. William Longbottom, and they played a prominent role during the second Wesleyan revival in 1840-41, during the ministry of the second Wesleyan minister, the Rev. John Eggleston.<sup>20</sup>

Members of the Methodist New Connexion established a presence in Hobson's Place, Adelaide, with the building of a wooden structure in early 1840. The cause grew to forty by 1842, but it had almost dwindled away by 1862 when its first minister, James Maughan, arrived and formally constituted the church with a membership of twelve.<sup>21</sup> Bible Christians were among the first settlers to arrive in the colony; some joined in with the Wesleyans whilst others held services at Bowden, Koorunga, and elsewhere in the 1840s. The influx of Cornish miners to work the Kapunda copper mines from 1844, and Burra from 1845, saw the first substantial influx of Bible Christians. In 1849, the local preacher, James Blatchford, established a Bible Christian congregation at Burra. Like many Methodist local preachers at the time, Blatchford may have lacked secular learning (he had never been to school and started working at the age of seven), but he brimmed in Biblical knowledge. He was able to quote from memory almost any passage from the Bible.<sup>22</sup> Blatchford and lay helpers finished construction of the church building by the time their first pioneering ministers, James Way and James Rowe, arrived in the colony in late 1850. They found a well-established church of 50 members.<sup>23</sup> The founding of the Jubilee Chapel at Long Gully in the Adelaide Hills in 1863 as part of the Mount Barker Circuit amply illustrates how Methodism expanded through the efforts of lay people:

Near two years ago, Mr Henry Adams was riding homewards to Callington

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<sup>19</sup> ACC, 1 November 1935, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Nock, *The Life of Pastor Abbott*, 16; ACC, 28 May 1937, 2; James Bickford, *Christian Work in Australasia: With Notes on the Settlement and Progress of the Colonies* (London: Wesleyan Conference, 1878), 142; James Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia: From its Commencement to its Jubilee* (Adelaide: South Australian Methodist Historical Society, 1958), 66; ACC, 26 July 1901, 5. The first recorded Methodist revival in the oldest colony, New South Wales, founded in 1788, occurred at Sydney in 1835. See Bollen, *Religion in Australian Society*, 27.

<sup>21</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 53-54.

<sup>22</sup> *Burra Record*, 18 September 1900, 3. Obituary of James Blatchford.

<sup>23</sup> H.T. Burgess, ed., *Cyclopedia of South Australia*, vol. 2 (Adelaide: Cyclopedia Company, 1909), 49. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 62-70.

through the above Gully. One of the settlers knowing him to be a local preacher, asked if it would not be possible to hold service in that neighbourhood, at least once on the Sabbath; at the same time, offering to open her house for the accommodation of the people. At the next local preachers' meeting, Mr. Kempster's house was placed upon the plan. The settlers generally attended the services, and the house was soon inconveniently crowded. It was then proposed to build a chapel. Mr. Weber most liberally offered to build the walls gratuitously, others engaged to raise and cart the stone, lime, and timber. In March last the chapel was opened, the congregations were large, and the tea and public meeting most successful. A class has also been formed which is met by the local preachers on the Sabbath. The organisation of Methodism, is wisely adapted to supply the wants of such sparse populations as the above localities.<sup>24</sup>

The energy and vitality of the Methodist constituency was also seen in the settlement of farming communities in the Adelaide Hills, which foreshadowed the denomination's rural expansion northwards in the 1870s and 1880s. 'Lay agency and the elasticity of its organisation were important factors.'<sup>25</sup> At times, the exuberance displayed by Methodist groups became almost overwhelming. An observant country editor in 1880 mused over Wesleyan chapel extension:

Everybody knows that they are indefatigable in their efforts, and persistent in their exploration of new districts, in which they usually begin sticking up a wooden chapel before the traditional pub and blacksmith's shop have their roof on.<sup>26</sup>

The home mission zeal of Methodists often dissipated into competition between Methodist denominations, and on occasions with other religious bodies. Furthermore, the limited education of many local preachers was no barrier to workers in the labour-intensive industries such as mining and agriculture, upon which the colony was so dependent. According to one estimate, 23 per cent of the colony's total population could neither read nor write in 1890.<sup>27</sup> Fortunately, lay agency did not often require higher levels of literacy, and theological and biblical scholarship. Lay people from the outset of colonial Methodism, were accordingly able to provide the leadership upon which periodic revivals depended, a scenario that repeated itself many times in the next 100 years.

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<sup>24</sup> *SAWM*, April 1865, 109.

<sup>25</sup> Burgess ed., *Cyclopedia of South Australia*, vol. 2, 48. This was the view of the Methodist minister, H. T. Burgess.

<sup>26</sup> *Jamestown Review*, 29 January 1880.

<sup>27</sup> In 1890, the population of the colony was 279,865, of whom 64,541 (23 per cent), it was claimed, could neither read nor write. A further 15,267 could only read. See *SAWM*, April 1890, 342.

## Emphasis on Conversion

The second foundational element within South Australian Methodism which aided revivalism was the emphasis on the need for conversion. The *Minutes* of the 1763 Methodist Conference contain the Rules for Helpers (preachers), which those who laboured with Wesley were required to embrace. Number Eleven sets forth the driving motivation of a Methodist preacher:

You have nothing to do but to save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work; and go always, not only to those who want [i.e., need] you, but to those who want you most.<sup>28</sup>

Heitzenrater contends that this represents Wesley's commitment to the revival, a lifelong vocation and mission.<sup>29</sup> Of the Twelve Rules for Helpers, Number Eleven was the most often quoted at Methodist Services of Ordination and as such, was part of the fabric of nineteenth-century South Australian Methodism.<sup>30</sup> The importance of a personal conversion experience and its relationship to the Methodist ministry is typified in the life of James Bickford (1816-1895). He was converted at sixteen after he became aware of his lost condition when alone on a dark night in a bye lane near my Uncle Taylor's farm, Sherford Down, in the parish of Sherford. And on that very hour my mind was decided on the vital question of religion.<sup>31</sup> The experience of religious conversion, of having his soul saved, led him to join the Methodist Church, after which he became a Wesleyan minister. He once described himself as an evangelical and soul-saving preacher.<sup>32</sup>

In 1874, the South Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference reviewed the evangelistic work of the Church in the previous twelve months, and regretted the lack of conversions. Conference then urged the church to aim more directly than ever at the declaration of souls in all our ministrations.<sup>33</sup> English and Australian

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<sup>28</sup> Richard P. Heitzenrater, "John Wesley's Principles and Practice of Preaching," *Methodist History*, vol. 37, no. 2 (January 1999): 89-106, 90.

<sup>29</sup> Heitzenrater, "John Wesley's Principles and Practice of Preaching," 90.

<sup>30</sup> See for example, *SAPMR*, April 1876, 375; October 1877, 133.

<sup>31</sup> James Bickford, *An Autobiography of Christian Labour* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1890), 6.

<sup>32</sup> Bickford came to South Australia from Victoria in 1873, and held appointments at Pirie Street, Burra and Port Adelaide. He was President of the Australasian Conference in 1868 and then of the Wesleyan church in South Australia in 1875 and 1883. On Bickford, see Arnold D. Hunt, "Bickford, James (1816-1895)," *ADEB*, 41; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 132-133.

<sup>33</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, *Minutes of South Australia Conference, 1874*, 18,

Methodism well understood the link between conversion and revivals so that by the middle of the nineteenth-century, ‘the main vehicle for conversion was the revival’<sup>34</sup> Two-thirds of the thirty-to-forty who attended a picnic for members of the Wesleyan, Bible Christian, and Primitive Methodist Conferences held at Brighton in Adelaide in February 1900 dated their conversions from revivals. Another 25 per cent ‘owed much to religious instruction received at other religious bodies’ while ‘many attributed their great change of life to the example and prayers of godly mothers’<sup>35</sup> Reflecting on the conversions that had taken place in the revival in the Mount Torrens Bible Christian Circuit in 1877, it was reported that, ‘a revival of true religion does more to increase the strength of the Church, and arouse a careless, impenitent neighbourhood than anything else’<sup>36</sup> South Australian Methodism understood that revivals of religion produced converts.<sup>37</sup>

## Vision and Resources

The third aspect of Methodism’s foundation in South Australia, which aided revivalism, was its ability to marry vision with resources. Aided by the astute and visionary land purchase policy of the Rev. Daniel Draper (1810-1866), Wesleyan Methodism, by the mid 1850s, extended its presence throughout the colony. Under his leadership, the church in the late 1840s purchased forty-six sites and erected thirty-eight chapels by 1854 – this increased the number of chapels from eight to thirty-eight. During his time in South Australia between 1846 and 1854, Draper presided over an increase in circuits from one to six, from three ministers to ten, and from 390 to 1,506 members. Sunday school scholars increased from 613 to 2,727, and attendants on public worship from 2,200 to 9,830.<sup>38</sup> Later generations of Methodists held Draper in high esteem and considered him the ‘Second Founder of Methodism in South Australia’ a ‘wise administrator and the master builder of our

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SLSA SRG 4/1/1, vol. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Jennifer Lloyd, ‘Women Preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 36, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 474.

<sup>35</sup> *Register*, 14 March 1900, 9.

<sup>36</sup> *SABCM*, November 1877, 362; February 1878, 384-385.

<sup>37</sup> *SAPMR*, July 1876, 393-400.

<sup>38</sup> John C. Symons, *Life of Rev. D. J. Draper* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1870), 128. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 73.

Church in this colony<sup>39</sup>

In the early 1850s, the Bible Christian minister, James Rowe, buoyed by an increase in church membership, remained in Burra during the exodus to the Victorian goldfields, and committed himself to expand the Methodist cause. In 1853, he wrote in visionary terms to the Missionary Committee in England: "We should rise with the increase of population. We should rise with rising townships and neighbourhoods"<sup>40</sup> The Wesleyan Conference of 1875 established the "Home Mission and Contingent Fund Society" to raise funds throughout the connexion for church extension, thereby formalising the legacy of Draper and the early pioneering Wesleyans.<sup>41</sup> It was a legacy aptly expressed by the Rev. John C. Symons in his biography of Draper published in 1870:

I believe that in no part of the Christian world, excepting the United States, is there to be found so large a proportion of Wesleyan Methodists to the population, as in South Australia. A result as greatly due to the energy, liberality, and devoted labours of the officers and members of the societies, as to the zeal, ability, and untiring services of the ministers: a result which, under God, could have only been accomplished by united continuous, systematic, hearty co-operation of both ministers and people.<sup>42</sup>

## Freedom to Express Emotions

The fourth foundational element within South Australian Methodism which aided revivalism was that people could clearly express their emotions. Expressive piety found ready acceptance among many South Australian Methodists, with deep roots that went back to John Wesley's "strong conviction that religious excitement, however messy, was preferable to religious dullness and apathy, however orthodox"<sup>43</sup> At a revival that broke out in Bowden Bible Christian Church in 1855, "for weeks in succession men and women, lads and girls wept and prayed their way

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<sup>39</sup> W.T. Shapley, "Our Methodist Centenary" ACC, 25 October 1935, 3. Shapley was President of the South Australian Methodist Conference in 1923.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from James Rowe, 6 June 1853 to Missionary Committee, in the *Bible Christian Magazine*, (London: Partridge and Oakey, for the Bible Christian Book Committee, 1853), 477.

<sup>41</sup> Australian Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1875, 33, SLSA SRG 4/1/1, Vol. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Symons, *Life of Rev. D. J. Draper*, 128.

<sup>43</sup> David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 40. Quote only attributed to Hempton.



to the Saviour<sup>44</sup> During a revival in the Bible Christian Mount Lofty Circuit in 1877, strong men cried like children to see the bright faces and to hear the prayers and the clear testimony of the young converts<sup>45</sup> The visit of the Temperance Evangelist, Matthew Burnett, to the Willunga district in July 1882, engendered a spontaneous communal outpouring of unabashed self-expression, when, during the journey from Willunga to Adelaide, a distance of fifty kilometres, Burnett recorded:

All along the line of route we were cheered by those whose hands we grasped, perhaps for the last time, who with tearful eyes assured us that under God they and their families were completely changed since they signed the pledge.<sup>46</sup>

The straight-from-the heart spoken testimonies of the Mount Lofty children were influential in their effects, while the Burnett procession moved many, including those who had not attended the meetings, to outward forms of impassioned display. Adelaide city and inner suburban locations caught up in local revival gatherings also participated in excitable displays of much weeping and great joy<sup>47</sup> while for the usually more restrained Wesleyans almost every night [at the seaside settlement of Glenelg] there was heard the cry of the penitent and the rejoicing of the new-born soul<sup>47</sup> Although levels of intensity varied, and were transitory in nature, emotions such as spontaneous joy, weeping, crying, and cheering were part of a new religious self-understanding<sup>48</sup> evidence of unrestrained emotive self-expression.<sup>48</sup>

## Arminian Theology

The fifth foundational element was that Arminian theology suited the revivalist cause. The second annual Conference of united Methodism, held in Adelaide in 1901, declared that the Mission of Methodism to the New Century<sup>49</sup> contained three components: an intellectual mission, a social mission, and a spiritual mission. The spiritual mission included the proclamation<sup>49</sup> of a free, full, present salvation from

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<sup>44</sup> ACC, 6 October 1911, 8.

<sup>45</sup> SABCMag, November 1877, 360-361; ACC, 8 June 1906, 3.

<sup>46</sup> CW&MJ, 4 August 1882, 3.

<sup>47</sup> PMR, 21 July 1883, 3; CW&MJ, 6 August 1886, 6-7.

<sup>48</sup> D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 135. On the role of emotions in early Methodism, see Phyllis Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

all sin, for all sinners for ever.<sup>49</sup> This component was distinctly Arminian in nature. John and Charles Wesley (1707-1788) taught that a present salvation was open to all, not restricted by limited atonement to a select few. This contrasted with the Reformed doctrine of particular redemption, often associated with the writings of the Genevan theologian John Calvin, and the preaching of the eighteenth-century English Calvinist George Whitefield.<sup>50</sup> The doctrine of universal redemption, that all could be saved, is stated with force in the final verse of Charles Wesley's hymn:  
*Would Jesus Have the Sinner Die?*

O let thy love my heart constrain,  
Thy love for every sinner free,  
That every fallen soul of man,  
May taste the grace that found out me;  
That all mankind with me may prove  
Thy sovereign everlasting love.<sup>51</sup>

In the light of this significant and influential for all doctrine, it was imperative that Gospel proclamation must, wherever possible, follow the expansion of the colony's settlement. The universal relevance of Methodism's message was transmitted through the churches and congregations formed wherever settlement took place. Seventy years after the settlement began, revivalist activity and hymnody, according to the Rev. Brian Wibberley (1866-1944), Primitive Methodist minister prior to Union in 1900, and one of the great preachers of the early twentieth century, was still an important medium for the message as it helped to guarantee growth:

The genius of revival is simply this: a season of deepened spiritual consciousness, followed by a season of religious expansion.<sup>52</sup>

Another aspect of Arminian soteriology was Wesley's insistence that a lack of

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<sup>49</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference (Second Conference of the United Church)*, 1901, 43.

<sup>50</sup> Arminianism takes its name from Jakob Arminius (1560-1609) who taught that salvation was available to all persons through trust in Christ. For a biography on Arminius, see Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1998). For a theological account, see Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H. McCall, *Jacob Arminius: Theologian of Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>51</sup> *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the People Called Methodists* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1900), Hymn 33.

<sup>52</sup> Brian Wibberley, *Marks of Methodism and Other Studies* (Adelaide: Whillas and Ormiston, 1905), 125. Wibberley, a Bachelor of Music, was appointed to the cathedral pulpit of Primitive Methodism at Wellington Square, North Adelaide, from 1898-1902. On Wibberley, see Lewis Kelsall, *The Romance of Faith: Brian Wibberley* (Adelaide: Uniting Church Historical Society South Australia, 1998).

assurance indicated a falling away from the faith, a backslidden condition in which a lack of practical love was a sign.<sup>53</sup> According to Wesley, the doctrine of assurance emphasised ‘an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God’<sup>54</sup> The conviction of assurance, however, was always prone to regression: a fear that the believer might be falling from grace.<sup>55</sup> To counter this required a disciplined way of life as one ‘working out your salvation’ which Maddox succinctly termed, ‘responsible grace’<sup>56</sup> Believers could determine their standing with God through periodic self-examination and, if required, the convert could re-convert, perhaps in a later revival.<sup>57</sup> During the visit of the temperance evangelist Matthew Burnett to the Wesleyan Church at Brompton in 1880 it was reported that ‘eighty-eight persons are known to have found Christ, or restored from backsliding’<sup>58</sup> Revivalism was well suited to Arminian theology.

## Doctrine of Christian Perfection

The sixth foundational element of Methodism which suited revivalism was Wesley’s doctrine of Christian perfection or entire sanctification. Wesley preferred the term ‘perfect love’<sup>59</sup> For Wesley, the first stage in the Christian life was conversion, the result of justification by faith; the second, subsequent to conversion, in which ‘those who were fully consecrated [to God] committed no known sin and so their state was one of Christian perfection’<sup>60</sup> The two attainable stages are best outlined by Wesley: ‘that Christians are saved in this world from all sin, from all unrighteousness; that they are now in such a sense perfect, as not to commit sin, and to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers’<sup>61</sup> For some in the nineteenth

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<sup>53</sup> Richard P. Heitzenrater, ‘The Founding Brothers’ in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 30-50, 47.

<sup>54</sup> John Wesley, ‘The Witness of the Spirit’ in *John Wesley’s Forty-Four Sermons* (London: Epworth Press, 1977), 115.

<sup>55</sup> Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley’s Practical Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 164.

<sup>56</sup> The ‘working out your salvation’ is from Philippians 2:14. Maddox, *Responsible Grace*.

<sup>57</sup> *SAWM*, August 1865, 158.

<sup>58</sup> *MJ*, 6 August 1880, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Glen O’Brien, ‘Christian Perfection and Australian Methodism’, 234-247. On the Methodist holiness tradition, see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 153-155.

<sup>60</sup> David Bebbington, ed., *Protestant Nonconformist Texts Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 174.

<sup>61</sup> John Wesley’s sermon, ‘Christian Perfection’ Sermon XXXV, in *John Wesley’s Forty-Four Sermons* (London: Epworth Press, 1977), 476. Despite much criticism over the doctrine, particularly

century, although the experience came at the same time as conversion, and was attained by faith, it came more because of the steady and protracted growth in overcoming inward sin in the life of believers, as they grew in love for God and others.<sup>62</sup>

Wesley considered the doctrine of Christian perfection as “the grand *depositum* which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appears to have raised us up”<sup>63</sup> The doctrine was often proclaimed in annual addresses of the various Methodist Conferences, in which the church members were “urged to seek holiness” and, as it was “proven by experience to be attainable” it was declared to be “the charta of Methodism” to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land.<sup>64</sup>

Because Christian perfection could be lost from the life of the believer, this doctrine had important implications for the Methodist revivalist tradition.<sup>65</sup> In 1865, during the opening services for Kent Town Wesleyan Church, the popular visiting American revivalist, the Rev. William “California” Taylor, exhorted the large congregation to “be ye holy” which he claimed was a “command conveyed in the words of the text”<sup>66</sup> Taylor visited many towns in South Australia and included calls for salvation as well as injunctions to holiness.<sup>67</sup> Thus, in revivals there was often a call to conversion followed by a call to Christian perfection; the latter appealed to those who had the assurance of salvation, but whose lives were not wholly sanctified. The quest for Christian perfection often brought on a crisis, which was resolved during special revival services through the targeted teaching and appeal of the preacher. For example, at special services held in Willunga in 1887 by the Bible Christian Conference Evangelist, the Rev. C. Tresise, “over thirty gave their hearts to

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over use of the word “perfection” the sermon first published in 1741 remained his standard treatise of the subject.

<sup>62</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England*, 62.

<sup>63</sup> Ralph Kirby, ed., *The Methodist Bedside Book* (London: Hulton, 1954), 113, cited in Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 24. See also, Abraham, “Christian Perfection” 594.

<sup>64</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1876, 28-33; Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1901, 44.

<sup>65</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England*, 63.

<sup>66</sup> *South Australian Register*, 11 August 1865, 3; *SAWM*, August 1865, 154.

<sup>67</sup> For example, at Strathalbyn in October 1865, Taylor exhorted a crowd of one thousand assembled in a wheat store to, “go on unto perfection” See *SAWM*, January 1866, 16.

Christ, and several came for the blessing of perfect love<sup>68</sup> The compatible handmaidens of conversion and the holiness tradition prospered in the revivalist cause, because of the almost undue reverence Methodism gave to its remorseless emphasis on scriptural holiness<sup>69</sup>

## ‘Special Measures’

The seventh characteristic of the Methodist pattern of revivals was the adoption of special measures. Methodism was particularly adept in adopting new ideas and techniques in evangelistic pursuits, although ever conscious of the tensions involved. In South Australia, these included ‘Camp Meetings’, the ‘penitent form’ and ‘protracted meetings’

### Camp Meetings

Primitive Methodism formed in 1812 under the leadership of Hugh Bourne following a split in Wesleyan Methodism over the introduction of ‘Camp Meetings’. The Wesleyans considered that the American camp meeting was inappropriate for use in England, while the Primitive Methodists embraced the idea, and adopted a one-day event without an actual camp.<sup>70</sup> The camp meeting had its American origin at Red River and Gasper River, Kentucky in 1800, during the Presbyterian communion season. The American evangelist, Lorenzo Dow, during his visit to Britain in 1805-1806, advocated the meeting.<sup>71</sup> The Presbyterian communion season included a weekend of preaching, prayer, and devotional meetings that culminated in the communion service and often led to revival.<sup>72</sup>

The South Australian Primitive Methodists, true to their British parentage, maintained the camp meeting as a regular feature of circuit life. These meetings, developed along the lines of Hugh Bourne’s, and held in conjunction with the annual District Meeting of the Primitive Methodist Church, were important features of open-

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<sup>68</sup> *SABCM*, August 1887, 669.

<sup>69</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 58.

<sup>70</sup> Bebbington, ed., *Protestant Nonconformist Texts* vol. 3, 260.

<sup>71</sup> On the origin of the American camp meeting see, Wolfe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 2006, 53-59. For the split in English Wesleyan Methodism, see Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 16.

<sup>72</sup> Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), 59-68.

air revivalism.<sup>73</sup> At the second District Meeting held at Mount Barker on Thursday 7 October 1858, people came from the surrounding district in whatever conveyances could be secured, while some walked from Strathalbyn (twenty kilometres away) and beyond to attend the camp meeting.<sup>74</sup> Numbers swelled when hundreds from the suburbs and country attended a camp meeting held near the old Exhibition buildings in Adelaide following a District Meeting around 1860. The processions were powerful and nearly two-thousand people listened attentively to the preaching and testimonies of the converted at the meeting.<sup>75</sup> The attendance was impressive, given that the Primitive Methodist membership for the entire colony at this time was approximately one-thousand, and consisted of four circuits each with twelve representatives to the District Meeting.<sup>76</sup> The *Primitive Methodist Record* thought such attendances reflected the interest shown by members and adherents in the spiritual as well as the legislative results of the Connexion. This was suggestive of agreement with the Connexion's primitive past and the romantic simplicity and religious passion as advocated by Hugh Bourne over fifty years earlier.<sup>77</sup> Camp meetings were popular in the circuits as well. In 1867, the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record* reported:

We have held camp meetings during the quarter at North Kensington and West Mitcham. They were attended by a large number of persons. The preachers announced, earnestly and faithfully, the invitations and threatening of the Gospel. Many tears were shed, great rejoicings were heard, much good was done, and they will be remembered as memorial days of the past.<sup>78</sup>

The Wesleyans were also active proponents of camp meetings in the 1860s, particularly during the time when the Rev. John Watsford was appointed to South Australia as District chairman (1862-1868). Prior to his arrival in the colony, Watsford had experienced a number of camp meetings in the circuits he presided over. One of these, held in Maitland in the Hunter Valley, New South Wales in 1860, possessed great spiritual power and attracted large numbers of whom over fifty

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<sup>73</sup> John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London: Epworth, 1978), 54.

<sup>74</sup> *SAPMR*, April 1879, 336.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Membership figure listed in Appendix Two. *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record*, 337.

<sup>77</sup> Kent, *Holding the Fort*, 53.

<sup>78</sup> *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record*, January 1867, 11.

were converted to God<sup>79</sup>

An all-day camp meeting held on Good Friday in 1867, during Watsford's last year in Adelaide, drew twelve-hundred to the home of Mr. C. Follard at Enfield. The event was typical of others held at this time. A large tent contained seating brought in from other chapels. The day commenced with *O for a thousand tongues to sing*, which the people *did* sing. Four ordained and two lay speakers addressed the morning and afternoon sessions. One of the speakers brought hearers to tears, as stirring hymns and fervent prayers sounded inside and outside the tent. At lunchtime, women set the tables as the gathering spread around the grounds in small and large groups, some of whom talked together of the goodness of God. The event was not without its converts as not a few, made the resolve, that this people shall be my people and their God my God. The day concluded with an evening service held in Archer Street Church, North Adelaide, during which some further conversions took place. From that day, and over the next two to three months, showers of blessings visited the three Adelaide Wesleyan circuits during special services.<sup>80</sup>

At the June Quarterly Meeting of the Adelaide Second Circuit held on 27 June 1867, there were 103 on trial.<sup>81</sup> A love feast held after the Quarterly Meeting in the Archer Street Church, reminiscent of a revivalist ethos, was indeed a time of power from on high. The place was filled with His glory, and every heart with holy joy. Many were led to realise the unspeakable blessing of perfect love, and each, on looking back on the said season of refreshing, is constrained to exclaim, and He blessed me there.<sup>82</sup> Like their counterpart in America, the Adelaide Second Circuit Quarterly Meeting, ran over into a season of blessing, when routine shaded into revival.<sup>83</sup> The total number of converts in the three circuits was 230 with an additional seventy reported on trial. The Good Friday camp meeting may have precipitated a revival, special services may have sustained it, but it was the transaction of Methodist business that precipitated cause for celebration. Forty years

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<sup>79</sup> John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901), 124-125.

<sup>80</sup> *SAWM*, July 1867, 110-111.

<sup>81</sup> Persons wishing to become Methodists normally spent two to three months on trial as members of a class before admission to full membership.

<sup>82</sup> *SAWM*, July 1867, 110-111.

<sup>83</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 80.

later, Watsford opined that despite the benefits that camp meetings provided, more could have been achieved through them if the practices of American Methodism had been examined and applied wherever appropriate.<sup>84</sup>

The popularity of camp meeting revivalism, however, started to decline around the late 1870s. By then, attendances at Primitive Methodist meetings had fallen away in comparison to earlier meetings.<sup>85</sup> The Wesleyans were less than enthusiastic about the longer-term prospects of the camp meeting. In 1890, the editor of the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* acknowledged that, although the camp meeting was important for American Methodism, "the blending of holiday excursions, picnics, and Arcadian pleasures, with high religious teaching and earnest spiritual exercises, rendered them out of harmony with English and Australian taste"<sup>86</sup> By the 1890s, Wesleyan interest in the camp meeting had diminished, whereas the Primitive Methodists still maintained theirs as part of their District Meetings and circuit gatherings, despite fewer in attendance than thirty years earlier.<sup>87</sup>

### **Anxious Seat or Penitent Form**

"Special measures" were also referred to as "special means" or "special services" and some found their origin in the Evangelical Revival, such as the outdoor preaching of Wesley and Whitefield. Others were modified and adapted and new ones such as the anxious seat (a special bench at the front of the church for those under conviction) introduced, influenced by the "new measures" which featured in the revivalism of Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875).<sup>88</sup> Richard Carwardine abbreviated these:

In new measure revivalism, preaching was often more direct, specific and theatrical and was often conducted by preachers who itinerated with the avowed intention of stirring churches and winning converts. Prayers were sustained over long periods, sometimes with specific requests for named individuals. At "social" or "promiscuous" prayer meetings, women might prove as vocal as men. In addition to the more reputable enquiry meetings, the "anxious seat" was employed. This was a pew set aside at the front of the congregation where those in a state of concern over their souls could go on

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<sup>84</sup> Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, 124-125.

<sup>85</sup> *SAPMR*, April 1879, 336.

<sup>86</sup> *CW&MJ*, 10 October 1890, 7.

<sup>87</sup> See for example, *SAPMR*, January 1890, 308; January 1891, 512.

<sup>88</sup> Wolfe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 71.



to be exhorted and prayed for by the minister and where a public commitment might be expected. In these high pressure conditions, the roused emotions found in any revival could explode uncontrollably. Protracted meetings held over three or four days or even much longer served only to increase the likelihood of emotionalism. In general there was no rigid procedure, and the methods employed could vary from revival to revival. What was constant was the boldness, frenetic activity, emphasis on public pressures, and general readiness to experiment that marked the exponents of the new-measure revivalism.<sup>89</sup>

Finney's controversial *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835), based on the premise that "a revival is the result of the right use of the appropriate means" were first published in Britain.<sup>90</sup> His work heralded a shift in emphasis from Calvinism to Arminianism as the authoritative theology of evangelistic understanding and practice, which placed "a greater stress on human responsibility than divine sovereignty in the soteriological equation."<sup>91</sup> The Primitive Methodists were cautious, but accepted with some qualifications Finney's "Arminianised Calvinism" and reproduced the "lectures" in their denominational serial.<sup>92</sup> South Australian Methodists, like their American counterparts, did not need to acquire their Arminian theology from Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. Their revivalist practice in the latter half of the nineteenth-century meant that they were at least familiar with the emphasis that Finney gave to the use of the "anxious seat" and protracted meetings.<sup>93</sup>

The "anxious seat" or more commonly known as the "penitent form" within South Australian Methodism, was a well-established part of revival activity by the time of the 1875 Moonta revival. Used extensively in that revival, enquirers occupied the crowded forms after the sermon, and in full view of large gatherings. Some made "cries for mercy" others appeared to be "in great distress of soul" and still more called out, "What must we do to be saved?"<sup>94</sup> Preceded by massed singing, and with emotion engendered by enthusiastic crowds, the revival meetings fashioned many

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<sup>89</sup> Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 8.

<sup>90</sup> Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, 13; Bebbington, ed., *Protestant Nonconformist Texts*, vol. 3, 261.

<sup>91</sup> In the original text, the quote is in reference to the Southern Baptists of today adopting a "Great Commission hermeneutic." The quote could also be applied to Finney's theology. See Rick Nelson, *How Does Doctrine Affect Evangelism? The Divergent Paths of Asahel Nettleton and Charles Finney*, 1-2. <http://wwwFOUNDERS.org/journal/fj33/article1.html> (28 April 2014).

<sup>92</sup> Bebbington, ed., *Protestant Nonconformist Texts*, vol. 3, 261.

<sup>93</sup> Kent, *Holding the Fort*, 24.

<sup>94</sup> *SABCMag*, August 1875, 98-99.

penitents. The atmosphere in the meetings was palpable and conducive to securing conversions.<sup>95</sup>

### Protracted Meetings

The use of protracted meetings, another special measure, was a feature of Methodist revival activity from the 1840s. A typical example was the Bible Christian Clarendon Mission at McLaren Vale, which was the scene of a glorious revival of religion in August 1868. Meetings commenced on Monday 6 August, 1868, and for the next three weeks, nightly meetings were held, some followed by prayer meetings with the exception of Saturday evenings. Two experience meetings were held on the two Sabbaths during which conversion testimonies were given. Conversions recorded for the three weeks were twenty-six, thirty-seven, and nineteen respectively. These eighty-two produced sixty additional members to the society, which, according to the *South Australian Wesleyan Magazine*, resulted in the conversion of almost the whole neighbourhood<sup>96</sup> Circuit-driven special services held over extended periods, sometimes up to six weeks, enabled the local minister to arouse the attendees to impassioned enthusiasm and expectant results; psychological preparation was just as important as the spiritual.<sup>97</sup> The use of the anxious seat or penitent form and protracted meetings were in keeping with Finney's new measures. Not only were revivals the result of the right use of the appropriate means, leaders were expected to work actively to promote them.<sup>98</sup>

However, not all Methodists were enthusiastic about these special measures. The Rev. Brian Wibberley exemplified the tension associated with the adoption of special measures in South Australian Methodism in 1905:

While we deprecate all attempts at getting up a revival, let all at this juncture be very careful to avoid every hindrance which may prevent God from sending it down.<sup>99</sup>  
We cannot organise a revival, but we can organise ourselves. We should

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<sup>95</sup> On the 1875 Moonta revival see for example, *SABCMag*, August 1875, 98-99.

<sup>96</sup> *SABCMag*, November 1868, 46; *SAWMag*, October 1868, 91.

<sup>97</sup> William George Taylor, *The Life-Story of an Australian Evangelist* (London: Epworth, 1920), 64. The importance of psychological factors in the conversion experience has been widely recognised since the work of William James in *Varieties of Religious Experience*.

<sup>98</sup> Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, 13.

<sup>99</sup> Wibberley, *Marks of Methodism and other Studies*, 136.

seek a revival of the spirit of prayer and the desire for sanctity in ourselves and our churches.<sup>100</sup>

Wibberley believed that intensified prayer activity and increased sanctity were at the heart of the search for revival; revive the church and the people will follow.

Furthermore, he contended, revivals fostered through a greater reliance on the two more traditional means of prayer and holiness would guarantee wider acceptance than revivals pursued with some of the measures employed by visiting revivalists up to the beginning of the twentieth-century. American-inspired measures to "get up" a revival such as anxious seats and protracted meetings, according to Wibberley, contributed to the gradual demise of Methodist revivalism as the denomination sought greater respectability.<sup>101</sup> Prayer and the search for holiness involve human agency, which is part of the divinely appointed "instrumental means of spiritual renewal" that God may use to send revival.<sup>102</sup>

## Conclusion

The seven foundational elements identified within South Australian Methodism were factors conducive to revival. Itinerant and local lay leadership exercised effective administrative and evangelistic initiatives within a connexional framework that supported expansion. This occurred through the unfolding establishment of classes, circuits, and eventually districts and a conference. Early Methodists stressed that conversion was necessary and possible. The ability to integrate the vision of an expanding church throughout the colony with the necessary resources helped to establish communities where reproducible revivalism broke out.

The Methodist constituency expressed religious exuberance and emotional piety in the knowledge that the immediacy of God was available through affective experience.<sup>103</sup> There was a religion which developed heartfelt devotion, a "religion

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<sup>100</sup> Wibberley, *Marks of Methodism and other Studies*, 126.

<sup>101</sup> John Wolfe concluded that by 1830, Methodism in Canada and the United States was trending toward greater respectability due to the "very success of revivals." See Wolfe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 87.

<sup>102</sup> Gerald L. Priest, "Revival and Revivalism: A Historical and Doctrinal Evaluation," *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal*, vol. 1 (Fall 1996): 223-252, at 232.

<sup>103</sup> Frederick J. Streng, *Understanding Religious Life*, Religious Life of Man Series, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Wadsworth, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1985), 25-42.

of the heart<sup>104</sup> Arminian theology, with its emphasis of salvation for all, available through faith in Christ, not restricted by a limited atonement, also characterised the foundation of revival. The doctrine of Christian perfection or entire sanctification added to the crisis of conversion by providing the revivalist with the offering of sanctification as well. Thus, for Methodists, personal conversion and revival were the engines of social change, and scriptural holiness was the heaven of history<sup>105</sup>

These foregoing foundational elements, allied with innovative special measures provided the overall ethos for Methodist revivalism in South Australia. Within this setting, revival could be both spontaneous and promoted. The goal of scriptural holiness spread by revivalism was an attempt to Methodise Christianity in the colony.

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<sup>104</sup> In 1743, John Wesley wrote in defence of the Evangelical Revival, his *Earnest Appeal*...in which he urged his readers to move beyond superficial piety to inquire into the bottom of religion, the religion of the heart. See John Wesley, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Bristol: n.p., 1743), Eighteenth Century Collections Online Print Editions.

<sup>105</sup> Bollen, *Religion in Australian Society*, 43.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOWING THE SEEDS OF COLONIAL REVIVALISM

The quest for a revival of ðvitalø or ðheart religionø was expressed succinctly by the Rev. J. H. Martin, speaking to a congregation of farmers at Waterloo in the Saddleworth Circuit, some 100 kilometres north of Adelaide in 1877. In the aftermath of the church anniversary, Martin mused:

In this place we have a nice little church, free of debt: we have peace within our borders, but have need of a revival of heart religion.<sup>1</sup>

The editor of the Primitive Methodist denominational quarterly paper echoed the same concern when, a year later he wrote of the church's great need:

What is it! Not a few will join with us when we say a widespread and permanent revival of religion. From all parts of the land there comes a complaint of the low state of religion in the province. Spiritual apathy is widespread. Not Primitive Methodism alone, but almost all Churches complain of a general declension and deadness which weigh heavily on the hearts of ministers. Faithful men amongst the laity are cast down and perplexed; the want of religious life is apparent in the unsympathetic attitude of many of those who attend.<sup>2</sup>

The proponents of ðvital religionø were not content with ðspiritual apathyø. They knew that the vitality of their religion could be lost, and yet recovered. This is amply recorded in the memorial to the life of John Bishop. Born in Redruth, Cornwall, in 1832, he settled at Moonta Mines in 1869 and became associated with the Primitive Methodist Church. Regular in church attendance, ðearnest at the means of graceø and liberal in his support of the church, it was said of John Bishop:

A few years since, however, from some cause or other, ceased to attend the class meeting, a meeting to which he had hitherto been strongly attached, and he gradually lost his experience of the life, and power, and blessedness of true religion, although still keeping up an outward connection with the church.<sup>3</sup>

Following his removal to Adelaide on account of ill health, John Bishop recovered

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<sup>1</sup> *SAPMR*, July 1877, 119.

<sup>2</sup> *SAPMR*, July 1878, 227.

<sup>3</sup> *SAPMR*, July 1885, 166.

his faith as he yielded himself up to God, and again entered into the enjoyment of peace through believing in Christ as his personal saviour.<sup>4</sup> Hence, this true vital or heart religion could be lost and later recovered through individual re-conversion or revivalist means. When were vital religion and the Methodist emphasis on revivalism established in South Australia?

This chapter will locate Methodist revivalism in the early colonial years of South Australia following settlement in 1836. As temperance and Sunday observance were some of the characteristic ways in which Methodists grew in holiness, this chapter examines their presence in seed form as well. They were evidences of the vital Christian life of the Methodist. The religious background to the founding of South Australia is helpful in the analysis of the establishment of vital religion and the significant role it later played in the lives of the people of the colony and state.

## Religious Background to Settlement

The colony of South Australia was established in 1836. It was both an opportunity for commercial colonisation in order to test the claims of systematic colonisation as envisaged by Edwin Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) and the national Colonization Society, and an occasion in which the altruistic ideals of civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions were tested and openly professed.<sup>5</sup>

It was to be a colony without the privilege of an established and endowed church, but one imbued with the voluntary principle of religious association and support.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *SAPMR*, July 1885, 166-167.

<sup>5</sup> Carey, *God's Empire*, 318. Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 3. The fundamental economic principle of systematic colonisation was that the growth and expansion of the colony were to be regulated according to land sales which in turn would attract labour and further capital. The colony was until 1842 controlled by three organisations: Colonial Office through the Governor (all issues except emigration and land sales), Board of Commissioners in London (land sales and emigration abolished in 1842), and the South Australian Company (commercial interests including the Baptist George Fife Angas (1789-1879). It was Angas who funded partly the appointment of the Rev. T. Q. Stow of the Colonial Missionary Society in 1837 and encouraged other Nonconformists to emigrate and invest in the colony, including a group of German Lutherans and their leader, Pastor Kavel. This helped to ensure the presence and growth of a strong dissenting influence. See Trevor Griffin and Murray McCaskill, eds., *Atlas of South Australia* (Adelaide: South Australian Government in association with Wakefield Press, 1986), 1. Carey, *God's Empire*, 197, 320.

<sup>6</sup> J. Stephens, *The Land of Promise, Being an Authentic and Impartial History of the Rise and Progress of the New British Province of South Australia Etc. by One Who is Going* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1839), 129-42. The chapter on religious provision opens: 'South Australia is

Individuals would accept responsibility for the provision of clergy and church income. Far from any estimation of 'colonisation without religion' it was rather colonisation 'without religious proscription'.<sup>7</sup> The settlement was part of a wider vision of European-settler Christianity in which the mainly Protestant British nation played a significant role in the transportation of its religious culture and faith.<sup>8</sup> As a nation 'under the guidance of a special Providence', its destiny and prosperity were inextricably linked with its Christian confessionality.<sup>9</sup>

Such culture and faith often extended beyond the confines of the mere formalities and practices of religion to fuse the sacred with the secular. By 1836, the blending of commercial and religious interests was a well established tradition within the British Empire. By the 1840s, the assertion that Britain had a 'distinctly evangelical imperative' to prosecute international action for 'global regeneration' was widely understood and accepted by British churches and many within politics.<sup>10</sup> However, as far back as 1660 the Council of Foreign Plantations was instructed to enact a religious mandate:

Take care to propagate the Gospel; to send strict orders and instructions for regulating and reforming the debaucheries of planters and servants; to consider how the natives, or such as have been purchased from other parts to be servants or slaves, may be best invited to the Christian faith.<sup>11</sup>

The evangelicals of the 1830s found ready agreement in such commendable sentiments. The declared policy of the directors of the South Australian Company was to promote a confluence of commercial profitability and biblical precept. The Company officials saw themselves not as 'grasping traders, but of the enlightened and far sighted merchants of England; and with a philanthropy worthy of Christianity

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distinguished from all other British colonies, by the circumstance that no provision has been made by the state for the promotion of religion. The voluntary principle will, therefore, be fairly put to the test. Written by the Wesleyan journalist, John Stephens (1806-1850), the book promoting South Australia was published by the South Australian Company.

<sup>7</sup> Carey, *God's Empire*, 319.

<sup>8</sup> For a comprehensive early account of European-settler Christianity see K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols (London: Harper and Brothers, 1937-45). For Australia, his work is supplemented by the much more recent I. Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> *Hansard Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords*, series 3, vol. 20, August 1833, 225. Speech by Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>10</sup> John Wolffe (ed.), *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal* (London: SPCK, 1995), 81.

<sup>11</sup> Arthur Mills, *Colonial Constitutions* (London: John Murray, 1856), 5-6.

in its purest daysí have sought to engraft upon their commercial enterprise the moral and religious prosperity of the community<sup>12</sup> Such policy had the approbation of David McLaren (1785-1850), the Company's second Colonial Manager, who took his departure from the colony in January 1841 at a lavish public dinner held in his honour, and attended by more than a hundred leading colonists. He used the occasion to vindicate his personal and public ethic as a 'prosecution of business with the maintenance of piety' and for whom conduct was regulated and governed by the 'benevolence and fear of God' which promoted uprightness and integrity.<sup>13</sup>

From the outset, Nonconformity was a significant part of the colony's religious character, encouraged by religious equality guaranteed by the separation of church and state and without an Anglican hegemony through its centuries-old partnership with the state.<sup>14</sup> Here was a separation in function, but one in which the church's dependency on state protection and the state's need of religious influence in the maintenance of civil order led to a mutually beneficial relationship.<sup>15</sup> George Fife Angas (1789-1879), passionate exponent of free trade, religious liberty, and a strong Dissenting influence, had three goals for South Australia:

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<sup>12</sup> *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 24 February 1838, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *South Australian Register*, 2 January 1841. McLaren was instrumental in the growth of the Company through astute lending, property acquisition, banking, shipping, and farm management. He was an ardent evangelical and lay preacher, active in Baptist circles, and was generous in making loans to Protestant churches and schools. He was an active opponent of attempts to found a Roman Catholic Church in Adelaide, and through business and piety sought to establish the colony as a devout evangelical Protestant community. See *ADB*, vol. 2.

<sup>14</sup> The establishment of evangelical Nonconformity was given considerable impetus from October 1837 when the Independent minister, the Rev. Thomas Quinton Stow (1801-1862) from the Independent Church at Halstead, Essex, arrived in the colony. See *ADB*, vol. 2, 491-492. The transition from the traditional idea of a colonial government in conjunctive unity with the Church of England, to Anglicanism acting autonomously in matters of establishing Episcopal churches was still being worked out in the Australian colonies in the 1830s. For example, Rowan Strong challenges the prevailing long-standing view that during the period of Western Australia's first four Governors (1827-1857), Anglican privilege was well established. He argues that 'far from maintaining a bias towards the Church of England, the colonial government maintained an erastian control over that Church which was at odds with the increasing political neutrality of imperial governments from the 1830s' See Rowan Strong, 'Church and State in Western Australia: Implementing New Imperial Paradigms in the Swan River Colony, 1827-1857', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 61, no. 3 (July 2010), 517-540. Although the South Australia Act (1834) contained a 'chaplaincy clause' for the paid appointment of both Church of England and Church of Scotland clergymen, only two Anglicans (Charles Beaumont Howard and James Farrell ó with only Howard paid from the civil list) served in the office of Colonial Chaplain until the position was abolished in 1869. Rigorous Dissenting influence and the vigorous opposition to state aid to the churches by those who envisaged churches as voluntary associations free from government control ensured religious equality and the voluntary principle. See also Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 115-119, and N. K. Meaney, 'The Church of England in the paradise of dissent: a problem of assimilation', *Journal of Religious History* iii (1964): 137-57.

<sup>15</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 12.



My great object was, in the first instance, to provide a place of refuge for pious Dissenters of Great Britain, who could in their new home discharge their consciences before God in civil and religious duties without any disabilities. Then in the second place, to provide a place where the children of pious farmers might have farms on which to settle and provide bread for their families; and lastly, that I might be the humble instrument of laying the foundation of a good system of education and religious instruction for the poorer settlers.<sup>16</sup>

The opportunity for Dissenters to emigrate in search of freedom from religious persecution, as occurred in the American colonies, was part of Dissenting history.<sup>17</sup>

The influence of Angas and those whom he appointed as emigration agents in Britain was such that one-third of the 12,204 free passage colonists selected from 1836 until 1842 helped to ensure a strong, pious Dissenting presence.<sup>18</sup>

The early Nonconformists were no doubt heartened by the remarks of Governor George Gawler (1795-1869) on the eve of his departure from the colony in May 1841.<sup>19</sup> In responding to Wesleyan expressions of goodwill, Gawler pronounced in a somewhat eulogistic and prophetic tone:

I most sincerely pray, that God in His faithfulness and power may preserve and extend the pure and simple doctrines of His Word among yourselves and every denomination in South Australia, knowing as I do, that there is no other permanent foundation for individual or public prosperity.<sup>20</sup>

Like the British -confessional state, cooperation of church and state promoted -national security, public morality and good order.<sup>21</sup> In other words, there was no doubt in Gawler's mind that the churches had a civic duty to enhance the well-being and prosperity of the colony through the effective extension of their work.

## Converting the Colonists – Revivalism

Gawler's expansionist sentiment for the churches and expected societal well-

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<sup>16</sup> Edwin Hodder, *George Fife Angas: Father and Founder of South Australia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891), 239.

<sup>17</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 47.

<sup>18</sup> Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant Colonel George Gawler was the second Governor of South Australia from 17 October 1838 until 15 May 1841. Gawler was selected, in part, because the Colonization Commissioners wanted a -godly man. See *ADB*, vol. 1, 431-435.

<sup>20</sup> Bickford, *Christian Work in Australasia*, 146.

<sup>21</sup> Carey, *God's Empire*, 41.

being was echoed many times within Methodism in the oft repeated statement of the Hebrew sage that 'Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people'<sup>22</sup> But how was this to be done? As a movement which found its genesis in revival, Methodism looked enthusiastically to revivals as the primary means by which its influence and extension was to be measured.<sup>23</sup> This was a common feature of the various branches of Methodism:

The expectation of recurring revivals of religion was common to all the Methodist bodies. It was natural that such a hope should beat strongly throughout Methodism. It was believed that what had happened in the days of Wesley could be repeated, subject to some modifications because of changed circumstances, among later generations. Primitive Methodism was the fruit of revivalistic preaching. Revivalism was a perennial feature of Methodism in the county of Cornwall, and of this phenomenon the Bible Christian movement was the most lasting fruit. Methodists of whatever denominational hue prayed and hoped for the sort of revival that would fill their churches.<sup>24</sup>

It did not take long before the first recorded revival in the colony occurred. Barely eighteen months after the colony was founded and three months after the first stone building was opened for public worship in March 1838, a Methodist love-feast was held on 3 June 1838, conducted by local preacher Jacob Abbott.<sup>25</sup> What followed was a long series of blessed revivals, in the course of which many people were added unto the Lord.<sup>26</sup> A Methodist society formed in the absence of a Wesleyan minister established regular ministrations.<sup>27</sup> Soon after his appointment to Adelaide by the British Methodist Conference of 1840, John Eggleston (1813-1879), known as an energetic 'soul-saving' preacher, reported that: 'A blessed revival of the work of God broke out. Backsliders were reclaimed, sinners were converted, and many believers were enabled to testify to the possession and enjoyment of perfect

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<sup>22</sup> Proverbs 14:34. See Blacket, *The Early History of South Australia*, xxii.

<sup>23</sup> Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 22-23.

<sup>25</sup> 'Love feasts' were occasions for fellowship and testimony during which members drank water from a common cup and ate pieces of bread from a plate passed around. Based on a rite of the early church and attended by active members only, at least in the early years, meetings created an atmosphere of mutual trust and support. The practice lasted until around the end of the nineteenth-century. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 162-163.

<sup>26</sup> James Colwell, ed., *A Century in the Pacific* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1914), 305.

<sup>27</sup> Colwell, 303-305.

love<sup>28</sup>

Writing to the Missionary Committee on 19 January 1841, Eggleston reported times of refreshing as a sign of divine visitation. Aware of an anxious state among believers over their purity of heart, he employed special means including a 5am prayer meeting for believers seeking sanctification:

Several came, and they were examined individually as to the direct witness of the Spirit to their adoption. All were clear upon this point. Five witnessed a good confession of their happy enjoyment of perfect love. The rest testified their deep anxiety to secure the same blessedness. Four of these, before the meeting concluded, were enabled to believe, and felt the overwhelming power of saving grace.<sup>29</sup>

Eggleston also reported a marked change in the attitude of the leaders within the society. More united and harmonious in their work and display of brotherly love their active zeal was emulated by other society members. These qualities, it was believed, were instrumental in the raising up of others to further the work of the society in the city and nearby settlements. Furthermore, a number of conversions took place, and a special Pentecostal visitation occurred on the first Sabbath of 1841.<sup>30</sup>

The results of Eggleston's work reflected the emphasis he placed on two doctrines within Wesleyan Methodism. The first was the doctrine of assurance, wherein believers possessed an inner witness of the Spirit of God that they belonged to God. Secondly, the doctrine of Christian perfection which taught that it was possible for a believer to experience perfect love or holiness. The turning away from sinful desire and action to embrace holy or right living could be the ongoing state of the believer when controlled by the Spirit of God.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> On Eggleston's life see ADB vol. 4, 132. Bickford, *Christian Work in Australasia*, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 66. This is the only nineteenth-century history of Wesleyan Methodism for South Australia. Derived from a series of articles, which appeared in the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* from 1 January 1886 to 24 June 1887, it was reprinted in a limited edition by the South Australian Methodist Historical Society in 1958. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 34.

<sup>30</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 66.

<sup>31</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 65-66, 76. The doctrines of Christian Perfection and Assurance are outlined in W. J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 587-617.

Following the first Sabbath in 1841, increased religious enthusiasm led to the establishment of an auxiliary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. This happened at a public meeting within days of that first Sabbath, presided over by Judge Cooper with support from the Rev. T. Q. Stow (Congregational) and Rev. R. Drummond (Presbyterian). The well attended meeting appointed a committee of twenty members of the Gawler Place church.<sup>32</sup>

Methodist missions were a part of Methodism from its inception. John Wesley's metaphor, "The world is my parish" was both an evangelistic statement and justification for territorial expansionism.<sup>33</sup> The formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) in 1817 under the direction of the British Conference, brought better coordination and centralised control to the otherwise disparate nature of mission work.<sup>34</sup> The Adelaide Wesleyan auxiliary, buoyed by early evangelical and notable civic support, collected £105, which included five guineas from Governor Gawler, for the work of the parent body in London. Ever mindful of their long standing opposition to a privileged and established church, the colony's Wesleyan Methodists were no doubt quietly approving of the act of recognition on behalf of the colonial authorities.<sup>35</sup> Their evangelical credentials in supporting the WMMS, noted for its commitment to conversionism and the reformation of the host culture, were confirmed.<sup>36</sup> The colony's Methodists, themselves the result of the exertions of the WMMS in establishing the initial presence in South Australia, were enthusiastic in their support of the wider work of the WMMS; conversion of the heathen in far off lands was part of their mandate as exponents of "vital religion"

The formation of the missionary society was seen by some as the result of a revival of the work of God.<sup>37</sup> Certainly, there seems to be some justification for this assertion as evidenced by the statistical returns. In September 1841, a membership of

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<sup>32</sup> *The South Australian Register*, 16 January 1841. Civic notables included Hon. Wm. Smilie, Advocate-General; Wm. Bartley, Esq., Registrar-General; Dr. Litchfield; Messrs. Moorehouse, Giles, Peacock, Goss, MacDougall, and Frew.

<sup>33</sup> Dana L. Robert and Douglas D. Tzan, "Traditions and Transitions in Mission Thought" in Abraham and Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, 431-448, at 432.

<sup>34</sup> Carey, *God's Empire*, 181. Samuel Leigh was the first WMMS appointee to New South Wales in 1815. With the formation of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Conference by the British Conference in 1855, Australia assumed its own responsibility for foreign missions.

<sup>35</sup> Carey, *God's Empire*, 192.

<sup>36</sup> Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, 72-92.

<sup>37</sup> Bickford, *Christian Work in Australasia*, 142.

277 with twenty on trial for membership was reported, an increase of 117 over the year. Most of these, according to Eggleston, were new converts, with only eight having transferred their membership from home churches in England. Furthermore, there were twenty-five preaching places, and of these, four consisted of chapel buildings: Gawler Place, Franklin Street, North Adelaide, and Bowden which together had 700 attendees at public worship. Other preaching places, which included private homes, extended to Willunga in the south and Kersbrook to the north-east. Eggleston was assisted by twenty-five local preachers in full connexion and four on trial. A total of 552 scholars and fifty-three teachers was also reported.<sup>38</sup>

What do we know of these converts? It is likely that they came from the labourers and workers that provided the bulk of the immigrant population of the colony, and that they were relatively young. There were 4,408 arrivals in 1840 comprising agricultural labourers, bakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, brick makers, carpenters, carriers, domestic servants, ploughmen, shepherds, sawyers, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, painters, miners, masons, millers, and various other trades.<sup>39</sup> It is also likely that the converts were those who had limited contact with the churches in England, as there were so few transfers of church memberships, and in the colony, were not constrained by social attitudes and class distinctions.<sup>40</sup> It is not surprising that some, who may have considered themselves nominally Christian, should respond with enthusiasm to the claims of 'vital religion'. For these colonists, religion had taken on a new meaning and for Wesleyan Methodism, revivalist fervour had meant that times of refreshing could not only maintain its constituency but make an advance as well. At the very least, identification with a nominally known religious society provided them with a sentimental link to their mother country.<sup>41</sup>

These local Methodist societies were composed of and led by lay officials who, like Eggleston, were committed to John Wesley's vision of holy living. Together with the local preachers they provided cohesion and a spirit of unity under

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<sup>38</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 71-72.

<sup>39</sup> Information extracted from *The Almanac* for 1840, reprinted in the *South Australian Register*, 2 January 1841.

<sup>40</sup> Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, 48.

<sup>41</sup> Alan Black and Peter Glasner, *Practice and Belief: Studies in the Sociology of Australian Religion* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), 1.

Eggleston's leadership. Possessed of 'abounding enthusiasm and unwavering faith', Eggleston's vision of a continuous Pentecost was considered possible.<sup>42</sup> At the end of its first five years, Wesleyan Methodism had laid the foundation stone of 'Pentecostal blessing'. Revivalism, rooted in Methodism's pan-evangelical culture within local societies and Sunday schools found a receptive host culture.

Prior to his departure from the colony in the middle of 1842, Eggleston was no doubt pleased with the advance of Methodism under his leadership. His experience of a 'Pentecostal visitation' on one occasion at a quarterly love feast when 'penitents and backsliders' crowded the communion rails in search of pardon, accompanied by 'believers panting after purity', so moved him that he could do little 'but lean against the pulpit and weep with gratitude to God'.<sup>43</sup>

The experience of revivalist fervour within Methodism was by no means unique to the South Australian colony during the 1840s.<sup>44</sup> The 1840 revival at Parramatta, twenty-one kilometres west of Sydney, pre-dates the Adelaide revival under John Eggleston by a few months and is associated with the first Australian-born Methodist minister, John Watsford (1820-1907). The revival of 1840 had its beginnings prior to Watsford's acceptance by the British Wesleyan Conference in 1841 as a probationer for the ministry. Watsford, with a fervent belief in the power of prayer, and two local preachers committed themselves to regular daily prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Watsford recorded the following account:

At the end of the fourth week, on Sunday evening, the Rev. William Walker preached a powerful sermon. After the service the people flocked to the prayer meeting, till the schoolroom was filled. My two friends were there, one on each side of me, and I knew they had hold of God. We could hear sighs and suppressed sobs all around us. The old minister of the circuit, who had conducted the meeting, was concluding with the benediction. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God'—here he stopped, and sobbed aloud. When he could speak he called out, 'Brother Watsford, pray! I prayed, and then my two friends prayed, and oh! the power of God that came upon the people, who were overwhelmed by it in every part of the room! And what a cry for mercy! It was heard by the passers-by in the

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<sup>42</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 65, 68.

<sup>43</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 66-67.

<sup>44</sup> A preliminary survey by Stuart Piggin reveals that there were revivals at Parramatta, Windsor, and Castlereagh Bathurst (all in New South Wales) during 1840-41, and one in Melbourne in 1843. See Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World: Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, rev ed (Brunswick East, VIC: Acorn Press, 2012), 40.

street, some of whom came running in to see what was the matter, and were smitten down at the door in great distress. The clock of a neighbouring church struck twelve before we could leave the meeting. How many were saved I cannot tell. Day after day and week after week the work went on, and many were converted.<sup>45</sup>

Watsford was associated with other revivals in Australia when appointed to Methodist circuits: Ballarat, Victoria (1868-1871), Parramatta, Surry Hills, New South Wales (1854-1857), Balmain, Windsor, and Goulburn, New South Wales (1857-1860). He was appointed to Pirie Street Wesleyan Methodist Church in Adelaide (1862-1865), which also experienced revival activity.<sup>46</sup> The early years of Methodism in New South Wales and South Australia provide contrasting stories of numerical growth. Although there was a Wesleyan Methodist presence in the former colony since 1812, membership had only grown to 112, in addition to twenty Sunday school teachers and 137 scholars by 1831.<sup>47</sup> By contrast, the colony of South Australia, in less than five years since the settlement began in 1836, reported a Wesleyan presence of 277 members, and by 1842 there were fifty-three Sunday School teachers and 552 scholars.<sup>48</sup> An increase of 117 members, with only eight transfers from England reported for 1841, suggests that the Eggleston-led Adelaide revival of 1841, despite the colony's commercial depression, was a significant factor in advancing the Methodist cause.<sup>49</sup>

Other factors help to explain the relative success of Methodists in Adelaide in the period 1836-1842, when compared to their New South Wales co-religionists in the longer period 1812-1831. In their analysis of the 'relative failure' of the latter's Methodist mission, the historians Don Wright and Eric Clancy suggest four reasons: lack of receptivity of the 'doctrines of full salvation and entire sanctification' within the population of convict origin; a dispersed settlement; absence of effective lay leadership; and a lack of unity and effective cooperation among the missionaries.<sup>50</sup> The Wright-Clancy analysis of reasons for Methodism's early struggle in New South

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<sup>45</sup> Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, 22.

<sup>46</sup> Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 42. Piggin notes the revivals while the *ADB* includes dates of appointment.

<sup>47</sup> Don Wright and Eric Clancy, *The Methodists: A History of Methodism in New South Wales* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 16.

<sup>48</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 71, 73.

<sup>49</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 71.

<sup>50</sup> Wright and Clancy, *The Methodists*, 16.

Wales are suggestive of the very reasons for Methodism's early success in the colony of South Australia.

Prior to the arrival of the Rev. William Longbottom, the first Wesleyan minister, in August 1838, the Wesleyan cause was led by the 24-year-old lay preacher John C. White. Together with the 23-year-old Jacob Abbott, who was one of the first class leaders, they provided effective leadership, and spiritual and administrative oversight of the society. In addition, there was the prominent early colonist Edward Stephens, cashier and later manager of the South Australian Company's Adelaide bank from 1840, active in the Wesleyan society and generous in his benefactions; the most notable being the gift of the land for the second Wesleyan church in Gawler Place. Furthermore, there was a spirit of unity, and an emphasis on entire sanctification and full salvation.<sup>51</sup> Finally, although there was a geographical dispersion of immigrants within the colony there was a substantial number who remained in the centre of Adelaide. The census for 1840 recorded 14,160 Europeans in the colony, of which 6,557 were in the City of Adelaide, 1,600 at Port Adelaide and dispersed in villages on the Adelaide Plains, and 5,414 in rural areas.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, Methodism was focussed on city settlers, and its first four chapels were in or very near the early settlement: Gawler Place, Franklin Street, Kermode Street (North Adelaide) and Bowden, with a total weekly attendance of 700.

True to its inheritance of John Wesley's sense of urgency and the Arminian understanding that grace was available for all to receive, Methodism soon followed the settlers to the rural areas.<sup>53</sup> A limited revival of religion, however, was insufficient to ensure that the foundations of social respectability maintained their

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<sup>51</sup> Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 65-68, Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 25-33. The presence of young men in leadership was not unusual as there was a preponderance of men in their twenties according to the first official census of late 1840. This met the emigration selection policy of attracting young married couples as envisaged by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. See Griffin and McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Griffin and McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, 11.

<sup>53</sup> Preaching places taken from the plan for the March quarter in 1841 show the Adelaide-country spread: Gawler Place, North Adelaide, Franklin Street, Emigration Square, Bowden (Adelaide or near by), Thebarton, Islington, Payneham, Walkerville, Onkaparinga Road, Carrington, Reedbeds, Exwell, New Port and Albert Town, Balhannah and Nairn, Craike, Crafer's Tiers, Longbottom, Willunga, Mackgill, and Kensington (village and rural). These preaching places were serviced by Eggleston and twenty five local preachers. Haslam, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia*, 72. There were no chapel buildings in the village and rural areas. Worshipers met in whatever structures were available to them – mainly homes and public places.



hold on the populace. For the Methodist, conversion was the beginning of the vital Christian life. The contextual nature of Methodist holiness in the early colonial era helped determine the priorities and evidences of the life of the vital religionist.

Temperance was one of the earliest practices.

## Temperance

In the early years of the settlement of South Australia, there were five indicators of respectability: early arrival, thrift, temperance and its illegitimate offspring abstinence, piety, and the ownership of land<sup>54</sup> In an assessment by the *South Australian Register* of the progress of the colony in the first six months of 1840, the editor claimed, in a somewhat condescending tone: "To say that South Australia is altogether free from vice, is of course impossible. The editor then compared the Adelaide settlement with that of Port Phillip in Victoria, and contended that the difference in favour of Adelaide was "most striking. South Australia, by comparison, had very few court cases, and convict crime was the result of runaway felons from the other colonies. Native and bushranger attacks, asserted the editor, were almost unknown, but prevalent in Port Phillip, where the "great bulk of the population is reeking with the contamination of felony<sup>55</sup> The editor was very much in sympathy with the propagandists of the new colony of South Australia, keen to extol its virtues and to collaborate with them in order to protect and further their interests.<sup>56</sup> That vice existed, such as intemperance, was an affront to some of the early colonists who regarded alcohol as both wasteful and harmful, and who, by both precept and example, sought to confront and where possible eliminate it.

Alcohol was part of colonial life from the beginning.<sup>57</sup> The Colonisation Commissioners were concerned by the reports of drunkenness among ships

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<sup>54</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 510.

<sup>55</sup> *South Australian Register*, 18 July 1840, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Brian K. Dickey, "The Evangelical Tradition in South Australia," in Withycombe, ed., *Australian and New Zealand History 1788-1988: A Collection of Papers and Addresses* (Canberra: ANZATS, 1988), 158-159. Dickey claims that the "propagandists" including the South Australian Company were mainly interested in investing to make a profit. However, as many of them were religious as well, issues of religious freedom were not only seen in their own right but as an adjunct to the prosperity of their investments.

<sup>57</sup> The first hotel in Adelaide was the *Edinburgh Castle*, licensed on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1837, situated on the corner of Currie and Gray Streets. J. L. Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia 1836-1984* (Adelaide: Australian Hotels Association (SA Branch) and Gould Books), 2.

passengers en route to the colony and issued instructions in 1838 prohibiting the indiscriminate provision of alcohol for the emigrants.<sup>58</sup> Once ashore, sailors known for their miscreant behaviour and rowdyism at the Portø added to the exaggerated myth of the extent of atrocious crimesø committed by escaped convicts from the eastern colonies; drunkenness was often linked to offences committed.<sup>59</sup>

Concerned with the limited effect of imposing a two shilling fine on convicted drunkards, and the inability of the authorities, including the Governor, to curtail drunkenness, Judge Jeffcott found its prevalence alarming in 1838.<sup>60</sup> Up to a dozen marines and labourers were often seen drunk at dens of iniquityø while the newly arrived Congregational minister Thomas Quinton Stow claimed that, Sottishness prevails over the lower orders, and irreligion over the massesø<sup>61</sup> It was common practice for some labourers to receive a daily rum ration from their employers, while others worked no more than four days per week and drank the rest.<sup>62</sup> This employer-employee practice was widespread in England in the 1830s and was the most important cause of everyday drunkenness...the system of drinking usages which had grown up in many tradesø<sup>63</sup> Writing on behalf of the South Australian Company in its promotion of the colony, the Wesleyan John Stephens (1806-1850), with an eye to return on company investment, lent his support to the establishment of a Temperance Society as a means of social and economic improvement:

Unless this alarming vice be timely checked, it must inevitably interfere with the working of the fundamental principle of the colony, absorbing, as in a bottomless gulf, those surplus wages which it has been calculated would be expended in the purchase of land, and consequent increase of emigration. It is to be hoped that an effective temperance society will be established without delay in Adelaide.<sup>64</sup>

The foundation of the Total Abstinence Society, on 1 January 1840, with its stated object being the cure and prevention of intemperanceø was but the first step in what was to become by the late nineteenth-century, an evangelical crusadeø

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<sup>58</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 161.

<sup>59</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 285-286.

<sup>60</sup> Stephens, *The Land of Promise*, 132; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 285.

<sup>61</sup> Stephens, *The Land of Promise*, 132.

<sup>62</sup> Stephens, *The Land of Promise*, 132.

<sup>63</sup> Norman Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), 7.

<sup>64</sup> Stephens, *The Land of Promise*, 132.

against intemperance.<sup>65</sup> By July 1840 weekly attendances were in excess of 150, and by 1841 there were 160 members. The Bible Christian George W. Cole (1823-1893) was the first Secretary and remained so for almost fifty years.<sup>66</sup> The war against vice had begun, and Methodists were prominent from the outset.

## Sunday Observance

An important part of the outward form of piety and Methodist holiness was Sunday observance. At the foundation stone laying ceremony for the Freeman Street Congregational Church in December 1839, the Rev T. Q. Stow reminded the large gathering that the duty of the churches was to:

Lay the foundations of religion for our community. And for this purpose, we take the book of God, unadulterated, the great guide of our faith and conduct; the standing ministry of a pure Gospel; the organisation of Christian Churches; the observation of the Sabbath, and all the ordinances of the Christian ritual.<sup>67</sup>

The churches and their representatives were 'energetic lobbyists' for the preservation of the Sabbath as they understood it; they acted as the arbiters of moral judgement for the perceived benefit of the entire community.<sup>68</sup> One impassioned observer complained that in the Adelaide suburb of Walkerville, the indiscriminate shooting of bird life on a Sunday, along with the covert purchasing of shot and powder, desecrated the Sabbath and warranted legislative action to enforce the churches' moral sagacity:

For miles around Walkerville, whenever a bird, small or great, presents itself, the deadly weapon is pointed. To the Christian, who wends his way with solemn mien, invited by the church-going bell to come to the house of God, the continual reports of fire arms are very grievous. The strong arm of the law would arrest and awe those who care not to remember the Sabbath-

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<sup>65</sup> The 'crusade' status was consistent with the British experience of the late nineteenth century. See Brian Dickey, 'Going about and doing good: Evangelicals and Poverty c1815-1870', in John Wolffe ed., *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain 1780-1980* (London: SPCK, 1995), 53.

<sup>66</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 189, Blacket, *History of South Australia*, 126. *South Australian Register*, 18 July 1840, 6.

<sup>67</sup> *The Southern Australian*, 12 December 1839, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Walter Phillips, *Defending "A Christian Country": Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and after* (St Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press, 1981), 171.

day to keep it holy.<sup>69</sup>

Sunday observance was an issue that found widespread support among the churches in England during the nineteenth-century, as their day of worship and rest; a day in which work should cease and worldly leisure and entertainments were prohibited.<sup>70</sup> This aspect of the "Victorian Sunday" had its roots in seventeenth-century Puritanism, earlier practices within the first and second century church, and in the Jewish Decalogue, where prescriptive action concerned with observing the Jewish Sabbath was inherited by the early Christians and became the Christian Sunday.<sup>71</sup> Legislation enforcing Sabbath observance was regarded as a moral law similar to laws prohibiting adultery and theft, and therefore binding not only on Christians but all people upon whom moral suasion and legislative action were required. At the time of settlement (1836), there were a number of inherited Imperial Laws relating to Sunday Observance applicable to the colony. These included the Sunday Observance Acts of 1625, 1627, 1677, and 1780, which together laid down principles encouraging church attendance by limiting secular activities and employment, which might attract people away from religious duties and observances. The 1781 Observance Act legislated the Sunday closing of taverns, theatres, museums, libraries, shops, public gardens, zoos, and limited the opportunity of public assembly for lectures and debates.<sup>72</sup>

In Victorian England, the religiously minded were not the only ones keen to argue the case for Sunday observance. Non-churchmen who favoured more traditional values and standards of behaviour found ready acceptance through societies and agencies such as the Society for the Suppression of Vice, founded in 1802 as a voluntarist avenue of social reform action. At various stages up until its demise in 1886, the Society sought to suppress such vices as the desecration of the Sabbath, obscene literature, badly-behaved public houses, brothels, gaming houses,

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<sup>69</sup> *South Australian*, 30 June 1848, 3.

<sup>70</sup> Kent, *Holding The Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, 98.

<sup>71</sup> For the origins on Sunday observance see John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).

<sup>72</sup> Ninety-Second Report of the Law Reform Committee of South Australia to The Attorney-General, *Inherited Imperial Sunday Observance or Lord's Day Acts*, 1987; F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1433, 1558.

trading with inaccurate weights and measures, and illegal lotteries. However, it was breaches of the Sabbath that formed its first object, although this became less of a priority after the formation of the Lord's Day Observance Society in 1831.<sup>73</sup>

Sabbatarianism, like other religious attitudes, was derivative of the religious culture at the time of emigration for the church-going colonists.<sup>74</sup> Acceptance of such attitudes is what E. R. Wickham and K. S. Inglis have called 'the law of social habit' in which the religious habits of one generation are determined by the previous, irrespective of whether circumstances have changed.<sup>75</sup> Inglis concluded from his study of patterns of church-going among the nineteenth-century English working classes that, 'popular abstinence from worship was an inherited custom' often the result of generational neglect.<sup>76</sup> Wickham draws a similar conclusion from his study of religious practice in Sheffield, asserting that social habit 'becomes at any point the most operative immediate cause for participation or non-participation in the life of the churches'.<sup>77</sup> The colonists who arrived in South Australia brought these attitudes with them which helped believers to unite with and be defined by the Christian sub-culture. The 'law of social habit' for the worshipper reinforced self-identity through Sabbatarian practice and belief, with a slight but pervasive influence on the colony at large, while for the less enthusiastic, the 'law' provided continuity for the popular abstainer. For the proponents of 'vital religion' and Methodist holiness in particular, adherence to, and promotion of Sunday observance was a core value in their engagement with wider society, which over time became less inclined to the predictable orthodoxy as generation succeeded generation.

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<sup>73</sup> The changing fortunes of the Society for the Suppression of Vice are discussed in M. J. D. Roberts, 'Making Victorian Morals? The Society for the Suppression of Vice and its Critics 1802-1886', *Historical Studies*, vol. 21, no. 83 (October 1984): 157-173.

<sup>74</sup> Sabbatarianism is 'a peculiarly British phenomenon' wherein the Fourth Commandment (Exodus 20:8-11) proscribing work on the Hebrew/Jewish Sabbath (Saturday) now pertains to the Christian Church's Sunday, and is chiefly marked by the cessation of labour patterned after God's rest on the seventh day (Genesis 2:2-3). In the early church, the day became a fixed day for worship, also known as the 'Lord's Day'. See Alan Richardson, 'Sabbatarianism' in Alan Richardson ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM, 1976), 299. Joseph L. Trafton, 'Lord's Day, the', Walter A. Elwell, ed., *Evangelical Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books and Paternoster Press, 1996), 488-489. The word 'Sabbath' was used as a synonym for 'Sunday' by Christians during the period of this study.

<sup>75</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 322-336. E. R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964).

<sup>76</sup> Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, 323.

<sup>77</sup> Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City*, 12.

## Conclusion

We began this chapter with some introductory remarks on the religious background to settlement. We have established that revivalism was located in the earliest years of colonial settlement. Religionists of Methodist persuasion were identified as early exponents of 'vital religion' who looked to revivalism as an instrument of evangelistic conversionist practice in order to 'Christianise' the colony. In a frontier colonial population, largely the result of emigration from Britain, Methodist holiness characteristics included temperance and Sunday observance. Methodists contextualised the seeds of revivalism and evidences of the vital Christian life such as temperance and Sunday observance in a new land.

## CHAPTER 3

### COUNTING METHODISTS

We have established that within evangelicalism, and Methodism in particular, revivalism produced converts to vital religion, and aided denominational expansion. In this chapter, Mark Noll's observation that 'evangelicalism always involved more than the revival of religion but, from the beginning, both revivals and the longing for revival were always central' is tested against the South Australian Methodist experience.<sup>1</sup> To what extent was revivalism central, and how successful was it in the quest for vital religion? One way to test the observation, is by an examination of the statistical evidence.

Conversion, membership and population statistics, when combined, give something of the broad sweep of revivalist activity over time. In addition, conversion data presented by locality establishes the geographical reach of revivalism in South Australia. In this study, three statistical overviews for the periods 1838 to 1865, 1866 to 1913, and 1914 to 1939 are included. This 'quantifies' revival activity and enables some comparative analysis between the periods.

This chapter presents a statistical overview of revivalism in the period 1838 to 1865. Central to the thesis is the importance of the revival event in the church's quest for vital religion. As the study contends that historians have underestimated the extent and importance of revivalist activity within South Australian Methodism, an examination of the statistical evidence establishes its prevalence. The extent of revivalist activity, and its importance, adds to our understanding of the growth and development of Methodism.

#### **Revivalism – Statistical Overview – 1838-1865**

Appendix 1 identifies thirty-nine revival-type events in this period which culminated with the visit of the first overseas itinerant evangelist, the Rev. William 'California' Taylor (Methodist) in 1865, from which time Australia was placed on

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<sup>1</sup> Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 69.

the international revivalist circuit.<sup>2</sup> The first recorded revival in South Australia happened in June 1838, just three years after the first revival occurred in Sydney.<sup>3</sup> Almost from the outset, Methodists laboured with the expectation that revivals added to membership growth. This mainly occurred when self-described (Census) Methodists, following conversion, became members of a Methodist church.

### **Self-Described (Census) Methodists**

South Australian Methodism of all types increased from 9.6 per cent (1,666) of the colonial population in 1844 (17,366), to 21.3 per cent (34,879) in 1866 (163,487), while actual church membership increased from approximately 300 to 7,626 in the same period. By way of comparison, self-described Catholics increased from 6.0 per cent (1,055) to 14.5 per cent (23,684), whilst the Anglicans decreased from 54.2 per cent (9,418) to 30.1 per cent (49,295).<sup>4</sup> Clearly, there were many self-described Methodists who were content to be known as 'Methodists' but were inactive in their relationship with the Church or, for whatever reason, chose not to join the Church.

### **Membership as a Percentage of Total Population**

Methodist membership expressed as a percentage of the total population shows an increase from 1.72 per cent in 1844 to 4.66 per cent in 1866.<sup>5</sup> The number of conversions recorded in denominational papers and secondary sources over this period was Bible Christian 752, Primitive Methodist 327, and Wesleyan 2,084, a total of 3,163<sup>6</sup>. Conversions, therefore, accounted for 43.2 per cent of the membership growth if we assume that all converts became members, as some may have been self-described or hearers prior to their conversion as a result of revival activity. However, not all converts became members of a Methodist church as some would have been adherents of other denominations, but attended Methodist revival meetings, and took up membership in their denomination of adherent allegiance. Furthermore, the act of conversion did not guarantee that the individual would

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<sup>2</sup> Appendix 1, references 1-36.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 1; Bollen, *Religion in Australian Society*, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Census data from Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 26, 424, 429.

<sup>5</sup> Some historians such as A. D. Gilbert also use a 'membership density' based on the growth of Methodist membership to the growth of the population (English) aged 15 years and over. See A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England* (London: Longman, 1976).

<sup>6</sup> Conversion figures and sources from Appendix 1.



become a member, as some opted to remain as adherents and attendants on public worship.<sup>7</sup> Conversions therefore, as a measure of membership growth would have been less than the 43.2% calculated for the period 1844 to 1866. There were two significant revival-type events in the period: the 1859 Burra revival and the evangelistic visit of Taylor in 1865. If the conversions from these two events (1,200 ó lower limit) are not included in the figures then the conversions as a percentage of membership growth reduces from 43.2 per cent to 26.9 per cent. Hence, the larger scale evangelistic/revival event was a significant factor in membership growth. Two kinds of denominational association are thus highlighted, self-described and church membership, the former declared at the time of Census, whilst the latter appear in the Church's own returns. The former group (Methodists of all types), appeared in the decennial censuses, and was, in 1866, about four and a half times as large as the number of members and, in 1901, six times.

### **Methodists – Self-Described and Members – Comparison**

Furthermore, according to census data, in the period 1844-1866, self-described Methodists increased by 122 per cent. At the same time, there was a 171 per cent increase in the Methodist membership relative to the total population. The Methodist membership increased at a faster rate than the Methodist self-described population. By 1866, combined Methodism membership, at 7,626, was five times as large as the two next largest denominations ó Anglicans at 1,439 and the Congregationalists with a membership of 1,417.<sup>8</sup> Neither the Anglicans nor the Congregationalists embraced revivalism. Revivals clearly did produce new members as well as increase the size of the self-described pool, which became a potential source of converts for the next revival.

This occurred following a revival that took place in the Auburn Bible Christian

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<sup>7</sup> This is illustrated by the 1859 Burra revival which included all three Methodist churches. There were a reported 500-640 conversions. The majority of converts who became members would have appeared in the yearly figures at the end of 1859 to coincide with District meetings in November, as the revival occurred some months previously. Others would have appeared in the 1860 returns. Primitive Methodist membership figures for all of South Australia increased by 174 from 1858 to 1859. Wesleyan membership figures for all of South Australia increased by 102 from 1858 to 1859. Therefore, the total increase for the year for all of South Australia was 276, well under the reported conversions (500-640). This indicates that not all converts went on to denominational membership.

<sup>8</sup> Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 429.

circuit in 1876. This revival produced 115 members and thirty on trial. The total circuit membership increased to 243. In the following year, the membership had fallen back to 191 (loss of 52) with none on trial and only two admitted to membership during the year. Converts transferred to membership and consolidated the church, and although there was a loss to the membership a year later, those added to the nominal pool in the district were possibly re-converted later.<sup>9</sup> Methodist ministers preached to secure conversions and followed up with the privileges of church membership. This was practised whether in revival or in the Sunday-by-Sunday routine and rhythm of circuit life.<sup>10</sup>

Although many entered church membership following a revival, not all entered it in this way. Leaders established class meetings to “gather into the fold of Christ some persons who are not far from the kingdom of God”<sup>11</sup> Under the direction of a leader, class meetings generally consisted of about twelve persons and provided the opportunity for spiritual testimony and prayer. Public prayer meetings, teas, and occasional meetings catered for non-members as did outdoor preaching and children’s meetings that provided a network of opportunities for preaching, instruction, and counsel. Leadership of Sunday worship meetings extended beyond the itinerant minister and local preacher. Other Society members conducted such meetings, which including prayer, exhortation, and the reading of a sermon. These less formal occasions allowed Methodism to expand its borders until “every town, village, and hamlet in our respective neighbourhoods shall be blessed, as far as we can possibly accomplish it, with the means of grace and salvation”<sup>12</sup>

## **Polity and Revivalism**

The attention and emphasis that Methodism gave to the importance of revivals and securing converts occurred at every Annual District Meeting when the Chairman

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<sup>9</sup> *SABCM*, May 1877, 294; February 1878, 17.

<sup>10</sup> The Rev. John Watsford who ministered at Pirie Street and North Adelaide 1862-1868, claimed that “the great end of the Gospel was the conversion of sinners” See Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, 137.

<sup>11</sup> *Handbook of the Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Melbourne: Wesleyan Book Depot, 1877), 123.

<sup>12</sup> *Handbook of the Laws and Regulations*, 19, 124.

read the *Liverpool Minutes*.<sup>13</sup> The relevant resolutions were:

In order to promote an increase in the congregations, and revival of the work of God in a word let every Methodist preacher consider himself as called to be, in point of enterprise, zeal, and diligence, a home missionary, and to enlarge, and extend, as well as keep, the circuit to which he is appointed.<sup>14</sup>

To work for revival and to increase the numerical size of the denomination was a legislative requirement within Wesleyan Methodism; the former as a spiritual movement was the barque of Methodism.<sup>15</sup> Membership and self-described growth in comparison to other denominations in the first thirty years, took place on a rapid scale due to the impact of revivals and the ordinary operations of the Church. The adoption of the connexional principle enabled Methodism to expand with the colony. Methodism is expansive; its genius is progressive, heralded the editor of the *Wesleyan Magazine* in 1865; it is in the business of the traveller to advance.<sup>16</sup>

### Revival Activity

Appendix 2 lists each documented revival-type event that occurred within South Australian Methodism in the period 1838-1939. There were 246 events from 1838 to 1899, when Methodism consisted of the Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist and Wesleyan branches. There were 120 events from 1900, the year of Methodist union in South Australia, to 1939, making a progressive total of 366 events. This is less than the 574 revival-type events listed at Appendix 1. Appendix 2 lists, in the main, those events for which conversion data was included in the original sources, as well as some events for which conversion data was not available, as these events either occurred early in the period for which detailed source material is lacking, or they

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<sup>13</sup> The *Liverpool Minutes* were adopted by the Conference held in Liverpool in the year 1820, on which occasion the inquiry was made 'What measures can we adopt for the increase of spiritual religion among our societies and congregations, and for the extension of the work of God in our native country?' Thirty-one resolutions were agreed to, which were adopted by the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church and reproduced in the *Laws and Regulations of 1877*, Part VI, Chapter II, Question 6, 122-126.

<sup>14</sup> *Laws and Regulations of 1877*, Part VI, Chapter II, Questions 6 & 7, 123.

<sup>15</sup> W. L. Blamires and John B. Smith, *The Early Story of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Victoria* (Melbourne: Wesleyan Book Depot, 1886), 95.

<sup>16</sup> *SAWM*, August 1865, 146. The word 'connexion' signified that local societies (congregations) were linked together in circuits and districts, all being subject to one central authority, the Conference. Hence, Conference determined policy, practice, and resource distribution affected all Methodists. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 21. Russell E. Richey, 'Connection and Connectionalism' in Abraham and Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, 211-228.

were significant events in their own right. A case in point is the 1862-1865 revival that occurred at the Pirie Street (Adelaide city) Wesleyan Church during the appointment of the Rev. John Watsford. Many reported conversions took place during the six months Pirie Street lived in an atmosphere of revivalism, but statistics concerning how many and when they occurred were not recorded.<sup>17</sup>

## Conversion Index

A Conversion Index for each event that contained conversion and membership data is included at Appendix 2. The Conversion Index for each relevant event in a particular year, calculated by dividing the number of conversions by the total Methodist membership in South Australia for that year, is expressed as a percentage. The relative index situates each revival event within its denominational context and provides a crude but helpful measure of revivalism.<sup>18</sup> It does not suggest what internal or external factors were favourable to revivalist success.

Appendix 3 details an Annual Conversion Index for each Methodist denomination, while Appendices 4-1 and 4-2 graph the annual index over the study's duration. The Conversion Index indicates those revival-type events that have a greater or lesser converting activity relative to one another on a colony/state wide basis. The higher the index, the larger was the number of converts relative to annual membership. It does not indicate necessarily the relative importance of each revival within the local context. For example, a revival in a small country town that produced 100 converts would have the same conversion index as a revival in the city of Adelaide that also produced 100 converts in the same year. The former could well have a greater impact on the community because of the smaller township population, with a lesser tendency to diffuse the affects of the revival when compared with the

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<sup>17</sup> ACC, 19 April 1901, 5.

<sup>18</sup> A more detailed approach using an Evangelism Index similar to a Conversion Index as a dependent variable and with fifty-four independent variables consisting of the internal characteristics of churches and the external characteristics of the surrounding communities, utilising factor and multiple regression analysis was undertaken by Curtis D. Johnson to study New York State evangelism in the 1830s. See Curtis D. Johnson, "Supply-Side and Demand-Side Revivalism? Evaluating the Social Influences on New York State Evangelism in the 1830s," *Social Science History*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1995), 1-30. A similar study utilising the Conversion Index of Appendices 2 and 3 would prove worthwhile. A study of local revivals which moves beyond the internal characteristics of churches, and examines some of the social, economic, cultural, and intellectual forces at work is Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts*, 2012.

city.

Two revivals that occurred a year apart within Wesleyan Methodism typify this difference. The 1864 revival within the Adelaide Second Circuit resulted in an increase of forty-four members with a further seventy-two on trial (total 116).<sup>19</sup> A year later, in 1865, following the preaching of anniversary sermons by the Rev. John Watsford, a revival at Callington took place that resulted in nearly 100 conversions.<sup>20</sup> Despite similar Conversion Indexes, 3.2 for the Adelaide Second Circuit and 1.9 for the Callington Wesleyan Church, the impact on the Callington community would have been greater, given that the population of the City of Adelaide was 23,300 and that of Callington in 1866 was 600, including the neighbourhood farming population.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, a number of miners were converted in the revival that had the characteristics of a regular Cornish revival and included the hard and rebellious/unyielding Tom Tonkin, the choir leader. Many of the miners were Cornish emigrants brought out to work the ten copper mines in the Callington area and at the time of the revival, would have been familiar with the revivalist atmosphere of a relatively homogeneous Cornish ethnicity.<sup>22</sup>

### **Where Revivals Occurred – City and Country**

Of the thirty-nine revival type-events in the period 1838-1865, fifteen occurred in Adelaide or within five kilometres of the city, and produced 2,002 converts. The remaining twenty-four (one occurred in both the city and country) occurred in rural townships (twenty-one) or a rural region (2), and produced 1,161 converts. Of the country townships that reported multiple revivals, there were two each for Callington (1859, 1865), Kapunda (1851, 1860), Salisbury (1859, 1862), and Yankalilla (1859, 1860), and four at Burra (1853, 1858, 1859, 1862). Copper mining commenced at

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<sup>19</sup> *SAWM*, November 1864, 14.

<sup>20</sup> *SAWM*, July 1865, 132.

<sup>21</sup> Census data for City of Adelaide (1866) [http://hccda.adelaide.edu.au/pages/SA-1866-census-02\\_2](http://hccda.adelaide.edu.au/pages/SA-1866-census-02_2) (25 January 2016). As there was a close relationship between the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Churches, the one hundred converts are estimated as 75 Wesleyans and 25 Primitive Methodists which reflect the difference in the membership ratio between the two churches. The Conversion Index is based on the Wesleyan figure to be consistent with the Wesleyan Adelaide Second Circuit. For Callington population, see R. B. Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide, Containing the Most Recent and Accurate Information as to Every Place in the Colony* (Adelaide: F. F. Bailliere, 1866), 49.

<sup>22</sup> Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, 137-137; V. H. Goldney, *Methodism in Mount Barker and Adjacent Circuits* (Adelaide: Methodist Historical Society, 1955), n.p.

Kapunda in 1843, Burra 1845, and Callington-Kanmantoo in 1846.<sup>23</sup> Each of these locations experienced revivals in the 1859 to 1860 period, which were part of colony-wide revival activity at that time. By 1859, the small regional centre of Salisbury attracted agricultural production and was adjacent to the Gawler Plains, the scene of a Bible Christian ‘continuous revival’ from 1853 to 1860. The Yankalilla revival benefitted from the presence of the Wesleyan minister H. T. Burgess, ‘the honoured instrument in a great revival’<sup>24</sup> These mining and agricultural centres, subject to Cornish religious ethnicity, an expansionist Methodism and the wider influences of the international revivals of 1857-1859, were receptive to the revivalist message.<sup>25</sup>

The ‘pulsating pattern of cyclical revivalism’ evident in Cornish Methodism since the Camborne and Redruth revivals of the early nineteenth-century, can also be seen in the pattern of Methodist revivalism in the copper towns of Kapunda, Burra, and Callington, transplanted, ‘and then cloned’ through Cornish emigration.<sup>26</sup> The mutualism of Cornish Methodism and mining, with its ‘ethno-religious exclusivity’ helped to define regional customs and traditions, and ‘gave institutional direction, continuity and, above all, self-confidence and self-esteem to local culture’<sup>27</sup> The Moonta-dominated copper communities of the northern Yorke Peninsula further demonstrated this religious-cultural nexus from the 1860s.

## Conclusion

The main statistical conclusions of this chapter, which covers the period 1838 to 1865 are therefore five. First, by 1866, Methodism claimed the self-described allegiance of 21 per cent of the colony’s population. Second, according to official census membership figures, combined Methodism was five times as large as the next two denominations. Third, revival-type events accounted for up to 43 per cent of Methodist membership growth.<sup>28</sup> Fourth, revivalism helped to increase Methodist

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<sup>23</sup> Ken F. Bampton, ‘Copper Mining in South Australia’ *MESA Journal* 28 (January 2003): 38-44, at 38.

<sup>24</sup> *ACC*, 9 December 1904, 11.

<sup>25</sup> These revivals are listed in Appendix 1.

<sup>26</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 25-27; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 117-130.

<sup>27</sup> Philip Payton, *Making Moonta: The Invention of Australia’s Little Cornwall* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 157.

<sup>28</sup> Appendix 2 lists 19 revival-type events, which produced conversions, and accounted for up to 43% of membership growth. The actual increase would have been slightly less for reasons identified in this

membership and enlarge the self-described Methodist pool from which future conversions and re-conversions took place. Fifth, there were almost twice as many revivals in the country compared to the city; revivalism followed the settlements and provided the basis for future rural Methodist expansion. The overview demonstrates the expansionary nature of early colonial Methodism when compared to the other denominations, and its ability to increase at a faster rate than the population. Revivalism established itself early and made a significant contribution in the establishment of vital religion. Wherever revivals occurred, they were central and successful. To this extent, Noll's observation is pertinent and applicable.

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chapter. Appendix 2 also lists revival events for which conversion data was not available. For example, a revival at Leasingham in 1860 reported hundreds converted.

## CHAPTER 4

### BURRA AND CENTRAL HILL COUNTRY REVIVALS 1858-1860

The most significant revival activity to occur in the period 1838 to 1865 was the Burra and Central Hill Country revivals of 1858 to 1860. In 1858, with the benefit of significant Cornish immigration (many of the migrants were Methodists) and first-generational expansionary zeal, Burra Methodism erupted in a momentum of revivalist activity that continued through 1859. This activity was the catalyst for localised revivals in the Central Hill Country during 1860.

Although this thesis in its entirety presents an overview of one hundred years of revivalist activity, this chapter is devoted to the Burra revival in recognition of its uniqueness within the context of international revivalism and its influence on other regions in South Australia. The Burra and Central Hill Country revivals signify the emergence of adequate revival momentum within colonial Methodism to ensure the further propagation of vital religion. Hence, this chapter advances the argument that revivalism was central to the quest for 'vital religion'.

In 1875, as the Moonta Revival was coming to an end, the *Methodist Journal* claimed that 'the year 1859 was known as a special season of grace, both in England and throughout the Australian colonies; there was scarcely a circuit in this colony that was not favoured with special Divine influence and power'<sup>1</sup> In 1882, the Rev F. W. Bourne of the English Bible Christian Conference reported the widespread influence of the 1859 Burra Revival throughout the Australian colonies.<sup>2</sup> In similar fashion, the Wesleyan minister H. T. Burgess, in a tribute to the Rev. Robert C. Flockhart in 1898, referred to the 1859 revival as 'one of the most wonderful revivals ever witnessed, and the fruit of it remain in the persons and work of some of the most eminent laymen South Australia ever had'<sup>3</sup> The 1859 revival followed a revival at

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<sup>1</sup> *MJ*, 3 September 1875, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *CW&MJ*, 26 May 1899, 10. Frederick W. Bourne (1830-1905) of the English Bible Christian Conference visited churches in South Australia, Victoria, and Queensland in 1881. He was President three times (1867, 1875, and 1891), treasurer for thirty-five years and author of the church's first history. Bourne's observation is also noted in a special report on Burra Bible Christian Church reported in the *Burra Record*, 7 September 1898, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *CW&MJ*, 4 February 1898, 1. Flockhart was the Wesleyan minister at Burra in 1858 and 1859.



Burra in the previous year, and was the catalyst for a series of revivals in the Central Hill Country in 1860. This chapter is a study of the two Burra revivals of 1858 and 1859 and the localised Central Hill Country revivals of 1860. At the time, 'Burra' with its majority Cornish populace, 'was a synonym for red-hot Methodism'<sup>4</sup>

## The Setting of the Revival

### Geography

Burra is located 160 kilometres north of Adelaide beyond the Barossa Valley, in what is known as the Central Hill Country, where the highland relief of the Mount Lofty Ranges gives way to a number of north-south ridges separating alluvial plains and low hills. Located in the 35 to 50-centimetre rainfall belt of the drier eastern side of the Central Hill Country, Burra is on the boundary where woodland gradually gives way to open grassland.<sup>5</sup> Before mining commenced in 1845, the hills around Burra contained stands of eucalypts and sheoak. The valleys were heavily vegetated, the creeks lined with eucalypts, and the open grasslands covered with wild flowers. Within twelve years, the landscape was practically bare due to the heavy demand for timber to work the mine and warm the miners' dugouts. Vast herds of goats, which supplied milk for the miners, further denuded the landscape by stripping it bare of grass and plant life.<sup>6</sup>

### Mining and Agriculture

By 1842, half of South Australia's white/European population of 16,000 lived in Adelaide and the remainder continued to adjust pioneering agricultural practices in the original rural lands around the main settlement.<sup>7</sup> The discovery of copper at Kapunda in 1842, and Burra in 1845, resulted in a significant increase in the flow of immigration and capital into the colony.<sup>8</sup> By 1850, South Australia emerged as one

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<sup>4</sup> *CW&MJ*, 15 February 1895, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape* (London and New York: Academic Press, 1974), 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Burra Record*, 28 October 1925, 5.

<sup>7</sup> D.W. Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1884* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1962), 20.

<sup>8</sup> The colony's population increased from 21,759 in 1845 to 63,700 in 1850. See John C. Symons, *Life of the Rev. Daniel James Draper* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1870), 59.

of the world's major copper producers; its ores and metals accounted for two-thirds of the colony's export revenues, much more than wool (29 per cent) and wheat (4 per cent).<sup>9</sup> Agricultural production expanded with the population. From 1845 to 1848 the number of farmers increased from 1,267 to 1,846, whilst cultivated land increased from 26,218 to 48,912 acres. The advent of Ridley's 'stripper', a small harvester well suited to the predominant 80-acre sections, most with their own house and storage shed, assisted in the expansion of agriculture.<sup>10</sup> As Methodism sought to expand throughout the colony, a religion of the heart and the spiritual egalitarianism of its message appealed to isolated settler farmers and their families.

In 1851, the population of South Australia was 63,700.<sup>11</sup> There were four large centres of population in the colony: Adelaide (14,577), Port Adelaide (population included with Adelaide), Kapunda (nearly 2,000) and 'The Burra' (5,000 spread across the townships of Kooringa, Redruth and Aberdeen). Alvey provides a brief description of Burra:

By 1851, there were a thousand men and boys employed at the mine, their annual wages exceeding £72,000. In addition to miners, smelters, mechanics, and labourers employed at the mines, there were the families of hundreds of woodcutters, shepherds, sawyers, and bullock-drivers. The town had more than 20 shops, 2 Oddfellows Lodges, a circulating library, five mails by coach from Adelaide each week, and several schools and churches.<sup>12</sup>

The 1850s was a decade of prosperity interrupted by the gold discoveries in Victoria, the first news of which reached Adelaide toward the end of July 1851. Although South Australia lost much of its work force to the Victorian diggings, the official statistics, if accepted, indicated that the contemporary accounts of the overland rushes and large-scale population losses were prone to exaggeration.<sup>13</sup> As some of

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<sup>9</sup> Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 27. Williams's work is a historical geography of South Australia from 1836 to the early 1970s. Along with Meinig's *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, they are two of the most important accounts of the state's historical geography.

<sup>10</sup> Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Ian Auhl, *The Story of the 'Monster Mine': The Burra Burra Mine and its Townships 1845-1877* (Burra: District Council of Burra Burra, 1986), 309; Griffin and McCaskill, eds., *Atlas of South Australia*, 12. At one time, more than half of Burra's population lived in caves excavated into creek banks.

<sup>12</sup> Harry Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism* (Adelaide: Methodist Historical Society, 1960), 4. The greatest number of mine employees was 1,170, recorded in 1859. See *Burra Record*, 28 October 1925, 5.

<sup>13</sup> It is estimated that 36,000 left South Australia for the Victorian diggings. See Alvey, *Burra, its*

the miners returned in 1853 and 1854, many purchased land holdings in the Central Hill Country between Kapunda and Clare. From 1856 to 1859, of the 56,000 acres of wheat-producing land added to the colony's total, more than half of this formed part of the Central Hill Country, where in 1855 only 4,000 acres was for agricultural purposes.<sup>14</sup>

By 1859, the Burra mine, along with Kapunda and the expanded agricultural lands west of Burra in County Light, which included Mintaro, Watervale, Auburn, Leasingham, and Undalya, was part of an accelerated prosperity based on the key exports of wheat and flour (43 per cent of total export value), wool (31 per cent), and copper. The arable and productive land enabled farmers to consolidate and expand their holdings, which added to the area's prosperity. The railway, which had reached Gawler by 1857 and Kapunda in 1860, provided reliable access to Adelaide and interstate or overseas export markets for mineral and agricultural products. To put this in context, from 1850 to 1859 cultivated land in the colony increased from almost 65,000 to nearly 362,000 acres (75 per cent of it in wheat), the number of farmers from 2,500 to about 7,000, while the total population nearly doubled from 63,700 to 122,735, with one-third living in Adelaide.<sup>15</sup>

In wheat production, South Australia had half of the total acreage of the continent and twice that of Victoria, her nearest rival, and contributed markedly to a favourable balance of trade.<sup>16</sup> During the 1850s, wheat production emerged as the foundation of the colony's economic development. Concentrated rural settlement based on family-sized freehold farms dotted the agricultural landscape of the Central Hill Country. The region was well suited to the exigencies of small-scale intensive wheat farming that took advantage of the relatively virgin soils. Closely placed

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*Mines and Methodism*, 6. However, such figures apparently masked the full-extent of population movements as reflected by the immigration figures for this period, as well as the recorded births and deaths. T.A Coghlan suggests that the net loss due to overland population movements was 1,387 in 1851, 3,868 in 1852, and a gain of 302 in 1853. According to Coghlan, the official statistics of the colony records the population during the major impact years of the gold period as: 1850 (63,700), 1852 (66,538), 1852 (68,663), 1853 (78,944). See T.A. Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918), 620.

<sup>14</sup> Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 29-32; Griffin and McCaskill, *Atlas of South Australia*, 12. By late 1852, some Burra miners and tradesmen returned and re-established their work and businesses. See *South Australian Register*, 8 January 1853, 3.

<sup>15</sup> Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 29-32.

<sup>16</sup> Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 32. Edgars Dunsdorfs, *The Australian Wheat Growing Industry 1788-1948* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1956), 532.

townships depended on bullock drays or wagons to cart the heavy bagged wheat over unformed roads to flour mills and eventually to railway sidings.<sup>17</sup> Farmers were relatively optimistic in the 1850s and by 1859, the colony had overcome the difficulties of its colonial beginnings. The American historical geographer, D. W. Meinig in 1961, made an impartial assessment of the nature of the colony in the 1840s. It was just as relevant for the 1850s:

Colonial beginnings are always difficult, but the observation that -in Australia every beginning has not only been difficult, but scarred with human agony and squalor hardly rings true for South Australia. Despite financial distress, administrative confusion, and environmental experimentation, a solid nucleus was established in these first years which, compared with other beginnings on the continent, was quite exceptional: a family-based, self consciously Christian, middle-class society, diverse in skills, imbued with energy, untainted by either the evils of gross speculation or penal servitude. However far short of achieving their full ideal, South Australians, by and large, ever thereafter would maintain a conscious pride in the distinctiveness of their heritage.<sup>18</sup>

The frontier farms and townships established during the 1850s provided expansionary-minded Methodism with the ideal opportunity for denominational enlargement. Methodist itinerancy, lay-agency, and connexional structure were well suited to the colony's rural and mining-led development.

By the 1850s, Burra had developed into a mining and industrial town located in and adjacent to an expanding agricultural and wheat-producing region. Richard Rogers's study of townships in New York State in the period 1825 to 1835, during the -Second Great Awakening- in which he tests three hypotheses, accords well with revivalist activity at Burra during the 1850s culminating in the Burra and Central Hill Country revivals of 1858 to 1860. In his ecological analysis of New York revivalism, Rogers contends firstly that revivalism is associated with population size. Second, it is associated with manufacturing in the rural townships, and thirdly, with agriculture on the county level. He concludes that, -collectively, these findings make urban centres and manufacturing towns in agricultural areas the locations with the highest levels of revivalism-<sup>19</sup> The paradigm of the -commercial agricultural thesis-

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<sup>17</sup> W.S. Kelly, *Rural Development in South Australia* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1962), 12-17.

<sup>18</sup> Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 20.

<sup>19</sup> R. L. Rogers, -The Urban Threshold and the Second Great Awakening: Revivalism in New York State, 1825-1835-, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49, no.4 (December 2010): 694-709.

correlates with the social, economic, and geographical factors at work in the Burra region during the 1850s. Although Methodist revivalism flourished throughout the colony's agricultural regions separate from the revivalism of the larger manufacturing townships, Burra's intense and extended revivalism occurred where mining and agricultural development flourished in close proximity. Religious and ethnic factors usually associated with Methodist revivalism found a receptive environment at Burra and beyond.

### **Other Revivals – 1850s**

In the seven years leading up to 1858, Bible Christians and Methodists elsewhere as well as Burra, were familiar with outbreaks of revivalism. Reminiscing forty years after the 1858-1859 revival, William Copley (1845-1925), a boy resident at Burra in the early 1850s, provided a rare glimpse of the proceedings of one religious revival, which took place presumably before his removal to the Victorian goldfields in late 1851:

About the time of which I speak ó the early fifties ó not a year went by in the Burra without a great religious revival in connection with one or more of the various denominations, and it would generally last for a month or six weeks. During that period the chapel all the week through would be crowded. Short addresses, prayers, and hymns alternated. The addresses might not have been characterised by much learning, but they were mostly delivered with a fervour and rugged eloquence which many a Bishop might have envied. I remember one man in particular who would rapturously paint the pearly gates and golden streets of Heaven, after the manner of Bunyan, and then describe the horrors of hell with a vividness of imagination not unworthy of a Dante. The speaker would be no sooner seated than a chorus would burst forth like a war song:

You'll see the lightening flashing  
In that great day.  
You'll hear the thunder rolling  
In that great day.  
Oh, turn, poor sinner, and  
Escape eternal fire.  
For you must stand the fire  
In that great day.

Never was the -Marseillaise- more favourably rolled out by a regiment of red Republicans whilst women hysterically shrieked and strong men trembled. Owing to the terrible earnestness which pervaded these meetings no note was taken of sayings and doings which in other circumstances

would have appeared incongruous.<sup>20</sup>

According to Copley, revivals occurred on at least an annual basis at Burra. He recalled the impromptu religiosity manifested by the laity necessary to sustain a continuous revival for up to six weeks. The alternation of addresses, prayers, and hymns was enhanced by bodily gesticulations and emotive outbursts, which created a noisy, multifarious, and communal revival.<sup>21</sup> The addresses contained the arresting enhancement of dialectical tension, as in the vivid portrayal of heaven and hell: a moment of cerebral calculation or of direct divine inspiration. Donald Mathews explored the nexus of sound and voice in the Methodist experience and wrote:

The movement provided a process through which ordinary people found their own voices. They spoke. Others listened; and then they too spoke. Others joined them. They sang and wept and felt renewed in the love of Christ. The language of origins was dynamic and evocative; its testimonies in the vernaculars of the people was the dynamic creativity of the movement.<sup>22</sup>

The popular radicalism of restrained Methodist revivalism merged with a religious democratic revolution. Periodic outbursts of religious enthusiasm were part of the Cornish Methodist mining culture and in South Australia occurred elsewhere. The Wesleyan minister, Robert C. Flockhart, reported a Methodist revival at Kapunda in 1851 as a very gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit which resulted in 40 new members.<sup>23</sup> The symbiosis between Methodist revivalism and Cornish mining established itself as a perennial feature of life at the copper mines.

Religious fervour punctuated the work of Samuel Keen (1818-1872), Bible

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<sup>20</sup> William Copley, "When We Were Boys" *South Australian Register*, 8 January 1898, 5-6. Eldest son of James Copley, miner, and his wife Elizabeth, the family emigrated from Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, to South Australia. They arrived in 1849 and lived at Burra. The family spent some time at the Victorian goldfields in 1851 and returned to Adelaide thereafter. A wheat farmer, William Copley served the South Australian Parliament as a member of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council at various times in the 1880s and 90s. He assisted in the formation of the Liberal Union in 1910. See Dean Jaensch, "Copley, William (1845-1925)" *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/copley-william-5775/text9791>, published in hardcopy 1981, (25 January 2016); Howard Coxon, John Playford and Robert Reid, eds., *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament 1857-1957* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985), 48.

<sup>21</sup> Copley, "When We Were Boys" 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Donald G. Mathews, "United Methodism and American Culture: Testimony, Voice, and the Public Sphere" in William B. Lawrence, Dennis M. Campbell, and Russell E. Richey, eds., *The People Called Methodists* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1998), 298.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 48. Kapunda copper mine commenced in the mid-1840s.

Christian minister on the Gawler Plains in the seven years from 1853 to 1860.<sup>24</sup> The circuit stretched from Port Gawler on the Gulf of St. Vincent to Mount Torrens in the Adelaide Hills, with the highest concentration of settlers and farmers on the Gawler Plains centred on Angle Vale some thirty kilometres north of Adelaide. Armed with a thorough knowledge of the Bible, a zealous physicality, and an insatiable passion for souls, Keen often travelled up to 200 kilometres per week throughout the region. He established fifteen churches and constructed more than a dozen chapels.<sup>25</sup> As a chapel builder in the colony, there were few equals. It is said of Keen that he used to keep a number of foundation stones in his house ready for use at the first opportunity.<sup>26</sup> During these years, the Gawler Plains mission resembled an almost continuous revival as most of the chapels experienced seasons of revivalist enthusiasm.<sup>27</sup> This is apparent in one of Keen's reports:

At *Ebenezer* the Lord's arm has been made bare in the salvation of souls. *Salem* has had showers of blessing. Truly God is in the midst of her. About fourteen persons have obtained a sense of pardoning love. *Zoar* has been a place of refuge to twenty who escaped thither for their life. At *Bethesda* the angel has troubled the waters, and diseased souls have been strongly urged to plunge therein and be made whole. *Elim* was opened soon after our last District Meeting. This chapel was built before we commenced preaching in the immediate neighbourhood. On the day it was opened eight members were transferred from *Zoar* and formed into a Church. Since then four have removed, yet we have now a Society of 59 members rejoicing in God their Saviour. *Enon* has had constant visits from on high. Most of last year's converts are glorifying God, and this year many have been added to their number. At *Emmanuel* God has been with us to comfort the troubled, guide the perplexed, heal the broken-hearted and save the lost. On *Zion* the glory of the forgiven has been great. *Hephzibah* has retained the favour of the Most High. In this place, fifteen have found mercy and grace to help in time of need. *Providence* is unhappily stationary, and *Bethel* is still cold.<sup>28</sup>

Other Bible Christian revivals in the colony during this time included Bowden

<sup>24</sup> On Keen, see Arnold D. Hunt, 'The Bible Christians in South Australia', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 10 (1982): 20; Arnold D. Hunt, *The Bible Christians in South Australia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Adelaide: Uniting Church Historical Society, 2005), 7-8. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 67-68.

<sup>25</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 67; *SABCM*, December 1892, 174-175; February 1893, 210-212. Keen's letters to the English Bible Christian Missionary Committee reporting his work in the colony, and published in the *English Bible Christian Magazine*, were often included in the *SABCM*.

<sup>26</sup> *CW&MJ*, 13 April 1900, 4.

<sup>27</sup> E. A. Curnow, *His Spirit Comes* (Adelaide: Uniting Church Historical Society, 1997), 60.

<sup>28</sup> Bible Christian Missionary Society Report (England), 1857, quoted in Hunt, *The Bible Christians in South Australia*, Uniting Church Historical Society, 2005, 7. Samuel Keen preferred to assign Old Testament names to his chapels.

(1855) and Mitcham (1858). Wesleyan revivals took place at Pirie Street (1854), Norwood (1855 and 1857), and North Adelaide (1858).<sup>29</sup> The Burra and Central Hill Country revivals of 1858-60 occurred against this background.

## Burra Churches

The churches present in Burra were representative of denominational affiliations. According to the 1860 Census, there were 5,492 adults and children in the Burra county. Of these 2,792 (51 per cent), described themselves as Methodists (Wesleyan ó 1,193, Bible Christians ó 901, Primitive Methodists ó 698). Next in number was the Church of England ó 1,490 (27 per cent), followed by the Roman Catholics ó 284 (5 per cent), and German Lutherans ó 255 (4.6 per cent). The Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists represented 3.8, 2.9, and 2.3 per cent respectively of Burra's population.<sup>30</sup> The over representation of Methodists at Burra when compared to the colony as a whole (18.8%),<sup>31</sup> was due to the relatively large Cornish immigrant population and their cultural-religious connection with the revivalist conversionary enthusiasm of Methodist piety and practice in a predominantly homogeneous community.<sup>32</sup>

### Wesleyan

The first church built in Burra was a Wesleyan chapel at the private township of Kooringa and opened debt free in December 1847.<sup>33</sup> Earlier in the same year, a Congregational observer noted how the chapels of Wesleyan Methodists were springing up with mushroom growth in every direction, owing to the zeal displayed by their lay teachers.<sup>34</sup> John Chapman, a Burra Wesleyan local preacher, commenced services in his home early in 1846, within months of the arrival of the first miners. The home was probably a dugout in the side of a creek.<sup>35</sup> The action of

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<sup>29</sup> These revivals are listed at Appendix 1.

<sup>30</sup> -Census of South Australia 1860, *SAPP*, 1860.

<sup>31</sup> -Census of South Australia 1860, *SAPP*, 1860.

<sup>32</sup> In 1850, most of the 5,000 Burra residents were of Cornish origin. See Auhl, *The Story of the 'Monster Mine'*; Ian Auhl and Denis Marfleet, *Australia's Earliest Mining Era: South Australia 1841-1851* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1975).

<sup>33</sup> *South Australian Register*, 11 December 1847, 3. At the evening service, 240 persons were in attendance.

<sup>34</sup> *South Australian*, 13 April 1847, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 7. According to Alvey, among the first ten miners to arrive



Chapman, aided by the visionary foresight of the Rev. Daniel Draper as Chairman of the District, ensured that the Wesleyans prospered from the arrival of Cornish miners. Such was the inflow of Cornish immigrants that by October 1849 it was necessary to enlarge the chapel to seat 450, of which 120 sittings were free and the other 330 subject to pew rents.<sup>36</sup>

The combination of free sittings, pew rents, and wage differences among the mine workers, accompanied by the tendency of Wesleyanism to attract the mine captains or foremen and the shopkeepers<sup>37</sup> as occurred at Moonta,<sup>37</sup> created social distinctions across Burra Methodism.<sup>38</sup> Despite this, Methodists built their chapels. At the services and public tea meeting in 1849 to commemorate the additions to the Wesleyan chapel, the sum of £102 raised indicated the generosity of mine workers and the success of the voluntary principle in building chapels.<sup>39</sup> Social distinctions at Burra based on occupation, income, and pew-rents did not preclude the Wesleyans from revivalist tendencies and experience. The quest for revival minimised social differentiation in the highly competitive Methodist and religious environment.

#### Church of England

The Church of England built a church in Kooringa by the middle of 1849, but overall suffered from a lack of adequate financial support. Its adherents were reluctant to accept the voluntary system, were unable to reconcile fully to their non-established church status and, as fund-raisers and worshippers, they were surpassed by the Methodist miners.<sup>40</sup> One Sunday in 1856, the Church of England congregation numbered twenty-three adults and a few small children, whilst the Methodists

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at Burra on September 29, 1845 were several Wesleyans who probably came from Kapunda.

<sup>36</sup> *South Australian Register*, 27 October 1849, 3. Pew rents and payments from members of class meetings were the main ways of raising church income. It was common to have rented as well as free pews, the latter catering for visitors and non-members. In some Methodist churches pew rents existed until well into the twentieth century. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 160.

<sup>37</sup> Hunt, 'The Bible Christians in South Australia', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, 23.

<sup>38</sup> Wage rates for Burra mine workers published in 1863 show that mechanics earned 6 times as much as boys, twice that of labourers, and fifty per-cent more than miners. See J.B. Austin, *The Mines of South Australia* (Adelaide: Platts, Wigg, Dehane, Howell, & Rigby, 1863), 21 for wage rates.

<sup>39</sup> *South Australian Register*, 27 October 1849, 3. The first Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting held at Kooringa, on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1849, over which Draper presided, showed 185 members. See *Kapunda Herald*, 11 October 1907, 5.

<sup>40</sup> *South Australian Register*, 10 January 1849, 4.

enjoyed well attended services.<sup>41</sup>

### Bible Christians

Like the Wesleyans, the Bible Christians commenced services and built a church at Kooringa with lay agency before the arrival in Burra of their first minister, the Rev. James Rowe, in November 1850.<sup>42</sup> Like other churches, most Bible Christian men left for the Victorian gold fields in the 1850s, and after their gradual return, the church doubled in size to 400 persons.<sup>43</sup>

### Primitive Methodists

As the Wesleyans and Bible Christians gathered their souls from among the Cornish miners, John Wiltshire, local preacher and saddler who helped to found the first Primitive Methodist society in Adelaide in 1840, removed to Burra in 1848 to seek out those of Primitive Methodist persuasion. Within a year of his arrival, Wiltshire gathered twenty members into a society and built a stone chapel.<sup>44</sup> The prospects appeared full of promise when Wiltshire wrote in 1849, "That we may see Primitive Methodism spread throughout the length and breadth of this colony"<sup>45</sup>

However, with the discovery of gold in Victoria, Wiltshire travelled with his people to the gold fields, leaving the chapel deserted. It closed in 1850. Sent by the English Primitive Methodist Missionary Committee to Burra, the Rev J. G. Wright arrived in 1856 and re-invigorated the cause, aided by the hospitality of the Bible Christian minister and use of his chapel.<sup>46</sup> Wright later recorded in his diary how "the Wesleyan minister also came and gave me a hearty welcome. There appears no bigotry here; all breathe the spirit of freedom"<sup>47</sup> Wright possessed an ecumenicity of

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<sup>41</sup> *South Australian Register*, 27 March 1856, 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Burra Record*, 25 February 1903, 3; Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 11. The Bible Christian Church seated 200 persons. Lay agency had the benefit of three local preachers, one of whom, James Blatchford, had pioneered the cause after his arrival in Kooringa in 1847. He was assisted by John Halse and John Pellew. Initially, services were held in the open-air, and by the time of Rowe's arrival a capacity congregation of 200 filled the church building each Sunday. See the ACC, 18 October 1907, 4; 4 April 1930, 3. On the Bible Christians at Burra see Hunt, *The Bible Christians in South Australia*, Uniting Church Historical Society, 2005, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 11.

<sup>44</sup> *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (London: 1850), 438.

<sup>45</sup> *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1850), 439.

<sup>46</sup> *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1856), 509.

<sup>47</sup> SLSA SRG 4/103/1. Diary of Rev. J.G. Wright. Wright also expressed the same sentiment in a letter

spirit in his adopted land, fashioned by pioneering Methodism in a remote frontier mining community, where differences over polity counted for little. Many years later, in 1894, he was eulogised by Chief Justice Samuel Way as: 'a Primitive Methodist, but he belonged to the whole Church Catholic, and especially to the great Methodist branch. Wesleyans, Bible Christians, and Primitive Methodists all claimed him [Wright] as one of them'<sup>48</sup> There may have been competition over the religious allegiance of Cornish miners, but fraternal Methodism would later help to sustain the revival of 1858-1859. Wright was remembered by his wife as 'a missionary with his heart on fire for the Gospel' By 1857, there were eighty-nine members of the Burra Primitive Methodist Church, and by 1858, church membership had risen to 114, with two ministers.<sup>49</sup>

### Congregationalists, Baptists, and Lutherans

Although the Methodists were the dominant religious body, other churches apart from them and the Church of England established or attempted to establish congregations. The Congregationalists opened a stone chapel named 'Union Chapel' capable of seating 200 on 29 September 1850.<sup>50</sup> The Rev. Henry Cheetham, boy soldier at the Battle of Waterloo, the Union's first and last minister to serve at Burra, removed to Adelaide at the end of 1851, as the congregation had dwindled because of the gold rush. The property, used for a time by Welsh smelters in the late 1850s became a Presbyterian Church in 1860.<sup>51</sup> The Baptists struggled to establish a church, and like the Congregationalists, failed to recover after the gold rush. The Lutherans, who relied on the support of the mainly German smelter workers, commenced building a church at Redruth in 1850 and completed it in 1861, delayed in the intervening period by the Victorian gold rush.<sup>52</sup> Collectively, the three

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he wrote to the General Missionary Committee in England dated 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1856. See *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (London: 1856), 509.

<sup>48</sup> *Advertiser*, 5 July 1894, 6. Way made the comments at a public lecture entitled, 'My Fifty Years Experience in the Ministry' given by Wright at the Wellington Square Primitive Methodist Church in 1894.

<sup>49</sup> Mrs. J. G. Wright, 'Her Nineteenth Year: Chat With Mrs. J.G. Wright' *Register*, 11 August 1915, 9. Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 10.

<sup>50</sup> *South Australian Register*, 4 October 1850, 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Register*, 27 September 1855, ; John Cameron, *In Stow's Footsteps: A Chronological History of the Congregational Churches in South Australia* (Glynde, SA: South Australian Congregational History Project Committee, 1987), 21, 97, 115; *Adelaide Observer*, 29 September 1855, 3.

<sup>52</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 October 1859, 3; 12 October 1860, 2; 23 August 1861, 3.

branches of the Methodist tree enjoyed a numerical advantage; the other denominations were poor rivals to Methodism at Burra.

### **Respectability – Temperance and Sunday Observance**

The effects of religious enthusiasm, however, went beyond the chapel. The Burra community, like most frontier beginnings, possessed its own ambivalent mixture of modest respectability and unruly behaviour associated with the indiscipline and revelry of drunkenness. In 1846, one commentator described Burra as 'a hell upon the earth, one which had become so notorious, whilst another in the same year, reporting on behalf of the *South Australian Register*, wrote:

We can hardly imagine a more urgent call for the exercise of missionary zeal than that which forces itself upon the attention when contemplating this new and mixed community – but a zealous minister of religion. The residence of such a couple [minister and wife] would be likely to work wonders at Kooringa; and as there is no want of liberality amongst the well paid operatives, it behoves the Directors to take means without delay, for supplying the moral and spiritual wants of the young community, which the Association has called into existence.<sup>53</sup>

There was no doubt in the mind of the correspondent that a 'zealous minister of religion' in the work of moral suasion would complement the work of the tavern proprietor, who:

Like Saul the son of Kish, is higher than most men – from his shoulders and upwards, busy in enforcing the ale-house statute of ejection upon a multitude of obstreperous customers with whom the worthy host seems eminently calculated to deal from his judicious admixture of prowess and persuasion.<sup>54</sup>

Rescuing the intemperate was the goal of the work of moral suasion for the first Wesleyan minister, the Rev. John Harcourt, appointed to Kooringa in early 1848. The attack on the 'great prevalence of drunkenness' launched through the agency of a Total Abstinence Society, commenced with the society's first meeting in July 1848. At the meeting, forty-eight out of eighty present signed the pledge whilst two weeks later the second meeting produced another ten signatories.<sup>55</sup> Their concern was well

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<sup>53</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 November 1846, 4.

<sup>54</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 November 1846, 4.

<sup>55</sup> *South Australian Register*, 9 August 1848, 2; 19 August 1848, 2.

founded. In his reminiscences of life at Burra many years later, Mr. James Thomas claimed that once the hotels were in full blast, the town was soon transformed from a peace-loving, law-abiding community, to a drunken, wife-beating rabble<sup>56</sup>

The steady but continuous campaign of opposition to drink maintained by Harcourt's successor, the Rev. William Lowe, was not without its own problems. In August 1849, Lowe's residence was feloniously broken into while the preacher was engaged in pastoral duty at the chapel, and completely gutted; the miscreants having left him nothing in the shape of property but the clothes he had then on him<sup>57</sup> The prosecution of a vital religion, warmly embraced by many but shunned by some, nonetheless contributed to the manner in which Methodist leaders influenced the sobriety of those in their flocks from resorting to rioting or damage to property during the workers' strikes of 1848-49.<sup>58</sup>

By 1848, the *South Australian News* claimed that Sunday observance, which included restrictions on hotel trade, was the saviour of the Burra, as the town transformed itself into an orderly community:

The Sabbath is properly respected, not a person moving on the face of the mine at work all day. The only two public houses in the neighbourhood are closed all day, and the doors locked and barricaded; travellers in the house have even been refused their glasses after 10 pm. The places of worship are crowded with attentive and respectable congregations.<sup>59</sup>

In the Burra community, Sunday observance, and not the well-patronised hotels, became the marker of social propriety and proper conduct. Davies' contention that by late 1848, the raw frontier complexion of the community had been removed and that the influence of Cornish Methodist religiosity in establishing a less boisterous

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<sup>56</sup> *Burra Record*, 11 July 1917, 3. James Thomas worked in the mine as a whim boy in the late 1840s and early 1850s. As such, he worked hauling ore throughout the underground shafts. His father was a timberman whose duty it was to check mine timbers on a daily basis. See *Burra Record*, 27 June 1917, 3.

<sup>57</sup> *South Australian Register*, 22 August 1849, 3.

<sup>58</sup> Mel Davies, 'Cornish Miners and Class Relations in Early Colonial South Australia: The Burra Burra Strikes of 1848-49', *Australian Historical Studies* 26, no. 105 (October 1995): 590. The miners themselves allowed no drinking. A correspondent to the *South Australian Register* claimed that the miners obtained because of the strike, 'by peace and order, what they would otherwise have been difficult to accomplish'. See *South Australian Register*, 23 September 1848, 3.

<sup>59</sup> *South Australian News*, 1 December 1848, 290.

complexion at the mining community accords with the available evidence.<sup>60</sup> Respectability characterised by the social indicators of thrift, high moral tone, lack of pretension, and middle-class conventions, were part of South Australian society.<sup>61</sup>

The rise in respectability throughout the 1850s, aided by the churches and the temperance societies, was in large measure dependent on the degree of law-enforcement by the local police. In 1856, an article in the *South Australian Register*, the result of a visit to Burra, observed that 'the external morals of the people are said to be much improved, chiefly owing to the rigid enforcement of the public-house law on Sundays, for the last three months by Sergeant Bolus'.<sup>62</sup> A rise in public morality and sobriety, the 'handmaid of religion', when aided by robust policing gave the community opportunity for industriousness and for some it marked the beginnings of 'worldly prosperity'.<sup>63</sup> As the churches consolidated their presence and extended their reach into the community during the 1850s, the Burra mine embarked on a decade of relative stability and prosperity, interrupted only by the Victorian gold rush, the vagaries of directors' decisions and the international price of copper.<sup>64</sup>

## **Working and Living Conditions**

Life for miners at Burra came with its own challenges. In the early years of the mine, most miners and their families lived rent-free in dugouts fashioned in the banks of the Burra River, only identified from above by the chimney shafts topped with beer barrels or other contrivances. Before a major flood in 1851 wiped out the dugouts, upwards of 2,000 people lived on either side of the river for a distance of two and a half kilometres. Cramped living conditions, poor lighting and ventilation, crates for furniture (although some were 'nicely furnished') and poor sanitation made life tolerable at best. Considerable effort went to keep the dugouts 'scrupulously clean' with frequent whitewashings. Far from their native Cornwall, beleaguered miners and families dealt with the incessant summer heat, bushfires, and poor town facilities relieved only by visiting friends along the creek on Sundays or attending

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<sup>60</sup> Davies, 'Cornish Miners and Class Relations in Early Colonial South Australia', 591.

<sup>61</sup> Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 495-516.

<sup>62</sup> *South Australian Register*, 27 March 1856, 3.

<sup>63</sup> *South Australian Register*, 6 January 1849, 4.

<sup>64</sup> *Burra Record*, 13 June 1917, 3; 20 June 1917, 4.

church as a family, their one bright spot for the week.<sup>65</sup> For church-going miners, Sunday, according to the one-time resident James Thomas, was a time to look forward to, an opportunity to get out into the sunlight together with their children if any. A good proportion of the people attended places of worship and were religious folk, and their religion seemed more intense and emotional than that of today.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to personal privations, there were those of a civic nature as well. A visit to Burra by a correspondent of the *South Australian Register* in 1856 noted the poor state of township services and appearance:

There is no municipality nor local government at the Burra, and the roads are being fast washed away bodily by the immense cracks which are opened every winter. There is no other place in the colony where some kind of local regulations are so much needed. The whole place wears an aspect of great desolation: no allotments are enclosed; no gardens are planted; no vegetation can be seen; even the hilltops are unable to boast a single tree amongst them. The dwellings look all as if dropped from the clouds: and, with the exception of a few tradespeople, who have opened really handsome shops, the whole population might be supposed to be in the act of packing up to be off. Even the very buildings, though formed of a most durable blue clay slate, are put together as if they were only wanted to hold up for a few years until the final exodus takes place.<sup>67</sup>

It is possible that the temporary nature of life at the mine and associated townships reflected the ambivalence within the wider community as to the longer-term prospects of the mine's existence. Mining, by its very nature, was limited in duration and permanency, something with which the Cornish were familiar.<sup>68</sup> In his authoritative account of South Australian mines, published in 1863, J. B. Austin contended that the Burra mine paid its workers at slightly lower rates than other mines because there was certainty and permanency attached to regular work at the Burra. He was aware of a rumour which varied in vigour each year, that the Burra mine is nearly worked out, a rumour he heard repeated annually since the mine started producing.<sup>69</sup> In his account, Austin went on to contend that, after careful enquiry, I see no reason to doubt that the Burra will continue to yield large quantities

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<sup>65</sup> *South Australian Register*, 27 March 1856, 3; 15 January 1898, 6; *Burra Record*, 11 July 1917, 3.

<sup>66</sup> *Burra Record*, 11 July 1917, 3.

<sup>67</sup> *South Australian Register*, 27 March 1856, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Austin, *The Mines of South Australia*, 11.

<sup>69</sup> Austin, *The Mines of South Australia*, 21.

of rich ore, and consequently to pay good dividends for many years to come.<sup>70</sup>

At the time of Austin's assessment, the Burra mine was at the peak of its working life. In 1859, the mine employed 1,170, the greatest number of workers at any time over its working life, and wages paid were higher than previously, in order to compete with the newly opened Moonta and Wallaroo mines, and mines further north in the state.<sup>71</sup> However, according to James Thomas, the mining company had a history of installing new mining equipment short of operational status, and stifling developmental work at the site, suggesting that dividends were the directors' main concern.<sup>72</sup> It is likely that such decisions would have created uncertainty among the miners and exacerbated the ambivalent perception as to the nature and longevity of its operations. The evangelists' call to embrace a religion of certainty during times of intense revivalism may have appealed to a mind-set imbued with the periodic uncertainty of mining in a relatively remote location.

## Unfolding of the Revivals

The course of the revivals from 1858 to 1860 is set forth.

### 1858

According to John Stephens, Wesleyan Methodist local preacher and teacher in charge of the Burra Wesleyan day school, the 1858 Burra revival began in the Wesleyan church before spreading to the other Methodist churches.<sup>73</sup> According to Flockhart, the Wesleyan minister at Burra, the Bible Christian church was 'alive' in 1858. Years later, he recalled the revival as it affected the Wesleyans and others:

In those days the Elijahs and Daniels of our Church were not afraid to shout. The sounds of 'Amen' and 'Glory be to God' frequently rang along the walls of our Zion. One Sunday evening, while we were preaching from 'Felix trembled' and just in the middle of the sermon, such a power came down upon the congregation like a current of holy electric fire, and swept right over the people. Cries went up from all parts of the church. Men and women were filled with the Spirit; others in tears crying for mercy. We closed the book, no more of the sermon; the set time to favour Zion had

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<sup>70</sup> Austin, *The Mines of South Australia*, 21.

<sup>71</sup> Austin, *The Mines of South Australia*, 21.

<sup>72</sup> *South Australian Register*, 13 June 1917, 3; 20 June 1917, 4.

<sup>73</sup> *ACC*, 27 March 1903, 6.



come; the clouds burst, and there was a great rain. The whole place was one mighty manifestation of power of God unto salvation. Many stepped into higher bliss, and numbers were converted. Till midnight souls were seeking and finding peace. For weeks, prayer and praise were heard from many quarters night and day. In the Burra Mine, men were overpowered by the Spirit of God, and came up to the surface happy in the love of Jesus. In our love feast, it was heaven upon earth to hear people tell of the wonderful works of God. All the Churches caught the Holy Fire. The whole township for a time was as one vast temple of praise. The public-houses lost their customers, and several of the publicans of the bolder sort came to see the cause of their empty bars. Something like 500 souls professed conversion.<sup>74</sup>

Flockhart believed that the catalyst for the revival was an old Wesleyan miner, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, who agonised over prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the churches. His prayers in particular, resulted in gracious influences descending upon the entire community.<sup>75</sup>

J. G. Wright, Primitive Methodist minister at Kooringa (according to Flockhart, full of holy fire) was also among the first to experience the beginnings of the revival when, in early 1858, he reported to the Primitive Methodist Foreign Missions committee in England on the work at Kooringa. Keen to attract the attention of the committee and encourage them to consider sending more missionaries, Wright's account leaves no doubt as to the extent and dramatic nature of the revival:

Of late, we have had many brought to the Cross, who have found redemption; and some of them were the most deeply sunk; dark and revolting was their character. Four nights this week, we have heard the cry for mercy, hallelujah! Our chapel, now the largest Primitive Methodist chapel in the colony is filled; and many on a Sunday evening come, but cannot get a sitting, and so return. Other places want us; but we cannot supply them. I must not neglect the Burra. I am engaged every night, not even the Saturday excepted.<sup>76</sup>

Wright included two accounts of conversion that emphasised the power of the revival. His metaphors such as 'the Ethiopian has changed his skin and the leopard his spots' accentuated the conversionary drama as told in one of his accounts:

A few nights ago, one of the most sensual Bacchanalians was so melted under the burning truth of God's word that all his long-indulged appetites

<sup>74</sup> *CW&MJ*, 12 November 1897, 4.

<sup>75</sup> Statement by R.C. Flockhart (Wesleyan minister) reported in the *CW&MJ*, 12 November 1897, 4.

<sup>76</sup> Letter (undated) John G. Wright to Missionary Committee, *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (London: 1858), 184-186.

were brought into holy submission to the power of the Cross ó the lion was taken by the mane and arrested in his path, his savageness gave place to redeeming love, he was led like a lamb to the Fountain opened, and was seen sitting at the feet of Jesus clothed, and in his right mind. This poor man has spent a fortune in *drink*, has laid all night in the creeks of the township, has been led home almost naked, and often for hours has he been heard cursing everything around him. His wife trembled before him as a lamb before a tiger; he was the terror of the family; but now that house, once the scene of wretchedness, is the gate of heaven. For some days, he was drinking the wormwood and the gall; but after a long and painful struggle, his soul was brought into liberty. He ran round the room praising God for his goodness: he grasped every one by the hand, saying, *ōBless the Lord! Bless the Lord! BLESS THE LORD!ō*<sup>77</sup>

Although the 1858 revival touched the life of all the churches at Burra, the three Methodist branches, according to Flockhart, experienced *the blessedness of Methodist union in spirit*<sup>78</sup> Three branches of Methodism coalesced at Burra in a spiritual unity that foreshadowed the achievement of organic unity in 1900. The number of professed conversions amounted to 500.<sup>79</sup>

## 1859

The *showers of blessing* that favoured the Burra churches in 1858, became more widespread throughout the colony in the following year. In September 1859, in a letter to the English *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the Rev. William Butters, as Chairman of the South Australian District, claimed that *in almost every Circuit in the District there is a gracious revival of God's work*. He went on to add that in *the last few weeks* at least *300 persons have cast in their lot with us*<sup>80</sup>

The next Burra revival commenced in May 1859 and continued to *increase in strength until at least November*<sup>81</sup> The Rev. James Whittaker, Primitive Methodist minister appointed to Kooringa at the beginning of 1859, reported soon after his arrival that *we have a blessed work going on here, one of the best and most solid*

<sup>77</sup> Wright to Missionary Committee, 184.

<sup>78</sup> *CW&MJ*, 12 November 1897, 4.

<sup>79</sup> Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 8; *CW&MJ*, 12 November 1897, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Letter Rev. William Butters of 17 September 1859 to *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. Letter reproduced in *Methodist Magazine*, December 1859, 1132. The *Methodist Journal* (South Australia) re-stated the claim in an editorial entitled *Thoughts on Religious Revivals*. See *MJ*, 3 September 1875, 1. At this time, South Australia like the other Australian colonies had District status.

<sup>81</sup> *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 5 November 1859, 1. Another report in the same issue of the *Weekly Chronicle* stated that the revival had discontinued by November. See page 3.

revivals I have witnessed since I left Birmingham<sup>82</sup> Despite failing health, Whittaker continued until the end of the year when he was relieved of his pastorate. He later reported that 500 conversions had taken place at the Burra in a three-month period.<sup>83</sup>

At the beginning of 1859, the Bible Christians, like their Primitive Methodist cousins, welcomed new ministers. Soon after James Way arrived at Burra, he commenced special services. At first, his efforts yielded little result with only one reported conversion in the first week. Despite some discord within the church, Way continued with the services and saw attendances increase to around 500 as conversions multiplied in numbers as the 'saving power increased'<sup>84</sup> Under Way's preaching, between 250 to 300 conversions reportedly took place, and across all churches upwards of 500 conversions occurred, which resulted in an estimated increase of 250 members to all the churches.<sup>85</sup>

Many of Burra's residents and in particular the Cornish mining elements had some knowledge of the Bible and its teaching on sin, the person of Jesus, and salvation.<sup>86</sup> When such persons were subject to the 'fiery eloquence' of the revivalist preacher R. C. Flockhart, or the 'equally successful' Way, their impassioned and vigorous preaching elicited the anticipated outcome: repentant confession for the pardoned sinner, followed by inclusion into chapel life and behaviour.<sup>87</sup> Almost forty years later, Way's son, Sir Samuel Way, at the time the Chief Justice of South Australia, referred to the events of 1859 as the 'great revival' and regarded it as the 'highest point attained in his father's ministry'<sup>88</sup>

One striking feature of the 1859 revival was the changed drinking practices of previously regular hotel patrons. At a meeting of the Total Abstinence Society held

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<sup>82</sup> *SAPMR*, October 1863, 6.

<sup>83</sup> J. Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, 1976), 55.

<sup>84</sup> *Burra Record*, 7 September 1898, 3; Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 11.

<sup>85</sup> *Burra Record*, 7 September 1898, 3; Alvey, *Burra, its Mines and Methodism*, 11; *South Australian Register*, 28 August 1884, 3; *ACC*, 18 October 1907, 4; *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 5 November 1859, 3.

<sup>86</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 77.

<sup>87</sup> *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 5 November 1859, 3; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 77.

<sup>88</sup> *Burra Record*, 7 September 1898, 3. James Way died at Noarlunga, South Australia in 1884 aged 80. For obituaries on James Way see *SABCM*, November 1884; *South Australian Register*, 28 August 1884, 3.

in Adelaide in November 1859, the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* reported:

Mr Dale, in speaking of that district, said that as far as the drinking customs of the people were concerned, he never saw such a change in his life; for when he first went there, he never had seen such a drunken people; but about five months ago there was an extraordinary change. A strong religious revival then took place, which had continued up to the present time, increasing in strength; and now instead of the public-houses being filled after the hours of labour were over, which previously was the characteristic of the place, there were now religious meetings every night in the week, which were attended by publicans, their barman, and even their ostlers; which showed how extensively the habits of temperance were increasing when persons like they were could spare time to attend religious worship. He stated that, on some occasions he had passed as many as a dozen public houses at the Burra and Redruth in one evening without seeing a single drinker in one of them.<sup>89</sup>

According to the report, the prosecution of revivalism in 1859 swelled the churches at the expense of the public houses ó this lasted from at least May through to early November. Revivalism allied to teetotalism strengthened both causes and for the churches, it filled pews and contribution boxes.

The Bible Christians in particular benefitted from the revival. In 1859 they commenced work on building a new chapel. In June 1860, they opened a new church at Kooringa capable of seating 600 at a cost of £2,217; it was considered the finest in the town. Many of the sittings in the new church were let twice over, and the Sunday School with 600 scholars was the largest in the colony.<sup>90</sup> For both the revivalist and the teetotaller 1859 was a good year.

At times, for many of the miners and workers at Burra, revivalism and temperance co-existed with the influence of the public house. The day after the new Bible Christian chapel was opened, the Miners and Tradesmen's Club celebrated its anniversary by processing through the town, headed by a band, to the Wesleyan chapel and then on to the Court House Hotel where they passed a merry and jovial evening.<sup>91</sup> For a time, the warring parties were content to call a truce in the interests

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<sup>89</sup> *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 5 November 1859, 1. The reported observation of well-attended church meetings and deserted public houses is substantiated by another report (Kooringa) in the same issue. See page 3. The revival's affect on public houses is also noted in the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 8 October 1859, 2.

<sup>90</sup> *SABCM*, August 1876, 202. *CW&MJ*, 26 May 1899, 10.

<sup>91</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 2 July 1860, 3. The new Bible Christian chapel opened on Sunday 24 June 1860.

of a common cause. The anniversary celebration thrived on the energy released from the mix of radicalised sobriety and indulgence of the public house.

The revivals of 1858 and 1859 coincided with the height of the mine's prosperity. The workforce reached its peak figure of 1,170, and the mine paid a record £178,900 in wages and expenses. At the same time, however, the costs increased as the mine deepened. Furthermore, the price of copper fell by 50 per cent in three years from its peak of £126 per ton in 1858, to £87 per ton in Adelaide in 1861. Even more alarmingly, the 1858 profit per ton of £4-8-3 fell to £1-14-8 in 1859.<sup>92</sup> Buoyant economics may have assisted praiseworthy revivalist sentiments in 1858 and the early part of 1859, but a looming economic downturn in the latter part of 1859 and 1860 may also have precipitated revivalist urgings for Divine intervention. By contrast, the prospect of a promising wheat harvest in the Central Hill Country during 1860 would have provided Methodist farmers and townsfolk with sufficient reason for revivalist ardour in the best traditions of a prospective bountiful harvest thanksgiving.<sup>93</sup> At times, contrasting economic conditions and outcomes may have resulted in similar revivalist sentiments even within the same region.

## 1860

### Kapunda and Auburn

Inspired by the 1858-59 Burra revivals, two newly appointed ministers with revivalist aspirations who were sent to Kapunda and Auburn in 1860 saw revivalism radiate out from Burra. The Wesleyan, Henry Thomas Burgess (1839-1923), commenced his pastorate at Kapunda in April 1860.<sup>94</sup> Eighty kilometres northeast of Adelaide and ninety-three kilometres south of Burra, Kapunda was the railway terminus for the northern line. The revival commenced on Whitsunday (Pentecost) on 27 May 1860 as a day of great spiritual power. On the following Tuesday, a teachers' meeting became a prayer meeting, which concluded at 1 am. At night

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<sup>92</sup> Burra History at <http://www.burrahistory.info/BurraHistory.htm> (25 January 2016). I have included the lower employment figure as used previously.

<sup>93</sup> For a promising assessment of the 1860 harvest see 'The Northern Crops', *South Australian Advertiser*, 4 December 1860, 3.

<sup>94</sup> Arnold D. Hunt, 'Burgess, Henry Thomas (1839-1923)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/burgess-henry-thomas-5427/text9205>, (25 January 2016).

revival services, Burgess preached for conversion, secured 200 commitments, admitted 150 as members on trial, and oversaw 200 join the church by the end of the year. The 200 commitments represented 10 per cent of Kapunda's population.<sup>95</sup> The results were impressive. The revival spread to other churches in Kapunda including the Bible Christians whose numbers were largely increased. Reminiscing in 1899, Burgess claimed the revival was an answer to prayer and his covenant with God. Some considered the spiritual awakening as the greatest revival Kapunda had ever experienced.<sup>96</sup>

### Watervale

A month after the Kapunda revival started, a great revival broke out at Watervale on 1 July 1860 and spread to Auburn the following day.<sup>97</sup> Situated nine kilometres north of Auburn on the Adelaide to Clare road, Watervale was a very small township with a population of less than 150, a daily coach service to Kapunda, a post office, a telegraph station, a school, two hotels and a Bible Christian chapel which opened in 1855.<sup>98</sup> Even before the revival of 1860, Watervale's Bible Christian membership increased dramatically from around ten in 1858 to sixty-seven in the following year.<sup>99</sup> Watervale and Auburn benefitted from the rapid expansion of agricultural settlements in the region during the 1850s. Auburn was a resting place for the bullock teams that carted copper ore from Burra to Port Wakefield on St. Vincent Gulf for shipment to Welsh smelters.

Located forty-six kilometres north of Kapunda on the main northern road from Adelaide, Auburn contained a mechanics institute, schoolhouse, post and money order office, local courthouse, telegraph and police stations, a bank branch, two hotels, two general stores, a flour mill, and a Bible Christian church. The Church of

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<sup>95</sup> Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 115. Kapunda's population was 1,898 in 1861.

<sup>96</sup> *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 30 June 1860, 1; *Kapunda Herald*, 22 September 1899, 3; *ACC*, 26 November 1909, 5. Revivals were not unknown in the copper mining town of Kapunda. A glorious revival took place during the ministry of the Rev W. Brown in 1857-58. See *Kapunda Herald*, 9 May 1946, 2. There were others as well, referred to in the *Kapunda Herald*, 22 September 1899, 3.

<sup>97</sup> Ian Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and District* (Adelaide: Methodist Historical Society, 1961), 6.

<sup>98</sup> Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 1866, 269. Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and District*, 16.

<sup>99</sup> Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and District*, 6.

England was built in 1862, and by 1875 both the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists had established churches in the town. The Bible Christians were always the most virile of the Methodist groupings.<sup>100</sup> The population numbered about 200 persons in 1866.<sup>101</sup>

In a memorial notice on the death of the Rev. Thomas Hillman (1823-1907) in 1907, the author considered the Auburn revival as:

One of the most remarkable revivals in the history of the colony. The whole district was aroused and, while the movement was at its height, business was well-nigh suspended, day schools were closed, and hundreds of men, women, and children were brought into the kingdom of God.<sup>102</sup>

Few details of the revival survive. Sent by the English Missionary Committee to South Australia in 1856, Hillman was posted to Burra before arriving at Auburn in April 1860. Present at the sixth annual district meeting of the Bible Christian Church held at the Young Street Chapel, Adelaide, in February 1860, Hillman was well aware of the denomination's desire to experience revival. Four addresses on revival delivered one evening during the conference underscored the importance of maintaining the momentum of revival activity in the colony.<sup>103</sup>

Bible Christian services had commenced at Auburn in 1852 in the local blacksmith shop, prior to the construction of the first chapel in 1854. Because of the 1860 revival, a new building capable of seating 300 was opened in October 1861 at a cost of £1,036. Soon afterwards, the building proved inadequate to contain the growing congregation. In 1866, the construction of galleries increased the seating capacity to 500. At the September Quarterly Meeting of 1860, the following resolution entered the record:

That this meeting express hearty and devout thanks to Almighty God for the gracious outpouring of His Holy Spirit on the church during the past quarter,

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<sup>100</sup> Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and District*, 4, 5.

<sup>101</sup> Whitworth, Bailliere's *South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 1866, 21. *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 17 November 1860, 2. The population is estimated at around 150 in 1860. It was 200 in 1866. See Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 1866, 21. In 1851 there were only five houses in Auburn. See *South Australian Register*, 15 July 1851, 3.

<sup>102</sup> ACC, 16 August 1907, 5.

<sup>103</sup> *South Australian Register*, 15 March 1860, 3.

whereby upwards of 200 souls have been added to our membership.<sup>104</sup>

Church membership at Auburn then stood at 281, up from sixty-seven the previous year, which was an increase of 214 members. In the same period, from 1859 to 1860, Bible Christian membership in South Australia increased from 1,049 (exclusive of sixty-three on trial) to 1,283 (fifty-one on trial), an increase of 234 full members. The Auburn revival of 1860, therefore accounted for 91 per cent of the total membership increase for South Australia in that year.<sup>105</sup> It is significant that the number of conversions and consequent additions to the Auburn church membership exceeded the estimated population of Auburn in 1860 of 150, as the catchment area was much larger than the town. It is likely that some of the day school children educated by the colony's Board of Education underwent some kind of conversionary experience. There was one such school in Auburn in 1860, which consisted of thirty-one students, fourteen of whom were boys and seventeen girls.<sup>106</sup>

In the aftermath of the Auburn 1860 revival, a Band of Hope established in December 1866 also had the capacity to draw in juveniles from throughout the district. Within eighteen months the membership stood at 259, with branches at Skillogolee Creek and Undalya. The Band of Hope met fortnightly and had its own eighteen-member fife and drum band.<sup>107</sup> The widespread transforming power of the revival maintained its effect on the largely Bible Christian community intent on maintaining and spreading its total abstinence stance.

### Angaston

At about the same time as the Auburn revival, the Wesleyan chapel at Angaston, located seventy-two kilometres south-east of Auburn experienced a revival. There were nightly prayer meetings conducted in an earnest manner and numerous conversions.<sup>108</sup> At the time, Angaston was part of the Kapunda circuit, so it is likely that the revival that started at Kapunda in May under H. T. Burgess had spread to

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<sup>104</sup> ACC, 8 April 1904, 13.

<sup>105</sup> Colony-wide membership figures for the years 1860 and 1861 respectively published in *South Australian Advertiser*, 15 March 1860, 3 and *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 9 March 1861, 1.

<sup>106</sup> Report of Board of Education 1860, SAPP 34, 1860, 10.

<sup>107</sup> *Adelaide Observer*, 27 June 1868, 15.

<sup>108</sup> *South Australian Register*, 10 August 1860, 3.



Angaston by the July.<sup>109</sup>

## Mintaro

Meanwhile at Mintaro, sixteen kilometres northeast of Auburn, a great revival also broke out among the Wesleyans. Mintaro was a rest stop on the Burra-Auburn-Port Wakefield route for the bullock teams carting copper ore to the port and returning with coal. On Sundays large numbers of teamsters rested up in the town.<sup>110</sup> Mintaro was part of the fertile Central Hill Country region and was settled by small farmers, many of whom were ex-Burra miners and some returnees from the Victorian goldfields in the early to mid-1850s.<sup>111</sup> The population of the Mintaro area in 1866 was 350, and some of the local farmers were prominent Methodists. The Wesleyans and the Primitive Methodists both had churches in the town, which had its own flour mill, post and money order office, and two hotels.<sup>112</sup> The town's Wesleyan Sunday school commenced in 1855 with an enrolment of sixty-five scholars, and an average attendance of around fifty every Sunday. Its teaching focussed on scripture memorisation. In the school's first year, the scholars learnt 17,000 scripture verses (at an average of 340 verses per person).<sup>113</sup> By comparison, thirty-six Sunday school scholars from the Upper Light Primitive Methodist Church memorized an average of ninety-nine scripture verses and forty-eight hymn verses in 1870.<sup>114</sup> By the time Methodist children claimed their conversion during revivalist meetings or traditionally at the annual 'Decision Day'<sup>115</sup>, they were familiar with substantial portions of the Bible and Methodist Hymn Book. Methodist Sunday schools were not only efficient in attracting disproportionately large numbers of children, but in

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<sup>109</sup> Angaston became the head of its own circuit in 1867. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 78.

<sup>110</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 August 1900, 9.

<sup>111</sup> *CW&MJ*, 15 February 1895, 3.

<sup>112</sup> Whitworth, Baillie's *South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 1866, 141-142; Paull, *Methodism, in Auburn and District*, 12.

<sup>113</sup> Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and District*, 13.

<sup>114</sup> Upper Light Primitive Methodist Church: Sunday school verse book 1864-1880. SLSA SRG 4/46/171.

<sup>115</sup> The annual 'Decision Day' provided the scholar with an opportunity to make a commitment to Christ. The annual Conference statistics from 1905 included the numbers of Methodist Sunday schools that observed 'Decision Day'. It averaged at approximately 50% over the period 1905 to 1939. On Methodist Sunday schools see Brian Kelley, *Nurseries for Christians? Methodist Sunday Schools in South Australia* (Malvern, SA: Uniting Church Historical Society, 1989).

providing the revivalist preacher with the next batch of potential converts.<sup>116</sup>

#### Leasingham and Undalya

Two further revivals occurred in the Auburn area in 1860. They merited a brief reference in the *South Australian Register*, which reported on the topic of talks given by the Rev. J. Ridclift in September 1860 on the first anniversary of the Undalya Bible Christian Chapel. Ridclift gave three talks on the topic of revivals which had taken place on so extensive a scale in Auburn, Watervale, Leasingham, and, to a minor degree, at Undalya.<sup>117</sup> This entry appears to be the only reference to the Leasingham and Undalya revivals. Leasingham was a hamlet on the cross roads between Auburn-Watervale and Mintaro-Skilly. Situated on the main northern road between Auburn and Clare, it possessed a hotel, day school, and a Wesleyan church and Sunday school. The population was 130 in 1866.<sup>118</sup>

Undalya was an even smaller hamlet with a population in 1866 of 80. Located six kilometres south of Auburn, Undalya had two hotels, a post office, and a school of twenty-nine children. The Bible Christians had a church in which the day school met. The Undalya church in 1859 had a membership of fifteen, some of whom experienced conversion in the revival.<sup>119</sup> At the celebration of its first anniversary on Sunday 23 September 1860, in addition to the three talks by Ridclift in the morning, the total abstinence advocate for the Barossa, John Williams spoke in the afternoon. A public meeting and tea took place on the following Monday, which included hymn singing. The church was crowded by visitors from Auburn and the surrounding neighbourhood, who partook of the good cheer bountifully provided by the ladies of Undalya.<sup>120</sup> Revivalism produced converts, enhanced the public image of the Undalya church, and strengthened the Bible Christian identity of the Undalya, Leasingham and Auburn communities.

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<sup>116</sup> For example, at the 1860 census, there were in the colony 43,587 persons listed as Church of England representing 44.5% of the population. The Methodist denominations numbered 22,210 persons or 22.7% of the population. However, Church of England Sunday schools in 1861 numbered 2,668 scholars or 14.5% of total enrolments, whilst the Methodists returned 10,174 scholars at 55.5% of total enrolments. See Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 424, 434.

<sup>117</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 September 1860, 3.

<sup>118</sup> Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 1866, 124.

<sup>119</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 September 1860, 3; Paull, *Methodism in Auburn and District*, 6.

<sup>120</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 September 1860, 3.

## Significance of the Revivals

Events like these, including the revivals they spawned, were significant religious and social moments in the intensive farming communities of the region. Some of the farmers were the sons of first generation settlers who established the first holdings immediately north of Adelaide, in the Hills to the east of the city around Mount Barker, or southwards on the Fleurieu Peninsula. As agriculture and mining expanded northwards in the late 1840s and 50s, the second generation provided much of the labour force. Many of them formed their self-identity not only as wheat farmers, but also by the vital religion they pursued and by a pioneering spirit reminiscent of their fathers. For example, apart from a mechanics institute at Auburn and the mandatory hotels in the towns, the lack of even rudimentary social infrastructure meant that the Methodist Church with its teas, public meetings, Sunday schools, class meetings, recitals, picnics, and Sunday services provided opportunities for social, recreational, and religious needs. As a focus of community engagement, the church's revival meetings, for many, were an integral part of the Methodist way of life.

The Burra revivals of 1858-60, consisted of three inter-linked movements of revivalism with local, regional, and colony-wide aspects, and were contextualised in a historical narrative that extended over at least the previous decade. Beginning in 1858, the revival that affected Burra possessed revivalist roots that extended back to the late 1840s. Annual revivals were part of the regular rhythm of Burra church life, particularly among the Methodist denominations. What was unique about the outbreak of religious enthusiasm in 1858 was its intensity and pervasive nature. All the Methodist churches experienced revivals, characterised by outbursts of praise, emotionalism, seekers of mercy, and conversions. Scenes of spontaneous singing broke out in the township, and men in the mines became overwhelmed with emotion. Hotels lost many of their customers and 500 conversions took place. The revival affected the whole community.

The Burra revival of 1859 occurred in the context of a colony-wide movement in which almost every Methodist circuit underwent some aspect of revivalist activity. Of six-months duration, the Burra revival secured an estimated 500 conversions. To

accommodate the increased congregations, a number of churches underwent building programmes, the most noticeable of which was a new church erected by the Bible Christians in 1859 capable of seating 600.

In 1860, the Burra revivals of 1858 and 59 spread to the townships of Kapunda, Watervale, Auburn, Angaston, Mintaro, Leasingham, and Undalya. Kapunda recorded 200 conversions and an additional 200 members, while Auburn welcomed an additional 214 members by the end of 1861. Overall, for the three years, the revivals produced an estimated 1,200 conversions and 664 new members.

### Some Effects of the Revival

One significant effect of the revivals in Burra in 1858 and 1859 was a reduction in hotel patronage brought about by changes in drinking habits. According to one report, the change was particularly dramatic, when, at the height of the 1859 revival, the hotels were virtually empty every night while the churches were well attended.<sup>121</sup>

Another effect of the 1858 and 1859 revivals in Burra was the later influence that many converts, or those connected with the revivals, exercised in the life of the Methodist Church or other churches throughout South Australia and other colonies.<sup>122</sup> These included the Rev. William Williams (1848-1913),<sup>123</sup> Dr. H. T. Burgess (1839-1923),<sup>124</sup> Dr. W. G. Torr (1853-1939),<sup>125</sup> the Rev. Harry Wilkinson,<sup>126</sup> the Rev. J. A. Burns,<sup>127</sup> and Miss Jessie Wilkinson.<sup>128</sup> Burra was the

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<sup>121</sup> *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 5 November 1859, 1.

<sup>122</sup> Refer footnote 2 for Rev. F.W. Bourne. Further research may reveal the extent of the influence of the Burra converts. It is noteworthy that although the evidence is not yet available for the duration of these conversions, it is likely that the majority remained in the faith. Quoting the work of Professor Edwin D. Starbuck, William James concludes that the effect of conversion is to bring with it a -changed attitude towards life, which is fairly constant and permanent, although the feelings fluctuate. In other words, the persons who have passed through conversion, having once taken a stand for the religious life, tend to feel themselves identified with it, no matter how much religious enthusiasm declines. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (Pacific Publishing Studio, 2010), 109, reprint of 1902 edn.

<sup>123</sup> Born in Burra to Cornish parents and converted in the 1858 revival when age ten, Williams was president of the Australasian Methodist General Conference 1907-1910. On Williams, see T.M. O'Connor, -Williams, William. *ADEB*, 407; *ACC*, 18 October 1907, 4.

<sup>124</sup> A scholar, then teacher and secretary of the Wesleyan Sunday school at Koorunga from 1848, Burgess became a Methodist minister and was twice president of the Wesleyan Conference in South Australia (1880 & 1890), and of the Wesleyan General Conference (1897-1901). See *ACC*, 18 October 1907, Arnold D. Hunt, -Burgess, Henry Thomas. *ADEB*, 56-57.

<sup>125</sup> On Torr, see footnote 22, chapter 6.

<sup>126</sup> Wilkinson was accepted into the Wesleyan ministry after Burra, and in 1906 was president of the

high-water mark in their spiritual journey, and influenced their vocational orientations toward service in Methodist churches.

## The Transmission of Revival

The revivals, which occurred at Burra and in the Central Hill Country from 1858 to 1860, were subject to the spread of revivalism, both local and international. Throughout 1858, leading Adelaide newspapers provided periodic coverage to the American Revival of 1857-58.<sup>129</sup> Often referred to as a "great religious revival" and compared favourably to the "Great Awakening" under Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the articles reported on such topics as its spread afterwards throughout the country, its contagious nature, effects, numbers of conversions, the holding of widespread daily prayer meetings, and its results.<sup>130</sup> In her study of the American Revival of 1857-58, Kathryn Long claimed that the newspapers helped to define and shape the events through publicity and promotion. For "the first time in the nineteenth-century, revivalism was splashed across the front page of a secular newspaper" the revival became a media event.<sup>131</sup> According to J. Edwin Orr, the awakening received favourable coverage in the secular press.<sup>132</sup>

Likewise, extensive Adelaide press coverage of the American Revival continued in 1859. Other reports included the evangelical awakenings that commenced in Ulster in early 1859, and elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Articles covered such topics as revival origins, divine or human instrumentality, physical manifestations, effects of the revival such as the giving up of swearing and drinking, and the

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Western Australian Conference. See *ACC*, 18 October 1907, 4.

<sup>127</sup> Scholar at the Wesleyan Sunday school at Kooringa. Ordained into the Presbyterian ministry. See *ACC*, 18 October 1907, 4.

<sup>128</sup> Miss Wilkinson was a scholar then teacher in the Sunday school and later missionary to New Britain. See *ACC*, 18 October 1907, 4.

<sup>129</sup> See for example, *South Australian Register*, 18 May 1858, 3; 14 June 1858, 2; 14 July 1858, 3; 17 July 1858, 3; 21 August 1858, 2; *Adelaide Observer*, 19 June 1858, 2.

<sup>130</sup> Jonathan Edwards, grounded in reformed theology, played a pivotal role in shaping the First Great Awakening in America, and experienced some of the early revivals in 1733-35 as pastor of his church at Northampton, Massachusetts. Reports of overseas revivals further stimulated Methodist interest in revival work.

<sup>131</sup> Kathryn Teresa Long, *The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 26, 27.

<sup>132</sup> J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue: Evangelical Awakenings* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973), xv.

adoption of new disciplines of piety such as Bible reading and prayer.<sup>133</sup> Increasingly aware of the unfolding international revival movement and the Burra revivals, one Wesleyan correspondent to the *South Australian Advertiser* called for combined denominational prayer meetings, so that "South Australia may bear its part in the great religious revivals now going forward in America, the northern country, and other places"<sup>134</sup> The Methodists were not the only denomination reported on with an interest in the overseas revivals. Revivals were the main topic at a tea meeting held in the United Presbyterian Church, Gouger Street, Adelaide, in October 1859. Various speakers addressed different aspects of the revivals in America, England, Ireland and Scotland. Included, were topics such as physical manifestations, and whether the revivals would continue, aided by a common evangelicalism.<sup>135</sup>

Keen to provide a "dispassionate review of the whole matter" the *South Australian Advertiser* reproduced an extended article from the *Liverpool Mercury* of 24 June 1859. Citing eyewitness accounts, the article concluded that the revival in Ireland was a "work of God" and that there was no attempt to "get up" a revival or to "keep it up" Furthermore, the article included reports of the ease with which random attempts at preaching, even in remote rural locations attracted spontaneous crowds eager to hear the self-appointed heralds, some of whom had given up their professions to undertake itinerant preaching. Some physical effects on hearers observed included bodily prostrations, loud cries, sobbing, and inability to stand unaided. The writer contended that the absence of religious formalities and "speculative belief" indicated the presence of a "vital religion established of God, in which all sects heartily cooperated" Also stated was the predominance of lay leadership and the revival's ability to spread.<sup>136</sup> A week later, the *Advertiser* reported:

Revivalism at Kooringa [Burra] has been carried on to a great extent, in fact

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<sup>133</sup> See for example, *South Australian Advertiser*, 6 September 1859, 2; 29 September 1859, 3; 12 December 1859, 2; *South Australian Register*, 6 September 1859, 3; 27 October 1859, 3; 14 November 1859, 2, 3.

<sup>134</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 31 August 1859, 3.

<sup>135</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 18 October 1859, 2.

<sup>136</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 29 September 1859, 3. The article's author was the Wesleyan minister, John Peters, and formed the basis of an address requested by his congregation on the revival in the north of Ireland in 1859. Peters travelled to revival locations, observed proceedings and gathered additional information for the address.

we think exceeding the accounts we have heard of a similar movement in Ireland. It has undoubtedly done much good and reclaimed many persons, the conversion of whom we trust will be lasting. The public houses are not so busy of an evening as they used to be, and some of the members of the cricket club have left.<sup>137</sup>

A theme relatively common in revival correspondence was the ability of revivals to spread from one location to another. In December 1859, the *South Australian Advertiser* noted in relation to overseas revivals that:

The extraordinary religious revivals continue to operate, and to spread from country to country with truly marvellous power and rapidity.<sup>138</sup>

Stuart Piggin claims that the revival in Wales and Ulster in 1859 "was really exported to Australia"<sup>139</sup> Certainly, Wales and Ulster reinforced and boosted revivalism in Australia. Not only was it possible for the influence of revivals to transcend international boundaries in the mid-nineteenth-century, the Burra revival of 1858 and 1859 had intra-colony reach as it spread to the Central Hill Country south and south-west of Burra, namely to Kapunda, Watervale, Auburn, Angaston, Mintaro, Leasingham, and Undalya in 1860. The diffusion of revivalism evident in rural South Australia in 1860 was consistent with the international thrust of evangelicalism:

From its beginnings in the 1730s the evangelical movement has transcended the boundaries of geography, language and politics. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the international character of evangelical linkages was apparent primarily in terms of the mutual exchange of spiritual and cultural influences across the North Atlantic between North America and Europe, particularly the British Isles. Asia, Australasia, Africa and (on a much lesser scale) Latin America were the objects of evangelical missionary activity.<sup>140</sup>

The revivalist dimension of evangelical internationalism was readily accessible through the pages of the religious press, but also importantly through the secular press as well. The influence of overseas revivals in promoting local activity in the

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<sup>137</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 7 October 1859, 2.

<sup>138</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 12 December 1859, 2.

<sup>139</sup> Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World: Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, 43. According to Piggin, the mode of export occurred through two religious newspapers, *The Revival*, published in London, and the *Christian Pleader*, published in Australia. No mention is made of the secular press, which had a far greater distribution in the colony, and therefore added to the influence of church papers such as the Methodist ACC.

<sup>140</sup> Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press, 2013), 61.

period 1858 to 1860 was in addition to the influence and effect of local revivals. Since the colony's foundation, local revivals were often independent of overseas influence.

Although the Moonta revival of 1875 occurs later in the chronology of South Australian Methodist revivalism, it is appropriate before advancing this study to comment on what is considered the most significant aspect of the Burra and Central Hill Country revivals of 1858 to 1860, which distinguishes them from other revivals, and Moonta in particular. The Burra (1858-1860) and Moonta (1875) revivals are classic examples of the interplay of Cornish ethnicity, mining, and Methodist revivalism.<sup>141</sup> What is unique about Burra and the Central Hill Country revivals, is the impact of the transmission of revivalism. Burra Methodism was both the recipient of revivalist influences, as well as transmitting revivalist influences elsewhere. It was nurtured by international and colonial revivalism, and in turn, influenced other locations in the Central Hill Country to experience their own revivals. Although the Moonta revival of 1875 secured more conversions, its influence was largely confined to the Moonta mining community in early 1875, and shortly thereafter to the Moonta township. The transmission of revivalism to and from Burra in the years 1858 to 1860 is perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic that sets Burra apart from other revivals within South Australian Methodism.

## Revivalist Preachers

The cyclical and pulsating pattern of Cornish-Methodist revivalist practice at Burra promoted a sense of expectancy that revival would occur.<sup>142</sup> Methodist preachers enhanced and promoted the cyclical nature of revivalism. The revivals of 1858 to 1860 occurred in an ongoing continuum of expectant and periodic revivalism.<sup>143</sup> Fervent exponents of their gospel religion at Burra, coupled with an

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<sup>141</sup> On the Moonta revival of 1875, see Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 193-228.

<sup>142</sup> Recent scholarship has highlighted the relevance of families, piety, and local churches in fostering and promoting an expectation of revival. See for example Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*; Kenneth S. Jeffrey, *When the Lord walked the Land: The 1858-62 Revival in the North East of Scotland* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002); Andrew. R. Holmes, "The Ulster Revival of 1859: Causes, Controversies and Consequences" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, no. 3 (July 2012): 488-515.

<sup>143</sup> Further revivals occurred at Burra/Kooringa in 1862, 1867, 1869, 1872, 1874, 1877, 1879, 1881,



expectation of periodic revival, in the decade 1850 to 1860 included the Bible Christian ministers James Rowe (1850-56) John Ridclift (1853 -57) and James Way (1859-61), the Primitive Methodists John G. Wright (1856-58) and J. D. Whittaker, and the Wesleyans Robert. C. Flockhart (1858-59) and T. Lloyd (1860).

Rowe and Ridclift were present during the little known Burra revival of 1853, which coincided with the return of many who had left in the previous two years for the Victorian gold rush. Known as a powerful preacher, and possessed of the necessary tact in obtaining an audience with strangers, Rowe secured hundreds of conversions, his influence being once described as massive, convincing, and converting.<sup>144</sup> With the more unassuming Ridclift who attracted revivals, the two itinerant preachers ensured the spread of revivalism to a new land among migrant peoples.<sup>145</sup>

Arguably, the fearless John Gibbon Wright was Burra's greatest evangelist.<sup>146</sup> Possessed with a magnificent voice, Wright preached with absolute conviction and zeal in search of dramatic and powerful conversions.<sup>147</sup> On arrival at Burra in early 1856, there were few, if any Primitive Methodists; on his departure in late 1858, he handed over 166 souls to the care of his successor.<sup>148</sup> The revival of 1858 owes much to his influence. If Wright was a driving force for the 1858 revival, then James Way and Robert C. Flockhart were noteworthy in the following year.<sup>149</sup>

Under Way, one estimate put the number of Bible Christian conversions as approaching 300, and with the fiery Wesleyan revivalist Robert Flockhart, they made a substantial contribution to an estimated 500 conversions across all Methodist churches.<sup>150</sup> Through sustained preaching that emphasised sin, eternal punishment,

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1882, 1904, and 1905. See Appendix 1.

<sup>144</sup> *SABCMag*, November 1891, 380-381.

<sup>145</sup> John Ridclift was 35 when he arrived in the colony in 1853. Born in North Devon, he entered the Bible Christian ministry in 1850. James Rowe arrived with his colleague James Way in 1850. Rowe went to Burra and Way commenced his work in Adelaide.

<sup>146</sup> *CW&MJ*, 26 May 1899, 5.

<sup>147</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 75.

<sup>148</sup> *CW&MJ*, 26 May 1899, 5.

<sup>149</sup> On his arrival in Burra in 1859, James Way was a past President with 24 years service in the ministry. Robert Flockhart commenced his ministry in Adelaide in 1850 and by the time of his second appointment to Burra in 1858, had ministered in Kapunda on two separate occasions. He was experienced in the ways of Cornish mining communities.

<sup>150</sup> Cited earlier in this chapter at footnote 85.

and salvation through the death of Jesus (vicarious atonement), they promoted a revivalist ethos and elicited the required conversions

The culmination of three years of revivalist energy occurred in November 1861 when the South Australian Primitive Methodists held their fifth annual District Meeting at Burra. John Gibbon Wright returned to the scene of earlier labours and later ruminated on the significance of the revivals. His description of an open-air Sunday morning service held on the banks of the Burra Creek as part of the District Meeting, could be mistaken for a Wesley or Whitefield gathering during the Evangelical Revival:

The Sabbath was a time of great attraction. Early in the morning we commenced singing in the streets in real old English style, O for a thousand tongues to sing,  
My great Redeemer's praise.  
As we moved on, the streets became thronged, and the power of the Highest fell upon the people; some wept and praised God aloud. From the township we moved on, in a dense body, to the campground.  
A more beautiful place could not have been selected in the neighbourhood. On a gentle declivity with the creek, the township, and the mine before us; the smelting works on our right, and a range of hills behind us.  
The day was delightful, not a leaf seemed to move. About 3,000 people were listening to the words of life, and it is to be hoped many will have to bless God for what they heard.<sup>151</sup>

The 3,000-person congregation far exceeded the Bible Christian and wider Methodist constituency. It reflected the attractiveness and distinctiveness of Burra evangelicalism with its unique revivalist ethos. Wright and the other Burra evangelists proclaimed what they believed were the words of life and would have been well pleased with the demonstration of the faith of their fathers in their adopted land.

## Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate the significance of the 1858 to 1860 Burra and Central Hill Country Hill Country revivals. The revivalist exuberance of the Burra chapels and rural townships was a continuation of the inherited tradition of the Evangelical Revival that found its own identity in the new colony as a

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<sup>151</sup> *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, June 1862, 370-371.

transportable spirituality of local and international influences. Revivalism flourished, suited particularly to the egalitarianism and assurance of the Methodist message. Cornish miners, in particular, faced with occupational dangers and mutual dependence, exploited the ethnic-revivalist solidarity imported from their native Cornwall. Faced with the economic uncertainties of mining and agriculture, populist revivalism provided participants with an emotionally fulfilling communal religious movement. Revivalism at Burra thrived on the energy released by dialectical tensions within Methodism: heaven and hell, sobriety and drunkenness, saints and sinners, economic boom and bust, and the communal noise, physicality, intensity, and emotionalism of revival meetings, which contrasted with the predictability and quiet introspection of the regular Sunday. Revivalism produced converts for Methodism, which in turn, enabled social stability and sobriety. Vital religion, aided by revivalism, flourished at Burra.

## PART II 1866 – 1913

### CHAPTER 5

#### EVANGELISTS AND REVIVALISM

William Taylor, American Methodist, much travelled international missionary, visited South Australia from July to December 1865, as part of his two and a half years in Australia. This provided impetus to further outbreaks of localised revivalism. Taylor's visit was the first by an overseas revivalist. In the best traditions of rugged Methodist individualism, Taylor exemplified a remorseless pragmatism and sheer optimism about what could be accomplished by a zealous minority.<sup>1</sup> This is seen in the frequency and extent of localised revivalism throughout South Australia in the period 1866 to 1913.<sup>2</sup> This chapter begins with a statistical overview of revivalism in the period 1866 to 1913. Also included in the chapter are selected aspects of revivalism, including some of the local revivals in 1867, revivals and depression in the 1880s, and the beginnings of the institutionalism of revivalism with the appointment of David O'Donnell in 1887 as the first Wesleyan Conference evangelist. The chapter concludes with an examination of the Bible Christian and Lady Evangelists of the 1890s.

#### Revivalism – Statistical Overview – 1866-1913

Appendix 1 identifies 448 revival-type events in this period, which culminated with the outbreak of the First World War. The number of self-described Methodists in South Australia increased from 21.3 per cent (34,879) of the colonial population in 1866 (163,487) to 24.5 per cent (100,402) in 1911 (408,558), while actual church membership increased from 7,626 to 19,262 in the same period. By way of comparison, the Catholic self-described population decreased from 14.5 per cent

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<sup>1</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 168. Taylor preached to 5,000 at the opening services of Kent Town Wesleyan Jubilee Church (Adelaide). He conducted numerous revivalist meetings throughout South Australia during his six-month visit. At the end of 1865 the Wesleyans reported an increase of 353 members with 724 on trial. See Appendix 1. Taylor claimed 6,000 conversions during his visit to Australia. See William Taylor, *Christian Adventures in South Africa* (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1876), 2-3, 94-98, 451.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1.

(23,684) to 14.1 per cent (57,558), whilst the Anglicans also decreased from 30.1 per cent (49,295) to 27.8 per cent (113,781). According to the Census data, the Methodist self-described population increased to 23.3 per cent of the colony's population at the census of 1871 and hovered around the 22-26 per cent range until 1961 (22.3 per cent), the highest being 26.4 per cent in 1947. The figure declined to 15.7 per cent in 1976.<sup>3</sup>

Methodist membership expressed as a percentage of the total population shows a slight decrease from 4.6 per cent in 1866 to 4.1 per cent in 1901. It increased again to 4.7 per cent in 1911.<sup>4</sup> The number of conversions recorded from 1866 to 1899 was: Bible Christian 3,245, Primitive Methodist 1,995, and Wesleyan 12,546; a total of 17,786, at an average of 539 conversions per year. There were 127 conversions recorded for united Methodism in 1900-01, making a combined total from 1866 to 1901 of 17,913. Conversions therefore, from 1866 to 1901 accounted for 250.1 per cent of the membership growth as membership only grew by 7,143 in the same period. What this also means, is that approximately 10,000 converts did not become members in the same period. The number of conversions recorded for united Methodism from 1902 to 1913 was 3,728, at an average of 339 conversions per year.<sup>5</sup> Conversions from 1902 to 1911 accounted for 88.6 per cent of the membership growth, as membership grew by 4,208 in the same period.

Furthermore, from 1866 to 1911, there was a 187 per cent increase in the Methodist self-described population according to the Census data. At the same time, there was a marginal increase of 1.07 per cent in the Methodist membership relative to the total population. The Methodist self-described population increased at a greater rate than the Methodist membership relative to the total population. By comparison, Methodist membership growth only managed to maintain relative parity with the growth of the population. This is significant, as not only was Methodism able to maintain its membership share of the total population, but it was able to expand the relative proportion of the population who formally identified with the Methodist cause. By 1911, Methodist membership at 19,262 was larger than the

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<sup>3</sup> Census data from Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 26, 424, 429.

<sup>4</sup> Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 26, 429.

<sup>5</sup> Conversion figures tabulated from Appendix 1.

Anglicans at 15,589 members, and well ahead of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (5,413), Churches of Christ (5,395), and Baptists (5,331).<sup>6</sup>

Of the 448 revival-type events from 1866 to 1913, 99 occurred in Adelaide or within five kilometres of the city, and produced 5,286 converts.<sup>7</sup> The remaining 349 occurred in rural townships and produced 16,355 converts. Of the country townships that reported multiple revivals, Burra/Koorunga recorded the most with 12 revival-type events in the period, six of which occurred after the copper mines closed in 1877 (1879, 1881(2), 1882, 1894, 1905).

How many revivals were planned and how many were spontaneous? From 1866 to 1913, 406 (90.7 per cent) revival-type events were categorised as R2 events (deliberate meeting or campaign to deepen the faith of believers and bring non-believers to faith). Of the remainder, thirty-three (7.3 per cent) were categorised as either R2 or R3 (an unplanned period of spiritual enlivening in a local church, quickening believers and bringing unbelievers to faith), a further eight (1.8 per cent) as R3, and one (0.2 per cent) as R4 (a regional experience of spiritual quickening and widespread conversions).<sup>8</sup> Almost 91 per cent of the revival-type activity experienced during this period was co-incidental with deliberate action ó it was planned, while almost two per cent were assessed as an -unplanned period of spiritual enliveningø. Just over seven per cent were either R2 or R3 as there was insufficient information available to differentiate between the two categories. The Moonta revival of 1875 (R4) was the only -regional experience of spiritual quickeningø recorded. Summarising then, in the period 1866 to 1913, approximately 90 percent of revival-type activity was planned, while only two percent seemed to be of a spontaneous nature. Within the time span there were a number of notable periods of revivalism.

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<sup>6</sup> Calculations based on data, Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 424, 429.

<sup>7</sup> Calculations figures from Appendix 3. Information on how many converts identified with the respective denominations was not available for the 1909 Chapman-Alexander Crusade. Methodist figures for the 1912 Crusade were available. The total number of converts for the 1909 Crusade (800) were therefore included with the Methodist conversion figures (over-stated), and the number of conversions for the 1912 Crusade at 463 (converts who became Methodist members ó this is understated as there would have been many converts who identified with Methodism but did not go on to membership). The total of 1,263, therefore, is an estimated number of Methodist converts.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 1 for the complete listing of R1 to R6 categories.

## Local Revivals – 1867

Local revivals were numerous, though unevenly spread over the entire period. They varied between city and country, intensity and duration, and in the number of conversions recorded. The first significant period for conversions occurred in 1867, with 230 of the recorded 906 conversions for the year accounted for by a three month-long revival that took place in the Wesleyan Adelaide First, Second, and Third Circuits, initiated by a camp meeting led by the Rev. John Watsford. Further revivals among Wesleyans occurred at Goolwa, Burra (embracing also Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists), and Mount Barker. The Bible Christians experienced revivals at Chain of Ponds, and in the Gawler Circuit, whilst the Primitive Methodists had revival at Strathalbyn.<sup>9</sup> The nine-week revival that occurred in the Wesleyan Mount Barker Circuit was significant in that the majority of the 220 converts were residents of Mount Barker township which had a population of about 1,000 with 150 dwellings.<sup>10</sup> The revival affected local households as well as those in the surrounding area. Special means employed during the first four weeks included midday, evening, and Sunday morning prayer meetings, public prayer meetings, and preaching services. Simultaneous manifestations of the Holy Spirit's operations were reported throughout the circuit for the next five weeks during which the power of God was present to save.<sup>11</sup>

Local revivals continued from 1868 to 1879 in all years except 1871. Revivals of religion were considered central and essential to the work of the Methodist church, as much in South Australia as throughout Australasia.<sup>12</sup> In South Australia, from 1868 to 1879, the most significant revival recorded was the 1875 Moonta revival (1,500 conversions).<sup>13</sup> Burra recorded the most number of revivals at seven (1867, 1869,

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<sup>9</sup> These revivals are listed by year at Appendix 1.

<sup>10</sup> Whitworth, *Bailliere's South Australian Gazetteer and Road Guide*, 25; *SAWM*, October 1867, 155-157.

<sup>11</sup> *SAWM*, October 1867, 156.

<sup>12</sup> The declaration was made by the Rev. T. Williams, President of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Conference which met in Sydney in 1873. See *South Australian Advertiser*, 25 January 1873, 2.

<sup>13</sup> On the Moonta revival, see Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 193-228; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 123-126; *Truth and Progress*, July 1875, 73-75; November 1875, 133-134; July 1890, 114-115; Oswald Pryor, *Australia's Little Cornwall* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1962), chap. 12; Payton, *Making Moonta*, 158-161; Evans, *Early Evangelical Revivals in Australia*, 364-378; Edwin A. Curnow, *Bible Christian Methodists in South Australia 1850-1900* (Black Forest, SA: Uniting Church SA Historical

1872, 1874, 1875, 1877, 1879), totalling 404 conversions at an average of fifty-seven conversions per revival.<sup>14</sup> Periodic revivals to re-instate the backsliders were a feature of Cornish immigrant Methodism among the miners.<sup>15</sup>

## Revivals and Depression – 1880s

The second significant period of revivalism occurred from 1880 to 1882 when the Wesleyan Methodist layman, Matthew Burnett (1839-1896), visited South Australia with his message of salvation and individual moral reform through temperance.<sup>16</sup> Noted for his flamboyant methods and, in the minds of some, his unequivocal approach to link pledge-signing with conversion, Burnett toured the colony extensively during his three-year stay. During this period, the Wesleyans reported 2,496 conversions, the Bible Christians 448 conversions, and the Primitive Methodists 306 conversions – a total of 3,250. Revivalist activity during 1883 was noteworthy in the after-glow of the previous three years and due partly to the influence of Mrs. Emilia Baeyertz and Mrs. Margaret Hampson, whom we shall consider later in the chapter. In addition, there were nine revival-type events that recorded between them 1,483 converts.<sup>17</sup> Methodism's use of professional evangelists was justified by the results obtained.<sup>18</sup> Wesleyan membership increased from 4,938 in 1880 to 6,205 in 1882, and to 7,236 in 1883.<sup>19</sup> Conversions achieved in revivalist meetings had a significant upward effect on membership. This was despite the difficult economic circumstances that prevailed from 1880-1882. There were three bad harvests in a row from 1880-1882 due to drought and rust disease, as optimistic wheat farmers planted crops well north of Goyder's Line, lulled by the

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Society, 2015), 381-391.

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>15</sup> Auhl, *The Story of the 'Monster Mine'*, 24.

<sup>16</sup> The Yorkshire born Matthew Burnett worked as a gospel-temperance evangelist in Australia from 1863 to 1889 (two years in New Zealand). For a detailed account of his life, see Robert Evans, *Matthew Burnett: The Yorkshire Evangelist, Australia's Greatest Evangelist and Social Reformer* (Hazelbrook, NSW: Robert Evans, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> Emilia Baeyertz known as a converted Jewess came to Adelaide in November 1881 at the invitation of Baptist ministers and laymen. She remained in the colony until 1884, conducting missions at Baptist and some Methodist churches. Margaret Hampson conducted a ten-day mission in Adelaide in July-August 1883. The Town Hall was crowded for her meetings. On Baeyertz and Hampson, see Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 13-17.

<sup>18</sup> Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendices 1 and 3 for figures.



plentiful harvests and good rainfall of the 1870s.<sup>20</sup> Combined with land speculation, an abrupt fall in mining shares, a tight money market, and low copper prices, a general depression brought ruin and difficulty to many by early 1883. Despite a record harvest for the colony at the end of 1883 of fifteen million bushels, adequate grain supplies throughout Australia and Europe brought a disappointing price, and banks were reluctant to advance payments on grain shipped overseas. Consequently, there was no significant change during 1883 in colonial finances.<sup>21</sup>

Economic and financial conditions also remained depressed from 1884 to 1886. Despite a good wheat harvest at the end of 1884 and average crop prices, there was little business confidence. Some copper mines closed on Yorke Peninsula with much distress reported throughout the mining community. From the beginning of 1885, the colony experienced a population outflow to neighbouring colonies exacerbated by low wool, wheat, and copper prices – three key products of the South Australian economy. Financial uncertainty and insolvencies continued with the liquidation of a local bank, the Commercial Bank of South Australia, at the beginning of 1886, which proved disastrous to many ordinary citizens. The Town and Country Bank went into liquidation a year later, as rumours and suspicion assailed the banking sector. Emigration from the colony increased in the first few months of 1886 which, combined with difficult financial conditions, resulted in a 25 per cent drop in Adelaide rents as rows of houses stood empty. Overall, the three years from 1884 to 1886 resulted in financial depression and hardship for many of the colony's inhabitants.

After 1886, there were signs of recovery. The population exodus halted in 1887 as economic conditions improved with the discovery of gold at Teetulpa in October 1886, which attracted two thousand men within a month, an above average summer wheat harvest, a rise in the copper price, and the brilliant prospects of the Broken Hill silver mines. Increased economic and financial activity boosted commercial

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<sup>20</sup> Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 78-92. Goyder's line is named after G. M. Goyder, who, in 1865 as Surveyor General in South Australia, inspected northern pastoral lands affected by a severe drought in 1864-1865, and established a line of demarcation, based on a 12 inch (30 centimetre) annual rainfall line that separated lands suitable for agriculture from those fit only for pastoral use. See Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 45; Prest, *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, 232.

<sup>21</sup> Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, 1796-1799.

confidence and there was a "great revival" in trade throughout the colony.<sup>22</sup>

From 1884 to 1886, revivalism also suffered. All three Methodist denominations experienced few revivals during this time. The Primitive Methodists did not report any revivals. The Bible Christians reported four, of which one event was part of the Houston and Fry mission, while the Wesleyans reported thirteen events, of which Houston and Fry led four and David O'Donnell led one. Conversions recorded were Bible Christians (103), and Wesleyans (859) – a total of 962, of which Houston and Fry accounted for 383 of the total number of Wesleyan conversions.<sup>23</sup> T. Houston, known as the "blind singing evangelist", accompanied by H. T. Fry led evangelistic services throughout the colony from July 1885 to May 1886.<sup>24</sup> Conversion outcomes contrast with the previous three year period of 1880 to 1882, also one of depressed economic circumstances, but with buoyant revivalist activity dominated by the work of Matthew Burnett.

From 1880 to 1886 Wesleyan church membership figures rose then plateaued in the following manner: 1880 (4,938), 1881 (5,231), 1882 (6,205), 1883 (7,236), 1884 (7,829), 1885 (7,848), 1886 (7,741). Each year thereafter, membership declined to 7,151 in 1890. The first half of the period is therefore characterised by depressed economic activity, considerable revivalist activity, and substantial increases in membership. The second half of the period is characterised by similar depressed economic circumstances, subdued revivalist activity, and steady membership.

The general conclusion is that economic prosperity does not correlate necessarily with revivalist activity, measured by either conversions or membership growth. In one three-year period, revivalist activity did increase conversions and membership figures during "active" revivalist times, despite poor economic conditions. In contrast, lessened revivalist activity during a second three-year period produced fewer conversions and halted membership growth during similar economic conditions. Therefore, as David Bebbington and "many recent commentators have concluded, there is no discernible relationship between the degree of prosperity and

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<sup>22</sup> Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, 1806.

<sup>23</sup> Calculations based on Appendices 2 and 3 for the respective years.

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix 1 for the details of the Houston and Fry missions.

the incidence of revival.<sup>25</sup> There was at least one significant variable at work in the period under review. The Wesleyan gospel-temperance evangelist Matthew Burnett dominated the revivalist circuit from 1880 to the end of 1882 and, despite a lack of support from some quarters due to his methods, he nonetheless obtained conversions.<sup>26</sup> For three years, Burnett travelled extensively throughout South Australia, and often returned to the same locations in order to consolidate and extend his work. His gospel preaching and temperance advocacy meant that he appealed to a wider constituency. He was the first international evangelist to preach a gospel-teetotal message among the colony's Methodists, particularly Wesleyans.

### **David O'Donnell – 1887**

The third significant revivalist event took place in 1887, during which numerous conversions occurred, with the appointment of the Rev. D. O'Donnell as the first Wesleyan Conference evangelist, and the Rev C. Tresise as the Bible Christian equivalent. A decline in membership of 107 in 1886 came amidst the euphoric celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia. At the beginning of this jubilee year, the call to double the membership and strengthen attachment to the Methodist Church, its agencies, discipline, and doctrines was made.<sup>27</sup> The Wesleyan Conference of 1887 was alarmed that a decline should have occurred under such circumstances, and was receptive to the appointment of an evangelist. O'Donnell extravagated through twenty-five localities north of Adelaide as far as Broken Hill, preached on 270 occasions, delivered fifty addresses, conducted seventy-eight Bible readings, and dealt personally with 1,235 penitents. However, there was little appreciable change in the annual membership figures for the next two years, which, instead of increasing, suffered a slight decline despite there being 816 members on trial.<sup>28</sup> The Bible Christians reported 250 conversions because of Tresise's work, but no appreciable change in membership.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 31-32, 263.

<sup>26</sup> Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1886, annual address to members, 67.

<sup>28</sup> *CW&MJ*, 13 April 1888, 7. Calculations made from the regular reports of O'Donnell's work for 1887 which appeared in the *CW&MJ* show there were 991 conversions obtained. See Appendix 1 for further details.

<sup>29</sup> *SABCMag*, February 1888, 719-721, 726.

The Wesleyan Methodist Conference in February 1888 did not extend O'Donnell's appointment as Conference Evangelist beyond the initial twelve-month period, and appointed the Rev. G. W. Kendrew as his successor.<sup>30</sup> O'Donnell, hoping for a second term, accepted with grace the decision of Conference, despite claiming the largest number of conversions (991) in a twelve-month period in the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Australia.<sup>31</sup>

In light of the impressive results, the reason for Conference's decision to terminate O'Donnell's appointment warrants some investigation. The reasons are difficult to ascertain, but what we do know, is that O'Donnell was highly respected within the Conference as an evangelist. Appointed to South Australia by the Wesleyan General Conference of 1875, O'Donnell took up his first term in the Clare Circuit in April 1876.<sup>32</sup> As a result of leading a two-week evangelistic mission at Pirie Street Wesleyan Church, Adelaide, in June-July 1877, the decision to invite O'Donnell as missionary was deemed "judicious." According to the same report, the mission was "remarkably successful" given that "a fortnight is scarcely long enough to warm through such a mass of partially-chilled material as the city church represents."<sup>33</sup> Further appointments included the prestigious Kent Town and Norwood circuit (1878-1881), Pirie Street (1881-1884), and Glenelg (1884-1887).<sup>34</sup> Wherever O'Donnell went, local revivals occurred, conversions took place, and membership figures increased. On one occasion, when appointed to the Pirie Street Circuit, O'Donnell reported to the congregation at Draper Memorial Church how the church's membership had increased "as a result of a gracious revival" and that "twenty-two sittings had been applied for during the past fortnight." One hundred and twenty people were attending the mid-week service, a class of thirty young ladies began, and a young men's theological class was started.<sup>35</sup> By the late 1880s, many Methodist ministers understood the value of revivalist preaching to secure

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<sup>30</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 February 1888, 6.

<sup>31</sup> Annual conversion figures are shown at Appendix 3. The 991 conversions attributed to O'Donnell were all the more remarkable given that they were the only reported Wesleyan conversions in 1887. In his valedictory letter to the *Methodist Journal*, O'Donnell expressed some pain and regret at having to vacate the office, speaks of Divine providence at work, and invokes "grace to serve with equal zeal and joy, in every station to which His spirit may appoint us." See *MJ*, 13 April 1888, 7.

<sup>32</sup> *MJ*, 14 April 1876, 2.

<sup>33</sup> *MJ*, 13 July 1877, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Circuit appointments commenced in April of the respective year.

<sup>35</sup> *MJ*, 4 November 1881, 12.

conversions and generate substantial increases in membership. On one occasion, the editor of the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* claimed that up to three quarters of the church's membership experienced conversion during revivals.<sup>36</sup> O'Donnell was a formidable exponent of the Methodist revivalist tradition.

When the 1887 Wesleyan Conference decided to appoint the first connexional evangelist for the purpose of conducting special revival services, O'Donnell was the unanimous choice of his brethren.<sup>37</sup> When the President of Conference announced the appointment of O'Donnell during the annual address to all members given at the beginning of 1887, he stated somewhat prophetically: "Why may we not this year reap a harvest which shall be for wealth and extent unparalleled in the records of Methodism in South Australia? Why should there not be a revival in every circuit and souls saved in every sanctuary?" Conference appointed O'Donnell, said the President, to "secure such results."<sup>38</sup> The outcome vindicated these hopes, as Conference acknowledged the number of conversions recorded by O'Donnell (991) and the large increase in members on trial (816) as the result of O'Donnell's work.<sup>39</sup> However, Conference decided not to appoint O'Donnell for a further term. Four reasons may be suggested.

First, there were concerns with finance. O'Donnell received no income for his last quarter of work because of a financial shortfall incurred by the Conference Evangelist Fund.<sup>40</sup> This was supported by contributions and donations, and despite the deficit, the Conference Evangelist Committee was "deeply impressed" with O'Donnell's work and recommended continuation of the office.<sup>41</sup>

Second, during the Conference discussions on the evangelist's work, a motion that called for "more soul-stirring revival meetings" received almost unanimous approbation.<sup>42</sup> This kind of motion could have passed at just about any Methodist

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<sup>36</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 May 1889, 6. Five years earlier, the editor claimed that "a large percentage of members had entered the Church through revivals. See *CW&MJ*, 4 May 1883, 4.

<sup>37</sup> *CW&MJ*, 11 February 1887, 6.

<sup>38</sup> *CW&MJ*, 11 February 1887, 6.

<sup>39</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1888, vol. 1, SLSA SRG 4/1/1.

<sup>40</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 January 1888, 5.

<sup>41</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 January 1888, 5.

<sup>42</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 January 1888, 5.

Conference in the nineteenth-century as applicable to all ministers and circuits in general, and to none in particular. However, in the context of the debate, it is likely the motion referred to O'Donnell, given that no other revivals occurred in 1887 apart from his work. Conference affirmed the importance of revivals, but questioned the work of a 'professional' evangelist to deliver conversions and increases in membership.

Third, the fact that there was a decrease in membership from 7,953 in 1886 to 7,662 in 1887, was of particular concern to Conference and to the President, who sought to explain the fall in the annual pastoral address for 1888. He referred to the 'failure of the wheat harvest', 'widespread commercial depression', 'collapse in town and country', and an 'exodus of population to other colonies'. Despite an increase in the numbers on trial (226 to 820), the situation, 'when every valid extenuation has been conceded, it is still a matter for regret, still a matter for profound humiliation and heart searching before God, not merely that there is a *decrease*, but that there is *not a substantial increase*'<sup>43</sup> The President's economic assessment was more perception than fact. The 1887 wheat harvest was a record nineteen million bushels, and all rural industries, including the pastoral benefitted from favourable seasonal conditions. Furthermore, there was a 'great revival in trade', a halt in the outflow of population, and speculative investment, although widespread, was 'less serious in Adelaide, than in Melbourne, Sydney, or Brisbane'<sup>44</sup> The reasons outlined by the President had occurred at one time or other between 1880 and 1886, but were less relevant economic factors in 1887. To attribute them collectively as responsible for a membership decrease, and lack of a substantial increase for 1887, was both unwarranted and unjustified. Given that O'Donnell as Conference Evangelist had recorded 991 conversions, the issue was the overall follow-up rate of members on trial proceeding to full membership. Why had this not occurred in large measure?

There were circuits where membership increased. For example, the Port Wakefield circuit recorded 99 conversions both during and after O'Donnell's five-

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<sup>43</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 February 1888, 6. These figures are inclusive of those for Western Australia, as the two colonies formed a single Conference. The South Australian figures were 7,741 (1886), 7445, (1887), and 816 on trial for 1887. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of the South Australia Conference*, 1888, 15, 66.

<sup>44</sup> Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, 1806.

day visit in August 1887, which accounted for a membership increase of 69 reported in December.<sup>45</sup> As most of O'Donnell's evangelistic visits occurred prior to the September 1887 Quarterly Meetings, and therefore any membership increases would have been reported in the 1887 figures, an overall decline is difficult to explain, and clearly was for the President. There were only twenty-eight deaths recorded for 1887, hardly a statistically significant overall number. There remain at least two other possibilities by way of explanation. Was there sufficient movement in the general population, and hence Methodists within, that resulted in membership wastage as members failed to seek out a Methodist cause in their new location? Alternatively, was there an element of professional jealousy amongst some Methodist ministers who were less than enthusiastic in processing converts to membership because they questioned the genuineness of O'Donnell's conversions? The former reason was a perennial problem for Methodism, given its geographical and rural reach throughout the colony, aided by an expanding population and new areas of settlement, but there was little to suggest that 1887 was a year during which more Methodists moved residences than in any other, and did not enact appropriate membership transfer. Perhaps the discord among Wesleyan ministerial ranks over the efficacy and practice of revivalism shows that something important was at stake because sensibilities were offended.

A fourth area of concern was the relationship of the evangelist as special agency to the working of the normal agencies in the circuit. A few weeks after the Conference of 1888, the editor of the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* was cautious in his assessment of the benefits of the relationship. Circuits could become less evangelistic as increased reliance was placed on the evangelist as the primary soul-saving agency. Such emphasis on special efforts could injure our regular work by borrowing energy from the normal operations of the circuit and focussing it on the evangelistic mission.<sup>46</sup> Three months later, similar concerns appeared in an editorial entitled, 'Periodic Revivalism' which affirmed the legitimacy and also the potency of revivalist work when properly conducted. After all, 'Methodism is the child, the legitimate offspring, of revivalism' declared the editor. However,

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<sup>45</sup> *CW&MJ*, 20 January 1888, 6.

<sup>46</sup> *CW&MJ*, 24 February 1888, 4.

concluded the editorial:

But at the same time we unhesitatingly say that the most effectual way of making revivalism unpopular, the surest way of alienating the sympathies of those whose countenance and co-operation are most worth having, is to exaggerate its efficacy and constitute it the unfriendly competitor and rival of the regular, ordinary, week-by-week, month-by-month, all-the-year-round work of the ministry.<sup>47</sup>

Had revivalism become unpopular and was its efficacy exaggerated?

O'Donnell sensed that the debate was about more than a detached assessment of revivalism, and responded with a measured statement on the merits of the office of evangelist.<sup>48</sup> One of the functions of the annual Conference was to review the work of various agencies within Methodism, and whether, in light of the statistical returns, the "spiritual results" were "proportionate to the numerous agencies employed."<sup>49</sup> How best to employ such agencies in the quest for "vital religion" was never far from the mind of Conference, nor was the pursuit of revival as a fix-all panacea to its work of social and moral reform. The vision was as enticing as it ever was, despite perplexity over its attainment; a vision with its attendant exigencies articulated at the first Conference of South Australian Wesleyanism in 1874:

If united action could be taken by us as a people, many of the questions of social and moral regeneration were of easy solution. If we could sink our divisions of opinion and unite in some agreed method of evangelistic work, revivals might once more refresh and multiply our churches; intemperance might be diminished in the land; and Christian education might be secured as a general boon to the rising population of the colony. Resources for all our work of extension and consolidation are at our command on the one condition of agreement.<sup>50</sup>

A vision with an explicit understanding of the importance of conversion invoked Conference to declare that the church should "aim more directly than ever at the declaration of souls in all our ministrations."<sup>51</sup> Revivalism did not suddenly become

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<sup>47</sup> *CW&MJ*, 11 May 1888, 7.

<sup>48</sup> *CW&MJ*, 1 June 1888, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1877, annual address to members, 30.

<sup>50</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1874, annual address to members, 22.

<sup>51</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1874, annual address to members, 18.



unpopular in the mid 1880s, nor was there a general disquiet or popular unbelief in its efficacy to deliver conversions; after all, Methodism was the -child, the legitimate offspring of revivalism, but seeds of doubt once planted, would bear their own fruit in the aftermath of the tumultuous years of the First World War.<sup>52</sup>

When it became obvious to O'Donnell that he was not going to continue as Conference Evangelist, he made application to the Conference for a transfer to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference, as he was entitled to do.<sup>53</sup> Later in the year, the General Conference, unable to uphold the recommendation of the South Australia Conference, appointed O'Donnell to New Zealand. He did not accept the call due to personal and family reasons, and resigned from the Methodist Church at the end of 1888.<sup>54</sup> He accepted a call to the pastorate of the Malvern Congregational Church, Melbourne, from February 1889.<sup>55</sup>

The Wesleyan Methodists appointed the Rev. G. W. Kendrew as Conference Evangelist in January 1888 as O'Donnell's successor and extended his appointment for a second year in January 1889.<sup>56</sup> Kendrew secured a reported 96 conversions in 1888, and 110 in 1889, although his written reports to the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* were less regular and detailed than O'Donnell's, and often included language such as -several gave themselves to Christ, -many sinners have been saved, -some conversions, and -members revived.<sup>57</sup> Typical of such reports was the account of the second week of the two-week mission conducted at Aldinga and McLaren Vale, 7-20 April, 1888:

The second week of services conducted at Aldinga by the evangelist was crowned with rich blessing. The whole district was moved, and the people came in crowds from far and near. Members and adherents of all the surrounding Churches attended the meetings, and will share the joy of harvest. The concluding services on Thursday and Friday were times of great power, and -the slain of the Lord were many. The front forms were crowded with penitents seeking salvation, and the old members testified, saying, -We never saw it on this fashion. McLaren Vale was next visited

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<sup>52</sup> *CW&MJ*, 11 May 1888, editorial, -Periodic Revivalism, 6.

<sup>53</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 February 1888, 6; 21 December 1888, 7; 28 December 1888, 8.

<sup>54</sup> *CW&MJ*, 21 December 1888, 7; 28 December 1888, 8.

<sup>55</sup> *CW&MJ*, 25 January 1889, 7.

<sup>56</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 February 1888, 6; 1 March 1889, 8.

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix 1 for years 1888 and 1889. Numbers of conversions calculated from numerical reports.

by the evangelist. Three services were conducted on Sunday, April 12. Sanctification was presented as the duty and privilege of the believer, and a present salvation was offered to the sinner on Monday night. Bro. Kendrew spoke on purity of heart, and many believers were constrained to seek the blessing. Large numbers of people attended the services, until at last the communion rail was invaded, and people sat in the pulpit. Several who had been smitten at Aldinga came to the Vale, and then yielded themselves to Jesus. And night by night there were added to the Lord such as were being saved.<sup>58</sup>

The Aldinga and McLaren Vale revival, despite a lack of detail concerning reported conversions, evoked a fruitfulness that delineated the core of Methodist revivalist activity: conversion, sanctification, and a warmed-up piety, manifested through the power of preaching that attempted to target the heart.<sup>59</sup> Both O'Donnell and Kendrew preached for conversion as well as entire sanctification; conversion initiated the Methodist spiritual journey, and sanctification provided its momentum, while death was its consummation. Methodists were urged to die well as they displayed a quiet fortitude, a patient resignation, a triumphant and sometimes rapturous anticipation of heaven.<sup>60</sup> O'Donnell's preaching was of a plain, practical and forcible style, the content of which was centred on the old, old story, simply told.<sup>61</sup> The theme of O'Donnell's first mission as Conference Evangelist, held at Gawler in April 1887, was publicised as Holiness for the believer and salvation for the sinner; it represented the Methodist conversion-holiness nexus.<sup>62</sup> Occasions of revivalist activity, in this case, a two-week series of meetings, often became community events, as well as paradigms of an evangelical sub-culture in which like-minded co-religionists expressed their identity, and defined their distinctiveness within the wider religious divide.<sup>63</sup>

However, the appointment of a successful Conference evangelist was not without its problems. Circuit ministers, also working to obtain conversions, did not

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<sup>58</sup> *CW&MJ*, 4 May 1888, 8.

<sup>59</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 74.

<sup>60</sup> See also *CW&MJ*, 18 May 1888, 9; 23 September 1887, 6; 30 September 1887, 3; Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1888, annual address to members, 67.

<sup>61</sup> *CW&MJ*, 6 May 1887, 3.

<sup>62</sup> *CW&MJ*, 15 April 1887, 6.

<sup>63</sup> Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 54. Other evangelistic events in which other churches are cited include: *CW&MJ*, 19 August 1887, 6; 26 August 1887, 3; 30 September 1887, 3.

always welcome revivalism, particularly by one of their own who obtained results. Wesleyan Methodist membership continued to fall in the late 1880s, from 7,662 (1887), to 7,382 (1888), 7,229 (1889), and 7,151 (1890), before it increased each year for the next five years, from 7,445 (1891) to 9,075 (1895), and stabilised around 8,500 until Methodist Union in 1900.<sup>64</sup>

## **'Lady Evangelists' – 1890s**

In 1891, the Bible Christians utilised what they termed 'Lady Evangelists' to conduct short-term revival-type missions.<sup>65</sup> Women often worked in pairs, moved from circuit to circuit at the invitation of the circuit minister, and quickly established their worth in securing conversions. How did this come about?

### **Background**

The Bible Christians in South Australia, along with the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists, never had female ministers in their connexions. The Bible Christians were the only branch of Methodism to use female evangelists, and then only sparingly, although the Wesleyans utilised the services of Misses Nesbit and Green in 1894-1895, as well as Misses A. and H. McLennan, in 1894. Prior to the 1890s, Serena Thorne, who had arrived in the colony as an evangelist in 1870, was the only female evangelist.<sup>66</sup>

Within British Methodism, the Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians had women preachers since their foundation (1812 and 1815 respectively). Their ability to attract listeners, particularly other women, and thereby multiply the scope for conversions, influenced their use.<sup>67</sup> The first Bible Christian Conference in 1819

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<sup>64</sup> Membership figures from Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, for the respective years.

<sup>65</sup> On the employment and history of women preachers in the English Bible Christian Connexion, see Jennifer M. Lloyd, 'Women Preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 36, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 451-481. On the Bible Christian women preachers in South Australia, see Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 129-130; *The Bible Christians in South Australia* (Uniting Church Historical Society, 2005), 17-18.

<sup>66</sup> Among the Bible Christians, a few women preached, but were not deemed 'evangelists'. For Mrs. James Way, see *SABC Mag*, August 1876, 277; for Mrs James Roberts, see *CW&MJ*, 14 August 1885, 4. Noted earlier in the chapter was the work of the lady evangelists Emilia Baeyertz and Margaret Hampson. Neither were 'appointed' by any denomination, as they were 'invited' to conduct missions.

<sup>67</sup> Lloyd, *Women Preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion*, 455-456. Hugh Bourne, founder of the

unanimously approved the use of women preachers, but despite being acceptable in the pulpit their exclusion from governance was formalised in the *Connexion's Rules and Regulations* of 1838:

We believe that God, in certain instances, calls women, as well as men, to publish salvation to their fellow-sinners. They do not, however, take part in Church government: they are entitled to attend meetings for business, but not to vote.<sup>68</sup>

Fifty-one years later, these exact words, which indicated lesser responsibility, were included in the *Laws, Regulations, and Usages* of the South Australian Bible Christian Connexion.<sup>69</sup>

South Australian Wesleyans, who were somewhat more conservative toward female preaching, likewise followed their English precedent. The *Laws and Regulations* of the Australasian Wesleyan Church 1877 were modelled on the 1803 English Conference, which allowed a woman who had an 'extraordinary call' to preach, but only to other women in her own circuit after approval from the superintendent and quarterly meeting. Before she preached in another circuit, she needed the written approval of the superintendent of that circuit, and the recommendation of her own superintendent. Such laws hindered the emergence of Wesleyan female itinerancy as Conference declared that, 'in general, women ought not to be permitted to preach amongst us, because a vast majority of our people are opposed to the practice, and their preaching does not at all seem necessary.'<sup>70</sup> Bible Christian women could attract a congregation but they could not govern them. Wesleyan women could do neither.

### **Beginning of Bible Christian Female Evangelists - 1890**

The Bible Christian use of female agency in revivalist preaching was about more than attracting hearers. The South Australian Bible Christian Conference of 1890,

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Primitive Methodists defended women preachers in a pamphlet of 1808. See Bebbington, *Protestant Nonconformist Texts Volume 3*, 247.

<sup>68</sup> Jennifer M. Lloyd, *Women Preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion*, 463.

<sup>69</sup> *Bible Christian Handbook: A Manual of the Laws, Regulations, and Usages of the Bible Christian Church in South Australia* (Adelaide: Bible Christian Conference, 1889), 6-7.

<sup>70</sup> Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of Conference*, England, 1803, vol. II, 187; *Handbook of the Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Melbourne: Wesleyan Book Depot, 1877), 135.

following three years of virtual membership stagnation, and hopeful that the worst of the economic woes of the 1880s had passed, responded to the call of one of its most revered clergyman, W. F. James, in the annual sermon to Conference. James declared that the task of 'Christianising Australia' was far from over and that they were to 'possess the land' both spiritually and geographically as they 'preached Christ and Him crucified'. The task, James concluded, could only be achieved 'through human agency, and the more suitable that is the more effectively He [God] works'.<sup>71</sup> Six months elapsed before the solution presented itself. To make 'rapid headway' and advance forward to 'occupy much ground', declared the editor of the *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine* in February 1891, 'above most things it is imperative that we should see a revival of women's share in the work of the gospel'.<sup>72</sup> However, the 'ground' now included a countering of the unwelcome invasive spread of the Salvation Army into the ranks of Bible Christian circuits:

We are learning also the appropriateness of the name Mr. Booth selected for his sect. In several places their guns have been turned upon us; their *War Cry* records the mischief they have done several of our circuits. The bulk of their converts in the country districts are renegades from other denominations. For liberality in working at other peoples' expense, for effrontery in forcing themselves where they can only succeed at the injury of struggling Protestant churches, for brag and mendicancy and cheek and proselytism, the Boothites take the cake. One of our pastors who has been much enamoured of them, and who has freely helped them, has received a disenchantment in an invasion by the Salvationists that at one time threatened the very existence of his circuit.<sup>73</sup>

Since its early days in Britain, the Army's confrontational style was well known in

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<sup>71</sup> *SABCMag*, W. F. James, sermon to the Conference of 1890, August 1890, 227-236.

<sup>72</sup> *SABCMag*, An elder (unidentified country resident), leading article, February 1891, 275-281.

<sup>73</sup> *SABCMag*, February 1891, 277-278. For a more positive assessment of the work of the Salvation Army by a Wesleyan minister, (J. Nicholson) see 'The Salvation Army: Its Place and Power' *Bunyip*, 3 August 1883, 2. Nicholson acknowledges the importance of the Salvation Army in attracting the 'lapsed masses' and that the response of the established churches toward them should be one of cooperation and emulation where appropriate. He also noted that some in the Army had been guilty of 'ensorious criticism' toward other churches, and claimed they were 'too respectable to save the drunkards'. No doubt there was some justification to this criticism as Oswald Pryor intimated that the Methodist churches in Moonta by the mid-1880s had lost contact with the outsider, and that the Salvation Army were able to appeal to 'the swearers, blasphemers and drunkards, and from Captain Piper's new chums and others for whom the church had no attraction'. Cited in Payton, *Making Moonta: The Invention of Australia's Little Cornwall*, 2007, 199. Nicholson was appointed to the Gawler circuit at the time he wrote the article in 1883, which appeared just three years after the Salvation Army commenced in South Australia. Jennifer Hein emphasises the cooperative work of the Salvation Army in the 1890s. See Jennifer Hein, 'Abominable Yahoos' Exploring the Historical Memory of the Beginning of the Salvation Army in South Australia' (PhD thesis, Flinders University, 2014).

Australia, ensuring newspaper coverage.<sup>74</sup> Bible Christian ministers in South Australia expressed similar concerns with the Army's confrontational style.<sup>75</sup> This, it was believed, disrupted the 'essential unity' within Protestantism, at least at the local level.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, they lamented the lack of women preachers in their own churches and looked on with approval at the Army's use of them.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, in the midst of such censorious criticism of the Army's work, was a return to female preaching a suitable human agency to mount a forward movement? Within months, Misses Ruth Nesbit and Annie Green commenced work as 'Lady Evangelists' the Bible Christian Conference of 1891 had thought so. In Britain and America, the use of female agency in revivalism had found greater acceptance in the realm of women's moral influence. Alan Hunt has acknowledged that:

The revivalism of the early Victorian period in Britain, but more intensively in America with the Second Great Awakening, placed special emphasis on women as moral agents. It was a small step within an intermingled religious and feminist discourse that women's moral energy be directed against irreligious and sinful men.<sup>78</sup>

In the latter part of nineteenth-century colonial South Australia, it was another step of whatever size, to embrace women's moral energy directed from the pulpit to convert 'irreligious and sinful men'

### **Revivalist Missions – 1891-1897**

Appointed by the Missionary Board, of which Serena Thorne Lake was President, Nesbit and Green in the latter part of 1891 conducted revival services at Bowden, Mount Lofty and the Snowtown area, and secured 213 conversions. The following year Misses McLennan, Angell and Catchlove preached in various circuits, and between them secured 243 conversions. Bible Christian membership increased

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<sup>74</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 29 October 1879, 1. The correspondent includes news from South Wales where twenty thousand people welcomed the release of Salvation Army leaders who refused to pay fines and obstructed public thoroughfares. The atmosphere was one of 'unwonted excitement'

<sup>75</sup> *SABCMag*, February 1891, 275-281.

<sup>76</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1875, vol. 1, SLSA SRG 4/1/1, 46. The Wesleyan Methodists in 1875 formalised this 'essential unity' in a motion that identified the Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and all branches of Methodism. The motion was repeated annually.

<sup>77</sup> *SABCMag*, February 1891, 275-281.

<sup>78</sup> Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 97.

by 128 in the following year.<sup>79</sup> One correspondent, soon after Miss Catchlove's visit to Port Elliot in the third quarter of 1892, declared the use of women evangelists as a matter of divine accord: "We are moving in harmony with God's will in returning to a fuller recognition of woman's work in the Gospel. We ought to have at least two of these devoted women in each district, if not one in every circuit. The expansion of our denominational area must come by these means"<sup>80</sup> In 1892, the Bible Christian Northern District and the annual Conference of February 1893, expressed similar sentiments regarding the zeal and "persuasiveness" of the "evangelists of Christ" who were credited with much of the 406 member increase for 1892.<sup>81</sup>

The "Lady Evangelists" led a total of thirty-four revival/evangelistic missions from 1891-1897, and of these, twenty-eight were conducted in Bible Christian Circuits over the seven-year period and six in Wesleyan Circuits in the years 1894(5) and 1895(1). These missions accounted for a total of 786 Bible Christian converts and 602 Wesleyan converts.<sup>82</sup> All of the reported Wesleyan conversions (602) occurred in the one year, 1894, the year Conference sanctioned the employment of "Lady Evangelists" by the Home Mission Committee on the condition that no "liability be incurred by the Committee"<sup>83</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that, apart from this one year, the practice of female itinerant evangelists occurred within Wesleyan Methodism in the late nineteenth-century; the self-supporting criterion was sufficient reason for its limited appeal. Like their sisters in other churches, Wesleyan women were often valued more for their Connexional fundraising ability, organising public teas, bazaars, fetes, and collecting contributions.<sup>84</sup> Their roles, however, extended beyond the more traditional bounds of circuit life. Women class leaders were required to embrace the spiritual and pastoral in their leadership and oversight responsibilities of their society class meetings. These included "watching over souls" restoration of backsliders, and encouraging the "reluctant to speak in front of

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<sup>79</sup> Appendices 1, 2, and 3. There were two McLennan's A. and H. Initials were not always provided.  
<sup>80</sup> *SABC Monthly*, 1 November 1892, 165.

<sup>81</sup> *SABC Monthly*, April 1893, 247; May 1893, 239, 265. The Bible Christian Conference reported an increase of 317 for the year. See Appendix 2.

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix 1 for years 1891-1897.

<sup>83</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1894, vol. 1, SLSA SRG 4/1/1.

<sup>84</sup> Linda Wilson, "Constrained by Zeal: Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century Nonconformist Churches" *Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 2 (June 1999): 193-196.

others<sup>85</sup> The primacy of the spiritual dimension entrusted to women as instruments of spiritual power among their own, collaborated with the restorative work of the revivalist. By 1896, the popularity of the 'Lady Evangelists' had waned; in that year only five missions were conducted, yielding 29 conversions. There were two missions and a further 29 conversions in Bible Christian circuits the following year. In addition to the five mentioned 'Lady Evangelists' an additional two (Misses Vierk and Harriet Ashenden) undertook evangelistic work. Female evangelistic agency of this nature concluded in 1897, although there were other women preaching at the time, and it was not until 1910 that the Methodist Church in South Australia employed the itinerant English evangelist, Sister Lily (Miss Cowmeadow) for three years (1910-1912).<sup>86</sup> It is clear that the Bible Christian 'Lady Evangelists' nurtured the evangelistic and conversionist ethos of Methodism. What were the reasons for their limited six-year period of service between 1891 and 1897, and eventual demise?

## Reasons for Discontinuance

### Strains and Rigours of Travelling

There is some evidence to suggest that the strains and rigours of travelling were considerable. Invitations were mainly from country churches where Bible Christians had a significant following. During the six years, over forty country circuits and churches were visited, some up to 350km north from Adelaide. On the other hand, there were only three places in Adelaide (Bowden, Port Adelaide and Goodwood) where revival services took place.

Years earlier, Serena Thorne pioneered women's preaching under similar circumstances. In 1870, in a twelve-month itinerant preaching tour during which she often preached up to eight times each week, a physically exhausted Thorne, after a week's preaching at Kapunda, wrote in her diary, 'Have suffered a good deal in gum boils with inflammation for a day or two'<sup>87</sup> She often felt alone after meetings as she

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<sup>85</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1874, vol. 1, SAA, SRG 4/1/1, 18. Conference, in 1892 did advocate the use of 'female agents' to help with 'young people and outsiders' but nothing eventuated beyond the proposal. See Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1892, vol.1, SLSA SRG 4/1/1.

<sup>86</sup> See Appendix 1 for years 1910-1912. Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 141.

<sup>87</sup> *Serena Thorne's Diary*, 13 November 1870. Original diary held by Uniting Church in South



dealt with issues of despondency and self-deprecation, grateful for the opportunities of redeeming work, but ever conscious of her own perceived inadequacies, heightened as they were, at times by few conversions and minimal public response.<sup>88</sup> On one occasion, after preaching to two thousand people in the Adelaide Town Hall, she wrote in her diary: "It makes me tremble to see how high their expectations are, when I remember what a poor ignorant silly little girl I am and above all when I recollect what a poor Christian I am"<sup>89</sup> Such inner reflection did not diminish the validity of her call that her (later) husband, the Rev. Octavius Lake affirmed as exceptional, for there were occasions when she had to defend her right to speak in public against "bitter tongues" and newspaper attacks. She considered this defence necessary against those who sought to quote the injunctions by the Apostle Paul as precedents to oppose women speaking in public and church forums.<sup>90</sup> Opposition to women preachers must have been widespread, as on one occasion Thorne wrote in her diary, "I am told that scores have lost their prejudice against female ministry by this visit of mine"<sup>91</sup> Perhaps it was this underlying prejudice that prompted Octavius Lake to declare in a sermon at Young Street Bible Christian Church in Adelaide on 28 December 1873:

It must be very embarrassing to those expositors who deny the scripturalness of female preaching, that women so frequently take prominent ground in the ministry of the gospel. The tacit approval of Christ in the instance before us [preaching woman of Samaria] is sufficient authority for any woman who has the call and the ability to speak of Him.<sup>92</sup>

Thorne was recognised by many as an effective preacher. On one occasion she was "spoken of generally in terms of high praise. Her friends may always count on large audiences for her on any occasion when she may be able to assist them"<sup>93</sup> She inspired other women to preach and to exercise a pulpit ministry appreciated by

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Australia Historical Society.

<sup>88</sup> *Serena Thorne's Diary*, 3 June, 2 July 1870.

<sup>89</sup> *Serena Thorne's Diary*, 30 May 1870.

<sup>90</sup> *Serena Thorne's Diary*, 24 November, 1, 2, 4 December 1870. The diary references for 4 December 1870 refer to unnamed passages in Timothy and Corinthians, which Thorne claims were quoted "to frighten me." It is likely that these passages are 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, which forbids women speaking in church, and 1 Timothy 2:8-15, which also forbids women from speaking and also teaching in church.

<sup>91</sup> *Serena Thorne's Diary's*, 1 December 1870.

<sup>92</sup> *SABCMag*, February 1874, 339-340.

<sup>93</sup> *Port Adelaide News*, 28 September 1878.

others. In 1882, a Port Adelaide newspaper reporter furthered the cause of women preachers when he commented that he had heard some splendid sermons from lady preachers and many of them are highly talented<sup>94</sup>

Serena Thorne Lake's ability as an effective preacher went beyond the churches in which she spoke. Hoteliers noticed her work with prostitutes in Adelaide as her diary records show: "The low publicans are making bitter and violent opposition to our midnight meetings. Great talk and writings in the papers about this problem. The social evil in this city, may God teach us Christians how to deal with it"<sup>95</sup>

The strain of travelling as an itinerant woman evangelist helps to account for the relatively short periods of service rendered. Miss Angell, accompanied by Miss McLennan, undertook one evangelistic mission to a rural wheat farming region some 160 kilometres north of Adelaide, that lasted for five weeks in July and August 1892. The mission embraced the country towns of Snowtown and Port Broughton, and the hamlets of Condowie, Saltlake, Wiltunga, Cameron and Wokurna East. Forty-four conversions occurred during the mission.<sup>96</sup> Miss Harriet Ashenden undertook an evangelistic visit of a few weeks to Clarendon and Willunga (22 reported conversions) in July and August 1894, three weeks in the Goodwood Circuit (20 conversions) in July 1897, and two weeks in the Snowtown Circuit (nine conversions) in August 1897.<sup>97</sup> Misses A. and H. McLennan were involved in six evangelistic missions over thirty weeks from July 1892 to June 1894. They mostly worked as solo evangelists, but on one occasion, from March to June 1894, collaborated for a thirteen-week mission in the Port Wakefield Circuit, one hundred kilometres north of Adelaide. They visited seven out of the ten preaching places in the circuit, resulting in seventy to eighty converts, and seven Christian Endeavour Societies were formed.

Ruth Nesbit and Annie Green worked together, for a total of twenty-two weeks,

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<sup>94</sup> *Port Adelaide News*, 16 June 1882. The comment was in relation to the Port Adelaide Bible Christian Church.

<sup>95</sup> *Serena Thorne's Diary*, 2 July 1870.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix 1 for further details and references cited for this, and the next paragraph.

<sup>97</sup> Harriet Ashenden became a Bible Christian local preacher in the Mount Lofty circuit in 1893 at the age of 18. According to the *SAM*, 29 October 1954 she was the first woman accepted as a local preacher.

from late 1891 to December 1894, and then for one week at Jamestown in May 1895. They conducted numerous revival meetings in country townships north of Adelaide and also visited the nearby Adelaide Hills townships of Mount Lofty, Mount Barker, and Gumeracha, as well as the adjacent Adelaide industrial suburb of Bowden in the third quarter of 1891. There were 939 conversions recorded, although a few reports lacked numbers and preferred terminology such as, ‘many new converts’ or ‘greatly blessed’. Finally, Miss Catchlove conducted nine missions for 269 converts and joined with Agnes McLennan for one mission, which yielded forty converts during a total of forty-seven weeks work from the third quarter 1892 to January 1897. Once again, imprecise language in documenting the number of conversions meant that there were probably more conversions than the figures suggest. Again, the emphasis was working in the northern and southern rural areas, with additional visits to towns south of Adelaide in Port Elliot, Yankalilla (two visits), and Willunga, Mount Lofty, and Mount Torrens in the Adelaide Hills, and the Adelaide suburb of Goodwood. Her most successful revivalist mission was probably her time of seven weeks in the Wirrabara Circuit, 250 kilometres north of Adelaide, in August and September 1895, with over 100 conversions recorded and Christian Endeavour Societies commenced at Wirrabara, Murray Town, and Booleroo Centre. There was little certainty in revivalist evangelism for women as it was dependent on invitations and short-term appointments by the Missionary Board.

### Gender Expectations

It is likely that different gender expectations affected the relatively short periods of evangelistic endeavours undertaken. The average length of service was seventeen weeks per evangelist, and two to three weeks was the average length of stay in any one location. Short-term evangelistic appointments for young women meant that potential marriage was later than that generally practised, as most young women married around eighteen or nineteen, ‘two or three years younger than the English girl’. Once married, ‘she devotes herself to her household, children, and husband’, mused the English commentator Richard Twopeny in 1883.<sup>98</sup> To work as a Methodist preacher meant that the young woman departed from a gender ideology

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<sup>98</sup> R. E. N. Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, reprint of 1883 edn (Gloucester: Dodo Press, n.d.), 68.

which enjoined upon women piety, purity, submission to male authority, and motherly domesticity in order to delay marriage.<sup>99</sup> Serena Thorne left itinerancy following her marriage at the age of twenty-eight in 1871, but continued to preach occasionally for the next thirty years and became the most effective female preacher in the colony, and prominent advocate of temperance.<sup>100</sup> The Bible Christian Ladies Evangelists saw their itinerancy as a short-term interlude, not a career.

### Maintenance Ministry

Women evangelists were only employed in established rural or suburban circuits and thereby restricted according to the needs of maintaining existing churches. Surrounded by notions of middle-class respectability, female virtue and domesticity, they were untested in settings replete with shearing sheds, public houses, factories, railway yards and workshops. This thereby reduced the opportunities available to women evangelists who might have preferred a frontier-style evangelism rather than that of the settled pastorate. To this extent, Jennifer Lloyd's observation of Bible Christian women preachers elsewhere, utilised as 'shock troops' in pioneering settings characterised by 'cottage religion' and outdoor preaching, does not apply.<sup>101</sup>

### Other Female Preachers

Despite the limitations experienced by the Ladies Evangelists of the 1890s, it is clear that they benefited from the female preachers who pioneered the work before them. Female evangelists before the Ladies Evangelists of the 1890s, afforded evangelicalism with creditable public witness. They conducted revivalist meetings in public buildings and large halls, attracted crowds and made converts.<sup>102</sup> In addition to the work of Serena Thorne Lake, Mrs Emilia Louise Baeyertz and Mrs Margaret Hampson advanced the acceptability of female preaching. Baeyertz, a convert from Judaism, conducted evangelistic meetings in the colony from 1881 to 1884, while

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<sup>99</sup> Patricia Bizzell, 'Frances Willard, Phoebe Palmer, and the Ethos of the Methodist Woman Preacher', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 378.

<sup>100</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 129.

<sup>101</sup> Lloyd, 'Women Preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion' 467.

<sup>102</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'In These Days of Female Evangelists and Hallelujah Lasses: Women Preachers and the Redefinition of Gender Roles in the Churches in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Journal of Religious History* 26, no. 1 (February 2002), 70. According to Swain, 17 overseas revivalists visited Australia in the period 1863 to 1912; two were women - Emilia Baeyertz and Margaret Hampson. As Ada Ward visited Adelaide in 1907, the revised total is three women.

Hampson, another lady evangelist, visited in July 1883, and attracted crowded audiences to the Adelaide Town Hall, where a reported 600 conversions took place. She established local Prayer Unions as a result of her ten-day mission.<sup>103</sup> Women evangelists, despite an element of public criticism, had a demonstrated evangelistic ability which made them impossible to dismiss.<sup>104</sup> At Hampson's farewell tea held in the Town Hall, hundreds were turned away from the meeting at which the presiding minister claimed that her presence in the city had helped parliament to repeal the Totalizator Act.<sup>105</sup> The challenge to the accepted stereotype of female gender was never far from public debate. In a review of Hampson's 1883 Adelaide visit, the *South Australian Advertiser* claimed that her mission was one of the most notable events in the history of the city. Despite the alleviation of a natural prejudice held by many against women teaching, Hampson was deemed an exceptional case, removed from the ordinary rules of procedure, endowed with an acceptable earnestness and peculiarly gifted. Consequently, we do not suppose that her triumphs will have much influence in the way of leading to any infringement of the generally recognised right of men to the exclusive possession of the pulpit.<sup>106</sup> The attempt to downplay Hampson's influence was similar to that experienced by other female preachers. Shurlee Swain contends that contemporary accounts which downplay the performance of the women evangelists as a challenge to the accepted stereotypes of female gender, had the effect of normalizing their presence and their message, and thereby rendered them largely invisible to twentieth-century debates on the role of women in the church.<sup>107</sup>

What was the basis of Hampson's reported exceptionality? Acknowledged as having oratorical skills that few possessed, her voice was good to hear, well modulated, with tonal variation, and elocutionary merit of a high order. She was not one to rant, rave, scream, bawl, or strain, free of vociferation, but rather possessed a feminine tenderness, combined with an air of authority that made her appeals simply irresistible. Sincere and enthusiastic in delivery, her logic was

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<sup>103</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 2 August 1883, 4. The number of converts is given as 300 by the Primitive Methodists and Wesleyans. See *PMR*, 4 August 1883, 4; *CW&MJ*, 10 August 1883, 2.

<sup>104</sup> Swain, *In These Days of Female Evangelists and Hallelujah Lasses*, 71.

<sup>105</sup> *Register*, 2 August 1883, 6.

<sup>106</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 2 August 1883, 4.

<sup>107</sup> Swain, *In These Days of Female Evangelists and Hallelujah Lasses*, 77.

clear-cut in which she appealed to the conscience, addressed the hearer's doubts, and challenged the will. When speaking, her words were both choice and extensive she was able to expound Biblical stories with thrilling interest and she used personal experiences which were vivid and graphic without being either ornate or gorgeous. Her persuasive power, and use of emotion helped to cast a spell over her hearers she appealed as much to men as she did to women.<sup>108</sup>

Walter Phillips claims that Margaret Hampson's success lay more in the similarity of her style to that of other evangelists than in any womanly differences.<sup>109</sup> The externalities of her style were similar to other evangelists: the use of Sankey's Sacred Songs, exposition of common doctrines such as the Fall, Redemption and Regeneration, the use of nightly public meetings, daily prayer meetings, and special children's services.<sup>110</sup> However, observers commented on her womanly differences. Her appearance, considered by some to be, thoroughly kind and motherly devoid of affectation, unlike the ascetic, bereft of cheerfulness and pleasantness, she smiled naturally and seemed a thoroughly womanly woman in every respect, and [added the commentator] I am glad of it.<sup>111</sup> Her femininity and womanly qualities found ready acceptance among the evangelical constituency of Adelaide, and as Olive Anderson has argued, the way in which women presented themselves did account in part for the gradual diminution of opposition to female evangelists as they exploited the sentimentality which was at the centre of revivalism.<sup>112</sup>

## Conclusion

The statistical overview of Methodist revivalism in the period 1866 to 1913 demonstrated the priority and prevalence of the local revival as the centrepiece of vital religion. Appendix 1 surveys the diversity and specific forms of revival activity, which occurred in line with Conference direction. The quest for revivalist

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<sup>108</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 July 1883, 4; *South Australian Register*, 28 July 1883, 6; *South Australian Advertiser*, 2 August 1883, 4.

<sup>109</sup> Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country*, 64-67.

<sup>110</sup> Phillips, *Defending a Christian Country*, 65; *CW&MJ*, 27 July 1883, 4; *South Australian Advertiser*, 2 August 1883, 4.

<sup>111</sup> *South Australian Register*, 28 July 1883, 6.

<sup>112</sup> Olive Anderson, 'Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflexions on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change', *Historical Journal* XII, 3 (1969): 472.

conversions occurred despite the obvious generational changes that took place during the period, both in the passing of first generation revivalists, and in the growing up of younger leaders who had never experienced their work or their social and religious context. The passing of religious fervour associated with the original settlers did not refocus Methodist religious practice to mere observance and contented ritualism. As the colony continued to expand its agricultural and settlement boundaries in the last three decades of the nineteenth-century, revivalism ó in tune with the denomination's expansionary ethos ó continued to produce the converts necessary for increased membership and self-described growth within the general population. Many nineteenth-century South Australian Methodists dared believe that the whole state could be converted to a "religion of the heart" through revivalist means.

Numerous local revivals occurred across the Methodist spectrum, with the Wesleyans asserting their overall dominance in extended revivalist activity. The much anticipated and hoped for general revival of religion failed to coalesce behind a diversity of localised outpourings of revivalist enthusiasm, many of which were independent of local revivals elsewhere. Specialist itinerant revivalists such as Matthew Burnett, David O'Donnell and the "Lady Evangelists" focussed revivalist activity in numerous country locations during their respective itinerancies and despite their numerical successes in either converts or pledges recorded, criticisms indicated that support for revivalism was by no means uniform or unquestioned.

The Arminian theology and revivalistic tradition of Methodism enabled significant growth to occur among the three branches of South Australian Methodism. Overall, revivals in this period did not occur in a spiritual vacuum: everywhere there were preparatory factors at work such as "special services" prayer meetings, "signs of an awakening" formation of preaching bands, and even deaths in the community. Advance notice of a meeting or mission by a "named" evangelist or reformer often raised the level of expectation, particularly among people in country areas looking for a new speaker or new event to give some variety and excitement to rural life. Revivals also had an important impact on the role and place of lay leadership within Methodism. Although Methodism placed great emphasis on the work of the laity through offices such as class leaders and local preachers, revivalism

popularised and democratised lay agency, and raised lay leadership to a new level. Many of the successful revivalists of this period were not ministers but lay evangelists, men as well as women. We opened this chapter noting the visit of William Taylor to Adelaide in 1865. We close it with his assessment of the way in which Methodism expanded its early work in America:

Most of the pioneer work of Methodism in America has been done on principle number one, he wrote, by laymen, and women, and local preachers. In the cities, east and west, and throughout the length and breadth of the land, the old plan was for a few earnest laymen to enter every open door, by establishing a weekly prayer-meeting, or a little Sunday-school; then, after some preparation, to build a small chapel, develop the work, hold a series of special services, and have a hundred outsiders converted to God; then build up a strong self-supporting church.<sup>113</sup>

Such an assessment can be appropriately applied to South Australian Methodism at the end of the nineteenth-century.

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<sup>113</sup> William Taylor, *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India*, (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1882), 48-49.



## CHAPTER 6

### CHALLENGES TO REVIVALISM

In 1898, the editor of the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* asserted that:

A new world has sprung into existence within the last quarter of a century. If the fathers who passed to their account twenty-five or thirty years ago could re-visit the earth and mingle in present-day society, in church and out, nothing would surprise them more than the new spirit and new ideas now in vogue.<sup>1</sup>

Headed, 'The New Age-Spirit and the Modern Pulpit', the editorial went on to outline some of the 'new spirit and new ideas':

The swift and remarkable developments of science, the new criticism as applied to the Bible, the universal and unquestioning acceptance of doctrines which, until recently, were regarded as fundamentally alien to the orthodox faith, the spurious liberalism and *quasi*-infidelity permeating all classes, the new social ideals, the repudiation of ancient scruples and restraints, the substitution of independent inquiry for authority and dogma – all these are features of the new order under which the nineteenth-century draws to its close.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the editor claimed that the changes have not 'been without practical results. Our Church work has been vitally and far-reaching affected.'<sup>3</sup> Statements such as these and others enabled one later historian to claim, rightly:

The late nineteenth century appears above all as a time of intellectual experiment in Australia. The late 1890s in particular were marked by an extravagant rush of new ideas, religious no less than social and political.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter examines the revival work of Methodism in the light of some of the external intellectual challenges current in the latter part of the nineteenth-century. In addition, it considers the internal challenge to revivalism posed by the Methodist Church's own moral reform and social agenda.

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<sup>1</sup> *CW&MJ*, 18 February 1898, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *CW&MJ*, 18 February 1898, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *CW&MJ*, 18 February 1898, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Hilary M. Carey, *Believing in Australia* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 106-107.

## Intellectual Challenges

One only has to scan the Methodist periodicals in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century to identify the concerns of readers. In the main, these included rationalism, the historicity of Genesis, dogmatism in theology and science, evolution, new theology, higher criticism, secularism, and socialism.<sup>5</sup> From about 1874, the task of responding to the intellectual challenges, in what has been termed 'The Victorian Crisis of Faith'<sup>6</sup> developed a sense of urgency within South Australian Methodism, which continued well into the twentieth-century. In January 1874, the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record* opened its lead article 'The Bible and Rationalism' with the statement: 'The battle about The Book [Bible] has not yet ceased'<sup>7</sup> The article's basic premise was that the Bible was under attack because there was difficulty in reconciling science with theology, reason with revelation. Methodists and other believers worried over the place of Christian belief in Australian society.

## Darwinian Evolutionary Theory

Anxiety among Methodists increased throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, as various apologists, mainly clergy, argued in defence of traditional Christianity. Perhaps the topic most discussed was Darwinian evolutionary theory ó Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) ó versus the Biblical account as expounded in the seven days of creation. Darwin's theory of natural selection provided a non-supernatural way of viewing the natural order and seemed to make increasingly untenable the Biblical account of the seven days of creation.<sup>8</sup> In Europe, from the mid-nineteenth-century, liberalism was a response to the growing realisation that in order to accommodate the intellectual demands of modern knowledge, a reconstruction of Christian belief was

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<sup>5</sup> See for example, *SAPMR*, January 1874, 65-71; *SABCMag*, February 1878, 374-376, *MJ*, 15 March 1878, 4; *CW&MJ*, 9 May 1884, 6; 21 November 1884, 3; 27 November 1885, 2-3; 4 December 1885, 2-3; 11 December 1885, 2, 4; 3 June 1892, 2; 10 June 1892, 2; 17 June 1892, 2; 15 July 1892, 4; 29 July 1892, 6-7; 17 February 1893, 4; 24 February 1893, 7; 3 March 1893, 5; 25 August 1893, 6; 29 September 1893, 6; 5 April 1895, 6; *SAPMM*, April 1886, 242-247; *SAPM*, January 1897, 109-113. See also, Walter Phillips, 'The Defence of Christian Belief in Australia 1875-1914: The Responses to Evolution and Higher Criticism', *Journal of Religious History* 9, no. 4, (1977): 402-423.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Symondson, ed., *The Victorian Crisis of Faith* (London: SPCK, 1970).

<sup>7</sup> *SAPMR*, January 1874, 65-71.

<sup>8</sup> See for example, *SABCMag*, February 1878, 374-376; *CW&MJ*, 9 May 1884, 6.

needed. Classical liberal Protestantism grounded its presuppositions on a vision of humanity, which ascended and evolved upwards into states of increased progress and improvement.<sup>9</sup>

### **‘New Theology’ and ‘Higher Criticism’**

Not only was the Bible itself under attack as an infallible authority, but some of its teachings, such as the doctrine of the atonement, and the Fall of Man, once considered unassailable by evangelical Methodists, were subject to increased scrutiny and criticism.<sup>10</sup> However, even from the mid-1870s, some within Methodism attempted to ameliorate understandings between the historic evangelical doctrines and the claims of ‘new theology’ and ‘higher criticism’.<sup>11</sup> For instance, in 1874, the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record* re-produced an article, ‘The Bible and Rationalism’ which asserted:

There is no reason to believe that God intended through the Bible to give to man a theory of the universe; they mistake, therefore, who look upon the Bible as a scientific text book. Man cries to heaven for a revelation. Heaven responds. God utters His will. He gives his word as an infallible guide and authority. The Bible is not a system of Natural Philosophy. The Scriptures are not intended to teach astronomy, botany, physiology, nor geology, but religion. Where scientific truth is conveyed, it is incidentally ó indirectly not directly.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the article contended: ‘The supernatural will therefore necessarily accompany the Bible, and demand our faith. But though it demands our faith it does not forbid investigation, but encourages and demands it’ The article was typical of some which appeared in Methodist periodicals in the latter part of the nineteenth-century ó attempts to accommodate and interpret, where possible, scientific

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<sup>9</sup> On Darwin and liberalism from Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 101-104; 304-305.

<sup>10</sup> See for example the article by the Primitive Methodist minister, R. J. Daddow, ‘The New Theology’ *SAPM Mag*, April 1886, in which he outlines some of the effects of the *New Theology* on the doctrines of Inspiration, The Fatherhood of God, Fall of Man, the Atonement, and Eternal Punishment.

<sup>11</sup> Two forms of critical study of the Bible in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which concerned Christians, were ‘higher criticism’ and ‘lower criticism’. Higher criticism was the application of modern literary and historical critical methods to the study of the Bible. Lower criticism or ‘textual criticism’ examines the details of the text. It includes study of manuscripts to determine, as close as possible, the original reading of text. See Alan Richardson, ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 81. On ‘Biblical Criticism’ see also Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 184-191.

<sup>12</sup> ‘The Bible and Rationalism’ *SAPMR*, January 1874, 65-71.

naturalism and higher criticism with traditional theology and enquiry.

Wesleyans, in particular, took counsel from the English-born, Sydney resident, Wesleyan minister, William B. Boyce (1804-1889), and his major work, *Higher Criticism and the Bible* (1881).<sup>13</sup> Boyce challenged the anti-supernaturalistic elements within higher criticism and argued that the rise of sceptical criticism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fostered anti-supernaturalism. The compensating emphasis on rationalism diminished the authority of Biblical evidence and of the Bible itself.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Boyce acknowledged the positive contribution of higher criticism to Old Testament scholarship in the light of advances made in academic disciplines such as history, science, philosophy, and literary criticism. He, therefore, had no place for the ‘cultivation of doubt as an intellectual tradition’ but rather an ‘honest doubt’ pursued with academic rigour and purpose.<sup>15</sup> Overall, Boyce’s book, a nuanced, theological, and historical apologia, defended the basic tenet of evangelical Protestantism as a historic, revealed religion based on the long accepted testimony and authority of the Biblical evidence. He helped Wesleyan Methodism to accept, gradually, that higher criticism was not a master to be feared but a servant to be employed. At the Wesleyan Conference held in Adelaide in 1881, Boyce presented a copy of his book to each minister present.<sup>16</sup> How many ministers and lay people were thereafter affected directly by Boyce’s work is hard to say. Considered by some as ‘the most outstanding figure in nineteenth-century Australian Methodism’, Boyce’s mediating scholarship must have influenced those in search of a *via media* between higher criticism, rationalism, Darwinian evolutionary theory, and historic Evangelicalism.<sup>17</sup>

### **Sin Re-defined**

Of particular concern to Methodists was the manner in which ‘sin’ was understood in the light of Darwinian evolutionary theory. The theory implied an ascent from a lower to a higher state, in contradiction to the Christian understanding

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<sup>13</sup> W. B. Boyce, *The Higher Criticism and the Bible* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1881).

<sup>14</sup> Boyce, *Higher Criticism*, 74.

<sup>15</sup> Boyce, *Higher Criticism*, 34-35.

<sup>16</sup> *CW&MJ*, 21 January 1881, 8.

<sup>17</sup> William W. Emilsen, ‘Boyce, William Binnington (1804-1889)’, *ADEB*, 47-48.

of the descent of man following the Fall as recorded in the Genesis narrative.<sup>18</sup> The theory, according to the American physician and poet Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894), a proponent of Darwinism, and reported widely in Adelaide newspapers, removes the traditional curse from the helpless infant lying in its mother's arms. The word "sin" is obsolescent, Holmes declared:

The scientific study of man is the most difficult of all branches of knowledge. It requires, in the first place, an entire new terminology to get rid of that enormous load of prejudices with which every term applied to the malformations, and functional disturbances, and the organic diseases of the moral nature, is at present burdened. Take that one word "sin", for instance; all those who have studied the subject from nature and not from books know perfectly well that a certain fraction of what is so called is nothing more or less than a symptom of hysteria; that another fraction is the index of limited degrees of insanity; that still another is the result of a congenital tendency which removes the act if we sit in judgment, if not entirely, at least to such an extent that the subject of the tendency cannot be judged by any normal standard.<sup>19</sup>

For many Methodists, to remove or redefine the word "sin" separate from its Biblical connotations challenged such doctrines as the depravity of man, the conversion of the sinner, and the need of atonement for sin acknowledged.<sup>20</sup> Take away the atonement, and "salvation is impossible" declared the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record* in 1868.<sup>21</sup> Although so called "modern theories of the Atonement" required examination, aspects of such theories, while helpful according to the Rev. John Blacket (1856-1935), Wesleyan Christian apologist and circuit minister, do not necessarily add to the understanding that based on "the ground of His death [Jesus Christ] the sins of men are forgiven." Blacket argued that Christ's death did not merely reveal something of interest to the sinner; He achieved something for the sinner, as a substitute for that which people could not do for themselves. In this way, salvation is possible.<sup>22</sup> Hence, Blacket maintained the primacy of the orthodox view of the atonement with its redemptive, propitiatory, and substitutionary elements.

<sup>18</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 21 March 1873, 3; *CW&MJ*, 9 May 1884, 6.

<sup>19</sup> The *South Australian Advertiser*, 21 March 1873, 3 contained a report on a "striking defence on Darwinism" by Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Poet at the Breakfast Table* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1872).

<sup>20</sup> These three doctrines, stated or implied are found in a sermon, "Coming to Jesus" preached by the Rev. James Read, Primitive Methodist, in the Open Air at North Adelaide, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1862. See *SAPMR*, January 1863, 1-5.

<sup>21</sup> A statement made in a sermon on the Atonement published in the *SAPMR*, October 1868, 109.

<sup>22</sup> On theories of the Atonement, see for example, *SAPMMag*, January 1886, 207-213. Blacket reviews Dale's work at *CW&MJ*, 5 February 1892, 3.

Overall, Blacket was cautious in his acceptance of aspects of the new theology but open to the ideas of evolution.<sup>23</sup>

### Conditional Immortality of the Soul

Allied to the doctrine of the atonement was the topic of the immortality of the soul and the eternal punishment of the wicked. In the late 1870s, Methodist preachers in the main still taught the traditional doctrines of heaven and hell with little variation from the central themes.<sup>24</sup> Viewpoints which contradicted these doctrines, particularly if they involved the banishment of hell, were strenuously opposed. They were thought of as incompatible with accepted doctrine.<sup>25</sup> However, by the mid-1880s, as the result of openness to contemporary thought, the doctrine of the conditional immortality of the soul occupied the minds of a number of vigorous correspondents.<sup>26</sup> In summary, conditional immortality was the view that only those who accepted Christ as Saviour had immortality (the power to live forever). Those who do not express faith in Christ for salvation do not have the gift and at the point of death or at the final judgment they simply cease to exist. As a form of annihilationism, it appealed to those who found difficulty reconciling God's judgment with God's love. It reflected the mood of the times and owed much to the warm humanitarianism associated with Romantic thought [which] often recoiled from the stark contours of traditional belief.<sup>27</sup> It was a significant departure from Wesley's original condition for membership into a Society as a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.<sup>28</sup> Less confronting ideas about the reality of hell were openly proposed. What effects did these intellectual challenges have on the practice of revivalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

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<sup>23</sup> Arnold D. Hunt, 'Blacket, John (1856-1935)', *ADEB*, 42; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 262-263.

<sup>24</sup> See for example, 'The Eternal Punishment of the Wicked' in *SAPMR*, January 1877, 39-43.

<sup>25</sup> See for example, 'The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment' *SAPMR*, January 1879, 301.

<sup>26</sup> The *CW&MJ* published at least 19 letters and included three editorial comments between November 1884 and February 1885 on the topic of conditional immortality.

<sup>27</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 161.

<sup>28</sup> *Handbook of the Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Melbourne: Wesleyan Book Depot, 1877), 2.

## Effects of the Intellectual Challenges on Revivalism

### 'Plain Speaking'

By the early 1890s, disquiet and dissatisfaction with 'plain speaking' from the pulpit on matters of sin delivered as plain, earnest, practical expositions of old-fashioned truth occasionally found expression in Methodist public discourse. On one such occasion in 1892, the Rev. W. A. Langsford was criticised for using 'plain speaking' during revival meetings at Petersburg. He responded by affirming the need to be bold in preaching and not to compromise the whole counsel of God.<sup>29</sup> Later, the editor of the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* reported that the work in Petersburg had entered its sixth week with unabated blessing and power. Forty conversions took place in the home and by the roadside, as well as in the sanctuary. The editor noted that following Langsford's 'plain speaking' a revival broke out and 'God had put His seal on the pastor's honesty. Would that everywhere we had some faithful dealing with men, with the same gracious results.'<sup>30</sup> Plain preaching with a burning passion for the salvation of souls had long been an important consideration within Methodist revivalism.<sup>31</sup>

By the mid-1890s, however, not all were convinced of the need to return to the 'plain preaching' and 'burning passions' of earlier years. A report by the satirical *Quiz and Lantern* of a service at Archer Street Wesleyan Church in 1895, told of a preacher who longed for the old days of revival fire and how some in the congregation laughed at his story:

He [preacher] longs for the days of 25 years ago, when the wailings of the congregation over their sin were heard, and when they burst forth into pleadings with the Almighty for forgiveness. Men on Yorke Peninsula, he remarks, used to go sleepless and foodless for days because the burden of sin was so strong upon them. That is what he would like to see now. Then he narrates how a young miner from one of the Yorke Peninsula copper towns lay on his bed and roared like a bull for two days and two nights because the Lord would not free him from his sin. At this the congregation laugh. How could they help themselves? If one had shut his eyes he might have imagined himself at one of the Methodist revival meetings of a quarter

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<sup>29</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 May 1892, 1.

<sup>30</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 May 1892, 1.

<sup>31</sup> The claim was made by W. R. Stephenson, Primitive Methodist minister. See *SAPM Mag*, April 1887, 371-374.

century ago. But this congregation did not groan. The men tried to look serious and the women smiled.<sup>32</sup>

Attitudes to revivalism were changing.

### **Authority of the Preacher**

One of the most significant aspects upon which revivalism depended was the authority of the preacher. By the 1890s, the nature of the preacher's authority was changing. In 1898, the editor of the *Wesleyan Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* had no doubts as to the changed nature of ministerial authority, particularly as it related to preaching. In the context of his editorial on "The New Age-Spirit and the Modern Pulpit," the editor claimed that:

The conditions under which the teaching and preaching functions are being exercised are almost wholly unlike those that used to obtain. Formerly, the deliverance of the pulpit — given that the preacher was a person of respectable intelligence and education — were received as hardly admitting of question. A Christian minister was understood to speak — as one having authority. At all events, there was no disposition on the part of his hearers to show the slightest doubt or hesitancy in regard to what may be spoken of as the great cardinal and strategic tenets of Christian doctrine. The infallibility of the Bible, and its unique place among the literatures of the world; the supreme and eternal Divinity of the Lord Jesus; the death of Christ as a satisfaction offered to God for man's wickedness and rebellion, and as constituting a genuine objective atonement. The need and the possibility of spiritual regeneration for all men; the doctrine of a future life, with its measureless recompenses of honour and shame, and of pleasure and of pain. All these were axiomatic truths, accepted alike by both pulpit and pew, and about which there was no more serious doubt than there was of the indubitable accuracy of Newton's law of universal gravitation. But speaking generally, and allowing for exceptional instances, the case does not stand like that today.

Furthermore, according to the editor, congregations were affected:

There is a perceptible weakening in the grip of the average hearer upon fundamental truth. The foundations are being undermined. The belief leverage upon which our pulpits formerly reckoned, and which was often turned to such effective account, is undergoing a process of enfeeblement. The old responses to the preacher's appeals are not so readily forthcoming. Not that there is anything of the nature of a general and formal revolt against the authority and teaching of the Bible. That stage, thank God! Has not been reached yet, and we have no serious fears that it ever will. That there is,

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<sup>32</sup> *Quiz and the Lantern*, 31 January 1895, 8. Sermon by the Rev. J. Young Simpson, at Archer Street Wesleyan Church, North Adelaide.



however, a temporary obscuration of that a haze of uncertainty, of vague doubt and misgiving of is today brooding over the average sermon-hearing mind, will hardly be gainsaid.

The editor went on to claim that the availability of an abundance of newspapers, magazines, and novels, much of it cynical, shallow, irreverent, materialistic, agnostic, and sceptical, provided competing messages for sermon-hearers, which unsettled and clouded congregations. The editor concluded by calling for more effective preaching, relevant to meet the altered requirements of the age, delivered by preachers who have a vital experience of the things whereof they speak, and dominated by an intense and overmastering love for the souls of men, and a deep, strong passionate desire to save them.<sup>33</sup> The editor's comments indicate Methodists were making adjustments to their religious beliefs in the late nineteenth-century. According to the editor, fundamental truths were being undermined. In the minds of sermon listeners, the teaching and preaching functions of the ministerial office were under review. If the authority of the preacher involved in the regular ministrations of the church was changing, then this also had implications for the revivalist preacher of with one significant difference, however.

### **Religious Certainties Re-examined**

In his study of religious practices in the Yorkshire fishing village of Staithes, in the period after the Second World War, Steve Bruce concluded that whereas churches are subject to the eroding forces of secularisation, folk or popular religions are doubly vulnerable as they are sustained by the healthy viability of chapel culture.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, it is contended that revivalism (as a sort of folk religion) flourished in a climate of institutional sustainment linked to the community through avenues of notional affiliation such as Sunday schools, guilds and mutual improvement societies. Together, they provided the revivalist with the raw materials to work with of the regular and nominal chapelgoer, both possessed with a semblance of a common stock of religious knowledge. David Hempton maintains that revivalism is sustained by the presence of such knowledge when he concludes:

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<sup>33</sup> Editorial, "The New Age-Spirit and the Pulpit" *CW&MJ*, 18 February 1898, 6-7.

<sup>34</sup> Steve Bruce, "Secularisation, Church and Popular Religion" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62, no. 3, (July 2011): 543-561.

Eighteenth-century revival movements in all parts of Britain relied on the Christianising functions of inclusive established churches to lay the foundations of basic religious knowledge upon which they could make their emotive appeals<sup>35</sup> Likewise, any undermining of the foundations of fundamental truth, which unsettled institutional religion affected the practice of revivalism as well.<sup>36</sup> This is likely for the nominal churchgoer, whose doubts on Biblical and ministerial authority and awareness of the revivalists' tendency to stir up any audience to the verge of hysteria probably made them doubly vulnerable in deciding whether to attend revival meetings.<sup>37</sup> Religious conviction was fundamental to the work of the revivalist intent on promoting the crisis of the dramatic conversion experience in meetings designed to elicit decisions for Christ<sup>38</sup>

However, Darwinian evolutionary theory weakened the certainty of the dramatic conversion experience. Hugh Gilmore (1842-1891), the influential minister of Wellington Square Primitive Church from 1889 to 1891, demonstrated how the influence of evolutionary theory modified the understanding of conversion. He spoke of conversion as a continual process going on and on rather than one definite spiritual condition to which we attain by one great exercise of faith in one supreme moment<sup>39</sup> The application of the principle of gradual change over time was becoming a significant concept in religious thinking. Evolutionary processes and elongated theology were not conducive to making decisions for Christ in revivalist settings.

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<sup>35</sup> David Hempton, 'Established Churches and the Growth of Religious Pluralism: A Case Study of Christianisation and Secularisation in England since 1700' in Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf, eds., *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe 1750-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 86.

<sup>36</sup> Quote only, *CW&MJ*, 18 February 1898, 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Quiz and the Lantern*, 27 September 1894, 8. In 1894 and 1895, the weekly satirical paper published reports of visits to leading churches in the city and suburbs. On a visit to Pirie Street in 1894, the reporter estimated 1,500 persons present (the largest in Adelaide at the time), of whom 400 were men and youths.

<sup>38</sup> 'Decisions for Christ' was in widespread usage in the late nineteenth-century. See for example, *CW&MJ*, 24 October 1884, 6. Term used by the Rev. J. B. Stephenson at the church anniversary at Pirie Street Wesleyan Methodist.

<sup>39</sup> Hugh Gilmore, *Sermons by the late Hugh Gilmore: Being full reports of occasional Sermons preached at the Primitive Methodist Church, Wellington Square, North Adelaide, S.A., 1889-1891* (Adelaide: n.p., 1892).

## 'Paralysis' of Methodism

The late 1890s, as South Australian Methodism edged closer to a union of Methodist Churches, was a time of deepened introspection on the nature and purpose of the church.<sup>40</sup> In the Methodist paper, one correspondent (W. Long), concerned about attracting more men to churches, claimed that many stayed away because of the perennial generational indifference to organised religion, and 'social distinctions so manifest in all the churches'. Accordingly, poorer people tended to stay away from the church, while others were 'drive[n] away who would otherwise attend'. Long's solution to the dilemma was 'a baptism of fire' as the 'first condition of success'.<sup>41</sup> What is unique about Long's comments is that they originated from a city businessman who located himself as socially mid-way between the working and 'well-to-do' classes. Consequently, over a period of twenty years, based on personal observation and interaction, he believed his comments to be considered and well placed. The perception of diminished ministerial authority, indifference to religion, and social distinctions undoubtedly dissuaded many from attending church, let alone the meetings of a distinctly revivalist nature.

Perhaps it was the correspondent 'Jno. B.' who provided Methodists with the most penetrating analysis of the state of Methodism and revivalism at the end of the nineteenth-century.<sup>42</sup> Jno. B.'s introspective assessment, entitled 'The Paralysis of South Australian Methodism', compared the contemporary condition of the denomination with that of thirty years earlier. According to the author, Methodism was in a state of paralysis:

Apparently, it has discovered its centre of gravity, and is in a state of equipoise.

We may cease to remember the days of old ó the mighty men of Methodism, the great spiritual awakenings, the thousands who were saved from sin.

Our prayer meetings are poorly attended. The class meeting is dying out.

Where are the great spiritual awakenings, the red-hot enthusiasm of former

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<sup>40</sup> For a description of religious life in Adelaide at the end of the nineteenth-century, see David L. Hilliard, 'The City of Churches: Some Aspects of Religion in Adelaide about 1900', *Journal of Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 8 (1980).

<sup>41</sup> W. Long, 'Why Men Stay Away From Church', *CW&MJ* 26 August 1898, 8.

<sup>42</sup> Jno. B., 'The Paralysis of South Australian Methodism', *CW&MJ*, 19 May 1899, 7. The author is most likely the Rev. John Blacket, a regular and 'esteemed contributor' to the Wesleyan serial and noted for his historical writings. The editor remarked that the author would be 'easily recognised' from his initials. Clearly, the comments are from a well-known and highly respected senior minister.

times? Where is the intense love, not only for the souls of men, but for the spiritual system called 'Methodism'?

Our fathers believed in their Church. It is this spirit that we seem to lack today.

With the ultra-liberalism of the day, in a spiritual as well as in a political sense, the writer is not in sympathy. It lacks virility, it is flabby and invertebrate. Liberality is often a cant expression for pusillanimity.

Methodism in this colony is losing its individuality.

There is a want of spiritual *verve* in our Church.

Let the class meeting, the lovefeast, the cottage prayer meeting die out, then, so far as the writer is concerned, one church would serve his purpose as well as another.

If Methodism in this colony is to answer the purpose of its institution, more enthusiasm must be thrown into it or it must be worked. The inspiring motive must be love. When men and women are really attached to the system called Methodism, they will try not only to secure the conversion of souls, but also gather them into the Methodist fold.

We are in danger of losing our denominational love.<sup>43</sup>

The editor responded to the fervour and claims of Jno. Bø's rhetorical exuberance by declaring: 'Of one thing we are certain, that the revival we need is a revival of the church.'<sup>44</sup> The two Wesleyans had cause for concern. Colony-wide, the last significant outpouring of 'spiritual *verve*' occurred in 1894 when Rodney 'Gipsy' Smith led an evangelistic mission in Adelaide, which netted the Wesleyans 409 conversions, with a consequent 464 increase to membership in the following year. In the next five years, the Wesleyans, whose membership decreased from 9,075 in 1895 to 8,474 in 1899, undertook little revivalist work. The Bible Christians utilised their 'Lady Evangelists' to sustain spiritual fervour and initiated around 200 conversions, whereas the Primitive Methodists did not record any outpourings of religious enthusiasm and fewer than five conversions.<sup>45</sup> By the time of Methodist Union in South Australia in 1900, and the prospect of a united Methodism commanding the religious census affiliation of one-quarter of the colony's population, the practice of revivalism was at risk of increased marginalisation and alignment to the periphery of church life. Perhaps Jno. Bø's greatest concern, as a church historian, was the threat to the Methodist revivalist heritage, which extended back to the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth-century. The role and place of revivalism to generate conversions and spread scriptural holiness throughout the colony were at risk because of a spiritually

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<sup>43</sup> Jno. B., 'The Paralysis', *CW&MJ*, 19 May 1899, 7.

<sup>44</sup> *CW&MJ*, 19 May 1899, 7.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendices 2 and 3 for the respective statistics.

neutralised 'equipoise' Dean Drayton makes a similar observation, suggesting that by the late 1880s, Methodism reached a spiritual equilibrium as it had become 'an established church without a renewal component'<sup>46</sup> It is clear that Jno. B understood that the narrative of revival and decline in which the provision of converts fell short of the anticipated need, although a regular feature of revivalism, was itself under threat from the intellectual challenges within society. Colonial Methodist revivalism as a third-generation movement wavered as it struggled to maintain the passions of the founding colonists.

### **Intellectual Challenges Accommodated**

Not all Methodist leaders were wary of the new intellectual challenges. Two Primitive Methodists, though perhaps not typical, who demonstrated a unique ability to move beyond the bounds of traditional religious thinking to incorporate aspects of new intellectual knowledge and religious liberalism, were Hugh Gilmore (1843-1891) and John Day Thompson (1849-1919). Both were concerned with a liberalised evangelicalism and the social implications of Christianity, which sought to make the gospel relevant to social as well as individual needs. In many respects, both were practitioners in the 1890s of 'intellectual experiment' in Australia.<sup>47</sup> The Bible Christian minister Enoch Gratton (1838-1931) attempted to accommodate Christian Socialism with traditional theological thinking.

#### **Hugh Gilmore**

Gilmore and Thompson utilised Christian social thinking current in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s to attract full congregations to the Primitive Methodist Church, Wellington Square, North Adelaide, between 1889 and 1898.<sup>48</sup> Known as the

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<sup>46</sup> Drayton utilised falling attendances within the class meeting, and fewer lay people involved in 'spiritual leadership' as the main reasons for the lack of spiritual renewal. See Dean Drayton, *Five Generations: Evangelism in South Australia* (Adelaide: Evangelism Committee, South Australian Synod, Uniting Church in Australia, 1980), 13-14.

<sup>47</sup> According to Hilary Carey, the late nineteenth-century was a time of 'intellectual experiment' in Australia. Referenced at note 2 of this chapter.

<sup>48</sup> On Gilmore, see Walker, R.B., 'Gilmore, Hugh 1842-1891' *ADB*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gilmore-hugh-3618/text5621> (14 February 2015). See also Kevin Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor: The Ministry of Rev. J. Day Thompson in the North Adelaide Primitive Methodist Church 1892-1898* (Adelaide: Historical Society of the Uniting Church in South Australia, 2002), 6-7. The Wellington Square Primitive Methodist Church was opened in 1882 and seated 350. A further 150 sittings were added in 1892 during

Radical Parsons for his strong political and social convictions, Gilmore emphasised The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man as the fundamental premise of his Christian Sociology.<sup>49</sup> As such, he laboured in his lectures and sermons to apply theological principles to industrial matters, particularly the interests of the working class, and in the process, his public speeches often possessed an educative and exhortative value, stronger on generalities than on specifics.<sup>50</sup> Gilmore was no stranger to the concerns and difficulties of workers on low wages and living in poor housing; it was part of the pastoral vocation. His public denunciations of working class injustices and support for the remedial and social application of the gospel were criticised by some, but found favour with others, particularly Wesleyan Methodists who missioned among the city's poor.<sup>51</sup>

Confronted with the demands of the poor and socially deprived, Christian Socialism, often allied with postmillennialism, appealed to Pirie Street Wesleyans in their push to establish Adelaide's version of a Central Methodist Mission.<sup>52</sup> The English Wesleyan minister and Christian Socialist, Samuel Keeble was influential in the establishment of central missions in England in the late nineteenth-century:

Against Christian Individualism, which demands the simple gospel, Christian Socialism maintains that the Christian Gospel is two-fold – individual and social. The social Gospel is as sacred and as indispensable as the individual Gospel and the two are complementary, and the neglect of either always brings its penalties. That Gospel contends Christian Socialism is far from being simple – it is profound and manifold – and is bent upon saving not only the individual, but also society; upon setting up in the earth the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>53</sup>

The pastoral demands of social pragmatism merged with the gospel dualism of Christian Socialism. The postmillennial hope of a world steadily advancing in social improvement and Christian progress appealed to Christian Socialists and to those prepared to combine institutional social reform with evangelistic conversionism.<sup>54</sup>

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Gilmore's appointment. On Thompson see Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor*.

<sup>49</sup> Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor*, 7.

<sup>50</sup> Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor*, 6; *South Australian Register*, 7 April 1890, 6; *Adelaide Observer*, 17 May 1890, 33.

<sup>51</sup> See for example, *South Australian Register*, 18 October 1890, 6.

<sup>52</sup> On the establishment of the Central Methodist Mission in Adelaide, see Brian J. Chalmers, 'Need, Not Creed' 10-67.

<sup>53</sup> S.E. Keeble, *Industrial Day-Dreams*, London, 1896, 62-63.

<sup>54</sup> On postmillennialism see Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 130-132.

The revivalist understood that the gospel was primarily a matter of personal conversion as a spiritual transaction. The institutional evangelistic-social reformers, such as the Wesleyan Joseph Berry of the Pirie Street Church in the late nineteenth-century, and W. A. Potts, as the first missionary of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission (1900-1908), accepted that, in the light of changes in social reform theory, it was opportune to combine social involvement with conversionism. For others, however, aspects of evangelicalism were more a matter of emphasis. Conversionism, which emphasised the love of God, and minimised the reality of hell and everlasting punishment in line with humanitarianism, did not negate one's evangelical credentials. This is evidenced in Gilmore's "spiritual revelations" in which he documents and dwells on his own spiritual journey.<sup>55</sup>

Gilmore's conversion was "sudden and dramatic" in which he "awakened to a sense of the enormity of sin and a fear of the sinner's hell" and awareness of the atoning nature of Christ's death.<sup>56</sup> Later, Gilmore's vital Christianity embraced an "indissoluble association" between "love and service" in which the latter "consisted in helping them [people] in any way that we can to a higher level of life, to increase intelligence, comfort, social well-being, morality, and purity"<sup>57</sup> It was arguably Gilmore's mature reflection on what he understood as the nature of Christian socialism. Gilmore's acquiescence to emphasise the love of God overshadowed his prior conception of the "sinner's hell". His time at Wellington Square was one in which the love of God constrained his theological and philosophical musings. Gilmore's social gospel was for the Christianisation of the colony, but without the offence of an exclusivist gospel of revivalism with its clear and often vivid distinctions of heaven and hell.

John Day Thompson

Gilmore "attracted those who admired his socio-political" stance,<sup>58</sup> for some a

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<sup>55</sup> Hugh Gilmore, *My Spiritual Revelings*, published after his death in the *South Australian Primitive Methodist*, April 1892, 148-151; July 1892, 199-202; October 1892, 246-250; January 1893, 299-304; April 1893, 345-347. See also Gilmore, *Sermons by the late Hugh Gilmore*, (1892),

<sup>56</sup> *SAPM*, July 1892, 202.

<sup>57</sup> *SAPM*, April 1893, 348-349. The report refers to a sermon delivered by Gilmore at Port Adelaide in October 1890, and some resultant criticism, which included the use of "outspoken language"

<sup>58</sup> Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor*, 17.

welcome interlude from the predictable rhythm of Methodist revivalism, and who were intent on exploring the frontiers of theological liberalism. For others, however, such benefits weakened the doctrines of the atonement and the nature of sin, wary that liberalism was increasingly horizontal in orientation, speaking much of brotherhood with both God and mankind, and convinced that the vertical relation had to come first. Sever the cords of supernatural rescue, and all was lost<sup>59</sup> For Gilmore's successor, John Day Thompson, there was no doubt about the primacy of the God-man vertical relationship. Christian socialism, he contended, over-valued human goodness and under-valued human sin. No scheme of social regeneration can hope to have any permanent success which begins with the community and not with the unit, the individual man<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the combination of a liberal and conservative social welfare evangelicalism, as espoused by Gilmore and Thompson, attracted capacity congregations to Wellington Square, once described as the mecca of the casual churchgoer<sup>61</sup> It is also likely that the two exponents of religious liberalism also attracted the seeker of new religious truth. However, Thompson's outspoken espousal of Protestant liberalism appealed to many, but attracted critics as well. The editors of the Wesleyan paper criticized Thompson for denying the atonement, the divinity of Jesus, divine inspiration of the Bible, and for supporting the Darwinian view of human evolution.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Thompson had to defend himself against a heresy charge, brought by Primitive Methodists in England who claimed that he had deviated from Wesley's doctrines.<sup>63</sup> The South Australian District Meeting supported Thompson, but acknowledged that his language may have caused misunderstanding. In 1896, the Primitive Methodist Conference, meeting in England, considered the matter and concurred with the findings of the District Meeting. No action was taken against Thompson.

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<sup>59</sup> Dominic Erdozain, 'The Secularisation of Sin in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62, no. 1 (January 2011), 61.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor*, 16.

<sup>61</sup> *Quiz and the Lantern*, 1 November 1894, 8, quoted in Secomb, *The Excitable Little Pastor*, 17.

<sup>62</sup> *CW&MJ*, 23 October 1896, 3.

<sup>63</sup> *SAPM*, April 1896, 680. Thompson was acquitted of the charge. 'The South Australian Conference reported to the Conference in England, where the charge emanated, that Thompson had not defected from the standards of Methodist doctrine and that the old truths of Wesley's sermons and notes in new forms and settings are still the subject matter of his teachings! Acceptance by the Conference in England of this judgment closed the matter.' See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 141. See also S. Mews, 'Against the Simple Gospel: John Day Thompson and the New Evangelism in Primitive Methodism', in *Modern Religious Rebels: Presented to John Kent*, ed. Stuart Mews (London: Epworth Press, 1993), 206-225; Hilliard, 'Methodism in South Australia', 72.



## Bible Christians

To a lesser extent, the Bible Christians, known for their innovative use of women evangelists in the 1890s, also exhibited a preparedness to engage with their own constituents, and the wider public, on the topic of Christian Socialism and its relationship to the church. The best example was affectionately dubbed 'Enoch Grattonism' after a lecture on Christian Socialism delivered at the mining town of Broken Hill in 1894 by the self-taught and self-styled Enoch Gratton. President of the Bible Christian Conference, Gratton argued that socialism was Christian Socialism without the 'Christian'.<sup>64</sup> Both, he taught, attempted to establish a more just and equitable society. Overall, amid the vagaries of definition and application, both in the public and church arenas, the Bible Christians, like their colonial Methodist cousins, were in general agreement on the ordering of 'regenerating' as opposed to 'reforming' society. The former precedes the latter, so argued the Rev. T. McNeil, in a sermon before the Bible Christian Conference in Adelaide in 1894:

'With this beneficent work of social reform we are in full sympathy [but] the expectations of such persons [non-gospel social reformers] can never be realised because they look for results from outward reform that can only be the fruit of a renewed heart. The kingdom must be within men. The gospel is social second and individual first. The renewing of the man is the supreme work, and all else is secondary to this.'<sup>65</sup>

Adherence to the primacy of individual regeneration followed by societal reform was for most Methodists a 'gospel within itself'. To suggest otherwise was a denial of their evangelical heritage, and provided the work of 'social reform' met with the agreement of New Testament Christianity, it warranted endorsement, but if not, an enemy was at work to 'shake men's faith in Christianity'.<sup>66</sup> To prejudice the 'old gospel' for a 'gospel for the times' failed to diminish the presence and power of individual sin. It was a non-negotiable premise.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the external

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<sup>64</sup> The term 'Enoch Grattonism' first appeared in the Broken Hill serial, *Barrier Miner* following Gratton's lecture on 21 May 1894. His lecture was the subject of an editorial two days later. See *Barrier Miner*, 23 May 1894, 2. For a report of his lecture, see *Barrier Miner*, 22 May 1894. There was lively interest in the topic judged by the press coverage. See *Barrier Miner*, 23 May 1894, 2; 24 May 1894, 2; and six-months later, 23 October 1894, 2. On Enoch Gratton, see Arnold D. Hunt, 'Gratton, Enoch 1838-1931', *ADEB*, 135.

<sup>65</sup> *SABCMon*, April 1894, 493.

<sup>66</sup> *SABCMon*, April 1894, 493.

<sup>67</sup> *SABCMon*, April 1894, 494.

intellectual challenges to Methodist revivalism, there were internal challenges as well.

## The Challenge of Moral Reform

We have said that conversion and growth in holiness formed the essential purpose of Methodism. The practice of revivalism, as the main method of producing converts, was also affected by the level of priority which Methodists granted to building up converts in holiness. How holiness worked itself out in the life of Methodists, and how it affected revivalism is discussed through an examination of Temperance and Sunday Observance. These were evidences of the vital Christian life.

The late nineteenth-century witnessed an intensification of the work of moral reform by the Methodist churches, particularly the Wesleyans, concerned that their ideal of a Christian Australia was under threat from a growing liberal and secular ethos. In South Australia, the ending of state aid to religion in 1851, and the Education Act of 1875, which established the three principles of state education as free, compulsory and secular, marked the growth of secularisation.<sup>68</sup> Methodist concern was understandable, given a colonial background deeply imbued with the notion of Christendom derived from Europe and Britain, which generally accepted that the state was Christian and upheld as such by the cooperative workings of church and state. This mutuality of relationship promoted the well-being of the citizens.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> State aid to religion in South Australia existed from 1846 to 1851. Instituted during Governor Robe's administration, public money advanced to religious denominations was for the building of churches, schools, ministerial stipends and teachers' salaries. On the so-called 'State Aid Controversy' see Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 353-391. Similar Acts to the South Australian Education Act of 1875 were passed in Victoria, 1872; Queensland, 1875; New South Wales, 1880; Tasmania, 1885; Western Australia, 1893 and 1895. A.G. Austin categorises these Acts as 'surprisingly uniform' and notes that despite their secularity, the Acts did not 'drive out religion'. For example, in the South Australian Act, allowance for Bible reading without doctrinal teaching outside of teaching hours was allowable. See A.G. Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900: Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia* (Melbourne: Pitman & Sons, 1961), 166-167.

<sup>69</sup> See for example, G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1855* (London: Methuen, 1973), chapters 2 & 3; Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996), 71-133; Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Routledge, 2009), 16-34. Brown contends that the rise of the Protestant dissenting churches and Methodism in Britain in the eighteenth

How best to promote the moral reform agenda (generally limited to gambling, social purity, Sunday observance, temperance, and education) demanded the earnest ruminations of the annual Methodist conferences. In the annual address of the South Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference held in 1874, the president, W. L. Binks, called for:

Greater degree of spiritual unity as a condition of power and success...If we could sink our divisions of opinion, and unite in some agreed method of evangelistic work, revivals might once more refresh and multiply our churches; intemperance might be diminished in the land; and Christian education might be secured as a general boon to the rising population of the colony.<sup>70</sup>

The promotion of revivals through evangelistic work, which resulted in individual spiritual transformation or conversion, was the basis of social reform. Regarded as complementary activities, personal transformation led to societal change. Methodists had to save souls; the measure of societal betterment was in proportion to the numbers saved. There was no place for morality without vital religion. The revival was the instrument of choice to effect social change. Whether greater spiritual unity within Wesleyan Methodism achieved the desired outcome is not possible to determine. Whether or not Binks was right in that judgment, the issue here, by way of illustration, is that Methodists were unrelenting in their efforts to press for moral reform within the colony. Their efforts to effect legislative change intensified in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, as they discussed, analysed, and determined actions, whether internal, such as special measures, or external, such as identifying parliamentary candidates sympathetic to Methodist causes.<sup>71</sup> The high point of moral reform for Methodists in particular and like-minded evangelicals in general, was the legislative enactment for six o'clock closing of hotels in South Australia in 1916. For all Methodists how intemperance might be diminished in the

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and early nineteenth centuries helped to weaken the power of the established churches, and along with religious apathy and secularism, hastened religious decline. See Brown, 17. Australia, with its lack of established church-state relationship was, according to Frank Engel, suffused with secularism from the foundation of the nation. See Frank Engel, *Australian Christians in Conflict and Unity* (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education of Australia and New Zealand, 1984), 29-41. Whilst Methodists believed that a causal connection existed between moral decline and secularisation, and that the latter resisted a reversal of this decline, the quest for moral reform was also part of a process within Protestant evangelicalism to assert and establish its own power and influence within society.

<sup>70</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference, 1874*, 21-21.

<sup>71</sup> Special measures included the declaration by Conference of special Sundays such as Temperance Sunday during which the topic of temperance became the theme for the day in local churches.

landø became one of their major moral reform initiatives prior to the First World War.

## Temperance

Of the three branches of Methodism, the Wesleyans were the first to establish a temperance society in connection with the church. This took place at Kooringa (Burra) in 1868 following the demise of a branch society of the Temperance Alliance.<sup>72</sup> Bands of Hope soon followed and became popular attractions with Sunday schools in particular.<sup>73</sup> Recognising the popularity of the Bands, the Wesleyan Conference in 1878 formally sanctioned the Bands in connection with local Sunday schools, and by 1889, the first year in which membership figures for the Bands appeared in the official statistics of Conference, fifty percent of circuits had Bands totalling 4,290 members (total church membership excluding Bands of Hope was 7,229).<sup>74</sup> The formation of these Bands signalled a shift among some ministers and laymen toward a closer identification of the temperance cause with institutional Wesleyanism, aided by the prospect of greater control over the organisation and direction of the Bands comprised of scholars from local Wesleyan Sunday schools.

Meanwhile the Primitive Methodists continued their support for temperance by providing members and speakers for branch societies and Bands of Hope of the Temperance Alliance, in addition to their own denominational interests. These included annual District Meeting Temperance gatherings, which were often public

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<sup>72</sup> *Adelaide Observer*, 27 June 1868, 15.

<sup>73</sup> On the Band of Hope, see Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 134-155. Non-denominational in nature, the title 'Band of Hope' was a generic term and referred to all juvenile youth groups of both sexes between the ages of six and twelve involved in temperance work, irrespective of affiliation or church association. Used originally in South Australia to denote children's temperance work of the Total Abstinence Society, the term was later adopted by the Protestant churches in the formation of their own juvenile temperance groups. The first Total Abstinence Society Band of Hope in South Australia commenced in Adelaide in 1853. See *South Australian Register*, 6 January 1854, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1879, SLSA SRG 4/1/1, vol. 1, 124; Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1890, 12-14. The Bands grew steadily in membership until 1894, and thereafter declined as Christian Endeavour societies increased in popularity.

events that attracted large crowds, vehement speakers, and numerous pledges.<sup>75</sup>

The language used by temperance advocates of all branches of Methodism reflected the intensity of feeling for the emotive topic of liquor control. As the largest Methodist body, the Wesleyans were perhaps the most strident and vociferous in their unabated opposition to liquor interests. Each year Conference declared war on the "trade," declaring intemperance as "evil" and responsible for the most "appalling ravages."<sup>76</sup> Methodists looked out on a world in need of reform and were drawn to the "wretched victims" disinherited from the Kingdom of God. Methodist piety invoked a visionary social ideal, which promoted individual effort and often stirred its adherents to anger.<sup>77</sup>

The late 1870s and 1880s witnessed a number of temperance initiatives, which furthered the cause and allied leading Methodists of all persuasions against intemperance. The formation in 1878 of the Wesleyan Methodist Temperance Society, which by 1886 promoted total abstinence,<sup>78</sup> and the declaration of the "inseparable connection" between Sabbath observance and temperance,<sup>79</sup> prepared the way for the visits of Matthew Burnett, Joseph Cook, and R. T. Booth in the 1880s. Following these, as Arnold Hunt observed, "it was probably safe to assume that most, if not all, Wesleyan ministers were teetotal by the 1880s."<sup>80</sup>

The visits of leading temperance evangelists such as Matthew Burnett from 1880 to 1883, Joseph Cook, 1882, and R. T. Booth in 1886 furthered the cause and strengthened the Methodist commitment against intemperance.<sup>81</sup> The editor of the

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<sup>75</sup> *SAPMR*, April 1865, 3; April 1866, 48; April 1868, 46.

<sup>76</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1884, annual address to members, 51.

<sup>77</sup> Such anger occasionally led to exchanges of strong language between temperance and anti-temperance advocates. One Wesleyan minister, at a public meeting held at Burra in August 1878 on the topic of Nock's Act, claimed that statements by the Adelaide paper, the *Advertiser*, were made with "unblushing effrontery" and "transparent lying." The *Advertiser* replied that the minister's comments were an "outpouring of malignity, insolence, foul slander, and mendacity" and that the minister was an "ecclesiastical mudslinger." See *SAPMR*, October 1878, 264-265; *Advertiser*, 4 September 1878, 4.

<sup>78</sup> *CW&MJ*, 29 January 1886, 3.

<sup>79</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1879, annual address to members, 36.

<sup>80</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 190.

<sup>81</sup> On Matthew Burnett, see thesis chapter 5. The Rev. Joseph Cook visited Adelaide under the auspices of the YMCA in August 1882. See *CW&MJ*, 4 August 1882, 2-4. Cook was a known

*Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, described Booth as ‘the most eloquent champion of temperance that has ever visited Australia’, a ‘true evangelist’, with the aim of ‘making men sober and godly’.<sup>82</sup> Booth preached for conversion, conveyed a total abstinence message, called for the total abolition of alcoholic drinks, and secured 1,452 pledges during his Adelaide visit in April 1886.<sup>83</sup> All three evangelists preached a gospel-temperance message and thereby furthered the perception of their inextricable connection.

Booth’s visit commenced within days of the conclusion of another gospel-temperance mission, that of Mrs Mary Leavitt of the non-denominational Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the United States.<sup>84</sup> Leavitt’s visit resulted in the formation of the WCTU in Adelaide, which commenced in 1886, and within three years, twenty-three unions in country towns and suburban locations began work promoting temperance (total abstinence) and Sunday closing legislation.<sup>85</sup> Many Methodist women joined local unions, particularly in the country towns and thereby provided much of the leadership, while two of the early state presidents were Methodists.<sup>86</sup> Aware of the growth and spread of the temperance movement, the editor of the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* exuberantly welcomed the formation of the WCTU, and foreshadowed a promising future.<sup>87</sup>

Keen to harness women’s support and growing advocacy in the interests of temperance, and in the election of ‘suitable’ members of parliament, the editor’s pragmatism only hints at the extent of social change then underway. The solidarity engendered in the movement allowed women to step outside the traditional home

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temperance advocate. See ‘The Gospel Awakening’, comprising the Sermons and Addresses of the Great Revival Meetings conducted by Moody and Sankey (Chicago: Fairbanks, Palmer & Co, 1883), 44–48. For an assessment of Burnett’s temperance work in South Australia see Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism in South Australia*, 8–13.

<sup>82</sup> *CW&MJ*, 16 April 1886, 4; 23 April 1886, 4.

<sup>83</sup> *CW&MJ*, 23 April 1886, 4–6; 14 May 1886, 5.

<sup>84</sup> *CW&MJ*, 26 March 1886, 4.

<sup>85</sup> *South Australian Advertiser*, 31 August 1886, 6; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 191.

<sup>86</sup> The first President was Elizabeth Nicholls who held the position for 29 years over two terms. Another early President was Lady Holder, wife of Sir Frederick, one of Methodism’s most prominent laymen. Mrs. Octavius Lake, whom we first encountered as Serena Thorne, the Bible Christian ‘lady evangelist’ in Chapter 5 of the thesis, ‘was an indefatigable organiser of new branches, 22 being established in 1889 and 1890, largely as the result of her efforts’. Hunt also notes that ‘ministers and laymen from the various Methodist churches often spoke at the annual conventions of the WCTU’. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 191.

<sup>87</sup> *CW&MJ*, 3 September 1886, 4.

environment and take up a cause which sought to protect the home, and acted as a precedent for further 'social movements'<sup>88</sup> The WCTU provided women with their first colony-wide non-denominational body, which operated to influence the state legislature, firstly in temperance reform through the interests of mainly evangelical women, and secondly, in addition to temperance reform, women's suffrage by the late 1880s.<sup>89</sup> The Union enabled women to 'operate across the gender divide, yet within the bounds of conventional femininity'<sup>90</sup> 'Vital religion' encouraged women's moral activism, particularly among the conservative middle-class, who often utilised their oratorical skills to further the temperance cause, as well as a host of other enlightened social reforms.<sup>91</sup> Many of the early leaders such as Lake and Nicholls were the products of evangelical backgrounds, familiar with Methodist revivalism and benefited from the 'conjunction between the female sex and moral activism traditional in Methodism from its earliest origins'<sup>92</sup>

By the end of the 1880s, the Methodist churches often promoted temperance in conjunction with the gospel, and in many churches, Bands of Hope and the work of the Sunday schools were inseparable.<sup>93</sup> Following the adoption of prohibition at the International Temperance Convention in Melbourne in November 1888, teetotalism then united the Methodist churches toward the ultimate goal of total prohibition.<sup>94</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries,

<sup>88</sup> See remarks by D. Nock, chairman of the inaugural meeting of the WCTU held in August 1886, *South Australian Advertiser*, 31 August 1886, 6.

<sup>89</sup> The WCTU adopted women's suffrage in August 1889 at its first South Australian Convention. By then, the membership had risen to 1,112 and 28 departments established. See *South Australian Register*, 14 August 1889, 7. The South Australian House of Assembly, through its Constitution Amendment Bill, enfranchised women in 1894, one of the earliest parliaments to do so. It also gave women the right to stand for Parliament, which was unique at the time. The WCTU's support to the Women's Suffrage League (formed in 1888 by the Social Purity Society led by the Congregational minister, Joseph C. Kirby), was important for the Bill's success. See 'Votes For Women' condensed for the *Women and Politics* website by Dr. Helen Jones from her book *In her own name: a history of women in South Australia*, rev. edn. (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1994), at [http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/women\\_and\\_politics/votes.pdf](http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/women_and_politics/votes.pdf) (31 March 2015).

<sup>90</sup> Lynne Trethewey, 'Christian Feminism in Action: Kate Cock's Social Welfare Work in South Australia, 1900-1950' *History of Education* 36, no. 6 (November 2007): 715-734, 715.

<sup>91</sup> Mrs. Octavius Lake was a Bible Christian preacher. Elizabeth Nicholls was a Wesleyan Sunday school teacher. Both were accomplished communicators. Some of the WCTU departments included social purity, suffrage, school and juvenile work, and prison work. See *South Australian Register*, 14 August 1889, 7.

<sup>92</sup> Patricia Bizzell, 'Frances Willard, Phoebe Palmer, and the Ethos of the Methodist Woman Preacher' 377-398, 379.

<sup>93</sup> See for example, *SABCMag*, February 1886, 522; February 1890, 195.

<sup>94</sup> *CW&MJ*, 27 January 1888, 6; 23 November 1888, 6-7.

Methodists continued to work for the regulation of the liquor trade through legislative means alongside other temperance organisations such as the South Australian Alliance and the WCTU. This was an attempt to present a united front against the “evil arising from the sale of strong drink”<sup>95</sup> Some successes, often identified with a notable Methodist politician, occurred at frequent intervals, small victories toward the goal of complete prohibition.

With the introduction of 6pm closing for hotels in 1916, following a state referendum in the previous year, the temperance lobby in South Australia achieved what was arguably its greatest victory. Seen in part by some as a patriotic home-front concession to the wartime experience of soldier sacrifice, “six o’clock closing” also resulted from a sustained temperance campaign of moral suasion and legislative action since the early 1880s.<sup>96</sup> The temperance movement, and in particular the Methodist churches, were unrelenting in their campaign for early closing and hailed the referendum as a great victory.<sup>97</sup> The campaign included many independent temperance bodies, but the Methodist Church made the largest contribution of all the churches and provided much of the leadership.<sup>98</sup> Important as the achievement might have been, vital religionists saw early closing as but the final battle on the way to winning the war for prohibition. The war on drink was their major social concern of the period and a significant act of social improvement. However, as Walter Phillips noted: “that sanguine hope remained unfulfilled, and six o’clock closing became, instead of the last staging camp in the war against drink, a position to be defended, along with the Sunday laws and the Christian status of the country”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> All three Methodist Churches prior to 1900 issued regular annual resolutions condemning intemperance, whilst promoting the work of all independent temperance agencies in the colony. See for example, Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1893, SLSA SRG 4/1/1, vol. 1.

<sup>96</sup> See Walter Phillips, *Defending “A Christian Country”: Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and after* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), 270 and his “Six O’Clock Swill: The Introduction of Early Closing of Hotel Bars in Australia” *Historical Studies* 19 (October 1980): 76-92. See also J.D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972), chapters 8-10; Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1914, annual address to members, 55.

<sup>97</sup> Of the 176,537 who voted during the referendum, 100,418 voted for six o’clock. See South Australian Alliance, *Facts for Reformers*, 1916-1917, 3. 11pm was the next favoured option.

<sup>98</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 195. On the contribution of Methodists in New South Wales to the adoption of six o’clock closing in 1916, see Samantha Frappell, “Methodists and the Campaigns for Six O’Clock Hotel Closing in New South Wales,” *Aldersgate Papers* 10 (September 2012): 30-49.

<sup>99</sup> Phillips, *Defending “A Christian Country”*, 270.



## Sunday Observance

Along with intemperance, Sabbath desecration continued to pre-occupy the interests of the annual Conferences, which regularly implored Methodists to use every legitimate means both public and private to counteract this growing evil.<sup>100</sup> As established in the previous section, Sabbath desecration and intemperance were inextricably connected, and the defence of one implied the defence of the other. Despite the practice of evangelicals in general and Methodists in particular to keep out of politics, self-exclusion did not extend to the issue of the preservation of the Sabbath both as a Christian imperative and a religious principle for national well-being. An active campaigner for the defence of Christendom in which the state upheld universal religious values such as Sabbath observance, Conference urged Methodists, as citizens, to exert an influence upon the Legislature.

Whatever be your opinions on matters of government policy, do not forget that it is righteousness that exalteth a nation. As God's laws are the best laws, that people will be the best governed whose rulers and legislators most respect and seek closely to imitate the divine commands.<sup>101</sup>

The emphasis that Methodists placed on Sabbath observance, while in agreement with their understood role in society as interpreter of moral law, restricted their ability to engage in a more imaginative way on a wider range of public issues. Hence, the last three decades of the nineteenth-century saw Methodists defending long-held positions such as Sabbath observance, and adding further violations such as train travel, excursions and opening of the public library and museum.<sup>102</sup> In addition to Sabbath indiscretions, there were other activities grouped into the rather broad category of worldly amusements and recreations, which might or might not take place on a Sunday. These included with some qualifications: dancing, theatre, opera, reading popular novels, and card-playing, and even sports that led to exhaustion.<sup>103</sup> In 1882, Bible Christians were urged not to play cricket on a Sunday,

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<sup>100</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1879, annual address to members, 36.

<sup>101</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1880, annual address to members, 39-40.

<sup>102</sup> The Adelaide public library and museum were opened on Sunday afternoons in 1879. The Belair National Park opened in 1891 and became a popular destination for picnics by Sunday train travellers. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 201-202.

<sup>103</sup> See for example, *SAPMR*, October 1879, 387-394.

as it was a ‘pleasurable amusement’ which could affect negatively personal religious practice.<sup>104</sup> The editor of the *South Australian Primitive Methodist Record* outlined two governing principles to determine whether such activities were condemned or embraced. The first was whether the activity re-invigorated the human body, and the second was whether the action led to ‘some real beneficial work in the world’<sup>105</sup> ‘Life is for action, solid work’ claimed the editor. Amusements and recreation weakened religious commitment and did not enhance learning. ‘We are not patrons of ignorance. We desire the diffusion of useful knowledge. We would have our people a reading, as well as a praying people’ meant that Methodists had to be judicious in their selection of material. Avoid ‘light, frothy, vapid novels’ in preference for ‘solid, healthy, instructive literature’<sup>106</sup>

However, Christian piety based on boundaries of differentiation solved one problem, but created another. Methodists believed in the distinction between other-worldly and worldly, ‘between those who are not of the world and those who are’<sup>107</sup> Sustained by a rigorous tension between God and humanity, spirit and flesh, worked out in a dualism of belief and practice, ‘vital religion’ ebbed and flowed between belief and practice, between theology and the Methodist way of life. What set evangelicals apart, wrote Hilton, ‘was the emphasis they gave to particular doctrines’<sup>108</sup> One of the chief doctrines was that of sin. H. P. Liddon in *Some Elements of Religion*, published in 1872, argued that ‘Christianity lives or dies by its doctrine of sin. Temper it, reconceive it or merely soften its features, and you jeopardise the entire Christian faith. Sin is what made Christianity necessary’<sup>109</sup> Liddon understood a drift that occurred in early evangelical thought on the nature and understanding of sin. Seen originally as part of the human predicament, by the middle of the nineteenth-century, sin had come to be associated with proscribed activities such as Sabbath desecration, excessive drinking, dancing, and theatre

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<sup>104</sup> Bible Christian Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1882, 159.

<sup>105</sup> *SAPMR*, October 1879, 388, 390.

<sup>106</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1861, 47.

<sup>107</sup> Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1877, annual address to members, 33.

<sup>108</sup> Quoted in Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 8.

<sup>109</sup> Quoted in Dominic Erdozain, ‘The Secularisation of Sin in the Nineteenth Century’ 59-88; 59.

going.<sup>110</sup> Crucially, by the last two decades of the nineteenth-century, sin increasingly identified itself in acts of selective social engagement, for which attendance at public worship was the remedy. So declared the Bible Christian Conference in 1889:

Whilst we view with alarm the growing tendency to secularise the Sabbath on the part of the public, and with dissatisfaction the readiness of the Government to provide railway accommodation to facilitate marine and other excursions on the Lord's Day, we are most of all profoundly impressed with the necessity of our church members and adherents to discountenance all forms of Sunday social visiting, being persuaded that this visiting each other discourages that due regard for the regular Divine services whose imperative claims upon their devotion demands a more frequent attendance at the public means of grace than unfortunately obtains.<sup>111</sup>

A strenuous Puritanical rigour on such matters as Sabbath observance and the avoidance of leisure activities may have appealed to the regular churchgoer in need of direction on where to tread, but for the public, mystery and adventure were found elsewhere. The anti-amusement rhetoric had little to do with soteriology, and everything to do with opposing 'secular pleasure' which seemed to be at the heart of all that the evangelicals opposed, and increasingly it defined them.<sup>112</sup>

## Conclusion

In the late nineteenth-century, new intellectual thinking, posed particularly by Darwinian evolutionary theory, higher criticism, and Christian socialism, challenged the once dominant conversionist-revivalist ethos of South Australian Methodism. These challenges affected how some within the Methodist churches understood revivalism and its practice. The various issues highlighted a fundamental question: should Methodism abandon its revivalist heritage altogether with its emphasis on personal conversion and growth in holiness? The emergence of a liberalised Methodism typified by Gilmore and Thompson reflected openness to new thought and a willingness to experiment with the implications of embracing elements of the

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<sup>110</sup> Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 41-84.

<sup>111</sup> *SABCMag*, February 1889, 63. House-to-house visitation by Methodists was a 'desecration' of the Sabbath, at least until the First World War if it precluded attendance at public worship. See Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference, 1909*, annual address to members, 48.

<sup>112</sup> Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, 68.

intellectual challenges posed. This was best seen as the social gospellers at the Wellington Square Primitive Methodist Church, together with the socially-minded evangelicals at the Pirie Street Wesleyan Church, the two ‘cathedrals’ provided Methodism with both the intellectual rigour and the experience of a social welfare-evangelistic praxis. Revivalism waned in the face of these.

Also during this period, Methodism continued its unrelenting campaign to maintain its emphasis on temperance and the sanctity of the Sunday. Clearly, forms of Sunday desecration identified collectively as ‘social evils’ or sins continued to be denounced in annual gatherings.<sup>113</sup> This was understandable given the linkage made between the universal application of the Biblical law and wider society. ‘Vital religion’ prosecuted an unwavering call to Sunday observance based on an inflexible one-dimensional policy. To suggest otherwise, was to admit defeat. Seen as an unambiguous social problem, Sunday desecration, complete with its own catalogue of sins to be avoided and condemned, continued to be the subject of an institutionalised campaign of eradication. As agents of social and moral reform, Methodists saw themselves as reformers. The frequent denunciation of sin in the public arena may have appeased their reformist urges, but increasingly revivalism came to be identified with the moral reform agenda.

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<sup>113</sup> See for example, Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1913, annual address to members, 55.

## CHAPTER 7

### DEMOCRATISATION OF REVIVALISM

In his assessment of South Australian Methodism in *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, Ian Breward emphasises that:

One of the great strengths of Methodism was the energy of its independent-minded laity, who initiated class meetings and schools, preached, and pastored before ministers were available. The energy of the Methodist community was shown in its expansion into the new farming districts, and the Adelaide suburbs, and its influence at every level of society.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter examines the contribution made by Methodist lay agency to advance the cause of vital religion through revivalist means in the fifteen years before the First World War. In doing so, the chapter broadens the understanding of a democratising principle beyond the American experience, and at work in the revivalist growth narrative of South Australian Methodism. Nathan Hatch has argued that, following the American Revolution there was an increased emphasis on religious egalitarianism and empowered democratic values. The 'democratization' of American religion, highlighted the emergence of lay-led leadership within the American religious culture.<sup>2</sup> Although the triumph of populist leadership in the antebellum republic pre-dates the experience of South Australian Methodism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, a similar trend occurred in Methodist lay-led revivals.

Apart from the work of the 'Lady Evangelists' and the visit of the British Wesleyan evangelist, Thomas Cook in 1894, Methodism in the 1890s experienced few revival-type events. It was a time of relatively subdued revival activity. Methodist churches, particularly those in the city and suburbs, it was said, had to guard against settling for a 'quiet manner of working'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, 177, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989). See also David W. Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 85.

<sup>3</sup> As early as 1884, the Rev. J. B. Stephenson as minister of the Pirie Street Methodist Church, cautioned Methodists on the issue. This occurred at the Pirie Street church anniversary celebrations in

By contrast, the fifteen years before the First World War was a time of intensified local revival activity, interspersed with visits by the occasional American evangelist. The Americans included C. H. Yatman, under the auspices of the YMCA (1899), W. Edgar Geil (Simultaneous Mission 1902), Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander (1909 and 1912), and Charles Reign Scoville (1912), at the invitation of the Churches of Christ. Conversions recorded for these evangelistic events include: Yatman (1,076), Geil (a few hundred), Chapman-Alexander (800 in 1909 and 2,000 in 1912), and Scoville (924), making a total of 5,000.<sup>4</sup> Although each of these American-led evangelistic events exhibited, to some degree, the temperament and style of the missionary, they shared some mutual features that distinguished them from the local counterpart. They were non-denominational in character ó with representatives of the main Protestant denominations on the organising committees (apart from the Churches of Christ-sponsored Scoville mission). They centred on the state's largest population base in Adelaide, although the second Chapman-Alexander mission of 1912 travelled to major regional centres such as Petersburg, Broken Hill, Port Pirie, and Mount Gambier. Furthermore, they utilised the most accessible and largest of public meeting facilities. In this way, the missions aimed for maximum possible attendance, a large meeting-type atmosphere, and benefited a mainly city population. These five missions, spread over twenty weeks, accounted for 5,000 out of 8,636 conversions (58 per cent) obtained in the fifteen-year period.

On the other hand, although local revivalism shared a common characteristic of short-term duration ó from a few days to a few weeks, they were mainly denominational in character; local in extent ó whether rural or suburban; utilising church facilities; and being either self-or-denominationally funded. In this way, the missions aimed at maximum, concentrated, small meeting atmosphere, to a mainly rural population. The 118 local revivalist events, spread over fifteen years, accounted for 3,636 out of 8,636 conversions (42 per cent). Judged against the criteria of efficiency, attendance, and impact, the internationally-led event stands apart. However, when assessed against geographical community reach, local impact, and maintaining a Methodist conversionist ethos, the local revivalist event suited rural

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October 1884. See *CW&MJ*, 24 October 1884, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Conversion figures from Appendix 1.

townships and regions.<sup>5</sup> One obvious feature of local revivals in this period is the extent of lay leadership. Of the 118 recorded revivalist events, 77 were lay-led and produced 2,780 converts, whilst ordained ministers led 41 events that produced 856 converts, a ratio of more than three to one in favour of lay-led conversions.<sup>6</sup> Lay-led revivalism emerged as an answer to the intellectual challenges of the era.

The study identifies 34 lay people (Appendix 1) who led revivalist events in the fifteen years before the First World War, and either self-reported their activities or had their events reported to the denominational papers by circuit representatives. These included students from Hope Lodge and Angas College, the Barrett Brothers, Dr. W. G. Torr, Ada Ward, and Sister Lily. The students from Angas College and Hope Lodge claimed to have secured 399 conversions, the Barrett Brothers 1,189, Dr. Torr 344, and Sister Lily 339.<sup>7</sup> What was significant about the lay evangelists employed by the Church in the fifteen years before the First World War is that they complemented the work of the overseas or interstate lay evangelist, and Bible Christian Lay Evangelists of the 1890s, in furthering the process of the democratisation of revivalism. In doing so, they rose to a new level of authority. Seen in a larger context, the work of the lay evangelist is consistent with an emergent democratic ethos within Methodism.

## Democratisation of Preaching

The use of laymen as preachers, a tradition within Methodism begun by John Wesley and widespread within the colonial framework, accounts partly for why Methodism increased at a faster rate than other denominations in South Australia. The recognised ability of the layman to produce converts assuaged any hesitancy on Wesley's part about their use.<sup>8</sup> Their employ within the evangelistic organisation of Methodism as circuit local preachers under the direction and control of ministers and the superintendent, but without ordination, itinerancy, and stipend, brought great

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<sup>5</sup> Conversion figures from Appendix 1.

<sup>6</sup> Conversion and other data from Appendix 1.

<sup>7</sup> Conversion figures from Appendix 1. Some Hope Lodge and Angas College students are mentioned by name. It is not possible to identify the origin of all the listed names. Others could well be students of the two institutions named. The total conversion figure of 2,696 includes 365 designated as 'other laity'

<sup>8</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 12.

flexibility to the operation of Methodism. It also highlighted two tiers of preaching: the one professional, institutional, and restricted; the other, unprofessional, public, and open. Local preachers, largely, without forsaking their daily work, engaged in the task of aggressive evangelism.

Since the mid-1860s, the itinerant, short-term, and often international, specialist revivalist, whether ordained as in the case of William ‘California’ Taylor, Thomas Cook, and C. H. Yatman, or lay, as in Matthew Burnett, Emilia Baeyertz, Ada Ward, the ‘Lady Evangelists’ and Rodney ‘Gipsy’ Smith, were well known among South Australian Methodists. They were representatives of the evangelical revivalist tradition preoccupied with the saving of souls. There were those who contended that ‘the judicious employment of lay agents seems almost indispensable to a widely-extended revival of Religion’<sup>9</sup>

By the 1860s, English Methodism had emerged as ‘the most successful example of a religious democracy’ Many ‘working-class political societies’ modelled their structure and leadership on Methodist organisation.<sup>10</sup> True to its British parentage, South Australian Methodism reflected the same ethos, and by the time of Methodist Union in 1900, religious democracy, judged by the criterion of a unified Methodist polity, had advanced beyond that of Britain.<sup>11</sup> Methodism had transformed itself from a ‘ministerial autocracy’ under John Wesley to a ‘ministerial democracy’ in South Australia at the time of Union, contextualised since foundation by the permeation of a democratic spirit of religious plurality and equality.

According to the Scottish historian Iain Murray, ‘the idea of lay ministry separate

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<sup>9</sup> Archibald N. Mackray, *Revivals of Religion: Their Place and Power in the Christian Church* (Sydney: John L. Sherriff, 1870), 29.

<sup>10</sup> Robert F. Wearnmouth, *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England 1800-1850*, reprint of 1937 edn. (Clifton, NJ: Augustus M. Kelley, 1972), 213-218.

<sup>11</sup> After the death of John Wesley, authoritarian Methodism split a number of times over the issue of lay representation at the annual Conference. These divisions were transported to the colony. The non-Wesleyan churches in South Australia, Bible Christians, Primitive Methodists, and Methodist New Connexion all had lay and ordained representatives in their governing Conferences. After 1856, when Australian Wesleyans formed their own Conference and became independent of Britain, the new constitution permitted lay representation at Conference, although some matters pertaining to ministers remained under their control. Methodist Union in 1900 provided for lay and ordained representation at the annual Conference, with some ministerial matters dealt with by the ministers. This concession to the Wesleyans by the non-Wesleyan churches meant that the united church achieved an equality of lay and ordained over *almost all* (some ministerial issues excluded) Conference business. British Methodism did not achieve a similar outcome until 1932.



from church office had appeared in the eighteenth-century<sup>12</sup> Appointed to the ministerial office by the church whose name they represented, and under whose authority they were thoroughly prepared, teachers and preachers of the Bible with a good understanding and knowledge of the truth were then commonly regarded as paramount in those who stood in public to teach and preach. Where the ministerial office met and demonstrated this requirement, a high view of the ministry of the Word developed in the herald and hearer of the Word. The importance of lay-leadership, some of it spontaneous, was evidenced in the Businessmen's Revival also known as the Prayer Meeting Revival in America from 1857 to 1858. William G. McLoughlin defined this revival as mass revivalism by urban businessmen seeking God's help in time of trouble<sup>13</sup> The contribution of the laity in every generation of South Australian Methodism is worthy of further investigation and analysis, although outside of the scope of this study. Hunt divided the Methodist constituency in the 1870s into six identifiable groups ó businessmen, farmers, pastoralists, miners, shopkeepers, and tradesman and labourers ó who by the 1870s made Methodism into the most comprehensive religious movement in South Australia<sup>14</sup> Women's contribution is not explicit in such a listing based on social stratification and economic means, but without their presence and support, Hunt's estimation could not have been realised. Sincere, generous, and forthright, men and women not ordained to any office did immense good for, and in the name of, the church.

The 1857-1858 layman's revival fuelled the trend to separate lay work from church office. With particular reference to the teaching offices of the church, Murray argued that following the revival:

There was a scriptural balance that needed to be recovered. The preacher is not the beginning and end of Christian witness. But in some quarters the balance was now thrown too far the other way. If laymen could effectively conduct prayer-meetings, why could they not also be the evangelists? Perhaps the foremost public spokesmen for the church did not need to be

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<sup>12</sup> Iain Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750-1858* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1994), 361. Murray's argument is followed closely in this, and the next paragraph.

<sup>13</sup> William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 141.

<sup>14</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 99-102.

ministers at all.<sup>15</sup>

According to Murray, this view became widespread in the 1860s, epitomised by the work of D. L. Moody, and furthered by a succeeding procession of lay evangelists, some of whom visited the colony. Furthermore, as revivalism took over evangelicalism, and as the academic study of theology moved further away from evangelism in the latter part of the nineteenth-century, the evangelist was now encouraged to think that his was a work requiring little or no understanding of theology.<sup>16</sup> In this context, revivalist activism overshadowed the strenuous task of theological precision.

By the early twentieth century, some within South Australian Methodism understood the danger of separating evangelism from good theology, and revivalism from sound biblical truth. In 1906, the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, in an article entitled, 'The Survival of Revival', called for 'a revival on permanent lines of belief, with another great discovery of forgotten truth or privilege'. The editor inferred that, as the Methodist revival brought forth a mandate for the church to 'spread Scriptural holiness throughout the land', then the time was ripe for a new revival re-affirming 'forgotten truth or privilege'.<sup>17</sup> The Protestant reformers Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli found nothing as challenging and profound as discovering and expounding 'forgotten truth'. Over two hundred years later, John Wesley proclaimed the essential Reformation doctrines of justification by faith, the atonement, regeneration, and the depravity of the human condition, and combined them with revivalist fervour, thereby standing in the broader evangelical Protestant tradition.<sup>18</sup> Doctrinal truth and revivalist fervour coalesced in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. Methodism, like its founder, committed itself to the propagation of vital evangelical religion, and developed into what Mark Noll terms an 'organised evangelical movement'.<sup>19</sup> 'Forgotten truth', once revealed, is subject to the movement for its discontinuance or continued veracity. A revival of

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<sup>15</sup> Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 360.

<sup>16</sup> Murray, *Revival and Revivalism*, 361.

<sup>17</sup> ACC, 19 January 1906, 9.

<sup>18</sup> John Coffey, 'Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the Evangelical Protestant Tradition', in Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart, eds., *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nottingham: IVP, 2008), 270-272.

<sup>19</sup> Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 66.

truth needed religious fervour for its propagation. There were others, however, within Methodism, for whom a revival was less about 'forgotten truth' and more about application of the right means.

Two months later, in the same serial, an article by the editor headed, 'How To Secure a Revival' appeared, and included various quotations attributed to Reuben A. Torrey, the prominent American evangelist:

A revival can be had in any Church that will pay the price. If a few devoted Christians will get together and put themselves entirely at God's disposal for him to use them as He will, and then will begin to pray unitedly for a revival in their Church, and be willing to pray on and on until they have prayed it through, and then will go out and do personal work among their friends and others, a revival will soon follow. This is the prescription that never fails. Of course, the ministers are of first importance in a revival; but even if a minister opposes he can be changed by prayer, or a revival can be had without him.

The editor adds personal experience of a circuit revival wrought by prayer and intercessions, with a statement of agreement to Torrey's claim that 'any Church can have a revival that will pay the price'. Torrey's claim that ministerial involvement is not required for a revival is the logical outcome of a process that democratised revivals and lessened a once high view of the ministry of the Word. The editor's views, whilst seemingly contradictory, are rather more reflective of divergent understandings as to the object of revivals, and the means required to achieve them.<sup>20</sup> After all, the employment of lay evangelists might be interpreted as an attempt to 'meet poor people as social equals', rather than part of a process that contributed to an injurious perception of the preached Word.<sup>21</sup>

## Hope Lodge and Angas College Students

Hope Lodge and Angas College accepted missionary candidates for training under the direction of its founder and principal, the Presbyterian-trained clergyman, William Lockart Morton (1851-1928).<sup>22</sup> Missionary training at Hope Lodge began

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<sup>20</sup> An editorial which puts forward a high view of the pulpit and preaching which requires rigorous standards, was published in the *ACC*, 24 August 1906, 8-9.

<sup>21</sup> Quote only in Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, 44.

<sup>22</sup> On the establishment and history of Hope Lodge and Angas College in Adelaide, see Darrell Paproth, 'Faith Missions, Personality, and Leadership: William Lockhart Morton and Angas College',

soon after Morton commenced working at the Inebriates' Retreat at Belair in 1893, in addition to his pastoral work at Goodwood Presbyterian Church. Missionary training activities transferred to North Adelaide in 1898, following the acquisition by the noted philanthropist J. H. Angas of Whinham College building on the corner of Ward and Jetcott Streets. Renamed Angas College, 243 students, of whom 94 were women, received missionary and evangelistic training between 1898 and 1922. This reflected the ethos of evangelical Christianity, identified later with the Bible College movement, as exemplified in the Melbourne Bible Institute.

Other Bible Colleges established around this time include the Missionary Training Institute at Kew in Melbourne (1892), Chapman-Alexander Bible Institute in Adelaide (1914), the Sydney Missionary and Bible College (1916), Melbourne Bible Institute (1920), Adelaide Bible Institute (1924) and the Perth Bible Institute (1928). Promoted by conservative evangelicals, they are best understood as a response to the missionary and revivalistic enthusiasm at the turn of the century<sup>23</sup>

Despite Morton's somewhat despotic manner, he appealed to many within the Protestant churches in Adelaide concerned with preserving evangelical truth, in which individual salvation took precedence over social righteousness and liberal theology. Morton was reliant on their support to attract prospective students. It was, arguably, the start of a distinctively evangelical network.

A number of these students, both women and men, led revivalist missions in the Wesleyan and later Methodist churches from the second half of 1899 through to 1907. Morton sometimes engaged in leading such events. Typical of these was a three-week evangelistic mission at Yorketown and Edithburgh, on the southern tip of Yorke Peninsula, in August 1904. Between 30 and 40 conversions took place with people connected with the Methodist, Baptist, and Anglican churches.<sup>24</sup> Morton's style and manner were appreciated:

Mr. Morton's personality helps his work. His manly figure, his fine voice, wisely modulated, his genial face, and dramatic style, all help his message;

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*Lucas 27 & 28* (2000): 64-89. This paragraph is based on his work. On Morton, see David Parker, 'Morton, William Lockhart (1851-1928)', *ADEB*, 269-270.

<sup>23</sup> Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 91-92.

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix 1; *ACC*, 26 August 1904, 5.

and that message, delivered with great earnestness, sometimes amounting to passion, lighted up by incident and anecdote, drawn from his own widely varying experiences and enriched from the stores of knowledge which he has acquired, is not only attractive, but penetrating and effective. Almost every night there was some response to the persuasive appeals of the missionary.<sup>25</sup>

As Morton looked to James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) and George Müller (1805-1898) as exemplars of living by faith, some prospective evangelists and missionaries would have found in Morton an exemplar of revivalist evangelical preaching.<sup>26</sup>

One wonders if this was the experience of at least two Angas College students who were later ordained as ministers in the Methodist Church. Samuel Forsyth (1881-1960) and Thomas Willason (1882-1939), both of Irish birth, entered Angas College in 1905, with the intention of training for missionary work in India.<sup>27</sup> Evangelistic missions conducted by Forsyth and Willason were an integral part of the missionary training received at Angas College. In October 1906 and mid-1907, they led evangelistic missions in the Ardrossan Circuit of the Methodist Church. The 11-week mission yielded 80 converts and a similar increase in church membership, an increase from one to five Christian Endeavour societies, and the commencement of a Sunday school. The conversions took place in the circuit as follows: Dowlingville (14), Petersville (3), Pine Point (28), Sandilands (5), Clinton Centre (17), and Ardrossan (13). The converts included young people, as well as married and single adults. The mission was noted for rousing preaching and singing and for prayer and cooperation by the faithful people of our churches. For the converts, the missionaries claimed, evils have been broken, and lives made happier; racing, gambling, drinking, dancing, and other vices have been left behind, and those who

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<sup>25</sup> ACC, 26 August 1904, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Paproth claims that the faith principle as evidenced in the life of James Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, and George Müller, who both relied on voluntary offerings, influenced Morton's life. For example, in the early years of Angas College, there were no fees or boarding charges; instead, voluntary contributions supported the institution. Morton later modified this approach. Paproth, *Faith Missions, Personality, and Leadership*, 13.

<sup>27</sup> According to Arnold Hunt, Forsyth and Willason entered Hope Lodge at Belair. Paproth states that Morton moved missionary training from the Hope Lodge, Belair site to North Adelaide in 1898 and renamed it Angas College. Hope Lodge continued to be known as the Inebriate's Retreat. Arnold Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 319. Paproth, *Faith Missions, Personality, and Leadership*, 8.

followed them are now worshippers with us<sup>28</sup> No longer destined for India, the Methodist Church accepted Forsyth as a probationary minister in 1908, and immediately appointed him as Conference evangelist, while Willason was accepted as a probationer in 1910. Forsyth served in various circuits before being appointed as Superintendent of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission in 1929, a position he held until 1952.<sup>29</sup> Willason served in seven circuits before his appointment as superintendent of the Port Adelaide Central Mission in 1924, a position he held until 1935. Respected greatly because of their work with the unemployed and poor, both men guided the two central missions through the difficult depression years.<sup>30</sup>

## Barrett Brothers

Other lay people who worked as revivalists in this period include two men referred to always as the Barrett Brothers. Early on, they joined with their father and local preacher, R. Barrett, and the circuit minister, G. Hall, to conduct mission services at Coromandel Valley in 1899. Between July 1899 and May 1902, Samuel R. and John W. Barrett led revival missions mainly in the northern areas of the state. Large attendances and many cases of conversion resulted.<sup>31</sup> Afterwards, they relocated to New South Wales as tent missionaries. In 1903, during a nine-week tent mission campaign at Balmain in Sydney, the brothers recorded 500 conversions and stayed on for a further twelve-months.<sup>32</sup>

In 1907, Conference appointed an Evangelistic Committee to recruit, manage, and direct the work, in cooperation with circuits, of a number of Conference-managed evangelists throughout the state. These included, among others, the Barrett

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<sup>28</sup> ACC, 14 June 1907, 13; 16 August 1907, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 319; Brian J. Chalmers, 'Need, Not Creed: A History of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission 1900-1952' (MA Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1986), 147-211; Brian Dickey, 'Forsyth, Samuel (1881-1960)' *ADEB*, 118-119. I. Forsyth, *He Came From Ireland* (Adelaide: Advertiser, 1952).

<sup>30</sup> Arnold D. Hunt, 'Willason, Thomas Parkin (1882-1939)' *ADEB*, 406-407; Brian Dickey and Elaine Martin, *Building Community: A History of the Port Adelaide Central Mission* (Adelaide: Port Adelaide Wesley Centre, 1999), 54-83.

<sup>31</sup> *CW&MJ*, 28 July 1899, 10. On the work of the Barrett Brothers, see also John David Calvert, 'A History of the Adelaide Bible Institute (ABI) 1924-1962' (MA Thesis, University of South Australia, 2000), 32-33.

<sup>32</sup> Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia 1880-1914*, 306.

Brothers, Forsyth, Willason, and Dr. W. G. Torr.<sup>33</sup> Following Methodist Union in 1900, the much expected and hoped for 'great revival' never materialised. Seven years later, Conference, still concerned over its absence, believed 'the time had come for a great sweeping movement along evangelistic lines'. The widespread deployment of evangelists was as much a response to a lack of a general revival as it was to effect a 'revival of well-organised and continuous effort to harvest the results of the regular preaching of the Gospel'.<sup>34</sup>

The work of the Barrett Brothers intensified in 1907 after their return from New South Wales. Using choruses, handbells, diagrams, and musical glasses, they conducted revival services in twenty circuits. Their revivalist preaching, singing, and gospel entertainment attracted large audiences wherever they went, and in their own report of the year's work, claimed 850 conversions. 'Glory! Glory! Glory!!!' headed the report of the Moonta revival they led in June 1907. 'Oh, such a revival! The power and glory and the blessing were marvellous'. There were nightly 'late hour' church meetings, midday prayer meetings, and 'conversions at every gathering'. In a 'young ladies' class of forty scholars thirty-five were converted. During church services, crowds occupied the penitents' form while 'relatives and friends' rejoiced. One correspondent claimed that 'such a revival had not been witnessed here since Thomas Cook's mission'.<sup>35</sup> The international evangelist and ordained minister were not indispensable for the success of a local revival. Lay evangelists, as represented by Forsyth, Willason, and the Barrett Brothers, could engender revivalist fervour not only in local and relatively remote rural areas untouched by the overseas evangelist, but also in Adelaide and Moonta that were traditionally on the overseas revivalist

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<sup>33</sup> Some of the 'others' included, Messrs. Cuttriss, Millar, Barnes, Chambers, Dingle, C. Hodger of Laura, W. Smith of Wirrabara, MacDonald, Stanton, H. Lyons, and the Rev. David O'Donnell. See Appendix 1 for 1907.

<sup>34</sup> ACC, 22 March 1907, 9.

<sup>35</sup> ACC, 5 July 1907, 13; 12 July 1907, 7; 26 July 1907, 12; 28 February 1908, 10; *Barrier Miner*, 16 September 1907, 3. The visit of the British Connexional evangelist Thomas Cook to Adelaide (Pirie Street and Kent Town Wesleyan churches), Moonta, Kadina, Burra, Port Pirie, and Broken Hill, 11 April to 25 June 1894 produced an estimated 2,307 converts. The Moonta mission, 9-18 May reported 278 converts. Moonta Mines Wesleyan Minister, Alfred P. Burgess mentions 789 converts in a private letter to his father in Adelaide. This is later revised upwards to 907. This figure is probably representative of all Methodist Churches (Wesleyan, Bible Christian, Primitive) in the Moonta area. See Appendix 1 and *CW&MJ*, 6 July 1894, 6; Thomas Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand: Our Mission Tour in Australasia and Ceylon* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1896), 61, 63. The *CW&MJ* of 25 May 1894, 3, claimed that the Moonta revival 'exerted a powerful influence over nearly every church in the neighbourhood, there being additions to the membership of thirteen different places of worship'.

circuit.<sup>36</sup>

## W. G. Torr and 'Continuous Revival'

Another lay person who peregrinated throughout the state in 1907 was Dr. W. G. Torr (1853-1939), educationist, evangelist, and conchologist. Prior to his appointment in 1886 as headmaster of the Bible Christian boys' school Way College, Torr was a teacher and headmaster in the Education Department. He studied theology at Oxford, and law at Cambridge and Dublin, where he obtained his doctorate, in preparation for the headmastership at Way College. Following Methodist Union, Way College merged with Prince Alfred College (Wesleyan) in 1903 and Torr was without a position. He did evangelistic work for a few years before establishing a Training Home at Brighton in 1909 for evangelists, missionaries, and local preachers.<sup>37</sup>

Torr spent five months in the South East of South Australia in 1907. He commenced operations on the Lucindale Mission, then opened fire on Naracoorte. Following successful operations at both locations, Torr spent two weeks at Millicent (population 800) that resulted in twenty-seven adults and thirteen child converts, and some forty renewed consecrations to Christ. Invited to conduct a mission, the circuit officials were hopeful that Torr's presence would lead to greater spiritual life and power. Preceded by prayer and town-wide promotion of the forthcoming mission, the intensity of the meetings increased over the fortnight as steady attendances maintained interest throughout. At the second Sunday evening service, because of the crowd, some people were unable to gain entry; the meeting lasted two and a half hours, and was unprecedented in attendance and power. A men's meeting held the following Sunday was of a high order, while the women's meeting was one of the most remarkable in the writer's experience. Later, some 50 people from different churches attended the communion service, an experience

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<sup>36</sup> The week-long visit of the lay woman Ada Ward to Adelaide's Pirie Street Methodist Church and the Exhibition Building in 1907, attracted thousands to the meetings.

<sup>37</sup> On W. G. Torr, see Arnold D. Hunt, 'Torr, William George (1853-1939)', *ADEB*, 375-376; Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 253-257, 264, 267, 274. For an account of Torr's life see P. M. T. Tilbrook, *The Life and Times of Dr. William George Torr* (Adelaide: Methodist Historical Society, 1977). For tributes following his death see *ACC*, 25 August 1939, 6; 22 September 1939, 1-3, 14; 29 September 1939, 10; 22 December 1939, 6. The Brighton Training Home, transferred to the Methodist Church in 1920, soon afterwards became the church's first theological college.



probably unknown before in Millicent. Some of the mission's visible results included: a genuinely revived church, healing of old quarrels, a sense of personal responsibility for Christian service, increased mutual affection, and a heavy blow to outside criticism and indifference.<sup>38</sup> The mission concluded with a reported assessment of Torr's visit:

As one who has had the honour of being a humble worker in evangelistic missions conducted by the Rev. T. Cook, Rev. J. McNeill (of London), and our own late Australian, John McNeil, and other evangelists, I venture to assert that our own Dr. Torr is worthy to be ranked amongst such honoured men as an evangelist. What is more, Dr. Torr is doing a grand work in spheres usually regarded by evangelists as impracticable, viz., the remote and obscure stations where sometimes only a dozen or 30 people might gather to a meeting, and much hard, discouraging work has to be done. No wonder God blesses his labours, and no wonder the hearts of many of our country ministers are warmed toward this man, who, with his fine endowment of graces, gifts, and personality, comes to help and cheer them in their lonely uphill work.<sup>39</sup>

Far from any estimate of community indifference to revival religion, the Millicent mission experience demonstrated the strength of rural Methodism. It confirmed the value and effectiveness of a lay agent in revival activity, and the spiritual receptivity of the townsfolk to the call of the local church and missioner for revival work. In December, Torr summarised the results of his time in the South East: 257 consecrations and 439 conversions.<sup>40</sup> As four-fifths of his reported conversions were young people, Torr was hopeful that a follow-up mission in 1908 by the Barrett Brothers or other evangelists would help to consolidate the work undertaken. Why did Torr consider this necessary? The success of the Torr mission focussed Methodist attention on the future prospects of denominational expansion in the South East, despite the historical strength of regional Scottish Presbyterianism. The prospects of expected economic and rural expansion added to the optimism generated by the extent and numerical achievement of the mission.<sup>41</sup> Torr, like a host of Methodist evangelists before him, believed that the Methodist Church was the institution best placed to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land, and to offer the means of grace to the people. In order to consolidate his work in the South East,

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<sup>38</sup> ACC, 31 May 1907, 12.

<sup>39</sup> ACC, 31 May 1907, 12.

<sup>40</sup> ACC, 13 December 1907, 3.

<sup>41</sup> ACC, 29 November 1907, 8-9.

Torr was of the opinion that the circuit, working in concert with the itinerant evangelist, could effect continuous revival.

An article by Torr, entitled 'How to have a Continuous Revival', appeared in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, in September 1907. Torr's strategy of a four-step programmatic plan of identifying potential converts, use of specially appointed visitors, completion of decision cards, and follow-up action to recruit new converts as soul-winners for the next programme was part of the revivalist heritage, in which the application of an appropriate method produces converts; one could thereby become a 'soul-winner'.<sup>42</sup> Whilst Torr acknowledged the work and place of the evangelist, he emphasised the importance of an ongoing programme of soul winning to produce a continuous revival.

There is no South Australian Methodist evidence to suggest that a continuous revival prior to 1907 had occurred, or even came close to occurring. By asserting that continuous revival was possible, Torr situated the revival as the normal disposition of church activity, provided certain steps manifested its presence. This left less room for the understanding that revival was an extraordinary event, and diminished the value and significance of the normal, thereby institutionalising revivalism. What is clear is that periodic revivals of relatively short duration were a distinctive feature of Methodism up until at least the First World War. The experience of Torr's 1907 South East evangelistic campaign, and others such as that of Matthew Burnett in the early 1880s is suggestive of a revivalist-driven campaign, characterised by a programmed sequence of localised, short-term revivals. The continuous nature is qualified only by the revivals' association with the itinerancy of the evangelist, and not by the passing of time in any locality. This means that revival was continually happening somewhere, but not continuously in one place. However, as this study demonstrates, when viewed from the perspective of a century of revivalism, colony and statewide, it is fair to suggest that there was hardly a time when Methodism did not know of revivals. The lay evangelists employed by the Methodist Church in

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<sup>42</sup> ACC, 6 September 1907, 10. Torr's approach to obtain conversions is reminiscent of Charles Finney's application of the 'right use of the appropriate means'. See earlier reference to Finney. Torr completed 1,927 articles headed, 'Talks to Young Men' under the *nom de plume* 'Old Oxford' for the weekly church paper. His articles were popular, of a racy style, and reflected an evangelical-liberalism. His articles warrant further study, as they had widespread impact on ministers.

1907, were not only effective in gaining converts, but further enhanced the role and place of the laity within the context of Methodism's inherent impulse to evangelise and spread 'vital religion'. In addition, of the 1,372 reported conversions recorded for 1907, the lay evangelists secured 1,317. Methodist Church membership rose from 16,329 in 1906 to 17,009 in 1907, an increase of 680 members.<sup>43</sup> In 1907, lay preaching for conversion was by far the most significant factor in membership growth. The appointment of lay preachers and evangelists illustrated a trend within Methodism begun years earlier.

## **Ada Ward**

Two female evangelists were also prominent in the latter part of the first decade of the twentieth-century. The first to visit Adelaide was the little known 'converted actress' Miss Ada Ward from May to June 1907. Under the auspices of the Methodist Church, Pirie Street Church (capacity 2,000) was full every night with the church crowded an hour before the meeting began. The final night's venue was the much larger capacity Jubilee Exhibition Building. Overall, few conversions occurred despite the large crowds. There were few reports in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, but in the Adelaide dailies, eleven articles appeared for the nine-day evangelistic mission. Two years later, in July 1909, amid the international profile of Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander, and a reported 800 conversions, there was extensive Methodist coverage in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, but the secular press was less than enthusiastic, with only four sub-standard articles.<sup>44</sup>

Despite limited Methodist publicity, the evangelical sub-culture proved receptive to Ada Ward, ever alert to the next visiting revivalist with the power to draw capacity crowds. Amid an atmosphere of heightened expectancy and the prospect of new converts, Ward's extempore theatrical style of preaching, full of story-telling and real-life experiences, appealed to the emotions more than the cerebral. This heightened the dramatic effect of her meetings, which tended to be relatively free of emotionalism and focussed instead on the inward aspects of sentimental evangelical

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<sup>43</sup> See Appendix 2 for details.

<sup>44</sup> For Ada Ward and Chapman and Alexander see Appendix 1.

Christianity and experiential religion. Each evening, large crowds gathered outside Pirie Street Methodist Church well before the meeting began. The people anticipated some 'sensational episode' as they gathered, waited, and then surged into the church as men 'shouted' and 'women shrieked' amid broken umbrellas and torn dresses. Novelty value was provided by the stream of curious on-lookers as they paraded past the church doors in search of a glimpse of the once-worldly actress who turned her elocutionary talent into a talent for the Master.<sup>45</sup> In the eyes of the secular press at least, there was a perception that the religio-cultural climate of Adelaide favoured feminised religion; after all, here was a woman empowered by religious affiliation.<sup>46</sup>

The experience of the lay-employed evangelists within or invited by South Australian Methodism in 1907 consolidated and extended the opportunities for lay participation. The laity could now take their place alongside the ordained as heralds of revivalist fervour and aggressive evangelism. No longer was the personal presence of the ordained minister essential or even required for such tasks.

## **Sister Lily**

The second prominent female evangelist of the period was Lily Cowmeadow, usually known as Sister Lily. She arrived in Adelaide from Melbourne in July 1910 and undertook evangelistic work throughout the state on behalf of the Methodist Church. A third-generation Methodist preacher, she had worked for ten years as an evangelist with the United Free Methodists in Cornwall, Devon and Wales, preceded by seven years of 'rescue and midnight work' in London, Glasgow and Bristol. She emigrated to Melbourne for health reasons and continued in evangelistic work, before she moved on to South Australia to carry on her work.<sup>47</sup>

Sister Lily travelled around South Australia for two years from 1910 to 1912, and conducted evangelistic missions, mainly in the north of the state, with great acceptance. She secured 339 conversions from revival meetings as she preached and

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<sup>45</sup> *Advertiser*, 27 May 1907, 7; *Chronicle*, 1 June 1907, 53; *Register*, 3 June 1907, 6.

<sup>46</sup> For a brief assessment of 'Feminized Christianity' and its development in America up to the beginning of the twentieth-century see Kristy Maddux, 'The Feminised Gospel: Aimee Semple McPherson and the Gendered Performance of Christianity' *Women's Studies in Communication* 35, (2012): 42-67, at 47.

<sup>47</sup> *ACC*, 19 August 1910, 12; *Advertiser*, 13 August 1910, 11; 17 August 1912, 22.

sung her way around the circuits. Widely reported at the time, the Laura circuit revival in mid-1911 resulted in 145 conversions over a three-month period. This included evangelistic visits by Sister Lily from the town of Laura to the smaller localities such as Tarcowie, Yarrowie and Stone Hut. Mission visits lasted from one to three weeks at each location and followed a familiar pattern. Nightly meetings increased in size and intensity as the mission went on. The services often included Alexander's songs, and Lily's earnest preaching centred on the cross of Christ, interspersed with striking incidents, illustrations, and anecdotes from either personal experience or written sources. These indicated her understanding of the human condition. At the end of her evangelistic address, Sister Lily, driven by an intense love of soul saving, invited those under conviction to the front, where penitents were spoken to by helpers and pointed to the Saviour manifested by the converting power of God, whilst others found themselves quickened or stirred. At the final meeting, the Circuit minister received as members on trial those who had made decisions for Christ during the revival.<sup>48</sup>

Lily's second and follow-up visit to the Laura Circuit and, in particular, Stone Hut, in August 1912 was, for Lily, one of the most touching experiences of her life.

As she faced a crowded congregation and looked once more on the faces of earnest men and women, of lads and lassies, who had given themselves to the Lord on the occasion of her visit some months before, she could see in mental vision the holy confusion of people flocking to the front and hear the simultaneous singing, praying, and praising God, and the exclamation of that dear servant of God who, with tears streaming down his cheeks, exclaimed, "It was never so seen in Stone Hut before," she was almost overcome with emotion.<sup>49</sup>

Here was a synergetic moment of spiritual and emotional satisfaction; a demonstration of the validity of her work. She spent two weeks in the circuit, preached eight times, lectured seven times, and travelled 250 kilometres.<sup>50</sup> On occasions, Lily, like the Bible Christian Lady Evangelists of the 1890s, and other female speakers who were her contemporaries, encountered opposition to the notion of female preachers. However, once her objectors overcame initial barriers and

<sup>48</sup> ACC, 28 July 1911, 7; 4 August 1911, 2, 7, 9; 11 August 1911, 4; 8 September 1911, 7; 13 October 1911, 7; 31 May 1912, 16; 21 June 1912, 18; 5 July 1912, 14; 2 August 1912, 14; 11 October 1912, 5.

<sup>49</sup> ACC, 11 October 1912, 5.

<sup>50</sup> ACC, 30 August 1912, 4.

attended her first meetings, some of them became admirers.<sup>51</sup> Despite her valued work among the northern country circuits (some she visited twice in the two years from mid-1910 to mid-1912), there is nothing to suggest work outside of the northern region. Conference, pleased with her evangelistic success, urged, in February 1912, that she be sent to Eyre Peninsula, with the proviso that the necessary funds be locally provided.<sup>52</sup> No such undertaking was given. By 1912, Eyre Peninsula consisted of twelve circuits, seven of whom received help from connexional funds, twenty-three churches and sixty preaching places such as domestic buildings, schools, barns and halls. Many of the church buildings were galvanised iron and timber structures. With a membership of 714 spread over 43,000 square kilometres, and few concentrations of more than thirty church members, the District possessed few resources beyond its own bare needs.<sup>53</sup> Sister Lily worked in the north for most of the remainder of 1912, and by October returned to Adelaide. There are no reports of any work undertaken in city circuits, as Adelaide's Methodists were by this time caught up in the excitement of the second Chapman-Alexander mission. Sister Lily left South Australia at the beginning of 1913 for Western Australia, where she completed a year of evangelistic work before returning to England in December 1913.<sup>54</sup>

The Chapman-Alexander mission overshadowed the evangelistic scene in South Australia in 1912. With the successful 1909 mission in mind, expectations were high for the expanded mission that started in Adelaide on 19 May, followed by meetings in Petersburg, Broken Hill, Port Pirie, Mount Gambier, and concluded at Bordertown in July. Soon after the mission finished, the Churches of Christ undertook the Charles Scoville mission from August to September 1912. Both required extensive planning and publicity. Nightly crowds of 4,500-6,000 attended the three-week Chapman-Alexander meetings in the Exhibition Building in Adelaide. Lesser, but still substantial crowds attended the Scoville mission. These missions produced an

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<sup>51</sup> ACC, 11 October 1912, 5.

<sup>52</sup> Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1912, vol. 2, SLSA SRG 4/1/1, 755.

<sup>53</sup> Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1912, 70. See also Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 242.

<sup>54</sup> ACC, 11 October 1912, 5; *Register*, 31 January 1914, 6.

estimated 2,000 and 924 converts respectively.<sup>55</sup>

Sister Lily Cowmeadow's sojourn in South Australia demonstrated her ability and confidence, as befitted a professional female evangelist. She exhibited integrity of purpose in her work through her loyalty both to the church she represented, and to the ordained ministers alongside whom she laboured. Like the 'Lady Evangelists' of the 1890s, Sister Lily took the opportunities as they presented themselves, rather than protest her exclusion from the ordained ministry. She and other women preachers contributed to an advancement of women's issues in the way David Hempton and Myrtle Hill suggested: 'evangelical religion was more important than feminism in enlarging women's sphere of action during the nineteenth century'<sup>56</sup> Opportunities for preaching and teaching occurred in institutional settings without institutional tenure. Sister Lily's itinerant revivalism enlarged her ability for persuasive public speaking, drawing crowds of men and women, making converts, and ameliorating the attitudes of those opposed to women preachers. Despite the disquiet generated by these attitudes, through her persistence and performance, Sister Lily challenged gender stereotypes, and, motivated by her religious faith and pride in her preaching legacy, laboured to fulfil her calling. In doing so, she inspired other women to explore beyond the domestic sphere.

What does the work of the lay evangelists tell us about Methodist revivalism? First, the work undertaken by the lay evangelists did not occur in a spiritual or ecclesiastical vacuum. The Methodist Conferences appointed evangelists, provided administrative oversight, and coordinated funding in collaboration with the respective circuits. Circuits initiated requests for visits by evangelists who were accountable to the Conference.

Second, local revivalist energies varied according to whether local revivals were lay-led or conducted by ordained ministers. Lay-led local revivals predominated in the period by a ratio of 3:1 over the ordained-led revival, and produced 3.2 times the

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<sup>55</sup> Conversion figures provided at Appendix 1.

<sup>56</sup> David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, 'Born to Serve: Women and Evangelical Religion' in Alan Hayes and Dianne Urquhart, eds., *The Irish Women's History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001), 119.

number of converts.<sup>57</sup>

Third, country revival activity tended to occur in the cooler late autumn and winter months following completion of harvest preparation, and before the summer harvest. The pattern also occurred in the city as the hot summer months from December to February inhibited mass gatherings and coincided with the traditional holiday season. The adoption of the cooler mid-year period for revival meetings commenced from the mid-nineteenth century, once farming and grain production transitioned from northern to southern hemisphere climatic conditions. For many Methodists, revivals were not so much spontaneous and extraordinary acts of divine visitations, but yearly routines of conversion and rejuvenation, fixtures on the circuit calendar and prayer diaries of the pious and committed. This is not to suggest that all revivals were of the same kind. The Burra revivals from 1858 to 1860 and Moonta in 1875 were unusual for their spontaneity and community impact. What we can say, however, is that the more numerous, planned, mid-year, cyclical, winter revivals, together with the few and more spontaneous events, provides a more complete understanding of evangelical revitalisation. The former's rhythm and repeated impact and influence on churches, communities, and culture, is overshadowed by the latter's historical pre-eminence. The ritualised spirituality of the local seasonal revival added to the social and religious fabric of towns and regions, and enhanced Methodist vital religion. Evangelical Methodism, far from the sacramental ritualism of Anglicanism and Catholicism, found its own popular ritualism embedded in revivals alongside of harvest festivals, love feasts, camp meetings, and watch nights.

Fourth, revivals were of limited duration, usually from one to three weeks. Short terms favoured local communities, many of which only possessed limited resources to sustain a visiting revivalist. In addition, farmers and rural workers had limited time available to devote to sustaining revivals because they needed to maintain normal occupations.

## **Conclusion**

In the fifteen-years before the First World War, South Australian Methodism

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<sup>57</sup> See the beginning of this chapter for the actual figures.



embraced the employment of lay evangelists as a complementary agency to the work of the circuit-focussed itinerant ordained ministry. They operated as short-term itinerants in mainly rural areas, obtained numerous conversions, and thereby contributed to an expansionist and confident Methodism. In doing so, they blurred the boundaries between ordained and lay revivalist leadership. They adopted some of the practices of the international revivalist and were most effective in areas usually by-passed by the overseas visitor. They contributed to the maintenance of a conversionary ethos within Methodism, by preaching for conversion and avoiding the contentious issues of higher criticism, Biblical authority, modernism, and evolution.<sup>58</sup>

The generally well-received and proficient women evangelists did not openly challenge the widespread and accepted patterns of gender differentiation either within or outside the church.<sup>59</sup> Known for their soul-saving ability and evangelistic zeal, they also contributed, by their visibility and ability, to the aspirational hopes of young and independent women beyond that of home and family. By the time of the First World War, Methodism had become more inclusive in its revivalist functioning, willing to use men and women evangelists, ordained and lay, trained and untrained, circuit and non-circuit, in its quest for vital religion. Collectively, they advanced the democratisation of revivalism.

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<sup>58</sup> One exception was Dr. W. G. Torr, who because of his background, education, and standing within the denomination, could comment on these and other controversial topics. He was influential in mediating a traditional evangelical doctrinal emphasis with openness to the literary, textual, and historical study of the Bible, when these were controversial issues within Methodist circles. See Arnold D. Hunt, "Torr, William George (1853-1939)", *ADEB*, 376.

<sup>59</sup> Absence of challenge to gender differentiation accords with Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 140.

## CHAPTER 8

### MISSIONS, CONVENTIONS, AND MORE MISSIONS 1902 – 1912

A resolution passed by the South Australia Methodist Conference in February 1902, called for:

A quickened spiritual life in the Church, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost, realised by all our ministers, local preachers, class leaders, and Sunday school teachers, as essential conditions for permanent revival.<sup>1</sup>

At a quarterly meeting held by church officials at Kadina in June 1902, several members spoke about some hopeful signs of ‘awakening’. One in particular, ‘felt sure that a revival was at hand’.<sup>2</sup> Church officials sought to identify the conditions for revival and expected to see signs of its coming. This chapter examines three of the larger missions held in South Australia between 1902 and 1912, considered by some as revivals. We shall also examine the impact of the 1904-1905 Welsh Revival, and how the call for a ‘quickened spiritual life’ resulted in a renewed interest in holding ‘deeper life’ conventions.

The most significant of the international revivalists to visit South Australia in the years before the First World War were W. Edgar Geil, Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander. Chapman and Alexander in particular, followed in the tradition of Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, who demonstrated in their 1873-1875 tour of Britain the ability to attract large crowds, and popularised the use of substantial and accessible public venues. They utilised massed choirs, gathered impressive numbers of converts, melded ‘sermon with song’ and had the support of churches through interdenominational representation on organising committees.<sup>3</sup> Moody’s presentation of the gospel ‘was less exacting than that of Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley, and preaching more palatable; more entertaining and simpler’.<sup>4</sup> His meetings, considered by some to be a ‘model of middle-class respectability and

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<sup>1</sup> ACC, 7 March 1902, 12.

<sup>2</sup> ACC, 18 July 1902, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 58.

religious order, possessed commercial and business characteristics more in tune with urban and industrial communities.<sup>5</sup> Reuben Archer Torrey took over Moody's campaign in 1899, and teamed with Charles Alexander for their tour of Australia's eastern states in 1902. Together, they refined Moody's methods, with additional emphasis on simultaneous meetings that required the widespread support of churches. The Melbourne Mission, referred to by international reports as 'the Melbourne Revival', attracted a quarter of a million attendances each week for the four weeks of the mission.<sup>6</sup> South Australian Methodists read with interest newspaper reports of the Melbourne Mission, as they anticipated the visit of the 'aggressive' American evangelist, W. Edgar Geil.<sup>7</sup>

## W. Edgar Geil – Simultaneous Mission – 1902

Torrey and Alexander did not visit Adelaide in 1902. The mission was entrusted to Geil, who was part of the Torrey-Alexander team. The 'Simultaneous Mission', conducted by Geil and various missionaries lasted from 8-20 June 1902. They targeted the suburbs, utilising churches and community buildings. During the mission's first week, ministers and evangelists from participating churches conducted thirty gospel meetings held within eight kilometres of the General Post Office. Many of these took place simultaneously.<sup>8</sup> Geil spoke at mass meetings of up to 5,000 held at the Port Adelaide wool stores in the first week. Crowded evening meetings at the Exhibition Building and midday meetings for men at the Town Hall featured during the second week.<sup>9</sup> Geil was often criticised for his choice of unusual and laughter-generating pithy quips, considered by some to be 'extravagant' and 'grotesque', whilst others appreciated a lack of 'pulpit style' and 'holy tone' in order to speak with conviction

<sup>5</sup> Janice Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland, 1859 – 1905* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), 55.

<sup>6</sup> Darrell Paproth, 'Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander & Chapman Campaigns' in Mark Hutchinson and Stuart Piggin, eds., *Reviving Australia* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994), 143-169. J. Edwin Orr situates the 1902 Torrey-Alexander Mission in the context of 'The Australasian Awakening' which he contends had its beginnings in 1889 when the Rev. John MacNeil and other ministers began to pray for revival throughout Australia. See Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas*, 105. On the Melbourne Torrey and Alexander mission, see Will Renshaw, *Marvellous Melbourne and Spiritual Power* (Moreland, VIC: Acorn Press, 2014), 42-49.

<sup>7</sup> See for example *ACC*, 2 May 1902, 9; 30 May 1909, 9; *Register*, 27 May 1902, 6; *Herald*, 10 May 1902, 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Herald*, 10 May 1902, 10.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 1 for numerous Methodist and secular press references.

to all kinds of people.<sup>10</sup> Clearly, the sermon was not only to inform, but to entertain as well. A large follow-up meeting for new converts held at Pirie Street Methodist Church counselled them on disciplines such as prayer and Bible reading, considered essential for the maintenance of Christian piety.<sup>11</sup> One of the results of the mission was a continuation of united services in the city and suburbs, but without the attraction of an internationally known evangelist, only a few meetings resulted. Of significance, was a two-week simultaneous mission at Gumeracha in August 1902 which involved the local Methodist and Baptist churches and resulted in 70 conversions. This was followed by a two-week mission at Mount Gambier which included the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Salvation Army churches. Conversions took place at each nightly meeting; the event was deemed a great religious awakening<sup>12</sup>

The Geil mission had little apparent impact on Methodist membership in South Australia, which increased by 285 in 1902. Conversion figures for the mission are not available, whereas local missions conducted throughout the state reported 282 conversions.<sup>13</sup> Many of these would account for the overall increase in Methodist membership, leaving few possible membership additions as a result of the Geil mission.

Nonetheless, the big crowds attracted to the Adelaide mission suggest that the mission-goers approved of such events; a collective display of impressive evangelical Protestant unity and organisation. For the previous twenty-five years, reports of the successive Moody and Sankey missions in Britain and America were regular features in the Adelaide Methodist papers and secular press. The revivalist tendencies which accompanied the visits of Matthew Burnett (1880-1883), Margaret Hampson (1883), R. T. Booth and his Gospel Temperance Mission (1886), Thomas Cook (1894), Rodney (Gipsy Smith) (1894), C. H. Yatman (1899), and now W. Edgar Geil (1902), were but a foretaste of a great and continuous revival always

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<sup>10</sup> See for example, *Register*, 10 June 1902, 6. An assessment of Geil's methods is the subject of the editorial in the *ACC*, 20 June 1902, 8-9. The editor considered that the extravagance and grotesqueness of some of Geil's statements helped to break down prejudice and communicate truth

<sup>11</sup> *Register*, 1 July 1902, 6.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix 1. *ACC*, 29 August 1902, 4; 12 September 1902, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Membership and conversion figures from Appendix 2.

hoped for but never realised.

## Transference of Revivalism

Early in 1905, welcome news of revival stirrings in Wales arrived. The editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* claimed that ‘nothing like it has been experienced since the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century’ 70,000 converts. Almost every part of Wales is under its mighty spell. Articles from British sources appeared with detailed descriptions and comment on the revival, supplemented by reports of Torrey and Alexander’s Liverpool Mission, and the work of soul-saving by Geil. The President of the South Australia Methodist Conference and other ministers provided local comment. Of one mind, they declared; ‘we want just such a work’<sup>14</sup> A mood of optimism pervaded the 1905 Conference. It was time for ‘aggressive evangelism’ to take advantage of the ‘new spiritual receptivity’ and to ‘pray and organise for the coming revival’, asserted the editor of the Methodist weekly paper.<sup>15</sup> An article entitled, ‘An Australasian Revival’ sought to answer the question, ‘Will the revival in Wales spread to England, and from there across the ocean to Australia?’ Another narrated the individual experiences of some who had been caught up in the revival of ‘a nation under the awe of invisible things’<sup>16</sup> A column headed ‘Revival Intelligence’, grouped sources of revival news from Wales, England, and the United States: accounts of thousands converted, special revival services, shops and businesses closed for prayer meetings. Expectancy for revival grew as the reports multiplied; the sense of urgency was sharpened by statements of impending arrival, ‘Surely it will not be long before these showers of blessing visit us here in Australia’<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the *Adelaide Register* and *Advertiser* provided extended coverage to a wider audience, and joined the clarion call of the pro-revivalists: ‘Why Not a South Australian Revival?’<sup>18</sup>

Revival intelligence and narratives of conviction and experience transmitted from

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<sup>14</sup> *ACC*, 3 February 1905, 8-9; 24 February 1905, 3-5, 8-12.

<sup>15</sup> *ACC*, 17 March 1905, 8.

<sup>16</sup> *ACC*, 31 March 1905, 13; 7 April 1905, 5.

<sup>17</sup> *ACC*, 19 May 1905, 9.

<sup>18</sup> For examples of coverage, see *Register*, 28 January 1905, 7; 8 February 1905, 5; *Advertiser*, 2 February 1905, 7; 4 February 1905, 6. The article entitled, ‘Why Not A South Australian Revival?’ based on a letter to the editor by ‘Practical’ is in the *Register*, 16 February 1905, 6.

Wales to South Australia established a sense of connection between the two places. The reports enabled readers to be familiar with the revival's progress, impact, and extent, and this boosted their hopes of a similar event in South Australia. If a revival transported itself in one age, as occurred in the experience of Jonathan Edwards and the Northampton revival of 1735, perhaps it could in another. Edwards recounts an occasion when a colleague (Mr. Lord) experienced a revival in his own church following a visit to see the revival taking place under Edwards's leadership:

Rev. Mr Lord, the minister there; who, with the Rev Mr Owen of Groton, came up hither in May [1735] on purpose to see the work of God. Having heard various and contradictory accounts of it, they were careful when there to satisfy themselves; and to that end particularly conversed with many of our people; which they declared to be entirely to their satisfaction; and that the one half had not been told them, nor could be told them. Mr Lord told me that, when he got home, he informed his congregation of what he had seen, and that they were greatly affected with it; and that it proved the beginning of the same work amongst them, which prevailed till there was a general awakening, and many instances of persons who seemed to be remarkably converted.<sup>19</sup>

Ministers in Australia knew of revivals that had transferred from one location to another, and in South Australia were familiar with the Burra and Central Hill Country revivals from 1858 to 1860. The popular and theologically acceptable Welsh revival narratives of 1904-1905, built on a tradition of shared intelligence, raised hopes for the beginnings of an Australian revival.<sup>20</sup> The distribution of information did not guarantee the start of a revival, but the print and oral connections between

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<sup>19</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 4, *The Great Awakening*, Clarence C. Goen, ed., (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1972), 155. The Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Archibald N. Mackray of Sydney claimed the Northampton Revival of 1735 was "widely known" through the "Narrative" See Archibald N. Mackray, *Revivals of Religion* (Sydney: John L. Sherriff, 1870), 10. Mackray also considered that the dissemination of revival intelligence was one of three agencies available for the promotion of revivals, in order that "the sympathetic acquaintance with the work of God throughout the world, and to an earnest determination, in faith and prayer, to have the same marvels vouchsafed to others" See p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Davies Smart, *Apologetic For The Great Awakening* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011), 16-17. Smart contends that the early Methodist leaders such as George Whitefield had in their possession Jonathan Edwards's *A Faithful Narrative*, and that its publication coincided with the Welsh Revival of 1739. Furthermore, according to Smart, "Whitefield intentionally linked his evangelistic success in the years 1737-1739 to Edwards's revival narrative. By the 1740s, transatlantic interconnections of literature and personnel promoted revivalist activity between Britain and the American colonies. Harry Stout sees Whitefield's itinerant ministry as internationally focussed, and mode of revivalism futuristically, as that which would "transcend media and embrace television and characterize evangelicalism into the twentieth century" "George Whitefield in Three Countries" in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 69.

participants and observers of revivals in other locations fashioned perceptions and knowledge of revival activity elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> The prevailing tendencies of revivalist connections, well established since the 1850s throughout the evangelical Diaspora,<sup>22</sup> assisted to promote and sustain South Australian Methodism's quest for revival activity.

## Deepening the Spiritual Life

By the middle of 1905, the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* called for Methodists to develop a 'deepened religious life' and 'profounder spiritual consciousness' to hasten the 'coming revival'.<sup>23</sup> 'Conventions for the deepening of the spiritual life', accompanied by special prayer, were held in some city and suburban circuits. Often led by the circuit superintendent, the meetings spanned a day and evening, with the public invited to the afternoon and evening sessions.<sup>24</sup> Ministers attended the morning sessions. The meeting held at the Unley Methodist Church on 19 July 1905 included an afternoon address by Lady Holder, an evening march led by the Central Mission band followed by an open-air meeting. It was hoped that these 'conventions' would bring a 'widespread revival of God's work'.<sup>25</sup>

A 'Pentecostal Convention' at Brompton in June 1905 gathered Methodist ministers and others interested in understanding and promoting revivals. The convention featured topics such as: the Holy Spirit, 'How to Promote a Revival' and 'How to Conserve the Results of a Revival', and included evangelical ministers such as W. Shaw, W. H. Cann, J. Pearce and T. B. Angwin. A 'prince of the pulpit', the Rev. Henry Howard of Pirie Street Methodist Church, delivered a 'powerful address' that resulted in six conversions.<sup>26</sup>

The link between revival and a deeper spiritual life was a consistent theme within

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<sup>21</sup> Susan O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755', *American Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (October 1986): 811-832, at 832.

<sup>22</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 2005, 76.

<sup>23</sup> Editorial, *ACC*, 30 June 1905, 9.

<sup>24</sup> See for example, *ACC*, 14 July 1905, 12; 21 July 1905, 12; 25 August 1905, 9.

<sup>25</sup> *ACC*, 14 July 1905, 12.

<sup>26</sup> *ACC*, 8 June 1906, 13; *Advertiser*, 5 June 1906, 8. For Howard as 'a prince of the pulpit' see Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 247.

South Australian Methodism. In 1840-1841, it featured as part of the second recorded revival experienced by Methodism in the colony.<sup>27</sup> South Australian Baptists also explored the relationship between the inner life of the believer and revivalism.

As early as 1869, two leading South Australian Baptist ministers taught on holiness and revival. The Rev. Silas Mead, influenced by the American holiness teacher, Robert Pearsall Smith, promoted holiness teaching in Adelaide, whilst the Rev. John Price at Moonta, himself a proponent of holiness by faith since 1869, linked holiness with revival.<sup>28</sup> During the Moonta Revival of 1875, Price exhorted his heartfelt belief that, 'No church need wait for a "Revival". There is just one key by which any church can open heaven's treasures in that respect. That key is consecration'<sup>29</sup> For Price, its acquisition was more by quiet dependent faith, in contrast to the exuberant exertion and crisis often expected of Methodists wrestling with entire sanctification during times of revivalist fervour.<sup>30</sup> Bebbington notes how teaching on holiness in both the Baptist and Bible Christian churches helped to expedite the revival.<sup>31</sup>

By the 1880s, all branches of Methodism engaged in the holding of Conventions for deepening the spiritual life. A typical event was a Bible Christian district 'convention for deepening the spiritual life among members and promoting the work of revival' held on 20 June 1889. The Rev. R. Lang outlined the disciplines necessary to develop and maintain a 'close fellowship with God' essential for a deeper spiritual life. Holiness was marked by purity of thought and conduct. The necessary disciplines included Bible reading, private and family prayer, and manifesting love toward others. The Rev. J. Thorne emphasised that a deepened spiritual life, made possible by the working of the Holy Spirit, enabled believers to help their neighbours. According to Thorne, 'a church with every member fully alive to God would mean the speedy conversion of the world'<sup>32</sup> Revival activity was

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<sup>27</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Truth and Progress*, August 1874, 90-91. Letters from Robert Pearsall Smith to Silas Mead.

<sup>29</sup> *Truth and Progress*, July 1875, 74.

<sup>30</sup> Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 101, 224.

<sup>31</sup> Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 224.

<sup>32</sup> *SABCMag*, August 1889, 127-132.



therefore dependent on the faithful deepening the spiritual life. The interdependent nature of holiness and revival meant that revival included both the reawakening of the righteous and the conversion of the unrighteous.

By late 1905, a similar expectation within Methodism failed to produce the desired result. It seemed as though holiness-revivalism had fallen from favour and that 'vital religion', with personal holiness as the catalyst, proved difficult to sustain. Thereafter, hopes of revival with holiness conventions for churchgoers as the chief instrument faded from Methodist revivalism. By early 1909, spirits lifted as attention began to focus on the forthcoming Chapman-Alexander mission. Perhaps what the distant Welsh Revival could not deliver to the antipodes, the Americans Chapman and Alexander, by their visit to South Australia, would deliver.

### **Chapman and Alexander Mission – 1909**

By the time Chapman and Alexander arrived in Adelaide in July 1909, as part of their Australasian tour, seven years had elapsed since W. Edgar Geil, a member of the Torrey-Alexander team, had conducted simultaneous missions in the city and suburbs. The Geil-led events of 1902 produced a few converts and maintained the revivalist fervour among evangelicals. The Methodists, in particular, were keen to maintain their foremost place among evangelical and overtly conversionist agencies. The Welsh Revival of 1905, although it failed to reproduce a legitimate offspring in Australia, continued to burden the faithful with hopes for a national revival of religion that would greatly multiply the number of converts, membership additions, and bolster the fortunes of institutional Methodism.<sup>33</sup> Methodists had long held that the key to the reformation of society was through the regeneration of the soul; convert the individual, to 'bring the soul into most intimate fellowship with our Lord' and societal transformation would follow.<sup>34</sup> The conversionist emphasis within the Chapman-Alexander missions suited evangelical Methodism in its quest to maintain 'vital religion'. The significant contribution of the laity, particularly in

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<sup>33</sup> Conversation on the 'Work of God' at the 1909 Conference referred to the maintenance of the church's programs and facilities as well as 'spiritual blessings'. Furthermore, Conference urged members to 'a regular attendance at the New Testament ordinances'. These included prayer, Christian fellowship, and spiritual worship. See *ACC*, 5 March 1909, 5; 30 April 1909, 8-9.

<sup>34</sup> *ACC*, 30 April 1909, 9.

1907; the renewed emphasis on the revivalism-holiness nexus as a precursor to revival; and a glowing endorsement of the pair's successful Boston mission, further prepared the ground for the first Chapman-Alexander mission of 1909.<sup>35</sup> Their visit to Adelaide was part of their Australian tour, and was preceded by missions in Melbourne, Brisbane, and Sydney.<sup>36</sup> Included in the mission party of fourteen, was Robert Harkness, the Australian pianist and composer who was led to Christ by Alexander during the Torrey-Alexander campaign of 1902.<sup>37</sup> The mission party arrived by the over-night train from Melbourne on 15 July 1909.

Within days of the mission's commencement on 16 July 1909, the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* proclaimed that after years of longing for the coming revival, it had now begun, initiated by the persuasive preaching of Chapman and music's mystic ministry of Alexander.<sup>38</sup> At the mission's conclusion, Chapman himself provided a more detached assessment, preferring the modest proclamation: "I believe Australia is ripe for revival."<sup>39</sup>

By the time of their Adelaide mission in 1909, Chapman and Alexander were at the peak of their popularity within American Protestantism.<sup>40</sup> Chapman had been converted under Moody's ministry in 1878. A graduate of the Presbyterian Lane Theological Seminary, Chapman undertook pastorates in important New York and Philadelphia churches, before commencing full-time evangelistic work throughout America in 1902. In 1904, he founded Winona Bible Conference, a ten-day summer assembly held at Winona Lake, Indiana, where thousands of missionaries and evangelists gathered annually. He taught the importance of holiness, and was described by the Methodist church paper as "the most persuasive speaker heard, at least for a generation, on this continent."<sup>41</sup> In 1908, Alexander teamed up with Chapman and became, according to the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, "the

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<sup>35</sup> Dr. Francis E. Clark, founder of Christian Endeavour, attended the Boston mission and sent a letter of endorsement. See *Register*, 3 April 1909, 13.

<sup>36</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 9.

<sup>37</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 10.

<sup>38</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 9.

<sup>39</sup> *ACC*, 30 July 1909, 1. Chapman-Alexander Mission Number.

<sup>40</sup> This paragraph is based on Hilliard's, *Popular Revivalism*, 20-21.

<sup>41</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 9.

most famous Gospel singer living<sup>42</sup> During a mission tour in England, he met and later married Helen Cadbury, daughter of the well-known philanthropist and cocoa millionaire, Richard Cadbury of Birmingham. Prior to their arrival in Australia in 1909, Chapman and Alexander had led a successful three-week mission in Boston, which attracted an attendance of almost three-quarters of a million.

In Adelaide, intense preparations preceded the arrival of Chapman and Alexander. After five weeks of home meetings, which commenced in the first week of June 1909, a twelve-day Simultaneous Mission led by local ministers, a five-day mission led by the evangelist the Rev. Ford C. Ottman, accompanied by gospel singer Frank Dickson, Adelaide welcomed Chapman and Alexander on 16 July for their ten-day mission. The main evening meetings were held at the Exhibition Building, where average attendance each night was 7,000. The businessmen's meetings were held at Victoria Hall.<sup>43</sup> With a population of 140,000, Adelaide recorded an aggregate attendance of 144,000 over the twelve days of the mission.<sup>44</sup> It was an enthusiastic response to the well-prepared and organised Americans. An estimated 800 conversions resulted from the mission. The figure was tabulated from the 'decision cards' made available at the meetings; some of them were already church members.<sup>45</sup> In an effort to conserve the results of the mission, local ministers undertook follow-up interviews, and two follow-up meetings were held, which included testimonies, the singing of Alexander's songs, and talks on aspects of the faith by church leaders. At the second follow-up meeting, held one month after the first, some 800 converts attended, an almost 100 per cent retention rate. Of these, probably half were Methodists.<sup>46</sup> What was the effect of these 'decisions' on Methodist church membership?

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<sup>42</sup> ACC, 23 July 1909, 10.

<sup>43</sup> For a more extended account of the 1909 and 1912 Chapman-Alexander missions, see Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 20-25. See also Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 268-271. For an account of the 1909 Australasian tour from the perspective of the mission party, see Helen C. Alexander and J. Kennedy MacLean, *Charles M. Alexander: A Romance of Song and Soul-Winning* (Murfreesboro, Tennessee: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1920), 152-162. An account comprising mainly a series of articles that appeared in the *Register* was published as, *The Big Mission in Adelaide conducted by the Chapman-Alexander Mission Party* (Adelaide, 1909). See *Register*, 20 July 1909, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Paproth, 'Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander-Chapman Campaigns' 155.

<sup>45</sup> *Advertiser*, 31 July 1909, 11.

<sup>46</sup> *Advertiser*, 31 July 1909, 11; *Register*, 1 September 1909, 5.

Membership increased in South Australia from 17,322 in 1908 to 18,393 in 1909, an increase of 1,071. As there were only 71 converts from three country missions conducted by Dr. W. G. Torr and the Barrett Brothers, the majority of new church members came from the Chapman-Alexander Mission. There may have been under reporting of the number of mission decisions a factor hinted at in a post-mission report.<sup>47</sup> Clearly, Methodist revivalist and evangelical interest in the mission benefited the Methodist Church in particular. Many Methodists were no doubt bolstered by belief in Chapman's doctrinal statement at the beginning of the mission:

I believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. I believe in the Bible right through. I believe that men must be born again. If I did not hold this creed, I could not do this work.<sup>48</sup>

It was affirmation of a biblical worldview and form of religion standing against higher criticism and a weakened belief in biblical inspiration. For those affected by such perils as the ebbing tide of faith, the growing arrogance of materialism, rationalism, indifferentism, spiritual poverty, and religious failure, the visit was tantamount to the long-awaited revival.<sup>49</sup> However, for those with little or no contact with any church, there was minimal impact. Chapman himself lamented that there was little response from the irreligious. He acknowledged instead the beneficial impact upon churchgoers through a deepened spirituality, a more intense passion for souls, and a clearer vision of the cross.<sup>50</sup> This was a realistic assessment, given the response by local ministers from meetings with their members on 21 July, the first Church Day during the mission. The reaction of Henry Howard (1859-1933), of Pirie Street Methodist Church, was typical of the respondents:

The Rev. Henry Howard said he had got the shock of his life, and his unbelief had vanished. He had expected half a dozen or ten, and there were over 100 in his church. A gratifying feature of the service had been the pledging of everybody to stand by the minister.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 2 for membership and conversion figures. Under reporting at *Advertiser*, 31 July 1909, 11.

<sup>48</sup> *ACC*, 30 July 1909, 1.

<sup>49</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 9.

<sup>50</sup> *ACC*, 30 July 1909, 1.

<sup>51</sup> *ACC*, 30 July 1909, 2. Henry Howard was at Pirie Street Methodist Church from 1902 to 1921. Crowds of up to 1,000 heard him preach on Sunday evenings. A liberal evangelical, Howard was chairman of the executive committee for the second Chapman-Alexander mission in 1912. He

Similar reports from eight other ministers underscored the sense of spiritual solidarity and communal transformation engendered among Adelaide's evangelicals. The proponents of "old-time" religion were delighted.

Why was there an enthusiastic response to the mission? First, each of the meetings concluded with a call to make "a decision for Christ." This focussed the meetings in the direction of the evangelistic goal of conversion of the sinner. A solo song by Alexander at the conclusion of the sermon, as was his regular practice, reinforced the call.<sup>52</sup>

Second, the persuasive, eloquent, and clear presentations of the gospel message appealed to those in need of religious certainty, and to those who wanted a fixed and unchanging religion. Chapman's messages contrasted the "awfulness of sin" with the "magnificence of grace" in the oft-repeated formula of "repent, believe, confess and obey."<sup>53</sup> One of the core evangelical doctrines was the substitutionary atonement of the death of Jesus through the shedding of his blood was a sacrifice for human sin.

Third, the musical component of the meetings, under the direction of Charles Alexander, was, according to Chapman, of such benefit as to make the task of preaching much easier. Alexander, with a warm and engaging smile, prepared the hearers for Chapman in such a way as to entertain and maintain interest. His smooth and well-modulated tenor voice and his ability to engage different sections of the audience with various verses of the same song engendered a warm, inclusive and merry atmosphere. The use of repetition and informal light-hearted instruction produced likeable competition: "Now, there shall be showers of blessing! Every man and boy in the gallery sing that chorus! Good, again! Ladies up top, sing the second verse! Sing and mean it ladies! Men downstairs, sing it! Now you newspaper lads down below! All sing!"<sup>54</sup> Songs as sentimental anecdotes in

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accepted a call to the Wesleyan Church in Hampstead, England in 1921. In 1926, Howard was invited to the prestigious Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York. See Arnold D. Hunt, "Howard, Henry (1859-1933)," *ADEB*, 175; *ACC*, 7 July 1933, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Bryan D. Gilling, "Almost Persuaded Now to Believe: Gospel Songs in New Zealand Evangelical Theology and Practice," *Journal of Religious History* 19, no. 1 (June 1995): 95.

<sup>53</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 10.

<sup>54</sup> *Register*, 16 July 1909, 9. One of the songs in *Alexander's Hymns*, entitled "Never Lose Sight of Jesus," written by the Australian pianist and composer of over 500 hymns, Robert Harkness, a member of the 1909 tour, was sung on one occasion over 200 times at one of Evan Roberts's meetings

revivalist settings tended to replace hymns teaching doctrine.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, rather than explore the theology invoked, Alexander's songs focussed instead on the beneficial application of the doctrine to the faithful. This can be seen in the popular song, *There's Power in the Blood*, which highlighted benefits for the believer such as freedom from your passion and pride, and in a converted state, whiter, much whiter than snow. Implied in the song was the effectual nature of the substitutionary aspect of Christ's death for the sinner.<sup>56</sup> In similar fashion, another song, *He Will Hold Me Fast*, made popular in the 1909 mission and sung during the 1912 mission with emphasis on chorus repetition, accentuated the benefit of being held securely by Christ.<sup>57</sup> The one-line reference, 'Bought by Him at such a cost', a reference to the ransom nature of Christ's death, was almost hidden beneath the benefit to the believer.<sup>58</sup>

When Chapman ascended the podium, he found a receptive and eager audience. The use of songs as sermons, sung many times over, aided the memory, whereas the spoken sermon had but a short-term effect.<sup>59</sup> This strategy avoided the intellectual challenges posed by the growth of religious liberalism, and re-interpreted theology in the light of using music as an evangelistic tool. Choruses from *Alexander's Hymns* such as 'Saved by Grace', 'Whosoever will may come' and 'When God forgives, He forgets' conveyed theological content and helped to shape the evangelistic response.<sup>60</sup> They were easy to sing. John Kent has suggested that this use of music, popularised by Moody as part of the new revivalist genre, meant that audiences were able to accept uncritically in a sentimental musical form what they would have

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during the Welsh Revival. See *Register*, 20 July 1909, 6.

<sup>55</sup> This tendency is identified in Sandra Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

<sup>56</sup> Gilling, 'Almost Persuaded Now to Believe', 97. *Alexander's Hymns No. 3 With Standard Hymns as used in the Chapman-Alexander Mission* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, n.d.), Hymn No. 169, 'There's Power in the Blood'

<sup>57</sup> ACC, 24 May 1912, 9; *Alexander's Hymns No 3*, Hymn No. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Jesus saw his death as constituting a ransom. Without specifying to whom the ransom was to be paid, or from whose control the enslaved were to be freed, Jesus indicated that the giving of his life, was the means by which many would be freed from bondage. See Matthew 20:28; Mark 10:45.

<sup>59</sup> Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 23.

<sup>60</sup> *Alexander's Hymns No. 3*. During the Adelaide Mission, Alexander called it the 'Red Book' (no doubt because of its colour). See *Register*, 16 July 1909, 9.

hesitated to accept in the clearer form of the sermon<sup>61</sup>

At the very least, the 1909 mission was an example of urban entrepreneurial American mass revivalism ó made acceptable to a clientele more in tune with British conservatism than the excesses of raw frontier revivalism. It appealed particularly to business and city-workers, because it was organised in a business-like and efficient manner.<sup>62</sup> At most, it was a short-term urban revival that triggered a much-needed injection of spiritual fervour, emphasised personal regeneration, increased membership in the Methodist Church by almost six per cent, and strengthened the city-wide evangelical sub-culture.

Between the end of the Chapman and Alexander Mission of 1909 and their return in 1912, the Methodist Church undertook ten evangelistic missions in country areas; all produced converts. There were no comparable missions held in the city or suburban areas.<sup>63</sup> The trend toward the dominance of country revivalism became well established in the early 1890s with the increased use of lay evangelists. This trend continued in the first decade of the twentieth-century. By 1912, the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* acknowledged that the Methodist Church in the city and suburbs had not kept up with population growth.<sup>64</sup> Methodists were concerned.

## **Chapman and Alexander Mission – 1912**

The Chapman and Alexander visit to South Australia from 19 May to 3 July 1912, was part of an Australasian campaign that included New Zealand. It was organised through a national council, inclusive of state representatives with an executive located in Melbourne.<sup>65</sup> The mission party stayed longer in South Australia than in 1909 ó for six and a half weeks. Meetings were held both in Adelaide, and in the main regional centres of Petersburg, Broken Hill, Port Pirie, Mount Gambier, and

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<sup>61</sup> Kent,  *Holding The Fort*, 34.

<sup>62</sup> ACC, 23 July 1909, 10.

<sup>63</sup> See Appendices 1 and 2 for the years 1909-1912.

<sup>64</sup> Methodist Extension in the country and city of Adelaide was the subject of an editorial in the ACC, 16 August 1912, 3. The article raised the issue rather than address it.

<sup>65</sup> W. H. Fitchett, Chapman-Alexander Mission Australasian Executive, *Eleven Months in Australasia 1912-13: The Chapman-Alexander Mission* (Melbourne: Australasian Executive, Chapman-Alexander Evangelistic Mission, 1913), 5.

Bordertown. The South Australian mission focussed on Adelaide (three weeks), with almost 2,000 decisions recorded overall. Of these, about half took place in Adelaide.<sup>66</sup>

The statistics of the Adelaide campaign are impressive. Twelve hundred choristers from different churches were trained, organised, and conducted by Mr. W. Knill before the mission started.<sup>67</sup> The choir averaged 700 singers each night during the mission.<sup>68</sup> Crowds of up to 10,000 filled the Exhibition Building on two occasions, while the evening meetings attracted from 5,000 to 7,000. There were men's meetings of some 6,000 on the two Sunday afternoons, of whom one-half were said to be non-churchgoers; 3,000 at the 'old folks' day meeting; and 2,000 at one of the 'ladies' meetings held in the Town Hall.<sup>69</sup>

The mission's format was the same as in 1909: careful and thorough preparation, business-like execution, support of most churches, and prayer. As president of the Adelaide organising committee, the Rev. Henry Howard stressed the importance of spiritual preparation in his welcome speech to the mission party:

I would say to Dr. Chapman, it is because this city of Adelaide can present you with an atmosphere charged with spiritual oxygen and a field richly sown with spiritual seed ó because for years godly men and saintly women have toiled and wept and prayed, sowing beside all waters, and dying, many of them, without the sight of harvest, that all the churches of this city welcome you with outstretched hands and expectant hearts. It is a great moment, which under God will carry the work of years to a finish in thousands of hearts, and crystallise a widespread conviction of sin into an equally widespread decision for Christ. The love of all the churches meets you and greets you on this the threshold of your work.<sup>70</sup>

Known for his commanding pulpit presence and powers of oratory, Howard's welcome was exceedingly generous. It also marked a change of mind, for three years

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<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 1. *ACC*, 5 July 1912, 17.

<sup>67</sup> W. Knill was associated with the Highbury Street Prospect Methodist Church since its foundation in 1864. Well known in Adelaide's musical circles as a conductor of Sunday school anniversaries for different churches, Christian Endeavour convention choirs, and the Adelaide Orpheus (Male) Society. A keen cricketer and footballer, he represented both sports at local, district, and inter-colonial level. See *ACC*, 3 May 1935, 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Register*, 20 May 1912, 9.

<sup>69</sup> *ACC*, 31 May 1912, 6, 11; 7 June 1912, 8; 5 July 1912, 17; *Southern Baptist*, 13 June 1912; *Register*, 20 May 1912, 9.

<sup>70</sup> *Advertiser*, 20 May 1912, 9.



earlier he had acknowledged publicly his reserve toward the 1909 mission.<sup>71</sup> In some ways, Howard summed up the heartfelt response of others, who also recalled fleeting moments of the journey they too had taken through the spiritual landscape.

Once again, the Methodist Church supported the mission and benefited from the conversion growth that resulted.<sup>72</sup> Church membership increased from 19,262 in 1911 to 20,764 in 1912. This was an increase of 1,502, the largest-ever recorded annual increase in the history of South Australian Methodism.<sup>73</sup> To what extent did the Chapman-Alexander campaign contribute to this influx? At Methodism's Reception Day, held on 14 July 1912, 463 persons, either as converts from the mission, or the annual Sunday school Decision Day, accepted membership.<sup>74</sup> Three days later, at a post-mission "Great Thanksgiving Rally" the President of Conference, W. H. Cann, acknowledged the reception into membership of these new converts who represented thirty churches. The mood was cheerful and optimistic. The mission choir led the hymn singing and a "patriotic hymn" composed especially for the occasion, was sung "as only Methodists can sing" Inspirational speeches called upon men in particular, to continue the evangelistic task, and offered ways to conserve and extend the results of the mission. The Rev. Frank Lade urged those who "enjoyed the mission and sung yourselves into a state of delirious ecstasy" to re-focus their lives on the "incomparable Christ."<sup>75</sup> South Australian Methodism benefited from the reported 2,000 decision cards handed in during the mission.<sup>76</sup> After the mission, Methodism marshalled its forces for the next move forward.

Inspired by the Chapman-Alexander mission during 1912, there were ten other Methodist evangelistic missions that year, all in rural areas. They were mainly lay-led and reported 374 converts.<sup>77</sup> Many of these would have become Methodist church members. In addition, the Churches of Christ hosted Dr. Charles R. Scoville for a month's evangelistic mission in August 1912, which produced 924 conversions. In September 1912, the Churches of Christ reported a membership increase of 330,

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<sup>71</sup> Refer to footnote 52, this chapter.

<sup>72</sup> Editorial, "The Mission & And After" *ACC*, 14 June 1912, 3.

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix 2 for membership figures.

<sup>74</sup> *ACC*, 19 July 1912, 11. According to the source, this was an incomplete figure.

<sup>75</sup> *ACC*, 26 July 1912, 8-9.

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>77</sup> See Appendix 2 for separate mission figures.

and 823 in 1913, its largest ever to that date. Once again, large crowds attended the nightly meetings at the Exhibition Building and a 700-member choir led the singing. It is likely that some of the Scoville converts became Methodist members.<sup>78</sup>

What we have so far, is that in 1912, according to the reported conversion figures, at least one-third of the additions to Methodist Church membership resulted from the Chapman-Alexander mission. It is likely, however, that the ratio was much higher than one-third. If we assume that the Scoville mission produced 150 converts who went on to become members of the Methodist Church, then the sum of all reported conversions for 1912 accounts for about 1,000 of the 1,502 increase to Methodist membership for that year. It is likely that the Chapman-Alexander mission produced most of the 502 un-accounted for additions to Methodist membership in 1912. This is the most likely reason, as the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* attributed the large increase in membership for 1912 to the Chapman-Alexander mission and the 'general spirit of revival which the mission generated'<sup>79</sup> The American-led evangelical urban mission appealed to the middle-class respectability and provenance of city and suburban Methodism.

While the figures for church membership and recorded conversions are generally available, figures for converts 'falling away' are difficult to determine, for these are more impressionistic and anecdotal. During the 1912 mission, Chapman claimed that he had received 400 letters 'from people who had obtained lasting help from his 1909 mission'<sup>80</sup> Not all of those who remained steadfast in the faith would have written a letter, so the actual rate was probably much higher. The view of Charles H. Denison, one of Chapman's associates with the mission party, claimed a retention rate as high as 90 per cent 'under Chapman-Alexander methods'<sup>81</sup>

## Conclusion

The Chapman-Alexander missions concluded the second period of revivalist activity that commenced in 1865 with the visit of the Rev. William 'California'

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<sup>78</sup> *Advertiser*, 5 August 1912, 12; 4 September 1912, 18; 6 September 1912, 12; 7 September 1912, 6; 17 September 1913, 18.

<sup>79</sup> *ACC*, 14 November 1913, 11.

<sup>80</sup> *ACC*, 14 June 1912, 8.

<sup>81</sup> *Register*, 7 June 1912, 7.

Taylor, the first international revivalist to visit South Australia. The large-scale evangelistic missions undertaken in the twelve years before the First World War were the culmination of nearly half a century of mass revivalism in the Methodist churches. It was the end of a period during which Methodists still valued the relative importance of mass revivalism.

By 1912, South Australian Methodist mass revivalism stood clearly in the American revivalist tradition. It was influenced by the methods of Charles G. Finney disseminated through his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1835), the visit of William Taylor in 1865, the reports of D. L. Moody's visit to Britain in the mid-1870s, the simultaneous mission of W. Edgar Geil (1902), and continued through the influence of J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander in their missions of 1909 and 1912. Mass revivalism, alongside of localised spiritual awakenings, enabled Methodism to continue to differentiate itself from nominal forms of Christian association. The essential characteristic of revival activity was instantaneous conversion induced through preaching of the gospel. Revivalism functioned as a standard of religious practice against which vital religion was measured and sustained.

In the afterglow of the second Chapman-Alexander mission, the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* urged his readers to maintain aggressive evangelistic activity throughout the church, that activism was preferable to quietism, as 'continued watchfulness and ceaseless activity are the essentials of ultimate triumph'. Victory, he said, was at the heart of the Methodist lexicon, to be pursued relentlessly through sustained evangelism. The dualism of spiritual faith and the world, the latter represented by the 'powers of evil', demanded the prosecution of 'spiritual warfare'. There was little doubt in the editor's mind that the mission could be termed a 'revival', a mission may be 'got up' but there was enough indication that the Spirit of God was present to 'make of Methodism the power it once was'. The editor's manifesto went forth in the wake of the Chapman-Alexander mission.<sup>82</sup> One who heard the call, was the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher (1877-1954), a young Congregational minister of Methodist upbringing in Port Adelaide, whom we shall

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<sup>82</sup> ACC, 14 June 1912, 3.

consider in the next chapter.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Lionel B. Fletcher, *Mighty Moments* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1931), 43-48. Lionel Fletcher was born at Maitland, New South Wales into a Methodist family. All eight sons became preachers, three of them ordained as Methodists. His father was a lay preacher, grandfather a missionary and preacher, and his great-grandfather also a preacher and personal friend of John Wesley. He did not take up probationary studies in the Methodist Church as he was unable to support himself financially, and later studied and was ordained to the Congregational ministry in Sydney. He was called to Port Adelaide where he served from 1909 to 1915. Concerned for social well-being and evangelism, he was prominent in the 1915 referendum in support of six o'clock closing. Greatly affected by the Chapman-Alexander Mission of 1912, Fletcher introduced some of the mission's evangelistic practices into his own ministry. When he left Port Adelaide, it was the largest Congregational church in Australia. Following a successful pastorate in Wales at Wood Street Congregational Church, Cardiff, 1916-1922, Fletcher served in Auckland, New Zealand, where a remarkable revival took place, and then as Empire Evangelist for the Movement for World Evangelisation until 1935. He then became evangelist for the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches. He led evangelistic campaigns in South Africa in 1934, 1936, and 1938. In 1941, he returned to Australia and served at Manly Congregational Church. See Geoffrey L. Barnes, 'Fletcher, Lionel Bale (1877-1954)', *ADEB*, 116-117. *ACC*, 24 August 1923, 5.

## **PART III 1914 – 1939**

### **CHAPTER 9**

#### **REVIVALISM IN TRANSFORMATION 1912-1921**

This chapter focuses on the uncertainty within Methodism, from 1912 to 1921, of the role and place of the revival within Methodist evangelistic practice. Despite this uncertainty, the work of the Congregational minister Lionel Fletcher in 1915 demonstrated the continued validity of local revivalism to deliver conversions and produce denominational growth. Local revivals of the Fletcher-led type were central to the expansion of Methodist vital religion. However, there was no repetition of Fletcher's revivalist conversionary zeal either during, or in the aftermath of, the First World War. Furthermore, the emergence of the lay-led Methodist Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association, and the Intercessory Prayer Union also reflected a lack of consensus within Methodism on the relevance of revivals, as well as a growing self-confidence among lay leaders to conduct revival-type events. A statistical overview from 1914 to 1939 demonstrates the changing nature of revivalism in the inter-war period.

#### **Revivalism – Statistical Overview – 1914-1939**

Appendix 1 identifies eighty-seven revival-type events in the period, which culminated with the outbreak of the Second World War. The proportion of self-described Methodists in the South Australian population fell from 24.6 per cent (100,402) in 1911 (408,558) to 22.0 per cent (127,978) in 1933 (580,949), while actual church membership increased from 19,262 to 27,403 in the same period. By way of comparison, the Catholic self-described population decreased from 14.1 per cent (57,558) to 11.9 per cent (69,443) while the Anglicans increased marginally from 27.8 per cent (113,781) to 28.3 per cent (164,531).<sup>1</sup> When the non-census year of 1939 is used, it is estimated that the self-described Methodist proportion of the population decreased slightly from 24.6 per cent (100,402) of the state's population

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<sup>1</sup> Census Data from Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 26, 424, 429. There is no census data for 1939. After the census year of 1933, the next one was 1947. Therefore, the figures for 1933 are included.

in 1911 (408,558) to 24.4 per cent (149,770) in 1939 (612,949).<sup>2</sup>

Methodist membership expressed as a percentage of the total population shows a slight decrease from 4.7 per cent in 1911 to 4.5 per cent in 1939. The number of conversions recorded from 1914-1939 was 2,826, at an average of 113 conversions per year, while Methodist church membership increased from 21,689 to 27,883 in the same period. Conversions, therefore, from 1911 to 1939, accounted for 45.6 per cent of the membership growth, as membership grew by 6,194 in the same period.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, from 1911 to 1939, there was a 49 per cent estimated increase in the total Methodist self-described population.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, there was an increase of 44.7 per cent in the total Methodist membership. Therefore, the self-described population increased at a slightly faster rate than the membership. In addition, when we compare the proportion of both self-described and membership to the total population, we find there was a marginal decrease of 0.2 per cent and 0.17 per cent respectively. We can therefore conclude that, in the period 1911 to 1939, the Methodists in South Australia, according to the indices of self-description and membership, maintained relative parity with population growth. By way of comparison, at the time of the 1933 census, the Methodists comprised 22.0 per cent of the state's population, second only to the Anglicans at 28.3 per cent, followed by Catholics (12 per cent), Lutherans (4.5 per cent), and Presbyterians (4.3 per cent). Membership as a percentage of the total population in 1936 situate the Methodists at 4.72 per cent, Anglicans (3.85 per cent), Lutheran (3.14 per cent), Catholic (1.91 per cent), Churches of Christ (1.33 per cent), Congregational (0.75 per cent), and Presbyterian (0.62 per cent).<sup>5</sup> Methodism maintained its distinctive characteristic as the majority non-Anglican Protestant religious entity in the state.<sup>6</sup> When the two kinds of denominational association, self-described and membership, are compared, the Methodist self-described group in 1933 was four and a half times as large as the

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<sup>2</sup> As 1939 falls mid-way between the 1933 census and the 1947 census, population estimates and Methodist self-described figures have been calculated accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> Conversion and membership figures from Appendix 3.

<sup>4</sup> Calculated from Vamplew, *Historical Statistics*, 429.

<sup>5</sup> Comparative church self-described figures are available for the 1933 census and 1936 membership figures at Vamplew, *Historical Statistics*, 424, 429.

<sup>6</sup> Membership figures are supplied for the non-census 1936 year in Vamplew, *Historical Statistics*, 429.

membership group. In comparison, the ratio was the same for 1866, and six times as large in 1901.

Of the eighty-seven revival-type events from 1914 to 1939, sixty-four occurred in rural townships, producing 2,017 converts, while twenty-three occurred in the city of Adelaide, and producing 654 converts. A further six conducted in both city and country recorded nil conversions. There were four other missions conducted by other denominations/groups promoted in the Methodist Church, but for which there are no conversion figures available for Methodists.<sup>7</sup> Of the 2,017 rural conversions recorded over the 25 years, the Rev. Lionel Fletcher secured 900 in a six-month evangelistic tour in 1915. This stand out figure is noted in the Annual Conversion Index graph in Appendices 4-1 and 4-2. From 1914 to 1939, the almost flat-line Annual Conversion Index is interrupted by the peak year of 1915.

Appendix 5 consolidates the conversion data from 1838 to 1939. A further examination of aspects of the statistical evidence over the whole period, from 1838 to 1939, enables some comparative conclusions to be made. From 1838 to 1858, Appendix 1 identifies thirteen recorded revival type-events, while during the next seven years, 1859 to 1865, twenty-six events are recorded. The relative infrequency of Methodist revivals in the colony's first twenty years is due probably to the nature and demands of a colonial settler environment; preoccupied with establishing homes, buildings, rural properties, and places of work. As J. D. Bollen rightly claimed:

But in the long run things of the mind and the spirit need a setting, an institutional base. And these settings or structures are often not easy to shift or to set up in a new land. Christians in the long run need the ordinances of religion, the apparatus of worship and spiritual government, a material fabric and a ministry. And it is hard to set all this in motion. It takes time to get things underway at home; it takes time to build churches and gather congregations in the colony.<sup>8</sup>

Many of the first generation of colonists were immigrant Methodists and as the colony increased numerically, denominational expansion occurred by transfer as well as conversion growth. The latter enabled some early consolidation to take place and set the boundaries for further expansion in line with population movements. It is

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 3 for conversion data.

<sup>8</sup> Bollen, *Religion in Australian Society*, 16.

possible that more revivals occurred, but failed to enter the historical narrative due to the loss of records.

Of the initial 13 revival events (1838-1858), four were Bible Christian (two Adelaide, two rural) and nine Wesleyan (seven Adelaide, two rural). The predominance of Adelaide-based revivalism during the colony's first twenty years was reflected in the distribution of population. During the next seven years, from 1859 to 1865, thirteen Wesleyan revivals occurred (six Adelaide, seven rural), five Primitive Methodist (all rural), and five Bible Christian (all rural), as well as two country revivals (Wesleyan, Bible Christian, and Primitive Methodist), and one country revival (Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist). In total, six revivals occurred in Adelaide, with the remaining twenty in the country. The ratio of just over 3:1 rural to city revivals, which first occurred in the 1859 to 1865 period, set the pattern for the next three quarters of a century as rural Methodists found country South Australia more receptive to revivalist activity than were the city dwellers. The ratio was 2.8:1, averaged over the final review period of 1914 to 1939. The city of Adelaide may have predominated as the commercial, trading, and cultural centre of the state, but it was in the country where Methodist revivalism was most effective.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence accords with the observation made by David Hempton that the old Methodist tradition of community-based revivalism that swept parts of England, Wales, Ireland, and North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was similarly inappropriate for twentieth-century urban populations.<sup>10</sup> The pattern of South Australian Methodist rural expansion, aided by itinerant preachers, the formation of the local rural populace into classes and circuits from which local preachers emerged, Sunday schools and adult mutual improvement societies, interwoven within the fabric of female sociability, created small closely-knit communities receptive to outbreaks of periodic revivalism.

Conversion figures also reflect the distribution of revivalist activity. Apart from 1838 to 1865, when almost twice as many conversions occurred in Adelaide in comparison to rural areas (1.7:1), the ratios reflect a consistent rural predominance,

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<sup>9</sup> Appendices 1 and 5.

<sup>10</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 194. See also Kent,  *Holding the Fort*, 36-37.



as indicated by the ratio of country-to-city conversions, 1866-1913 (3.09), and 1914-1939 (3.08). The degree to which conversionary activity fuelled membership growth varied considerably in the thesis period. By comparing the number of conversions as a percentage of membership growth, from 1838 to 1865, less than half (45.6 per cent) of conversions accounted for the growth in membership, while from 1866 to 1901, there were two and a half times more recorded conversions than membership growth. As Methodism moved beyond its first generation to its second and third, conversionary activity provided the necessary membership and adherent pools to service institutional expansionary growth and community influence. It was an attractive strategy: to promote general societal well-being as it grew numerically. From 1902 to 1913, there were fewer conversions recorded than new members welcomed (88.6 per cent), while from 1914 to 1939, the number of conversions accounted for less than a half (45.6 per cent) of the membership increase.<sup>11</sup> Clearly, the doctrine of salvation that insisted on the efficacy of personal conversion as the gateway for *vital religion* was not the only route to acquire church membership.

Church membership stabilised in the 1930s, ranging between 27,117 in 1932 and 27,883 in 1939. Conversions occurred in only four years during the 1930s: 1934 (238), 1935 (63), 1936 (250), and 1937 (2). This averaged out to 52 conversions per year, as compared to the 1866-1901 figure of 543 conversions per year.<sup>12</sup> During the 1930s, the Methodist Church experienced minimal membership growth, occasioned by reduced conversionary activity. The statistical overview demonstrates the diminished nature of revivalism in the inter-war period.

One who was not a Methodist, but ministered as though he were was the Congregational minister, the Rev. Lionel Fletcher, who, in 1915, increased the incidence of conversionary activity to levels associated normally with Methodist revivalism. In the aftermath of the Chapman-Alexander mission of 1912, and in the midst of a subdued evangelicalism driven by the exigencies of a national war effort, Fletcher embarked in 1915 on state-wide non-denominational evangelistic missions. Fletcher understood these missions as precursor to revival rather than the revival itself. It was a bold move and signified a change in evangelistic thought and practice.

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<sup>11</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>12</sup> Appendices 2 and 3.

## Lionel B. Fletcher 1912 – 1915

Lionel Bale Fletcher was born in 1878, the eighth child of devout Methodist parents.<sup>13</sup> His father was a teacher in the Hunter Valley of New South Wales. All his brothers entered the Methodist ministry or became local preachers. Following a time at sea as an apprentice seaman, he worked for one of his brothers on a farm west of Sydney. In 1896, at Peak Hill Methodist Church, he made a public declaration of his faith in Christ, and at the time, he believed he was called to preach. He preached his first sermon at the age of 21, and commenced training for the Methodist ministry. Fletcher did not complete his studies because the Methodist Church was unable to support him financially. Following his marriage to Maude Basham in 1900, he worked as a miner and journalist in Charters Towers, Queensland.

Returning to Sydney in 1905, Fletcher commenced his ministerial studies with the Congregational Church as it was prepared to support him and his family. During his studies, he worked as a home missionary at Campbelltown Congregational Church (1905-1908) in New South Wales. In February 1908, he accepted a call to Kurri Kurri Congregational Church in the Hunter Valley, and was ordained in March 1908. By this time, the family had grown to include two daughters and two sons. Later in 1908, Fletcher accepted a call to Port Adelaide Congregational Church, and commenced in February 1909. He succeeded the highly respected J. C. Kirby who had been its minister since 1880. Kirby had been active in denouncing alcohol abuse and was a leading advocate of social reform.<sup>14</sup> Fletcher continued this work, believing that real Christianity is shown forth in service.<sup>15</sup> He often inveighed against the safe sins of drinking, gambling, and immorality, being commended on the

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<sup>13</sup> On Fletcher's life, including his ministry in South Australia from 1909 to 1915, see Peter Lambert, *Lionel B. Fletcher: Empire Evangelist* (Black Forest, SA: Uniting Church South Australia Historical Society, 2015); C. W. Malcolm, *Twelve Hours in the Day: A Biography of Lionel B. Fletcher* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1956). I am indebted to Lambert for this, and the next paragraph.

<sup>14</sup> Yvonne L. Potter, 'Progress, Pubs and Piety, Port Adelaide 1836-1915' (PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1999), 390-448. Kirby's work and social reform agenda, with particular reference to Port Adelaide is the subject of the chapter. His reform agenda included social purity, temperance, and women's suffrage.

<sup>15</sup> Hugh McLeod has argued that the working classes of England in the late nineteenth century had strong connections to the churches. Despite different standards of dress and behaviour between classes, there was a recognition that matters such as the rites of passage and Sunday schools were an important part of community life. Church attendances at Port Adelaide would suggest a similar situation. See McLeod, *Religion and Society in England 1850-1914*, 121-133. Dickey and Martin, *Building Community*, 8-12.

one hand by his supporters, and loathed on the other by his opponents.<sup>16</sup> This was the standard practice of most churchmen at the time who directed their efforts at social reform through moral suasion and influencing state legislation.<sup>17</sup>

Port Adelaide was a commercial and shipping precinct, known for its distinct working-class ethos among the seamen, wharf labourers, factory hands, and shop attendants who made up a sizable portion of the working population. Serviced by thirty-eight hotels, and frequented by transient seafarers and travellers, it attracted a range of social problems of particular concern to the churches. At Port Adelaide, churches were active in assisting the 'deserving poor' within their limited means, and less inclined to work with the 'destitute poor'.<sup>18</sup> The Port Adelaide Salvation Army Corps, the third established in Australia in 1882, soon became known for its work among prostitutes, alcoholics, and those caught breaking the law.<sup>19</sup> At Kapunda, however, the first flushes of enthusiasm among its workers and followers to adjust their methods to 'cater for low tastes' met with editorial censure.<sup>20</sup> This ambivalent approach helps to explain why some people felt a connection to the churches, while others felt alienation.<sup>21</sup>

The Chapman-Alexander mission of 1912 was a significant event in the development of Fletcher's evangelistic ministry. During his first three years at the Port Adelaide Congregational Church (1909-1911), Fletcher's work, by his own confession, lacked evangelistic initiative.<sup>22</sup> His contact with, and esteem for, Chapman and Alexander in 1912 was a turning point in his life, as it gave him confidence, passion, and a methodology of evangelistic practice. Following the Chapman-Alexander mission in 1912, Fletcher announced an 'after-meeting' during

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<sup>16</sup> *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 23 June 1915, 2.

<sup>17</sup> See for example the work of the Rev. Joseph Coles Kirby as minister of the Port Adelaide Congregational Church 1880-1908, Potter, 'Progress, Pubs and Piety, Port Adelaide 1836-1915' 15.

<sup>18</sup> Potter, 'Progress, Pubs and Piety, Port Adelaide 1836-1915' 382, 491.

<sup>19</sup> Barbara Bolton, *Booth's Drum: The Salvation Army in Australia 1880-1980* (Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 12-14. The early Salvationists were known as much by their actions as by their mode of apparel, 'attired in a sort of second-hand livery costume'. See *Port Adelaide News*, 13 June 1882.

<sup>20</sup> *Kapunda Herald*, 27 July 1883, 2. The editorial, entitled, 'Religious Revivalism' while acknowledging the fine temperance work and religious motivation of the Salvation Army, laments its tendency to 'vulgarise religion' in order to appeal to 'low tastes'.

<sup>21</sup> Dickey and Martin, *Building Community*, 11.

<sup>22</sup> Fletcher, *Mighty Moments*, 43. Fletcher stated that his 'definite' work as an evangelist commenced only after the 1912 mission. *Mighty Moments*, 47.

a service at the Port Adelaide Congregational Church; nineteen people went forward and committed their lives to Christ. Later he declared: 'I date the beginning of my definite work as an evangelist from that night'<sup>23</sup> Keen to follow up on the work of the missionaries, Fletcher innovated and incorporated into his services, the 'appeal' or 'decision for Christ', the 'after-meeting', special music and a song leader, all of which he had witnessed during the Chapman-Alexander mission.<sup>24</sup>

For the next three years (1912-1915) at Port Adelaide, Fletcher honed his craft as a pastor-evangelist. During these years he secured 500 conversions by the time of his departure to undertake a six-month evangelistic tour of South Australia in the second half of 1915.<sup>25</sup> The Methodist Church expressed keen interest in, and support for, the 'United Christian Missions' led by Fletcher, no doubt aware that, although a Congregationalist, he was a 'theological alternative to the liberal ethos of Australasian Congregationalism'<sup>26</sup> The call for 'relentless and sustained evangelism', made by the editor of the Methodist newspaper following the Chapman-Alexander mission in June 1912, did not materialise as hoped into a continuous long-running revival.<sup>27</sup> Neither did the Scoville mission, despite its short-term conversionary benefit to the churches. Just five months after the mission, the same editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* lamented the lack of 'the old evangelistic fervour', it was unthinkable to regard Methodism as 'spent energy or cancelled spiritual force'<sup>28</sup>

He had good reason to be concerned. First, there were Methodists who looked to the mission as the revival, and when Chapman and Alexander left town, so did the revival.<sup>29</sup> Mission-goers returned to their congregations and 'exchanged the heat of a large hall for the atmosphere of a sparsely attended church'<sup>30</sup> Fletcher held instead that the revival followed the mission. Therefore, he was determined to do whatever

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<sup>23</sup> Malcolm, *Twelve Hours in the Day*, 178.

<sup>24</sup> Fletcher, *Mighty Moments*, 45-46.

<sup>25</sup> *ACW*, 21 January 1916, 7. Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, 114. Orr has the number of conversions as 200. The ACC figure of 500 is probably correct, as Fletcher supplied the figure in an interview on the eve of his departure for Wales in January 1916.

<sup>26</sup> Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, 258.

<sup>27</sup> *ACC*, 14 June 1912, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Editorial, 'Connexional Evangelism' *ACC*, 18 October 1912, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Fletcher, *Mighty Moments*, 44.

<sup>30</sup> Lionel B. Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), 26.

he could to maintain concerted evangelistic activity as the precursor to revival:

I soon learned what seems to be the hardest lesson to teach ministers and churches, and that is that if a mission is vigorously followed up, and made the beginning of advance work, instead of the end of special effort, then revival will follow.<sup>31</sup>

Whereas Chapman conducted missions, Fletcher now preached for revival.<sup>32</sup>

Second, there was no connexional evangelist to maintain a state-wide focus on the evangelistic task, unlike almost all the other states.<sup>33</sup> Third, modest revivalist activity in the wake of the Chapman-Alexander mission in the second half of 1912, gave way to minimal activity in 1913-1914, and all but ceased following the outbreak of the First World War, as indicated by falling additions to membership and few conversions. After the record year of 1912, during which membership increased by 1,502, it rose 531 in 1913 and 394 in 1914. In the same period the number of recorded conversions fell from 1,117 in 1912, to 44 in 1913, and 80 in the first half of 1914. The advent of Fletcher's United Christian Missions (albeit non-denominational), had the potential to deliver what Methodism itself could not. Within Methodism, there was waning interest in promoting revivals, and a lessening expectancy that revival would occur. Fletcher saw the Port Adelaide Congregational Church grow by conversions from 350 to 500 members between 1909 and 1915, his last year at Port Adelaide, to become the largest of any Congregational church in Australia.<sup>34</sup>

During the second half of 1915, Fletcher conducted sixteen United Christian Missions on behalf of participating churches: the Baptist, Churches of Christ, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational.<sup>35</sup> The degree of participation varied across the state and depended on local factors, such as whether the local clergy and lay leaders were in favour of a mission. During the missions, 1,318 conversions were

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<sup>31</sup> Fletcher, *Mighty Moments*, 44-45.

<sup>32</sup> Adapted from Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, 60. The original statement is, "Whereas Taylor preached for revival, Chapman conducted missions"

<sup>33</sup> ACC, 16 August 1912, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Lambert, *Lionel B. Fletcher: Empire Evangelist*, 5.

<sup>35</sup> ACC, 11 June 1915, 9. An Executive consisting of four members from each church made the necessary arrangements. The Methodist weekly paper, *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, reported on nine missions conducted from June to December 1915. See Appendix 1. The paper recorded another seven as having taken place.

recorded and of these, 900 claimed Methodist allegiance. Methodist church membership increased by 1,049 in 1915.<sup>36</sup> It was to be the last year of significant membership growth for South Australian Methodists until 1937. From 1900 to 1915, the church's membership increased 54 per cent from 14,738 to 22,738. Over the next 21 years, from 1916 to 1937, membership increased by only 22 per cent from 22,791 to 27,855.<sup>37</sup> By comparison with the first 15 years of the twentieth-century, the interwar period saw few evangelistic missions and conversions.

The mission conducted by Fletcher at Kadina in the 'copper triangle' of the Upper Yorke Peninsula, 140 kilometres north-west of Adelaide, from 27 June 1915 to 9 July 1915, was arguably the most significant of the missions he conducted during the six-month period. Kadina was near Moonta, in an area with a strong revivalist tradition. All churches united for nightly meetings held at Taylor Street Methodist Church, which hundreds attended. The three concluding meetings attracted from 600 to 700 on each occasion. The two Sunday meetings held at the Town Hall were so full that several hundred were unable to gain entry. Fletcher preached 'the old, old story' emphasised the power of prayer, repentance, and salvation, was unequivocal in his denunciation of evil, and centralised the person of Christ and the atonement as the basis of his appeals. During the mission, Fletcher secured 235 conversions, of which 184 claimed Methodist allegiance.<sup>38</sup> Like Chapman and others before him, Fletcher appealed to the evangelical mindset that emphasised the gospel as the 'old story' as distinct from 'modernism' evolutionary theory, and higher criticism, which for some Methodists, undermined the truth of the Bible. 'Old story' terminology 'appealed to and fostered a siege mentality among evangelicals'<sup>39</sup> The evangelical subculture cradled the 'vital old-time truths without the disturbing technicalities of doctrine' and provided what the crowds wanted.<sup>40</sup>

The effect on Methodist membership at Kadina was remarkable. Membership increased from 502, with 304 on probation (temporary membership), to 721, and four

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<sup>36</sup> See Appendix 2. *ACC*, 21 January 1916, 7.

<sup>37</sup> Membership figures from Appendix 3.

<sup>38</sup> *ACC*, 30 July 1915, 11. On the atonement, which Fletcher puts at the 'essential centre' of the gospel see Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 60, 214-215.

<sup>39</sup> Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 32.

<sup>40</sup> *ACC*, 23 July 1909, 10; 22 August 1913, 15.

on probation, an increase of 43 per cent. Membership declined to 676 in the following year but recovered to 707 the year after. The fact that the number on probation (304), greatly exceeded the number of converts who sought identification with Methodism (184) at the time of the mission, indicated a further harvest of members on probation after the mission concluded.<sup>41</sup> Statistically, the mission achieved a great thing for Kadina Methodism. It generated an impressive number of converts. They went on to church membership and maintained their formal association with the church. Two years after the wave of converts took up membership, the decline was a miniscule two per cent (721 to 707).<sup>42</sup> How do we account for the success of Fletcher? A detailed examination of his six-month itineration as an evangelist in South Australia is outside the scope of this study. However, some preliminary observations made from the Kadina mission indicate the need for further enquiry.

First, Fletcher was clear in his own mind as to the central focus of his evangelistic exertions: to bring the hearer into right relationship with God through Jesus Christ.<sup>43</sup> A proponent of vital religion, Fletcher understood that the Christian life is lived in a vital, real, forceful, and fervent experience.<sup>44</sup> This was his mission and it established the parameters of every aspect of his work.

Second, there was Fletcher, the man. Referred to as the man from Port Adelaide, Fletcher possessed a certain mystique, which the man in the street could understand.<sup>45</sup> The fact that he had resigned from his pastorate to undertake non-denominational evangelism struck a chord of approval with the proponents of a common Christianity, and with those not wanting to attach undue significance to a particular religious denomination.<sup>46</sup> After all, men looking for a man, some

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<sup>41</sup> Membership figures extracted from Conference Statistics. See Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of the South Australia Conference*, 1916; 1917.

<sup>42</sup> *Minutes*, 1918, 72; 1919, 76.

<sup>43</sup> Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 49.

<sup>44</sup> Quote cited from Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of the South Australia Conference*, 1917, annual address to members. It signifies in part, South Australian Methodism's continuing commitment to vital religion. See *Minutes*, 1917, 58. In Fletcher's mind this was distinct from nominalism, and was overcome through evangelism. See Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 58.

<sup>45</sup> The press, in reference to Fletcher's visits, often used the term the man from Port Adelaide. See for example *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 19 June 1915, 3; 3 July 1915, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Common Christianity was a term applied to a Protestant Church ethos of common acceptance of essential doctrines. See Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, 19; Ian Breward, *Australia: The Most Godless*

of whom enlisted from Kadina during the First World War, had little regard for denominational teachings and theological musings.<sup>47</sup> Sectarian rivalries held no attraction.<sup>48</sup> In Fletcher, they found one with whom they could identify.<sup>49</sup>

Third, Fletcher believed that supernatural power was needed for effective preaching. According to him, the baptism of the Holy Spirit was essential to the evangelist as the means by which power to preach was made available.<sup>50</sup> As a preacher, Fletcher did not want ‘form without the power’<sup>51</sup> Well-understood within Methodist circles, the doctrine of the baptism of the Holy Spirit was often introduced to the young potential lay preacher through William Arthur’s book, *The Tongue of Fire* (1856), cited as one of the standard works on the subject.<sup>52</sup> As early as 1867, the Wesleyan Methodist minister, John Watsford, gave an ordination charge in which he commended Arthur’s work on the importance of power in preaching:

A minister cannot be responsible for success, but he is responsible for power; responsible, not only for presenting the truth to the people, in which many seem to think their responsibility terminates, but responsible also for this ó that the truth he presents be not dry, but accompanied with some energy of the Spirit.

Barely able to maintain composure, Watsford, known for his uncompromising views on the matter, thundered: ‘And oh, my brethren, above all things seek that power’<sup>53</sup>

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*Place Under Heaven*”? (Melbourne: Beacon Hill Books, 1988), 23-25.

<sup>47</sup> On the term ‘man’ see *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 19 June 1915, 3. On the First World War Australian soldier see Richard V. Pierard, ‘The ANZAC Day Phenomenon: A Study in Civil Religion’ in Geoffrey R. Treloar and Robert D. Linder, eds., *Making History for God: Essays on Evangelicalism, Revival, and Mission* (Sydney: Robert Menzies College, 2004), 246.

<sup>48</sup> Breward, *Australia: ‘The Most Godless Place Under Heaven’*, 23.

<sup>49</sup> This is in contrast to the personal mystique surrounding the Welsh evangelist, Evan Roberts in the Welsh Revival of 1904-05, who through his emphasis on divine agency, ‘it is all of God’ manufactured an apparent ‘mysterious omnipresence’ which in time, ‘caught up with him’ See Edward J. Gitre, ‘The 1904-05 Welsh Revival: Modernization, Technologies, and Techniques of the Self’ *Church History* 73, no.4 (December 2004): 802.

<sup>50</sup> Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 100-102.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Form Without The Power’ was the title of address in the *SAPMR*, May 1869, 75. The author refers to William Arthur’s book in which he ‘shows us very forcibly our need of power’

<sup>52</sup> William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire*, popular edn. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1856), 59-65. The reference to the book as a standard work or ‘textbook’ is in *ACC*, 21 July 1933, 14. Fletcher commended Arthur’s *Tongue of Fire* as worthy of prayerful and careful reading. See Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 102.

<sup>53</sup> *SAWMMag*, October 1867, 166. At the time, Watsford was chairman of the District, and a staunch advocate on the importance of divine power in preaching. As late as 1946, the Rev. John Hough, on the eve of the ‘Thanksgiving Memorial Crusade’ wrote of the continued relevance of Arthur’s work for understanding the place of divine power in preaching. See *South Australian Methodist*, 14 June 1946, 6.



Fletcher seemed to embody divine power more than most, if his success in gaining converts is any guide.<sup>54</sup> While churchgoers might understand the use of religious language, it was of little interest to the man in the street. They understood Fletcher, the man, and his ability to communicate with them.

Fourth, Fletcher communicated in ways that people could understand. The *Kadina and Wallaroo Times* described Fletcher as possessing commanding speaking skills:

Mr Fletcher is a born evangelist, gifted with a flow of language and the ability to paint word pictures such as few can equal. [He is] sincere, straight, and fearless. He is absolutely at home in speaking to men. The earnest, forceful addresses of Rev. Fletcher have had a telling effect on his hearers.<sup>55</sup>

Fletcher took an interest in the life of seafaring, working-class and commercial Port Adelaide, helped probably by his service as an apprentice on the sailing ship *Macquarie*.<sup>56</sup> The *Register* claimed that Fletcher's previous experiences as a midshipman, a shearer, rouseabout, a miner, and a sub-editor, enabled him to exert a wonderful influence through the pulpit.<sup>57</sup> He worked well with men, many prepared to give him a hearing when clerical status alone might dictate otherwise. His severe and straightforward condemnation of evil as he understood it, balanced by appeals to better working conditions and a better life for individuals earned him acceptance.<sup>58</sup> Relatives grieving over the loss of sons at Gallipoli in 1915 may have found some solace through Fletcher's understanding of the soldiers' altruism, as men who signed away their individual freedom that they might secure the freedom of the world. This was consistent with common community perceptions of Australia's participation in the First World War.<sup>59</sup>

Fifth, the people of Port Adelaide knew and respected Fletcher. A special Sunday

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<sup>54</sup> According to Fletcher, citing Arthur's *Tongue of Fire*, preachers, in order to save souls must be totally reliant on the Holy Spirit. See *ACC*, 6 March 1914, 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 19 June 1915, 3; 23 June 1915, 2.

<sup>56</sup> Geoffrey L. Barnes, 'Fletcher, Lionel Bale (1877-1954)', *ADEB*, 116.

<sup>57</sup> *Register*, 2 February 1924, 5.

<sup>58</sup> *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 3 July 1915, 2. Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 50.

<sup>59</sup> Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 51. The Roll of Honour to the men from the church who enlisted in the First World War contains 124 names, and the names of 32 men who died in the War. Some of the men would have enlisted and died during Fletcher's time at the church, as the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign commenced on 25 April 1915. See *Register*, 2 February 1924, 5.

service for families at Port Adelaide Congregational Church in 1913 demonstrated Fletcher's respect among the people of the district. A women's service attracted 750 to hear Fletcher preach on "The Glory of Womanhood". In the afternoon, a navy band led a march from the railway station to the church. Included in the march were men of Fletcher's church. The Mayor and members of the Corporation attended the evening service, which attracted a thousand men who filled every available space, some 300 being unable to enter. Fletcher preached against the sins of gambling, alcohol abuse, and sexual misbehaviour, and challenged the men to accept Christ as Saviour. Hundreds remained for the after-meeting, which yielded twenty-five converts, making fifty for the day. For Fletcher, the issue was not "Why men don't go to church?" rather, "Why men DO go to church?" A report of the events of the day by Kirby provided part of the answer:

Mr Fletcher has been the pastor for four and a half years and by steady work and prayer has accumulated great weight in the Port. He is not an unknown wandering evangelist. He and his people have given themselves to the work.<sup>60</sup>

While Fletcher always believed in the work of the professional evangelist, he was of the opinion that the settled pastorate provided the best circumstances for evangelistic work.<sup>61</sup> Lionel Fletcher's evangelistic work, like the many local, city, or rural revivals and mission campaigns that preceded him, were important events for participants within the orbit of South Australian "vital religion". Fletcher demonstrated that despite the difficult wartime conditions, revivalism still commanded the allegiance of many. These revivals, noted for their localised and limited duration have no equivalent both in effect and context, like, for example, "the revival of 1859 [which] has a hallowed place with the imagined past of contemporary evangelicalism in Ulster".<sup>62</sup> There is no Australian equivalent.

## Revivalism and the War

Within weeks of the outbreak of the First World War, the *Register* newspaper

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<sup>60</sup> The quotation and account of the events come from the *ACC*, 22 August 1913, 15; *Port Adelaide News*, 15 August 1913.

<sup>61</sup> Fletcher, *The Effective Evangelist*, 136-141.

<sup>62</sup> Andrew Holmes, "The Experience and Understanding of Religious Revival in Ulster Presbyterianism, c. 1800-1930", *Irish Historical Studies* xxxiv, no. 136 (November 2005): 384.

asserted that ‘an old-fashioned divine of the ultra-evangelical type said that revival meetings were much more successful in time of calamity than in halcyon days’<sup>63</sup> Whilst the identity of the ‘old-fashioned divine’ remained anonymous, the comment could well have originated in Methodism. The editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, captured the prevailing mood when he reproduced an article from the English *Primitive Methodist Leader*:

Is it too much to hope that a revival of spiritual religion may be the outcome of our present national experience – the time of the Napoleonic wars was marked by a strong revival of religion, and that there was an extraordinary outbreak of what may be called aggressive Christianity. Why may it not be so again?<sup>64</sup>

Confidently maintained, within Methodist preaching circles at least, was the belief that the war would lead to a widespread revival of religion. At the Australasian General Conference of the Methodist Church, held in Melbourne in June 1917, the Rev. Brian Wibberley, at the end of a long oration entitled, *The Church and the War*, declared his considered and heart-felt belief that ‘through this baptism of blood I see a purified Church emerge with a baptism of power. We are on the eve of a Renaissance of Faith, a revival of religion that shall shake the world like a universal Pentecost’ The ‘falsity of materialism without morality’ with its attendant expressions of hedonism, utilitarianism, rationalism, and ‘Nietzscheism’ had birthed a ‘civilisation without religion’ and lit the ‘fires of diabolism and barbarism’<sup>65</sup> Wibberley believed that a proportionate international re-awakening of religion would follow international calamity.

It is difficult to determine whether such pronouncements permeated to the pew. Judged, however, by post-War revivalist activity, the pew seemed less inclined to belief. For the bereaved in search of comfort and meaning, the grand theme of a godly British empire emerging from the war as a ‘unity of free peoples bound

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<sup>63</sup> *Register*, 8 September 1914, 4. For a comprehensive account of the attitudes and extent of the Australian evangelical involvement in the War, see Robert D. Linder, *The Long Tragedy: Australian Evangelical Christians and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Adelaide: Openbook Publishers, 2000).

<sup>64</sup> Revivalist practices within Methodism were well known. The editor summed up a widespread belief, held by many ministers in the early years of the War. *ACC*, 20 November 1914, 11.

<sup>65</sup> *ACC*, 15 June 1917, 165-166. Two weeks later, an article by the Rev. W. A. Potts conveyed a similar belief on the post-war need for revival, but used different language: ‘What we shall need after the war is what we needed before and during the war – not so much new methods or machinery or adjustments as a new passion and power and spirit’ See *ACC*, 29 June 1917, 201.

together by bonds wrought in the fires of affliction and made holy by the blood of our sons, may have ameliorated the grief and tragedy of personal loss.<sup>66</sup> For others, familiar or otherwise with the idea of God, the language of sacrifice for some higher purpose, good out of evil, and a God who oversees the nations, such understandings may have been difficult to reconcile with the loss of a son, brother, friend, neighbour, or fellow soldier. For many, personal imperatives took precedence. Yet the regular rhythms of church life continued: societies, Sunday schools, Bands of Hope, Christian Endeavour groups, choirs, and fellowship groups, maintaining a semblance of order, predictability, and self-worth.

Methodist revivalist activity during the First World War, aside from the work of Lionel Fletcher's United Christian Missions in the second half of 1915, was minimal. For Methodism, the war years failed to produce the much-anticipated revival of religion. Evangelistic initiatives rested more on Fletcher's work than on circuit or conference evangelistic endeavours. Fletcher did not disappoint, and demonstrated that preaching for conversion still merited the earnest attention of circuit ministers and evangelists alike.

Fletcher and those like him stood at the centre of the purpose of Methodism, which, the Rev. William Shaw reminded the General Conference of the Australasian Methodist Church in June 1917, was:

To generally reform the nation and to spread Scriptural holiness throughout the land. That mission is our commission, and is more than social reform. It is the old evangel of personal salvation, and personal holiness, as the ground and the justification of personal service, whole-hearted and self-sacrificing for the saving of the nation. The Church of God in the nation is a great redemptive and not a mere revolutionary agency. She is not simply reformatory, but regenerative, seeking to change the nation's life by changing the heart of the individual.<sup>67</sup>

Despite the statement's wartime context, it was nonetheless consistent with the evangelical thrust of Methodism. Evangelical Methodism understood revival as a

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<sup>66</sup> Extract from a speech by the South Australian Methodist minister, the Rev. William Shaw at the Australasian General Conference of June 1917. Most Methodist leaders were united in their enthusiastic support for the British Empire.

<sup>67</sup> ACC, 15 June 1917, 163. Shaw was elected to the presidency of the South Australia Methodist Conference in February 1918.

means of producing converts who then progress in holiness.<sup>68</sup> The dissemination of higher principles for national living, or 'reforming the nation' would occur after individual conversion and growth in holiness. While some deprecated the link between 'beliefs and behaviour, and the need for public morality' it was a statement of classic evangelicalism.<sup>69</sup> Would the church's activity in the inter-war period be subject to the 'old evangel of personal salvation and personal holiness' or would another 'evangel' be pursued?

Nine months later, Shaw, as president of the South Australia Conference, attempted to prioritise the relationship between personal salvation and personal holiness, declaring, in his presidential address in February 1918, that 'apostolic evangelism must be first, foremost, and dominant' the only safeguard of the purity of the Church is the intensity of its own missionary passion.<sup>70</sup> It was the same dualistic evangel, but with evangelism as the priority; pursue evangelism and conversionary activity, and holiness will occur as an attendant consequence. After all, 'Methodist piety began with conversion'.<sup>71</sup>

The church did not depend solely on the work of specialist itinerant evangelists such as Fletcher. In 1918, with the intention of helping circuits, Conference set aside the April to June quarter as the time for meetings designed to 'Deepen the Spiritual Life' while the July to September quarter focussed on evangelistic initiatives.<sup>72</sup> The extent to which circuit ministers cooperated with the resolutions of Conference and implemented local initiatives depended on the enthusiasm and understanding of the ministers and key lay-leaders such as local preachers, class leaders and circuit stewards. They determined the allocation of limited circuit resources 'to deepen the spiritual life of members, or to evangelise the lost, or manage both. The pursuit of holiness was a revivalist movement intended to benefit and re-awaken the believer, while the pursuit of evangelism was a revivalist movement intended to benefit the unregenerate.'<sup>73</sup> How Methodists understood this dualistic mission determined

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<sup>68</sup> See also Chant, *The Spirit of Pentecost*, 48.

<sup>69</sup> David Parker, 'The Evangelical Heritage of Australian Protestantism: Towards an Historical Perspective' *Evangelical Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (January-March 1985): 52.

<sup>70</sup> *ACC*, 1 March 1918, 745-746.

<sup>71</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England*, 53.

<sup>72</sup> *ACC*, 3 May 1918, 70.

<sup>73</sup> Charles Price and Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick* (Carlisle: OM Publishing, 2000), 14.

priorities.

Would a truly national revival of religion follow in the aftermath of the difficult years of the 'Great War'? With the end of the First World War, the president of the General Conference declared that the 'Christianization of society' was the task of the church in this new era of world history. The church must face the challenges of the social, industrial, political, educational, and economic arenas with a continued declaration of the lordship of Christ over all. To prosecute the task, a church, 'prepared, consecrated, sanctified and loyal to the wartime spirit of sacrifice, unbound by 'stereotyped, hide-bound conservatism in methods or policy' could work towards the goal.<sup>74</sup> The indefatigable Dr. W. G. Torr was clear in his mind as to the post-war opportunity and method, declaring that:

There was probably never a time in the history of Australia when there was a greater need and a better opportunity for 'aggressive Christianity' than the present.<sup>75</sup>

It was a hope shared by many within Methodism and well articulated by a circuit minister H. T. Rush, who called for 'a great organised effort on the part of the Methodist Church that would link up all the forces and agencies that make for evangelism in an attempt to win a 1,000 souls for Christ' Rush believed that concerted action, combined with prayer, would make an 'old-time revival' possible.<sup>76</sup>

Neither the war nor its immediate aftermath brought the spiritual advance that many hoped would eventuate. If international war and turmoil failed to stimulate individuals and nations toward religious revival, how to secure it was the subject of a letter to the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* in February 1920. Written by the lay Methodist William Reed, it propounded a modified 'Finneyism' Reed argued that 'revivals of religion are scientific, that is, they are the natural effects in the spiritual realm of efficient causes, Divine and human' According to Reed, Australia's Pentecost would come as the great doctrines such as the

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<sup>74</sup> J. E. Carruthers, 'The Challenge of the New Era: A Presidential Message' *ACC*, 3 January 1919, 615.

<sup>75</sup> *ACC*, 18 April 1919, 42.

<sup>76</sup> *ACC*, 18 April 1919, 47.

resurrection of Jesus, repentance, prayer, faith, and holiness were preached in the power of the Holy Ghost.<sup>77</sup> Religion was a matter of the spirit, and social indifference to religion would be overcome through effective and persuasive demonstrations of religious fervour.

For many Methodists, a more pressing need was to attend to the needs of returning war veterans. On returning to Australia, veterans bound by deep, tragic, and profound experiences, inter-laced with the crimson thread of kinship, found most churches receptive to their needs. Churches were keen to acknowledge wartime service. For example, Malvern Methodist Church established a Roll of Honour, memorial windows, and a soldiers' memorial hall, adorned with the photographs of three young Malvern men killed in the war, as acts of remembrance for the present and future generations.<sup>78</sup> These were acts of cathartic social significance in dealing with loss, grief, and personal dislocation caused by the war. For the veterans who found greater solace among their own, their presence within the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA)<sup>79</sup> contributed to the development of the ANZAC legend and provided a fascinating example of the way Christian themes were laicized.<sup>80</sup>

There were familiar signs of a re-emergence of revivalist tendencies within Methodism in the emerging post-war era. The appointment of the Rev. D. T. Reddin as Conference Evangelist to lead evangelistic missions throughout the state, and the formation of the Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association in 1918 to conduct week-end deepening of the spiritual life missions for church members, underlined Methodism's dual mission of personal salvation and personal holiness.<sup>81</sup> Reddin

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<sup>77</sup> William Reed, Letter to the Editor, *ACC*, 6 February 1920, 694.

<sup>78</sup> Rob Linn, *Malvern Uniting Church: A Centenary History* (Blackwood, SA: Historical Consultants, 1991), 30-35. The example of Malvern, with local variations, was typical of most Methodist churches at the time. As at April 1918, there were 127 names on the Malvern 'Roll of Honour' of whom 21 died during the war. The roll was later updated in 1919. See Linn, *Malvern Uniting Church*, 27. For an assessment on the use of bereavement and memorial notices by Protestant relatives during the war see Paul Barreira, *Bereavement and Memorial Notices as Counterpoint to Devout Enlistment, 1914-1918* (Adelaide: Uniting Church Historical Society, 2003).

<sup>79</sup> The RSSILA was formed in September 1916 as a federated body to represent the interests of First World War returned sailors and soldiers of the states of the Commonwealth of Australia. Its first congress began in Brisbane on 11 September 1916. See Frank Crowley, ed., *A Documentary History of Australia Volume 4, Modern Australia 1901-1939* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1978), 262-264.

<sup>80</sup> Breward, *Australia: "The Most Godless Place Under Heaven"?*, 49.

<sup>81</sup> *ACC*, 28 June 1918, 201; 23 August 1918, 323; 18 April 1919, 47.

preached for conversion and gave addresses on deepening the spiritual life during 1919 leading to 115 adult conversions, and secured another 264 adult conversions in 1920. Of the twelve missions reported on in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, only one took place in Adelaide, at Argent Street Church, Payneham, in November 1919. The remainder occurred in (mainly northern) rural areas.<sup>82</sup> Appointed Conference Evangelist for 1921, the Rev. H. F. Lyons obtained fifty-six conversions, and, in 1922, a further fifty-seven conversions. He led many Methodists into a deeper spiritual life experience regarded by some as a revival of church members and a precursor to further revival.<sup>83</sup>

## **Methodist Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association**

The Methodist Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association, from its formation in South Australia, sought to deepen the spiritual life of Methodists by revitalising existing agencies, rather than establishing new ones.<sup>84</sup> With help from five Melbourne local preachers, the first weekend mission conducted in the state was at Semaphore Methodist Church, commencing on 29 June 1918. The reception of forty new members later in the year as the first fruits of the mission confirmed, for many, the value of the event.<sup>85</sup> Further suburban missions took place at suburban Payneham, Campbelltown, Norwood, and at Balaklava, a country town north of Adelaide.<sup>86</sup> An extended account of one such mission held at Norwood in August

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<sup>82</sup> Appendices 1 and 2. Reddin claimed that over one thousand souls have publicly surrendered to Christ during his evangelistic missions in 1920. See *ACC*, 11 February, 1921, 710. The disparity between the 1,000 conversions and a membership increase of only three for 1920 from 23,112 (1919) to 23,115 (1920), and a reduction of 95 for 1921, was understood by the Rev. C. E. Schafer of the Conference Evangelistic Committee as due to: converts from other denominations, backsliders making a new declaration, and persons who, although formally connected with the church, had not received the witness of the Spirit. See *ACC*, 18 February 1921, 733.

<sup>83</sup> *ACC*, 8 July 1921, 233; 5 August 1921, 303; 21 October 1921, 477.

<sup>84</sup> *ACC*, 23 August 1918, 323.

<sup>85</sup> *ACC*, 28 June 1918, 201; 6 December 1918, 574.

<sup>86</sup> *ACC*, 6 September 1918, 355; 25 October 1918, 473; 6 December 1918, 574. The Payneham mission produced 24 new members and a quickened church. The first President of the Local Preachers' Association (LPA) was Mr. Arthur Langsford, brother of the Rev. W.A. Langsford and Mr. Walter Langsford. In business, Arthur Langsford was the proprietor of A.S. Langsford & Co., specialising in electrical products. He regularly advertised in the *ACC*. The first secretary was Mr. A.E. Clarkson, also a retailer, specialising in bathroom fixtures. See for example advertisements of both firms in the *ACC*, 12 January 1923, 635. All three Langsfords were present at one of the earliest LPA missions, which occurred at Norwood in August 1918. See *ACC*, 6 September 1918, 1918, 355. The Rev. W.A. Langsford was present on the platform with three other Methodist ministers during a meeting of the Pentecostal preacher, Aimee Semple McPherson, during her visit to Adelaide in October 1922. The *Advertiser* listed incorrectly the Methodist minister as W.H. Langsford. The only



1918 captures both the nature and spirit of the meetings:

We were full of expectancy, having heard of the wonderful reviving wherewith Payneham and Campbelltown had been blessed and enriched. The meeting of the afternoon of Saturday was one of adjustment to methods and getting into touch with the brethren. The tea at 5.30, with the family worship that followed, consisting of Scripture reading, prayer, and the singing of old-time hymns and tunes was a time of great blessing and cheer. At 7.30 a good company assembled, and a hallowed season was experienced. The brethren knew their work, and were prepared each to take his part when called upon. As the meeting proceeded, the presence and power of God became more and more evident. We were filled with wonder and awe at what we heard and felt and saw. The desire for greater light and power was manifested by the large number that thronged the communion rail. Sunday morning at 7.30 a company of fifty persons gathered for prayer and preparation for the day's work. They came from Payneham, Prospect, Maylands, and elsewhere, and God came very near to all of us. The brethren were evidently in the Spirit, and the Spirit was in them. The evening will be long remembered, the communion rail was more than full by those seeking the fuller blessing and others the pardon of their sins. A great feature of the missions is the utter disregard of form and conventionality. Hymns are announced verse by verse as in the old days, and persons in the congregation are called upon to read the verses. The usual sermon is set aside, and warm-hearted addresses and testimonies given instead. Mottoes hung from gas pendants and elsewhere speak to the eye, while the brethren address the ear and the heart. These variations keep the audiences alert, under what California Taylor termed "Surprise power". Sunday and Monday evening fathers, mothers, and friends knelt by the seekers, sons, daughters, and others, and their joy found expression in exclamation and tears. It was a blessed season. The people seemed unable to leave, and at 10 o'clock, the closing hour, but few had left.<sup>87</sup>

Another report described the leadership style of the team:

The local preachers were a band of five, pledged to support the leader in every detail, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, and during the meeting it was evident that there was no leader but he whom we all delight to honour.<sup>88</sup>

At the outset of the holiness-inspired, lay-led local preachers' meetings, conversions occurred as well as calls for a "richer spiritual experience" sometimes referred to as the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit". As time passed, fewer conversions took place at these meetings as the emphasis shifted to meeting the needs of the

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ordained Methodist minister at that time was W.A. Langsford. See *Advertiser*, 14 October 1922, 15. Adelaide churches (including the Methodist) were reluctant to endorse publicly McPherson's visit.

<sup>87</sup> *ACC*, 6 September 1918, 355. The Rev. J. Watts, circuit minister at the time, wrote the report.

<sup>88</sup> *ACC*, 23 August 1918, 323.

regular churchgoer.<sup>89</sup> A mission conducted at the Unley Park Baptist Church in November 1919 so inspired the superintendent of the Sunday school that he referred to the work as a 'revival in the Holy Spirit's power'. He called for greater spiritual freedom in the church:

The cry to modernise the church is not our need. The church has become man-managed, and just so soon as we get back to God and give Him the full and complete control of His church, through the whole-hearted surrender and consecration of ourselves as workers, so soon will our problems be solved, and the Acts of the Apostles will be more than repeated in our midst.<sup>90</sup>

Amidst the unease of the fundamentalist-modernist debate, association meetings appealed to those in search of the certainties of a less complicated era.<sup>91</sup> In a rather different sense, the trending away from the form and conventionality of Methodist services, coupled with lay-leadership, appealed to those proponents of revivalist democratisation who wanted greater freedom within organised religion. The ability of local preachers to lead meetings extemporaneously without a formalised agenda, in what later generations might call being 'led by the Spirit', was innovative, somewhat un-Methodistical, but well received. This greater freedom, understood in the context of the individual believer's relationship to the Holy Spirit, was subjective in nature and open to interpretive judgments. As Mr. P. Barbour, the Sunday school superintendent declared:

The reality of the indwelling Holy Spirit is not a thing that we can talk about or explain, but the best test to give it is to read the Acts of the Apostles and seek after it on our knees before God! Many young and old are now possessed by the Holy Ghost and with fire.<sup>92</sup>

It is not possible to determine the nature of the possession described. A second letter of testimony, published alongside the Barbour correspondence, was from the Rev. Donald McNicol, minister of Unley Park Baptist Church, who could only say that he 'was present at every meeting and received a very definite blessing' going on

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<sup>89</sup> See for example *ACC*, 11 July 1919, 234; 5 December 1919, 574.

<sup>90</sup> *ACC*, 5 December 1919, 574. Mr. P. Barbour was the superintendent.

<sup>91</sup> To see how one rural district coped with post-war change see Rob Linn, *A Diverse Land: A History of the Lower Murray, Lakes and Coorong* (Netley: Meningie Historical Society, 1988), 164-190.

<sup>92</sup> *ACC*, 5 December 1919, 574.

to declare that the mission benefited his church.<sup>93</sup> Two weeks later, at a meeting of the Methodist Local Preachers' Association, McNicol understood his experience as 'personal holiness' or 'entire sanctification' which, like the forgiveness of sins, is received by faith. The predominantly Methodist meeting would have warmed to the holiness terminology as McNicol went on to cite the holiness messages of William 'California' Taylor and John Watsford.<sup>94</sup>

Bound together by a predominantly common evangelicalism, these Baptists and Methodists now shared elements of a common holiness piety with Pentecostal overtones, preferring to overlook differences in holiness terminology.<sup>95</sup> At the very least, the meetings met the need of those in search of warm 'sentimental effusions of religious fervour'<sup>96</sup>

The work and holiness emphasis of the Local Preachers' Association was reflective of a wider concern within Methodist evangelicalism of the nature and priority of conversionist evangelism. An article entitled 'Evangelism, Old and New' from the British *Methodist Recorder*, suggested that the old way of evangelism, 'proclaiming the good news of what God has done for man in Jesus Christ' was incomplete for the post-war era:

Firstly, the old Evangelism was based on a series of rigid contrasts. Saved and Unsaved, nature and grace, law and gospel, works and faith, the justice of God and the love of God. These were the categories of the old preachers, and the distinctions between them were held to be absolute. Now, whilst we recognise that these distinctions are real, we are coming to see that they are not absolute.

They tend to pass into one another, and they are not found in their strongly contrasted forms in the teaching of Jesus. Between 'saved' and 'unsaved' there is a dim border-land and twilight in which large numbers dwell; in nature there is grace; the law contains some rudimentary gospel; works contain the seeds of faith; and justice, as soon as we rise above a purely legal conception of it, can have no other aim but love.

These contrasts cannot continue to be used in the same rigid way as in the past, and this will make preaching a more difficult task, for the human mind, especially on its emotional side loves absolute distinctions.

Secondly, the old Evangelism was in danger of preaching the Cross

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<sup>93</sup> ACC, 5 December 1919, 574.

<sup>94</sup> ACC, 12 December 1919, 582.

<sup>95</sup> See also Chant, *The Spirit of Pentecost*, 19. Pentecostal work commenced in Adelaide in 1922 and received impetus following the visit of Smith Wigglesworth in 1922. See Barry Chant, *Heart of Fire* (Unley Park, SA: House of Tabor, 1973), 70.

<sup>96</sup> ACC, 5 December 1919, 574.

evangelically without preaching it ethically with the same outspokenness and range of application – it has had too much to say about holiness, a word which Jesus rarely uses, and too little to say about service, which is wrought into the very texture of His teaching – the old Evangelism was not linked with social service.<sup>97</sup>

Reprinted as a leading article in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, this article, despite its British origin, illustrated a shift in theology within South Australian Methodism. Evangelistic practices would require modification. Concerned Methodists offered solutions to meet the challenge. Included were H. N. (Rev. J. H. Nield), who sought to shift the evangelistic focus to a membership engaged in individual evangelism, and J.W.J. (not known), who claimed that a lack of passion in preaching contributed to the malaise. –Personal confusion over once accepted religious certainties added to the lack of conviction:

When the ministers of our land awake to the utter folly of any other type of preaching than that which convinces, convicts, and converts men by the unseen influences of the Spirit working through their own passionate earnestness, the longed-for revival will be here. But not until then.<sup>98</sup>

The Rev. Dr. J. E. Carruthers, retiring President of the Australasian General Conference in early 1920, declared that the –old-fashioned fire and fervour of Methodism as –Christianity in earnest was victim to the denomination’s –respectability and conservatism. According to the President, subtle changes in theological thinking had contributed to the lack of evangelistic conviction:

Some of the notes that were dominant in the preaching of our fathers fifty years ago are seldom sounded now. The appeals with which they thrilled their congregations seem somehow to have lost their force and effectiveness. In those days the sanctions of heaven and hell were enforced in unwavering, vivid, and realistic language. For them [fathers] the authority [of the Bible] was external, legal, and literal. For us it is inward, moral, and spiritual. Transactional theories of the Atonement, which once were preached with overwhelming force, awake little or no response in the moral sense of our generation. Whatever forms Christianity may assume in the future it will not be the Christianity of the New Testament or of our fathers if it is not built upon the foundation of Jesus Christ as God manifest in the flesh and the one Mediator of saving grace to sinful men.<sup>99</sup>

Concerned at the lack of revival and evangelistic activity in South Australia, the

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<sup>97</sup> J. Arundel Chapman, –Evangelism, Old and New in *ACC*, 17 September 1920, 387.

<sup>98</sup> J.W.J. –Preaching Without Passion in *ACC*, 23 July 1920, 259.

<sup>99</sup> *ACC*, 21 May 1920, 117.

Local Preachers and Laymen's Association initiated the formation of the allied Intercessory Prayer Union in January 1921 to pray for "general spiritual revival" at the local, national, and international level. The aim was to link Christians through the Union to pray for revival, ministers, as well as specific needs, at designated times such as 7 am and 12 noon.<sup>100</sup> Financed by voluntary donations, without the requirement to meet regularly, members remained linked through Union literature and the allocation of a membership number for the dissemination of prayer requests.

Within six months, membership grew to 603 (312 men and 291 women), of whom twenty-nine were ministers. Of the membership, 496 were from Adelaide and its suburbs, 100 from rural locations, five from other states, and two from overseas. Members from "many denominations" formed a "spiritual union" of "one accord" considered necessary for a "remarkable revelation of Divine presence and power"<sup>101</sup> Its ethos was dominated by an air of expectancy for a forthcoming revival accompanied by individual "growth in fervency and zeal" The Union, in its first six months, made known the type of revival it expected for Australia.<sup>102</sup>

Unlike the significant leader-led revivals of the past, the Union understood the next revival to be responsive to the "prevailing spirit of the time" It would be "democratic" in character, working through such groupings of believers as the Intercessory Prayer Union. Small groups of earnest individuals committed to revival prayer and soul-saving activity, would generate renewed "spiritual life and vigour" within groups, churches, towns, districts, cities, states, and the nation. A concentric emanation of Holy Spirit-generated conversionary and revivalist power would draw unbelievers into the realm of "divine influence" until "revival" that which gives freedom from all sin and brings happiness and heaven to all hearts and home "shall be realised"<sup>103</sup> It was an attractive formula. The prospect of a national revival within

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<sup>100</sup> ACC, 18 February 1921, 732; 4 March 1921, 762; 25 March 1921, 815.

<sup>101</sup> ACC, 5 August 1921, 294.

<sup>102</sup> ACC, 27 May 1921, 142.

<sup>103</sup> ACC, 27 May 1921, 142. "Democracy" in the article is defined as, "a power exercised by, or emanating from, the people" A significant part of the address given by the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in South Australia, at its State Assembly in April 1922, dealt with the topic of "revival" The Moderator claimed that the one order of ministers "presbyters and bishops along with the ruling elders was "the better fitted in every respect to meet the needs of a democratic church" The message of historic Presbyterian revivals was consistent with "a tender pleading and passionate appeal to commit the heart and life to Christ in one definite act of surrender and faith. An appeal based on

reach of the ordinary believer: the power of democratic endeavour harnessed within a minimalist structure and actuated by Divine agency. It appealed to Methodists, who were wanting to move on from the citywide revivalist missions of the past, and in search of a more activist and inclusive movement ó a continuing thread within the democratisation of revivalism stream.

## Conclusion

By the early 1920s, it was evident that revivalism had undergone a process of transformation within Methodism. Although Lionel Fletcher, under wartime conditions, had demonstrated the continued relevance of the revival, the lack of a post-war national revival of religion, and increased uncertainty over the role and place of the revival, saw revivalist practices marginalised within Methodism. Nevertheless, the emergence of the Methodist Local Preachersø and Laymenø Association and the Intercessory Prayer Union highlighted the significant continued interest of lay leaders in revival. Moreover, the visits of Smith Wigglesworth (1859-1947) and Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944) to Adelaide in 1922, which we will consider in the next chapter, demonstrated that the days of the revivalist-led mission, at least within some sections of the South Australian evangelical world, were not over.

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personal experience, on the deep need of the human heart, and the wonderful efficacy of the atoning work of Christø Whilst both the Intercessory Prayer Union (IPU) and the Local Preachersø Association shared historic orthodoxy with Presbyterianism in articulating their understanding of the revival message, they differed on the means by which the revival could be delivered. In 1922, the IPU understood revival as originating through the agency of individual prayer activity, and delivered by a democratic process as the revival spread throughout all churches, seemingly devoid of recognised ecclesiastical oversight. The Presbyterian model understood that ecclesiastical leadership and governance had a role to exercise in revivalism. See *Advertiser*, 18 April 1922, 5. The same could be said of Methodism through its connexional system of denominational administration and oversight.

## CHAPTER 10

### REVIVALISTS, PENTECOSTALS, AND HEALERS 1922 – 1923

The pioneering work of Pentecostalism in South Australia and colonial Methodism carried between them similar genetic characteristics. Above all, both embraced popular religious revivals, religious enthusiasm, personal experience, and the quest for holiness as distinctive characteristics of evangelical piety. Both were movements from below, driven by an activist lay agency and without external support. The early Pentecostals embraced religious revivalism as a way of transforming the individual rather than reconfiguring society and eschewed political engagement.

By the early 1920s, as Methodism benefited from greater social acceptance and respectability (but not greater membership), it increasingly questioned the place and relevance of the religious revival.<sup>1</sup> As Methodism adapted to its host environment and moved toward the cultural centre, the early Pentecostals, despite their distinctive emphasis on speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of the Baptism of the Spirit, appealed to Methodist sentiments favoured by the certainties of revivalism and the interior religion of pre-First World War Methodism.<sup>2</sup> In his survey of world Pentecostalism, David Martin argues that Pentecostalism emerged out of the Methodist heritage, particularly its holiness tradition.<sup>3</sup> Adelaide's early Pentecostals appropriated the revivalist dimension of that heritage as they experimented with revivalism in the early 1920s, while Methodism concentrated on expanding its physical presence throughout the state. According to Barry Chant, 'it is not clear why Methodism ignored the early Pentecostals, who, in reality, were close cousins to Wesleyan Methodism:

Unhappily, Methodism for all its revivalist tradition, could not accommodate these new phenomena [speaking in tongues, healing]! Whether

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<sup>1</sup> Methodist membership, in the period 1920 to 1924, remained relatively static at around 23,500. See Appendix 3.

<sup>2</sup> Smith Wigglesworth was known for his 'simple style and direct approach' to preaching. He often interspersed his delivery with speaking in tongues and interpretation, as in one of his Adelaide addresses. See Smith Wigglesworth, 'The Abiding Spirit' in Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 291-296.

<sup>3</sup> David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). See also Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 2, 30-31.

Methodism's failure to accept Pentecostal phenomena<sup>4</sup> was a conscious rejection or a general disinterest is not clear; but there seems more evidence for the latter view. It is apparent that for most Methodists, tongue-speaking and associated gifts were seen as neither necessary nor beneficial.<sup>4</sup>

What is clear is that in South Australia in the early 1920s, Methodism still commanded the allegiance of one quarter of the state's population, and had the largest church membership of any denomination (23,020 in 1921). The Anglicans were next with 18,124 communicant members. The Methodists were only marginally fewer than the combined membership of the other Protestant denominations: Baptists, Churches of Christ, Congregationalists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians (25,943).<sup>5</sup> Methodism's traditional mandate of revivalism and holiness had served it well.

This chapter examines how Methodism faltered in its commitment to revivalism, and by default, fostered the emergence of Pentecostalism. This is illustrated by the visits of Smith Wigglesworth and Aimee Semple McPherson in 1922. Other denominations experimented in revivalist methods, including the Anglicans, with the healing mission of James Moore Hickson, and the Churches of Christ, with the Kellems-Richards mission, both in 1923. Together, these events demonstrated that other Protestants and Pentecostals could successfully challenge the Methodists in revival work.

## **Smith Wigglesworth and the Early Pentecostals**

Smith Wigglesworth, the Yorkshire Evangelist, visited Adelaide in April 1922 to conduct revival missions. Invited to Australia by Janet Lancaster of the Pentecostal Good News Hall in Melbourne, Wigglesworth conducted revival missions in both Sydney and Melbourne prior to his arrival in Adelaide.<sup>6</sup> A mixture of appreciative and controversial newspaper reports heralded the arrival of his healing mission. Wigglesworth held capacity meetings in the Hindmarsh Square

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<sup>4</sup> Barry Chant, 'The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Origins of the Australian Pentecostal Movement' in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion, Stuart Piggin, eds., *Reviving Australia: Essays on the History and Experience of Revival and Revivalism in Australian Christianity* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994), 105.

<sup>5</sup> Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 424, 429.

<sup>6</sup> Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 67. For Chant's account of Wigglesworth's Australian visit in 1922 see 66-70.



Protestant Hall.<sup>7</sup> One Adelaide daily wrote of Wigglesworth's work as comprising a 'message of hope and love for all suffering ones, while acknowledging the work of Jesus in effecting 'deliverance'. It was claimed that physical healings produced by the 'apostolic method of anointing with oil and the imposition of hands' brought relief in a number of cases.<sup>8</sup> A country newspaper under the heading, 'Pentecostal Healing' reported an eyewitness account of having to stand at a crowded Wigglesworth preaching and healing meeting. Although 'cripples threw away their crutches, and invalids of months standing rose up and astounded their friends by walking, the correspondent dismissed such outcomes as nothing more than a result akin to the release of a 'safety valve of overtried emotions of a world which has suffered unwontedly throughout the past seven years'. 'Something is wanted to clear the air of its brooding social melancholy'.<sup>9</sup> Another correspondent warned of the cultish practices of 'gifts of tongues' and 'faith healing'.<sup>10</sup>

Despite a lack of denominational support for Wigglesworth's Adelaide mission, typified by the absence of any official endorsement or publicity in the weekly *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, there were reports of healings and conversions, although not to the extent of the Melbourne mission.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that support for Wigglesworth came from the small but growing Pentecostal presence in Adelaide. This dates from around 1909 when Thomas James Ames (1858-1928) led the first assembly, which held meetings at his printing business in Pirie Street.<sup>12</sup> The small group became known as Elim Assembly and Ames remained its leader until 1926.

By the early 1920s, other Pentecostal meetings led by lay men and women were

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<sup>7</sup> Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 70.

<sup>8</sup> *Advertiser*, 3 March 1922, 7. Other appreciative reports include *Register*, 25 February 1922, 6; 4 March 1922, 11; *Daily Herald*, 15 February 1922, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Bunyip* (Gawler), 31 March 1922, 2-3. A lecture by Mr. H. Scott-Bennett of the Rationalist Society, advertised as 'A Visit to the Faith Healers, Casting out Demons in Adelaide, Modern Survivals of Savage Beliefs' attempted to discredit Wigglesworth's visit. See *Advertiser*, 1 April 1922, 3. Scott-Bennett was known in Adelaide for his regular attacks on Christianity and the churches, especially the Methodist Church. For example, see the advertisement of his lecture entitled, 'The Bankruptcy of the Churches; a Reply to the President of the Methodist Conference' in *Daily Herald*, 8 March 1922, 4,

<sup>10</sup> *Register*, 11 March 1922, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 70.

<sup>12</sup> Barry Chant, 'Waters to Swim in: Adelaide's First Three Pentecostal Churches, 1910-1935' 2. <http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/aps/issue-8/04-waters-to-swim-in-adelaides-first-three-penteco/> (26 August 2014). This and the following three paragraphs are based on Chant's work. On the origins of Australian Pentecostalism see Chant, 'The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Origins of the Australian Pentecostal Movement' 97-122.

meeting in homes and public buildings in the city and suburbs. One of the leaders, Fanny Collie, may have had contact with Sarah Jane Lancaster (1858-1934), founder of Good News Hall in Melbourne, Australia's earliest Pentecostal assembly. One account of Lancaster's life claims that Lancaster visited Adelaide in 1910, preached on the steps of the General Post Office and influenced Collie, who stopped to hear her preach. Chant claims that "like many early Pentecostals, Collie had a Wesleyan Methodist background, a body in which her father was much respected"<sup>13</sup>

In 1922, Sunday services with around 150 in attendance in Leavitt Hall in Wakefield Street, Adelaide, formed the nucleus of what later became Apostolic Mission. A Foursquare Gospel Mission commenced meetings in the Builders' Hall in Weymouth Street, Adelaide, in 1924. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit accompanied with the sign of speaking in tongues (glossolalia) characterised these Pentecostal meetings. Emphasis on the manifestation of other spiritual gifts, such as prophesying, healing, and demonic deliverance, often created dissension within Pentecostal ranks, and provided the justification for warnings issued by various Adelaide clergy. At times, the early Pentecostals experienced opposition from other churches to their brand of Christianity. They had little time for the "modernism" and "worldliness" they observed in the existing established churches. They saw holiness as separation from all worldly pursuits such as the theatre, dances, fiction, gambling, smoking, and female adornments such as makeup and cosmetics. This enabled them to find common ground with many evangelicals of like mind.

The early Pentecostals had some practices similar to the Methodists. These included tent (camp) meetings, open air evangelistic meetings (Botanic Gardens and Victoria Square), use of lay and female preachers, small group meetings for spiritual purposes (class and "arry" meetings)<sup>14</sup>, an experiential understanding of conversion and the work of the Holy Spirit, and the revivalist enthusiasm of ante-Nicene Montanism.<sup>15</sup> There was much common ground but little enthusiasm to be publicly

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<sup>13</sup> For Chant's assessment of the Wesleyan Methodism's contribution to the origins of Australian Pentecostalism see Chant, "The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Origins of the Australian Pentecostal Movement" 97-105.

<sup>14</sup> "arry" meetings focussed on extended prayer time to receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. In Pentecostal circles, emotionalism often characterised these meetings. See Chant, "Waters to Swim in" 3.

<sup>15</sup> Montanism was a fervent apocalypticist movement which emphasised the fulfilment of the

identified with each other.

## Methodist Revivalism – 1920s

South Australian Methodism in the decade after the conclusion of the First World War experienced significant growth in the acquisition and development of its property. Development included the building of new, or the upgrading of existing, churches, halls, and manses. Together, they were the most striking evidence of intense Methodist activity.<sup>16</sup> Hunt provides a summary assessment:

From 1920 to 1930, the total expenditure on church property came to £328,000, and 52 churches and 49 halls were erected.

By 1929 it was estimated that the value of circuit property throughout the state was £939,000 and the debt on it was less than 11 per cent.

In most years, every district was represented in the list of new buildings or in the amount spent on enlargements and improvements.

Not until the 1950s was there again to be such a building boom.<sup>17</sup>

By contrast, in the same period, there was no parallel boom in conversion additions to the church's membership. This increased from 23,115 in 1920 to 26,056 in 1930 at an average increase of 294 members per year. At the same time, the number of conversions recorded amounted to 1,079, or an average of 108 per year.<sup>18</sup>

Conversions represented about one-third of the membership increase. To put it another way, almost two-thirds of new members accepted in the period 1920 to 1930 were for reasons other than the result of a conversionary experience. Clearly, new and upgraded buildings and consolidation were markers of progress and advancement, but the lack of numerical growth through conversion was cause for concern.

To illustrate the nature of changing perceptions and attitudes to Methodist revivalist practice and understanding in the 1920s, the year 1922 is a good example.

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prophecy concerning the pouring out of the Spirit in the last days (Joel 2:28-32). Its name is derived from Montanus, known for his revivalist and enthusiastic preaching in the second century. The common identification of South Australian Methodism and the early Pentecostal assemblies is over the matter of revivalist enthusiasm, which was a characteristic of both, rather than an over-realised eschatology based on the Joel prophecy, although individuals at various times probably shared this eschatological viewpoint. See 'Montanism' Alan Richardson, ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM, 1976), 223.

<sup>16</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 303.

<sup>17</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 303.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix 3 for figures.

We have already drawn attention to the lack of denominational support to the Wigglesworth evangelistic mission, and the sustained building activity of the 1920s. Concerns within Methodism over revivalist practices and attitudes was apparent from the article entitled, "A Plea for Evangelism" by the Rev. W.T. Shapley, published in January 1922.<sup>19</sup> The article consisted of a compilation of quotes from a number of sources and commentary on the topic of evangelism. A number are included for illustrative purposes:

During recent years, there has been a decline of evangelism in all the Churches. Conversions never occur in some Churches. Old methods of reaching outsiders have been abandoned, and none have been put in their place.

The neglect of evangelism is due to the spirit of the age. The profoundest intellectual force in our time has been the doctrine of evolution; it has taught us to look for God not in the exceptional and miraculous, but in the regular and ordinary; not in the crisis, but in slow and continuous growth.

When the power of reclaiming the lost dies out of the Church, it ceases to be the Church.

Organisations have multiplied within the Churches to such an extent that there is but little time and only exhausted energy left for anything else.

W.T. Shapley

Concerned with the content of the evangelistic message and the conduct of past evangelistic meetings, Shapley appealed to the respected, and at times controversial liberal-modernist British Primitive Methodist scholar, Professor A. S. Peake.

Evangelism has a bad name! It is criticized for its theology and its ethics, its bad taste and its emotionalism.

The evangelist must have a theological basis for his warning and appeals.

The atmosphere of the revival meeting and the personality of the revivalist are also the stumbling-blocks to many especially in the case of elaborately organised missions. The preaching is vitiated by unreality and shrivels into theatrical oratory.

Critics distrust the crisis type of conversion. Evolution has caused them to prefer a slow, sure, and steady growth.

We must recognise that both types of conversion do occur, and that one is as legitimate as the other.

The indictment of revivalism has not a little substance in it. But it does not necessarily follow that evangelism itself is to blame. Christianity can never be fully true to its nature and its mission, if the evangelistic appeal is silenced. The revivalist must be ready to revise his views and reform his methods.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> ACC, 27 January 1922, 681.

<sup>20</sup> Quotations from the ACC, 27 January 1922, 681. Peake's one volume, *A Commentary on the Bible*

Through a series of quotations, Shapley affirmed the importance of the Church's evangelistic mission, and identified a number of related concerns. First, there was a stated decline in conversionary activity. The observation is justified in view of the conversion and membership statistics examined previously, some of which are included at Appendix 3. Second, Shapley claimed that many leaders had abandoned the old methods of mass meeting revivalism. Third, evangelistic practice needed reviewing, including use of language and modes of expression. Fourth, the neglect of evangelism throughout Methodism was due to the increasing acceptance of the gradual conversion method as implied in the 'doctrine of evolution'. Finally, the priorities of Methodism existed in matters other than evangelism. In some ways, Shapley presented a realistic assessment of the Church's state of evangelistic practice in the early 1920s. On the other hand, it was a brutal and carefully constructed reckoning on the very heart and soul of Methodism: the saving of souls through revivalist fervour and conversionary zeal. After all, revivalist Methodism was South Australia's evangelicalism writ large. It was a difficult time for Methodism; evangelistic practices and revivalist preaching were in need of reform.

While Shapley's views, more for internal than public consumption, aroused interest in the Church, the *Register* took a different view. In a generous, and at times insightful, assessment of the contribution of Methodism to the people of South Australia on the eve of the 1922 Conference, the editor declared that:

The need for a militant Methodism, inspired by an all-conquering faith in the living Gospel message, was never more urgent than in this restless age. Essentially, the mission of Methodism is evangelistic. The troubled world is in sore need of uplifting messages based on immovable certainties. The prophetic or preaching office is overwhelmingly indispensable and supreme. Instead of eclipsing it the social services of the Church must exalt it.<sup>21</sup>

The declaration by arguably Adelaide's leading daily newspaper on the primacy of the evangelistic task of Methodism, was a reassuring note for the proponents of 'vital religion'. Four months later, the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* provided an editorial assessment of whether the next revival sought should be an ethical one focussed on 'philanthropic reform' or whether it should be a 'revival of spiritual

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was published in 1919. The controversy over the acceptance of the commentary for prescribed study by ministers on probation within Australian Methodism is discussed in chapter 12.

<sup>21</sup> *Register*, 27 February 1922, 6.

religion, through the power of the Holy Ghost. It noted that neither the much talked-about 'purifying' of the nation as a spiritual consequence of the suffering and sacrifice of the war had eventuated, nor had the 'brotherhood of the trenches' translated into a 'new order of society'. Only a nation-wide revival of spiritual religion, declared the editor, could bring about social reform.<sup>22</sup>

Change the heart, and then change the nation, was a deceptively simple formula: it assumed that the non-church-goer was attentive to the message of vital religion. Were the non-churchgoers present in the numbers required to build the momentum of revival? There is some evidence to suggest that local revivalist meetings no longer held out the promise of significant conversions. The visit of the Conference Evangelist to Brighton Methodist Church in October 1921, was typical of missions elsewhere:

The Sunday services were fairly well attended. Night after night the same faithful ones came, but beyond the members of the Church we never secured the presence of more than half a dozen persons on any night, except Sunday. The missionary spoke of the fine spiritual atmosphere of the Church, and therefore found it difficult to understand the absence of the non-Church members.<sup>23</sup>

Deciding on the type of revival required was one thing; getting people to hear the gospel was another. The years 1921 and 1922 were amongst the lowest years for recorded conversions in the 1920s, with only fifty-six and fifty-seven conversions respectively. The promising signs of re-emerging revivalist tendencies that were present in the immediate post-war years dissipated by the early 1920s. In some ways, this reflected a diminished interest and practice of revivalism that occurred in America in the 1920s.<sup>24</sup> Would the prospective visit of Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944) in October 1922 provide the much-needed injection of spiritual fervour?<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> ACC, 9 June 1922, 147.

<sup>23</sup> ACC, 4 November 1921, 508.

<sup>24</sup> Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, 60.

<sup>25</sup> 'Aimee Semple McPherson, born on a farm in Ingersoll, Ontario, Canada, on 9 October 1890, was brought up in a Christian home, and underwent a personal conversion at the age of 17 under the ministry of Pentecostal evangelist Robert Semple, whom she later married. Together they went as missionaries to China, where Semple died of malaria. After returning to America, Aimee Semple remarried and expected to settle down. However, her desire to preach and her enjoyment of the public

## Aimee Semple McPherson – 1922

As with the visit of Smith Wigglesworth six months earlier, the Methodist Church, aware of tensions within, chose not to publicise through its denominational paper McPherson's mission. Promoted in the Adelaide press as the 'Canadian Woman Revivalist' or the 'Lady Evangelist', McPherson, like her Pentecostal predecessor, came to Australia at the invitation of Janet Lancaster of Good News Hall, Melbourne.<sup>26</sup> Meetings held at the Exhibition Building during the first two weeks of October 1922 attracted around 400 at first, increasing as her teaching and orthodoxy gained acceptance to around a few thousand on the final night, which included a choir of 200 and the Salvation Army Band.<sup>27</sup> Like the rural Bible Christian 'Lady Evangelists' of the 1890s, many attended her meetings out of curiosity.<sup>28</sup> McPherson, however, used that to her own advantage, telling those who did not like to hear a woman preach: 'I do not blame you, nor do I; and I do not like to hear a man preach. I like to hear the Holy Ghost preach.'<sup>29</sup>

Like some evangelists, she endorsed an over-realised assessment of people's need for revivalist religion in the immediate post-war period:

After the great World War, I do not believe there was even an opportunity for evangelism such as there is today, for untold numbers of people are longing to shake off the garments of worldliness and to get back with a mighty surging sweep to the God of the Bible, and back to Jesus Christ.<sup>30</sup>

The assessment may have been appropriate in other locations the evangelist visited,

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arena prompted her to begin evangelistic meetings, which soon proved to be very successful. Large crowds flocked to hear her stories of the sick being healed. She undertook a transcontinental tour, from New York to Los Angeles, using a specially decorated latest model 'gospel car'. Although avowedly Pentecostal, her charm and poise won her friends in all denominations. The pressure of this activity made the marriage untenable and in August 1921, she was divorced. By 1922, she had begun the 5,300 seat Angelus Temple, and had developed her concept of the Foursquare Gospel – Jesus the Saviour, Jesus the Healer, Jesus the Baptiser in the Holy Spirit and Jesus the soon coming King. She visited Australia in 1922. See Chant, *The Spirit of Pentecost*, 351.

<sup>26</sup> Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 70-78, 71. For Chant's account of her Adelaide visit, see 70-78. *Register*, 2 October 1922, 10; *Advertiser*, 2 October 1922, 11.

<sup>27</sup> A testimonial signed by most Melbourne churches and members of the Victorian Council of Churches at the conclusion of her Melbourne mission no doubt helped to secure her acceptance by Adelaide mission attendees. See *Register*, 2 October 1922, 10. *Advertiser*, 10 October 1922, 13; Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 75.

<sup>28</sup> *Register*, 9 October 1922, 7.

<sup>29</sup> *Register*, 2 October 1922, 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Register*, 2 October 1922, 10.

but there was no evidence of a "mighty surge" of religious interest in South Australia in the early 1920s.<sup>31</sup> However, such heartfelt opinion resonated with like-minded evangelicals who were at one with a religious piety that identified with a conversion-inspired relationship with Christ, and included a "sweeping away of much that seemed part of everyday life to many — dancing, pictures, entertainments — and even concerts in aid of church funds"<sup>32</sup>

McPherson's crucicentric preaching and understanding of conversion as the gateway to vital Christianity appealed to the contingent of evangelical ministers present at her meetings, and her call for an "old-time revival" no doubt struck a chord of approval with Methodist ministers in particular.<sup>33</sup> However, one correspondent lamented the lack of support from those churches that were keen to see revival and yet failed to promote McPherson's mission among their people.<sup>34</sup> Clearly, revival for some Methodists, though spiritually longed for and prayed for, was best fashioned by Methodists themselves. As the largest non-Anglican Protestant Church in South Australia, commanding the adherence of one quarter of the state's population, Methodism could afford to ignore the prospect of a fledgling Pentecostal-inspired revival.

McPherson, keen to maintain widespread inter-denominational support for her mission, carefully avoided Pentecostal excesses associated with tongues-speaking and healing.<sup>35</sup> Prayers for healing, announced during the main meetings, normally took place in an annexe adjacent to the meeting room after the service. This enabled McPherson to maintain a soul-saving emphasis.<sup>36</sup> Restrained Pentecostal "ejaculatory responses" such as "Praise God", "Yes, Oh Lord" and "Amen", often heard during hymn singing, provided moments of expressive spirituality for some, and occasions of inquisitive interest for others.<sup>37</sup> Some reporters, undoubtedly intrigued by the

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<sup>31</sup> Adapted from the Biblical story of the encounter between a Samaritan woman and Jesus at Jacob's well. See John 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Register*, 9 October 1922, 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Advertiser*, 9 October 1922, 15; 2 October 1922, 11. Methodist ministers present on the platform included W.H. Cann, W.A. Langsford, Isaac Rooney, and J.H. Williams. See *Advertiser*, 14 October 1922, 15.

<sup>34</sup> *Advertiser*, 9 October 1922, 15.

<sup>35</sup> Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas*, 155.

<sup>36</sup> Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 75.

<sup>37</sup> *Register*, 9 October 1922, 7.



spectacle of a woman revivalist, described her appearance, while one correspondent to the *Register* provided a description of her appearance and preaching ability in a letter entitled, "An Impression"

A sheaf of lilies on her arm, a red rose in her belt showing against her white dress. She is of rather more than medium height; her dark hair is abundant, her eyes dark and expressive, her face is placid in expression but her lips sensitive, and there is a touch of nervous tension in the way she plays with a pencil.

There is nothing academic about her style; rather she uses humour to an unusual degree. Her message is intensely personal; the religion she preaches is personal. If she was not a preacher she could carry an audience with her by her acting. The story she is telling is driven home by voice, gesture, and homely allusion. She has strong descriptive power, and a lively talent for narrative. She works up from the text.<sup>38</sup>

For Adelaide's evangelical community, McPherson's form of mass revivalism, like every event that preceded it, failed to ignite a national revival of religion. At the very least, the mission provided a spiritual uplift in the form of professionally packaged and dramatised religious entertainment. For a few, it proved to be a moment of life-changing consequence, in which a newfound life became a reality through the cross-centred and dramatic preaching of the "Lady Evangelist" from Canada. Some of the mission converts went on to associate themselves with the few Pentecostal assemblies then in Adelaide. Years later, they looked back with affection to the time when Aimee Semple McPherson visited their city.<sup>39</sup>

## **James Moore Hickson – Healing Mission – 1923**

While Aimee Semple McPherson sidelined prayers for healing during her meetings, the Anglican layman, James Moore Hickson (1868-1933) made prayers for healing the centrepiece of his worldwide healing tour that began in the United States in 1919 and concluded in England in 1924.<sup>40</sup> His visit to South Australia from 1-14

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<sup>38</sup> *Register*, 9 October 1922, 7.

<sup>39</sup> Chant, *Heart of Fire*, 77. One interesting example of the impact of McPherson on at least one Methodist (though not a South Australian) is given in Glen O'Brien, "Old Time Methodists" in a *New World*: Kingsley Ridgway and A. B. Carson, *Lucas* 29 (June 2001): 63-83. Kingsley Mervin Ridgway (1902-1979) established the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Australia.

<sup>40</sup> James Moore Hickson was born 13 August 1868 in Mansfield, Victoria, Australia, the sixth of thirteen children. He started praying for the sick when fourteen years old. He married Rosalie Harrison, also from Victoria and from 1901 lived in London. It was about this time that he considered full-time ministry in the area of healing. With the help of Bishop Mylne he started "The Society of Emmanuel" in 1905 with the stated role, among others, to restore the healing ministry in the church.

July 1923 was part of his Australasian tour that concluded in New Zealand.

The visits of Wigglesworth and McPherson in 1922 had already aroused interest in spiritual healing. The Congregational Union of South Australia, at its half-yearly meeting in April 1923, heard two papers on the topic of divine healing, one from a biblical and the other from a medical viewpoint.<sup>41</sup> The medical letter acknowledged a widening gap between scientific medicine and organised religion on the topic of healing. It also contended that the religious context of spiritual healing occasionally challenged the emerging authority of rising elites such as medical associations.<sup>42</sup>

There was a divergence of opinion among religious commentators on the meaning and place of spiritual healing in the churches. For example, the *Register* published a letter on 'Spiritual Healing' from Victor E. Cromer who commended the Church of England in its stand toward 'the main principles of Christ's teaching'. The correspondent claimed that a 'spiritual union with God' enabled spiritual power to 'purify the blood stream' and heal certain conditions.<sup>43</sup> A seemingly more orthodox Methodist correspondent, only known as 'AS', made the oft-repeated call for a 'revival of true religion' which included the long accepted tenets of salvation and the baptism of the Holy Ghost. However, the difference between this call and many others on revival, was that it now included the idea of 'healing the body'.<sup>44</sup> The

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He taught and led healing services in England until 1919 when he commenced his worldwide healing tour (1919-1924), which included Australia in 1923. He worked within the Anglican Church although his missions often included support from non-Anglican Protestant ministers and many were non-denominational. As well as leading healing missions, Hickson prayed for the sick in hospitals, homes, mental and disabled institutions, and leper colonies. He prayed for thousands of people and reportedly witnessed many healings, some instantaneous, the majority gradual. He conducted further missions overseas to Jamaica, South America, Canada, and Bermuda in the late 1930s, and Ireland in 1930. He died in England in 1933. He wrote several books including, *The Healing of Christ in His Church* in 1919, and *Heal the Sick* in 1924. See biography of James Moore Hickson at <http://healingandrevival.com/BioJMHickson.htm> (30 December 2015). For an account of Hickson's Adelaide mission see David Hilliard, 'South Australian Anglicans and Spiritual Healing: The Hickson Healing Mission of 1923', *Colloquium* 16, no. 2 (October 1986), 25-32.

<sup>41</sup> Winifred Kiek presented the biblical viewpoint. Dr. F.S. Hone presented a medical viewpoint. See *Register*, 25 April 1923, 13.

<sup>42</sup> Mark Hutchinson, 'Healers: James William Wood and the frontiers of religious innovation', 9. See [http://www.academia.edu/1213196/Healers\\_James\\_William\\_Wood\\_and\\_colonial\\_religious\\_innovation](http://www.academia.edu/1213196/Healers_James_William_Wood_and_colonial_religious_innovation) (30 December 2015). The Western Australian branch of the British Medical Association distanced itself from Hickson's mission in that state by directing its members not to 'actively associate themselves with the mission'. It would not comment on the value of particular cases of 'faith healing' unless the patient was medically assessed prior to, and after 'treatment by faith healing'. See *Register*, 25 July 1923, 8.

<sup>43</sup> *Register*, 20 March 1923, 12.

<sup>44</sup> *ACC*, 12 January 1923, 634.

dimension of physical healing linked with conversion, at least in the mind of the correspondent, was not an innovation, but an expression of Methodist revivalist orthodoxy.<sup>45</sup>

A month before Hickson began his Adelaide healing mission, the *Adelaide Church Guardian* depicted the healing ministry as ‘charismatic ministry’ which, according to Hilliard, ‘was probably the first time the word ‘charismatic’ was used in Adelaide Anglican circles’<sup>46</sup> An Anglican Archdeacon had earlier contended that Hickson possessed the ‘gift of healing’<sup>47</sup> Such reflections demonstrated that ‘charismatic spirituality’ had begun to enter the mainstream of Christian thought. It was a time of ‘spiritual experimentation’<sup>48</sup>

Hickson arrived in Adelaide on 30 June 1923 after visiting Brisbane. Widespread publicity in the secular as well as religious press preceded his arrival. Hickson’s missions, it was said, were ‘spiritual revivals for the whole church’<sup>49</sup> Thorough advanced planning and preparation, typical of other missions, commenced at the beginning of 1923. It included a crowded meeting in the Adelaide Town Hall two weeks before the mission began, at which the Bishop of Bathurst, Dr. G.M. Long, spoke from personal experience, having attended a Hickson mission. Long’s eyewitness account of the restoration of sight and of hearing, physical healings, withered hands that ‘came to life’, lame walking, and the ‘tubercular blessed with a new outlook on life’ was impressive. Published by the *Register* as ‘GREAT THINGS EXPECTED, BISHOP LONG ON THE HICKSON MISSION’ and sub-titled, ‘Stories of Wonderful Cures’, the publicity added to the high level of expectancy present in

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<sup>45</sup> The Australasian General Conference of the Methodist Church held in May 1923, established a commission to investigate divine healing as it ‘was a world-wide movement’ The mover of the motion (Rev. W. Deane of N.S.W.) stated that the work of the Anglican Church in Australia in divine healing ‘was worthy of emulation’ despite the risk involved. See *ACC*, 1 June 1923, 16.

<sup>46</sup> Cited in David Hilliard, ‘South Australian Anglicans and Spiritual Healing: The Hickson Healing Mission of 1923’, 28.

<sup>47</sup> The claim was made by Archdeacon Samwell in correspondence to the *Adelaide Church Guardian*. See *Register*, 9 January 1923, 8.

<sup>48</sup> Mark Hutchison contends that the period 1880-1950, was a time of ‘religious innovation’, and that ‘spiritual healing’ was a sign of ‘charismatic spirituality’. See Mark Hutchinson, *Healers*, 10. It is doubtful whether consideration of ‘spiritual healing’ found its way into South Australian Methodism before 1923.

<sup>49</sup> Comment made by the Bishop of Goulburn and referenced by the Bishop of Adelaide. See *Register*, 12 January 1923, 9.

the city.<sup>50</sup>

South Australian Methodism promoted the mission to its members through its weekly newspaper.<sup>51</sup> It did so in the knowledge that there was widespread and unprecedented public interest in the mission meetings held previously in Tasmania, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland.<sup>52</sup> This was due in part to the formalised acceptance of the healing ministry within the Anglican Church. Within the worldwide Anglican Communion, the 1920 Lambeth Conference provided a mandate for the healing ministry. Lambeth cautioned Anglicans against the rise of modern movements of thought connected with spiritualism, Christian Science, and theosophy, which denied the centrality of Christ in their understanding and practice of spiritual healing.<sup>53</sup> To counter these movements, Lambeth urged the clergy to undergo a thorough study of prayer in order to teach and train people, so that the power of Christ to heal may be released.<sup>54</sup> Far removed from the perception of a lone itinerant acting with limited authority and endorsement, Hickson campaigned under episcopal authority and with the local cooperative support of other Christian denominations.<sup>55</sup> The Lambeth Conference may have affirmed the Anglican Church's desire for visible unity and for a restoration of the healing ministry, but it was the *Adelaide Register* which boldly stated that divisions within the church diminished the work of the Spirit in healing:

The church was one, but the flock were scattered, and they had lost their power through it. They should close up their ranks and be one. The church was intended to be a divine channel through which the Spirit could perform its healing power in the bodies and souls of men.<sup>56</sup>

The Adelaide Mission included healing services at 10 am on Monday, 2 July,

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<sup>50</sup> *Register*, 16 June 1923, 10.

<sup>51</sup> See for example, *ACC*, 16 March 1923, 776; 23 March 1923, 802; 30 March 1923, 807; 4 May 1923, 4; 8 June 1923, 9; 22 June 1923, 3.

<sup>52</sup> James Moore Hickson, *Heal the Sick* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1924), 155-189. See also, *Register*, 29 June 1923, 7.

<sup>53</sup> Lambeth Conference 1920, Resolution 55.

<sup>54</sup> <http://anglicancommunion.org/acns/archive/1920/in1920.htm> (30 December 2015).

<sup>55</sup> Lambeth Conference 1920, Resolution 61.

<sup>56</sup> Lambeth Conference 1920, Resolution 9 and 10. Resolution 9 set forth the vision and hope of a visible unity of the whole Church. Resolution 10 provided a methodology by which this unity might be achieved. Anglican and other Churches cooperating in common endeavours. The Anglican Bishop of Adelaide wrote to the heads of other Christian churches seeking their cooperation. See *Register*, 30 June 1923, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Register*, 4 July 1923, 9.

Tuesday, 3 July, Thursday, 5 July, (children), and Friday, 6 July. These services, up to three hours long, all took place at St. Peter's Cathedral. A service of Holy Communion for the sick and their friends occurred on the Wednesday. Up to 950 patients, some able to sit, others in wheel chairs, or on stretchers, assisted by nurses and attendants were present on each occasion.<sup>57</sup> Hickson went on to conduct missions at Port Pirie on 11 and 12 July, then at Broken Hill, before his departure for Western Australia.<sup>58</sup>

The liturgy included opening hymns such as *Just as I am without one plea*, and *Thine arm, O Lord, in days of old*, followed by silent prayer, another hymn, Apostles' Creed, and a brief address by Hickson on the theme of healing. Then Hickson pronounced a healing blessing over the sick, followed by the individual laying on of hands in which he was assisted by the Bishop of Adelaide, the Right Rev. Arthur Nutter Thomas, and other Anglican and Protestant clergy. Following individual prayer, patients were then moved to an adjacent marquee for refreshments.<sup>59</sup> The Methodist unofficial historian, the Rev. John Blacket, reported on the occasion in the *Register* as 'The Return of Apostolic Days' and noted the 'love, sympathy, and tenderness' of the nurses, the sermon as the 'embodiment of sanctified sanity' and how 'there was everything to clothe the nerves and calm the spirit' 'Whatever the physical results of the mission may ultimately prove to be' remarked Blacket, 'the services were a great uplift to the soul'<sup>60</sup> Hilliard's judgement on the nature of this revival is perceptive:

Many Anglican clergy, who had hitherto been suspicious of revivalism, found themselves at the centre of a popular movement which went far beyond the conventional and respectable Church of England. St. Peter's Cathedral, for the first time in its history, was the scene of mass religious fervour.<sup>61</sup>

Reports of some physical results of the mission appeared in the daily papers, citing either complete or partial cures. These included the restoration of sight,

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<sup>57</sup> *Register*, 4 July 1923, 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Register*, 29 June 1923, 7.

<sup>59</sup> *Register*, 4 July 1923, 9.

<sup>60</sup> *Register*, 5 July 1923, 9. A recurrent theme in reports of the healing services is a lack of emotionalism and a quiet orderliness. See *Register*, 4 July 1923, 9.

<sup>61</sup> Hilliard, 'South Australian Anglicans and Spiritual Healing: The Hickson Healing Mission of 1923' 31.

hearing, and voice, partial restoration of the use of a deformed foot, increased mobility for an invalid, and a returned First World War stretcher-bearer who received a 'whole [new] outlook on life'<sup>62</sup> Tabulated results presented at the crowded Evensong at the Cathedral on 18 July, almost a fortnight after the final healing service, provided a more detailed picture of the results of the healing mission.<sup>63</sup> The Rev. J. S. Moyes of the organising committee, no doubt pleased with the public response to the mission and the working of the 'power of the Spirit', declared it a 'great revival'<sup>64</sup> In summary, of the estimated 3,500 attendees, forty-three (1.2 per cent) claimed cures, 236 (6.7 per cent) partial cures, while eighty (2.3 per cent) claimed 'great spiritual and bodily blessing', and a further twenty-two (0.6 per cent) 'spiritual blessings'. About eight percent of the 3,500 people who attended the healing services formally notified church representatives of cures or partial cures. If we include a 50 per cent portion of the eighty persons who claimed 'great spiritual and bodily blessings' as the 'bodily' portion, then the overall percentage of cures or partial cures for all conditions, apart from 'spiritual blessings', amounted to 9.1 per cent. This is consistent with the figure of 10 per cent for the mission conducted by Hickson at Palmerston North, New Zealand, in late October, 1923.<sup>65</sup>

One significant characteristic of the reported healings was the relatively high number of eyesight and hearing cures. Of the thirty-five documented recovery of hearing cases, ten (28 per cent) reported a complete cure, while twenty-five (71 per cent) reported partial cures. Furthermore, of the forty-seven restoration of eyesight cases, ten (21 per cent) reported a complete cure, while a further thirty-seven (78 per cent) reported partial cures. These categories were the two largest conditions reported. Although there is no evidence of medical verification at any stage of the mission or afterwards, there is no evidence to suggest that mission protocols were not followed in a thoroughly efficient manner. It would have been too costly and impractical to examine each patient medically before and after the healing mission, in order to ascertain medically verifiable cases of healing and the degree of efficacy

<sup>62</sup> *Register*, 5 July 1923, 8; 6 July 1923, 9; 12 July 1923, 9; 16 July 1923, 12.

<sup>63</sup> *Register*, 19 July 1923, 9.

<sup>64</sup> *Register*, 19 July 1923, 9.

<sup>65</sup> A. Fay Farley, 'A Spiritual Healing Mission Remembered: James Moore Hickson's Christian Healing Mission at Palmerston North, New Zealand, 1923', *Journal of Religious History* 34, no. 1 (March 2010): 14.

of spiritual healing.<sup>66</sup> Most were content to rely on the testimony of clergy and church officials.

The mission made a significant and enduring impression on many of those who assisted or presented themselves for healing prayers. Aside from the physical or spiritual benefit accrued, there was a wider societal benefit, perhaps underestimated but no less real. One correspondent, in giving an impression of the Thursday morning meeting, commented on this aspect:

The view has been expressed that such sights as those on Thursday were too terrible, that this gathering of sick, sad, and suffering should not be allowed. But setting aside (if that were possible) the healing and the spiritual side of the mission, would not the very coming together, the very sympathy, the actual human kindness, the meeting of those who would not otherwise have come in contact, the actual lending a hand that fell to the lot of the helpers, is going to count in the whole life of the community. And, what is more, this bringing forward of the wounded in the battle of life, the children who humanly never had a chance, the weak, the feeble-minded ó could there be a more imperative lesson in the absolute duty of making a fight for health part of religion, a duty of every member of the community?<sup>67</sup>

It was the view of many Australian bishops and clergy, that -an immense amount of religious good had been done<sup>68</sup>

There were a number of reasons for the mission's appeal in both the public and religious domains. One of the most significant was its ecumenically inclusive nature. Combined religious events had been held in Adelaide for a number of decades, at least among non-Anglican Protestants. Given the Anglican Church's historic inclination to stand aloof from joint religious events, the participation of most churches enhanced the event's standing in the eyes of many. It was an Anglican-generated event which found support from within the evangelical sub-culture, and emerging Pentecostalism, as well as from the more traditional streams of Christendom. Second, the mission found favour with those for whom the gospel of salvation meant little, but for whom the prospect of physical healing meant a lot. The mission was an opportunity by which anyone, irrespective of religious belief or lack

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<sup>66</sup> This was the opinion of the Western Australian branch of the British Medical Association. See *Register*, 25 July 1923, 8.

<sup>67</sup> *Register*, 6 July 1923, 9.

<sup>68</sup> Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, 60.

of it, could attend and make sense of a common human need. Third, in the eyes of many, Hickson was a credible witness. He operated within the agency of the Anglican Church both local and worldwide, thereby accepting a mantle of authority and accountability understood within the church and community. A small group of militant Anglo-Catholic priests did mount a brief public campaign in the media six months before the mission, on the vexed issue of priestly versus medical authority in spiritual healing, but further opposition dissipated thereafter.<sup>69</sup> Finally, thorough preparation and promotion enhanced the level of expectancy well before the mission commenced. This was fostered in both the church and secular press. The latter was particularly generous in both the content and extent of its coverage. Reports of healings from earlier missions conducted by Hickson generated both interest and commitment from among churchgoers in particular. For many in search of healing at mission meetings, the culmination of their expectant faith occurred during Hickson's introductory remarks before the laying on of hands:

He [Hickson] emphasized the importance of the worshippers being of one heart and mind, so that in their great act of faith they might realise that Jesus Christ was with them, and was waiting to bless them.<sup>70</sup>

Hickson arrived in South Australia at a time of relative stagnation within the churches; membership had shown little movement in the early 1920s, and denominational church attendances were lower than before the war.<sup>71</sup> Amid the trend of a decline in Sabbath observance, and increased leisure time for pictures, gambling, motorcar trips, sport, and picnics, secularism had made inroads into traditional religion. The prospect of a revival to stem the drift away from the churches made the Hickson healing mission all the more attractive.

### **Kellems and Richards Mission – 1923**

Adelaide evangelicalism barely had time to catch its breath before the month-long Churches of Christ-sponsored Kellems-Richards mission commenced on 28 October 1923. The American duo of Dr. Jesse R. Kellems, missionary, and Mr.

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<sup>69</sup> Hilliard, "South Australian Anglicans and Spiritual Healing: The Hickson Healing Mission of 1923" 28. Correspondence between the Bishop, Canon P.W.C. Wise, and the Rev. F.S. Poole debating the propriety of Hickson's healing missions appeared in the *Register*, 8-15 January 1923.

<sup>70</sup> *Register*, 4 July 1923, 9.

<sup>71</sup> See church membership figures in Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 429.



Charles M. Richards, song leader, held nightly evangelistic meetings at the Exhibition Building with the support of a 300-strong choir. Kellems spoke of his conviction of a forthcoming religious revival and the importance of personal conversion. Attendances averaged 1,500 on week-nights and 3,500 on Sunday evenings.<sup>72</sup> The mission secured 475 confessions, and 300 baptisms by full immersion.<sup>73</sup> Churches of Christ membership increased by 492 (6,868 to 7,360) in the following year, the largest increase recorded in the period 1915 to 1928.<sup>74</sup> It seemed as though the Methodist mandate on Protestant revivalism in South Australia was under threat.

## Conclusion

As Methodist revivalism faltered in the early 1920s, interest in, and the practice of, revivalism carried over to others within evangelicalism. Visits by Smith Wigglesworth and Aimee Semple McPherson not only maintained an emphasis on mass revivalism and conversion, but introduced three elements of religious thought and practice which began to differentiate an emerging Pentecostal identity from evangelicalism, and Methodism in particular. They were: the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with an associated sign of speaking in tongues; the use of spiritual gifts; and the healing ministry. Collectively, they fragmented evangelical understandings, but they helped to define the development of Pentecostalism and the emergence of the charismatic movement in the 1960s and 1970s, as they became the devotional and practising markers of Pentecostal lived religion.<sup>75</sup>

The independent scholar, Donald Dayton, asserts that Pentecostalism cannot be understood apart from its deep roots in the Methodist experience, and Methodism similarly cannot be understood entirely without acknowledgement of this paternity—a relationship that he suggests has often been suppressed in official

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<sup>72</sup> *Register*, 29 October 1923, 11.

<sup>73</sup> *Register*, 24 November 1923, 18; 26 November 1923, 13.

<sup>74</sup> H. R. Taylor, *The Story of a Century: A Record of the Churches of Christ Religious Movement in South Australia 1846-1946* (Melbourne: Austral, n.d.), 80.

<sup>75</sup> The theme of lived religion—a phrase well known within the French tradition of the sociology of religion, forms the guiding rationale for a series of essays on religion as practised by ordinary men and women in America. See David D. Hall, ed., *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

historiography<sup>76</sup> The Australian Pentecostal historian, Barry Chant acknowledges the historical relationship when he states that Methodism (among other forms of evangelicalism) is an antecedent of Pentecostalism<sup>77</sup> and rightly claims that in Australia, it was the Methodists, especially the Wesleyans, who pioneered Christian revival<sup>77</sup> In the early 1920s, South Australian Methodism, once the Protestant light cavalry<sup>78</sup> in revival and gospel proclamation,<sup>78</sup> faltered in its commitment to revivalism, and was unimpressed by the emerging Pentecostal variant of revival activity. By default, it opened the way for the emergence and consolidation of an independent Pentecostal movement. Methodism was evolving, with continuing mixed views on the once held traditional shibboleth of revivalism.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Donald W. Dayton, 'Methodism and Pentecostalism' in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 171.

<sup>77</sup> Chant, *The Spirit of Pentecost: The Origins and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in Australia 1870-1939*, 19, 28.

<sup>78</sup> Brian Dickey ed., *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), ix.

<sup>79</sup> The traditional Methodist emphasis on its revivalist ethos continued to survive throughout the remaining history of the denomination through to the formation of the Uniting Church in Australia in 1977. The formation of various unofficial Evangelical Fellowships throughout Australian Methodism in the 1960s and early 1970s, such as the Aldersgate Fellowship for Revival in South Australia which promoted renewal and revival within the church, indicated that many believed the revivalist heritage continued to be marginalised. See Peter J. Blackburn, 'The National Fellowship for Revival' at <http://peterjblackburn.net/revival/nffr.htm> (30 December 2015).

# CHAPTER 11

## REVIVALISM FALTERS 1920s

In 1923 and 1924, with the hope of the much-anticipated post-War revival long since confined to the collective memory of its aspirants, the Methodist Church set about stimulating growth by conducting planned simultaneous evangelistic missions. In the face of a near-static membership, a decade-long decline in church attendance (arrested only in 1922), a corresponding decline in Christian Endeavour since its peak in 1909, and a Sunday school stabilised at around 33,500 since its peak of 36,850 in 1900, Methodism once again declared the need for a 'great aggressive evangelistic campaign'<sup>1</sup> According to a correspondent in the Methodist paper:

The church's greatest need today is not giving first place to day-school, kindergartens, clubs, hospital schemes, and a rest home in Mount Barker. It is not bazaars, socials, prohibition, and Protestant federation and Sunday specials, but is a revival of true religion. Oh, yes! We want revival.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter examines how the Methodist Church in the 1920s continued to struggle over the relevance of revivalism for generating conversionary growth. 'Simultaneous Missions' in 1923 and 1924, and the 'Spiritual Advance Crusade' of 1928 were the most significant Methodist attempts at mass evangelism during this decade. The early work of the newly formed Evangelisation Society in South Australia, which relied on significant Methodist support, is examined as well. The chapter highlights the continued ambivalence within the Methodist Church with regard to the practice of revivalism by focussing on the relevant issues discussed in the church's weekly paper, the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*.

### Simultaneous Missions – 1923 and 1924

The plan was ambitious: concerted rolling evangelistic campaign targeting twenty-two city churches, four churches at a time of ten-days duration, commenced in mid-June 1923 and concluded at the end of August. Designated local ministers became missionaries, assisted by other circuit representatives and members of the

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<sup>1</sup> ACC, 11 May 1923, 5.

<sup>2</sup> ACC, 12 January 1923, 634.

Local Preachers and Laymen's Association, for the ten-day simultaneous missions.<sup>3</sup> According to the 1921 census, there were more than 40,000 self-described Methodists who were not known to be church members or adherents. They declared themselves as 'Methodists' on census returns, but did not become members of a local Methodist church. The crusade attempted to regain some of the 'missing' 40,000, some of whom may have been irregular churchgoers. The *Register* called it a 'notable evangelistic effort'<sup>4</sup>

Mission events in city and suburban churches included nightly addresses, special gospel singing and Sunday school services, a men's meeting, prayer meetings, and fellowship meetings to conserve the gains of the mission. Overseen by a committee of ten ministers and ten laymen, the crusade commenced on 10 June 1923 amid cold, wet and squally conditions. The *Australian Christian Commonwealth* issued a plea to all Methodists to attend mission meetings and to bring a friend along.<sup>5</sup> Mission planners, hoping to capture some of the interest created by the Hickson healing mission, issued promising early reports:<sup>6</sup> 'A deeper spiritual experience, great earnestness on the part of the people, messages packed full of good, wholesome and stirring truth, spirit of expectation is growing and the *raison d'être*, 'We are on the eve of a mighty Revival'<sup>7</sup> As the hoped for conversions failed to materialise, mission reports became less inspirational and more measured in tone. One report was representative:

We are not able to report big crowds, and a long list of converts, but there is a general feeling that the Church's work is being consolidated, and the spiritual life intensified. The Church has been revived up to a point, but many of the unconverted who attend the services have not been arrested. They have 'fought shy' of it all. As for the outsider, so far he has not shown any sign that he has been even impressed.<sup>8</sup>

Once again, the Methodist Church, with its long-held view and once unshaken belief in the efficacy of evangelical revivalism for individual and social reform, coupled with its efficient connexional administration, could only wonder at the 'spirit

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<sup>3</sup> ACC, 11 May 1923, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Register*, 2 June 1923, 14.

<sup>5</sup> ACC, 15 June 1923, 3.

<sup>6</sup> ACC, 13 July 1923, 9.

<sup>7</sup> ACC, 6 July 1923, 15; 13 July 1923, 9; 20 July 1923, 11; 27 July 1923, 9.

<sup>8</sup> ACC, 17 August 1923, 7.

of indifference encountered during the crusade.<sup>9</sup> The church believed and declared its message, but it made little difference to the missing 40,000.

Missions conducted in 1924 had similar outcomes. Despite the additional use of preaching bands in 1924, there were few conversions reported. Most of those who attended services were regular churchgoers. One of the few mission locations reported on, and probably the most successful, was the evangelistic mission at Brompton in August that secured eleven conversions and up to one-hundred Sunday school decisions.<sup>10</sup> State-wide evangelistic missions conducted along similar lines in Queensland during 1924 also yielded similar results: some reported conversions, but little contact with the 'outsider'.<sup>11</sup> The home-grown and local evangelistic mission was proving ineffective in moving beyond the bounds of the Methodist constituency. Would the American led Biederwolf-Rodeheaver Mission achieve what the local Methodist Church wanted, but was unable to deliver – a great spiritual revival?

## **Biederwolf and Rodeheaver Mission – 1924**

The Americans, Dr. W.E. Biederwolf, Presbyterian evangelist, and Homer Rodeheaver, song leader, conducted an evangelistic mission in Adelaide from 24 February to 3 March 1924. The mission took place under the auspices of the Evangelisation Society of South Australia, with the local committee chaired by the minister of Chalmers Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Dr. J. A. Seymour. The mission was similar in format and style to the Alexander and Chapman mission twelve years earlier, with evangelist, song leader, a 200-voice choir, mission music, representative support of the Protestant denominations, weekend meetings in the Exhibition Building, weekday businessmen's meetings, women's meetings, and evening meetings in the Town Hall.<sup>12</sup> The mission secured 267 'decisions' for Christ and 213 're-consecrations' the details of which were made available to the appropriate churches.<sup>13</sup>

The Methodist Church gave limited support to the mission. This may have been

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<sup>9</sup> ACC, 7 September 1923, 9.

<sup>10</sup> ACC, 29 August 1924, 14.

<sup>11</sup> ACC, 5 December 1924, 6.

<sup>12</sup> ACC, 11 January 1924, 14; 25 January 1924, 13; 8 February 1924, 10.

<sup>13</sup> ACC, 21 March 1924, 15.

because of the mission's Presbyterian connections, minimal administrative input beyond official representative status, and the growing uncertainty as to the place and role of the large mission to deliver the scale of revival needed to reform society. The Methodist connection to the mission was through the active participation of six members of the Methodist Local Preachers and Laymen's Association (MLPLA), appointed to the organising committee by the Evangelisation Society of South Australia.<sup>14</sup> They were an energetic cadre of Methodist laymen; instructed and equipped through years of preaching and leadership among their own. There was minimal coverage in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, apart from the MLPLA column. The Evangelisation Society promoted the mission through its own publication, *The Revivalist*, which issued two special editions about the mission, one before it opened and the other after it ended.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, there was no Methodist representative appointed to the official welcome event held at the YMCA's Victoria Hall, and Pirie Street Methodist Church, used for opening services during numerous previous missions, played no part in mission meetings.<sup>16</sup> Biederwolf preached at Chalmers Church on the Sunday morning the mission commenced.<sup>17</sup> The Methodist Conference was left to tolerate informal Methodist linkages to the mission through the emerging entrepreneurship and enthusiasm of the lay-empowered Evangelisation Society of South Australia. However, South Australian Methodism was still confident in its own ability to mission the state, and believed it possessed the resources to do so, provided they could be organised on a war footing.<sup>18</sup> Such a belief precluded denominational subjection to the similar aims and purposes of an evangelistic society.

## Evangelisation Society of South Australia

The Evangelisation Society of South Australia, a cooperative agency promoting

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<sup>14</sup> ACC, 25 January 1924, 13. The six members were A. Langsford (President), H.G. Humphries (Secretary), F.W. Thrum, H. Pope, R. Hoepner, and E. Cutler.

<sup>15</sup> ACC, 15 February 1924, 13; 14 March 1924, 13.

<sup>16</sup> ACC, 29 February 1924, 14. Those who recorded addresses of welcome included, the Rev. Dr. Seymour (Presbyterian), Mr. Walter Hutley (Chairman of the Congregational Union), Mr. P. Barbour (President Baptist Union), Colonel Sharp (Salvation Army), Pastor W. Beiler (Churches of Christ), and the Rev. W.G. Marsh (denomination not stated).

<sup>17</sup> ACC, 29 February 1924, 14.

<sup>18</sup> ACC, 12 December 1924, 3.

the work of evangelism, was founded in Adelaide on 9 February 1921.<sup>19</sup> The first President was the Rev. Dr. J. A. Seymour, known for his enthusiasm for evangelism, with Mr. S. R. Barrett as the first secretary.<sup>20</sup> The object of the Society was to cooperate with churches and other Christian organisations in stimulating the spirit of evangelism throughout the state.<sup>21</sup> The first evangelist employed by the Society was the Rev. Edgar Miller, a Methodist minister who resigned from the Methodist ministry to take up the appointment in March 1922.<sup>22</sup> He conducted at least fourteen missions during his first seven months with the Society. These included missions at Magill, Norwood, and Halifax Street Baptist Churches, and Hindmarsh Square and Edwardstown Congregational Churches.<sup>23</sup> Miller concluded his work with the Society in March 1923 and moved to Western Australia in the middle of that year, after which the Rev. G. R. Brown, also a Methodist minister, accepted the appointment as Society evangelist, a position he held for the next twenty-one years.<sup>24</sup>

The work of the Society in the early 1920s was one of evangelistic initiatives familiar to the forward movements within Methodism. These included tent missions, open-air meetings, indoor evangelistic meetings, factory and school lunch-

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<sup>19</sup> The records for the Evangelisation Society of South Australia are located at the State Library of South Australia. See SRG 452. Copies of the *Evangelical Witness*, official organ of the Society, commencing with issue no. 1 in December 1932, are held by the library. See Number 269 E92a.

<sup>20</sup> *Advertiser*, 18 October 1922, 15; *ACC*, 29 February 1924, 14. A published account of the Society's first 23 years is Robert Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia: The Second Period 1919 to 1945* (Hazelbrook, NSW: Robert Evans, 2011), 288-301. Online at

<http://revivals.arkangles.com/docs/EvangelisationSocietyofAustralasiaBook2.pdf> (1 January 2016).

The Evangelisation Society began in England in 1864. See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 120. Mr. S. R. Barrett was one of the Barrett Brothers, a team of lay-evangelists, active in leading evangelistic missions in the Methodist Church since 1899. See thesis chapter 7. S. R. Barrett was also a joint-founder of the Adelaide Bible Institute in 1924. On Barrett, see also John David Calvert, *A History of the Adelaide Bible Institute (ABI) 1924-1962* (MA Thesis, University of South Australia, 2000), 32-33; 62-63.

<sup>21</sup> *ACC*, 23 June 1922, 189. The object was included in the first edition of the Society's quarterly magazine. See *Evangelical Witness*, December 1932.

<sup>22</sup> *Advertiser*, 18 October 1922, 15; 25 February 1925, 12. It is likely that Miller resigned because he did not receive Conference approval to enable him to work with another agency while retaining his Methodist membership. In the following year, G. R. Brown commenced work with the Society and retained his Methodist ministerial status. Miller was re-admitted to the Methodist ministry at the annual Conference in February 1925.

<sup>23</sup> *Advertiser*, 18 October 1922, 15; *Register*, 6 May 1922, 12.

<sup>24</sup> *ACC*, 27 July 1923, 9. G.R. Brown was ordained in February 1921 after commencing circuit work in 1917. He received Conference approval to labour with the Evangelisation Society from 1923 to 1928, after which he was required to return to circuit work. Brown resigned from the Methodist Church to continue his work with the Evangelisation Society. See Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia*, 289-290; 301; *Advertiser*, 12 October 1928, 16.

hour visits.<sup>25</sup> Summing up a typical year's work at the annual meeting in October 1926, George Brown described the extent of the work as including 936 city and country meetings, 506 conversions, and 696 reconsecrations, in addition to 600 child conversions. Some of the evangelistic meetings took place at Botanic Park on Sunday afternoons, prayer meetings at the YMCA on Saturday nights, as well as factory and street preaching gatherings.<sup>26</sup> By comparison, the Methodist Church in 1926, secured 117 recorded conversions and reported an increase of 322 (24,187 to 24,509) members.<sup>27</sup> In 1926, the Evangelisation Society of South Australia, with one full-time evangelist and two volunteer staff, managed to secure more than four times the number of converts than the 182 ministers and 823 local preachers utilising the resources of 493 Methodist churches.<sup>28</sup> It took the Methodist Church another eight years to match the Society's 1926 figure.<sup>29</sup>

Methodist representation in the management of the Society extended beyond the support provided by six Methodist Local Preachers to the Biederwolf-Rodeheaver Mission, and the appointment of the first two evangelists. For example, the Society's Council of Reference for 1925 included the Rev W. H. Cann and Lady Holder. In 1932, the Council again included the Methodist minister W. H. Cann, evangelist the Rev. D. T. Reddin, and prominent Methodist laymen, R. Hoepner and A. E. Clarkson. Lady Holder was a Vice President and Mr. S. R. Barrett Honorary Secretary.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> ACC, 21 August 1925, 15.

<sup>26</sup> *Advertiser*, 27 October 1926, 20.

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 3 for figures.

<sup>28</sup> The 182 ministers include Supernumeraries and Preachers on Probation. Figures from *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1927, 180. The two volunteer staff were Commander H.W. Harvey, a retired British naval officer and children's evangelist, and Miss L.A. Robinson M.A. who worked with women and children. See *Advertiser*, 16 May 1925, 16; ACC, 21 August 1925, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Figures extracted from Appendix 3. In the same period, the number of conversions accounted for approximately one-third of the membership increase.

<sup>30</sup> *Advertiser*, 21 February 1925, 19; *Evangelical Witness*, December 1932. Lady Holder was the wife of Sir Frederick William Holder (1850-1909), parliamentarian and Methodist lay preacher. Lady Holder was active in Methodist circles and later as Australian president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She campaigned for temperance and against gambling. See Ralph Harry, 'Holder, Sir Frederick William (1850-1909)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/holder-sir-frederick-william-6706> (1 January 2016). A report on the opening of the Holder Memorial Methodist Church, West Adelaide which includes a tribute to Lady Holder is in the *Advertiser*, 18 January 1915, 9. W.H. Cann and D.T. Reddin were evangelists. Cann was Superintendent of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission, 1911-1929. Reddin was the Methodist Conference evangelist, 1919-1920. A.E. Clarkson was Secretary of the Methodist Local Preachers'



As the Evangelisation Society strengthened its evangelistic work, aided by Methodist ministers and laymen, the Methodist Conference discontinued the work of the Conference evangelist.<sup>31</sup> The Methodist Conference in February 1923 elected not to re-appoint one of its ministers as Conference Evangelist, opting instead for a program of inter-circuit pulpit exchanges. Predictably, this decision met with great regret to many.<sup>32</sup> A. E. Clarkson probably represented the views of many, particularly the lay preachers present at the Conference, when, during the debate on 'The Work of God' it is reported that:

He [Clarkson] wondered whether they were alive to the value of their membership. He was interested in the lay preachers' movement, and had observed a tremendous amount of waste material. He had seen some wonderful buildings not far away that were shut from Sunday to Sunday. There were men of real ability who were not sufficiently made use of by the Church. Methodism should be built on the use of the lay life. Personal evangelism should be the key-note, and he saw today as never before, the value of the individual in the Church's life. The job was not only the ministers'; it belonged to them all. He prayed that Methodism would become a vital living force.<sup>33</sup>

Clarkson represented the views of a growing, prosperous and articulate Methodist middle class who were faithful and loyal to the revivalist-holiness tradition of the Methodist Church, but at times felt frustrated by what they saw as the numbing hand of Connexional denominationalism and creeping anti-revivalism.<sup>34</sup> They were men with organisational and administrative skills, even dispositions and practical objectives. Agencies such as the Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association, Intercessory Prayer Union, the newly formed Evangelisation Society, and the Adelaide Bible Institute (1924), provided additional freedom to exercise lay-agency, albeit within the broad bounds of, and at times lesser institutionalism.<sup>35</sup>

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and Laymen's Association 1920-1925, and President 1928-1935. R.T. Hoepner was Secretary 1926-27.

<sup>31</sup> The Conference evangelist was re-introduced in 1939 with the appointment of the Rev. E. N. Broomhead. See thesis chapter 12.

<sup>32</sup> *ACC*, 27 April 1923, 6. The next Conference Evangelist was the Rev. E.N. Broomhead, appointed in 1939.

<sup>33</sup> *ACC*, 9 March 1923, 763.

<sup>34</sup> The revivalist-holiness tradition meant that Methodist members of the Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association often identified closely with the Salvation Army, and led the occasional holiness and evangelistic weekend mission for them. See for example, *ACC*, 30 November 1923, 13.

<sup>35</sup> On the history of the Adelaide Bible Institute, see Calvert, 'A History of the Adelaide Bible Institute (ABI) 1924-1962' 2000. The Methodist local preacher A. Langsford was a member of the

During the 1920s, the Society managed to conduct evangelistic missions and events in most Protestant denominations, as well as in non-church facilities. Methodism relied on the less-than-effective self-run Simultaneous Missions in 1923 and 1924 to maintain revivalist activity. It was the visit of Rodney 'Gipsy' Smith in May 1926 that provided a much-needed spiritual boost to Protestant evangelicalism, and Methodism in particular.

## **Rodney 'Gipsy' Smith Mission – May 1926**

The visit of 'Gipsy' Smith to Adelaide in 1926 was his second, for he had been once before, in 1894 when he was aged 34. His arrival in Adelaide on that occasion, without adequate introduction and unannounced, was met with cool indifference. It had been arranged on the strength of a previous meeting in the United States with Chief Justice Samuel Way.<sup>36</sup> Reasonably well known as an effective evangelist through secular and religious press, Smith held revivalist meetings in Franklin Street Bible Christian and Archer Street Wesleyan churches, where some 580 persons passed through the enquiry rooms.<sup>37</sup> Converted when a boy in one of those Archer Street meetings in 1894, was Arthur B. Lloyd, who, at the time of Smith's visit in 1926, was the Methodist minister appointed to Archer Street.<sup>38</sup>

Smith's lasting impression on appreciative Methodists motivated the Conference to pass resolutions of support for a return visit to Australia. Resolutions of support were passed in 1906, 1911, 1913, and in 1925, fifteen months before Smith's 1926 visit.<sup>39</sup> The 1925 Conference resolution to 'cordially co-operate' with the invitation for Smith to visit South Australia masked the tensions within Methodism over the purpose and place of revivals in church and national life.<sup>40</sup> Despite the resolutions,

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first Council of Reference in 1924, and another local preacher, R. Hoepner was one of the first tutors. See Calvert, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Gipsy Smith, *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909), 258-259.

<sup>37</sup> *CW&MJ*, 29 June 1894, 3; *SABCMon*, July 1894, 79.

<sup>38</sup> *ACC*, 21 May 1926, 3.

<sup>39</sup> See resolutions for 'Gipsy Smith' in Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1906, 1911, 1913, 1925. For a comprehensive account of Smith's Australian visit in 1926, see Walter Phillips, 'Gipsy Smith in Australia in 1926: the Commonwealth Evangelistic Campaign' in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion, Stuart Piggin, eds., *Reviving Australia: Essays on the History and Experience of Revival and Revivalism in Australian Christianity* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1994), 185-201.

<sup>40</sup> Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, February 1925, 146.

some representatives to the 1926 Conference considered that discussion on the Smith mission was inadequate.<sup>41</sup> In February 1926, three months before Gipsy Smith's expected arrival, an editorial in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, while expressing a favourable view, attempted to summarise the key points:

In many minds there is a deep-seated distrust of special missions, together with a fear that the results are not commensurate with the effort. In our judgment, indifference is the chief obstacle to the people enjoying the spiritual birthright of pardon through faith in Jesus Christ.

We believe that some spectacular extraordinary effort is now needed to challenge attention and provoke thought.

It is sometimes laid as a charge against the Church that too much attention is devoted to social reform.<sup>42</sup>

A revival, the editor outlined, must arouse a conviction of sin and a conception of holiness, strengthen the faith of believers, generate a revival of worship, and create fellowship which then leads into service. Christianity, it was claimed, is a social faith, it is individual in its inception but social in its application.<sup>43</sup> The editor's analysis highlighted four sociological dimensions to a revival of religion: individual, institutional, communal, and societal. Together, these four dimensions make people and society better. Theologically, the process begins with the conversion of the individual:

For a revival we pray, that will magnify the grace of God in our midst so that thousands may behold His love in Jesus, and find in Him a Saviour from all sin.<sup>44</sup>

Set in the context of internal debate, the editor affirmed the historic narrative of Methodist revivalism, that its original sphere of action was finding the supernatural in the fabric of everyday life, despite the disquiet of those who questioned the relevance of the narrative.<sup>45</sup>

The editor of the Methodist paper was not alone in responding to the level of

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<sup>41</sup> ACC, 26 March 1926, 15.

<sup>42</sup> ACC, 5 February 1926, 3.

<sup>43</sup> ACC, 5 February 1926, 3.

<sup>44</sup> ACC, 5 February 1926, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*, 7.

unease on the topic of revivals. The editor of the *South Australian Congregationalist*, noting the denomination's appeal with the middle and wealthier classes, questioned the emphasis revivals often gave to the emotions.<sup>46</sup> An unexpected atypical coalition emerged when the Adelaide *Register* invited the Methodist minister the Rev. Enoch Gratton (1838-1931) to contribute an article on the subject. Gratton's long and spirited defence of revivals and their historic importance, entitled, "Gipsy Smith and Religious Revivals" appeared in the Saturday edition. Aged 88, the highly respected senior minister began his article by stating the problem:

Many thoughtful persons regard with distrust or cold indifference services such as Gipsy Smith is expected to conduct in Adelaide. Some sincere Christians prefer that religion should advance quietly and evenly, not by leaps and bounds, which are often followed by stagnation or death. They object to excitement, yet desire progress, but prefer that it should be steady and unvarying.<sup>47</sup>

Gratton methodically dealt with a number of objections that included backsliding, perceived lack of scholarship on the part of the revivalist, and revivalist practices. An appeal to the work of the evangelists John Wesley, William Booth, Dwight Moody, and "Gipsy" Smith sought to re-affirm the continuing role of the revivalist. Gratton could not conceive of Methodism without revivalism, and sought to convince others of its merits. It was an unusual alliance: South Australia's leading newspaper through the agency of a Methodist author, acted to preserve the interests of a section of the religious community that was committed to the spirit of historic revivalism as a means of conversion.

Possibly aware of the tensions surrounding his visit, "Gipsy" Smith addressed the topic of revival in his first mission sermon. Four thousand people and a choir of 600 voices filled the Exhibition Building on Sunday 9 May 1926 to welcome the long awaited evangelist. The kind of revival that interested Smith was a revival of practical and family religion that would take the ugliness out of life, and replace it with magnanimity, charm, winsomeness, honour, truth, love, manhood, and

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<sup>46</sup> *South Australian Congregationalist*, May 1926, 66; August 1927, 162.

<sup>47</sup> *Register*, 17 April 1926, 4. Gratton was in the 64<sup>th</sup> year of his ministry, second in length of service and age to the Rev. T. Piper who at 91 years of age had been in the ministry for 68 years. See *ACC*, 16 March 1928, 3.

womanhood<sup>48</sup> Designed to avoid the superficialities of hair-splitting doctrinal discussion, the statement energised the crowd with a vision for revival that even the most hardened opponent would find difficult to resist.

In South Australia, the -GipsyøSmith Commonwealth Evangelistic Campaign organising committee, with representation from the Council of Churches in South Australia, controlled all matters associated with the visit. Most denominations had representatives on the committee, with the Evangelisation Society in particular well represented on the executive by its president, the Rev. Dr. J. A. Seymour, who with the Baptist, the Rev. H. Escourt Hughes, acted as joint presidents. Commander H. W. Harvey also from the Society, acted as a co-secretary. Of the thirteen other members of the Gipsy Smith committee, five were Methodist ministers: B. Wibberley (President of Conference), W. H. Cann, W. T. Shapley, R. E. Stanley, and G. R. Brown (Evangelisation Societyø evangelist). Methodist lay preacher S. R. Barrett was also a member of the Evangelisation Society.<sup>49</sup> Overly represented on the Smith mission executive, the Evangelisation Society joined with the traditional historic, but increasingly divided flag-bearer of South Australian revivalism, the Methodist Church, in furthering the interests of mass soul-winning.

During his two and a half weeks in Adelaide, -GipsyøSmith spoke each night to over 4,000 people at the Exhibition Building. Supported by the choir and the musical accompaniment of Edward Young, representatives of the participating churches on the platform, and an appreciative press, Smith, in his customary bright and breezy manner, preached and entertained amid scenes of great enthusiasm.<sup>50</sup> Capacity crowds at the 1,200-seat Pirie Street Methodist Church heard representative speakers from the various churches as well as Gipsy Smith in the lunch-hour meetings designed for busy workers. Speakers included the Methodist evangelists W. H. Cann, of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission, and G. R. Brown of the Evangelisation Society, as well as Dr. J. A. Seymour the energetic president of the Society and minister of Chalmers Church.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Register*, 10 May 1926, 8.

<sup>49</sup> *ACC*, 5 May 1926, 13; 18 May 1926, 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Register*, 10 May 1923, 8; 15 May 1926, 3.

<sup>51</sup> *ACC*, 30 April 1926, 9; *Register*, 12 May 1926, 12.

Reminiscent of the Chapman-Alexander mission fourteen years earlier, the meetings were bright and cheerful, aided by specially prepared mission songs. Gipsy's happy manner, the blend of humour, pretty wit and pathos combined with beautifully expressive and flowing speech, his dramatic declamation, tender pleading, homely advice, fiery exhortation, and inspiring singing, enthralled his hearers.<sup>52</sup>

Any debate over the relevance of the revivalist meeting was completely missing from one of the largest gatherings held at the Exhibition Building, when ex-servicemen attended the invitation-only meeting. With special seating at capacity, hundreds standing, and those maimed by war seated at the front, Smith recounted his experience as a YMCA worker during the Great War:

One minute the audience was convulsed with laughter at some witty sally, then again men and women sobbed audibly and hundreds wiped the tears from their eyes. When the old question was put, "Are we down-hearted?" there came a thunderous "No!" from the audience. Gipsy, in an interesting fashion, told how he sold cigarettes, though he never smoked, and gave out coffee for the glory of God.<sup>53</sup>

Earlier in the mission during his opening address, he reported how he:

For three and a half years went down into the mud and blood with the boys, who were as my own sons. When they were dying I brought them back to consciousness in the only possible way in such circumstances. I kissed them as their mothers would have done, and then prayed for them until the end.<sup>54</sup>

It may have been a moment of expressive sentimentality, but for the returned soldiers, living with their emotional, spiritual, and physical scars, the powerful connections between vital religion and the demons of war offered up a moment of divine tenderness. They had been living since the war in the knowledge of a gap that separated them from those who remained. For some, the gap we couldn't forget and the others couldn't bridge may have closed a little.<sup>55</sup>

In any event, the presence of Brigadier-General Weir, representing the Army, and Commander Harvey the Navy, on the platform somehow completed the returned

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<sup>52</sup> *Register*, 12 May 1926, 12; 13 May 1926, 8; 14 May 1926, 14; *ACC*, 14 May 1926, 3.

<sup>53</sup> *ACC*, 28 May 1926, 3.

<sup>54</sup> *Register*, 10 May 1926, 7.

<sup>55</sup> Linder, *The Long Tragedy*, 160.

family. That they were a family for whom the pretences of religion meant little was typified in one of Smith's YMCA stories of the "zealous chaplain who asked a Salvation lassie to cease giving out coffee till he spoke to them of Jesus." After this a soldier called out, "She puts Jesus in the coffee!"<sup>56</sup> The theological subtlety of Christ's omniscience may have evaded the chaplain, but not the godly digger. On that night in May 1926, at the Adelaide Exhibition Building, the Australian diggers paid their highest compliment; they adopted Smith as one of their own. Their collective testimony was evidence of that:

It was a great meeting, hundreds made their decision, and when all Christ's people were asked to stand it seemed as though the whole audience was on its feet.<sup>57</sup>

"Gipsy" Smith kept clear of controversy. He was not one to debate the theological issues of the day, such as modernism or fundamentalism, and preferred to preach the "old theology" for conversion.<sup>58</sup> The statistics of conversions obtained during the Adelaide mission were impressive, given that one estimate put the non-church-going attendance at 20 per cent.<sup>59</sup> At the first Sunday services, there were 900 recorded first-time "decisions" and by the end of the mission over 11,000 cards had been handed in.<sup>60</sup> By comparison, Melbourne reported 15,000 cards signed, while for the whole of Australia the figure was reported as 80,000.<sup>61</sup> There was some immediate effect on the membership of the Methodist Church, which increased by 322 (24,187 to 24,509) in 1926.<sup>62</sup> Given that there were 117 conversions reported for other than Smith mission evangelistic meetings in 1926, the Smith mission contributed to the majority of the membership increase. This was still well below the potential decision "pool" of an estimated 2,750 decisions for Methodism.<sup>63</sup> This is explained partly by the fact that the number of first-time decisions or converts was included in the 11,000 figure quoted rather than separating the actual figure itself, as two kinds of "Decision

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<sup>56</sup> ACC, 28 May 1926, 3.

<sup>57</sup> ACC, 28 May 1926, 3.

<sup>58</sup> ACC, 21 May 1926, 3.

<sup>59</sup> ACC, 14 May 1926, 3.

<sup>60</sup> ACC, 21 May 1926, 4; 28 May 1926, 3.

<sup>61</sup> ACC, 3 June 1927, 1; *Register*, 3 August 1926, 15.

<sup>62</sup> Figures at Appendix 3.

<sup>63</sup> Appendices 2 and 3. The figure of 2,750 is one-quarter of 11,000, which represents Methodism's share of the census adherent figure for 1921 when 24.8% of the state's population declared themselves Methodists. The figure was probably higher, as Catholics, Lutherans, and most Anglicans did not even think of attending. See Vamplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, 424 for census figures.

Cards were handed out at each of the meetings: one for initial conversions and the other for re-dedications. This distinction was not apparent, apart from one case, in the figures obtained. Like every previous large-scale revivalist mission, many decision-makers did not proceed to church membership.

For the participating churches, finding the lost converts was a well-known problem. During Smith's first evangelistic mission in Adelaide in 1894, a Methodist minister reported that in his host church, only a few converts later joined, despite hundreds of reported conversions.<sup>64</sup> In May 1926, the President-General of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, the Rev. Dr. E. H. Sugden (1854-1935), deeply committed to the Methodist heritage, stated that 'Gipsy Smith had done much to awaken the people from indifference to religion'. He went on to add that the long-term results depended on the 'patient and indefatigable effort of the churches to retain in their fellowship those who had signed decision cards and accepted Christ as their Saviour'.<sup>65</sup> Clearly, the churches were proficient and successful in generating waves of spiritual excitement, but less so in making members out of converts. The mission added more to the invisible Methodist self-described population than it did to the visible Methodist population.

Nonetheless, Methodist congregations, along with others, did benefit from the revivalist campaign. For some, the excitement of a trip to the city from the country or suburbs, a crowded Exhibition Building and massed choir, being seated in church groups, and the vibrant and enthusiastic singing of Sankey's and Alexander's hymns and choruses, or uplifted by Gipsy Smith's renditions, provided a measure of religious fervour, entertainment, and sentimentality for otherwise isolated believers. A few weeks after the mission concluded, the Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association reported 'a spirit of revival' throughout the state, as ministers and others told of 'quickened interest in spiritual things, of prayer meetings revived, and better attendances at church'.<sup>66</sup> The mission generated a common religious identity for the evangelical community, confronted as it was by the pace and extent of pluralistic

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<sup>64</sup> ACC, 9 April 1926, 4. There were two host churches – Franklin Street Bible Christian Church and Archer Street Wesleyan Church. As the incident was recalled by the Bible Christian layman, Dr. W.G. Torr, the host church was probably the Franklin Street church.

<sup>65</sup> ACC, 4 June 1926, 3; *Register*, 21 May 1926, 10.

<sup>66</sup> ACC, 18 June 1926, 15.



change. It was an identity based on the need for conversion and salvation, faith based more on the Bible than denominational doctrines, and the spiritual affinity of revivalist interdenominational gatherings. The Mission meetings invoked a sense of belonging and reassurance that transcended the divisive nature of church debates over fundamentalism and modernism, and higher criticism in the 1920s, as congregations grappled with community indifference and rising affluence.

The measure of faith and piety for many in the pew was typified by the heart-warming spectre of religious and social solidarity displayed by a mid-north Terowie Methodist family when father, mother, and all their children gave themselves to Jesus as the result of influences of the Gipsy Smith Mission.<sup>67</sup> For some, the mission marked the time of their conversion; for others it was a re-consecration of faith. In estimating the overall impact of the mission, the words of the evangelical pastor Henry Hussey, in the wake of the 1878 visit of the British evangelist Henry Varley, were just as appropriate in 1926 as they were originally: 'the evangelist had been a greater blessing to the saved than to the unsaved'<sup>68</sup> When Gipsy Smith left Australian shores later in 1926, there would not be another visit like it until the American Baptist evangelist Billy Graham arrived in 1959 to conduct an Australia-wide crusade.

## **Revivalism – Late 1920s**

Methodism experienced few notable evangelistic and revivalist events for the remainder of the 1920s. A localised revival, the result of twelve months of preparation, in the wake of the Gipsy Smith mission, took place at Ceduna on the Far West Coast of Eyre Peninsula from June to August 1926. A combined Anglican, Methodist, and Churches of Christ initiative, it was led by the Rev. Edgar Miller (Methodist) as mission evangelist, assisted by Mr. S. H. Lovell (Churches of Christ) as song leader. Eight missions, spread over 250 kilometres, were held in remote and small villages. With at least seventy-five conversions recorded during eight weeks, the majority of whom claimed Anglican allegiance, the mission witnessed 'changed

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<sup>67</sup> ACC, 25 June 1926, 14.

<sup>68</sup> H. Hussey, *More Than Half A Century of Colonial Life and Christian Experience* (Adelaide: Hussey & Gillingham, 1897), 403.

lives, numerous Sunday school conversions, and, at one location, the formation of a thirty strong Christian Endeavour Society. Lovell, the song leader, summed up the mission by declaring that he had never before seen a place so stirred by the Spirit of God<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, a three-week evangelistic mission conducted at Kadina from 16 July to 7 August 1927 fell short of success, according to a report in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*.<sup>70</sup> In a letter to the editor, the layman H. W. Tossell called for a thorough investigation of the mission and the reasons for its failure. The correspondent offered his own general views on the outcome of the mission. They included a failure to keep pace with a modern interpretation of the Bible and the use of outdated old time revival tactics. Furthermore, Tossell expressed a view that some Methodist ministers felt obliged to preach conservative theology which they have outgrown. This was because they preached a sort of miraculous repentance and faith as the only means of salvation. Greater freedom of thought, claimed the correspondent, would enable preachers to act in accordance with the intellectual growth of the times. Tossell asserted that such constraining influences caused these men to feel that they could do more real work for vital religion if they resigned their ministry and engaged in ordinary vocations. Tossell concluded:

The continuance of the evangelistic appeal and revival methods can undoubtedly be supported by much argument, and an excellent defence expounded, but the facts are that they do not meet with success in a measure great enough to justify their continuance in many places, and no amount of argument can alter the situation.<sup>71</sup>

Although the article did not provide any details relevant to the mission's location, apart from Kadina, the churches involved, who the missionaries were, or its auspices, it is likely that a mission conducted by the Evangelisation Society of South Australia in Kadina from 16 July to 7 August 1927 is the one referred to in the correspondence. The Methodist paper, *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, did not report on any mission conducted in Kadina, Methodist or otherwise, during 1927. Furthermore,

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<sup>69</sup> ACC, 9 July 1926, 14; 23 July 1926, 12; 27 August 1926, 5.

<sup>70</sup> ACC, 19 August 1927, 16. Details of this paragraph are from the reference cited.

<sup>71</sup> ACC, 19 August 1927, 16.

there were no revivalist meetings reported of any nature throughout South Australia for which conversions took place in the year.

The Kadina United Mission, conducted by representatives of the Evangelisation Society with the support of local ministers, utilised the facilities of the Congregational Church, Churches of Christ and Victoria Square Methodist Church.<sup>72</sup> The mission included day and nightly meetings at Kadina, Alford, and Paskeville, lunch-time school meetings, Sunday school addresses, house visitation, and Sunday evening united meetings in the Kadina Town Hall. At the opening meeting, the Mayor of Kadina and participating ministers sat on the platform. The *Kadina and Wallaroo Times* reported favourably on the work of the Society throughout the region two years previously and endorsed its 'excellent record of sane and lasting missionary work'.<sup>73</sup> There were no reports of conversions or other results of the mission in the *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*. The only follow up correspondence published in the Methodist paper was a letter by H. Pope, who, while acknowledging Tossell's concerns, appealed to the well-known circuit evangelist, the Rev. Samuel Forsyth, to present a historical and contemporary perspective on the 'vital' issue.<sup>74</sup> None was forthcoming.

Many Methodist readers probably concluded that the Kadina mission was a Methodist mission conducted in a Methodist Church. Either the lack of correspondence on the issue, apart from Pope's letter, indicated indifference on the part of the readership, or there was widespread knowledge by some other means that it was the Evangelisation Society referred to and therefore the matter did not warrant

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<sup>72</sup> *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 16 July 1927, 2. Representatives of the Evangelisation Society included the Rev. G.R. Brown, evangelist, Mrs G.R. Brown pianist and soloist, Commander Harvey, and Miss Robinson, women's and children's ministry.

<sup>73</sup> *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 16 July 1927, 2; 23 July 1927, 2; 27 July 1927, 3; 30 July 1927, 2. In 1925, the Methodist churches on the Peninsula cooperated with the Evangelisation Society in the conduct of missions. A mission was not conducted in Kadina in 1925, as the decision was made to hold it later, which turned out to be 1927. A special meeting of Yorke Peninsula Methodist ministers in June 1925, discussed arrangements for the mission and concerns with the Evangelisation Society. See ACC, 3 July 1925, 5. Congregational Church participation in the mission was probably an attempt to revive the work. After 'many fruitless efforts to sustain and revive the work at Kadina' the church closed in 1940. See John Cameron, *In Stow's Footsteps: A Chronological History of the Congregational Churches in S.A. 1837-1977* (Adelaide: South Australian Congregational History Project Committee, 1987), 45.

<sup>74</sup> ACC, 16 September 1927, 12. Pope likewise, made no reference to the Evangelisation Society in his correspondence. Either he was not aware or, if he was, felt the matter did not require clarification.

further discussion. Alternatively, the readership agreed with Tossell's views, that the matter required no further consideration. In any event, what did the issue reveal?

The issue showed there was concern within the Methodist Church in the late 1920s over the apparent inability of the church to maintain and extend its missionary focus. John Wesley's dictum: "You have nothing to do but to save souls" was still considered the relevant mandate by which to judge the church's operation and influence.<sup>75</sup> However, in the light of few conversions and slow membership growth in the early and mid 1920s, and a natural tendency to compare Methodism's performance with earlier times in the state and colony's history, concerned ministers and lay people attempted to identify the relevant causes.<sup>76</sup> However, the relatively healthy Sunday attendance figures, which had risen steadily in the early 1920s to around 86,000 by the end of the decade, masked the full extent of the level of concern and blunted the task of adequate analysis. The 1928 Conference resolution on the Work of God reflected this:

We gratefully recognise the goodness and help of God in the manifold work of our Church throughout the year. We take courage that in spite of modern difficulties our Church membership continues to increase and the support of Home and Foreign Missions and other work of the Kingdom of God is well maintained.<sup>77</sup>

However, in the opinion of the President of the Methodist Conference, the goal to claim "Australia for Christ" was still a long way off.<sup>78</sup>

In 1928, a number of correspondents, along with the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, contributed to the debate over the slow growth of the Methodist Church. Although some of the contributions were in the main anecdotal, opinion-based, or generalised, and inevitably were filtered by the theological and sociological grid of the author, they do provide a "snapshot" of some of the main issues. The editor maintained that some consultation had taken place with people

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<sup>75</sup> This was the subject of the editorial in the *ACC*, 20 January 1928, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Methodist Church membership increased by only 1,072 between 1920 and 1925 (23,115 to 24,187). Recorded conversions amounted to 655 in the same period. See Appendix 3. The Annual Conversion Index (ACI) almost flat-lined in this period. See Appendix 4. The only similar comparative period occurred from 1900 to 1905.

<sup>77</sup> *ACC*, 16 March 1928, 3.

<sup>78</sup> *ACC*, 2 March 1928, 8-9. Assessment made by the Rev. E.J. Piper in his Presidential Address to the Methodist Conference, 28 February 1928.

outside the church. Not all the issues related to the understanding and practice of revivalism, but together they presented a wider picture of how some members of Methodism viewed their church. To what extent they represented the views of the wider Methodist constituency is unknown. Intended for the public domain, it is likely that the statements are more measured and objective than would otherwise be the case.

The editorials and letters to the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* identified a number of concerns. First, there was an apparent lessened need for grace because of a diminished sense of the nature of sin.<sup>79</sup> The long-standing Methodist public denunciations of the sins of drinking and gambling no longer held sway in the aftermath of the austere years of the Great War.<sup>80</sup> The emergent emphasis on pleasure appealed to many.

Second, massed methods of evangelism were no longer as effective as they once were. One correspondent suggested the old-time revival meetings belonged to another era, as few outside the church attended the meetings. According to the correspondent, the crusade led by the English Methodist evangelist the Rev. Norman Dunning in May and June 1928, produced few adult conversions and, of the hundreds reported as conversions, the majority were Sunday school scholars; they constituted the annual crop of Decision Day scholars.<sup>81</sup>

A third concern was the perception that the church was too institutionally orientated and had acquired a dull respectability. It operated more like a big business run on financial rather than spiritual lines; its members displayed little difference in outward form to non-church people and presented a negative message conveyed by the word *donor*.<sup>82</sup> Fourth, many no longer valued preaching and absented themselves accordingly. The Church, therefore, was fighting a losing battle

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<sup>79</sup> *ACC*, 20 January 1928, 1.

<sup>80</sup> The sense of victory in 1915 over the early closing for hotels, had long since given way to a continued opposition to the liquor industry. The *ACC* editorial of 20 January 1928 inferred the linkage of sin with amusements.

<sup>81</sup> *ACC*, 20 January 1928, 1; 5 October 1928, 1. A report of conversion statistics for the Dunning Crusade recorded 84 adult and 258 Sunday school conversions. See *ACC*, 6 July 1928, 4-5; 13 July 1928, 4-5.

<sup>82</sup> *ACC*, 10 February 1928, 1.

to keep spirituality in the people<sup>83</sup>

Fifth, preaching for conversion, according to the Rev. A. E. Cowley, was a rarity:

The old-time conversion comes rarely now. The doctrine of evolutionary process governs modern thought of Christian experience. Who talks of getting saved now? Efforts to win souls are almost unknown among average church members. That is left to the ministers, most of whom seem to look for progressive spiritual development rather than the miracle of conversion. A great deal of the soul-winning was once done by our local preachers. Very few modern locals attempt to secure conversions, and they are discouraged by the coldness, or even hostility in the congregation.<sup>84</sup>

The emergence of the work of the Local Preachers' Association since 1918, with its emphasis on conversion and holiness, and its allied Intercessory Prayer Union, provided many local preachers with opportunities to preach for conversion and to deepen the spiritual life of believers. According to Cowley, Methodism had all but lost its revivalist conversionary fervour. No doubt, there were many Association local preachers in the 1920s who saw themselves as torchbearers in maintaining this part of the Methodist evangelical tradition. A consequence of this, according to Cowley, was that the preacher as exhorter had become the preacher as teacher. Preaching had become less emotional and more instructive; the teacher had replaced the agitator<sup>85</sup>

Sixth, Cowley also claimed that over time Methodism had lost some of its distinctive characteristics, such as the class meeting as the test of membership. The mid-week prayer and fellowship meeting no longer attracted the vast majority of Methodists, and there was less emphasis on instantaneous conversion. These Marks of Methodism were lost as the denomination catered for a more generalised religious experience<sup>86</sup> The Methodist minister D. T. Reddin was in no doubt as to where the problem lay. In correspondence to the Methodist serial on the topic of 'The Trend of Modern Methodism' Reddin claimed that:

The real reason for the lost Marks of Methodism is the absence of vital religion. I think we are reaping the harvest of a mistaken method, whereby

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<sup>83</sup> ACC, 2 March 1928, 6.

<sup>84</sup> ACC, 5 October 1928, 1.

<sup>85</sup> ACC, 5 October 1928, 4.

<sup>86</sup> ACC, 5 October 1928, 1.

people have been carried from cradle roll to full membership; passed from one book to another without a confession of a conscious relationship to Jesus Christ as Saviour. These carded and indexed members are often very nice people, but not being reborn again the absence of life explains the lack of appetite for prayer, fellowship, and after-meetings. Once born, men may be members of a church, but only twice-born men enter the Kingdom of God and possess its spiritual enthusiasms.<sup>87</sup>

In contrast, the revivalist-centred instantaneous conversion made little allowance for the authentic nature of the volitional, gradual, step-by-step process of conversion.<sup>88</sup> Revivalism favoured that its own type of religious experience, in which the self was transformed in an instantaneous act of self-surrender to Christ, was the ideal. Glen O'Brien has traced the shift from crisis to process as the dominant model of conversion within Australian Methodism by the late 1920s. He contends that this occurred in the context of the loss of the class meeting, loss of religious certainty and to theological distinctions between liberals and conservatives.<sup>89</sup>

Seventh, the Rev. W. A. Potts contended that the magnifying of the evangelist to the disparagement of others, an insight well understood by circuit ministers, often unintentionally led some to break away from the [Methodist] Church in pursuit of that which their own church was lacking.<sup>90</sup> He probably had in mind the two Methodist ministers, Edgar Miller and George Brown, the first two evangelists of the Evangelisation Society of South Australia. Potts could understand the attractiveness of the itinerant evangelist preaching for conversion and moving from one meeting to the next. However, he cautioned against the tendency to manufacture conversions in order to produce results.<sup>91</sup>

Finally, there was a distrust of institutional religion, but a belief in Christian brotherhood.<sup>92</sup> This was in part explained by an apparent drift in the content of

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<sup>87</sup> ACC, 2 November 1928, 14.

<sup>88</sup> William James's psychological study of conversion identified the two types of conversion, the instantaneous and the volitional-gradual. See William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, reprint of 1902 edn. (Pacific Publishing Studio, 2010), 96-109. See also, Jerald C Brauer, 'Conversion: From Puritanism to Revivalism', *Journal of Religion* 58, no. 3 (July 1978), 227-243, 230.

<sup>89</sup> Glen O'Brien, 'Australian Methodist Religious Experience', in Glen O'Brien and Hilary M. Carey, eds., *Methodism in Australia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 167-179.

<sup>90</sup> ACC, 27 April 1928, 1.

<sup>91</sup> ACC, 27 April 1928, 1.

<sup>92</sup> ACC, 3 February 1928, 1.

preaching of some younger ministers away from Christ's atoning sacrifice, in favour of a unitarian doctrine that emphasised the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.<sup>93</sup>

The correspondence revealed that by the late 1920s Methodists were re-evaluating the effectiveness, role, and conduct of massed evangelistic meetings. Some Methodists questioned whether such meetings were still relevant, as preaching was moving away from the atonement toward emphasising the brotherhood of man. Others contended that preaching for conversion was no longer the focus.

### **Norman Dunning – 'Spiritual Advance Crusade' – 1928**

The Norman Dunning Crusade in South Australia from April to July 1928, often referred to as a 'Spiritual Advance Crusade' attempted to re-establish the credibility of the revivalist tradition in Methodism. The use of the evangelist Norman Dunning, a minister of the British Wesleyan Conference, a Cambridge graduate and a one-time Cliff College tutor, was Methodism's answer to the crisis within its own ranks. Praised for his scholarship, forensic mind, intensity, sincerity, culture and charm, Dunning was invited to Australia by the Methodist General Conference. He led evangelistic missions within South Australia at Adelaide's Kent Town and Pirie Street churches, Port Pirie, and Broken Hill.<sup>94</sup>

The final phase of the Crusade consisted of a week-long campaign conducted with military precision during which fifty Methodist ministers participated in a city and suburban-wide simultaneous evangelistic campaign. Mission events held in fifty out of a possible eighty-five churches included nightly services, open-air meetings, visits to Christian Endeavour societies, Sunday Schools, and men's and women's meetings.<sup>95</sup> The Adelaide crusade, made possible through the centralised planning, discipline, and accountability of connexionalism, was an instrument of mission.

Based on a model developed in Britain in the early 1920s, the Adelaide

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<sup>93</sup> ACC, 26 March 1926, 15. Letter to the Editor. This was the opinion of a Methodist representative to the 1926 Conference.

<sup>94</sup> ACC, 16 March 1928, 3; 23 March 1928, 16.

<sup>95</sup> ACC, 15 June 1928, 1; 6 July 1928, 4-5; 13 July 1928, 4.



experience did not live up to the success enjoyed by its British counterpart.<sup>96</sup> There were some conversions; country Methodists made the journey to the city for the simultaneous crusade, and a crowded Exhibition Building provided the venue for the last meeting of the crusade on 3 July 1928.<sup>97</sup> There was inspired and enthusiastic singing of hymns such as *All Hail the Power* for thirty minutes before Dunning and fifty ministers occupied the platform.<sup>98</sup> Once again, statements such as the ‘revival is at hand’ and ‘the beginning of a revival of religion throughout the community’ stimulated the expectations of those in attendance.<sup>99</sup> According to the *Register* there were some in the community, however, for whom the crusade experience confirmed their understanding of the Methodist Church as a revivalist entity.<sup>100</sup> Dunning’s academic scholarship and preaching appealed to Methodists who ‘favoured rational sobriety over emotional excitement’<sup>101</sup> In an era of theological re-assessment, a more rationalist hermeneutic influenced the evangelical power of the gospel.

Overall, the crusade that was intended to mobilise the nominal believer toward vital religion failed to arrest the ‘outside masses drifting into godlessness’<sup>102</sup> The *Advertiser*, in reporting Dunning’s departure for Victoria, observed that the city’s Methodist ministers ‘expressed the conviction that the work has been of a solid and lasting character’<sup>103</sup> The newspaper’s assessment was more relevant to the church’s membership than to the wider nominal and not-very-interested population. The core of the Methodist religious subculture was becoming increasingly aware of the indifference of much of the city and suburban population to the church’s message.

## Conclusion

By the end of the 1920s, the large-scale revivalist mission had lost its savour as the flagship of Methodist revivalism, in favour of the more diffuse localised simultaneous missions. No longer did Methodism display a confident and unified

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<sup>96</sup> *ACC*, 8 June 1928, 4.

<sup>97</sup> *ACC*, 22 June 1928, 4.

<sup>98</sup> *Register*, 4 July 1928, 7.

<sup>99</sup> *ACC*, 22 June 1928, 4; *Advertiser*, 4 July 1928, 10.

<sup>100</sup> *Register*, 4 July 1928, 7.

<sup>101</sup> Glen O’Brien, ‘North American Wesleyan-Holiness Churches in Australia’ (PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 2005), 36. O’Brien discusses the Adelaide Norman Dunning crusade at pages 35-37.

<sup>102</sup> *ACC*, 15 June 1928, 1.

<sup>103</sup> *Advertiser*, 7 July 1928, 26.

understanding of the merit of revivalism as the method of choice for individual and social transformation. Even the act of conversion underwent reification in the minds of some Methodists. It was clear that divisions within Methodism existed on the issue. Most agreed that conversion was the one gateway to vital Christianity<sup>104</sup> although there were differences over its nature, timing, whether it was instantaneous, or gradual and extended.

Although the massed revivalist event such as the Gipsy Smith mission in 1926 no longer held sway among some Methodists, this did not mark the end of revivalism as a means of making converts within the denomination. Instead, South Australian Methodism emerged from the 1920s with a continued desire to prosecute forms of revivalism that it believed were more receptive to the times. The Spiritual Advance Crusades led by William Shaw from 1929 to 1933 maintained the revivalist feature of Methodist vital religion. The 1930s, to which we now turn, was a decade of revivalist experimentation for the Methodist Church; a time when the intellectual challenges of liberalism and modernism affected revivalism.

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<sup>104</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 7.

## CHAPTER 12

### REVIVALISM RE-EXAMINED – 1930s

In the decade before the Second World War, there were five main facets to South Australian Methodist revivalism: the Spiritual Advance Crusades conducted by the Rev. Dr. William Shaw (1854-1937) from 1929 to 1933, localised revivalist initiatives at the circuit level, the 'new evangelism', the influence of the Oxford Group Movement, and, in 1938, the re-introduction of the Conference Evangelist. Methodism had always looked and longed for religious revival, through which experiential religion would not only revive the church but also transform society along Christian principles and precepts. In addition to these five facets of revivalism in the 1930s, this chapter will note the ongoing emphasis given to the evangelistic mission by the Evangelisation Society, and examine the continuing intellectual debates, which were prominent in the late nineteenth-century, and emerged again in the early twentieth-century as 'Liberalism' and 'Modernism'. Their effects on revivalism is examined.

#### **Spiritual Advance Crusades – 1929-1933**

Methodism's reliance on the specialist revivalist continued with the William Shaw-led Spiritual Advance Crusades from 1929 to 1933.<sup>1</sup> The Crusades were a Conference initiative, planned and executed by an evangelistic committee, and were intended to assist circuits. It was the continuation of the crusade strategy introduced to South Australian Methodism in 1928 by the British Methodist evangelist, Norman Dunning.

For five years, Shaw itinerated throughout South Australia, conducting five-day teaching and evangelism crusades, meeting with groups of ministers, men, and

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<sup>1</sup> William Shaw, originally a Methodist New Connexion minister, migrated from England in 1883 to minister in Victoria. He moved to South Australia in 1905. An outstanding preacher, Shaw occupied prominent pulpits including Archer Street, North Adelaide (1905-07). A well-read scholar, he was appointed a theological tutor at Prince Alfred College. Known for his evangelical views, he was open to the latest Biblical scholarship, and modified his views accordingly. He was president of the South Australia Conference in 1918, and, following his retirement in 1928, led Spiritual Advance Crusades throughout South Australian Methodism. On Shaw see Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 126, 215, 248, 260, 263, 294, 303. Arnold D. Hunt, 'Shaw, William 1854-1937', *ADEB*, 336.

women's meetings, and Sunday school conventions. Known for his expository teaching, Shaw was widely appreciated throughout Methodism for reviving churches and leading Methodists into a deeper spiritual experience.<sup>2</sup> The Crusades realised few converts. Nevertheless, Conference each year expressed its gratitude for Shaw's work. The crusades appealed to the Methodist membership rather than the unchurched.

## **Circuit Revivalism**

Methodist circuit revivalism continued in the 1930s, albeit somewhat diminished. Circuit revivalism, a feature of the church in South Australia since its beginnings in the 1830s, continued to provide a means of securing converts, spreading scriptural holiness, and aiding denominational expansion. Concentrated evangelistic effort often took place in the cooler winter months during the time of reduced agricultural activity following the annual seeding of seasonal crops such as wheat and barley. Local evangelistic missions, with the aim of securing the next batch of converts, held either in the rural townships or in city and suburban locations, were conducted under circuit or Conference arrangements. Often, circuits chose to conduct their own locally planned and led missions, which, on occasions, included other churches in the locality and also a guest missionary. They varied in length from a few days to two or three weeks. In the 1930s, thirteen of these localised circuit-run crusades or missions were held, and together they produced 503 converts. By way of comparison, thirty years earlier in the period 1900 to 1909 there were at least fifty-seven localised events that yielded 2,811 converts.<sup>3</sup>

## **Evangelisation Society of South Australia**

The Evangelisation Society of South Australia continued its work throughout the decade in partnership with local churches. One such mission, conducted by the Society's evangelist, George Brown, in the Willunga Circuit in April and May 1930 over a six-week period, yielded sixty-four converts. Nightly meetings held in Willunga, Noarlunga, Bethany, McLaren Flat, Aldinga, and McLaren Vale witnessed

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<sup>2</sup> *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 28 February 1930, 5; 2 May 1930, 11; 30 May 1930, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Details for the 1930s and the period 1900-1909 extracted from Appendices 1 and 2.

conversions in each locality as the revival spread throughout the district. Daily meetings held near schools enabled children to attend and to make professions of faith. A key feature of the mission was the visitation of 170 homes, in which, it was reported, many conversions took place:

Souls were won in homes and in all sorts of places. Men knelt in swamps and onion patches, and stood with bowed and bared heads by the side of implements in the field, and yielded to Christ, as we sealed the great moment with paddock prayer<sup>4</sup>

At the final rally held at Willunga one of the oldest, ablest and most spiritual laymen of the district reported:

I have been in touch with missions large and small all along the years of my life, and I have never seen anything finer, deeper, saner or so penetrating, effective and far-reaching in method, spirit and result as the type of evangelism I have witnessed in our district during the past six weeks.<sup>5</sup>

The report in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, probably written by the Rev. J. J. Kilmartin, circuit minister, identified four progressive phases of the revival. The first was the preparatory phase, which entailed weekly prayer meetings for twelve months prior to the mission. The second phase was the operation which included the day and night meetings, and house visitation. The third phase was realisation. For mission participants, this subjective experience culminated with the Holy Spirit's work in conversion. The final phase was conservation and continuation which included measures such as the formation of Christian Endeavour Societies to preserve the beneficial results of the mission.<sup>6</sup>

George Brown's Willunga mission was conversion-focussed. Brown preached to obtain conversions as the sole objective of the mission. Special meetings, music, and the building of spiritual intensity over the course of the mission culminated in the climax of final night conversions amid tears of joy and tears of repentance.<sup>7</sup> According to the editor of the Methodist paper, such missions, which had changed little in the previous 100 years, were now thought by some to be old evangelism.

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<sup>4</sup> ACC, 6 June 1930, 8.

<sup>5</sup> ACC, 6 June 1930, 8.

<sup>6</sup> ACC, 6 June 1930, 8, 11.

<sup>7</sup> ACC, 6 June 1930, 8.

They belonged to the 'revivalistic methods of yesterday' and were guaranteed to 'merely irritate congregations'<sup>8</sup> However, in the 1930s, the Evangelisation Society continued to demonstrate that missions, with the aim of producing converts, were still valid forms of evangelism.

### **'New Evangelism'**

The 'new evangelism' practised in revived circuits, explained the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, consisted of 'Persuasive', 'Positive' or 'Pastoral' evangelism designed 'to win a soul, to win over an intellect, get the consent of a heart, and the agreement of a will'<sup>9</sup> The new methodology emphasised the persuasive use of discussion, conferences, and literature to influence the mind, an attitude toward others that saw the positive aspects of human potential and realisation, rather than souls to be 'snatched from destruction'. The editor also called for a greater use of friendship opportunities for evangelistic purposes. The existing 'circuit means of grace' could amply accommodate the new emphasis. Despite the limitations of the obvious 'humanistic emphasis' of the 'new evangelism' the editor was nonetheless heartened by the 'swinging revival tides' throughout the state and declared that 'considerable revival can be initiated by the new spirit of evangelism'. This was to be preferred to the 'old evangelism' characterised by the 'perils of hell-fire' and 'hustled decisions'.

It is possible that reports of evangelistic meetings such as those conducted by ministerial students of Wesley College, at which '200 young people made a profession of faith', convinced the editor of the merits of the 'new evangelism'<sup>10</sup> There were two other reports of mission-type events at which conversions were recorded. One occurred in the Maylands circuit ('some decisions') in September 1934, and the other, termed a 'revival' in the country circuit of Woodside (38 converts) in the same month. Convinced that the 'new evangelism' was having an impact throughout the Methodist Church, the editor of the *Australian Christian*

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<sup>8</sup> ACC, 8 June 1934, 1.

<sup>9</sup> This paragraph is based on the editorial, 'Into the Harvest Fields' by Cyril Wheaton, editor of the ACC, 8 June 1934, 1.

<sup>10</sup> ACC, 8 June 1934, 1. Apart from this one reference, no further details are provided. It was common during the late 1930s for Wesley College students to conduct missions.

*Commonwealth* lamented the paper's inability to report other revivalist activity during 1934 because "the brethren do not volunteer the information"<sup>11</sup> There were many who considered that the "new evangelism" at the grass-roots level of circuit life did not warrant reporting. After all, the message of the Evangelical appeal had not changed, and a revised methodology to harvest conversions had not yet emerged for a new revivalism.<sup>12</sup> However, there was an aspect of the "new evangelism" that could offer a revised methodology. One of the meetings held during the Woodside circuit revival in 1934, and attended by a minister and a "car-load of young people" from Adelaide, held out new hope. Conducted on "group lines" the young converts gave "simple and direct" testimonies at the meeting, and "had a great influence on the audience"<sup>13</sup> Despite the slump in new motor vehicle registrations in the early 1930s because of the Great Depression, and the motor vehicles "hastened [effect on] the secularisation of Sunday"<sup>14</sup> the increased mobility afforded by the motor vehicle enhanced the ability of group-enthusiasts to spread the movement's message.

## Oxford Group Movement

The most innovative form of revivalism in the 1930s was influenced by the Oxford Group Movement. Methodism's predisposition for evangelism in the 1930s was a blend of an unchanging belief in people's need for salvation, merged with methodological pragmatism. The Rev. S. Carroll Myers, as incoming president of Conference in 1932, reiterated the importance of evangelism:

Wesley bequeathed to Methodism a very rich legacy, of which the most precious thing is the spirit of evangelism; and that we have never lost it we may most thankfully acknowledge. It is the very essence of Methodism, and the heart of the Methodist witness. Our supreme mission as a Church is an

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<sup>11</sup> *ACC*, 5 October 1934, 3.

<sup>12</sup> An article entitled, "We Preach Christ Crucified" by Mr. R. A. Potter, Head Master of Mount Gambier High School, which appeared in the *ACC*, 29 June 1934, 3, argued that a personal experience of the saving action of God in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ was still the standard to measure the Christian faith. The Evangelical appeal had not changed. Potter reflected the belief of probably most Methodists. The need for a new methodology is outlined in an article entitled, "What is the Evangelical Appeal?" See *ACC*, 22 June 1934, 14. This reflected the views of the proponents of a "new evangelism"

<sup>13</sup> *ACC*, 5 October 1934, 3.

<sup>14</sup> New car registrations slumped from 9,946 in 1927 to 2,401 in 1930 and only 544 the following year before rising again to 5,406 in 1938. See Peter Donovan, "Motor cars and freeways: Measures of a South Australian love affair" in Bernard O'Neil, Judith Raftery, and Kerrie Round, eds., *Playford's South Australia: Essays on the history of South Australia, 1933-1968* (Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians, 1996), 202, 206.

unceasing and unfaltering witness to the power of Christ to save to the uttermost, to proclaim to all men the Gospel of a full and free salvation.<sup>15</sup>

Allied with an unchanging purpose, Carroll Myers also reminded the Conference of Methodism's unchanging message:

We preach Christ crucified. It is the watchword of our ministry. Let us resolutely refuse to be turned aside from it. As Methodist preachers we must ever strive to emulate the zeal and faithfulness of St. Paul: "Our Gospel came to you not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance" For such effectiveness the "warmed heart" is essential.<sup>16</sup>

Methodism's ability to pursue methodological pragmatism in evangelism enabled it to embrace warmly the influence of the Oxford Group.<sup>17</sup> In 1932, it was left to the retiring president, the Rev. J. G. Jenkin, to declare that "the day of revivals has not gone by"<sup>18</sup> Within the year, some Methodists saw the influence and growing support for the Oxford Group as providing the potential for revival.

Among the first within Methodism to formalise this understanding was the Adelaide South District Synod. At its annual meeting held in October 1932, the Synod passed the following resolution:

In the judgment of this Synod the revival of the longing for real Christian experience, fellowship and service as evinced in the Fellowship of the Kingdom, the Oxford Group and similar movements is manifestly of God.<sup>19</sup>

Of like mind, the Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association, in December 1932, suggested that "one of the most hopeful signs of revival is found in the Oxford Group Movement"<sup>20</sup>

The movement had its origins with the American Lutheran, the Rev. Dr. Frank Buchman, who developed the principles and practices of the movement while undertaking evangelistic work. This included visits to Oxford and Cambridge

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<sup>15</sup> ACC, 26 February 1932, 3.

<sup>16</sup> ACC, 26 February 1932, 3.

<sup>17</sup> South Australian Methodists preferred the term "Oxford Group" rather than the term "Cambridge Group" which, for a while, was the Methodist version of the group in Britain.

<sup>18</sup> ACC, 11 March 1932, 4. The Methodist Local Preachers' and Laymen's Association also looked for a "revival of true religion" and acknowledged that its form may differ from past revivals. See ACC, 9 December 1932, 13.

<sup>19</sup> ACC, 4 November 1932, 3.

<sup>20</sup> ACC, 16 December 1932, 11.



universities in 1920. After a mission to South Africa in 1929, he and his followers became known as 'the Oxford Group'. The Movement influenced British Methodists and by 1932 was having an effect on South Australian Methodists.<sup>21</sup> Bebbington argues that the Movement reflected the influence of cultural modernism, characterised by 'Expressionism' or self-expression, and the 'arbitrariness of language'.<sup>22</sup> Cultural modernism was a reaction against the rational and objective nature of modern society, and found expression in the arts and literature.<sup>23</sup> It was also affected by the depth psychology of the inter-war period.<sup>24</sup>

One of the earliest practitioners of the Oxford Group Movement within South Australian Methodism was the Rev. Percy H. Chennell who conducted weekly Tuesday evening testimony meetings at Goodwood Methodist Church during 1932. Among those who 'stood up and told in simple words of what Christ meant in their own lives, of new power over sin and a new joy greater than any earthly joy' were university students, former 'drunkards and gamblers'. In addition, the Kurralta Park, Keswick, and Unley Methodist churches hosted either worship or testimony meetings.<sup>25</sup>

In early 1933, the Congregationalist, E. S. Kiek, principal of Parkin College, undertook the first assessment of the Oxford Group Movement. In a series of three articles, Kiek outlined the Group's history, teaching, and practice in the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*. Kiek understood that the Oxford Group had the potential to deliver a revival at a time when there existed 'considerable suspicion' of 'American methods of evangelism'. The Group's alignment with Evangelical Christianity, its 'striking resemblance to early Methodism', and its priority on individual conversion as the way to achieve a righteous nation appealed to Methodists.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 345-346.

<sup>22</sup> On cultural modernism and the Oxford Group Movement, see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 233-242.

<sup>23</sup> On cultural modernism's impact on British Christianity in the 1930s and 1940s, see Giles Watson, 'Cultural Expressions of Christian Doctrine in Britain, 1937-1949', *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review*, 21 and 22 (June and December 1996), 61-90.

<sup>24</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 237.

<sup>25</sup> ACC, 20 January 1933, 14.

<sup>26</sup> ACC, 27 January 1933, 5, 13; 3 February 1933, 5; 10 February 1933, 4-5.

By the end of 1933 a further seven articles published in the Methodist paper portrayed the Movement as worthy of assimilation within the Methodist Church.<sup>27</sup> The British Methodist theologian, Leslie D. Weatherhead, in an article entitled 'Revival' declared that the 'revival is not coming. It is here' and cited the influence of the Movement:

I cannot personally doubt that the revival has been partly brought about indirectly by the Oxford Group Movement. I should describe that Movement as the greatest religious force in England today.<sup>28</sup>

Others found the personal righteousness emphasised by the Movement helpful. The Rev. Albert Thomas Holden, President General of the Methodist Church of Australasia, in an address to a hundred ministers in Melbourne, claimed that the Movement demanded a 100 per cent Christian life built on the four standards of absolute purity, honesty, love, and unselfishness. There was little doubt in the mind of the President General when he furthermore declared: 'there is nothing in it that we may not embrace, for it is early Methodism and early Christianity'<sup>29</sup> Other voices in the community such as that of Enid Lyons, wife of the Prime Minister, echoed similar sentiments to the four standards when she declared that 'nothing but a great unselfishness is going to bring back universal prosperity'<sup>30</sup>

Later in 1933, the Rev. W. A. Potts, then a retired minister, wrote of his experiences attending Movement 'house parties' and meetings while in England. He too provided a succinct but ringing endorsement, that the 'Movement is of God' Maurice Wilmshurst, a student at Wesley College, offered perhaps one of the most telling of assessments when he noted the Movement's benefit to the local church:

The church did not mean less to those who had found help and victory through the agency of the Group; on the contrary, they threw themselves whole-heartedly into the work of their church, making a real contribution to

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<sup>27</sup> These articles appeared in the following editions of the *ACC*: 24 February 1933, 3; 24 March 1933, 14-15; 25 August 1933, 14; 1 September 1933, 4; 29 September 1933, 14-15; 6 October 1933, 3; 20 October 1933, 3; 15 December 1933, 14.

<sup>28</sup> *ACC*, 24 February 1933, 3.

<sup>29</sup> *ACC*, 24 March 1933, 15.

<sup>30</sup> The comment was made at the first conference of the National Council of Women of Australia held in Melbourne. See *Advertiser*, 23 November 1932, 11.

the vitality and evangelistic power of their denomination.<sup>31</sup>

The Methodist Church's almost total endorsement of the Oxford Group Movement was complete by the middle of 1934.<sup>32</sup> The Movement's influence on Methodists was partly due to the widely read book, *For Sinners Only* by A. J. Russell, an English author.<sup>33</sup> The book's use of revivalist language appealed particularly to Methodist evangelistic and expansionist sentiments:

The movement is growing rapidly in England. Within a year or two it may have spread throughout the country. It must grow, for it holds the answer to life's riddle, and makes Christianity intelligible to the man in the street. It may do for the twentieth century what Wesley did for the eighteenth century. Who knows?...The new world revival is surely at hand, and coming to us in the same way that Christianity first burst on a Pagan world when Spirit-[f]illed men, accused of being full of new wine, went everywhere witnessing to their experience of a risen Lord.<sup>34</sup>

In May of 1934, the Rev. W. J. Bailey, director of the Young People's Department, saw the Movement as not only a vehicle for revival, but as the means by which young people might be challenged to follow Christ and serve Him. Bailey warned of the possibility that the Movement could develop into a sect independent of the church and, with a note of alarm, implored Methodism to fully embrace and contain this new life.<sup>35</sup> The demise of the old revivalism precipitated the urgency:

This generation has seen an astounding thing. It has seen time-honoured methods of evangelisation pass out of use. The suggestion of wholesale evangelisation, so welcome to past generations, does not interest religious leaders today.

There is general agreement among Christians that mass evangelisation of the highly emotional type, formerly so popular, does not meet the modern religious need.<sup>36</sup>

According to Bailey, the potential for the Oxford Group Movement to raise up a consecrated army of life-changers drawn from the ranks of the nearer margins of

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<sup>31</sup> ACC, 29 September 1933, 14.

<sup>32</sup> At the opening ministerial session of the 1934 Methodist Conference, the incoming President, the Rev. J.C. Hughes, claimed that the Oxford Group Movement heralded a coming revival. See *Advertiser*, 28 February 1934, 16.

<sup>33</sup> A.J. Russell, *For Sinners Only* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1932). The book was available from the Epworth Book Depot (Methodist), Adelaide, from at least January 1933. See ACC, 20 January 1933, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Russell, *For Sinners Only*, 290-291.

<sup>35</sup> ACC, 18 May 1934, 1.

<sup>36</sup> ACC, 18 May 1934, 1.

Methodism to prosecute the next revival was palpable.<sup>37</sup> The Movement was the subject of considerable examination during 1936, when Methodism celebrated the centenary of the founding of the colony. From July 1936, in the light of the Movement's reported continued growth in Britain and Europe, and acceptance within South Australian Methodism, the Methodist paper published weekly articles.<sup>38</sup> They occasionally included critical reviews owing to emerging concerns within the denomination.<sup>39</sup> In the main, however, contributors continued to extol the virtues of the Movement, and often linked aspects of it to historic Methodism.<sup>40</sup>

The Movement possessed little of the formalised structure of a denominational church, save the informal group meeting. Often referred to as church house parties, the first two meetings held in Australia, according to the Rev. E. A. North Ash, took place at Unley Park Baptist Church and St. John's Anglican Church in the city of Adelaide in June 1935. Modelled on British and European lines, the early Adelaide 'parties' conducted on church premises included home billeting for travellers, hospitality, and, common to all 'parties', featured informal times of testimony, 'sharing' of spiritual experiences, and confession where contravention of one or more of the four absolutes occurred. The relaxed atmosphere of the meeting allowed participants to spread themselves around a room, sit on a chair, table, or the floor. A hymn might be sung, a passage of Scripture read, an occasional audible, but mainly silent prayer. Such meetings were considered suitable particularly for young people, who, through the house party, could find a 'ready desire to learn about and to know Jesus Christ as a living Reality and to express Him by an infectious radiance'<sup>41</sup>

Criticism of the Movement was sporadic and limited until an article entitled 'Hitler and Buchman' appeared in a January 1937 edition of the Methodist paper. Written by the American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971), the article was critical of the morally inadequate and utopian idealism of the Movement. Niebuhr had nothing but contempt for the Movement's social philosophy, which continually

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<sup>37</sup> *ACC*, 18 May 1934, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Articles commenced from 3 July 1936. See *ACC*, 3 July 1936, 5.

<sup>39</sup> See for example, *ACC*, 24 July 1936, 4, 14.

<sup>40</sup> 'Methodism Reborn' was the title of the editorial in the *ACC*, 27 March 1936. A regular correspondent, 'Contributor', highlighted the identification of the Methodist class meeting with Group meetings. See *ACC*, 4 September 1936, 14.

<sup>41</sup> *Advertiser*, 18 May 1935, 22; 28 January 1933, 7; 11 August 1933, 14. *ACC*, 24 March 1933, 14.

espoused a belief in worldwide salvation through bringing the people who control the world under God-control. Hence, his disdain for the Movement's emphasis on the powerful, so-called 'big men' of industry and politics. Set in the context of the overt abuse of power with the rise of European Fascist states before the outbreak of the Second World War, Niebuhr labelled the Movement as 'pollyanna religion' and concluded that it was 'bourgeois optimism, individualism and moralism expressing itself in the guise of religion'.<sup>42</sup> Predictably, the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, an enthusiastic proponent of the Oxford Group, labelled Niebuhr's critique as 'too bad-tempered to be judicial and constructive'.<sup>43</sup>

Niebuhr's criticism failed to dampen the ardour of either the editor or the prominent Melbourne Methodist minister, the Rev. Irving Benson, who, in 1936 authored *The Eight Points of the Oxford Group*.<sup>44</sup> Benson, during his annual visit to Adelaide for the Malvern Methodist Church anniversary in 1937, addressed a group of ministers on the merit of the Oxford Group.<sup>45</sup> During the late 1930s, he was an influential proponent of the Movement within Australian Methodism. Following the publication of a special edition of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* devoted to the Oxford Group in December 1938, many in South Australian Methodism became supportive of the Movement. How widespread, however, was the Movement within the Church?

As the movement was without structural form, its growth and spread throughout South Australian Methodism are difficult to assess. A. J. Russell made clear at the outset of his book, *For Sinners Only*, that the Oxford Group Movement was 'not an organisation. None can tell their number. For in their own words: "You can't join; you can't resign; you are either in or out by the quality of the life you live"'.<sup>46</sup> It did, however, receive extensive coverage in the secular press throughout most of the

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<sup>42</sup> *ACC*, 29 January 1937, 1.

<sup>43</sup> *ACC*, 29 January 1937, 1.

<sup>44</sup> C. Irving Benson, *The Eight Points of the Oxford Group: An Exposition for Christians and Pagans* (Melbourne: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1936). Special edition on the Oxford Group published by the *ACC* on 16 December 1938, contained endorsements from ministers and lay men and women. Benson's book was available in Adelaide from May 1936. See *Advertiser*, 16 May 1936, 14. The book was the subject of a positive review in the *Advertiser*, 20 June 1936, 8, in which the reviewer endorsed the Oxford Group Movement. On Benson see Renate Howe, 'Benson, Sir Clarence Irving (1897-1980)', *ADB*, vol. 13, 1993; Shirley Horne, 'Benson, (Clarence) Irving', *ADEB*, 38-39.

<sup>45</sup> *ACC*, 1 October 1937, 1.

<sup>46</sup> Russell, *For Sinners Only*, 1.

1930s, as well as ongoing, though increasingly less generous, denominational reporting. Given the non-denominational stance of the Movement, the daily secular press provided the medium of choice for letters to the editor, news on overseas developments, and the occasional reference included as part of 'church news'. This indicated a measure of interest well beyond the boundaries of formalised religion.<sup>47</sup>

Within the Methodist Church, as in other denominations, the degree of interest and engagement with the methods and principles of the Oxford Group Movement depended to a large degree on the attitude of the circuit minister. Enthusiastic ministerial proponents included among others, A. E. Vogt (who was ordained in 1933 and occupied a number of country circuit appointments in the 1930s), Percy H. Chennell, S. Carroll Myers (President of Conference, 1932), G. K. Haslam, and J. C. Hughes (President of Conference, 1934).<sup>48</sup> In 1935, the Rev. G. K. Haslam reported to the Adelaide South District Synod that 'the Group Movement is quietly and really working in various Churches capturing many young people for Christ. He highly recommended the Group Movement'.<sup>49</sup> The report, light on specifics and generalised in nature, was typical of many others.<sup>50</sup>

The first 'house party' on Eyre Peninsula took place at Port Lincoln in October 1935. Conducted on Movement lines, about sixty young people attended from Port Lincoln and Cummins. Testimonies from a number of those present bore witness to a changed life and the place of Christ in the new believer's life. It was a time of 'great spiritual uplift'.<sup>51</sup> In 1936, a survey of the spiritual life of sixty-six circuits conducted for the church's centenary celebrations, reported a number of 'definite Group meetings'. One of those was at Berri, on the River Murray, 230 kilometres north-east of Adelaide, which produced on one occasion five out of the six new church members and so convinced the Rev. A. E. Vogt of their value that he declared, somewhat prematurely, that 'the revival is here'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> See for example articles on the many ways individuals experienced changed lives for good at the *Advertiser*, 4 January 1936, 23; 7 July 1936, 20; 1 November 1937, 18.

<sup>48</sup> *ACC*, 20 January 1933, 14; 3 March 1933, 4; *Advertiser*, 7 August 1933, 7; 4 March 1936, 22.

<sup>49</sup> *ACC*, 8 November 1935, 3.

<sup>50</sup> See also *Advertiser*, 28 January 1933, 7; *Advertiser*, 24 February 1937, 24.

<sup>51</sup> *ACC*, 29 November 1935, 16.

<sup>52</sup> *ACC*, 14 February 1936, 13.

Dissemination of the Movement's ideas and practices occurred largely by unofficial contacts, and occasionally by groups of members from various denominations.<sup>53</sup> The Congregationalists, aided by the advocacy of Principal E. S. Kiek of Parkin College and a number of ministers, including L. C. Parkin, J. D. Northey, and H. S. Grimwade, sought to introduce the Movement to their denomination.<sup>54</sup> Parkin, in particular, used non-church occasions such as Rotary and Health Club meetings to further the Movement's cause.<sup>55</sup> The dissemination of information occurred by quiet influence and slow permeation.<sup>56</sup>

The aims of the Movement, according to Kiek in 1933, were in accordance with the fundamental ideas of Evangelical Christianity. Conversion or 'life change' was the key to individual and societal salvation. It aimed 'at bringing individuals back to God, on the old-fashioned assumption that society will be made right when the individuals composing it are made right'. A one-step methodology could solve all the world's problems. As the European nations edged closer to war in the late 1930s, the Oxford Group's slogan changed to 'Moral Rearmament' 'God-controlled' individuals were to be the solution to conflict and the preservation of peace.<sup>57</sup> The Oxford Group Movement had transitioned beyond the quest for revival and 'vital religion' to adopt a reductionist and unrealistic view of international conflict resolution. It offered a simple solution to a complex problem, which for some, lacked integrity and rigour.

Young people were attracted to the Movement.<sup>59</sup> The group-centred approach appealed to young adults, some of whom looked to the group to meet both spiritual and social needs.<sup>60</sup> The informality of group meetings, minimalist structure, opportunity to exercise and explore personal divine guidance disciplines, daily quiet

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<sup>53</sup> *ACC*, 11 September 1936, 14.

<sup>54</sup> *Advertiser*, 30 January 1933, 6; 1 February 1936, 17; 29 February 1936, 23; 25 March 1936, 14; 16 May 1936, 25; 4 June 1936, 19;

<sup>55</sup> *Advertiser*, 29 February 1936, 23; 4 June 1936, 19.

<sup>56</sup> *ACC*, 11 September 1936, 14.

<sup>57</sup> *ACC*, 27 January 1933, 5. The topic of Moral Rearmament received occasional press coverage in the Adelaide dailies during the early part of 1939. Articles often cited Buchman's teaching on the relationship between a 'new spiritual outlook' and international peace. See for example, *Advertiser*, 3 January 1939, 14; 7 January 1939, 22.

<sup>58</sup> *ACC*, 3 July 1936, 5.

<sup>59</sup> *ACC*, 8 November 1935, 3; *Advertiser*, 28 January 1933, 7.

<sup>60</sup> *Advertiser*, 5 April 1938, 11.

times for biblical and personal reflection, fellowship, and sharing one's spiritual pilgrimage in the light of the four absolutes, appealed as imaginative agents of youth self-expression.<sup>61</sup>

The Movement was not a precursor to revival, or the agent of revival in South Australian Methodism in the 1930s. It had little effect on church membership statistics during the decade, which remained relatively static around the mid-27,000 figure from 1933 to 1939. Unlike Britain, where the Movement had a major impact on religious life,<sup>62</sup> its South Australian Methodist experience was diffuse, localised, and barely discernible against the highly structured and visible entities of the denomination. As a movement encompassing Christians of various persuasions, it worked to engender mutual respect and understanding. For those without or with little contact with the church, the Movement supplied the basis for a non-church simplified Evangelical religion, based on the easily remembered four absolutes of purity, honesty, love, and unselfishness. Here was a simple and precise method to review and measure the spiritual life. For Methodists, however, there is no doubt that many found their religious enthusiasm rekindled and their discipleship challenged.<sup>63</sup>

With its informality and lack of structure, emphasis on divine guidance, expressionism, spontaneity, and appeal to young people, the Movement assisted in laying the groundwork for charismatic renewal in the 1960s and 70s.<sup>64</sup> Its lack of institutional form was both a strength and a weakness. An Oxford Group Movement rhetoric-driven revival failed to produce the converts necessary for either widespread individual or societal transformation. Some Methodists were unmoved by the religious-cultural demands of generational expressionism, while others found it helpful. Following its transition to Moral Rearmament in 1938, and the outbreak of the Second World War, the Oxford Group Movement virtually disappeared from South Australian Methodism. Much of the Movement's work, over-shadowed by the War,

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<sup>61</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 236-237. ACC, 10 February 1939, 8.

<sup>62</sup> David Bebbington, 'Evangelism and Spirituality in Twentieth-Century Protestant Nonconformity' in Alan P. F. Sell and Anthony R. Cross, eds., *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), 198.

<sup>63</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 346.

<sup>64</sup> Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 165. On expressionism, see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 241.



and, in the minds of some, with Buchman's praise of Hitler, lost momentum within Methodism and the wider community. A letter to the *Advertiser* soon after the war commenced reflected the attitude:

Those who supported Dr Frank Buchman (founder of the Oxford Group) will no doubt like to be reminded of one of the doctor's most profound and most famous sayings. "Thank God for a man like Hitler, who will stand against the Antichrist of Communism"<sup>65</sup>

It was a somewhat ignominious note to a Movement embraced by many South Australian Methodists that promised much by way of revival, but delivered little.

### Conference Evangelist – 1939

In 1939, the Methodist Conference re-instituted the post of Conference Evangelist and appointed the "splendidly qualified" ex-student of Wesley College, the Rev. E. N. Broomhead, to the position.<sup>66</sup> Concerned about the lack of conversions recorded for the years 1938 and 1939, decline in Christian Endeavour participation, relatively static membership, and the rapid growth of the Order of Knights and Girls' Comradeship, combined with the young adults and students of Oxford Group persuasion, Conference made evangelism a priority. The appointment was an acknowledgment that circuits required the supplemental effort of a specialist evangelist with an ability to work with young people. Made possible by the gift of 250 pounds from Hartley Gladstone Hawkins (1877-1939), Broomhead conducted circuit missions of up to ten days duration in eight Adelaide suburban and seven country circuits in 1939.<sup>67</sup> The suspension of all normal church activities and events during the missions ensured maximum evangelistic effort.

Overall, there was some "quickening of spiritual life" re-consecrations, "moderately attended" meetings, and a widespread appreciation of the evangelist's

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<sup>65</sup> *Advertiser*, 21 September 1939, 14.

<sup>66</sup> *ACC*, 10 February 1939, 4; 17 February 1939, 1. The last person to occupy the position was the Rev. H.F. Lyons (1921 and 1922).

<sup>67</sup> Hartley Gladstone Hawkins was a farmer and grazier from the mid-North of the state. He was chairman of the South Australian Farmers Cooperative Union 1922-1939, and served on the councils of both Prince Alfred and Wesley Colleges, and board of the Memorial Hospital. He served as a member of the Legislative Council 1933-1939. See Howard Coxon, John Playford and Robert Reid, eds., *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament 1857-1957* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985), 104; Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1940, 186-187.

work.<sup>68</sup> With the completion of Broomhead's first year, some 208 conversions and 170 re-consecrations were reported to Conference; this indicated the modest numerical gains achieved.<sup>69</sup> The conversions obtained probably accounted for most of the 276 increase in membership for 1939, which reversed the decline of the previous year. Although the missions focussed on churchgoers, the difficulty in attracting the 'man in the street' often demanded explanation:

It has to be recognised that in our modern world, where the blizzards of materialism are blowing so freely, that the work of the evangelist, whether young or mature, local or imported, is bristling with difficulties. A world that has so tremendously yielded to lawlessness and violence, to the mesmerism of gaiety and gambling, and the snare of physical indulgence and greed of gain is not a likely field in which to reap extensive results of a spiritual character.<sup>70</sup>

Although there were those who were critical of the role of the special evangelist, preferring to limit the role of evangelism to the local circuit minister, Broomhead nevertheless demonstrated the value of the specialist evangelist to secure conversions.<sup>71</sup>

Broomhead's eagerness for conversions continued the revivalist ethos of Methodist 'vital religion', which had began in 1840 with the Eggleston-led Wesleyan revival. In this way Methodism, as an evangelical institution maintained its linkages to the inherited revivalist tradition of the Evangelical Revival. However, Methodism was not immune to the on-going intellectual challenges faced by churches in the aftermath of the First World War. The challenges of liberalism and modernism, terms often used inter-changeably, dominated this period.

## **Liberalism and Modernism – 1920s and 1930s**

In February 1923, the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, reproduced an article entitled, 'Are the Evangelical Churches Declining?', which appeared in the non-denominational *Australian Christian World*. Concerned about the future of evangelical churches, the article asserted:

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<sup>68</sup> ACC, 2 June 1939, 15; 18 August 1939, 16.

<sup>69</sup> Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference*, 1940, 186.

<sup>70</sup> ACC, 8 December 1939, 14.

<sup>71</sup> *Minutes*, 1940, 186.

There has also been a rapid spread of 'Modernistic' teaching in the pulpits of some of the churches, and this, combined with the publication of what is termed 'assured results' of the investigations of the 'Higher Critics' into the authenticity and inspiration of the writings contained in the Bible. This has created grave doubts in the minds of many people regarding the genuineness and reliability of the sacred writings, and has also weakened the authority of the churches, which have, hitherto, based that authority on the 'impregnable rock' of Holy Scriptures. This has led to a weakening of their attachment for a church in which they have lost faith, and finally, to their desertion of that church and their linking-up with some other denomination where they hope to find freedom from the constant flux and change of religious opinions.<sup>72</sup>

'Modernism' can be defined as 'an attempt to present Christianity in terms of modern thought, to translate traditional doctrines into a contemporary idiom'.<sup>73</sup> As such, modernism was not a monolithic system of thought; more of an approach to religious truth, an attitude of mind in which our understanding of God was 'evolving'.<sup>74</sup>

In the 1920s and 1930s, the rising influence of modernism was felt throughout the Australian churches. In the 1930s, the most publicised and controversial case was that of Samuel Angus, Professor of New Testament at the Presbyterian Theological Hall in Sydney. Angus disputed the doctrine of human depravity as contained in the Westminster Confession, denied the physical resurrection of Jesus following the crucifixion, and disputed the virgin birth. The long-running divisive case weakened the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches in New South Wales. Sydney Anglicanism responded to the crisis by 'deposing liberal evangelicals'. The Baptist Theological College strengthened 'sound evangelical teaching' under the leadership of G. H. Morling, who was principal for forty years. Meanwhile in Victoria, the Anglican minister, C. H. Nash, was able to effectively consolidate, inspire and nurture numerous lay people with conservative evangelical views against the influence of liberalism. He utilised the Melbourne Bible Institute, the Upwey Convention, the Bible Union of Australia, and the City Men's Bible Class for this purpose. In Australian universities, evangelical student societies such as the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (IVF), which by 1934 had branches in every Australian university, were established to counter the influence of liberalism

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<sup>72</sup> ACC, 16 February 1923, 715.

<sup>73</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 181-182.

<sup>74</sup> McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*, 169-220.

within the universities.<sup>75</sup>

In South Australia during the 1920s and 1930s, the intellectual challenges posed by liberalism were being tackled by various denominations including the Anglicans, Congregationalists, and the Baptists. At the end of the First World War, South Australian Baptists overall, were more liberal in their theology than Baptists in the other states.<sup>76</sup> Some Baptist churches responded to concerns about denominational decline in the 1920s, and the influence of modern theology, by inviting conservative evangelical ministers to their pastorates; others were invited to conduct evangelistic and teaching missions. Conservative evangelical Baptists also supported the establishment of a United Bible Conference in Victor Harbor in the late 1920s to undertake aggressive evangelism, as well as holiness and prophetic teaching. They had representatives on the board of the Evangelisation Society of South Australia, helped to establish the Adelaide Bible Institute in 1924, and supported Howard Guinness, the British evangelist, to establish an IVF for students at Adelaide University in 1934. The IVF promoted Bible study, prayer, evangelism, and missionary work. Walker contends that these initiatives represented a conservative evangelical resurgence among South Australian Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s. Despite this, Walker estimates that in 1934, of the thirty active Baptist ministers in South Australia, approximately half were conservative evangelicals, half were liberal evangelicals, and one was liberal.

By the 1920s, liberal clergy were also influential in South Australian Congregationalism. They were attracted to the so-called New Theology of R. J. Campbell, minister at City Temple, London, from 1903 to 1915. Campbell's theology was popularised in Adelaide by such ministers as Alfred Depledge Sykes, a leader amongst liberal ministers in Adelaide in the decade before the First World War. Sykes emphasised a progressive gospel open to new light and truth. He advocated that Christians jettison traditional doctrines such as the atonement, the fall, and the miraculous. South Australian Congregationalism accommodated extreme theological liberalism, where the individual exercised final authority over matters of

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<sup>75</sup> Piggin, *Spirit, Word and World*, 91-96; H. R. Jackson, *Churches and People*, 125-137.

<sup>76</sup> Information on Baptists in South Australia from John Walker, *The Baptists in South Australia, circa 1900 to 1939* (PhD thesis, Flinders University, 2006), 99-115. Quote at 114.

doctrine.<sup>77</sup>

Within South Australian Methodism in the 1920s and 1930s, theological modernism continued to challenge long held traditional doctrines. As Methodist revivalism underwent change and adaptation in the 1930s, many of the intellectual challenges faced by Methodism in the late nineteenth century re-surfaced and re-awakened the somewhat familiar debates. Darwinian evolutionary theory continued to challenge the authority of the Bible. Some church leaders sought to adapt the findings of science with the latest Biblical scholarship. The vast majority of Christians, disengaged from the intellectual debates, who accepted unconditionally the authority of the Bible as one of the essential truths of evangelical teaching, suddenly found themselves confronted by new interpretations of Scriptural authority and inspiration. In the first two decades of the twentieth-century, the former Primitive Methodist, Walter Howchin (1845-1937), lecturer and honorary Professor of Geology and Palaeontology at the University of Adelaide, worked to integrate the insights of science with theology, while maintaining his belief in a divine designer.<sup>78</sup> Such approaches to science and theology were understood later as attempts to save Protestantism from obscurity.<sup>79</sup>

Apologists for evolution such as Howchin argued that it was necessary to re-evaluate theology and spiritual experience in the light of new, particularly scientific, knowledge. As such, the acceptance of an evolutionary principle in theological enquiry and experience challenged conservative minds and denominational interests intent on preserving traditional and fixed doctrinal and experiential statements.<sup>80</sup> Revivalism depended on unalterable deposits of faith and understanding, which provided certainties for the preacher and hearer of the revivalist message. The changing nature of the spiritual life of the age affected the credibility of the message.

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<sup>77</sup> On Sykes, see David Hilliard's paper, 'Strong's Liberal Contemporaries: Adelaide, 1870-1914' given at the Charles Strong Symposium, Australian Association for the Study of Religion Conference, Adelaide, 7 July 2006; Jackson, *Churches and People*, 133-137.

<sup>78</sup> On Howchin, see Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 261-265; *ACC*, 10 December 1937, 1; N. H. Ludbrook, 'Howchin, Walter (1845-1937)' *ADB*, 1983, vol. 9.

<sup>79</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1991), 32.

<sup>80</sup> See for example letters to the editor from various authors at issue with Walter Howchin on his interpretations of evolutionary theory and Biblical evidence at *ACC*, 20 November 1903, 12; 4 December 1903, 12; 11 December 1903, 11.

The boundaries of science and religion and the latest biblical scholarship, particularly critical analysis of the text, continued to alarm some in Methodism. The word ‘criticism’ was often thought of as a negative term, implying the passing of judgment or criticism of God’s Word in the Bible. Whether it was the debates within Methodism nationally in the early 1920s over the acceptance of Peake’s *Commentary* (1919) as a prescribed text for study by probationers,<sup>81</sup> or those within South Australian Methodism on ‘Evolution and the Christian Faith’, higher criticism and the authority of the Bible, it was generally agreed that people were living through ‘anxious and perplexing times’<sup>82</sup> Acceptance of Peake’s *Commentary* by the General Conference in 1923 did not conclude the fundamentalist-modernist debate.<sup>83</sup> Rather, it signalled the continuation of the debate, which had emerged in earnest with the intellectual challenges faced by Methodism in the late nineteenth century. According to Piggitt, ‘fundamentalism’ developed within conservative evangelicalism as a ‘movement to defend Protestantism against Biblical criticism, theological liberalism, the theory of evolution, and the social gospel’<sup>84</sup>

Perhaps it was no accident that in the year Peake’s *Commentary* came on sale (1919), and in anticipation of the challenges to come, the title of the Methodist weekly periodical *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, dropped the secondary descriptor ‘The Champion of Evangelical Christianity’ in favour of the more neutral term, ‘The Organ of the Methodist Church in South Australia’<sup>85</sup> Historically, South

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<sup>81</sup> Arthur S. Peake’s *A Commentary on the Bible* was debated at the General Conference of Australian Methodism in 1920 and 1923. It endorsed a literary-historical analysis of the Scriptures. Opposed by the Rev. Dr W. H. Fitchett of Melbourne who claimed the commentary presented a ‘tattered Bible and a mutilated Christ’ and supported by Dr. W. G. Torr of Adelaide, the work was accepted by the General Conference of 1923 and marked the acceptance of liberalism within the Methodist Church. See Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 264-266. For discussion in the ACC, see for example, 28 January 1921, 687; 4 February 1921, 693, 702; 25 February 1921, 750; 16 September 1921, 393; 7 April 1922, 6-7; 28 April 1922, 55; 9 March 1923, 761; 1 June 1923, 3-7. On Fitchett’s opposition to higher criticism, see W. H. Fitchett, *Where the Higher Criticism Fails: A Critique of the Destructive Critics* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922).

<sup>82</sup> ACC, 6 November 1925, 15.

<sup>83</sup> The term ‘fundamentalism’ came to prominence about 1910 in America with the formation of the Fundamentalist Movement. Essentially, this was in response to the ‘new criticism’ in Biblical studies opposed by conservative Christians who committed themselves to the understanding that everything in the Bible is true as literally interpreted. They published their findings in twelve books called *The Fundamentals*, hence the name. See Rodney Stark, *For The Glory of God* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 190.

<sup>84</sup> Piggitt, *Spirit, Word and World*, 79. See also 80-83.

<sup>85</sup> The complete title of the paper was *Australian Christian Commonwealth: The Organ of the Methodist Church in South Australia and the Champion of Evangelical Christianity*. This title first

Australian Methodism championed evangelical Christianity through its highly visible practice of revivalism. Revivalism's relatively widespread practice and comparative success within Methodism was unique among the churches from early colonial days until the First World War. From 1919 however, this distinction and claim fell out of favour in the context of a liberalised evangelicalism and modernist understandings of the Bible.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, debates over the merits of the 'old Orthodoxy' and newer understandings were neither conclusive nor without willing proponents on both sides of the fundamentalist-modernist divide. Foundational to the debate was a diversity of opinion over the definition of terms. Invariably, lack of precision ensured that an accommodation of viewpoints proved elusive, correspondents lacked clarity on what constituted the core issues, and on occasions the strong use of emotive language illustrated the intensity of the debate as contributors attempted to validate their arguments by referring to perceived negative personality traits.<sup>86</sup>

### **Effect of Liberalism and Modernism on Revivalism**

During the inter-war period, Methodist revivalism lost the momentum it experienced up until the First World War. During the period 1914 to 1939, conversions reported at revival meetings averaged 113 per year, while for the period 1866 to 1901, it was 543. In particular, during the decade of the 1930s, conversions averaged only 52 per year.<sup>87</sup> To what extent did liberalism and modernism affect the practice of revivalism?

Indirectly, the periodic debates on controversial issues fostered unease and uncertainty within Methodism. At the intellectual level, the exchange of information and viewpoints helped those engaged in the debate to clarify and refine their respective positions. For many Methodists, however, the claims of Modernism only created confusion, disquiet, and emotional pain. A letter to the editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* in 1932 from a 'Loyal Methodist' revealed

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appeared on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1901, after South Australian Methodist Union came into effect on 31 December 1900. The new title first appeared in January 1919 with the additional words, 'The Challenge Of The New Era' placed above the title.

<sup>86</sup> See for example, *ACC*, 27 May 1932, 5; 10 June 1932, 4-5.

<sup>87</sup> See statistical analysis in Chapter 9.

frustration and disappointment:

I (along with many other loyal members of the Methodist Church) am deeply pained from time to time by articles appearing in the *A.C.C.* In these days of deep perplexity and distress we look to our Church paper to bring to our hearts words of hope, encouragement, admonition, reproof and counsel, but instead we frequently find tennis notes and articles teaching Evolution and Modernism, written by people who must surely have had their eyes blinded by unbelief. As a people, we believe God, and accept *The Bible* as our final authority. In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is. Why not believe it? God said it. I have not written with any idea of provoking a controversy, but am compelled to utter this protest that I may deliver my soul, for we are starving for the *Blessed Hope*.<sup>88</sup>

How many other Methodists were of the same persuasion is impossible to assess. Anecdotal evidence can only suggest possibilities. According to the Rev. H. Pope, 75 per cent of Methodists were *Fundamentalists*.<sup>89</sup> How many ministers regarded themselves as such is likewise a matter of conjecture. However, we do know that at the 1923 Annual Conference's ministerial vote on whether to exclude Peake's *Commentary* from the list of Probationer's books, twenty-five voted in favour of the motion for elimination, while sixty-seven voted for its retention. This would suggest that by the early 1920s, a majority of ministers were in favour of a shift toward a more liberal evangelicalism, one that accommodated elements of the literary-critical analysis of the Bible, and evolutionary theory.<sup>90</sup> From 1922, with the appointment of the Rev. Frank Lade as principal of Brighton College, the first Methodist theological institution for ministerial training, then Wesley College from 1927, and the Rev. Percy Eckersley as tutor in 1927, then principal following Lade's retirement in 1938, liberal evangelicalism certainly remained influential. According to Arnold Hunt, both Lade and Eckersley were liberal evangelicals, endorsing the critical study of the Bible yet believing that it was the supreme source of religious truth.<sup>91</sup> Following cooperation with the Congregational ministerial institution, Parkin College, from 1937, Methodist students encountered the Rev Edward S. Kiek, a formidable exponent of liberal Protestantism in Australia.<sup>92</sup> By the early 1930s, higher criticism

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<sup>88</sup> *ACC*, 15 April 1932, 12.

<sup>89</sup> *ACC*, 29 April 1932, 16.

<sup>90</sup> *ACC*, 9 March 1923, 761.

<sup>91</sup> Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 339-340.

<sup>92</sup> Walter Phillips, *Edward S. Kiek: Liberal Churchman* (Adelaide: Uniting Church Historical Society



had clearly won acceptance by the ministerial leadership, in a church wherein, according to Pope, up to three quarters of the laity were of fundamentalist persuasion.

To what extent ministers preached with obvious reference to matters of higher criticism is difficult to assess. It would be reasonable to suggest that most ministers avoided statements that referred to critical scholarship for fear of alienating members. No doubt there were those who, out of deference to a laity who were better educated and interested in the conclusions of a revised scholarship, attempted to incorporate such findings. A layman complained in 1932 of 'three modern Reverends, one who spoke of the origin of life in the oceans, another who dismissed Genesis 1 as only a 'legend' and not a 'correct story' and a third who spoke of Noah and the Ark also as legend. This indicates that the new scholarship influenced preachers and hearers alike.<sup>93</sup>

One of the aspects of church life most affected by the Fundamentalist-Modernist divide was preaching. Addressing the members of Conference in 1932, the President reminded his colleagues of the centrality of preaching for the denomination:

Preach nothing but what you believe with a firm faith. Be simply sincere, and true to your deepest convictions. Doubt paralyses the preacher, both in his preaching and in his working.  
You have nothing to do but to save souls. To make your preaching effective there must be a passion to save men from their sins, and to bring them into personal allegiance to Christ.

Keen to remind the Conference of the ongoing importance of revivalism, the President added:

The days of revivals has not gone by. It was the incessant evangelistic preaching of the early Methodists that gave them their success. We must imitate their methods if we would enjoy their success.. Where the **Evangel** is, the **Revival** will come ó we need it, and the world demands it.<sup>94</sup>

The President's exhortation illustrated the level of concern.<sup>95</sup> After all, the most

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in South Australia, 1981). See also Walter Phillips, 'Kiek, Edward Sidney (1883-1959)' *ADB*, vol. 9, 1983.

<sup>93</sup> *ACC*, 20 May 1932, 3.

<sup>94</sup> *ACC*, 11 March 1932, 4.

<sup>95</sup> The last significant revivalist event was the English led Norman Dunning Crusade in 1928, with

notable revival was that conducted by the conservative Methodist minister, George Brown on behalf of the Evangelisation Society of South Australia. Brown visited local Methodist communities in the country region south of Adelaide over a six-week period in 1930, and reported sixty-four conversions.<sup>96</sup> The evangelist Brown captured the anti-Modernist stance of rural Methodists with his simple and direct gospel presentations and calls for commitment, which typified the work and approach of the Society.

Clearly the President was aware that there were preachers for whom firm faith and deep convictions were not as certain as perhaps they once were. Doubts and uncertainties paralysed preaching. One preacher who articulated similar concerns was the Rev. J. H. Watts:

The principle contribution of Modernism to the Christian faith seems to have been that of destroying the strong dominant note of assurance in the preaching of the Gospel. Is this not pathetic in this time of world-wide trouble and unrest when multitudes are hungering and asking for bread, and are being given the cold stones of doubt instead, and that by the hands of those who hold Christ's commission: "Feed My sheep"? Has not the effect of Modernism been to cast uncertainty upon the whole of the Gospel message, and that at a time when the world needs it so sorely?<sup>97</sup>

Modernism denied some Methodist preachers the platform of certainty and assurance needed to preach with conviction of something they once took for granted. In particular, short-term revivalist preaching depended on the established credibility of both the message and the messenger considered essential for effective preaching. On the other hand, the liberals argued that as human understanding of divine truth evolves, then religious certainty does not exist; it is progressive.<sup>98</sup>

This lack of conviction and certainty in preaching was not an issue for the Oxford Group Movement, with its emphasis on an inclusive movement characterised by house parties, group sharing, personal testimony, and a lack of traditional preaching and ministerial dominant leadership. Enthusiastic support for the Movement masked

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hundreds of decisions reported. The six to eight month long "Spiritual Advance Crusades" led by the Australian Methodist William Shaw from 1929 to 1931, produced few conversions overall. See Appendix 1 for details.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix 1 for details.

<sup>97</sup> Letter J. H. Watts to the editor *ACC*, 20 May 1932, 3.

<sup>98</sup> Hilliard, *Strong's Liberal Contemporaries*, 5.

a crisis of confidence in the nature of preaching and the task of traditional revivalism.

One of the main criticisms of Modernism was that it failed to find an objective basis for belief. There was no doubt in the mind of one of the most outspoken critics of modernism in the mid-1920s, the Methodist minister, H. T. Rush, who derided Modernism as that which:

Claims to be the latest in Christianity, but has parted with all that for long centuries has been distinctive of that religion.  
Truth to the Modernist seems to be an unknown.  
Naturally the Modernist does not deal in creeds. The Modernist is like a traveller wandering through a vast forest with no certain destination in view. The Modernist builds largely on the doctrine of evolution.  
We may love the Modernist, admire his moral character, his earnestness, his eloquence; but we cannot let him speak in the place of God to us. We must hold fast the old doctrines of the incarnation because it is bedrock, and it is no use trusting in the Cross if it is erected on quicksand.  
We must have a real atonement, a real heaven, a real Christ, and a real experience of life in Christ.<sup>99</sup>

Hence, fundamentalists believed that modernism had abandoned the historic basis of the Christian faith and interpreted doctrine through the lens of evolutionary theory.

Perhaps the most outspoken critic of fundamentalism in the 1930s was Eckersley, who under the *nom de plume* of Cyril Wheaton, was editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* during his years as tutor at Wesley College. With a vitriolic intensity that might offend a contemporary reader of a church newspaper, he referred to one contributor in favour of fundamentalism as one "who swaggered into this controversy with such a confident strut and whose contribution was very disappointing." According to Eckersley, his letter was written in such a way that "only one or two portions of its loose question-begging confusedness require attention."<sup>100</sup> Eckersley predicated his entire attack on fundamentalism by exposing the "lie," as he called it, of the literal inerrancy of the Bible:

The basis of Fundamentalism is bibliolatry. The all-important dogma is the literal inerrancy of the Bible. This dogma is demonstrably untrue. To deny the inspiration of the Bible is to reveal some spiritual deficiency. To assert the inerrancy of the Bible, in face of the plain facts to the contrary, is intellectual dishonesty. This is the sin of Fundamentalism. Fundamentalism,

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<sup>99</sup> ACC, 4 June 1926, 9.

<sup>100</sup> ACC, 10 June 1932, 5.

therefore, is a lie.

The tenets of the so-called Fundamental Association are mainly inadequate theories.<sup>101</sup>

Accused by one correspondent of "waging the Modernist battle" Eckersley focussed his sustained editorial thrusts on attempting to dismantle fundamentalism, without constructing a basis of credible belief in modernism that was plausible to some Methodist readers.<sup>102</sup> Hence, the Rev. F. W. Brasher assessed Eckersley's understanding of "Modernism" defined as "a faith that can make terms with science and philosophy" as "delightfully nebulous"<sup>103</sup>

There was an important matter of apparent agreement between Modernism and Fundamentalism – the subjective authority of religious experience.<sup>104</sup> Methodist ministers maintained that personal religious experience and holiness (practical morality), was the main basis from which to defend Christianity. As Wibberley, an earlier editor of the *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, put it:

Holiness is the only orthodoxy, and the practical piety of its people makes the Church more invulnerable than a walled city. To develop holiness in men is the task God's providence sets before itself, and is the sole aim of her Christian redemption.<sup>105</sup>

South Australian Methodists debated opposing views of the Bible while avoiding schism. It was more important to know "in Whom I believe" than "in What I believe" as "Methodists appreciated an experience more than a dissertation"<sup>106</sup> To know Christ personally and live accordingly was more important than things said about Christ, the Bible or theology.<sup>107</sup> Denominational loyalty enabled some to exercise "severe" criticism "fearlessly and faithfully" yet remain bound by "sacred ties" to the Methodist Church.<sup>108</sup> Probably for many Methodists in the pews, such assurances were a sufficient bulwark against the inroads of intellectual assault.

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<sup>101</sup> ACC, 22 April 1932, 15.

<sup>102</sup> ACC, 10 June 1932, 3.

<sup>103</sup> ACC, 27 May 1932, 5.

<sup>104</sup> See for example ACC, 22 April 1932, 15 for editorial comment. ACC, 27 May 1932, 5 for an agreed lay perspective.

<sup>105</sup> Editorial, ACC, 7 August 1903, 8-9.

<sup>106</sup> Editorial, ACC, 7 August 1903, 9; Editorial, ACC, 16 May 1902, 8.

<sup>107</sup> Editorial, ACC, 7 August 1903, 8.

<sup>108</sup> Letter J. H. Watts to the editor ACC 20 May 1932, 3 in support of fundamentalism.

Liberalism and modernism also indirectly affected the practice of revivalism through what some Methodists believed was an elimination of the miraculous and the supernatural from religion.<sup>109</sup> Whereas the liberals spoke of gradualism imbued with the unfolding nature of progressive evolutionary theory, and of the presence of divine elements in the natural, the revivalist spoke of the dramatic work of the Holy Spirit in regenerating and cleansing the convert from sin, and of the ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’ as power for service. Hence, conservatives accused modernists of ‘glorifying reason’ and ‘eliminating those supernatural elements that make it repulsive to the modern mind’<sup>110</sup> According to Rush, ‘there is a general revolt against the supernatural in the Christian religion, and a tendency to stress unduly the ethical and the social. These and other things favour modernism’<sup>111</sup> In the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s, modernist preaching identified with social engagement in a world of suffering and injustice, while revivalist preaching still emphasised conversion and accentuated supernaturalism in a world of sin. Social action and evangelism, when separated and played off against one another, tended to identify with modernism and fundamentalism respectively. An attempt at institutional integration of these two elements formed part of the theological rationale for the establishment of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission in 1900. The two elements of social action and evangelism existed in tension throughout its first forty years.<sup>112</sup>

A distinctly liberal stress on human accommodation and social action, accompanied by a lessened need for a dramatic intervention of the supernatural in conversion, weakened Methodist revivalism in the 1930s. According to the contemporary theologian, D. Lyle Dabney, Wesley understood a more encompassing work of the Holy Spirit and consequently ‘he could write that the ‘inspiration of the Spirit’, by which he meant the whole of the work of the Spirit with the Father and the Son in creation and redemption to consummation, is ‘the main doctrine of the Methodists’<sup>113</sup> The fractionalising of the supernatural working of God occurred as

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<sup>109</sup> See for example letter J. H. Watts to editor *ACC*, 6 May 1932, 5; Articles by the Rev. H. T. Rush, *ACC*, 4 June 1926, 9; 26 November 1926, 12.

<sup>110</sup> Article by H. T. Rush in *ACC*, 4 June 1926, 9.

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

<sup>112</sup> Brian J. Chalmers, ‘Need, Not Creed’

<sup>113</sup> Quoted in D. Lyle Dabney, ‘Pneumatology in the Methodist Tradition’ in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 573-586, at 580.

fundamentalists and modernists defined and re-defined what was supernatural and what was not, and therefore embedded divisions that still exist in the contemporary church.

## **Conclusion**

During the inter-war period, Methodism attempted to maintain and revive its evangelical credentials as it continued to proclaim a gospel of a full and free salvation. Methodists continued to look for a national revival of religion, which would transform society. Methodism embraced the Oxford Group Movement in an effort to revalidate its credentials as a vital religion, and in doing so highlighted some of the challenges of a liberalised evangelicalism on traditional Methodism.

The adaptability of Methodist 'vital religion' was apparent in its ability to both accommodate and reject elements of critical scholarship and modern thinking. By the late 1930s, revivalism, once undergirded by the certainties of the 'old Orthodoxy' was no longer widely accepted within Methodism. Liberalism and modernism challenged the understanding that revivalism was still the instrument of choice for both conversion and growth in holiness, and precipitated, for some Methodist clergy, a crisis of confidence and assurance in the role of evangelistic preaching.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to answer the principal question of this study, namely, what was the extent and nature of revivalism within South Australian Methodism from 1838 to 1939? It has shown that historians have under-reported the nature and extent of revivalism within South Australian Methodism and it has demonstrated that revivalism was far more extensive and significant than previously thought. The thesis has identified revivalism as the main reason why Methodism became the largest non-Anglican Protestant religion in South Australia by 1900. It has argued that revivalism provided the Methodist churches with an effective methodology for conversionary growth in the quest for 'vital religion' a religion of the heart. For Methodism, revivalism was a very significant factor, which produced the conversions necessary to expand its membership and encompass 25 per cent of the state's self-described Methodist population by 1900.

A significant element of 'vital religion' was that it presupposed an individual conversionary experience, which normally preceded growth in holiness, and an activist commitment to works of service. Therefore, this thesis required an investigation into the numerical evidence for reported conversions. The evidence, gathered from primary sources and collated in Appendix 1, demonstrates that revivals occurred frequently in South Australian Methodism. When combined with census data, this provides the basis for the various statistical observations made about the extent of Methodist revivalism. Additionally, conversion data assisted in the selection of subject matter for inclusion in the historical narrative. This has resulted in a selective overview, rather than a comprehensive account of revivalism in South Australian Methodism. The narrative then provided the basis for examining aspects of the nature of Methodist revivalism in the period.

Although the theme of holiness has not been the major concern of this thesis, some examination of what constituted holiness for Methodists was undertaken. This was necessary, because temperance and Sunday observance, identified as key elements of holiness, challenged over time the need for a conversionary experience as the gateway to 'vital religion'. Observations made in the thesis on temperance and

Sunday observance and their effect on revivalism are preliminary, and more investigation is required. What can we conclude about the nature of revivalism in the first one hundred years of South Australian Methodist history?

First, revivalism was an important part of South Australian Methodism. From 1838 to 1939, Methodism experienced a proliferation of localised city and country revivals that helped it to become the most significant conversionary religious movement within South Australian Protestantism by the end of the nineteenth-century. How then, do we contextualize South Australian Methodist revivalism within an international evangelical worldview?

According to Darren Schmidt, John Wesley located the 'Methodist Revival within the panorama of redemption history'<sup>1</sup> As a theologian, Wesley understood that revival depended on divine 'providence' and 'eschatological progression' in which

God occasionally might bring an initial 'torrent of grace' but more typically would work in gentle, subtle ways; God's kingdom would 'silently increase wherever it is set up. And spread from heart to heart, from house to house, from town to town, from one kingdom to another'<sup>2</sup>

South Australian Methodism in its first one-hundred years fell broadly in line with the experience of eighteenth-century British and American evangelicals, for whom revivals were an integral part of historical interpretation.<sup>3</sup> South Australian Wesleyans in particular were a revival denomination. Hence, Methodist 'vital religion' looked constantly for a 'torrent of grace' for the spread and revival of heart religion. What it experienced was more in line with the progressive nature of kingdom extension in which the localised revival, 'from town to town' co-existed as counterpoint to the daily demands of institutional evangelical religion. Hence, the revival, with its power to convert, provided Methodism with significant periods of membership and self-described growth. By 1901, one-quarter of South Australia's population declared themselves 'Methodist'. For local churches, the most tangible

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<sup>1</sup> Darren Schmidt, 'The Pattern of Revival: John Wesley's Vision of 'Iniquity' and 'Godliness' in Church History' in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Revivals and Resurgence in Christian History*, Studies in Church History 44, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008), 145.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, 'The Pattern of Revival' 150-151.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, 'The Pattern of Revival' 152.



outcomes of revivalist activity were larger attendances and new members. Until the First World War, the revival was the instrument of choice to induce, within individuals, the journey from casual hearer to committed member, from nominal to vital religion.

Second, the experience of conversion, also known as decisions for Christ from the 1890s, was the core component of any religious revival. William G. McLoughlin's definition of revival accommodates the centrality of conversion:

Any series of spontaneous or organised meetings, which produce religious conversions, whether they occur in one church, a dozen churches, or in hundreds under the leadership of a spectacular itinerant evangelist.<sup>4</sup>

The foremost evangelistic aim of South Australian Methodists was revivalist conversions, whether the result of a protracted or instantaneous experience. Within Methodism's large self-described cohort, the nominal Christian often responded to the claims of vital religion. However true this was for the nineteenth century, by the beginning of the twentieth, there were signs of a less than exclusive focus on the conversion or new birth experience to define the initiatory rite of the vital religionist. Certainly, in the aftermath of the First World War, conversion came to be regarded, in the language of one social scientist, as one of a set of minimalist criteria for evangelical membership.<sup>5</sup> Other signs of a quasi-official nature included gospel temperance and Sabbath observance, as indicators of separation from the broader culture and markers of religious product differentiation due to religious competition between denominations.<sup>6</sup>

Third, revivals, whether of the more spontaneous type or as the result of planned measures, a distinction noted by Calvin Cotton, an American proponent of revivals in the 1830s,<sup>7</sup> occurred in both forms within South Australian Methodism. Of the 574

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<sup>4</sup> William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*, (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1959), 7.

<sup>5</sup> Lyman A. Kellstedt, 'The Meaning and Measurement of Evangelicalism: Problems and Prospects' in T. G. Jelen ed., *Religion and Political Behaviour in the United States*, (New York: Praeger, 1989), 5.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, (London: Epworth Press, 1978), 17-18.

revival-type events identified in Appendix 1, unplanned or spontaneous revivals accounted for 1.4 per cent (8) of all revivals, while those of a planned or deliberate nature accounted for 87.6 per cent. For another 11 per cent of all revivals, it was not possible to determine whether they were spontaneous or planned.<sup>8</sup> While the Methodist or Evangelical Revival was the touchstone for the movement's revivalist ethos, it is clear that petition and the use of planned measures for revival governed its practice within South Australian Methodism. Although the majority of the spontaneous revivals occurred in the colony's first forty years, by the mid-1870s, the planned event had gained widespread acceptance. According to editor of the *Bible Christian Magazine*: 'The blessedness of this [planned revival] is not lessened because it may be the fruit of special effort and striving after a state of things. And none of us will quarrel with it where it is the regular rather than the extraordinary course of church life.'<sup>9</sup> If holier living was the outcome of a revival, then this was more important than the type of revival that produced it.

Fourth, Methodist revivalism was well suited to the demands of a frontier, rural, and expanding colony in the nineteenth century. The copper mining industry, with its attractiveness to the popular revivalism of the Cornish immigrants, provided regional and cultural-religious identity for miners and their families at Kapunda, Burra, and Moonta, and after-mining farmers in adjacent regions, such as the Central Hill Country in the 1850s and 1860s. The ratio of country to city revivals was at least 3:1 throughout the nineteenth century and increased to 5:1 during the inter-war period. Methodism revivalism flourished in the country, interpolated into the rhythm and quiet tenor of an agrarian seasonal lifestyle, but languished by comparison in the city with its emergent cosmopolitan lifestyle. Comparing Methodist membership as a percentage of the total population, we find that in the period 1860 to 1939, the figure oscillated in the range 4.1 to 4.7. This exceeds the British figure of around 2.5 to 2.8, but is less than the American figure of 4 to 6 percent over the period 1830 to 1870.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Percentages calculated from the data in Appendix 1.

<sup>9</sup> *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, August 1874, 4.

<sup>10</sup> The South Australian Methodist figure for 1881 is outside the stated range at 3.4%, when the census years only are included in the range. For the British and American graph, see Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 48.

In rural areas, contextual factors, social, ethnic, and economic, as well as the homogeneity of close-knit townships affected the practice of revivalism. Townships such as Callington, Burra, Moonta, Kapunda, Auburn, and Mintaro provide good examples. Factors such as community identity, personal knowledge of the residents, a widespread expectation of revivals often promoted by word-of-mouth, and the influence of leading community figures such as mine managers and employers, coalesced once a revival started to exert favourable social and psychological pressures on townsfolk to attend and convert. Sometimes, when revivals extended their reach into the community, businesses such as hotels lost customers, and others closed temporarily as townships came into closer conformity with the temperance and Sabbath observance demands of Methodist "vital religion". The local revival was the most effective way of making "vital religion" come alive for the colonists.

Adelaide city and suburban revivals, although fewer in number, tended to attract the professional, urban, itinerant evangelist from overseas. These commenced with the visit of William "California" Taylor in 1865. Popular revivalism of this nature reached its peak with the Chapman and Alexander missions of 1909 and 1912. It waned thereafter, unable to recover in the aftermath of the First World War, and by the 1920s it was only re-invigorated by the visit of Smith Wigglesworth, the emergence of Pentecostal revivalism and the prospect of personal healing with the Hickson healing mission. Overall, city revivals did produce membership additions. In the short-term, the international revivalists, with their often simple and uncomplicated view of the world free from the cultural complexities of non-evangelical worldviews, provided vital religionists with the certainties of conversion within a borderless evangelicalism, and the crowd-pulling appeal of the dramatic and professional revivalist-entertainer. In the longer term, large-scale city revivalism tended to dissociate the convert from the supportive, more intimate influences of small-town revivalism.

Fifth, the use of female itinerant preaching in the 1890s challenged the traditionalists, but found ready acceptance among the predominantly rural populace. Noted for their more decorous, middle-class approach, in contrast to the female ranters of early nineteenth-century America, Methodist "lady evangelists" were part

of the general move to broaden the spheres of women's activity in the church, and developed out of laicism, the exploration of newness, excitement, and a non-radical challenge to the traditional stereotype of female gender.

Sixth, to meet the challenge of maintaining the revivalist heritage among itinerant circuit ministers and local preachers, and through them the Methodist membership, Methodist Conferences utilised four mutually inclusive interwoven strands of activism. This was suitable, particularly for the revivals based on planned measures that occurred over the entire period. First, up until 1887, all branches of Methodism relied, in the main, on the exertions of the circuit ministers and local preachers to perform the revivalist function of the preaching office. Second, in 1887, the Wesleyans and the Bible Christians established the Conference evangelist to supplement the work of revival in churches and circuits. The third strand involved the international evangelist who itinerated under either Methodist, interdenominational, or other evangelical agency auspices. The fourth strand utilised lay-itinerants such as the lady evangelists, the Barrett Brothers, and W. G. Torr prior to the First World War, and thereafter, in the inter-war period by members of the Local Preachers' Association. Overall, the four-strand strategy, aided by Methodist connexionalism, served the purpose, notwithstanding that Conference and local support for planned revivalist itinerations was crucial in setting the expectancy level, determining outcomes, and effecting follow-up procedures.

Seventh, conversions were the key indicator of revivalist activity and growth. From 1838 to 1939, revivalist activity occurred in almost every year with the exception of the first ten years and the 1930s (five out of ten years). The oscillating Annual Conversion Index (ACI) shown at Appendices 4-1 and 4-2, demonstrated peaks of converting activity and troughs of lesser or minimal converting activity. The index, as a measure of the relationship between conversion and membership, indicates the years or periods of revivalist-produced growth and times of relative inactivity. We have seen throughout the thesis that revivals produced conversions, which in turn translated into both membership and self-described growth in the wider community. Up until the First World War, Methodism grew largely because of revivalist conversion growth, while after the War; challenges to the revivalist-

conversionary ethos saw membership grow more by means other than conversion. This meant that Methodism received into its membership those for whom the personal experience of conversion was more a matter of arbitration than accommodation, and thereby weakened the very basis of Methodist "vital religion". Furthermore, ACI oscillations also indicate the longer-term cyclical nature of revival activity, well known at a local level (e.g. Burra/Kooringa ó sixteen revivals in the period 1838 to 1913), at an average of one revival every four and a half years, and influenced by different factors. Variable factors included the conversion of the next group of Sunday school scholars, the level of expectancy in the congregation, or the arrival of the next "spectacular" itinerant evangelist. Sustained preaching and soul-saving, and levels of intensity required to sustain a revival once it commenced, could not be maintained indefinitely. Economic conditions, seasonal influences, formulations of cultural change, or even a sudden death affected the nature and frequency of revivals.

Eighth, the importance of the conversion experience as the gateway to "vital religion", a religion of the heart, possessed a motivating power. The President of the 1917 Methodist Conference, the Rev. John Watts, described it as the "power of irruptive dynamic". According to Watts, the eschatological dimension of a "new earth" will come to reality as the Christian "strives successfully to build up God's great kingdom, and to save and sanctify this earth"<sup>11</sup> Revivalism produced converts empowered to appropriate evangelical causes, such as the moral reforms of temperance and Sabbath observance. In this way, Methodists grew in holiness. The steady advance and dissemination of Christian values would advance progress toward the "new earth" goal. The Methodist social gospellers prior to the First World War broadened the basis for understanding the advancement of the kingdom of God beyond personal responsibility, to include broader social and structural issues in society, thereby highlighting the dialectical tension between revivalism and social reform. For the liberal-minded, the social gospel demanded the application of the gospel for social outcomes, while for the revivalist and conversion-minded, it compromised the individual gospel and hence was a distraction from evangelistic action.

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<sup>11</sup> Methodist Church of Australasia, *Minutes of South Australia Conference, 1917*, 58.

Ninth, during the inter-war period, the inability of the Protestant churches to advance the Christianisation of the nation beyond the pre-War agenda facilitated within Methodism an increased emphasis on the inward-looking features of revivalism. The democratisation of revivalism, evident before the First World War, led to the formation of lay revivalist agencies after the war. In the 1920s, lay leadership contributed to the emergence of Pentecostalism, healing, and the Oxford Group Movement. Emphases, which included holiness and the higher Christian life, fostered the internalisation of Christian experience and the relegation of external evangelistic energies to internal venture.

Tenth, the growth of these voluntary evangelistic agencies and movements in the early twentieth-century, within or outside of Methodism, but allied to it, highlighted a perennial tension present within vital religion since the Evangelical Revival that of divided loyalty. For the individual, the issue was how to maintain loyalty to the Methodist Church and to other evangelical polarities, particularly if they were outside of Methodism, such as the Evangelisation Society and emerging Pentecostalism in the 1920s, and the Oxford Group Movement in the 1930s. For the Methodist Church, how to maintain its leadership within the spirit and practice of the Evangelical Revival in each generation, surrounded by theological, cultural, social and economic change, was a test of its revivalist heritage. It represented the enduring problem that Max Weber depicted in 1922 as the routinization of charisma<sup>12</sup>

Eleventh, revivalism, an important contributor to Methodist denominational growth since foundation, faltered during the inter-war period. As there were fewer revivals, there were fewer conversions. There was a loss of confidence in the international evangelist to deliver numerical gains and an increased disconnect between local evangelistic events and those outside the church. There was growing uncertainty within Methodism, particularly the Conference, as to the place, nature, and purpose of revivals. Methodism attempted to reposition itself as it moved away from conservative evangelicalism to accommodate a more liberalised outlook, and, in the process, fostered the emergence of minority-status Pentecostalism. Increased democratisation of the laity through revivalist activity, the Local Preachers and

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<sup>12</sup> Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, 1947, (London: Free Press of Glencoe and Collier-Macmillan, 1947), 358-392.

Laymen's Association, Intercessory Prayer Union, and support for and participation in the non-denominational evangelical and revivalist Evangelisation Society of South Australia, promoted the growth of lay creativity often unencumbered by the strictures of denominationalism. Fledgling Pentecostalism relied on the innovative creativity of its constituency to experiment with tongues speaking, healings, and other works of the Holy Spirit as it sought self-definition and identity. Understood as either schism within evangelicalism, or the preservation of individual belief and integrity, Pentecostalism provided some Methodists with innovative opportunity to maintain their 'activism', apprehended as one element of Bebbington's quadrilateral definition.<sup>13</sup> Methodism invariably adapted itself to changes in society and although revivalism continued up until the Second World War, it no longer enjoyed the widespread support of its membership. The intellectual challenges of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a crisis of confidence in the use of revivalist methods and practices. No longer was traditional revivalism the method of choice to initiate conversion. Hence, Methodists experimented in the 1920s and 1930s with other forms of revivalist activity.

Twelfth, there was no general revival, rather an undercurrent of buoyant optimism that maintained a desire for, and expectancy of, further revivals. This was the only constant factor among the complex influences and variables involved. With or without economic depression, revivals occurred; without the expectancy of individuals, churches, and the Conference, they would not have happened.

Thirteenth, temperance and Sabbatarianism can be understood as internal challenges to the priority of revivalist conversion. Although revivalism produced conversions, which were the gateway to 'vital religion', the ongoing test of religious vitality was the standard of holiness evident in the life of the claimant. These standards included among others, temperance and Sabbath observance. These two characteristics were present in seed form within Methodism during the early years of the colony, and established that Methodism's interest in social questions began from that time.

However, the conversion-holiness nexus, as the over-arching goal of

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<sup>13</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 3.

Methodism, never eventuated as a seamless process in which the latter depended on the fulfilment of the former, and together, existed in an inter-dependent mutually inclusive relationship. By the First World War, Methodism's moral practices and social reform agenda came to define its brand of holiness. Temperance and transgressions of the Sabbath came to define increasingly what Methodism stood against, rather than what it stood for. Many in society, in the aftermath of the First World War, preferred the pursuit of increased personal freedoms, Sunday picnics, use of the motor car, leisure and organised sport in the face of a perceived relatively inflexible and restrictive Methodist lifestyle. Revivalist meetings lost their appeal to other more attractive pursuits.

Methodist temperance reformers were utterly convinced that intemperance was a destructive force in society, and therefore warranted concerted reform action. Within the evangelical community, it was widely believed that intemperance was the cause of poverty. Methodists were increasingly persuaded to adopt temperance principles, which came to mean teetotalism by the 1880s. The introduction of six o'clock hotel closing in the First World War was the high-water mark for temperance reform.

Sabbatarianism was another measure which attracted the attention of Methodist reformers. The majority of chapel and churchgoers believed it was important to honour the Sabbath and to avoid God's judgement on the nation in the event of widespread Sabbath desecration. Wesleyans in particular, and Methodists in general after 1900, were strict and thorough in their denunciation of Sabbath indiscretions, and as for temperance, utilised one or more of the mid-Victorian four arenas of advocacy, in pulpit, press, platform, and parliament.<sup>14</sup>

Invariably, the traditional policy of denunciation, whilst it possessed limited appeal to many Methodists, failed to arrest the indifference of wider society. In the 1820s, the Scottish evangelical, Thomas Chalmers, had eulogised in a sermon entitled, 'The Expulsive Power of a New Affection', the merit of appealing to the greater and positive attributes of the gospel, rather than worldly affections, and that

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<sup>14</sup> Timothy Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality: Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England*, (Bletchley, Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 1999), 31.



the force of moral denunciation alone would not displace misplaced affections. They were overcome by the "affection of the Gospel"<sup>15</sup>

The point here, when applied to moral reform, is that (it can be argued), by the 1920s, attempts to create better citizens through proclaiming injunctions of iniquity avoidance and moral self-denial, had failed to arrest the public conscience from an increased commitment to individual moral autonomy and democratic individualism. The moral reform tradition, which, in part, helped to define Methodist holiness, became identified with the pronouncements of a middle-class respectable church intent on imposing their restrictive proprieties, typified by total abstinence and Sabbatarianism, on wider society.

Overall, Methodist revivalism established itself in South Australia soon after colonial settlement began in 1836. Within the broad bounds of the separation of church and state, and the voluntary principle, revivalism enabled Methodism to differentiate itself from what it considered were nominal expressions of Christian identity. However, once the notion of popular indifference to organised religion gained momentum in the early twentieth century, revivalism faltered as a marker of differentiation within a common Christianity and relatively homogeneous evangelical piety.

This study has argued that in South Australian Methodism from 1838 to 1939, the quest for "vital religion" began following a "religion of the heart" experience of conversion, engendered primarily by revivalist means. After conversion, the pursuit of holiness came to be associated with such practices as temperance and Sunday observance. The study has also shown that revivalism was far more extensive than previously thought, and provided Methodism with the converting power necessary to achieve significant membership and self-described growth within South Australia. It was an effective methodology in the quest for "vital religion". Once revivalism faltered, as it did in the inter-war period, the number of converts declined accordingly, and the supply line became restricted in the absence of other conversionary methods. Conversion was the gateway to "vital religion". One could be a Methodist without conversion, but one could not be a "vital religionist" without a

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<sup>15</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *The Expulsive Power of a New Affection*, (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1855).

religion of the heart conversion.

It is well to conclude this study with two separate perspectives, one on revivalism and the other on individual faith. The first, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, is an assessment of the contribution of revivalism in the expansion of world-wide Christianity in the nineteenth-century:

Nothing to equal [the nineteenth-century expansion of Christianity] had been seen in the history of the faith. Nothing remotely approaching it could be recorded of any other religion at any time in the human scene the nineteenth-century expansion of Christianity would not have occurred had the faith not displayed striking inward vitality. That vitality expressed itself in part through revivals [These revivals] were particularly marked in Protestantism. Indeed, in some respects the nineteenth century was pre-eminently the Protestant century.<sup>16</sup>

The comment is also relevant for South Australian Protestantism in the nineteenth century and for Methodist revivalism in particular up until the First World War. Flourishing revivalism was the most significant factor in the expansion of Methodist vital religion It was a matter of strategy, and when that strategy faltered, as it did in the inter-war period, there developed no commensurate alternative.

The second perspective, by the Rev. Hugh Gilmore of the Wellington Square Primitive Methodist Church, North Adelaide, enunciates both the strength, and yet fluidity, of a conversion-based religion of the heart His recollections were given in a sermon published shortly after his unexpected death in 1891:

I may, however, say that after many oscillations and weary wanderings I find myself back nearly at the old starting place, though I see matters in a somewhat different light from what I did when I commenced my journey. I have not reached finality; but my judgment and heart are satisfied that God is my portion, and that through the merits of His Son Jesus Christ my Lord I find acceptance and forgiveness.<sup>17</sup>

Gilmore's religion of the heart speaks for the many who also encountered vital religion as understood by South Australian Methodists.

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<sup>16</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 6, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, 1800-1914*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1944), 442, 448.

<sup>17</sup> Hugh Gilmore, "Sermon: Spiritual Revelings", *South Australian Primitive Methodist*, April 1893, 350.

## Appendix 1

### Chronology of Revival Events – South Australia – 1838-1939

Revivals are listed according to the six levels of meaning (Category) as identified by Steve Latham. His terminology is used and the wording amended where appropriate. See Steve Latham, *God came from Teman* Revival and Contemporary Revivalism, in Andrew Walker and Kristin Aune (eds.), *On Revival: A Critical Examination* (Carlisle: Cumbria, Paternoster), 2001, 172.

R1: A spiritual quickening of the individual believer.

R2: A deliberate meeting or campaign to deepen the faith of believers and bring non-believers to faith.

R3: An unplanned period of spiritual enlivening in a local church, quickening believers and bringing unbelievers to faith.

R4: A regional experience of spiritual quickening and widespread conversions.

R5: Societal or cultural awakenings e.g. the transatlantic First and Second Awakenings.

R6: The possible reversal of secularisation and revival of Christianity as such.

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	June 1838	Adelaide	Unknown	First Wesleyan Love feast held on 3 June 1838.	This Love feast was soon followed by a glorious revival in the Circuit	A Sunday School was established, and many young persons, as well as older grown, were added to the Church	1
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1840-41	Adelaide	A few weeks	Special means	Membership increased by 109	Missionary Society formed. The revival occurred under the leadership of the Wesleyan minister, the Rev. John Eggleston, who was known as an energetic soul-saving preacher. It was deemed South Australia's first great revival	2

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1851	Kapunda	Unknown	Unknown	40 new members		3
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1851	Willunga	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	James Allen converted. Candidated for Wesleyan ministry in 1861.	4
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	1853	Burra	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown ó It was referred to later as a "great revival"	The Revs. James Rowe and John Ridclift were at the Burra at this time. Rowe was considered a powerful preacher, under whose ministry many conversions took place, while for Ridclift, "wherever he went, revivals followed"	5
Wesleyan	Signs of revival	R2 or R3	1853-54	North Adelaide, Adelaide South Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Eighty reported "on trial"	Twelve new chapels under construction or planned. Construction of new galleries for Pirie Street Church begun. Several "gracious outpourings of the Holy Spirit" reported.	6
Wesleyan	"A great revival"	R2 or R3	Second Quarter 1854	Pirie Street, Adelaide South Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	"Eighty on trial this quarter"	"The brethren Williams [the Rev. Thomas Williams] and Dare [the Rev. Joseph Dare] are doing well in the South Circuit. There has been a great stir amongst them. Numbers have been awakened. "The circuit is in a very healthy and prosperous state"	7
Bible Christian	"Continuous revival"	R2 or R3	1853-60	Gawler Plains	Isolated revivals over seven years.	"Insatiable passion for souls" of Samuel Keen.	Membership increased from four to over 319.	Fifteen congregations established and twelve chapels built.	8
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1855	Norwood	In excess of two weeks	Special services	"At least sixty were added to the Lord"	Mr. John Langsford's (local preacher) class re-formed into three classes.	9

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	1855	Bowden	Some weeks	Unknown	-For weeks in succession men and women, lads and girls wept and prayed their way to the Saviourø	-Some of the fruits of that revival are still livingø	10
Wesleyan	-Great Awakeningø	R2	1857	Norwood	Unknown	Special services	Unknown	-O God, how good Thou hast been to souls here in arousing and pardoningø	11
Bible Christian	-Gracious influence to the awakening of manyø	R2	1858	Mitcham	Unknown	-Special meansø	-Awakening of manyø		12
Wesleyan	-Gracious Workø	R2	1858	Adelaide	Unknown	-Special meansø	25-30 -were seeking pardon ø North Adelaide congregation has -rapidly improvedø and become -quite largeø		13
Primitive Methodists	Revival	R2	1859	Small township three miles from Salisbury.	Unknown	Revival services	-Nearly the whole of the people within a circle of two or three milesø	One convert later became a Primitive Methodist minister.	14
Bible Christian Primitive Methodist Wesleyan	Revival. -A most glorious Revival of religion: there was never such as one in this colony beforeø	R2 and elements of R3	1859	Burra	Four months	Spontaneous -special meansø	500-640	-Down in the mines men were over-powered by the Holy Ghost, and they came up out of the mine happy converted menø. Decrease in hotel patronage.	15
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	Aug-Sep 1859	Adelaide  Yankalilla	Few weeks  Unknown	Unknown  Unknown	-Not less than 300 have cast in their lot with usø  Seventy members were added.	-In almost every circuit in the District there is a gracious revival of Godø workø  The Rev. H.T. Burgess, who began his probation in the Circuit at the age of twenty, was -the honoured instrument in a great revivalø Two churches were built.	16
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1859	Callington	Unknown	Unknown	-Many were made the recipients of Divine graceø	Converts became church members.	17
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	June-July	Kapunda	-Nightly	Unknown	Unknown.	-A great revival has taken	18

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
			1860		services have been held for some time past		During the superintendency of the Rev. William Brown in 1857 or 1858 a very gracious revival was experienced, and a large number joined the Church.	place. The Rev. H.T. Burgess was appointed to Kapunda, on probation, in 1860. The year was one of great blessing, probably the greatest revival Kapunda has ever experienced.	
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	1 July 1860 2 July 1860	Watervale, Auburn	Few weeks	Unknown	200. The Wesleyans reported a great revival in nearby Mintaro in 1860.	The revival spread to Auburn the next day. New chapel built at Auburn in 1860. Auburn membership increased from 21 to 117.	19
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	July & Aug 1860	Angaston	Few weeks	Unknown	Numerous conversions.	A religious revival is going on amongst the Wesleyans in this locality. Prayer meetings have been held every night lately, characterized by the usual earnestness of this denomination.	20
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	In period July-Sep 1860	Leasingham	Few weeks	Unknown	Hundreds of men, women, and children were brought into the kingdom of God.	Revivals have taken place on so extensive a scale in Auburn, Watervale, Leasingham, and, in a minor degree, at Undalya. The whole district was aroused, and while the movement was at its height, business was well-nigh suspended, day schools were closed.	21
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	In period July & Sep 1860	Undalya	Probably very short as it was a revival of minor degree.	Unknown	Unknown. Probably less than 10 as membership was only 15 in October 1859.		22
Wesleyan	Outpouring of the Holy Spirit	R2 or R3	Prior to Sep 1860	Yankalilla	Unknown & probably of short duration	Unknown	44 have professed to find peace with God.		23

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1862	Burra	Unknown	Unknown	-Over fifty married couples were convertedø	-Open-air services were conducted in Paxton Square and other placesø	24
Primitive Methodist	Growth of Circuit		1862	Salsibury	Two years	-Missionary spiritø of the Rev. Thomas Braithwaiteø	-Many souls were convertedø	Active lay participation in circuit growth and enlargement. Second preacher requested.	25
Primitive Methodist Wesleyan Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	1862	Moonta	Unknown	Unknown	-Some remarkable conversions took placeø -A gracious revivalø	There was -a leap in church membership across the three branches of Methodismø	26
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1862-1865 (Ministry of the Rev. John Watsford)	Pirie Street Church, Adelaide First Circuit	Periods of intense activity associated with Watsfordø's ministry	Special means associated with Watsfordø's leadership	Unknown. -For six months Pirie Street lived in an atmosphere of revivalismø	Pirie Street (accommodate 1,300) was -crowded Sunday after Sundayø Moved to nightly meetings.	27
Wesleyan	-Outpouring of His Spiritø	R2	First Quarter 1862	Norwood, Adelaide Third Circuit	One week initially. Extended.	Special services	At the end of the first week it was reported that twenty six persons -received Christø	At the Quarterly Meeting for the First Quarter it was reported that there were eighty one persons on trial for membership. At the September meeting there were sixty five on trial.	
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2 or R3	1863	Wallaroo	Unknown	Unknown	Church membership increased from 53 to 130.	Wallaroo Mission able to support its preacher. Hope to support two ministers in a yearø's time	28
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	June 1864	Adelaide Third Circuit	One month	Unknown	-At least forty souls have been converted to Christø		29
Wesleyan	-This circuit has been favoured with cheering proofs of the presence and blessing of Godø		1864	Adelaide Second Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Increase of 44 members with a further 72 on profession of faith admitted on trial.		30
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2 or R3	1864?	Watergate	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Jacob Dennison Neate (approx. 14 y.o.) was converted. Died of typhoid sometime after his conversion.	31

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	There has been for some time, a deepening feeling of earnestness and inquiry		1865	Sandergrove and Nairne of Mount Barker Circuit	One to two months?	Unknown	Several individuals were led to seek and find the Saviour. Anxious enquirers after salvation. Circuit membership increased during the quarter by 18 with eight on trial.	Special services were conducted every evening for the next fortnight	32
Primitive Methodist. Wesleyan	A real Apostolical, Methodistical revival	R2 or R3	1865	Callington	Six weeks	The Rev. J. Watsford (Chairman of the District) preached at the anniversary service, during which the overwhelming power of saving grace came down upon the congregation	Nearly one hundred souls have been made the partakers of divine grace	Mid-day prayer meeting held on the Monday following the anniversary Sunday to which nearly the whole township responded. Watsford stays a further two days. Mid-day prayer meetings, evening services, and cottage prayer meetings held daily for six weeks	33
Wesleyan	First Evangelistic Visit of The Rev. W. California of Taylor	R2	1865	Adelaide and Country areas	July-December 1865		Only a few visits by Taylor were reported on. Taylor preaches to 5,000 at opening services of Kent Town Wesleyan Jubilee Church. 50 conversions in the week following. Hundreds refreshed in Mintaro Circuit. Annual District return in November 1865 of increase of 353 members, with 724 on trial	Special services held in Mintaro circuit after Taylor departed of 50 conversions reported.  One of Taylor's converts during his visit to Victoria in 1863 was Joseph Nicholson. He became a Methodist Minister on probation in 1868, was transferred to South Australia in 1872 and was elected President of the South Australian Conference in 1891.	34
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	1865	Happy Valley	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	35



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2 or R3	1865	Mount Barker. Local revivals occurred in Downings, Mount Barker Springs, Nairne, and Dawswely.	Unknown	Unknown	-Near 100 professed to have found peace with God.	Several Sunday school scholars converted. -Old members have been quickened, prejudices destroyed, grievances redressed, disputes settled, and the number of members in some other branches of the church considerably increased.	36
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	1866	Beverly	Unknown	Unknown	Seven added to the society	New chapel to be erected. Revival services undertaken at North Adelaide (same circuit). -Several added to the society.	37
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1866	Gawler	Number of weeks	Conversion of one man and death of his wife.	-Eighty souls have found peace with God. Sixty-five -on trial for membership.	Six adults baptized	38
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1867	Adelaide First, Second, and Third Circuits	2-3 months	Camp Meeting ó Good Friday 1867. Conducted by the Rev. John Watsford.	230 converts with 173 -on trial reported in the three circuits.	Special services continued to be held. On 20 April 1867, Mr. John Langsford (local preacher, Norwood ó Adelaide Third Circuit), reported, -The Spirit has been poured out; the Church has been quickened; several have found peace through believing; great grace has rested upon the people. At the next Quarterly Meeting eighty were -reported as on trial for membership.	39
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1867	Goolwa Circuit	3 months	Special services	140 converts. December Quarterly Meeting reported increase of 22 members with 95 -on trial.	Quarterly finances doubled in one year.	40
Wesleyan	-Showers of blessings	R2 or R3	1867	Kooringa Circuit	-This past year	Unknown	-Many have become accredited members of the Church. 69 -on trial.		41

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Bible Christian	-Times of refreshingø	R2	1867	Kooringa Circuit	3 months	Special services	Forty or fifty -beside a number of the Sunday School childrenø		42
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	1867	Kooringa Circuit	Unknown	Revival services	-Fifty-five converted to Godø	Conversion and baptism of a Chinese couple had a profound effect on the Kooringa congregation.	43
Primitive Methodist	-On this place the Lord has graciously poured out his Spiritø	R2 or R3	1867	Strathalbyn Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	-Thirty souls have been brought to Godø		44
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1867	Mount Barker Circuit	Six weeks	Special means	220 converts	Simultaneous nature of the -Holy Spiritø operationsø	45
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	1867	Chain of Ponds and Cudlee Creek	Unknown	Special means	38 converts	-Very gracious workø reported at Bowden, Findon, Fullarton, Auburn, and Gawler. No details supplied.	46
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	July 1867	Gawler Circuit	Up to four weeks	Special services	84 converts of whom 22 -joined the churchø A further 72 added to the church.		47
Primitive Methodist	-Great Awakeningø	R2	1868	Strathalbyn Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	19 converts	-Great Awakeningø at Woodchester. Souls saved at Strathalbyn. Temperance Society commenced.	48
Primitive Methodist	Revival (-One of the most glorious revivals we have witnessed in the colonyø)	R2 or R3	1868	Wallaroo Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	150 converts	Moonta chapel -filled every Sabbath eveningø -Large increase of membersø Finances in satisfactory state.	49
Primitive Methodist	-The Spirit of the Lord has been graciously poured on our churchesø	Elements of R3 followed by R2	1868	Mount Gambier Circuit	Unknown	-Showers of blessingø followed by Special Services.	-Many were alarmed and led to cry out, -What shall I do to be savedø?		50
Wesleyan	-Showers of blessingsø and -holy fireø experienced.	Elements of R3 followed	1868	Willunga Circuit	Unknown	-Tokens of the Holy Spiritø workingø	32 converts	Band of Hope formed at Bethany. 43 members, with 34 signing the pledge.	51

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
		by R2				followed by Special services.			
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	August 1868	Clarendon Mission	Three weeks	Special services	82 converts. 60 joined the Bible Christian church. Remaining united with other churches.	Chapel at McLaren Flat instrumental in the conversion of almost the whole neighbourhood.	52
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	1869	Gawler Circuit - Zoar	Unknown	Special services	25 have been added to the church.		53
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	1869	Kooringa Circuit	Four weeks	Special revival services	60 converts	Wesleyans and Bible Christians helped.	54
Primitive Methodist	The Lord has graciously poured out his Spirit.	R2 or R3	1869	Walleroo	Few months	Unknown	150 souls gathered into the fold of Christ.		55
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1869	Walleroo	Unknown		284 added to the membership	Sum of £800 raised for chapels.	56
Redemptorist Mission (Roman Catholic) of Father Hinterocker	Mission	R2	1867-1869	Various parts of the colony	Three years	Diocesan action	Evangelistic conversions. Incorporating nominal Catholics into churches. Conversion of Protestants (300 claimed).	Conversions from Catholicism are not widely reported, but some conversions reported by Wesleyan Lady Evangelists in 1895, suggests they did occur.	57
Wesleyan	Second Evangelistic Visit of the Rev W. California Taylor	R2	April of June 1870	Adelaide and various parts of the colony	Three months	Invitation	Twenty reported for Clare. (1) Many have been converted to God by your preaching. Limited reporting undertaken. (2). One hundred reported on trial at the June Quarterly Meeting of the Norwood Circuit.		58
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 and Elements of R3	16 May 1870 of July 1870	Clare Circuit	Three months	Visit of the Rev. W. California Taylor	Addition of over 280 members.		59
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R3	April of May 1872	Kooringa Circuit	Two months	Ordinary means	Forty, young and old, have, up to this time, been converted to God.		60
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2 or R3	End 1872	Mount Barker Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Twenty have professed conversion. In addition,		61

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							20-30 new members		
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	1872	Yankalilla Circuit	Unknown	-It began with the quickened life of the little band at Normanvilleø	-The membership reached 278, with 13 on trialø	-The people came from 10 or more miles to the services, and there were wondrous scenes. When the base of operations was removed to Finnis Vale like blessed results appeared. øShowers of blessingø fell upon all parts of the Circuitø This occurred during the ministry of the Rev. C.T. Newman.	62
Primitive Methodist	Revivals	R2 or R3	Third Quarter 1873	Mount Barker Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-The income was considerably in advance of last quarter, and the report of members showed a good increaseø	63
Wesleyan	-Showers of blessingsø	R2 or R3	Late 1873-Jan 1874	Upper Sturt (Clarendon Parish)	Three months	Unknown	-Numerous conversionsø Membership increased from eight to thirty.	Chapel building no longer holds the congregation	64
Bible Christian	Revival	R3	1874	New Jerusalem (1 mile from Kadina)	Few weeks	Conversion of -one of the most reckless men in the villageø	30 with 25 admitted -on trialø		65
Bible Christian	-A gracious work of Godø	R2	1874	Bowden	Three weeks	-Special Prayerø	50-70 conversions		66
Wesleyan	-A quickening of the societies and the conversion of sinnersø	R2	1874	Mount Gambier	Six weeks	Death of prominent layman. Circuit preachers and office-bearers holiness meeting.	50 seekers of salvation. 20 seekers for holiness.		67
Primitive Mehodists	Revival	R2	1874	Kooringa	Seven weeks	Two week prayer meeting	70 converts	Wesleyans and Bible Christians were engaged in simultaneous revivalist activity.	68

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Primitive Methodists	Revival	R2 or R3	1874	Two Wells Circuit	Four-five months	Unknown	150 have declared that God for Christ's sake has pardoned their sins	The grand revival occurred during the term of the Rev. J. Stuart Wayland. Sixteen names were added to the local preachers list.	69
Primitive Methodists	Revival	R2	1874	Kapunda Station	Six weeks	Special services	26-30 souls saved		70
Primitive Methodist	Glorious outpourings of the Holy Ghost	R2 or R3	1874	Gawler Circuit	Past quarter	Unknown	80 conversions		71
Wesleyan Bible Christian Primitive Methodist Baptist	Revival	R4	September 1874-September 1875	Moonta-Wallaroo	Twelve months	Initial signs were evidenced in the Baptist church in late 1874.	Estimated at up to 1,500 conversions		72
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	June-July 1875	Kapunda	Four weeks	Special services	20-30 conversions (mainly young people)	Mr. James (Jimmy) Jeffrey a popular Wesleyan local preacher from Moonta Mines assisted.	73
Wesleyan Bible Christian Primitive Methodist	Special united services	R2	June-July 1875	Kooringa	Six weeks	Initiated by the three respective Methodist ministers	20 conversions	Many members of the different churches have been greatly quickened.	74
Evangelical Churches	The Gospel Mission	R2	August to September 1875	Adelaide	Four weeks	Evangelical Alliance	Some salvations reported	Spiritual life of the churches has been greatly quickened	75
Wesleyan	Gospel mission in song	R2	August to September 1875	Adelaide and country	Three weeks	Wesleyan Methodists	Unknown		76
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	Third Quarter of 1875	Two Wells Circuit	Unknown	Special prayer meetings	30 conversions		77
Wesleyan	Gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit	R2	May-June 1876	Kent Town and Norwood Circuit	Three weeks	Death of a young woman	30-40 converts	Increased church attendances	78

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan Bible Christian	Revival	R2	April-October 1876	Auburn	Seven months	Special services	136 plus 70 candidates for membership. Bible Christians (Auburn Circuit) report 104 plus a few conversions. They admit 115 members and 20 on trial in 1876. Wesleyans, therefore, had 61 converts.	The Rev. T. Hillman (Bible Christian of Auburn Circuit) reported that, "there has not been such a work in this circuit since the memorable revival of 1860"	79
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R4 (from 1875)	April-June 1876	Wallaroo	Three months	Continuation of Moonta R4 revival	"The number of members has increased"	"On the whole the station is in a healthy condition"	80
Wesleyan	"Marks of revival"	R3	June 1877	Port Adelaide	Two weeks	Regular service of signs of contrition	60 converts	People visibly affected by remarks of the Rev. J. Haslam. Cries for mercy heard.	81
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	June-September 1877	Willunga Circuit	Four months	Special services	130 converts. Eighty added to membership. 24 on trial.		82
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	June-August 1877	Pirie Street Circuit	Two months	Special services	80 plus converts. September Quarterly Meeting recorded 92 on trial and 61 catechumens.	"Large numbers of members who have joined the various classes, increased congregations, and general quickening of the church"	83
Wesleyan	"The promise of a shower"	R2	July-August 1877	Mount Barker Circuit	"Past few weeks"	Unknown	Some loss of members due to removal. Twenty seven on trial.		84
Primitive Methodists	"Salvation of souls"	Unknown	July-December 1877	Mount Barker Circuit	Two quarters	Unknown	"A great many have sought and found the Saviour"		85
Primitive Methodists	Revival	R2	July-September 1877	Kooringa	Ten weeks	Special services	"A blessed in-gathering of precious souls to the fold of Christ"	Larger congregation and Sabbath school. "Church has been quickened"	86
Bible Christian	"Some good done in the last quarter"	R2	Third Quarter 1876	Auburn Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	"Seventy young people have professed faith in Christ at Watervale" "Fourteen converts at Wakefield"		87

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Few at Auburn</li> <li>-Twenty at Skilly Creek</li> </ul>		
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	July-August 1877	Goolwa Circuit	Four weeks	Special services	Fifty-seven converts	Increased attendances at worship and class meetings.	88
Wesleyan	-Showers of blessing	R2	July-August 1877	Gawler Circuit	-Last few weeks	Special services	61 converts (including 50 from the Sunday school)		89
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Last Quarter 1877	Gawler Circuit	Four weeks	Special services	Forty converts plus -nearly all the children in the Sabbath school from ten years old and upwards		90
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Last Quarter 1877	Mount Torrens Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	-Conversion of a considerable number of persons		91
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1877	Clare Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Fifty-two members -on trial Membership increased by 39.	Popular preacher the Rev. D. O'Donnell arrived from Victoria in October 1876	92
Primitive Methodist	-Church quickened		Third Quarter 1877	Saddleworth Circuit		Special prayer	Steady increase in congregation. -The church has been quickened and sinners saved	Additional seating provided.	93
Bible Christian	-Times of blessing to many	R2	Third Quarter 1877	Clarendon Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	-Several hopeful conversions were realised	Two new classes were formed	94
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1877	Mount Lofty Circuit of the Rev. R. Lang	Four weeks	Special services	Fifty persons added to the church. -Strong men cried like children to see the bright faces and to hear the prayers and the clear testimony of the young converts	-The Spirit came upon us with great power of first at Stirling, and then at Forest Road, then at Tregarthen (Summertown), and Mount Lofty	95
Bible Christian	-Outpouring of the Holy Spirit	R2	June-July 1877	Port Wakefield Circuit	Three-four weeks	Exhortation and Prayer meetings. Special services.	Up to ten converts		96

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Bible Christian	Revival	R2 or R3	1877	Mount Torrens Circuit	All year ó steady work.	Unknown	-We are most encouraged on account of the souls won to Jesusø	-A revival of true religion does more to increase the strength of the Church, and arouse a careless, impenitent neighbourhood than anything elseø	97
Primitive Methodist	-The power of God came downí in a most remarkable mannerø	R2	1877	Mount Gambier Station	Four weeks	Special means and visiting preacher ó Mrs. Harvey	At least fifteen or more	Increase of ten members in the quarter. Successful missionary meetings held.	98
Non-Denominational	Evangelistic mission ó Henry Varley	R2	May-July 1878	Adelaide, Kapunda, Naracoorte, Mount Gambier	Eight weeks	Invitation ó Non-Denominational Committee	-Hundreds professed to have been convertedø	Inter-Denominational meetings for prayer and Bible study resulted. -Revival of religion among Christians appeared to be of a more lasting characterø	99
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	August-September 1878	Moonta Circuit	Three weeks	Unknown	-Large numbers are declaring themselves as seekers of salvationø	Local revivals at Moonta Mines contributed to the maintenance of a policy of a prohibited liquor trade. Drunkenness is very rare.	100
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1878	Gawler Plains Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	80 converts. William Glyn Adams was converted during this revival. His obituary stated that this revival was -one of the most genuine revivals witnessed in the colonyí Almost every family in the neighborhood was brought under the power of the Holy Spiritø	-A few of the young converts will unite with other Churches, on account of family connections, but most of them will identify themselves with usø	101
Primitive Methodist	Special services	R2	Third Quarter 1878	Gawler Circuit ó Lower Alma	Two weeks	Unknown	Eight or nine converted		102
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	Fourth Quarter 1878	Minlaton Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Membership increased by twenty-five. (56 to 81)		103



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1879	Kooringa Circuit - Redruth	Nine weeks	Unknown	~Fifty souls have been saved		104
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1879	Two Wells Circuit	Past Quarter	Unknown	~85 persons have professed faith in the Lord Jesus		105
Bible Christian	~Private personal appeal	R2	Third Quarter 1879	Balaklava Circuit	A few months	Unknown	~Upwards of fifty have yielded themselves to Christ		106
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	Third Quarter 1879	Clare Circuit	Eight weeks	Unknown	Seventy persons ~brought to decision		107
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	Third Quarter 1879	Mount Gambier Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Thirty-five ~on trial and fifteen catechumens		108
Wesleyan	Revival-Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	April-June 1880	Pirie Street Circuit	Seven weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	~18 expressed desire to unite in membership with one or other of the churches in the city		109
Wesleyan	Revival-Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	June-July 1880	Archer Street of North Adelaide	Six weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	180 converts. 100 intend to unite with Archer Street.	Quarterly Meeting of 30 September 1880 reports 429 members of an increase of 26 with 107 ~on trial	110
Wesleyan	Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	July-August 1880	Brompton	Unknown	Invitation of M. Burnett	~88 persons are known to have found Christ, or restored from backsliding		111
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	Third Quarter 1880	Koolunga Circuit - Boucaut	Three weeks	Unknown	~Twenty-five souls brought to Christ		112
Wesleyan	Special evangelistic services	R2	August-September 1880	Kapunda	Three weeks	Unknown	~Over a hundred persons received pardon and peace	Ministers of the Primitive, Bible Christian, and Baptist churches assisted.	113
Wesleyan	~Showers of blessing and Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	July-September 1880	Kent Town and Norwood Circuit	Past Quarter	Special Services of D. O'Donnell (Circuit Minister) & visit of Matthew	~Scores of persons quickened and saved. In excess of 167 souls saved.	Three new classes formed. October Quarterly Meeting reports increase of 15 members with 126 ~on trial	114

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
						Burnett			
Wesleyan	-Waiting for the shower Special services	R2	Second and Third Quarters 1880	Yarcowie Circuit	Past two Quarters	Unknown	-Several accessions to the church -Thirty members added to the church	-We have decided to extend our labours eastward, taking the new Hundred of Wonna on our next plan -Enlarged liberality	115
Wesleyan	Revival ó Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	October 1880	Moonta Circuit	Two weeks	Invitation ó M. Burnett	Unknown. Meetings were well attended		116
Wesleyan	Revival ó Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	October 1880	Port Adelaide Circuit	Two weeks	Invitation ó M. Burnett	-100 seekers of salvation and 1,000 signed the pledge Reported in January 1881 that there were 66 -on trial ó mainly the result of Burnett's work.	-One striking feature of the work is that other churches in the neighbourhood and district have shared as largely in the gracious result of this work as ourselves	117
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1880	Quorn- began at Willochra and -extended right through the circuit	Unknown	Unknown	-Fifty persons were converted to God	-Among whom were fifteen young men, seven or eight of whom, are destined to play an important part as workers in the Church of Christ	118
Wesleyan	Revival ó Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	November-December 1880	Northern Areas of South Australia	Four weeks	Invitation ó M. Burnett	Twenty converts reported. (Probably incomplete). 1,006 sign the pledge.	Locations visited: Crystal Brook, Red Hill, Port Pirie, Laura, Melrose, Wilmington, Port Augusta, Quorn, Beautiful Valley, Melrose.	119
Wesleyan	Revival ó Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	26 February 1881 ó 12 March 1881	Jamestown	Two weeks	Invitation ó M. Burnett	Twenty converts. 272 sign the pledge.		120
Wesleyan	Revival ó Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	20 March 1881 ó 24 March 1881	Mount Gambier	Four days	Invitation ó M. Burnett	Some converts. 180 sign the pledge.		121
Wesleyan	Revival ó Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	2-22 April 1881	Caltowie, Terowie, Yarcowie, Canowie Station.	Three weeks	Invitation ó M. Burnett	Several conversions. 420 sign the pledge.	Band of Hope formed at Caltowie	122

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	24 April to 18 May 1881	Gladstone, Wirrabara Forest, Yarrowie, Orroroo, Petersburg, Yongala.	One month	Invitation of M. Burnett	Thirty plus conversions. 479 sign the pledge	Bands of Hope formed at Orroroo and Petersburg.	123
Wesleyan	Grand Temperance Demonstration	R2	19 June 1881	Adelaide Town Hall	One evening	Invitation of M. Burnett	2,300 present. Held to coincide with the triennial Wesleyan General Conference	His Excellency the Governor presided. Matthew Burnett was one of the speakers.	124
Wesleyan	Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	21 May to 17 June 1881	Port Pirie, Crystal Brook, Koolunga, Georgetown, Stone Hut, Wirrabarra, Port Germain, Telowie, Wandearah East, Melrose, Fullerville, Willowie, Booleroo.	Three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	3000 conversions in each place sought and found the pearl of great price	Mayor and Chief Magistrate of Port Pirie (W. Wood, Esq.) reported how the incidence of drunkenness had reduced by fifty per cent since Burnett's last visit. As a merchant as well, the Mayor noted that he had received payment of accounts he had never expected to get. He attributed these matters to Burnett's work.	125
Wesleyan	Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	18 June to 5 July 1881	Amyton, Wilmington, Port Augusta, Hawker, Beltana, Government Gums, Blinman, Beltana, Quorn, Melrose, Jamestown	Three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	28 conversions recorded plus 300 conversions in numerous towns. 180 sign the pledge (far less than the cumulative totals). <u>Cumulative Total of 1881</u> South East Tour: 200 sign pledge. Northern Tour: 4,334 sign pledge.	Bands of Hope formed at Quorn, Johnsbury, Walloway. Port Augusta of Temperance bodies have increased in membership. Wesleyan Church is filled every week for the Band of Hope meetings.	126
Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Bible Christian	Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	Early July - late August 1881	Moonta Mines	Six weeks	Revival already in progress (two weeks) when Burnett arrived at Moonta Mines on 17 July 1881 by	500 conversions. 2,000 sign pledge.	Wesleyans reported at their December Quarterly Meeting an increase of membership for the quarter of 100. There were also 100 conversions as well as 107 catechumens.	127

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
						invitation.			
Wesleyan	Revival of Temperance Matthew Burnett	R2	4 September - 7 October 1881	Mintaro and Clare	One week Mintaro. Four weeks at Clare.	Invitation of M Burnett	Mintaro of 88 conversions (Age distribution: 13 young men, 14 young women, 12 in middle life, five advanced in life, 17 from twelve to sixteen, 27 under twelve). 150 sign pledge. Clare of 62 conversions. 450 sign pledge.	-We intend to nurture the young converts, and to this end several new leaders have been appointed at Mintaro and Clare, and in other places as well. A spirit of unity reported throughout the circuit. Clare March Quarterly Meeting reported increase of thirty members with 50 on trial.	128
Wesleyan, Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist	Revival of Special united evangelistic services (Early October of late December 1881) Temperance of Matthew Burnett (Two weeks)	R2	9-21 October 1881 (Burnett's visit)	Koorunga (one week). Redruth (one week).	Two weeks for the Burnett meetings as part of the special united services.	Unknown for the united services [most likely there was agreement from the three Methodist churches represented by the Revs. J. Pearce (BC), M. Burt (PM), J Bickford and W. A. Bainger (Wesleyan)]. Invitation of M. Burnett	Burnett reports the results of his two week visit: 130 conversions. 435 plus all the male inmates at Redruth gaol sign the pledge.	The Rev. James Bickford (Wesleyan minister at Koorunga) recorded how during a second visit by Burnett to the Burra in late November 1881, -a great work of God followed. For miles outside the Burra the saving power was felt.	129
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	Third Quarter 1881	Draper Memorial Church	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-The congregation had grown, and was still increasing of twenty two sittings had been applied for during the past fortnight. The membership had been greatly increased, as the result of a gracious revival. Wednesday evening	130

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								congregation numbers 120. A class for young ladies has been established A theological class had also been formed for young men	
Wesleyan Bible Christian	Revival	R2	23 October to 5 November 1881	Clarendon Circuit (Coromandel Valley and Clarendon)	Two weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	There cannot be less (inclusive of children) than 150 who have found the Saviour through the entire district 373 sign pledge.	Clarendon membership increases by thirty in the first quarter 1882, with 23 men Increase is attributed mainly to Burnett's work.	131
Wesleyan Bible Christian	Revival	R2	6 November to 11 November 1881	Normanville, Yankalilla, Finnis Vale, Harcourt.	One week	Invitation of M. Burnett	Forty nine conversions. 188 sign pledge.		132
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	13 November to 2 December 1881	Archer Street, North Adelaide	Three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	Fifty-two conversions	Many of those who have profited by Mr. Burnett's ministrations are resident in various parts of the country, so that our church membership here will not be materially augmented The December Quarterly Meeting reported that membership did however, increase by thirty in the quarter.	133
Temperance	Temperance demonstration		3 December 1881	Port Adelaide	One evening	Invitation of M. Burnett	Between 60-70 sign pledge		134
Wesleyan Bible Christian Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	5 to 22 December 1881	North Rhine, Redruth, Koorlinga.	Two-three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	266 conversions. 238 pledges	Total reported for the two visits to the Burra region (including the 9-21 October 1881 visit): 396 conversions and 673 pledges. Burnett reported a cumulative total to the end of 1881 of over 1,000 conversions and upwards of 8,000 pledges. The Wesleyans reported at their December Quarterly	135

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								Meeting 73 (inclusive of two children's classes) -on trial	
Wesleyan Bible Christian Congregational	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	12-27 February 1882	Port Elliot, Victor Harbor	Two weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	Some conversions. -Many boys and girls came to Jesus (Wesleyan Church Sunday school). 270 sign pledge.	Total Abstinence Society formed. Nightly prayer meetings continue in Wesleyan Church after Burnett's departure.	136
Hosted by Presbyterian, Congregational and Wesleyan Ministers	Temperance meetings	R2	11-25 March 1882	Penola, Border Town, Naracoorte	Two weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	183 sign pledge. -Souls were saved		137
Wesleyan Primitive Methodist Presbyterian	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	25-31 March 1882. 1-3 April 1882 (Robe)	Kingston and Robe	Ten days	Invitation of M. Burnett	135 pledges for Kingston. 82 pledges for Robe.	No apparent religious support evident at Robe.	138
Wesleyan Congregational	United temperance meetings	R2	5-10 April 1882 (Port Elliot and Victor Harbor. 11-12 April (Point Macleay Mission Station)	Port Elliot, Victor Harbor, Point Macleay.	One week	Invitation of M. Burnett	165 pledges Port Elliot. 400 pledges Victor Harbor. 28 pledges Point Macleay.	Religious and Temperance meeting held at Point Macleay.	139
Wesleyan Church of England	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	13-30 April 1882	Kingston, Lucindale, Mount Gambier, Port MacDonnell	Two-three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	Ten conversions. 397 sign pledge.		140
Wesleyan Bible Christian Presbyterian	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	1-19 May 1882	Millicent, Beachport, Robe, Kingston, Naracoorte, Beachport, Meningie, Point Macleay, Milang	Three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	412 sign pledge (exclusive of -all present signed the pledge) at Point Macleay. Burnett recorded a total of 1,442 pledges for his South East Tour.		141
Wesleyan Bible Christians	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	21 May-2 June 1882	Willunga, Aldinga,	Two weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	185 sign pledge		142

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Disciples of Christ				Noarlunga					
Wesleyan Baptist	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	3 June-3July 1882	Blackwood, Coromandel Valley, Reynella, Meadows, Kangarilla, Cherry Gardens, Clarendon	Four weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	37 converts. There were people who yielded themselves to God and 527 pledges.	Conversions appear to be under-reported. At Cherry Gardens the converting power of God was displayed. However, no conversions were reported. The September Quarterly Meeting reported an annual increase of 78 members, with 29 conversions and 39 catechumens.	143
Wesleyan Baptist Bible Christian	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	24 July-30July 1882	Morphett Vale, McLaren Vale, McLaren Flat, Willunga	One week	Invitation of M. Burnett	53 conversions. 322 sign pledge.	During the journey from Willunga to Adelaide, all along the line of route we were cheered by those whose hands we grasped, perhaps for the last time, who with tearful eyes assured us that under God they and their families were completely changed since they signed the pledge.	144
Wesleyan and other churches.	Revival	R2 or R3	July-August 1882	Kadina	One to two months	Address by the Rev. C. T. Newman to the Sunday School precipitates conversions and the conduct of a special course	Kadina of 50 conversions. Wintanerta (small country congregation) of about a dozen souls have found mercy. Wallaroo Mines of several led to Christ.	The revival has been the topic of the day, for such a manifestation of the Spirit has not been known for the last ten years. Other churches have also caught the holy fire, and there is no doubt but that the whole community is being powerfully affected.	145
Wesleyan Bible Christian Primitive Methodist	Revival (continuation of revival commenced with Burnett's visit in December 1881).	R2	23 July-11 August 1882	Koorunga	One week in each of Primitive Methodist, Bible Christian, and Wesleyan	Invitation of M. Burnett in December 1881	A score of persons were brought to Christ. It was reported in April 1889 that during the three years the Rev. S. Knight	Additions have been made continuously to the Churches; indeed, ever since the memorable services conducted by Mr. Burnett, the Burra District has been in	146

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
					churches by missioner the Rev. D. O'Donnell. Continuation of a fifty days mission. Revival still going in August 1883.		was at Kooringa, religious enthusiasm ran high it was a time of almost continuous revival, and many souls were converted to God. These three years can never be forgotten.	uninterrupted revival. At the Kooringa Wesleyan Quarterly meeting in October 1882, it was reported by the Rev. S. Knight that the additions to the Church in the District were about 600 souls brought in during the year (Primitive Methodists report that it was rather 500 in two years).	
Wesleyan Baptist	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	1 August-15 September 1882	Yorke Peninsula	Six weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett.	300 adults and juveniles yielded their hearts to God. Over 1,900 pledges. 88 addresses given (20 temperance, 68 evangelistic). 17 towns visited.	Reported at the Yorketown Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting of September 1882 that 32 were on trial. Appreciative comments were made of Burnett's visit.	147
Wesleyan, Primitive Methodists, Congregational,	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	16 September-4 October 1882	Moonta Mines, Port Wakefield, Balaklava, Mintaro, Dowlingville, Ardrossan, Houghton, Glen Ewin, Houghton, Morgan.	Three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	46 conversions. 450 sign pledge.	Shearers kept their money after signing the pledge at a Temperance meeting held at the station of the Hon. A. Hay.	148
Wesleyan, Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	7 October-21 November 1882	Kapunda, Hallet, Yacka, Kooringa, Redruth, Auburn, Balaklava, Gawler, Saddleworth.	Six weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	129 conversions. 693 sign pledge.	Formation of a Temperance Mission and Band of Hope at Kapunda. Auburn has additional meetings until 1 December after Burnett departs. Kooringa Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting held on Tuesday 26 December 1882, reported a nearly three-fold increase in membership to 329. Quarterly Meeting in September 1884, reported that the membership had declined 100 on the year, largely in the	149



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								juvenile classes by removals, membership 300.	
Wesleyan	United temperance and evangelistic meetings	R2	26 November-17 December 1882	Pirie Street, North Rhine, Angaston, Truro, Riverton, Kangaroo Island.	Three weeks	Invitation of M. Burnett	Several conversions. 112 sign pledge.		150
Wesleyan	Evangelistic services	R2	25 March-1 April 1883	Woodside. (Meetings held in the Institute Hall).	One week	Invitation of Mrs. Emilia Baeyertz	Over sixty have given their names as being able to trust in Christ.	Meetings continued in the Wesleyan church after Mrs. Baeyertz departed.	151
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	Second Quarter 1883	Greenø Plains West of Kadina Circuit.	Unknown of possibly a few weeks.	Prayer meetings of pleading for revival.	Over sixty have given their names as being able to trust in Christ.	At Greenø Plains West we have a thoroughly revived society. 140 names added to the membership roll in the past two months.	152
			19 July-9 August 1883	Beverley of Adelaide Second Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	Between 40 and 50 have given their hearts to God.	Salvation Army commenced services in Beverley after the Primitive Methodist revival of affected attendances.	
			14 August 1883	Reevesø Plains of Two Wells Circuit	One week.	Special services	Gospel Temperance meeting of 5 August 83 of 15 converted. 46 additional conversions.		
			August 1883	Lower Light of Two Wells Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	13 converts. Membership increased from 8 to 26. Unknown	A glorious change has been brought about this place, no class has been held for years past, but now over 40 can come for miles to this means of grace.	
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	Early May-July 1883	Draper Memorial Church, Adelaide	Four-six weeks	Special meetings	77 names placed on the roll of new members. Additional seventeen applicants for church membership. Some	Methods adopted: Outdoor of singing bands, open-air preaching, tract distribution. Indoor of prayer, testimony, and appeal. Gospel Temperance	153

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							conversions. Pirie Street Circuit Quarterly Meeting of 19 September 1883 reported ≈500 members, with 130 on trial, which gives the gratifying increase of 35 members and 83 on trial.	meeting held ó 150 adopt total abstinence principles. 11 July 83 ó Social Tea held ó ≈About 50 persons witnessed for Jesus in a little more than an hour. Three converts. Concluded with a half-hour prayer meeting.	
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	July 1883	Morphett Street Church, Adelaide	A few weeks	Special means	Twenty to thirty conversions.	Methods adopted: ≈Much street processioning, lively singing, short pithy addresses, earnest praying, and telling testimonies. Salvation Army chaplain and members participate in a Sunday afternoon service.	154
Primitive Methodist	Revival	R2	July 1883	Norwood Church	Three weeks	Protracted meetings	Twenty-four ≈profess to find pardon.	≈Nothing like it has been seen in our church here for the last thirty years. Outdoor and indoor meetings characterized by very little noisy excitement ó but with much weeping and great joy. ≈Members of the Baptist and Independent churches have been revived.	155
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	June-August 1883	Kent Town and Norwood Circuit	Four weeks	Special services	Some conversions. ≈As a result of the last six weeks services we have about 35 members on trial in the ordinary classes, and about 50 boys and girls in the junior classes. A gracious influence rests on the older members of the Church. By early August ó ≈Many have sought and found the pearl of great price.	≈We are witnessing the continuance of a very genuine and blessed revival of the work of God. ≈A Woman's Prayer Union has been started. Special services at Montacute in August result in a further 30 conversions.	156

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Special religious services.	R2	June-July 1883	Semaphore	A few weeks	Special services	Fifty -decide for Christ.	-Church Visiting Society established for Port Adelaide and Semaphore to preserve the -gracious work of God in our midst.	157
	-Outpouring of the Spirit.		Second Quarter	Maitland	During the Quarter	Unknown	-Thirty-eight souls have been brought to God.	-Enlarged congregations, numerous additions to the Church, and increased liberality.	
	-Gracious revival in the Wallaroo Sunday school.		Second Quarter	Wallaroo	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown		
	-A time of ingathering rather than a time of revival.		Second Quarter	Semaphore	One month	Unknown	Alberton ó trebled membership. Woodville ó double membership.	After a young converts testimony meeting, over 70 applied for membership. Port Adelaide Circuit Quarterly Meeting of 28 September 1883 reported a -membership of 290, being an increase on the year of 127, and on the quarter of 49.	
	Special meetings		June-July 1883	Mount Barker	Three weeks	Special meetings	Twenty converts to join the church.	Offer of Mr. John Dunn to build a new church at Mount Barker was accepted at the Quarterly Meeting of 25 September 1883.	
Special evangelistic services	July 1883	Gawler River	One week	Special meetings	-Eight persons publicly sought the Saviour. Twenty to join the Church.	-At Gawler, each week is witnessing additional souls coming to Jesus. Processions were held which were -disturbed by the larrikins of the town.			
Special services	July 1883	Ardrossan	Two weeks	-First fruits of	-Several have found the	-The best feature of the work is			

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
						the year had come	Saviour	that the indifference, which a little while ago seemed impenetrable, has entirely disappeared. The morning congregation has doubled; in the evening temporary seats have to be provided. It is the general belief that these are only the tokens of a great and gracious work of revival	
Protestant Churches	Mrs. Hampson's Mission	R2	20-31 July 1883	Adelaide	Twelve days	Mrs. Hampson invited by an inter-church committee.	300 conversions reported in the <i>Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal</i> . 500 reported in the <i>South Australian Register</i> .	Hundreds signed the pledge following her Temperance address. Bands of praying women established. Mr. H. T. Fry, businessman, and a member of the North Adelaide Congregational Church enters evangelistic work after attending Mrs. Hampson's meetings. Assists Mr. T. Houston during his South Australian tour in 1884-85.	158
Wesleyan	Special services. Showers of blessing	R2	Early August 1883	Port Pirie, Port Augusta, Gawler	One-two weeks	Special services	Port Pirie's 15 converts. Port Augusta's Over 30 have professed conversion. Gawler's Fifty Sunday school scholars renounced their dying Lord	A special mission was held in the first week of August at Port Pirie's Thirty to Forty scholars declaring their desire to love Christ and be his children. Additional adult conversions after penitents rushed forward to the communion rail. Such a scene has not before been witnessed in Port Pirie	159
Wesleyan	A gracious work of spiritual blessing		Early August 1883	Koolunga	A few weeks.	Special services	Yacka's 27 conversions. Koolunga's Seven have declared themselves on the	Expecting still greater things	

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	-A very gracious workí ø  -Showers of blessingø		August 1883  Third Quarter 1883	Gawler Circuit ó Williamstown  Neighbourhood of the Lady Alice Mine in the Gawler Circuit.	Three weeks  Unknown	Sunday school conversions  Mine visited	Lordø sideø  50 persons  -Between 20 and 30 have professed conversionø	-It commenced in the Sunday school when 17 of the elder scholars gave themselves to God. Special meetings have been held nightly ever sinceø -Two new classes have been formedø	
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Second Quarter 1883	Moonta Circuit ó Moonta Mines, Cross Roads, East Moonta, Moonta Township.	Three months	Quarterly Meeting in March/April 1883.	In excess of 110 -souls savedø 160 join classes in the circuit.	Some cooperative work with Salvation Army. United services with the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists. The Wesleyans reported at the Moonta Circuit Quarterly Meeting of 26 September 1883, that there were 707 members with 82 -on trialø and that -no fewer than 244 members had been added to the church within the past three yearsø	160
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	September 1883	Kent Town and Norwood Circuit ó Magill	Two weeks	Special revival services	ø85 persons have professed faith in Christø Circuit Quarterly Meeting of 21 December 1883 reported that -the proportionate solid advanceø of the recent revival was encouraging.	Kent Town and Norwood Quarterly Meeting of 20 September 1883 reported a membership of 661, with 75 -on trialø and 115 junior members. The increase for the year was 131 members, 48 -on trialø and 63 junior members. The promotion of -entire consecrationø was seen as a means of conserving the results of revival.	161

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Fourth Quarter 1883	Adelaide Circuit - -Special services held at Eastwood, Maylands, Glen Osmond, and Goodwood	Unknown	Special services	-At each place the power of God was present to heal and souls were saved	-These revivals have helped to infuse fresh energy and life into many of the workers	162
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	May-June 1884	Mount Barker Circuit ó Native Valley, Hartley, Woodside.	Four weeks	Special services	Native Valley ó Society formed with 23 members. Hartley ó 24 conversions. Woodside ó 30 scholars of Sunday School -decide for Christ	The Quarterly Meeting of 30 September 1884 reported -309 full members, with 64 on trial; an increase of 101 full members on the year. For this we thank God and take courage	163
Baptist (reported in June 1883). Bible Christian Wesleyan Congregational	Revival	R2	June-July 1884	Bowden and Brompton	Six weeks (for Bible Christian and Wesleyan)	-Signs of an awakening Special services followed.	Baptist ó 26 by baptism. Bible Christian ó 70 conversions. Wesleyan ó 42 converts. Congregational ó 50 -young people deciding for Christ as a result of Special services held in August. Twenty five joined the church with the remainder joining the Young Christians Union.	Baptist Sunday school in Hindmarsh increases from 36 to 100. New church building required. Sixty Wesleyans seek -entire sanctification. The Wesleyan Brompton Circuit Quarterly meeting of 30 September 1884 reported 136 members, 94 -on trial. 10 catechumens, and fifteen full new members. The return showed that during the six months of the Circuit's existence the number of persons on the class book had increased from 112 to 240	164
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	1 June-end July 1884	Wirrabara Circuit	Six weeks	Special services	-Many precious seeking salvation	-Sunday school started since the revival with sixty-five scholars and eleven teachers: a class meeting, which is well attended; and a strong temperance society. Four local preachers on trial as a result of the -awakening	165

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	July 1884	Aldgate and Summertown Circuit ó Upper Sturt	Four weeks	Special services	Upper Sturt - :Between 30 and 40 saved Ashton ó Ten :brought to Christ	:Our attendances have increased from five to a crowded church every night. Believers have been revived; backsliders have been restored; sinners, old and young, are being saved	166
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	July 1884	Ardrossan Circuit	A few weeks	:Outpouring of the Spirit	48 conversions	:In other parts of the circuit the Spirit is working	167
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	4-19 August 1884	Riverton Circuit	Two weeks	Special prayer meetings	52 conversions (some were re-commitments). Additional three conversions at Rhynie.	Of the conversions it was reported that :26 of the elder scholars and younger teachers were from the Sunday school. The Quarterly meeting of 29 September 1884 reported :105 members with 52 on trial, being an increase of thirteen full members on the year, and 52 on trial. The Quarterly Meeting of 29 December 1884 reported :the membership to be 156, with 16 on trial. Increased to 166 in March 1885.	168
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	14 August ó 3 September 1884	Moonta Circuit	Three weeks	Two weeks of special prayer preceded the revival mission.	:A wave of salvation have passed over the church :Many of the members of our congregation have been led to Christ	Two Society classes and a ladies prayer union have been formed	169
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	August 1884	Prospect	Three weeks	Sunday School Teachers urge scholars to :decide for Christ	About 30 Sunday School Scholars. Fifteen to twenty adults.	Two juvenile classes established.	170
Wesleyan	:Gracious outpouring of the Spirit	R2	August-September 1884	Angaston Circuit - Towitts	Three weeks	Special services	Twelve :found deliverance through Christ	The Rev. Nelson, the Independent minister at North Rhynie assisted.	171

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	September 1884	Naracoorte	One week	Call to conversion	Seventeen -found peace by believing	-All attending the services have been blessed ó joy and peace beams from every countenance. For many years we have looked and prayed and labored for this end. Now it has come, and as a portion of the Methodist family in South Australia we can say again, the best of all, God is with us	172
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	October 1884	Auburn-Hoyleton Circuit	Unknown	-Special efforts in each church	-In every pace we have seen the salvation of souls Leasingham ó 23 souls have received the pardon of sins	Auburn ó 28 of the Riverton brethren and sisters came over in traps (13 miles) that they might assist in singing in the streets and praying for the unsaved	173
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	May-June 1885 July-August 1885	Hawker Circuit Hawker Circuit - Cradock	Three to four weeks Two weeks	Special services	-About forty souls converted to God -Twenty souls have been converted to god	Quarterly Meeting of 24 June 1885 reported -that the membership had increased during the past quarter from 55 and one on trial to 62 and 27 on trial	174
Wesleyan	Prelude to revival	R2	26 July-7 August 1885	Minlaton Circuit	Two weeks	Six conversions at a Sunday evening service.	-Twenty-four persons have professed to have found peace	-We are earnestly hoping and praying that this is only the commencement of a glorious visitation that shall extend throughout the circuit	175
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	July-August 1885	Clare Circuit - Clare	Three weeks	Special services	-About a dozen persons were led to decide for Christ	-The church has been quickenedí All through the Circuit there are signs of increased spiritual activity, and a general revival is anxiously looked for	176
Congregational	Revival services	R2	26 July-9 August 1885	Port Elliot	Two-three weeks	Invitation ó T. Houston and H. T. Fry	-The members of the church have been led to a fuller consecration of themselves to the work of		177



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							the Lord, and very many-both old and young-have come to the Saviour		
Wesleyan	Revival services	R2	9 August-15 August 1885	Goolwa	One week	Invitation of T. Houston	-About fifty persons have professed conversion	-More than thirty signified their intention of entering the classes and uniting themselves with the Church at Goolwa	178
Wesleyan	Evangelistic services	R2	September 1885	Brompton	Two weeks	Invitation of T. Houston and H. T. Fry	Twenty conversions	-The church has been quickened and further results are expected	179
Wesleyan	Evangelistic services	R2	27 September-9 October 1885	Pirie Street	Two weeks	Invitation of T. Houston and H. T. Fry	Thirty conversions (final night). Additional conversions each evening. 100 enquiries.	600-1,000 attended each night with 1,800-2,000 on the two Sunday evenings.	180
Primitive Methodist	Revival services	R2	Third Quarter 1885	Two Wells Circuit	Unknown	Special services	-Several were saved and added to the church	-We confess to a disappointment at not seeing a greater number converted	181
	Revival services	R2	Third Quarter 1885	Adelaide Third Circuit Norwood, Payneham, Kensington.	Two weeks at Payneham	Special services	Norwood of Thirteen conversions. Payneham of -Several found the pardon of their sins. Kensington of Nine conversions.		
Wesleyan	Evangelistic services	R2	October-13 December 1885	Unley, Kent Town, Payneham, Adelaide Town Hall (21 November 1885), Port Adelaide.	Two months	Invitation of T. Houston and H. T. Fry	Limited reporting of conversions: Port Adelaide of 40 conversions.	Large gatherings reported at each venue. On occasions there were many who could not gain admission. At Unley it was reported: -Believers have had their hearts made glad, and the whole Church is feeling the revival glow	182
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	August-December 1885	Crystal Brook Circuit	Five months	Special means	68 conversions including whole families.	-At the recent Quarterly Meeting an increase of 38 members was reported, with 22 on trial. Estimated doubling of	183

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								circuit membership.	
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	31 January-5 February 1886	Semaphore	One week	Invitation ó T. Houston and H. T. Fry	-Several cases of conversion have been recorded	-The attendances at the evening meetings were very large, the aisles and every available space being occupied, and sometimes many people having to go away without being able to gain admission	184
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	14-21 February 1886	Mount Barker	One week	Invitation ó T. Houston and H. T. Fry	-Over thirty declared their intention to be on the Lord's side	Mission preceded by a week of special prayer, and followed up with a week of additional evangelistic services led by circuit personnel.	185
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	21-26 February 1886. 28 February-5 March 1886	Willunga Clarendon	One week One week	Invitation ó T. Houston and H. T. Fry Invitation ó T. Houston and H. T. Fry	-About twenty persons professed to have yielded to Christ 25 conversions	Appreciative attendees gave £8 12s towards Houston's evangelistic mission. -Backsliders were recovered, faithful workers received a rich baptism, and the whole Church was refreshed	186
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	April 1886	Archer Street ó North Adelaide	Two weeks	Special means	20 conversions (4 adults and 16 Children of the Sunday school)	Saturday evening evangelistic service to begin	187
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	March-April 1886	Moonta Mines	Two weeks	Invitation T. Houston and H. T. Fry	-100 have professed to find peace	-Large gatherings have assembled night after night. On the very last night of the mission ó Friday April 9 <sup>th</sup> ó the large chapel at Moonta Mines was filled to overflowing, while numbers were unable to obtain admission	188
South Australian Alliance	Gospel Temperance Mission	R2	3-11 April 1886	YMCA Hall, Adelaide	Eight days	Invitation ó Mrs. Mary C. Leavitt	None reported. Pledges signed.	Capacity attendances at each meeting. WCTU established as a result of her mission.	189
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	12-25 April	Gawler	Two weeks	Invitation ó T.	None reported. -So far as	-Many believing people have	190

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
			1886			Houston	can be gathered the practical results are not very great	been quickened into greater zeal in God's cause.	
Total Abstinence League	Gospel Temperance Mission	R2	16 April-1 May 1886	Adelaide	Two weeks	Invitation of R.T. Booth	-During the mission 1,452 pledges had been taken Additional 100 pledges taken at the Stockade.	-Night after night the Town Hall is well filled, and on each occasion a deep impression is made.	191
Wesleyan	Special evangelistic services	R2	July 1886	Aldgate of Iron Bark	Two weeks	Circuit decision	-Twelve or more persons have decided to abandon the life of self for life in Christ.	-The attendance at the meetings are now large, and great interest is shown by the people of the district.	192
Wesleyan	Eight days mission	R2	August-September 1886	Glenelg	Eight days	Circuit Minister of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	-I cannot give the exact number of those who were added to the Church, but almost every night there was heard the cry of the penitent and the rejoicing of the new-born soul; and some nights there were four or five seekers after God.		193
Wesleyan	Special evangelistic services	R2	September-October 1886	Border Town	Two weeks?	Circuit Minister of the Rev. A. D. Bennett	-About twenty-five persons in all have professed to find peace.	Sunday evening evangelistic service conducted in the Institute.	194
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	October 1886	Wirrabara Circuit of Appila West	Three weeks	Special services	At least eleven joined the church.	Mr. W. Partridge, a young man, assisted in the conduct of the services. He appears to possess peculiar qualifications for such work, the attendance has been large, and God's presence manifested at each meeting.	195
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	17-29 April 1887	Gawler	Twelve days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell of Conference evangelist.	68 conversions of whom 56 are in the 10-20 age bracket (Sunday School scholars).	-Showers of blessing reported. -Many of God's people have been enabled to declare wholly for Christ, and are resolved in His strength to live out and	196

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								outø thoroughly devoted Christian livesø	
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	1-6 May 1887	Templers Circuit	Five days	Invitation ø the Rev. D. OøDonnell ø Conference evangelist	Two conversions		197
Wesleyan, Baptist, Salvation Army	Special revival services	R2	7-13 May 1887	Angaston	Six days	Invitation ø the Rev. D. OøDonnell ø Conference evangelist	One conversion. Twelve believers seek holiness	Young people possess a -dread of being savedø OøDonnell visits them in their homes or at their work-site.	
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	15-27 May 1887	Kapunda and Tarlee	Twelve days	Invitation ø the Rev. D. OøDonnell ø Conference evangelist	Eighty-six conversions (from 112 seekers). This included 40 Sunday school scholars. Nineteen believers seek -full salvationø Nine came out seeking -purity of heartø The cumulative total for seekers of salvation for the first six weeks is 227.	Wesleyans and salvation Army parade through Kapunda and Tarlee. At Kapunda, OøDonnell addresses a crowd of 600 in front of the Army barracks. At Tarlee, OøDonnell addresses 1,000 people in the open-air, -hundreds of whom were young men, who listened to every word with the greatest quietnessø	
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	5-12 June 1887	Clare	Seven days	Invitation ø the Rev. D. OøDonnell ø Conference evangelist	Seventy-five conversions. Sunday 12 <sup>th</sup> June at a service for the young, the following conversions were recorded ø total fifty-one, being: Under ten years ø 17, Ten to fifteen ø 30, Above fifteen ø 4. There were also eleven believers seeking holiness.	The congregations attending the nightly meetings were large.	

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	26 June-1 July 1887	Mintaro	Six days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell of Conference evangelist.	Forty-seven conversions. Twelve believers sought holiness. Four believers sought purity.	The Quarterly Meeting held on 21 September 1887 reported the membership had increased from 93 to 114, with 70 on trial. Furthermore, between forty and fifty of the scholars had been converted during the quarter. A resolution expressing thankfulness to Almighty God for the success attending the Conference Evangelist in his mission at Terowie, and for the extension of the work to other parts of the Circuit, was very heartily agreed to.	
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	2 July-12 July 1887	Terowie	Ten days	The Rev. D. O'Donnell	Fifty-five conversions. Eleven believers seek holiness. Nine believers seek purity of heart. During an overnight visit to Terowie on 17 November 1887, O'Donnell reported that, "We are thankful to God to find that nearly all who gave themselves to the Saviour four months previously are still kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation."		
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	May-June 1887	Clarendon Circuit Kangarilla (May)  Clarendon  Willunga	One month  Two weeks	Meetings conducted by the Rev. C. Tresise.  The Rev. C. Tresise	Sixty-one professed to find the Saviour.  Twenty-six decided for Christ.  Over thirty gave their heart to Christ, and several came for the blessing of perfect love.	The first Bible Christian Conference Evangelist appointed in South Australia was the Rev. C. Tresise. He was appointed at the Bible Christian Conference in February 1887.	198
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	16-29 July 1887	Port Adelaide Circuit of Alberton (one week) and Portland (one	Two weeks	Invitation of The Rev. C. Tresise	Altogether about 20 persons professed conversion during the	The attendance was good, and the meeting gradually increased in interest and	199

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
				week).			fortnight	power	
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	23 July-6 August 1887	Moonta Mines	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell of Conference Evangelist	-The number of seekers who have been dealt with during the fourteen days at Moonta Mines is 130. This includes forty-seven Sunday school scholars: Ten to Fifteen years of 40. Under ten years of 7.	-The total number [seekers] since the Conference Evangelist commenced his labours is 562.	200
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	7-19 August 1887	Kadina	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	-Number of penitents dealt with during the fortnight is 135.	-The gracious influence seemed to deepen and extend each day, so that most of the sister Churches shared in the blessing and participated in the results.	201
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	20-26 August 1887	Maitland	One week	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	-Total number of enquirers who have been dealt with during the week is 63. This includes nineteen Sunday school scholars: Ten to Fifteen years of 16. Under ten years of 3.	The Quarterly Meeting of 6 October 1887 reported that there were 115 full members, with 43 on trial. Reference was made to the Rev. D. O'Donnell's recent visit, and also to the good work that has since taken place at Arthurton, and devout thankfulness was expressed to the great Head of the Church for the soul-saving power that had been experienced.	202
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	28 August-1 September 1887	Port Wakefield Circuit of Port Wakefield and Whitwarta	Five days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	-Total number of persons who had come to the penitent form was about 70. Additional 29 souls brought to Jesus after O'Donnell left. Cumulative total of 827	Mission centred on Whitwarta (16 miles out in the country). Special timber, iron, and canvas tabernacle in the wilderness, capable of seating 250 constructed. The congregation on each occasion exceeded the capacity of the	203

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							penitents.  In 1934, the preparatory work of the then Circuit Minister, the Rev. W.H. Hanton, in the two years before O'Donnell's visit was acknowledged.	structure. The Quarterly Meeting of 28 September 1887 reported there were 130 persons in Church membership, with 93 on trial. The evangelistic services were deemed a great revival which God had graciously given. The December Quarterly Meeting reported an increase of 69 members for the quarter with 21 on trial.	
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	First three weeks of August	Auburn and Watervale	Three weeks	Invitation of the Rev. C. Tresise	~About 30 persons expressed decision for Christ		204
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	10-16 September 1887	Jamestown	Six days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Eight sought holiness. Eleven sinners yielded themselves to God		205
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	18-24 September 1887	Laura	Six days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Thirty one conversions with an additional twelve on the Sunday 25 September after O'Donnell left. Nine sought entire sanctification.	~Members of the Baptist and Primitive Methodist Churches, with their respective ministers, cordially operated in the mission.	206
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	25 September-1 October 1887	Crystal Brook	Six days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Six souls were brought to Jesus during the mission and a further fifteen after the Evangelist left. Eleven sought holiness.	On the Sunday afternoon (25 September 1887) service for young people at which there was an excellent gathering. A spirit of deep seriousness rested upon the assembly, but not one of the scholars would openly surrender to God	207
Wesleyan	~A gracious work	R2	Unknown	Willunga Circuit	Unknown	Visit of the Rev. C. T. Newman (Jubilee Secretary)	~A gracious work, begun in the Willunga Circuit through the visit of the Rev. C. T. Newman, has	This was reported at the Wesleyan Southern District Meeting on 18 October, 1887.	208

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							been going on since with the addition of 60 members as one of the results		
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	8 October-14 October 1887	Melrose including Willowie and Fullerville	Seven days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Thirty-nine found forgiveness of sins.	A class meeting had been established, with 63 meeting in it	209
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	16 October-21 October 1887	Quorn	Six days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Thirty-three souls saved Thirteen sought perfect holiness.	The minister and members of the Bible Christian Church and the officers and soldiers of the Salvation Army rendered us valuable assistance during the mission	210
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	29 October-4 November 1887	Port Pirie including Wandearah	Seven days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Thirty-six penitents in all dealt with Year to date cumulative totals: At these services upwards of one thousand persons have presented themselves publicly as penitent seekers of the Saviour. Of this number, 93 are under ten years of age; 363 are between ten and sixteen years, and 570 are above sixteen years	How many of them have been truly converted is not for us to decide. God knows. How many will reach the goal of eternal bliss, who can tell?	211
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	19 November - 2 December 1887	Broken Hill	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	First week: Eleven conversions. Scores of believers sought holiness. Second week: Unavailable	Statistics of End of 1887 figures. The evangelist had preached during the year 222 sermons, and given 29 other addresses and 63 Bible readings. The spiritual results reported had been gratifying, 1,120 persons having presented themselves as penitents. Of these 613 were over 16 years of age	212



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	Third Quarter 1887	Port Adelaide and Alberton  Gawler  Auburn Circuit  Hallett Circuit ó including a fortnight spent at Mount Bryan in the Kooringa Circuit.	Four weeks  One week  Three weeks  Five weeks	Invitation ó the Rev. C. Tresise	-56 souls have professed to find Christø  -Eight souls came out on the Lordø sideø  -Twenty-four professed to find Christ and many of them were admitted into our Churchesø  -26 souls have come out on the Lordø sideø		213
Bible Christian	Special services	R2	Fourth Quarter 1887	Adelaide  Kapunda Circuit ó Kapunda, Hamilton, Marrabel, Springfield.  Barrier District ó Pinnacles Broken Hill  Silverton	Unknown  Unknown  One week  Two weeks  Two weeks	Invitation ó the Rev. C. Tresise	-A few deeply interesting decisions for Christø  -A few added to the number of the savedø  A few conversions.  Forty sign the Temperance pledge. -Many decisions for Christø	At Broken Hill it was -difficult to get the masses inside the buildingø -Liquor traffic has strong swayø -Together with the Rev. D. OøDonnell and the ministers of the town with a few godly laymen we initiated an open air gospel temperance meetingø  It was reported at the Adelaide February Bible Christian Conference, that 250 persons professed conversion during 1887 as a result of the evangelistø work.	214
Primitive Methodists	Revival	R2 with elements	Third Quarter 1887	Queenstown and New Glenelg Station	At least five weeks	-Increased spirit of prayer and	Unknown. Classes were formed to accommodate	-It may be stated that all the churches in the neighborhood	215

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
		of R3				expectancy indicated an approaching spiritual awakening	the converts.	will be benefited through the good work God hath wrought. A large number of the young men and women, attendants at the Baptist and Wesleyan Churches, are amongst the saved of the Lord	
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	18 February-3 March 1888	Mount Gambier	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Seven believers sought -purity of heart Nineteen conversions in addition to forty four Sunday school scholars who -yielded to the call of the Spirit and professed to find Jesus Ages: From 10 to 16 years to 29. From 7 to 10 years to 15.g	-The afternoon service [Saturday 25 February] for the young was a season of much power and blessing, during which many of the teachers wept for sheer joy of heart A further eight conversions are recorded after O'Donnell departs, as well as the formation of two new classes.	216
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	4-8 March 1888	Kingston	Five days	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	Thirteen -souls won for Jesus	-Upwards of twenty young people had yielded themselves to Jesus following O'Donnell's departure.	217
Wesleyan	Holiness mission	R2	March 1888	Adelaide of Pirie Street	One week	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	-Several believers were enabled to surrender all to Jesus and enter upon the abundant life	-The Spirit of God was present with us at every service, and on two or three occasions the divine influence was almost overwhelming	218
Wesleyan	Special revival services	R2	25-30 March 1888	Silverton (Barrier)	One week	Invitation of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	No conversions recorded. -During the week we again proved the difficulty of getting the people to the house of God except on Sundays. The intense heat is no doubt in part the cause of this	This concluded the appointment of O'Donnell as the Conference evangelist. The year to date statistics are recorded as: -We have conducted missions in 25 localities; have preached 270 times; delivered 50 addresses; conducted 78 Bible-readings; and dealt personally	219

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								with 1,235 penitents	
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	7-20 April 1888	Aldinga of Willunga Circuit	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew of Conference evangelist	Many believed and turned unto the Lord. Sunday School scholars signified their intention to turn to Jesus.	The second week of services were crowned with rich blessing. The whole district was moved, and the people came in crowds from far and near. The concluding services on Thursday and Friday were times of great power, and those slain of the Lord were many. The front forms were crowded with penitents seeking salvation, and the old members testified, saying, "We never saw it on this fashion."	220
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	22-27 April 1888	McLaren Vale of Willunga Circuit	One week	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Night by night there were added to the Lord such as were being saved.	Large numbers of people attended the services, until at last the communion rail was invaded, and people sat in the pulpit.	221
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	29 April-10 May 1888	Yankalilla Circuit of Harcourt, Cornhill, Glenburn, Finnis Vale, Yankalilla.	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Thirty-six professed to give themselves to the Saviour.	The higher Christian life was the topic almost throughout. If the stirring up of the Church is the only result it will prove of great importance.	222
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	May-June 1888	Mount Barker Circuit of Mount Barker, Macclesfield, Echunga	Three weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	At Echunga, about thirty persons decided for Christ. At the other places the fruit of the mission is seen in a revived Church and several additions to the classes.	At Echunga, the whole neighborhood became interested.	223
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	June 1888	Magill	Two weeks (Does not include a week of preparation before and a	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Night after night trophies were one for Jesus. God's people have been richly blessed, and our joy has been great to see so many		224

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
					week after.)		accepting Christ		
Wesleyan	Revival services	R2	June 1888	Walleroo	Two weeks	Conducted by the Rev. D. O'Donnell, Circuit Minister	Twenty-two cases of conversion were recorded	Some members were enabled to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus	225
Wesleyan	Revival services	R2	June-July 1888	Archer Street, North Adelaide	Three weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Numbers of young people have given their hearts to God	Noon day prayer meetings and street bands employed.	226
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1888	Willowie Chas Martin of Bible Christian Minister	Four weeks	Some conversions followed by special services.	About forty persons, mostly adults professed to find Christ. Includes seven Sunday school scholars.	Junior Members Class formed. A theological class is being formed.  Over a year later it was reported that the results of the revival have been well conserved; not a single case of unfaithfulness being reported among the new converts, and sufficient has been added to make up for removals.	227
Wesleyan, Congregational, Primitive Methodist, Bible Christian,	Combined revival services	R2	July 1888	Walleroo Mines	Four weeks	Combined action of Protestant churches	The total number of seekers is upwards of 90, most of whom are now enrolled in Church fellowship.	All ministers took an active part. Combined operations to commence in Kadina.	228
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	12-24 August 1888	Quorn Circuit	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	More than 40 persons sought and found the Saviour Two or three consecration services for members of the Church were blessed of God in deepening spiritual life	United service held on 24 August. Bible Christian and Salvation Army rendered valuable assistance. Weekly united evangelistic services to continue.	229
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	August-September 1888	Hawker Circuit	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Conversion of the unconverted and quickening of church	Appeals for full consecration to God. Evangelistic services continue at Arkaba.	230

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							membersø reported.		
Wesleyan	Mission ø Conference Evangelist	R2	31 September-13 October 1888	Yarrowie ø Laura Circuit	Two weeks	Invitation ø the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Twenty ødecided for Christø in addition to a number of older Sunday School scholars.		231
Wesleyan	Mission ø Conference Evangelist	R2	14-25 October 1888	Yacka and Koolunga	Two weeks	Invitation ø the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	øMany professed to give themselves to Christ, members of the Church were revivedø	øLarge congregations assembles night after night to hear the wordø	232
Wesleyan	Mission ø Conference Evangelist	R2	17 February-11 March 1889	Southern Yorke Peninsula	Three weeks	Invitation ø the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Warooka: øThe unconverted were eager for the truth, and yielded themselves to Christ in such numbers that even our good Father Bawden said, øI have never seen anything like it beforeøø	S.A. Wesleyan Methodist Conference appointed the Rev. G. W. Kendrew as Conference Evangelist for another year. Edithburgh: In addition to the revival of spiritual life in the hearts of the members of the Church, a large number of people made a public confession of faith in Christ as their Saviourø	233
Wesleyan	Mission ø Conference Evangelist	R2	March-April 1889	Pirie Street Circuit	Four weeks	Invitation ø the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Some conversions recorded. At Draper Memorial Church ø 100 young men and women ømade a confession for Christø	Young Peopleøø weekly service to be held at Draper Memorial on Fridays in order to support the commitments made.	234
Wesleyan	Mission ø Conference Evangelist	R2	24 May-8 June 1889	Port Wakefield, Port Pirie, Wandearah West, Redhill, Mundoora.	Two weeks	Invitation ø the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	Some ødecisions for Christø recorded at each location.	At Redhill øa number of young people decided to give themselves to God, and are willing to meet in a young peopleøø classø	235
Wesleyan	Mission ø Conference Evangelist	R2	23 June-5 July 1889	Laura	Two weeks	Invitation ø the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	øDuring the mission ten or twelve adults were led to trust in Christ. Others are under conviction and still seekingø	øOn the Friday night [5 July] the powerful influence in the church was almost overwhelming. The presence of the Holy Spirit was most	236

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								manifest, and the prevailing feeling was "How awful is this place!"	
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	August 1889	Melrose, Fullerville, Willowie, Wilmington, Amyton.	Three weeks	Invitation of the Rev G. W. Kendrew	At each place there were "decisions for Christ"	At Wilmington, the "church has become a centre of influence and power, and conversions still take place at our ordinary services"	237
Wesleyan	Mission of Conference Evangelist	R2	28 July-8 August 1889	Johnsburgh	Ten days	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew	"The Church has been quickened and many souls saved through these special services"		238
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	July-October 1889	Moonta	Three months	Sunday morning prayer meeting of 21 July 1889	Fifty conversions with an additional thirty-five during ordinary week evening services and class meetings.	"Some of the other churches are being beneficially affected by the movement, which promises to extend"	239
Wesleyan	Spiritual quickening	R2	September 1889	Archer and Melbourne Street Churches, North Adelaide.	Two weeks	Invitation of the Rev. G. W. Kendrew. Special prayer services	"Many sinners have been saved"	"Young Christians Band led by two or three preachers has done good work"	240
Primitive Methodist, Wesleyan	"Gracious Visitation of the Holy Spirit"	R2	Third Quarter 1889	Callington	Unknown	Unknown	"Both sections have been quickened, and we believe good work has been done"	"Primitive and Wesleyan Methodists united in efforts to gather in the fruits of labors of past preachers and teachers"	241
Bible Christian	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1889	Balaklava Circuit of Halbury and Hall.  Mount Torrens Circuit of Cudlee Creek	Unknown  Unknown	Special evangelistic services  Special services	Halbury: Forty conversions. Hall: "Nearly all the young people in the small congregations have accepted Christ. Some fifteen or sixteen have joined the Church"  Thirty conversions		242

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
				Chain of Ponds	Unknown	Special services	-Several gave themselves to Christø		
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	January 1890	Angaston Circuit	Unknown	Unknown	-Altogether about 60 have given their hearts to the Saviourø	-There has been a gracious revival among the children in this circuit, especially at Greenockø Several new classes have been formedø	243
Bible Christian	Evangelistic Mission	R2	June-July 1890	Goodwood Circuit	One week	Debt reduction	Twelve conversions ø nine joined the Church	Four hundred and fifty leaflets delivered to homes by YMCA members, announcing the weekø services.	244
Bible Christian & Temperance Groups	Temperance and Evangelistic Mission	R2	17 August-9 October 1890	Adelaide and selected country towns	Seven weeks	Invitation ø Mr. Richard Coad (Temperance Advocate and Evangelist)	-One hundred souls added to the Churchesø	Converts only reported from two missions ø one of five days (Adelaide), and the other of four days (Goodwood).	245
Bible Christian	Revival	Most likely R3	Third Quarter 1890	Yankalilla Circuit ø Inman Valley and Myponga Flat	The start of the revival is attributed to a band of young men was formed to take services.	Unknown	-Upwards of ninety have openly declared themselves to be on the side of Christø	The revival which took place at the Inman Valley Bible Christian Church was considered to be a -great revivalø Mr. H.J. Dennis (later local preacher and Superintendent of the Sunday school).	246
Bible Christian	Revival services ø Lady Evangelists	R2	Third Quarter 1891	Bowden Circuit  Mount Lofty Circuit	Possibly two weeks.  Unknown	Invitation ø Misses Nesbit and Green	-Over thirty conversions and times of refreshing to allø  -Upwards of a hundred persons professed conversionø	Age of those converted ranged from 14 to 70 years of age. Conversions took place in chapels, houses, and gardens.	247
Bible Christian	Revival services ø Lady Evangelists	R2	Fourth Quarter 1891	Snowtown Crystal Brook Ororoo Port Pirie	Lady Evangelists spent time at each place.	Invitation ø Misses Nesbit and Green	Snowtown ø Twenty conversions. Crystal Brook ø -Considerable number of conversionsø	The conversions noted for Port Pirie were not attributed specifically to Nesbit and Green. As Port Pirie is in the vicinity of the other towns	248

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							Orroroo ó Sixteen conversions. Morchard ó -Some seven or eight have decided for Christ Port Pirie ó Forty conversions.	mentioned, it is likely that the evangelists were present, as part of a Gospel Mission to the area.	
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelists	R2	March 1892	Yankalilla	One week	Invitation ó Misses Nesbit and Green	-The Lord gathered twenty two souls into His fold	-Amongst whom were two young men for whose salvation all God's people were particularly thankful, and all present rejoiced greatly when they witnessed their conversion , as they had gone deeply into sin	249
Wesleyan and Baptist	Revival	R2	May-June 1892	Petersburgh. At Yongala the Primitive Methodists united with the Salvation Army and Wesleyans for special services.	Six weeks	-A desire for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit	Week One: -Souls were converted each evening Weeks Two and Three ó Not reported. Later it was stated that over forty persons had -signed the desire to join the Wesleyan Methodists.	Special means included: Singing and preaching band went out before each service. Invitations to attend services issued by the band. Joined with the Baptists in week two. <i>Petersburg Times</i> reported on the Sunday 1 May sermon of the Wesleyan Minister, the Rev W. A. Langsford as, -Plain speaking from the Pulpit	250
Bible Christian	Revival services ó lady Evangelists	R2	April-May 1892	Port Augusta Circuit and Orroroo	April-May 1892	Invitation ó Misses Nesbit and Green	Port Augusta ó Eighty-five conversions. Orroroo ó Thirty conversions.		251
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelist	R2	June 1892	Port Pirie	Two weeks	Invitation ó Miss McLennan	Not recorded. -Miss McLennan's fortnight's mission has been greatly blessed at Port Pirie	-Our work at Port Pirie demands now a local habitation of its own	252
Wesleyan	Revival ó Evangelistic work conducted by the	R2	April-June 1892	Pirie Street Circuit ó Draper Memorial,	Three months	Evangelistic work	The result was an ingathering of nearly 400	Christian Endeavour Society formed at Thebarton.	253



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
	Revs. J.R. Bradbury (Circuit Minister) and D. O'Donnell (from Victoria).			Pirie Street, Thebarton, Fulham, and Plympton.			persons, 50 per cent adults. The largest number at Draper Memorial. This includes forty who gave their hearts to God at Thebarton.		
Wesleyan	Special evangelistic services	R2	June-July 1892	Terowie Circuit - Franklyn	Six weeks	Special services	Between forty and fifty have decided for Christ.		254
Wesleyan	Convention of Deepening of Spiritual Life	R2	June-July 1892	Pirie Street, Glenelg, Unley, Parkside, Archer Street, Kent Town	Three weeks	Invitation of the Rev. J. Watsford	Many believers were led to seek a closer walk with God. A considerable number of persons sought and found God's pardoning grace.	Editorial Comment: C.W. & M.J., 22 July 1892. During missions the conversion of sinners is the primary end in view, and it is hoped believers may also be quickened and revived; but in this instance the order was reversed.	255
Wesleyan	Special mission services	R2	June-July 1892	Hawker	Six weeks	A number of individual conversions.	Fourteen decided for Christ.		256
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	August 1892	Maitland	One week	Circuit decision	Twenty-four conversions plus an additional four at services following.		257
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	August 1892	Quorn	Two weeks	Circuit decision	Many believers have been blessedly quickened, and some good cases of conversion have been witnessed.	Christian Endeavour Society (commenced three months ago) to continue work amongst the young people.	258
Bible Christian	Revival services of Lady Evangelists	R2	July-August 1892	Condownie, Saltlake, Snowtown, Wiltunga, Cameron, Port Broughton, Wokurna East	Five weeks	Invitation of Misses McLennan and Angell	Forty-four converts	At Wokurna East a Sunday School has been started. Christian Endeavour Society started in Wardø Hill.	259
Bible Christian	Revival services of Lady Evangelists	R2	Third Quarter 1892	Port Elliot Circuit	Unknown	Invitation of Miss Catchlove	Thirty souls converted.	The expansion of the denominational area must come by these means.	260
Wesleyan	Special mission services	R2	August 1892	Parkside	Ten days	Circuit decision	Souls have been converted	Assistance also given by	261

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
						ó conducted by the minister and local preachers	and Christians quickened	YMCA members and the Rev G. W. Kendrew	
Wesleyan	Special mission services	R2	30 October-9 November 1892	Edithburgh	Ten days	Relieved the Rev. J Blacket for two weeks rest.	Forty souls converted		262
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelist	R2	November 1892	Carrieton Circuit	Three weeks	Invitation ó Miss McLennan	-Nearly thirty conversions -Several found Christ before our mission commenced, and two have come to Jesus since Miss McLennan left	-We have had a blessed revival -A tidal wave of salvation has come in our circuit, and we are expecting to see the work go on	263
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelist	R2	April-May 1893	Yankalilla Circuit	Five weeks	Invitation ó Miss Catchlove	Myponga ó -salvation of many souls Inman Valley ó -a few were added to the church Yankalilla ó -A few came to life Dairy Flat ó -Several found Christ, and more in their homes	Myponga ó -The öfireö has been burning at Myponga for the last three years Inman Valley ó Increased attendance at the Christian Endeavour Society meetings. Formation of a -large adult Bible class	264
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelists	R2	June 1893 June 1893 June 1893 9-13 July 1893	Broken Hill Kadina Circuit ó Willamulka Port Adelaide Circuit ó Glanville, Alberton, Portland. Mount Torrens Circuit ó Zion Chapel, Chain	Unknown Four weeks Four weeks Five days	Invitation ó Miss H. McLennan. Invitation ó Miss Agnes McLennan. Invitation ó Miss Catchlove Invitation ó Miss Catchlove	-Souls are being saved  -Some twenty-two persons decided for Christ  Converts at each location. Some were young people. Numbers not stated.  -A number stood up for Jesus	-House to house visitation -Open air meetings -Large crowds in the streets  -We expect welcome recruits to the ranks of our ministry, of our evangelists, and of our volunteer forces for China  Christian Endeavour Societies formed at each location.  Christian Endeavour Society formed.	265

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
				of Ponds.					
Bible Christian	Revival Services ó Lady Evangelists	R2	July-August 1893	Balaclava Circuit ó Balaclava, Halbury, Inkerman	Five weeks	Invitation ó Misses Agnes McLennan and Catchlove	Balaclava ó Twenty conversions. Halbury ó Twenty conversions. Christian Endeavour Society (CE) formed. Inkerman ó -A few capital cases of conversion obtained CE Society revived.	-The spiritual life of the members was deepened, and the influences of the revival widely extended	266
Wesleyan	Revival	R2	August 1893	Quorn Circuit ó Arden Vale, Booleunda, Willochra.	A few weeks	Special services	Sixteen conversions.	At Arden Vale, -a Christian Endeavour Society was started to retain the converts	267
Wesleyan	Evangelistic Mission	R2	August-September 1893	Prospect and Walkerville district	Four weeks	United mission services held for three weeks prior to the Wesleyan initiative.	-A large increase of members has resulted in all the Churches under the charge of these ministers	-The Prospect Wesleyan Church has received a large addition of young men, whilst at Walkerville, Mr. Moulard has started an afternoon weekly class of adults as an indirect result of the services	268
Wesleyan	-Showers of Blessing	R2	August-September 1893	Reynella	Unknown	-Prayers of God's people	-In nearly every household some have decided for Christ, and in one instance the whole family are now on the Lord's side	Formation of a Christian Endeavour Society.	269
Wesleyan	-Reaping ó Harvest of Souls	R2 or R3	August-September 1893	Hawker Circuit	Two months	Invitation ó Misses Green and Nesbit	-Harvest of souls Rev. H. Wilkinson reported at the South Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference on 28 February 1894 that the following conversions occurred: Uroonda ó 70. Hawker ó 12. Arkaba ó 25.	Wesleyan Hawker Circuit Quarterly Meeting of 29 September 1893 reported seventy three on trial. Later (December), it was reported that -130 have been received into church fellowship	270

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							Wilson ó 30. -They had received nearly 100 young persons into Church membership, and there were more to followø		
Wesleyan	Revivals	R2 or R3	1893	Several circuits in the Northern District	Unknown	Unknown	No details given	Reported as part of editorial in the Wesleyan Church serial.	271
Primitive Methodist	Evangelistic services	R2	Third Quarter 1893	Mount Barker Circuit	Unknown	Circuit decision	-No less than forty-two precious souls have professed to find peaceø	Quarterly Meeting of 5 September 1893 reported a -net increase of thirty membersø	72
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelist	R2	November 1893	Willunga Circuit	Four weeks	Invitation ó Miss Catchlove	-While we had gracious seasons, only a few could be prevailed with to take up the cross and decide for Christø		273
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelist	R2	Fourth Quarter 1893	Kulpara Circuit - Wiltunga	Four weeks	Invitation ó Miss Vierk	-A few conversionsø		274
Bible Christian	Evangelistic services	R2	January 1894	Happy Valley Reservoir	Unknown ó a number of visits	Christian Endeavourers from the Goodwood Circuit	-Some twenty persons were brought to Christø	Open-air services held to attract men working on the dam-site.	275
Wesleyan	-Showers of Blessingø ó Lady Evangelists	R2	1 April-20 April 1894	Mount Barker Circuit ó Mount Barker and Echunga	Three weeks	Invitation ó Misses Green and Nesbit	-About thirty-two decided for Christø	South Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference held in February 1894 approved the use of Lady Evangelists.	276
Wesleyan	Revival services ó Lady Evangelists	R2	May 1894	Gumeracha Circuit	Ten days	Invitation ó Misses Green and Nesbit	-About fifty were reconciled to Godø	-Many were connected with the Baptist Churchø	277
Bible Christian	Revival services ó Lady Evangelist	R2	May 1894	Broken Hill Circuit ó South Broken Hill and Cockburn	Four weeks	Invitation ó Miss Catchlove	-Over thirty have decided for Christø	The Rev. William T. Shapely reported a total of fifty conversions since he arrived in April.	278
Bible Christian	Ordinary services	R3	April-May 1894	Bowden	Ordinary services	Circuit Minister ó the Rev. C. E.	-Over forty conversions have been witnessed in the	Christian Endeavour Society formed.	279

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
						Schafer	past few weeks		
Wesleyan	Revival services of Lady Evangelists	R2	March-15 June 1894	Port Wakefield Circuit of seven out of ten places visited.	Thirteen weeks	Invitation of Misses H. and A. McLennan	-Between seventy and eighty persons have professed conversions	-Seven Christian Endeavour Societies have been formed	280
Wesleyan	Revival services of Lady Evangelists	R2	May-June 1894	Johnsburgh Circuit	Four weeks	Invitation of Misses Green and Nesbit	-Over fifty having professed to have found the Saviour	Christian Endeavour Societies started at Peak Vale and Coomooroo.	281
Wesleyan	Evangelistic services	R2	11-23 April 1894 28 April-3 May 1894 9-18 May 1894 20-25 May 1894 27-31 May 1894 3-12 June 1894 16-25 June 1894	Pirie Street (11-23 April) Kent Town Moonta Kadina Kooringa Port Pirie Broken Hill	Ten days Six days Six days Six days Six days Ten days Nine days	Invitation of the Rev. Thomas Cook	460 converts 390 converts 278 converts. The Wesleyan Minister at Moonta Mines, the Rev. A. P. Burgess reported 789 conversions. C.W. & M.J. 6 July 1894, 6. 159 converts 160 converts 330 converts 260 converts Mr. H.G. Hawkins was converted at Port Pirie when 16 years old. He later became a prominent member of the Methodist Church, lay preacher, and	The terminologies "converts" and "entered the enquiry room" are both used in the reporting. "Convert" is used as this was the term used by Cook on his departure. See <i>South Australian Register</i> , 28 June 1894, 7. Total conversions reported are 2307. Broken Hill Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting of 28 December 1894 reported membership of 303 of increase of 66 for the Quarter. Port Pirie Quarterly Meeting of December 1894 reported a membership of 206, with 166 on trial. Pirie Street Quarterly Meeting of 2 January 1895 reported a membership of 740 with 100 on trial.	282

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							MLC 1933-39.		
YMCA	Evangelistic mission	R2	31 May-August 1894	Adelaide and suburbs	Nine weeks	Invitation of the Rev. John MacNeil. Evangelist for the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.	Limited information. Wesleyans recorded a total of 175 at missions conducted at Payneham (55) and Norwood (120) in July-August 1894	MacNeil convened a Convention for the deepening of the spiritual life from 18-22 June 1894.	283
Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission	R2	July-August 1894	Unley Circuit	Three weeks	Local preachers and Circuit minister	Fifty converts	Decided to form a Christian Endeavour Society	284
Bible Christian	Revival services of Lady Evangelist	R2	July-August 1894	Clarendon and Willunga	Few weeks	Invitation of Miss Ashendon	About 22 persons confessed to have been converted	A considerable number will join the Wesleyan Church	285
Bible Christian and Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission of Rodney (Gipsy) Smith	R2	27 May-29 June 1894	Franklin Street Bible Christian Church and Archer Street Wesleyan Church.	Four weeks	Invitation of Rodney (Gipsy) Smith	Four hundred and sixty persons passed through the enquiry rooms		286
Wesleyan	Evangelistic work of Lady Evangelists	R2	May-December 1894	Northern Tour of South Australia	Eight months	Invitation of Misses Green and Nesbit	Total reported number of conversions cited is 409. This includes probably the figures at References 276 (32 converts), 277 (50), 281 (50).	Locations visited with conversions included: Laura Circuit (35). Redhill (45). Munderah (9). Clare Circuit (45 adults and 35 children). Kapunda and District (56). Terowie (only a few cases of conversion).	287
Wesleyan	Revival	R2 or R3	1894	Yankalilla	Unknown	Unknown	The greatest revival in the history of the Circuit took place during the ministry of the Rev. C. Tresise.		288
Wesleyan	Evangelistic work of Lady Evangelists	R2	26-31 May 1895	Jamestown	One week	Invitation of Misses Green and Nesbit	Many new converts testified to their acceptance of the Saviour	Quickening grace received during the mission	289
Bible Christian	Revival services of Lady	R2	August 1895	Mount Lofty Circuit	Unknown	Invitation of	We have had several	After Miss Catchlove left the	290

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
	Evangelist					Miss Catchlove	conversions in many of the places in the circuit. Forest Road and Piccadilly are wonderfully revived	circuit the minister and local men carried on special services with pleasing results	
Bible Christian	Revival services of Lady Evangelist	R2	September 1895	Wirrabara Circuit	Seven weeks	Invitation of Miss Catchlove	Over 100 have professed conversion in the circuit	Strong Endeavour Societies have been already formed at Wirrabara, Murray Town, and Booleroo Centre, and we are hoping to start one also at Pekina	291
Bible Christian	Revival services of Lady Evangelist	R2	October 1895	Goodwood Circuit	Four weeks	Invitation of Miss Catchlove	About 60 conversions.	Means for follow up include a new Endeavour Society at Sturt, and attaching young people to existing societies.	292
Bible Christian	Evangelistic services of Lady Evangelist	R2	April-May 1896	Crystal Brook Circuit	Six weeks	Invitation of Miss Catchlove	Goodly number of unbelievers joined the ranks of the redeemed	Miss Ashenden held a mission in the Willunga and Kulpara Circuits.	293
			June-July 1896	Yankalilla Circuit	Six weeks	Miss Catchlove	At each place [Yankalilla, Inman Valley, Dairy Flat, and Parkfield], there were decisions for Christ		
			July-August 1896	Port Augusta	Four weeks	Miss Catchlove	Several were saved and all were blessed		
			August 1896	Port Germein	One week	Miss Catchlove	Sixteen converts	Christian Endeavour Society formed	
			September-October 1896	Kadina Circuit	Four weeks	Miss Catchlove	Thirteen converts		
Bible Christian	Evangelistic services of Lady Evangelist	R2	January 1897	Port Germein Circuit - Baroota	One week	Invitation of Miss Catchlove	Twenty conversions	Christian Endeavour Society formed	294
Bible Christian	Evangelistic services of Lady Evangelist	R2	July 1897	Goodwood Circuit	Three weeks	Invitation of Miss Ashenden	Twenty conversions in addition to some Sunday		295

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
			August 1897	Snowtown Circuit	Two weeks	Miss Ashenden	school scholars. Nine conversions	Christian Endeavor Society formed.	
United Methodist Church	Special evangelistic services	R2	June-July 1899	Auburn	Two weeks	Circuit preachers and Miss Ellis (Angas College).	≈About thirty young people have decided for Christ		296
Wesleyan	Mission services	R2	July 1899	Coromandel Valley	Two weeks	Missioners of Mr. R. Barrett and sons (2), and the Rev. G. Hall.	≈There have been many cases of conversion		297
Wesleyan	≈Work of God prospers	R2	July 1899	Broken Hill	Unknown	Circuit resources	Silverton (21 July) of four conversions. Sulphide Street (16 July) of several sought salvation On 23 July of four adults came forward as seekers.	≈The workers are encouraged, and all are hoping and praying for a still greater outpouring of the spirit	298
Wesleyan	Home mission services  Ordinary service	R2	July 1899  30 July 1899	Strathalbyn Circuit of Queen's Own Church (Lower Finnis).  Strathalbyn Circuit of Sandergrove.	Three days  Afternoon Service	Circuit Minister of the Rev. A. D. Bennett  The Rev. Bennett	Fifteen conversions. For the last thirty years the membership has stood at four.  ≈Seven persons yielded themselves to God. No prior members of weakest place in the Strathalbyn Circuit	≈There are signs of the Holy Spirit's workings in other places  ≈The work is quiet and without excitement	299  300
Wesleyan	Revival services	R2	July 1899	Melbourne Street of North Adelaide	Unknown	Led by Missionary Students of Angas College	≈Many have come forward desiring to follow Christ	≈The power of the Holy Spirit has been greatly manifested	301
Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission	R2	July 1899	Coromandel Valley	Unknown	Invitation to conduct mission.	Fifty conversions	Christian Endeavor Society formed. Societies at Blackwood and Cherry	302



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								Gardens strengthened.	
Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission	R2	July 1899	Auburn Circuit ó Auburn and Watervale	Four weeks	Invitation ó Misses Ellis and Robertson ó Angas College	About fifty conversions	“This is the best óshaking upó that Watervale has had for years, and will result we are sure in an improved condition in the Church thereó	303
Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission	R2	10-17 August 1899	Ardrossan Circuit	One week	Invitation ó Mr. J. Delehanty and Sister G. E. Kemp	Twenty-six conversions	For several weeks prior to the mission, “a gracious influence of Godó’s Holy Spirit has rested upon the peopleó	304
Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission	R2	6-11 August	Lake Wangary	One week	Conducted by the Rev. F. Davis and the Rev. Fletcher	“Nine young convertsó	“Christian Endeavor Society formedó	305
YMCA	Evangelistic mission	R2	August-September and November 1899.	Adelaide, Petersburg, Broken Hill, Port Adelaide, Gawler.	Five weeks	Invitation ó the Rev. C H. Yatman	Figures for the Adelaide Mission ó 926 covenant-cards signed. Gawler ó 150 cards. This represents one-quarter of the total Australian figure.	18 August-4 September 1899 (Adelaide). 5-6 September (Petersburgh and Broken Hill). 10-20 November 1899 (Port Adelaide and Gawler).	306
Wesleyan	Gospel mission	R2	August-September 1899	Clarendon	Three weeks	Circuit resources	Fifty conversions		307
Wesleyan	Special services	R2	Third Quarter 1899	Port Lincoln	Unknown	Circuit decision	“An increase of twenty-nine new members was reportedó Over six months the figure was forty-six.	Reported at Port Lincoln Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting of 21 September 1899.	308
Wesleyan	Evangelistic mission ó Barrett Brothers (S.R. & J.W. Barrett)	R2	Third Quarter 1899	Clarendon	Unknown	Circuit decision	Mission conducted by the Barrett Brothers resulted in “many conversionsó	Also resulted in a “deepening of interest in the institutions of the churchó	309
Methodist	Religious Awakening - Revival	R2	22 July-6 August 1900	Parkside	Two weeks	Special services	“Altogether upward of 70 or 80 have given themselves to Godó		310
Methodist	Evangelistic Services	R2	Third Quarter 1900	Walleroo Mines	Six weeks	Special services	“A dozen unbelievers joined the ranks of the redeemedó		311

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission of Barrett Brothers	R2	June or July 1901	Minlanton	Unknown	Special services	Up to thirty-five converts		312
Methodist	Revival	R2	November 1901	Quorn Circuit - Willochra	One week of preceded by a spirit of enquiry	Special services	Ten persons decided for Christ, ranging from 16 years of age to 60		313
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission of Barrett Brothers	R2	March 1902	Yacka	One week	Evangelistic services	Twenty young men and women decided for Christ	Fifty Sunday school scholars desirous of becoming Christians.	314
Non-Denominational	Simultaneous Mission of W.E. Geil (American Evangelist)	R2	8-20 June 1902	Adelaide and Port Adelaide	Two weeks	Invitation from Combined Organising Committee	A meeting of converts at the Pirie Street Methodist Church on 30 June 1902, was attended by a large congregation, composed mainly of those who had professed conversion	A number of ministers representing various churches agreed to commence weekly united evangelistic services after church hours on Sundays.	315
Methodist	A gracious work	R2	June-July 1902	Port Adelaide	Unknown	Work among Sunday school scholars	A large number have yielded themselves to Christ	Twenty-nine, mainly elder scholars of the Sunday School admitted into membership. Similar work was reported at Unley (twenty-three new members), and Woodville (thirteen).	316
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Barrett Brothers	R2	July 1902	Port Pirie Circuit - Wandearah	Two weeks	Evangelistic Services	Thirty-seven have yielded themselves to Christ		317
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Barrett Brothers	R2	April-May 1902	Auburn and Mintaro	Auburn of Three weeks. Mintaro of Two weeks	Evangelistic Services	Auburn of Fifty-seven young people professed conversion to Christ. Mintaro of Thirty-three were won for Christ	Conversions continued after the mission closed. Twenty-seven were recorded up to August 1902.	318
United Services (Methodist and Baptist)	Simultaneous mission	R2	August 1902	Gumeracha	Two weeks. Two months of preparation.	Special services	At least seventy persons professed conversion.		319
United Services (Methodist, Presbyterian,	Revival	R2	August-September 1902.	Mount Gambier	Two weeks. Weeks of preparation	Mission services	On every evening there were decisions for Christ	The deepest interest was manifested throughout the neighbourhood. A great	320

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Baptist, Salvation Army).					beforehand.			religious awakening has taken place	
Methodist	Gospel mission	R2	October 1902	Melbourne Street, North Adelaide	Three weeks	Mission services	-Between 80 and 90 souls won for the Master	Conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Clark from India	321
Methodist	-A powerful work of divine grace	R2	May 1903	Moonta Circuit	One month	Regular Sunday evening services	-An ingathering of over forty souls, while scores are under deep conviction	-The Christian Endeavor Society at Moonta Mines is increasing in numbers and enthusiasm, while at other places they are being formed	322
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	July 1903	Broken Hill	Two weeks	Invitation	-Forty or fifty decision cards were brought in for signature before the missionary left		323
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	11-19 July 1903	Willunga	One week	Invitation	About 30 Sunday Scholars scholars (ranging from ten to twenty, -openly avowed themselves soldiers of the King	Additional conversions took place during the mission.	324
Methodist	Mission services	R2	March 1904	Clare Circuit - Stanley	About one to two weeks	Mission services followed the Sunday School Anniversary	Seventeen converts	-Stanley is only a small place, but at present is the centre of great religious life and activity. Its influence is widening, the circle is extending to other parts of the circuit	325
Methodist Baptist Anglican	Evangelistic mission of the Rev. W. Lockhart Morton (Presbyterian)	R2	August 1904	Yorke town	Three weeks	Invitation	-Between thirty and forty persons resolved to follow Christ		326
Methodist	Revival of This was probably the United Mission at Burra in August 1904 in which the Protestant Churches took part.	R2 or R3	1904	Redruth of Two meetings. Meetings were also held in the Salvation Army Barracks and Methodist Church at Koorunga.	Two to four weeks	Inter-church decision	At least twelve converts. A larger number offered themselves -for a fuller consecration to the work of soul saving James Allen was converted during the Willunga Revival of 1851, and became a Probationer for	Of the Circuit Minister, the Rev. James Allen it was reported, -the memory of his saintly, seraphic face, as he moved among the still worshippers in the Redruth Revival of 1904, seeking out those who might, in his judgment, need friendly	327

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							the Wesleyan Methodist ministry in 1862. He died in 1905.	counsel, will not be soon forgotten by his fellow-labourers	
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission of the Revs. W.F. James and C.E. Williams	R2	August 1905	Yankalilla and Normanville	Two weeks	Circuit decision	Twenty-two persons decided for Christ Eighteen admitted on trial.	The Church was quickened, and sinners were won for Christ. House-to-house visitation and special prayer meetings formed a good preface	328
Methodist	Revival	R2 or R3	August to October 1905	Kooringa	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown. There was no report in the <i>Australian Christian Commonwealth</i> of this revival.	A great revival was reported in the Kooringa Methodist Church on 1 September 1905. In late October 1905, revival services were held	329
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	April 1906	Goodwood	Ten days	Invitation	A large number (scores) of conversions	A manifest deepening of spiritual life	330
Methodist	Revival	R3	Unknown	Circuit in which the Rev. T.B. Angwin appointed	Unknown	A drunkard's rescue	Unknown	Incidents surrounding a drunkard's rescue led to a revival.	331
Methodist	Evangelistic services of Messrs. Forsyth (Hope Lodge Missionary College) and Willason	R2	October 1906  April-June 1907	Ardrossan Circuit  Ardrossan Circuit	Two weeks  Eleven weeks	Invitation  Invitation	Twenty-six young people decided  Professed conversions Dowlingville of 14 Petersville of 3 Pine Point of 28 Sandilands of 5 Clinton Centre of 17 Ardrossan of 13 Total of 80. At the Quarterly Meeting of 10 July 1907, it was reported that the circuit membership had increased by eighty.	A quickening and increase to the church resulted. Unity amongst Christians in attending services.  There are now five Endeavour Societies of before there was only one. A Sunday School has been started in one Church as the result of renewed activity. Racing, gambling, drinking, dancing, and other vices have been left behind, and those who followed them are now worshippers with us	332

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Evangelistic services ó Messrs. Forsyth and Mursell	R2	November 1906	Maitland Circuit	≈A brief evangelistic missionø	Invitation	Urania ó 30 converts Port Victoria ó 6. Maitland ó 30. Sunny Vale ó 1. Nine other conversions. Total ó 76 conversions.		333
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	28 March-17 April 1907	Lucindale Circuit	Three weeks	Invitation	≈About 30 decisions for Christ were takenø		334
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	18-28 April 1907	Naracoorte	Ten days	Invitation	≈The number of open decisions was thirty-sevenø	≈A visible deepening of the spiritual life, and a fixed desire on the part of many to share in the joy of soul-winningø	335
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Messrs Cuttriss and Millar (Hope Lodge)	R2	May 1907	Meadows	Unknown	Invitation	≈Seventeen souls, nearly all adults, have decided for Christø	≈Many others are under very deep conviction of sin. A deepened spiritual life has also been experienced in our churchesø	336
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. G.H. Cole (Melbourne Central Methodist Mission ó Boyøø Farm)	R2	May 1907	West Adelaide Church	One week	Invitation	≈Between thirty and forty professed conversionsø		337
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	April-May 1907	Millicent Circuit ó Lucindale, Naracoorte Millicent.	Three weeks	Invitation	≈Numerical increases to the kingdom; 27 adults and 13 children and others are ready to be brought inø	≈A genuinely revived Church, as seen in: Healing of old quarrels. Sense of personal responsibility for Christian service. Increased mutual affectionø	338
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Miss Ada Ward	R2	26 May-3 June 1907	Adelaide ó Pirie Street Methodist Church (26 May - 2 June) Jubilee Exhibition Building ó 3 June	One week	Invitation	Few conversions.	Pirie Street Church was full every night. On Sunday 2 June, the Church was crowded an hour before the meeting commenced.	339
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. G.H. Cole	R2	18 May-30 May 1907	Port Adelaide	Twelve days	Invitation	≈Some 25 professed conversion, besides the	≈The Churches have been aroused, and we believe the	340

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
			2 June-12 June 1907	Brompton	Ten days	Invitation	children [30]ø  Several conversions. -Nearly every night one or more respond to the earnest invitation to take a stand for Christø	result of the mission will be a deeper spiritual life among all our peopleø  -All the services were largely attendedø The mission is a -great blessing in the quickening of believers and the salvation of sinnersø	
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Barrett Brothers	R2	Late May - 14 June 1907	Mallala	Two weeks	Invitation	-A number of souls have been savedø	-It has done the Circuit goodø The Quarterly Meeting held on 30 September 1907, recorded a membership increase of 47.	341
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Messrs. Cuttriss and Millar	R2	June-July 1907	Meadows Circuit	-Past few weeksø	Invitation	-Fifty-three decisions for Christ have taken placeø		342
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission ó Barrett Brothers	R2	16-28 June 1907	Moonta Mines	Two weeks	Invitation	-Over 200 altogether have given themselves to the Lordø	-Oh, such a revival. I have witnessed nothing like it before. Such a revival has not been witnessed here since Thomas Cookø missionø This took place in May 1894.	343
	Barrett Brothers	R2	July 1907	Moonta (Township)	Ten days	Invitation	-Sinners converted, backsliders recovered, and believers quickenedø	-Increased attendance at the week-night meetings since the mission closedø	
Methodist	Evangelistic missions ó Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	7 July 1907	Millicent Circuit ó Tantanoola	Unknown ó probably one week	Invitation	-Twenty signed decision cardsø the ages ranging from seven to seventyø	-This is probably the first evangelistic mission ever held in Tantanoola, and it will long be rememberedø	344
			21-30 July 1907	Beachport	Ten days	Invitation	Five adult and twenty-one Sunday school scholars recorded -decisionsø At the Quarterly Meeting of 26 June 1907, it was reported that, -the	-Such an event had never been heard of in the history of the town. Our Church has received an upliftø	

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
			August 1907 6-16 October 1907 November	Mount Gambier Glenburnie Kingston Robe Cape Jaffa	Two weeks Unknown Ten days Unknown One meeting	Invitation Invitation Invitation Invitation Invitation	membership returns revealed a decided increase.  -Over 80 decision cards were signed. Two decisions.  -Several signed the decision cards. -All the people of the church who were able to do so attended the meetings, and most of them signed the decision cards. Six signed the decision cards.	-Many were led to see the joy of soul-winning and the greater joy of resting on the strength and power of Christ as Saviour and friend. -Dr. Torr's mission was a great blessing to our church.	
Methodist Baptist	Evangelistic mission of Messrs Forsyth and Willason	R2	3-14 August 1907	Kapunda	Two weeks	Invitation	-Almost one hundred names have been received during the mission.		345
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Messrs Barnes and Chambers	R2	August 1907	Balaklava	Unknown	Invitation	South Balaklava of -nine decisions. Balaklava of -Twenty decisions.	-People's hearts full of rejoicing.	346
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Barrett Brothers	R2	11-25 August 1907	Booloroo Centre	Two weeks	Invitation	-Fifty-six decisions.	-A revival not only is a testing time for those who are sinners, but also for the Christians.	347
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Mr. Dingle	R2	August 1907	Two Wells	Unknown	Invitation	-We have 63 names and are still receiving the droppings of the shower.		348
Methodist	Evangelistic mission Services of Messrs. Cuttriss and Miller	R2	4-18 August 1907	Cherry Gardens	Two weeks	Invitation	Thirteen conversions	-At one meeting 14 persons, ages ranging from 40 to 17 years, came out, desirous of receiving the power of the Holy Ghost.	349

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Messrs. C. Hodger of Laura, and Wm Smith of Wirrabara.	R2	September 1907	Tarcowie	One week	Invitation	Five conversions	-Members and adherents have been lifted up to a higher plane of spiritual lifeø	350
Methodist	Evangelistic mission (Revival) ó Barrett Brothers	R2	24 August-7 September 1907	Jamestown	Two weeks	Invitation	Forty two conversions. Barrett Brothers report to the Methodist Conference (Evangelistic Department) for 1907 indicates that -850 persons expressed a serious and intelligent desire to receive and follow Christø Twenty missions were conducted.6	-A Junior Endeavour is being formed for the Methodist children convertedø	351
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Messrs. MacDonald and Stanton	R2	September 1907	Edithburgh	-Short missionø	Invitation	Twenty-three conversions	-A gracious work has taken placeø	352
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Mr. H. Lyons	R2	Third Quarter 1907	Yankalilla	Unknown	Invitation	-Thirty-nine names have been added to the roll during the last five monthsø	-We are thankful for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. This is the first large increase since Methodist Unionø	353
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Barrett Brothers	R2	March 1908	Mallala	Three weeks	Invitation	Grace Plains and Wild Horse Plains (two weeks) ó -many professed conversion. Dublin (ten days) ó Fifteen converts (young men and women).		354
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Barrett Brothers	R2	April 1908	Wilmington	Two weeks	Invitation	-Over forty names were handed inø	-A season of rich blessingø Junior and Young Peopleø CE Societies formed.	355
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Barrett Brothers	R2	June 1908	Koolunga Circuit ó Yacka and Gulnare	Two weeks	Invitation	-About seventy names have been handed to the minister as those of convertsø		356
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. D. OøDonnell	R2	Second Quarter 1908	Glenelg	Extended period	Invitation	Thirty-five persons were admitted into Church	Mission was followed by -Decision Dayø for the Sunday	357



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							membership.	School and Church membership preparatory classes conducted by the Revs. I. Rooney and Jacobs.	
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of the Rev. D. O'Donnell	R2	July 1908	Payneham	Two weeks	Invitation	Forty to fifty decisions including some re-dedications. Mostly young people.	-Outsiders not attracted.	358
Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Salvation Army.	United Gospel Mission of Rev D. O'Donnell.	R2	July 1908	Jamestown	Two weeks	Invitation	-A great number of young people have signified their decision for the Master.	-The joint committee is being maintained to embrace opportunities for such united work as may present themselves.	359
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Mr. H.F. Allen	R2	October 1908	Millicent	-A brief mission.	Invitation	-Twelve decisions for the Lord Jesus.		360
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Dr. W.G. Torr	R2	April 1909	Edithburgh	Unknown	Invitation	-Altogether there were thirty-three conversions.		361
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Barrett Brothers	R2	April 1909	Nantawarra Mount Templeton	Twelve days Unknown	Invitation Invitation	-A number of our young people won for the Saviour. -Thirteen young men and women and seven children won for the Saviour.	Christian Endeavour Society started.	362
Non-Denominational	Evangelistic mission of Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander	R2	16-26 July 1909	Adelaide	Ten days	Invitation	At least 800 converts.		363
Methodist	Revival	R2	Third Quarter 1909	Kingscote, Kangaroo Island	One week	Circuit decision	Twenty-five converts		364
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Sister Lily (Miss Cowmeadow)	R2 R2	24 July-7 August 1910 August 1910	St. John's Wood (Prospect) Yorketown	Two weeks Two weeks	Invitation Invitation	Forty converts -Twenty-one decisions.	Sister Lily assisted by four students from the Methodist Training Home at Brighton established by Dr. W.G. Torr. Ages varied from fourteen to forty.	365

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
		R2	August-October 1910	Maitland Circuit (Maitland, Urania, Arthurton).	Seven weeks	Invitation	Maitland ó Eleven -decided for Christø Urania ó Seven conversions.	No conversions recorded at Arthurton (first time she had recorded no converts at the end of a mission).	
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Revs. W.A. Bainger and J.H. Pointon (Circuit Ministers ó Stirling Circuit)	R2	November 1910 ó February 1911	Stirling Circuit ó Mylor, Grunthal, Scottø Creek, Upper Sturt, Ironbank.	Nine weeks	Circuit Decision	-Since the mission started forty six persons, mostly adults, including mothers of families, and several fine young men, have publicly confessed the Saviourø	-The gratifying feature of the spiritual awakening is that it is the ordinary way of circuit work. Just the reaping-time after faithful service on the part of our own ministers, local preachers, and Sunday school teachersø	366
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Sister Lily	R2	16-28 April 1911	Port Broughton Circuit ó Dollings Corner	Two weeks	Invitation	-Forty-three decisions for Christø	-The whole district has been stirredø -In Sister Lily the Conference has an evangelist of the right typeø	367
		R2	June 1911	Laura Circuit ó Tarcowie	Two weeks	Invitation	-Twenty-one decisions have been registeredø		
		R2	July 1911	Laura Circuit ó Yarrowie	Two weeks	Invitation	-Eleven made their public confession and were received into Church membership on trialø		
		R2	July 1911	Laura Circuit ó Stone Hut	Two weeks	Invitation	-Forty-four decisionsø		
		R2	July-August 1911	Laura Circuit ó Laura	Two weeks	Invitation	-Forty-one decisionsø  The total for the Laura Circuit according to the Circuit Minister (the Rev. E. Arnold) was 145 conversions over a three month period.		
	Revival ó Sister Lily	R2	July 1911	Laura Circuit ó Stone Hut	Two weeks	Invitation	-Forty-four decisionsø	-On the Sunday following, thirteen more made their stand for Christø	
	Revival ó Sister Lily	R2	July-August 1911	Laura Circuit ó Laura	Two weeks	Invitation	-Forty-one decisionsø  The total for the Laura Circuit according to the Circuit Minister (the Rev. E. Arnold) was 145 conversions over a three month period.	-Three decisions at Wirrabara Forestø  Since Sister Lily commenced evangelistic work in August 1910, 250 conversions were reported.	

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
	Evangelistic mission of Sister Lily	R2	September 1911	Booloroo Centre	Two weeks	Invitation	-Sixteen decisions		
	Evangelistic mission of Sister Lily	R2	15-27 October 1911	Mount Torrens	Two weeks	Invitation	-Thirteen conversions		
	Evangelistic mission of Sister Lily	R2	29 October-10 November 1911	Gumeracha and Mount Torrens Circuit - Tungkillo	Two weeks	Invitation	-Five decisions		
Methodist	Sunday school evangelistic mission of Mr. Newton Jones (Evangelist of London Sunday school union)	R2	29 April-5 May 1911	Moonta Circuit	One week	Invitation	-The mission has been fruitful in many decisions among our young people	-On Sunday afternoon between 800 and 900 scholars from the Sunday schools of the town and circuit assembled at the church. Evening meetings during the week.	368
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of conducted by Circuit Minister of the Rev. F.W. Brasher	R2	2-9 July 1911	Mount Bryan	One week	Circuit Decision	-Sixteen definite decisions for Christ		369
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Sister Lily	R2	April 1912	Wirrabara Forest	Two weeks	Invitation	-Four decisions were registered for Christ		370
		R2	April-May 1912	Booloroo Whim	Three weeks	Invitation	-Six young people decided		
		R2	May 1912	Amyton	Two weeks	Invitation	-Ten decided for Christ	The society has been quickened and the CE Society re-started	
		R2	June 1912	Port Augusta	Unknown	Invitation	-Ten young people were received on probation	-The praying members of our church have been quickened, and others have been stirred, and we believe the above is but the beginning of a harvest of souls	

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		R2	June 1912	Terowie	One week	Invitation	Twenty-two conversions over five days.	-We believe that greater and more glorious results are yet to follow	
		R2	June 1912	Quorn	One week	Invitation	Twenty-two conversions.	The Rev. Henry Trewren (Quorn) reported "Grand results, meetings well sustained, great interest maintained"	
		R2	July 1912	Morchard	One week	Invitation	-Five decisions		
		R2	24 July 1912	Willowie	One evening	Invitation	-Ten decisions	Combined with CE Rally.	
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission of Mr. A.E. Cowley Mission extended by the Rev. D.T. Reddin.	R2	April 1912	Cross Roads, Moonta	Estimated at one week	Invitation	-Six conversions Five Sunday School conversions at Moonta Bay.	-A great strengthening of the Church	371
			May 1912			Invitation	Sixteen adults and eighteen children decided for Christ in East Moonta South.	-The spirit of revival is upon this place, and I think this winter will see a great work done in the circuit	
	Mr. A.E. Cowley	R2	June 1912	Blyth and Clare	Unknown	Invitation	-A number of young men have decided for Christ Last night of mission of four conversions. Total conversions for Clare of 40 (Includes Decision Sunday Sunday School scholars - 32). Total for Blyth of 4 adults plus 14 Decision Day scholars.	Number of "decisions" attributed to Cowley in the period Jan-June 1912 was 100. -The veterans of the Church [Clare] say there has not been such a great awakening here for twenty years.	
		R2	June 1912	Ardrossan	One week	Invitation	Ten adult conversions. Four at Dowlingville. -Eight young men and women, with several children, at Pine Point		

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission of Mrs. Murton	R2	April-May 1912	Strathalbyn	Two months	Invitation	Thirty-nine converts.	Mrs. Murton assisted by a band of workers	372
		R2	2-16 August 1912	Aldinga	Two weeks	Invitation	Quite a number have given themselves to Jesus Christ	A large combined choir of young people contributed to the success of the mission	
Non-Denominational	Preparatory meetings for Chapman-Alexander Mission conducted by the Rev. S. Forsyth.	R2	1-7 June 1912	Petersburg	One week	Local Mission Committee invited Forsyth.	Twenty-four conversions.	Church members quickened	373
Non-Denominational	Evangelistic mission of Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander	R2	Friday, 7 June 1912	Petersburg	One day	Mission Organising Committee - Adelaide	Thirty-two converts at meeting conducted by Chapman. Three additional converts at the overflow meeting conducted by the Rev. S. Forsyth.	A great spiritual uplift to the town and churches. It was reported at the Petersburg Methodist Quarterly Meeting held on 9 July that there were 31 young men and women on trial. Thirty new members recognized on 28 July 1912	374
Non-Denominational	Evangelistic mission of Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman and Charles M. Alexander	R2	19 May-3 July 1912 (South Australia and Broken Hill Mission)	Adelaide (19 May-6 June 1912) Petersburg (7 June 1912). Broken Hill (8-17 June 1912). Port Pirie (18-25 June 1912). Adelaide (27 June 1912). Mount Gambier (28 June-2 July 1912). Bordertown (3 July 1912).	Six weeks and three days.	Invitation	Nearly 2,000 decision cards were signed by converts in South Australia and Broken Hill (New South Wales). A total of 463 new members were received into the Methodist Church on 14 July 1912. These included Mission converts as well as Sunday School scholars who observed Decision Sunday.	Of the 2,000 converts the following sub-totals are included: 59 of Petersburg. 320 of Broken Hill. 300 of Port Pirie. 300 of Mount Gambier  Nightly meetings were held in the Exhibition Building which were well attended (4,500-6,000 at each of the meetings). Combined choir of 700 voices.	375

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of the Rev. H.A. Gunter (Circuit Minister)	R2	June 1912	Cowell	Unknown	Circuit Decision	-Six adult decisions and twenty Sunday school scholars at Cowell		376
Methodist	Regular service of Sunday evening 16 June 1912.	R2	16 June 1912  14 July of Recognition Service	Parkside West	One evening		-Twenty-five make a public confession of Christ  Fourteen converts (ages 12 to 25) admitted as members. -Four were converts at the recent Chapman-Alexander Mission, one was won to Christ by his brother, and seven were converts at our own recent Church services	Service conducted by Mr. P.H. Chennell (Circuit Assistant).	377
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of Messrs. Smith and Sullivan.	R2	July 1912	Cummins Mission of Marble View	One week	Invitation	-Twelve decisions	Other missions conducted on the Eyre Peninsula in the May-July period yield fourteen converts.	378
Churches of Christ	Evangelistic mission of Dr. Charles Reign Scoville	R2	4 August-5 September 1912	Adelaide	Five weeks	Invitation of issued by the Churches of Christ	Up until the final night of the mission there were 924 converts.	Nightly meetings held in the Exhibition Building. Choir of 700 voices. Churches of Christ reported in September 1912, a net membership increase of 330. In 1913 it was 823 (largest recorded to date).	379
Methodist and other churches.	Evangelistic mission	R2	July-August 1912	Gawler	Three weeks	Invitations to various ministers	-Some twenty-five decisions, mostly young men and women, were recorded	Nine ministers invited to participate. The Churches have also received much blessing, and are rejoicing in a quickened faith and deeper spiritual experience	380
Methodist	Revival	R2 or R3	June-August 1912	Solomontown Circuit of Napperby	Two months	Unknown	-Twenty decisions with more to follow	-The revival at Napperby manifested itself two months	381

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
				Broad Creek	Unknown	Unknown	-We hope for fifteen to twenty new members at Broad Creek.	-ago and still continues. -The work at Broad Creek has resulted in the re-opening of the Sunday School.	
Methodist	Sunday School Decision Day	R2	28 July 1912	Jamestown	One day	Annual event	Seventy persons ó for either first-time decisions or reconsecrations.	-A new Intermediate Society of Christian Endeavour formed. The Junior and Young Peoples Societies strengthened.	382
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Messrs. Skinner and Magor (Old Boys ó Methodist Training Home).	R2	August 1912	Lucindale	Unknown	Invitation	-Twenty-two decisions.	The Rev. W. A. Potts from Mount Gambier assisted on two nights.	383
Methodist	Evangelistic missions ó the Rev. G.W. Johnston (Circuit Minister)	R2	August 1912	Yankalilla Circuit - Wattle Flat - Second Valley - Parkfield.	Unknown	Circuit decision	Twelve decisions		384
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. J. Shaw (Circuit Minister)	R2	August-September 1912	Gladstone	Two weeks	Circuit decision	-About a dozen young people have publicly made their confession of Christ, some of whom, however, had previously signed decision cards, and were recognized as junior members.	-An earnest and reverent spirit has pervaded the meetings, and a most genuine revival has been experienced by old church members.	385
Methodist	Evangelistic missions ó Mr. A.E. Cowley	R2	13-29 July 1913	Wandearah	Two weeks	Invitation	Forty-four conversions. Most were 18 to 20 years of age.	-A vigorous CE Society has been formed.	386
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Mr. J.W. Barrett (one of the Barrett Brothers)	R2	August 1913	Penola	Two weeks	Invitation	-Twelve decided for Jesus.		387
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó Mr. W. Gibson (Magill) and the Revs. H.C. Hill (Summertown) and G. Hall (Circuit Minister).	R2	September 1913	Bridgewater	Unknown	Invitation	Eight converts, including five young men.		388

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Normal Circuit Work		January-July 1914	McLaren Flat Circuit	Six months	Special efforts	Between fifty and sixty conversions	Circuit Ministers ó the Revs. G.W. Kendrew and A.J. Finch	389
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. F. Bullock (Circuit Minister)	R2	June 1914	Balaklava Circuit	Three weeks	Circuit decision	-Fifteen names were added to the Balaklava Roll Owen ó Nine commitments on Decision Sunday. Eighteen added to the Roll.		390
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. G.W. Kendrew (Circuit Minister) and local preachers	R2	28 June-12 July 1914	Willunga Circuit ó McLaren Flat	Two weeks	Circuit decision	Fifteen conversions at end of first week. At the end of the mission ó -With only a few exceptions all expressed their determination to be on the Lord's side	-Two direct results of the mission are, first, the formation of a large Christian Endeavour Society, and, second, other churches in the circuit wish to have missions conducted as soon as possible	391
Non-Denominational	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher was the Missioner.	R2	June 1915	Wallaroo	Unknown	Inter-church decision	One hundred and thirty converts. Fifty of whom joined the Methodist Church.	-Hundreds have been blessed and strengthened in the Christian life	392
Non-Denominational	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher was the Missioner.	R2	27 June-9 July 1915	Kadina	Two weeks	Inter-church decision	Converts ó 235. One hundred and eighty-four joined the Methodist Church.	-We are thankful to God for the awakening	393
Non-Denominational	United Christian Mission ó the Revs. Lionel B. Fletcher and W.H. Cann	R2	July 1915	Wallaroo Mines	Unknown	Inter-church decision	Converts ó 131 of whom 112 were received into the Methodist Church.		394
Non-Denominational - Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist.	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher. Assisted by Mr. Clem Hosking (soloist).	R2	July-August 1915	Jamestown	Unknown	Inter-church decision	Converts ó 67 of whom 36 -have signified their wish to unite with the Methodist Church	-Members of all the churches have had their hearts strangely warmed. A united prayer meeting is being held each week, and additional meetings for prayer and Bible study have been organized in all three churches	395
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Revs. H.R. Lee, D. McDiarmid, D.J.	R2	August 1915	Gumeracha	Unknown	Circuit decision	-Sixteen decision cards were signed, being twelve new decisions and four re-	-As a result of the mission we hope to get a good CE Society at work in the church	396



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
	Wellington.						consecrations. Most of these are young men and women		
Non-Denominational ó Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist.	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher. Assisted by Mr. Clem Hosking (soloist).	R2	1-12 August 1915	Clare	Twelve days	Inter-church decision	-Eighty-one decisions 200 re-consecrations.	-Our earnest desire is to continue the work, and missions will be held throughout the district	397
Non-Denominational	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher and Clem Hosking (soloist).	R2	September-October 1915	Port Pirie	Three weeks	Inter-church decision	-Altogether 105 signed the decision cards, almost half of whom find their spiritual home in the Methodist Churches	-A pleasing feature of the meetings was the co-operation and unity of the ministers of Port Pirie	398
Non - Denominational	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher	R2	17-31 October 1915	Moonta	Fifteen days	Inter-church decision	-The total for the fifteen days is 335 souls. Of these 313 are Methodists, 178 of whom are in the Moonta Mines Church		399
Non-Denominational ó Methodist Congregational.	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher	R2	31 October-5 November 1915	Maitland	Six days	Inter-church decision	Seventy-three converts (including eighteen from the Point Pearce Mission)		400
Non-Denominational - Baptist Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. D. McDiarmid	R2	November 1915	Gumeracha	Two weeks (One week in each church)	Inter-church decision	Twelve (young people) converts for each church.		401
Non-Denominational ó Baptist, Presbyterian, Churches of Christ, Church of England, Methodist	United Christian Mission ó the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher and Mr. Clem Hosking	R2	21 November-3 December 1915	Naracoorte	Two weeks	Inter-church decision	-In all about sixty came forward to confess their faith Total Conversions recorded for the United Christian Missions led by the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher in the period July to December 1915 per ACC record is 1217.	-The whole town has been talking of the meetings  Not mentioned in the ACC record are missions undertaken by Fletcher at Georgetown, Adelaide (2), Gawler River, Frances, Mount Gambier, and Bordertown. With these inclusions the total figure is 1,318.	402

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								Fletcher left South Australia in January 1916 to accept an appointment at the Wood Street Congregational Church, Cardiff, Wales.	
Methodist	-Grand Revivalø	R2	June-July 1916	Broken Hill ø Central Street	Two weeks	Circuit decision ø own resources	-Many souls were saved from ultimate destructionø	Young menø class increased from four to twenty-four in six weeks. Gymnasium and club formed. -The object of the club is to get young men to develop a better type of manhoodø	403
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission ø Circuit Minister assisted by the Revs. S. Forsyth and T.P. Willason	R2	July-August 1916	Clare	Two weeks	Circuit decision	Twenty -decidedø during the fortnight.	-One pleasing feature was the way some of last yearø converts worked and led others to the Saviourø	404
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ø the Rev. H.S. Atkin (Mannum Circuit).	R2	August 1917	Murray Bridge	Unknown	Circuit Decision	-A number of decisions were registeredø		405
Methodist	Campaign for Deepening of the Spiritual Life ø Local Preachers Association (LPA)	R2	24-25 August 1918  31 August-2 September 1918  Approx. September 1918	Norwood  Norwood ø East Parade Payneham Road Wesley Church.  Semaphore	Weekend  Three days  Weekend	Invitation ø LPA  Invitation ø LPA  Invitation ø LPA	Nine conversions. Others sought a øfuller blessingø.  Twenty-seven conversions. -Several went forward seeking the larger blessingø Approximately forty conversions	Meetings continued throughout the week.  Twenty four converts were received into membership in October 1918.  On 17 November 1918, forty persons were received into membership. Most were converted during the LPA Mission	406
Methodist	Evangelistic missions ø Mr. J. Delehanty (Chapman Alexander Bible Institute)	R2	August 1918  November 1918	Cleve  Port Wakefield	Unknown  Unknown	Invitation ø J. Delehanty  Invitation ø J. Delehanty	Twenty-eight converts from the mission. -Two others have decided since thenø -Several young people accepted Christ as their	-A large number also came out for full consecrationø  -A Bible class for young men and women is to be startedø Plan to start a Junior	407

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							Saviourø	Endeavour Society.	
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. D.T. Reddin (Conference Evangelist)	R2	July 1919	Laura Circuit ó Stone Hut	Unknown	Invitation	-Twenty-six decisions were recordedø	The Rev. D.T. Reddin appointed Conference Evangelist in 1919.  The mission was coupled with addresses on the deepening of the spiritual life.	408
		R2	August 1919	Minlanton	Ten days	Invitation	-Twenty-two adults and children signed decision cardsø		
		R2	7-14 September 1919	Terowie	Seven days	Invitation	-Twelve decisions ranging from the ages fifteen to fortyø		
		R2	19-26 October 1919	Gladstone	Eight days	Invitation	-The decisions recorded are twelve adults and forty-five juniorsø		
		R2	9-16 November 1919	Payneham ó Argent Street	One week	Invitation	-Thirty-two decisions for Christ were registeredø		
R2	16-30 November 1919	Port Broughton	Two weeks	Invitation	-Eleven adult decisions and twenty two young people signed decision cardsø				
Methodist	Evangelistic missions ó the Rev. D.T. Reddin (Conference Evangelist)	R2	8-15 February 1920	Johnburg and Carrieton Circuit ó Eurelia	One week	Invitation	-Sixteen decisionsø	The -church has had a spiritual uplift, for which we thank God and take courageø -Many church members received much inspiration and blessingø  Extensive visitation and open-air meeting held.  -Twenty professing Christians came out for deeper consecration and greater spiritual powerø	409
		R2	14-24 March 1920	Naracoorte	Ten days	Invitation	-Eight public confessions of faithø -Seven re-consecrationsø		
		R2	April 1920	Berri ó Billy Goat Flat	Unknown	Invitation	-Seven adults and forty young people declared for Christø		
		R2	25 April-4 May 1920	Renmark	Ten days	Invitation	-Altogether eighteen adults and twenty Sunday school scholars took their stand for Christø		

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
		R2	9 May-18 July 1920	Broken Hill	Nine weeks	Invitation	74 adult and 160 Sunday school conversions. 31 adult and 140 Sunday school re-consecrations. 134 conversions.	Of the mission one said, -Nothing like it for thirty yearsø  During 1920 the Conference Evangelist recorded 286 adult and 619 childrenø conversions (17 missions). The total figure was revised to 1,073 conversions in February 1921.	
		R2	September 1920	Mallala	Two weeks	Invitation			
Methodist	Gospel Band	R2	Four years continuous work and ongoing	Kadina	Four years	Commenced by M. M. Champion.	-Conversion of many soulsø	Work consisted of -Cottage Prayer Meetingsø and Open-air meetings in and around the mines.	410
Baptist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. D.T. Reddin	R2	January 1921	Magill Baptist Church	One week	Invitation	-The total decisions numbered forty-five, all of them young peopleø		411
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. H.F. Lyons (Conference Evangelist)	R2	June 1921	Millicent	Ten days	Invitation	-There were several genuine conversions and a large number of enquirersø -About eighteen souls were brought into the Kingdom, and among these were some very promising young peopleø At a public recognition service held in July, 18 new members were received, 10 awaiting membership, with 35 junior members.	The Rev. H.F. Lyons was appointed Conference Evangelist in 1921. -The chief result was the deepening of the spiritual life of the Church among its members and officersø	412
		R2	June 1921	Woodville Circuit ó Elgin	Ten days	Invitation			
		R2	7-31 August	Maitland Circuit	Three weeks	Invitation	Twenty conversions	-We are filled with new life	

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
		R2	1921 4-14 September 1921	Kadina	Ten days	Invitation	-It was very gratifying to see a number of our young people take a definite stand for Jesus Christø	and zeal and faithø	
		R2	October 1921	Hallett and Mount Bryan	Two weeks	Invitation	-Several were led to Christø	-If the atmosphere is right the results are assured. There can be no revival without a revived Churchø	
		R2	October 1921	Brighton	One week	Invitation	-Several young people accepted and confessed Jesus Christ as their Saviourø	-The missioner spoke of the fine spiritual atmosphere of the Church, and therefore found it difficult to understand the absence of the non-Church membersø	
		R2	19 November-3 December 1921	Minlanton	Two weeks	Invitation	-It was not until the following Sunday evening (27 November 1921) that the stream of converts startedø		
Methodist	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. H.F. Lyons (Conference Evangelist)	R2	Commenced 22 January 1922	Cleve	Unknown	Invitation	-Precious souls yielded to the Divine entreaty and publicly accepted Him as their Saviourø	-Many have been led, as a result of the mission, to renew their covenant with a covenant-keeping Godø	413
		R2	7-14May 1922	Waikerie	One week	Invitation	Eleven -decisionsø Ten reconsecrations.		
		R2	28 May-6 June 1922	Stansbury	Ten days	Invitation	-In all over thirty people made their decision for Jesus Christ during the Mission, most of them being young people between the ages of fifteen	-Wherever one moves among the people of Stansbury now there are to be found traces of the uplifting experience of those few daysø	

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
		R2	16-23 July 1922	Walleroo Mines	One week	Invitation	and twenty-five. Forty ó full consecration. Twenty-one children between nine and thirteen signed decision cards. Sixteen adults over fifteen converted.	-A very successful mission. -There is great joy in the Church.	
Methodist	Evangelistic Crusade ó Simultaneous Mission	R2	10 June-August 1923	Adelaide City and Country locations	Two months	Conference decision	-We are not able to report big crowds, and a long list of converts, but there is a general feeling that the Church's work is being consolidated, and the spiritual life intensified.	The crusade consisted of a series four simultaneous missions conducted in various parts of the city to run for at least ten days each. Twenty-two centres included.	414
Anglican	Healing mission ó Mr. J.M. Hickson	R2	1-14 July 1923	Adelaide Port Pirie Broken Hill	Two weeks	Invitation	Nine hundred people per meeting (Cathedral) received prayers for healing.	-About 6,000 sufferers sought relief.	415
Churches of Christ	Evangelistic mission ó Dr. Jesse R. Kellems and Mr. Charles M. Richards	R2	28 October-24 November 1923	Adelaide	Four weeks	Invitation	-Confession ó 478.	Over 300 had been baptised by full immersion by 23 November. Crowds of 3,000 were present on a regular basis at the Exhibition Building, led by a 300 person choir.	416
Evangelisation Society of South Australia	Evangelistic mission ó the Rev. Dr. W.E. Biederwolf and Mr. H. Rodeheaver	R2	24 February-3 March 1924	Adelaide	Nine days	Invitation	267 decisions. 213 re-consecrations.	Biederwolf ó Speaker. Rodeheaver ó Song Leader.	417
Methodist	Evangelistic Crusade ó Simultaneous Mission	R2	August 1924	Brompton	One week	Conference Decision ó Brompton mission part of Crusade.	Eleven adult decisions. -It is estimated that from 80 to 100 children made the great decision.	State wide Crusade similar to 1923 was undertaken in 1924.	418
Methodist	Regular circuit work	R2	Third Quarter 1925	Mount Gambier	One Quarter	Circuit Decision	-Seventeen people have recently come boldly to the	-A cheering report was given [Quarterly Meeting held on 7	419

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							front to confess their faith in Jesus Christ	October 1925], of the work of the Spirit in the circuit. The Rev. S. Forsyth was the Superintendent Minister.	
Combined Churches	Evangelistic mission of Gipsy Smith	R2	9-24 May 1926	Adelaide	Fifteen days	Gipsy Smith Commonwealth Evangelistic Campaign		During the Australian Campaign, over 80,000 Decision Cards were signed and handed in. <i>Register</i> , 3 August 1926, 15.	420
Methodist	Spiritual Convention of the Rev. S. Carroll Myers and Mr. E.E. Mitchell	R2	19-27 June 1926	Burra	Eight days	Circuit Decision	Kooringa (27) and Redruth (23) Sunday School scholars, aged 12 to 18 -gave themselves to God	-We are sure that much good has been done. Many of our members have been stimulated and cheered, and a number have reconsecrated themselves to God and the Church	421
Methodist Anglican	Revival Missioners of the Rev. E. Miller (Evangelist and Circuit Minister). The Rev. S.J. Kirby (Anglican of Bush Church Aid Society)	R2	20 June-August 1926	Ceduna of Eyre Peninsula	Two months	Circuit Decision	At least seventy-five conversions of majority were Anglican.	Mr. S.H. Lovell (Churches of Christ of Song Leader). One result of the mission is that a congregation which has probably never had a regular week-night meeting will now have an Endeavour Society at least thirty strong, meeting every week	422
Methodist	Evangelistic Crusade of the Rev. Walter Wiltshire (Circuit Minister of Wallaroo Mines)	R2	August 1926	Lochiel	Unknown	Arranged at Moonta Ministers' Retreat	Two -souls were added to the Lord	Mission included house-to-house visitation, nightly meetings, and day visits to Railway gangs.	423
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of the Rev. C.W. Smith (Maitland Circuit)	R2	August 1926	Nantawarra	Unknown	Circuit decision	-Twenty converts and four re-consecrations	-It was indeed a wonderful season, and our hearts are devoutly thankful to God	424
Methodist	Evangelistic missions of Circuit Minister	R2	1926	Summertown	Unknown of probably over an extended period.	Circuit decision	Seventy conversions	Bible Class, three CE societies, and three Bands of Hope formed. -A different spirit is in the community. They now have heart to tackle anything in	425

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
								reason. Increase in conversions has been followed by increase in contributions.	
Methodist	Evangelistic mission of the Rev. Edgar Miller	R2	February 1928	Bordertown Circuit of Wolseley and Mundalla	Three weeks	Invitation	Thirty conversions	The mission was the culmination of steady work during the year. The Evangelisation Society of S.A. had conducted a mission twelve months before.	426
Methodist	Church Anniversary of members of LPA invited to lead services.	R2	April 1928	Spalding	Two days	Invitation	Six conversions		427
Methodist	Methodist Crusade of the Rev. Norman Dunning and fifty Methodist ministers as Crusaders	R2	21 April-3 July 1928	Kent Town 21-30 April. Pirie Street 5-14 May. Port Pirie 19-28 May. Broken Hill 9-18 June. Adelaide (Fifty Methodist Churches) 23 June-2 July.	Ten weeks	Conference decision and Invitation	-Hundreds of decisions reported  The aims of the Crusade were: * To deepen the spiritual life. * To bring young people to Christ. * Arrest the minds of the irreligious.	Crusade meetings continued in Methodist Churches until the end of 1928. -Much interest has been awakened. Methodist ministers in the city have expressed the conviction that the work has been of solid and lasting character.	428
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission of the Rev. H.F. Lyons (Missioner)	R2	August 1928	Edithburgh	Two weeks	Invitation	-During the second week the old church was packed to the doors, and on one night seven publicly confessed Christ.	-The church has many new members -We have started a fellowship meeting every week, and it promises to have an attendance of forty or more regularly.	429
Methodist	Spiritual Advance Crusade of the Rev. Dr. William Shaw (Supernumerary Methodist Minister)	R2	May-October 1929	Thirty four Circuits including Broken Hill, Port Pirie, Crystal Brook, Moonta, Minlanton, Kapunda	Six months	Conference decision and Invitation	Not recorded. Occasional references to several souls drawn into the Kingdom.	Emphasis on deepening the spiritual life and the doctrine of Christian Perfection. He exercised a teaching evangelism.	430
Methodist	Spiritual Advance Crusade of the Rev. Dr.		April-October 1930	Adelaide and Country	Eight months	Conference decision and	Conducted 306 services and meetings in Adelaide	Included a united Church mission (Methodist, Baptist,	431



Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
	William Shaw					Invitation	and the country.	Presbyterian, Congregational) in the St. Peters district of Adelaide.	
Methodist	Revival ó Missioner ó the Rev. George Brown (Evangelisation Society of South Australia).	R2	April-May 1930	District ó Mission Willunga, Noarlunga, Bethany, McLaren Flat, Aldinga, McLaren Vale.	Six weeks	Invitation	Sixty-four cases of conversion.	-Weekly prayer meetings during a period of twelve months, had been held in preparationø Homes visited ó 170.	432
Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Salvation Army	United Crusade ó Mr. Ernest E. Mitchell (LPA).	R2	24 August-7 September 1930	Jamestown	Two weeks	Invitation	-No conversions recordedø A number of -re-dedicationsø	Aims of the Crusade: * To deepen the spiritual life. * To attract non-churchgoers. * To lift the moral tone of the town. -The spirit of unity among the churches has been remarkably intensifiedø	433
Methodist	Spiritual Advance Crusade ó the Rev. Dr. William Shaw	R2	March-October 1931	Adelaide and country		Conference decision and Invitation	Few conversions recorded.	Crusade continues emphasis on deepening the spiritual life through teaching.	434
Methodist	Evangelistic Crusade ó the Revs. H.A. Gunter and M.C. Morris (Circuit Ministers)	R2	16-24 August 1931	Glencoe	Eight days	Circuit Decision	-Many re-consecration cards were signed, and numbers of decisions were made by adults, young people and childrenø	-It is felt that the spiritual life of the church will be considerably strengthened as a result of this special Crusadeø	435
Methodist	Spiritual Advance Crusade ó the Rev. Dr. William Shaw. Includes Adelaide Simultaneous Evangelistic Crusade	R2	May-October 1932	Adelaide and country. Adelaide Simultaneous Crusade (5-30 June 1932).		Conference decision and Invitation			436
Methodist	Spiritual Advance Crusade ó the Rev. Dr. William Shaw.	R2						Limited reporting	437
Methodist	Evangelistic Mission ó Wesley College students	R2	May 1934	Circuit ó Unknown location	Two weeks	Invitation	-Two hundred young people made a profession of faithø		438
Methodist	Mission ó For the	R2	September	Maylands Circuit	One week	Circuit decision	Some decisions recorded.	-The meetings during the week	439

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
	Enrichment of the Spiritual life of the Church		1934					were of a quiet devotional natureø Conducted by the Revs. H.W. Jew, H.A. Gunter, E.T. Pryor, and the Circuit Minister.	
Methodist	Revival	R2	September 1934	Woodside Circuit	One week	Circuit decision	Converts at: * Woodside ø 18. * Lenswood ø 20. Reporting on missions around South Australia, the <i>Australian Christian Commonwealth</i> , stated that, -we are able to report only a little of what is going on in our State because the brethren do not volunteer the informationø	Ministers who participated: the Revs. B.S. Howland, M.C. Morris Edgar Miller. -A new and beautiful spirit is in the church. We feel now that we have a real fellowship into which we can invite othersø	440
Methodist	Methodist Crusade ø the Rev. Norman Dunning	R2	17-25 February 1935	Adelaide ø Pirie Street and Malvern churches	Eight days	Invitation	No record of conversions cited.	Daily lunch hour addresses for business people at the Pirie Street Church.	441
Methodist	Spiritual Crusade ø the Rev. Edgar Arnold (Circuit Minister)	R2	June-July 1935	Alberton Circuit ø Royal Park Alberton	Royal Park ø Five days. Alberton - Unknown	Circuit decision	Royal Park ø Two conversions. Alberton ø 61 conversions (20 over the age of 16 years).	-A wonderful reception service was held on Sunday, August 4, when the minister received over 40 into church membershipø	442
Methodist	Revival and Spiritual Deepening Crusade ø Circuit Resources	R2	January 1936	Willunga Circuit - Nangkita	Unknown	Circuit decision	Eight young men and women made an -open confession of faithø	Preaching Band of four men formed.	443
Methodist	Evangelistic Crusade ø the Rev. F.W. Brasher (Circuit Minister)	R2	January 1936	Willunga Circuit	Unknown	Circuit decision	-Nearly 30 confessions of faith have been madeø		444
Methodist	Group Movement ø the Rev. A.E. Vogt	R2	January-February 1936	Berri	Regular Circuit Work	Circuit decision	-During the last six weeks six have been received into church membership, five of whom were definitely led to make their surrender to Jesus Christ through this	-I believe that the Movement cannot only enrich our beloved Church, but that it belongs to the very heart of Methodism. It is so much akin to the class meetingí The revival is hereø	445

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
							movement within our church.		
Methodist	Centenary Evangelistic Crusade of the Rev. F.W. Brasher (Circuit Minister)	R2	June-August 1936	West Hindmarsh Circuit of West Hindmarsh, West Croydon, Allenby Gardens, Flinders Park, Findon.	Three months	Circuit decision	There have been between 50 and 60 confessions of faith, chiefly among our young people, and many of those who are already professing Christians have been revived in their faith.	In one place a Men's Sunday-School class has been established; a Sunday School has been effectively reorganized; an Order of Knights is in process of formation at one centre; and at another a young people's week-night CE Society will be established.	446
Methodist	Centenary Evangelistic Work - Report of L.M. Humphery (Conference Evangelistic Committee). Sixty six circuits provided responses.	R2	During 1936	Sixty six circuits.	Unknown	Circuit Decision	One hundred and fifty seven conversions recorded.	Group Meetings (Oxford Group) held. Recognition Services conducted. New members received into the Church.	447
Methodist of Mission to the Church and not the outsiders	Evangelistic Crusade (part of city-wide Simultaneous Mission of the Rev. F.W. Brasher of Missioner.  The Rev. H.F. Lyons of Missioner.	R2  R2	5-19 September 1937  Early September 1937	Elgin Church, Adelaide.  Mitcham Church, Adelaide.	Two weeks  Ten days	Conference and Circuit decision.  Conference and Circuit decision.	Two conversions  Ten conversions of Sunday School scholars over twelve years of age.	The result has been a very decided quickening of church life, and the beginning of spiritual power and blessing.  Spiritual tone of the Church has been lifted.	448
Methodist	Evangelism on Eyre Peninsula of exchange of Circuit Ministers	R2	August-October 1938	Various Churches	One week at each location	District and Circuit decision	No reported conversions	Missions were helpful with many experiencing a spiritual uplift.	449
Methodist	Mission Crusade of the Rev. Edgar Miller and Mr. Geo. Hall of Melbourne.	R2	15-28 September 1938	Northern Methodist Circuit of Broken Hill	Two weeks	Circuit decision	We have now a junior membership of 80, and 58 of these have made their decision for the first time.	The young people of our Churches and Sunday Schools have been greatly blessed.	450

Denomination	Event Description	Category	Date	Location	Duration	Initiating Action	Souls Saved	Other Effects	Reference
Methodist	Evangelistic Missions of the Rev. E.N. Broomhead (Conference Evangelist)	R2	April-December 1939	Locations throughout South Australia	Nine months	Conference decision	A number of conversions and reconsecrations were recorded. At a mission at Port Adelaide, 22 conversions and 14 reconsecrations were recorded. The South Australian Methodist Conference re-introduced the appointment of Conference Evangelist in February 1939.	The role of the Conference Evangelist was to evangelise those within the Church with special emphasis on youth. -Outside evangelism was a second consideration.	451

### Summary – Revival-Type Events according to Category – 1838-1939

Years	R2	R3	R2 or R3	R4	Total
1838-1865	10	-	29	-	39
1866-1899	296	7	29	1	333
1900-1913	110	1	4	-	115
1914-1939	87	-	-	-	87
<b>Totals</b>	503	8	62	1	574

### Summary – Revival-Type Events according to City-Rural Occurrence – 1838-1939

Years	City	Rural	Total
1838-1865	15	24	39
1866-1899	82	251	333
1900-1913	17	98	115
1914-1939	23	64	87
<b>Totals</b>	137	437	574

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191. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 29 February 1884, 5; 23 April 1886, 4-6; 30 April 1886, 4-6; 7 May 1886, 4-6; 14 May 1886, 5; *South Australian Register*, 17 April 1886, 7; 8 May 1886, 7; *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 24 April 1886, 8; 1 May 1886, 9; 8 May 1886, 19, 21; *South Australian Advertiser*, 19 April 1886, 6; 20 April 1886, 5; 22 April 1886, 6; 7 May 1886, 5; 8 May 1886, 4, 7.
192. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 23 July 1886, 6.
193. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 6 August 1886, 6-7.
194. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 8 October 1886, 6.
195. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, November 1886, 577-578.
196. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 29 April 1887, 3; 6 May 1887, 3.
197. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 13 May 1887, 5; 20 May 1887, 6; 27 May 1887, 6; 3 June 1887, 5; 10 June 1887, 6; 24 June 1887, 5; 8 July 1887, 3; 22 July 1887, 7; 7 October 1887, 6; 2 December 1887, 5.
198. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, February 1887, 623; August 1887, 669.
199. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 5 August 1887, 7.
200. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 5 August 1887, 7; 12 August 1887, 6.
201. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 19 August 1887, 6; 26 August 1887, 3.
202. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 2 September 1887, 7; 21 October 1887, 6.
203. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 9 September 1887, 6; 23 September 1887, 6; 14 October 1887, 6; 20 January 1888, 6; 20 July 1934, 16.
204. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 9 September 1887, 6.
205. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 23 September 1887, 6.
206. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 30 September 1887, 3.
207. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 7 October 1887, 7.
208. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 21 October 1887, 5.
209. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 21 October 1887, 7; 1 February 1889, 7
210. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 28 October 1887, 7.
211. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 November 1887, 3.
212. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 2 December 1887, 5; 27 January 1888, 5.
213. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, November 1887, 697-698.
214. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, February 1888, 719-721, 726.
215. *South Australian Primitive Methodist Magazine*, October 1887, 439-440.
216. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 2 March 1888, 6; 9 March 1888, 7; 16 March 1888, 6.

217. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 16 March 1888, 6; 23 March 1888, 6.
218. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 9 March 1888, 7; 23 March 1888, 6.
219. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 13 April 1888, 7.
220. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 27 April 1888, 8; 4 May 1888, 8.
221. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 4 May 1888, 8.
222. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 May 1888, 9.
223. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 8 June 1888, 8.
224. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 29 June 1888, 9.
225. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 6 July 1888, 10.
226. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 13 July 1888, 8.
227. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, August 1888, 20-21; February 1890, 193.
228. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 3 August 1888, 8.
229. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 31 August 1888, 4.
230. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 21 September 1888, 8.
231. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 9 November 1888, 10.
232. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 23 November 1888, 8.
233. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 1 March 1889, 8; 8 March 1889, 9; 22 March 1889, 4; 5 April 1889, 3.
234. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 3 May 1889, 6, 8.
235. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 14 June 1889, 9; 5 July 1889, 4.
236. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 19 July 1889, 9.
237. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 16 August 1889, 4.
238. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 23 August 1889, 8.
239. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 October 1889, 4; 25 October 1889, 6.
240. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 27 September 1889, 8.
241. *South Australian Primitive Methodist*, October 1889, 268.
242. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, November 1889, 152, 156.
243. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 24 January 1890, 4.
244. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, August 1890, 240-241.
245. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 15 August 1890, 5; 22 August 1890, 7; 3 October 1890, 3; 24 October 1890, 8; *Advertiser*, 18 August 1890, 6; 28 August 1890, 7; 29 August 1890, 7; 6 September 1890, 5; 30 September 1890, 7; 2 October 1890, 6; 7 October 1890, 4; *South Australian Register*, 15 September 1890, 3; 29 September 1890, 6-7.
246. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, November 1890, 269; *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 July 1931, 5.
247. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, August 1891, 356-357.
248. *South Australian Bible Christian Magazine*, November 1891, 386.
249. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, June 1892, 75-76.
250. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 20 May 1892, 4; 27 May 1892, 1; 10 June 1892, 4; *Petersburg Times*, 2.
251. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, July 1892, 91; August 1892, 106-107.
252. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, August 1892, 107.
253. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 24 June 1892, 4; Correspondence, J.R. Bradbury to *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 August 1936, 12.
254. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 22 July 1892, 2.
255. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 24 June 1892, 7; 1 July 1892, 1, 6-7; 8 July 1892, 1-2; 22 July 1892, 1-3.

256. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 15 July 1892, 5.
257. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 26 August 1892, 5.
258. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 26 August 1892, 5.
259. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, November 1892, 160; January 1893, 203.
260. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, November 1892, 165.
261. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 2 September 1892, 5.
262. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 November 1892, 2.
263. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, December 1892, 173.
264. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, June 1893, 321.
265. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, July 1893, 334, 357-358; March 1894, 483.
266. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, September 1893, 371.
267. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 8 September 1893, 5.
268. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 15 September 1893, 5.
269. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 22 September 1893, 5.
270. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 6 October 1893, 5; 8 December 1893, 3; 9 March 1894, 3.
271. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 10 November 1893, 6.
272. *South Australian Primitive Methodist*, October 1893, 454.
273. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, December 1893, 429.
274. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, February 1894, 466.
275. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, June 1894, 65.
276. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 9 March 1894, 10; 27 April 1894, 5.
277. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 May 1894, 12.
278. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, June 1894, 63.
279. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, June 1894, 64.
280. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 29 June 1894, 8.
281. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 29 June 1894, 8; 31 August 1894, 5.
282. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 9 March 1894, 3; 30 March 1894, 3-4; 20 April 1894, 3; 27 April 1894, 3; 4 May 1894, 7; 4 May 1894, 8; 11 May 1894, 7; 25 May 1894, 3; 1 June 1894, 12; 8 June 1894, 3; 22 June 1894, 3; 29 June 1894, 5; 6 July 1894, 4, 6; 4 January 1895, 5, 10; 11 January 1895, 5; *South Australian Register*, 10 April 1894, 5; 25 April 1894, 7; 28 June 1894, 7; *Advertiser*, 7 April 1894, 6; 23 June 1894, 6; 27 June 1894, 4, 6; *South Australian Primitive Methodist*, July 1894, 76; October 1894, 130-131; *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 February 1939, 1; 21 July 1939, 11; On Hartley Gladstone Hawkins, see H. Coxon, J. Playford and R. Reid, *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament* (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1985), 104; *Advertiser*, 10 July 1939, 20.
283. *South Australian Register*, 28 May 1894, 3; 30 May 1894, 7; 2 June 1894, 6; 4 June 1894, 3; 5 June 1894, 7; 6 June 1894, 7; *Advertiser*, 23 May 1894, 6; 30 May 1894, 6; 1 June 1894, 6; 2 June 1894, 6; 23 June 1894, 6; 27 July 1894, 6; 28 July 1894, 5; *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 3 August 1894, 3; 17 August 1894, 7.
284. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 10 August 1894, 5.
285. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, August 1894, 98.
286. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 15 June 1894, 8; 29 June 1894, 3; 17 August 1894, 7; *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, July 1894, 79; *Advertiser*, 26 May 1894, 6; 28 May 1894, 6; 4 June 1894, 5; 12 June 1894, 6; 21 June 1894, 4; 27 June 1894, 6; 28 June 1894, 6; 30 June 1894, 7; *South Australian Register*, 28 May 1894, 3; 25 June 1894, 6; *South Australian Chronicle*, 2 June 1894, 9.
287. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 January 1895, 5.
288. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 9 December 1904, 11.
289. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 7 June 1895, 3.
290. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, September 1895, 123.

291. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, October 1895, 141-142.
292. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, November 1895, 159.
293. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, August 1896, 101; September 1896, 121; October 1896, 138; December 1896, 170.
294. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, June 1897, 69.
295. *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly*, September 1897, 128-129.
296. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 21 July 1899, 10.
297. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 28 July 1899, 10.
298. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 28 July 1899, 10.
299. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 28 July 1899, 10.
300. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 4 August 1899, 10.
301. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 11 August 1899, 11.
302. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 11 August 1899, 14.
303. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 18 August 1899, 10.
304. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 25 August 1899, 10.
305. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 1 September 1899, 5.
306. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 8 September 1899, 6-7; *South Australian Register*, 17 August 1899, 6; 8 September 1899, 6; 22 September 1899, 6; 13 November 1899, 3; 22 November 1899, 3; 23 November 1899, 6; *Advertiser*, 18 August 1899, 6; 5 September 1899, 7; 10 November 1899, 6; 21 November 1899, 5; 22 November 1899, 9; 23 November 1899, 6.
307. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 22 September 1899, 10.
308. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 6 October 1899, 5; 13 October 1899, 2.
309. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 10 November 1899, 11.
310. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 10 August 1900, 5, 7.
311. *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, 16 November 1900, 8.
312. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 29 November 1901, 7.
313. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 29 November 1901, 7.
314. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 April 1902, 6.
315. *Register*, 27 May 1902, 6; 5 June 1902, 3; 9 June 1902, 4; 10 June 1902, 6; 13 June 1902, 6; 14 June 1902, 3; 16 June 1902, 6; 17 June 1902, 7; 18 June 1902, 8; 19 June 1902, 7; 23 June 1902, 5-6; 24 June 1902, 6; 1 July 1902, 6; 26 July 1902, 10; *Herald*, 10 May 1902, 10; *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 June 1902, 8; 20 June 1902, 3-4, 8-9.
316. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 July 1902, 4; 8 August 1902, 4.
317. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 25 July 1902, 6.
318. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 22 August 1902, 5.
319. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 29 August 1902, 4.
320. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 12 September 1902, 13.
321. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 November 1902, 13.
322. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 29 May 1903, 12, 14.
323. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 July 1903, 13.
324. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 July 1903, 4.
325. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 8 April 1904, 11.
326. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 26 August 1904, 5.
327. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 November 1905, 8; *Kapunda Herald*, 26 August 1904, 6.
328. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 15 September 1905, 5.

329. *Kapunda Herald*, 1 September 1905, 6; 27 October 1905, 6.
330. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 4 May 1906, 7; 13 July 1906, 12.
331. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 1 June 1906, 5.
332. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 26 October 1906, 11; 14 June 1907, 13; 16 August 1907, 4.
333. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 7 December 1906, 5; 6 September 1907, 11.
334. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 10 May 1907, 4.
335. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 May 1907, 12.
336. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 May 1907, 12.
337. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 May 1907, 3.
338. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 May 1907, 12.
339. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 7 June 1907, 3; 21 June 1907, 13; *Advertiser*, 28 May 1907, 8; 30 May 1907, 6; 1 June 1907, 11; 3 June 1907, 6; 4 June 1907, 7; *Register*, 27 May 1907, 7; 28 May 1907, 9; 30 May 1907, 5; 31 May 1907, 5; 3 June 1907, 6; *Chronicle*, 1 June 1907, 53.
340. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 7 June 1907, 3-4; 21 June 1907, 7.
341. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 21 June 1907, 3; 28 June 1907, 3; 4 October 1907, 13.
342. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 5 July 1907, 12.
343. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 5 July 1907, 13; 12 July 1907, 7; 26 July 1907, 12.
344. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 2 August 1907, 7; 16 August 1907, 4, 13; 4 September 1907, 7; 1 November 1907, 4; 29 November 1907, 8-9.
345. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 23 August 1907, 12.
346. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 23 August 1907, 12.
347. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 August 1907, 12.
348. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 August 1907, 12.
349. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 September 1907, 4.
350. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 September 1907, 4.
351. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 September 1907, 12; 28 February 1908, 10.
352. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 October 1907, 6.
353. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 October 1907, 12.
354. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 10 April 1908, 10.
355. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 15 May 1908, 9.
356. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 3 July 1908, 7.
357. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 July 1908, 12.
358. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 July 1908, 12.
359. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 7 August 1908, 12.
360. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 16 October 1908, 4.
361. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 23 April 1909, 12.
362. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 7 May 1909, 14.
363. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 23 July 1909, 9-11; 30 July 1909, 1-5; 6 August 1909, 4-5; 13 August 1909, 4; 27 August 1909, 9; *Register*, 24 July 1909, 10; 26 July 1909, 7; 1 September 1909, 5; *Advertiser*, 31 July 1909, 11.
364. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 3 September 1909, 11.
365. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 19 August 1910, 12; 16 September 1910, 12; 28 October 1910, 5.
366. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 February 1911, 14.

367. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 28 April 1911, 12; 19 May 1911, 13; 26 May 1911, 3; 23 June 1911, 14; 21 July 1911, 5, 13; 28 July 1911, 7; 4 August 1911, 2, 7, 9; 11 August 1911, 4; 8 September 1911, 7; 6 October 1911, 17; 3 November 1911, 17; 17 November 1911, 18.
368. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 19 May 1911, 12.
369. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 21 July 1911, 13.
370. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 26 April 1912, 9; 31 May 1912, 16; 21 June 1912, 18; 5 July 1912, 7, 14; 12 July 1912, 21; 26 July 1912, 4; 2 August 1912, 14; 30 August 1912, 4.
371. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 10 May 1912, 7; 24 May 1912, 4; 31 May 1912, 4; 31 May 1912, 13; 21 June 1912, 4; 5 July 1912, 17; 19 July 1912, 17; 9 August 1912, 4; 30 August 1912, 4.
372. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 May 1912, 15; 23 August 1912, 7.
373. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 June 1912, 7-8.
374. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 June 1912, 8; 2 August 1912, 14.
375. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 May 1912, 6-9; 31 May 1912, 6-7; 7 June 1912, 6-9; 14 June 1912, 8; 28 June 1912, 5-11, 14; 5 July 1912, 14; 19 July 1912, 11, 18; *Register*, 20 May 1912, 9; 3 June 1912, 8; 6 June 1912, 7; 7 June 1912, 7; 8 June 1912, 17; *Border Watch*, 3 July 1912, 1; 6 July 1912, 2.
376. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 21 June 1912, 4.
377. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 28 June 1912, 2; 19 July 1912, 17.
378. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 26 July 1912, 9; 16 August 1912, 9.
379. *Advertiser*, 3 August 1912, 23; 5 August 1912, 12; 6 August 1912, 12; 7 August 1912, 14; 9 August 1912, 15; 13 August 1912, 12; 14 August 1912, 13; 24 August 1912, 8; 26 August 1912, 14; 29 August 1912, 11; 3 September 1912, 13; 4 September 1912, 18; 6 September 1912, 8, 12; 7 September 1912, 6; 17 September 1912, 11; 17 September 1913, 18.
380. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 16 August 1912, 15.
381. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 16 August 1912, 15.
382. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 16 August 1912, 17.
383. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 August 1912, 4.
384. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 August 1912, 13.
385. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 September 1912, 5.
386. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 22 August 1913, 11.
387. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 5 September 1913, 18.
388. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 3 October 1913, 17.
389. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 July 1914, 11.
390. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 July 1914, 11.
391. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 July 1914, 18.
392. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 9 July 1915, 13.
393. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 July 1915, 11.
394. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 6 August 1915, 12.
395. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 August 1915, 6.
396. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 3 September 1915, 7.
397. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 3 September 1915, 13.
398. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 8 October 1915, 5.
399. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 15 October, 14; 12 November 1915, 12.
400. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 12 November 1915, 12; 19 November 1915, 12.
401. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 26 November 1915, 13.
402. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 December 1915, 5; 21 January 1916, 7.
403. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 July 1916, 11; 28 July 1916, 14.



404. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 August 1916, 12.
405. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 August 1917, 351.
406. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 6 September 1918, 355; 25 October 1918, 473; 6 December 1918, 574.
407. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 October 1918, 447; 22 November 1918, 542.
408. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 8 August 1919, 294; 29 August 1919, 340; 17 October 1919, 462; 7 November 1919, 505; 28 November 1919, 553; 26 December 1919, 622.
409. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 27 February 1920, 749; 2 April 1920, 7; 30 April 1920, 69; 14 May 1920, 111; 21 May 1920, 127; 4 June 1920, 159; 2 July 1920, 213; 16 July 1920, 250; 30 July 1920, 279; 1 October 1920, 431; 22 October 1920, 476; 18 February 1921, 733.
410. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 2 April 1920, 14.
411. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 7 January 1921, 635.
412. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 1 July 1921, 219; 8 July 1921, 233; 12 August 1921, 310; 19 August 1921, 382; 26 August 1921, 346; 2 September 1921, 367; 9 September 1921, 381; 23 September 1921, 407; 21 October 1921, 477; 4 November 1921, 508; 9 December 1921, 579.
413. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 February 1922, 739; 2 June 1922, 132; 23 June 1922, 183; 4 August 1922, 278.
414. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 May 1923, 5; 8 June 1923, 3; 22 June 1923, 3; 20 July 1923, 11, 15; 27 July 1923, 9; 3 August 1923, 10; 17 August 1923, 7; 7 September 1923, 9; *Register*, 2 June 1923, 14.
415. *Register*, 16 June 1923, 10; 29 June 1923, 7; 30 June 1923, 10; 3 July 1923, 12; 4 July 1923, 9; 6 July 1923, 9; 6 July 1923, 9; 14 July 1923, 14; 17 July 1923, 10; *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 March 1923, 807; 13 April 1923, 12; 4 May 1923, 4; 8 June 1923, 9; 6 July 1923, 13; 13 July 1923, 3.
416. *Register*, 17 October 1923, 10; 29 October 1923, 11; 30 October 1923, 7; 24 November 1923, 18; 26 November 1923, 13; 7 December 1923, 7.
417. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 18 January 1924, 13; 15 February 1924, 13; 21 March 1924, 15.
418. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 29 August 1924, 14.
419. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 November 1925, 14.
420. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 19 February 1926, 9; 26 March 1926, 3; 2 April 1926, 9; 9 April 1926, 4, 7; 16 April 1926, 3; 30 April 1926, 9; 14 May 1926, 3-4; 21 May 1926, 3-4; 28 May 1926, 3; 18 June 1926, 15; *Register*, 3 April 1926, 8; 17 April 1926, 4; 24 April 1926, 18; 5 May 1926, 13; 8 May 1926, 10; 10 May 1926, 6-8; 11 May 1926, 8, 11, 13; 12 May 1926, 8, 12; 13 May 1926, 8, 13; 14 May 1926, 14; 15 May 1926, 3; 17 May 1926, 12; 18 May 1926, 8, 15; 19 May 1926, 13; 20 May 1926, 5, 11; 21 May 1926, 7, 10; 25 May 1926, 10.
421. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 9 July 1926, 6.
422. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 9 July 1926, 14; 23 July 1926, 12; 27 August 1926, 5.
423. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 27 August 1926, 15.
424. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 27 August 1926, 15.
425. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 17 September 1926, 7.
426. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 9 March 1928, 16.
427. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 May 1928, 14.
428. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 16 March 1928, 3; 13 April 1928, 3; 27 April 1928, 1; 4 May 1928, 10-11; 1 June 1928, 9; 8 June 1928, 4; 15 June 1928, 1; 15 June 1928, 4; 22 June 1928, 4; 29 June 1928, 4; 6 July 1928, 4-5, 12; 13 July 1928, 4-5, 16; 10 August 1928, 9; *Register*, 4 July 1928, 7; *Advertiser*, 7 July 1928, 26.
429. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 August 1928, 5.
430. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 31 May 1929, 13; 5 July 1929, 7; 19 July 1929, 7; 19 July 1929, 16; 16 August 1929, 8; 23 August 1929, 5; 20 September 1929, 16; 22 November 1929, 12; 28 February 1930, 5; 7 March 1930, 5.
431. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 March 1931, 3.
432. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 6 June 1930, 8, 11.
433. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 19 September 1930, 11; 3 October 1930, 11.
434. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 20 March 1931, 13; 24 April 1931, 15; 26 June 1931, 14; 25 September 1931, 8; 6 November 1931, 13; 27 November 1931, 12.
435. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 11 September 1931, 12.
436. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 29 April 1932, 15; 6 May 1932, 15; 20 May 1932; 19 August 1932, 12, 13; 26 August 1932, 14.

437. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 24 March 1933, 12.  
438. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 8 June 1934, 1.  
439. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 September 1934, 8.  
440. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 5 October 1934, 3.  
441. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 2 November 1934; 5 April 1935, 12; *Advertiser*, 2 February 1935, 14; 18 February 1935, 10; 20 February 1935, 7; 21 February 1935, 10; 23 February 1935, 10.  
442. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 12 July 1935, 12; 16 August 1935, 4.  
443. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 10 January 1936, 13.  
444. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 February 1936, 3.  
445. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 14 February 1936, 13.  
446. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 30 October 1936, 14.  
447. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 13 November 1936, 4.  
448. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 23 July 1937, 3; 8 October 1937, 6; 8 October 1937, 12.  
449. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 22 July 1938, 6; 2 September 1938, 15; 23 September 1938, 5, 13.  
450. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 15 July 1938, 5; 7 October 1938, 3.  
451. *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 10 February 1939, 4; 17 February 1939, 1; 7 April 1939, 2; 19 May 1939, 3; 2 June 1939, 15; 16 June 1939, 3; 4 August 1939, 16; 18 August 1939, 16; 3 November 1939, 3; 8 December 1939, 14.

## Appendix 2

### Methodist Conversion and Membership Figures – South Australia – 1838-1939

Includes Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist, and Wesleyan 1838-1899  
Methodist Church of Australasia, South Australia Conference 1900-1939

Abbreviations: BC - Bible Christian PM - Primitive Methodist Wes - Wesleyan Conversion Index: Conversions as percentage of membership

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
June 1838	Revival	R2 or R3	Adelaide				Unknown			50			
1840-41	Revival	R2	Adelaide				109			277			39.3
1851	Revival	R2 or R3		Kapunda			40			1215			3.3
1851	Revival	R2 or R3		Willunga			Unknown						
1853	Revival	R2 or R3		Burra	Unknown								
1853-54	Signs of Revival	R2 or R3	North Adelaide				80			1506			5.3
1853-60	Continuous Revival	R2 or R3		Gawler Plains	319			1233			25.8		
1855	Revival	R2	Norwood				60			1850			3.2
1855	Revival	R2 or R3	Bowden		Unknown								
1857	Great Awakening	R2	Norwood				Unknown						
1858	Gracious influence to the awakening of many	R2	Mitcham				Unknown						
1858	Gracious Work	R2	Adelaide				30			2477			1.2
1859	Revival	R2		Small town near Salisbury			Unknown		791				
1859	Revival	R2 and elements of R3		Burra	125 BC	500-640 reported 125 PM	250 Wes	1049	791	2579	11.9	15.8	9.7
1859	Revival	R2 or R3		Yankalilla			370			2579			14.3
1859	Revival	R2 or R3		Callington			Many			2579			
1860	Revival	R2 or R3		Kapunda			Large number						
1860	Revival	R2 or R3		Watervale	200			1233			16.2		

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
				Auburn									
1860	Revival	R2 or R3		Angaston			∓Numerous conversionsø						
1860	Revival	R2 or R3		Leasingham	∓Hundredsø(100)			1233			8.1		
1860	Revival	R2 or R3		Undalya	Less than ten (8)			1233			0.6		
1860	∓Outpouring of the Holy Spiritø	R2 or R3		Yankalilla			44			2841			1.5
1862	Revival	R2 or R3		Burra			100			3280			3.0
1862	Revival			Salisbury			∓Many convertedø		1081				
1862	Revival	R2 or R3		Moonta	∓Leap in conversions across the three branches of Methodismø				1081	3280			
1862-65	Revival	R2	Pirie Street										
1862	∓Outpouring of His Spiritø	R2	Norwood				26			3280			0.8
1863	Revival	R2 or R3		Walleroo			77		1265			6.0	
1864	Revival	R2 or R3	Adelaide				40			3604			1.1
1864	∓Blessing of Godø	Unknown	Adelaide				116			3604			3.2
1864	Revival	R2 or R3		Watergate			Unknown		1379				
1865	∓A feeling of enquiryø	Unknown		Sandergrove and Nairne			8			3957			0.2
1865	Revival	R2 or R3		Callington			25 PM	75 Wes	1545			1.6	1.9
1865	Evangelistic Visit	R2	Adelaide	Country				700-900		3957			17.7
1865	Revival	R2 or R3		Happy Valley	Unknown								
1865	Revival	R2 or R3		Mount Barker			100		1545				6.4
1866	Revival	R2	Beverly				7		1740			0.4	
1866	Revival	R2 or R3		Gawler				80		4502			1.8
1867	Revival	R2	Adelaide					230		4800			4.8
1867	Revival	R2		Goolwa				140					2.9
1867	∓Showers of Blessingsø	R2 or R3		Kooringa	40	55	69	1619	1855	4800	2.5	3.0	1.4
1867	∓The Spirit poured outø	R2 or R3		Strathalbyn		30			1855			1.6	
1867	Revival	R2		Mount Barker			220			4800			4.6
1867	Special Services	R2		Chain of Ponds & Cudlee Creek	38			1619			2.3		
1867	Special Services	R2		Gawler	84			1619			5.2		
1868	∓Great Awakeningø	R2		Strathalbyn		19			1913			1.0	

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
1868	Revival	R2 or R3		Walleroo		150			1913			7.8	
1868	∓The Spirit poured out∅	R2 and elements of R3		Mount Gambier		∓Many∅							
1868	∓Showers of Blessing∅	Elements of R3 followed by R2		Willunga			32			5045			0.6
1868	Revival	R2		Clarendon	82				1630			5.0	
1869	Special Services	R2		Gawler	25				1612			1.5	
1869	Revival	R2		Kooringa		60			2041			2.9	
1869	∓The Spirit poured out∅	R2 or R3		Walleroo		150	284			5066		7.3	5.6
1870	Evangelistic Visit	R2	Adelaide	Country			20			5319			0.4
1870	Revival	R2 and elements of R3		Clare			280			5319			5.2
1872	Revival	R3		Kooringa		40			2054			1.9	
1872	Revival	R2 or R3		Mount Barker		20			2054			1.0	
1872	Revival	R2		Yankalilla				Unknown					
1873	Revival	R2 or R3					Unknown		2087				
1873-74	∓Showers of Blessing∅	R2 or R3		Upper Sturt			20			4762			0.4
1874	Revival	R3		New Jerusalem	30				1579			1.9	
1874	∓A gracious work of God∅	R2	Bowden		50-70				1579			3.1	
1874	∓A quickening∅	R2		Mount Gambier			50			4762			1.0
1874	Revival	R2		Kooringa		70			2237			3.1	
1874	Revival	R2 or R3		Two Wells		150			2237			6.7	
1874	Revival	R2		Kapunda		26-30			2237			1.1	
1874	∓Outpourings of the Spirit∅	R2 or R3		Gawler		80			2237			3.5	
1874-75	Revival	R4		Moonta and Wallaroo	1500 BC 268 BC	410 PM	822 Wes	1579	2404	4869	17.0	17.0	17.0
1875	Special Services	R2		Kapunda			20-30			4869			0.4
1875	Special United Services	R2		Kooringa	4 BC	6 PM	10 Wes	1579	2404	4869	0.2	0.2	0.2
1875	∓Gospel Mission∅	R2	Adelaide		Evangelical Churches ó some salvations								
1875	Revival	R2		Two Wells		30			2404			1.3	
1876	∓Outpouring of the Spirit∅	R2	Kent Town & Norwood				30-40			4951			0.6
1876	Revival	R2		Auburn	Bible Christian 145 & Wesleyan 61			1828		4951	7.9		1.2
1876	Revival	R4		Walleroo		Unknown			2364				

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
1877	-Marks of Revivalø	R3	Port Adelaide				60			4896			1.2
1877	Revival	R2		Willunga			130			4896			2.6
1877	Revival	R2	Pirie Street				80			4896			1.6
1877	-Promise of a Showerø	R2		Mount Barker			27			4896			0.5
1877	-Salvation of Soulsø	Unknown		Mount Barker		-Manyç			2348				
1877	Revival	R2		Kooringa		-Ingatheringø			2348				
1877	Revival	R2		Goolwa			57			4896			1.1
1877	-Showers of Blessingø	R2		Gawler			61			4896			1.2
1877	Revival	R2		Gawler	40			1998			2.0		
1877	Revival	R2		Mount Torrens	-Considerableç			1998					
1877	Revival	R2		Clare	52			1998		4896	2.6		
1877	-Church quickenedø	Unknown		Saddleworth		Some			2348				
1877	-Times of Blessingø	R2		Clarendon	-Severalø			1998					
1877	Revival	R2		Mount Lofty	50			1998			2.5		
1877	-Outpouring of the Spiritø	R2		Port Wakefield	10			1998			0.5		
1877	Revival	R2 or R3		Mount Torrens	-Souls wonø			1998					
1877	-Power of God came downø	R2		Mount Gambier		15			2348			0.6	
1878	Revival	R2 or R3		Moonta						4864			
1878	Revival	R2		Gawler Plains	80			2063			3.8		
1878	-Special Servicesø	R2		Gawler ó Lower Alma		8			2208			0.3	
1878	-Special Servicesø	R2		Minlanton			25			4864			0.5
1879	Revival	R2		Kooringa - Redruth		50			1904			2.6	
1879	Revival	R2		Two Wells		35			1904			1.8	
1879	-Private personal Appealø	R2		Balaklava	50			2150			2.3		
1879	-Special Servicesø	R2		Clare			70			4802			1.4
1879	-Special Servicesø	R2		Mount Gambier			35			4802			0.7
1880	Revival-Temperance Matthew Burnett (R-T MB)	R2	Pirie Street				118			4938			2.4
1880	R-T MB	R2	Archer St.				180			4938			3.6

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
1880	R-T MB	R2	Brompton				88			4938			1.7
1880	-Special Servicesø	R2		Koolunga			25			4938			0.5
1880	-Evangelistic Servicesø	R2		Kapunda			100			4938			2.0
1880	-Showers of Blessingø R-T MB	R2	Kent Town & Norwood				167			4938			3.3
1880	-Special Servicesø	R2		Yarcowie			30			4938			0.6
1880	R-T MB	R2		Moonta			Unknown			4938			
1880	R-T MB	R2	Port Adelaide				100 1000-pledges			4938			2.0
1880	Revival	R2 or R3		Quorn			50			4938			1.0
1880	R-T MB	R2		Northern Areas			20 1006-pledges			4938			0.4
1881	R-T MB	R2		Jamestown			20 272-pledges			5231			0.38
1881	R-T MB	R2		Mount Gambier			-Someø 180-pledges			5231			
1881	R-T MB	R2		Mid-North Four towns			-Severalø 420-pledges			5231			
1881	R-T MB	R2		Mid-North Six towns			30 479-pledges			5231			0.6
1881	R-T MB	R2		Mid-North Thirteen towns			Some			5231			
1881	R-T MB	R2		Far-North Eleven towns			28 180-pledges			5231			0.5
1881	Revival R-T MB	R2		Moonta Mines	122 BC	100 PM	278 Wes	2306	1875	5231	5.3	5.3	5.3
1881	R-T MB	R2		Mintaro & Clare			150 600-pledges			5231			2.8
1881	Revival R-T MB	R2		Koorunga & Redruth	32 BC	26 PM	72 Wes	2306	1875	5231	1.4	1.4	1.4
1881	Revival	R2	Draper Memorial				435-pledges			5231			
1881	R-T MB	R2		Coromandel Valley & Clarendon	46 BC	Wesleyan & Bible Christian	104 Wes	2306		5231	2.0		2.0
1881	R-T MB	R2		Yankalilla Four towns	15 BC	Wesleyan & Bible Christian	34 Wes	2306		5231	0.7		0.7

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
					188-pledges								
1881	R-T MB	R2	Archer St.				52			5231			1.0
1881	R-T MB	R2		North Rhine, Redruth, Kooringa	65 BC	53 PM 238-pledges	148 Wes	2306	1875	5231	2.8	2.8	2.8
1882	R-T MB	R2		Port Elliot, Victor Harbor	Wesleyan, Bible Christian, Congregational -Some conversionsø 270-pledges			2461		6205			
1882	R-T MB	R2		Penola, Border Town, Naracoorte	Presbyterian, Congregational, Wesleyan 183-pledges								
1882	R-T MB	R2		Kingston & Robe	Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Presbyterian 217-pledges								
1882	R-T MB	R2		Port Elliot, Victor Harbor	Wesleyan, Congregational 593-pledges								
1882	R-T MB	R2		South East	Wesleyan, Church of England 2 Anglican conversions, 397 pledges, 8 Wes								
1882	R-T MB	R2		South East	Wesleyan, Bible Christian, Presbyterian 412-pledges								
1882	R-T MB	R2		Willunga, Aldinga	Wesleyan, Bible Christian 185-pledges								
1882	R-T MB	R2		Blackwood & six towns	Wesleyan, Baptist 12 Baptist 527 pledges 25 Wes					6205	0.4 Wes		
1882	R-T MB	R2		Morphett V 3 towns	Wesleyan, Bapt, BC 53 conversions 322 pledges 12 BC 33 Wes			2461		6205	0.5		0.5
1882	Revival	R2 or R3		Kadina			50			6205			0.8
1882	Revival	R2		Kooringa	115 BC	500-600 conversions 95 PM	290 Wes	2461	2022	6205	4.7	4.7	4.7
1882	R-T MB	R2		Yorke Peninsula 6 17 towns	Wesleyan, Baptist 50 Baptist conv 1900 pledges 250 Wes conv					6205			4.0
1882	R-T MB	R2		Moonta Mines & 9 towns	Wesleyan, Primitive Methodists, Congregational 12 PM 46 conversions, 450 pledges 28 Wes				2022	6205		0.6	0.4
1882	R-T MB	R2		Kapunda & 8 towns	Wesleyan, Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian 129 conversions, 693 pledges 25 BC 20 PM 70 Wes			2461	2022	6205	1.0	1.0	1.0
1882	R-T MB	R2	Pirie Street	Angaston & 3 towns, Kangaroo			-Severalø conversions			6205			



Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
				Is.			112 pledges						
1883	Evangelistic Services Emilia Baeyertz	R2		Woodside			60			7236			0.8
1883	Revivals	R2	Beverley	Kadina & 3 towns			169		2700			6.3	
1883	Revival	R2	Draper Memorial				94			7236			1.3
1883	Revivals		Morphett St. & Norwood				44		2700			1.6	
1883	Revivals, Special Services, -ngatheringø	R2	Kent Town, Norwood, Semaphore				205			7236			2.8
1883	Revival, -Outpouring of the Spiritø	R2		Maitland & 4 Towns			66			7236			0.9
1883	Mrs Hampson - Mission	R2	Adelaide		Protestant Churches 300-500 conversions			2638	2700	7236	0.9	0.9	1.0
1883	Special Services -Showers of Blessingø	R2		Port Pirie & 5 towns			200			7236			2.7
1883	Revival	R2		Moonta & 3 towns	110			2638			4.3		
1883	Revival	R2	Kent Town & Norwood				35			7236			0.5
1883	Revival	R2	Adelaide ø 4 locations			-Souls savedø		2638					
1884	Revival	R2		Mount Barker			54			7829			0.7
1884	Revival	R2	Bowden 7 Brompton		70		42	2772		7829	2.5		0.5
1884	Revival	R2		Wirrabara	Many saved			2772					
1884	Revivals	R2		Eight towns			182			7829			2.3
1884	Revival	R2	Prospect				45			7829			0.6
1885	Revivals	R2		Hawker & 3 towns			96			7848			1.2
1885	Evangelistic Services ø T Houston & H T Fry	R2	Goolwa & Crystal Brook				118			7848			1.5
1885	Houston & Fry	R2	Norwood & 8 locations		22		90	2790		7848	0.8		1.1
1886	Houston & Fry	R2	Semaphore				-Someø			7741			

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
1886	Houston & Fry	R2		Mount Barker & 4 towns			175			7741			
1886	Special Services	R2	Archer St.				20			7741			0.2
1886	Gospel Temperance Mission & R T Booth	R2	Adelaide		Total Abstinence League 1552 pledges								
1886	Special Services	R2		Aldgate			12			7741			0.1
1886	Revival Services of David O'Donnell		Gleneig				Souls saved			7741			
1886	Evangelistic Services	R2		Bordertown			25			7741			0.3
1886	Revival	R2		Wirrabara	11			2800			0.4		
1887	Revival Services of David O'Donnell	R2		Gawler & 20 towns	Wesleyan 991 conversions. 67 seek holiness 22 seek purity of heart 19 seek full salvation 9 seek entire sanctification					7445			13.3
1887	Special Services of C. Tresise	R2		Clarendon & 15 towns	205 conv 40-pledges			2817			7.2		
1887	Special Services of C. Tresise	R2	Adelaide & 5 locations		76			2817			2.7		
1888	Revival Services of David O'Donnell	R2		Mount Gambier & 2 towns			76 7 Purity of heart			7382			1.0
1888	Evangelistic Services of G W Kendrew	R2		Aldinga & 14 towns			126			7382			1.7
1888	Evangelistic Services of G W Kendrew	R2	Magill & Archer St.				Numbers converted			7382			
1888	Revival Services of David O'Donnell	R2		Walleroo			22			7382			0.3
1888	Revival	R2		Willowie	40			2805			1.4		
1888	Revival Services	R2		Walleroo Mines	Wesleyan, Congregational, Primitive Methodist, Bible Christian 19 BC 18 PM 45 Wes			2805	3013	7382	0.6	0.6	0.6
1889	Evangelistic Services of G W Kendrew	R2	Pirie St. & 2 locations				100			7229			1.4
1889	Evangelistic Services of G W Kendrew	R2		Port Wakefield & 11 towns			10 & many others			7229			0.1
1889	Revival	R2		Moonta			85			7229			1.1
1889	Visitation of Holy	R2		Callington	Primitive Methodist, Wesleyan								

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
	Spiritø				Unknown conversions								
1889	Revival	R2		Halbury, Hall, & 2 towns	70			2801			2.5		
1890	Revival	R2 or R3		Angaston			60			7151			0.8
1890	Evangelistic Mission	R2			12			2839			0.4		
1890	Temperance & Evangelism ó R Coad	R2	Adelaide	Various locations	100			2839			3.5		
1890	Revival	Most likely R3		Inman Valley	90			2839			3.2		
1891	Revival Services ó Lady Evangelists ó Misses Nesbit & Green	R2	Bowden	Mount Lofty	130			2994			4.3		
1891	Revival Services ó Misses Nesbit & Green	R2		Snowtown & 3 towns	83			2994			2.8		
1892	Revival Services ó Misses Nesbit & Green	R2		Yankalilla & 2 towns	137			3311			4.1		
1892	Revival	R2		Petersburgh			40			7638			0.5
1892	Revival Services ó Miss McLennan	R2		Port Pirie & Carrieton	32			3311			1.0		
1892	Revival ó Revs. J R Bradbury & David O'Donnell	R2	Pirie St. & 4 locations				400			7638			5.2
1892	Special Services	R2		Terowie			40			7638			0.5
1892	Convention ó Deepening of Spiritual Life ó Rev. J Watsford	R2	Pirie St. & 5 locations										
1892	Special Services	R2		Hawker			14			7638			0.2
1892	Special Services	R2		Maitland			28			7638			0.3
1892	Special Services	R2		Quorn			:Someø			7638			
1892	Special Services	R2	Parkside				:Someø			7638			
1892	Special Services	R2		Edithburgh			40			7638			0.5
1892	Revival Services ó Misses McLennan & Angell			Mid-North ó 7 towns	44			3311			1.3		
1892	Revival Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2		Port Elliot	30			3311			0.9		
1893	Revival Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2	Port Adelaide	Yankalilla & 3 towns		Conversions took place		3439					

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index			
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes	
1893	Revival Services ó Miss H McLennan	R2		Broken Hill	-Souls savedø				3439					
1893	Revival Services ó Miss Agnes McLennan	R2		Kadina	22				3439			0.6		
1893	Revival Services ó Misses Agnes McLennan 7 Catchlove	R2		Balaklava & 2 towns	40				3439			1.1		
1893	Revival	R2		Quorn Circuit ó 3 towns				16			7791			0.2
1893	Evangelistic Mission	R2	Prospect & Walkerville					-Large increaseø			7791			
1893	-Showers of Blessingø	R2		Reynella				-Decisionsø			7791			
1893	-Harvest of Soulsø	R2		Hawker & 3 towns				137			7791			1.75
1893	Revivals	R2 or R3		Northern Circuits				Unknown			7791			
1893	Evangelistic Services	R2		Mount Barker		42				2908			1.4	
1893	Revival Services ó Miss Vierk	R2		Kulpara	-Fewø				3439					
1894	Evangelistic Services	R2		Happy Valley	22				3797			0.6		
1894	Revival Services ó Misses Green & Nesbit	R2		Mount Barker & 2 towns				82			8611			1.0
1894	Revival Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2		Broken Hill Cockburn	30				3797			0.8		
1894	Ordinary Services	R3	Bowden		40				3797			1.0		
1894	Revival Services ó Misses H & A McLennan	R2		Port Wakefield & 6 towns	70				3797		8611	1.8		
1894	Revival Services ó Misses Green & Nesbit	R2		Johnsburgh				50			8611			0.6
1894	Evangelistic Mission ó Rev. Thomas Cook	R2	Pirie St. & Kent Town					850			8611			9.9
1894	Evangelistic Mission ó Thomas Cook	R2		Moonta, Kadina, Kooringa, Port Pirie, Broken Hill				1187			8611			13.8
1894	Evangelistic Mission ó Rev John MacNeil	R2	Adelaide					175			8611			2.0

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
1894	Evangelistic Mission	R2	Unley				50			8611			0.6
1894	Revival Services ó Miss Ashendon	R2		Clarendon & Willunga	22			3797					0.6
1894	Evangelistic Mission ó Rodney (Gipsy) Smith	R2	Adelaide		Bible Christian & Wesleyan			3797		8611	3.7		3.7
1894	Revival Services ó Misses Green & Nesbit	R2		Northern South Australia			409			8611			4.7
1894	Revival	R2		Yankalilla			Unknown			8611			
1895	Revival Services ó Misses Green & Nesbit	R2		Jamestown			~Manyø			9075			
1895	Revival Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2		Mt Lofty & Wirrabara	100			3928			2.5		
1895	Revival Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2	Goodwood		60			3928			1.5		
1896	Evangelistic Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2		Crystal Brook & 4 towns	29			3996			0.7		
1897	Evangelistic Services ó Miss Catchlove	R2		Baroota	20			4007			0.5		
1897	Evangelistic Services ó Miss Ashenden	R2	Goodwood		20			4007			0.5		
1897	Evangelistic Services ó Miss Ashenden	R2		Snowtown	9			3797			0.2		
1899	Evangelistic Services ó Miss Ellis (Angas College)	R2		Auburn	5 BC	30 5 PM	10 Wes	4015	3100	8474	0.1	0.1	0.1
1899	Revival Services ó Angas Coll. Students	R2	Melbourne Street				~Manyø			8474			
1899	Evangelistic Services ó Misses Ellis & Robertson - Angas Coll	R2		Auburn & Watervale			50			8474			0.6
1899	Mission ó Mr R Barrett & Sons (2)	R2		Coromandel Valley			~Manyø			8474			
1899	-Work of Godø	R2		Broken Hill			8			8474			0.09
1899	Ordinary services	R2		Strathalbyn			22			8474			0.2
1899	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Coromandel Valley			50			8474			0.6
1899	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Ardrossan			26			8474			0.3

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions			Membership			Conversion Index		
			Adelaide	Country	BC	PM	Wesleyan	BC	PM	Wes	BC	PM	Wes
1899	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Lake Wangary			9			8474			0.1
1899	Evangelistic Mission ó C H Yatman	R2	Adelaide & Port Adelaide	Petersburgh, Broken Hill, Gawler	Held under auspices of YMCA Adelaide ó 926 conv. Gawler 150 conv.								
1899	Gospel Mission	R2		Clarendon			50			8474			0.6
1899	Special Services	R2		Port Lincoln			46			8474			0.5
1899	Evangelistic Mission ó Barrett Brothers (SR & JW)	R2		Clarendon			~Manyø			8474			

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions - Methodist	Membership	Conversion Index
			Adelaide	Country			
1900	Revival		Parkside		70-80	14738	0.5
1900	Evangelistic Services	R2		Wallaroo Mines	12	14738	0.08
1901	Mission ó Barrett Bros.	R2		Minlanton	35	14769	0.2
1901	Revival	R2		Willochra	10	14769	0.06
1902	Mission ó Barrett Bros.	R2		Yacka & 3 locs.	Three Missions - 147	15054	1.0
1902	Simultaneous Mission ó WE Geil	R2	Adelaide & Pt. Adelaide		~Large numberø		
1902	Simultaneous Mission	R2		Gumeracha	Methodist & Baptist - 70	15054	
1902	United Revival Svcs	R2		Mount Gambier	Meth, Pres, Baptist, S. Army ó ~Decisionø		
1902	Gospel Mission	R2	Nth Adel.		80-90	15054	0.53
1903	~Powerful Workø	R2		Moonta	40	15451	0.25
1903	Evangelistic Mission ó Dr WG Torr	R2		Broken Hill & Willunga	40-50	15451	0.25
1904	Mission Services	R2		Stanley	17	15636	0.10
1904	Evangelistic Mission ó Rev W Lockart Morton	R2		Yorketown	Methodist, Baptist, Anglican - 30-40		
1904	Revival	R2 or R3		Redruth	Methodist, S. Army - 12		
1905	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Yankalilla	22	15910	0.14
1905	Revival	R2 or R3		Kooringa	Unknown	15910	
1906	Mission ó WG Torr	R2	Goodwood		~Scoreø	16329	
1906	Revival	R3			Unknown	16329	

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions - Methodist	Membership	Conversion Index
			Adelaide	Country			
1906	Evangelistic Services ó Forsyth (Hope Lodge) & Willason	R2		Ardrossan	26	16329	0.16
1906	Mission ó Forsyth & Mursell	R2		Maitland & 3 towns	76	16329	0.46
1907	Mission ó Forsyth & Willason	R2		Ardrossan & 6 towns	180	17009	1.05
1907	Evangelistic Missions ó WG Torr	R2		South East ó 12 towns	113	17009	0.66
1907	Evangelistic Services ó Cuttriss & Millar (Hope Lodge)R	R2		Meadows ó 2 missions. Cherry Gardens	83	17009	0.48
1907	Evangelistic Mission ó Rev GH Cole	R2	Adelaide ó 3 locations		55	17009	0.32
1907	Mission ó Barrett Bros.	R2		Various	850	17009	5.0
1907	Evangelistic Mission ó Ada Ward	R2			Few Conversions		
1907	Evangelistic Mission ó Barnes & Chambers	R2		Balaklava	29	17009	0.17
1907	Evangelistic Mission ó MacDonald & Stanton	R2		Edithburgh	23	17009	0.13
1907	Evangelistic Mission ó H Lyons	R2		Yankalilla	39	17009	0.22
1908	Mission ó Barrett Bros.	R2		Mallala & 3 towns	125	17322	0.72
1908	Evangelistic Mission ó Rev. David OóDonnell	R2	Glenelg & Payneham		75-85	17322	0.43
1908	Mission ó D OóDonnell	R2		Jamestown	Meth, Bapt, Pres, S. Army ó -Great numbers		
1908	Mission ó HF Allen	R2		Millicent	12	17322	0.06
1909	Mission ó WG Torr	R2		Edithburgh	33	18393	0.18
1909	Mission ó Barrett Bros.			Nantawarra & 1 town	13	18393	0.07
1909	Evangelistic Mission ó Dr JW Chapman & CM Alexander	R2	Adelaide		800	18393	4.35 (Total Converts)
1909	Revival	R2		Kingscote KI	25	18393	0.13
1910	Evangelistic Mission ó Sister Lily (Miss	R2	Prospect		40	18905	0.21

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions - Methodist	Membership	Conversion Index
			Adelaide	Country			
	Cowmeadow)						
1910	Mission ó Sister Lily	R2		Yorke town & 3 towns	39	18905	0.20
1910	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Mylor & 4 towns	46	18905	0.24
1911	Mission ó Sister Lily	R2		Mid-North ó 8 towns	222	19262	1.15
1911	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Mount Bryan	16	19262	0.08
1912	Mission ó Sister Lily	R2		Wirrabara & 7 towns	79	20764	0.38
1912	Evangelistic Mission ó AE Cowley	R2		Moonta & 3 towns	132	20764	0.63
1912	Mission ó Mrs Murton	R2		Strathalbyn & Aldinga	39	20764	0.18
1912	Mission ó Rev. S Forsyth	R2		Petersburg	Non-Denominational ó 24		
1912	Evangelistic Mission ó Chapman & Alexander	R2		Petersburg	Non-Denominational ó 35		
1912	Evangelistic Mission ó Chapman & Alexander	R2	Adelaide	Country ó 5 towns	Non-Denominational ó 2000 decision cards 463 new Methodist members		2.22 (New Members)
1912	Mission Rev. H Gunter	R2		Cowell	6	20764	0.02
1912	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Cummins	12	20764	0.06
1912	Evangelistic Mission ó Dr CR Scoville	R2	Adelaide		Churches of Christ invitation. Total converts ó 924.		4.45 (Total Converts)
1912	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Gawler	25	20764	0.12
1912	Revival	R2 or R3		Napperby & Broad Creek	35	20764	0.17
1912	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Lucindale	22	20764	0.11
1912	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Yankalilla ó 3 locations	12	20764	0.06
1912	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Gladstone	12	20764	0.06
1913	Evangelistic Mission ó Mr AE Cowley	R2		Wandearah	44	21295	0.20
1913	Mission ó Mr JW Barrett	R2		Penola	12	21295	0.06
1913	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Bridgewater	8	21295	0.04
1914	Circuit Work - Special	R2		McLaren Flat	50-60	21689	0.23
1914	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Balaklava	15	21689	0.07
1914	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Willunga	15	21689	0.07



Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions - Methodist	Membership	Conversion Index
			Adelaide	Country			
1915	United Christian Mission (UCM) ó Rev. Lionel B Fletcher	R2		Walleraro	Fletcher's Missions were Non-Denominational. 150 converts ó 50 joined the Methodist Church	22378	0.22 (New Members)
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Kadina	235 converts ó 184 joined the Meth. Church	22378	0.82 (New Members)
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Walleraro Mines	131 converts ó 112 joined the Meth. Church	22378	0.5 (New Members)
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Jamestown	67 converts ó 36 joined the Meth. Church	22378	0.16 (New Members)
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Clare	81 decisions ó 200 re-consecrations	22378	
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Port Pirie	105 converts ó half joined the Meth. Church	22738	0.22 (New Members)
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Moonta	335 converts ó 313 are Methodists	22738	1.38
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Maitland	73 converts ó Majority - Methodists	22738	0.32
1915	UCM - Fletcher	R2		Naracoorte	60 conversions ó Meth. unknown	22738	
1915	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Gumeracha- twice	28	22738	0.12
1916	Grand revival	R2		Broken Hill	Many souls saved	22791	
1916	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Clare	20	22791	0.09
1917	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Murray Bridge	A Number of decisions	22926	
1918	Local Preachers Association (LPA) ó Deepening of Spiritual Life	R2		Norwood & Semaphore	49 conversions Others sought a fuller blessing	23264	0.21
1918	Evangelistic Mission ó Mr. J Delehanty ó	R2		Cleve & Port Wakefield	30	23264	0.12
1919	Evangelistic Missions ó Rev. DT Reddin ó Conference Evangelist	R2		Laura & 4 towns	83	23112	0.36
1919	Mission ó Conference Evangelist - Reddin	R2	Payneham		32	23112	0.14
1920	Mission ó Conference Evangelist - Reddin	R2		Naracoorte & 5 towns	264 conversions	23115	1.14
1921	Evangelistic Missions ó Rev. HF Lyons ó Conference Evangelist	R2		Millicent & 5 towns	38 conversions	23020	0.17
1921	Mission ó Conference Evangelist - Lyons	R2	Woodville & Brighton		18	23020	0.08
1922	Mission ó Conference Evangelist - Lyons	R2		Cleve & 3 towns	57 conversions 50 full consecration	23418	0.24
1923	Evangelistic Crusade ó	R2	Adelaide &		Few conversions	23569	

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions - Methodist	Membership	Conversion Index
			Adelaide	Country			
	Simultaneous Mission		Country				
1923	Healing Mission ó Mr. JM Hickson	R2	Adelaide	Port Pirie & Broken Hill	900 received prayers for healing		
1923	Evangelistic Mission ó Dr. JR Kellems & Mr. CM Richards	R2	Adelaide		Churches of Christ Mission 478 -Confessionsø		
1924	Evangelistic Mission ó Rev. Dr. WE Biederwolf & Mr. H Rodeheaver	R2	Adelaide		Evangelisation Society of South Australia (ESA) 267 -decisionsø 213 -re-consecrationsø		
1924	Evangelistic Crusade ó Simultaneous Mission	R2	Brompton		11	23449	0.05
1925	Regular Circuit Work	R2		Mount Gambier	17	24187	0.07
1926	Evangelistic Mission ó Gipsy Smith	R2	Adelaide		Unknown		
1926	Spiritual Convention	R2		Burra	None reported	24509	
1926	Revival ó Meth & Anglican ó Rev. SJ Kirby ó Church Bush Aid Society	R2		Ceduna	75 ó majority were Anglicans	24509	
1926	Evangelistic Crusade	R2		Lochiel	2	24509	0.008
1926	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Nantawarra	20 converts & 4 re-consecrations	24509	0.08
1926	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Summertown	70	24509	0.29
1928	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Bordertown	30	25433	0.18
1928	Mission - LPA	R2		Spalding	6	25433	0.02
1928	Crusade ó Rev. Norman Dunning	R2	Kent Town, Pirie St. & 50 churches	Port Pirie, Broken Hill	-Hundreds of decisions reportedø	25433	
1928	Evangelistic Mission	R2		Edithburgh	7	25433	0.03
1929	Spiritual Advance Crusade ó Rev. Shaw	R2		34 Circuits in S.A.	Not recorded. Emphasis on deepening the spiritual life.	25692	
1930	Crusade ó Rev. Dr. W Shaw		Adelaide	Country	Conducted 306 services. No record of conversions	26056	
1930	Revival ó Rev. George Brown ó Evangelisation Society of S.A. (ESSA)	R2		Willunga & 5 towns	64	26056	0.26
1930	United Crusade ó Mr. EE Mitchell	R2		Jamestown	Presb, Bapt, Meth, S. Army. No conversions recorded. Deepening of Spiritual Life		

Year	Event	Category	Location		Conversions - Methodist	Membership	Conversion Index
			Adelaide	Country			
1931	Crusade - Shaw	R2	Adelaide	Country	Few conversions recorded	26692	
1931	Evangelistic Crusade	R2		Glencoe	Some decisions recorded	26692	
1932	Crusade - Shaw	R2	Adelaide	Country	No reports	27117	
1933	Crusade - Shaw	R2			Limited reporting	27403	
1934	Evangelistic Mission ó Wesley College Students	R2	Circuit ó Unknown location		200	27482	0.73
1934	Mission ó Spiritual Life Enrichment	R2	Maylands		Some decisions recorded	27482	
1934	Revival	R2		Woodside	38	27482	0.14
1935	Crusade ó Rev. Norman Dunning	R2	Pirie St. & Malvern		No record of conversions cited	27384	
1935	Spiritual Crusade	R2	Alberton		63	27384	0.23
1936	Revival & Spiritual Deepening Crusade	R2		Willunga, Nangkita	8	27450	0.03
1936	Evangelistic Crusade	R2		Willunga	30	27450	0.11
1936	Group Movement ó Rev. AE Vogt	R2		Berri	5	27450	0.02
1936	Centenary Evangelistic Crusade	R2	West Hindmarsh		50-60	27450	0.18
1936	Conference Centenary Evangelistic Report	R2	Adelaide	Country	66 Circuits ó 157 conversions	27450	0.57
1937	Evangelistic Crusade	R2	City-wide		2	27855	0.007
1938	Evangelism ó Eyre Peninsula	R2		Various locations	None reported	27607	
1939	Evangelistic Missions ó Conference Evangelist	R2	Adelaide	Country	Some conversions recorded. Port Adelaide - 22	27883	0.08

## Appendix 3

### Annual Conversion Index (ACI) – South Australia

Includes Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist, and Wesleyan Churches 1840-1937  
Methodist Church of Australasia, South Australia Conference 1900-1937

**Annual Conversion Index (ACI):** The number of recorded conversions per year as a percentage of the annual membership.  
Indicates the relative converting activity in the church in any one year.

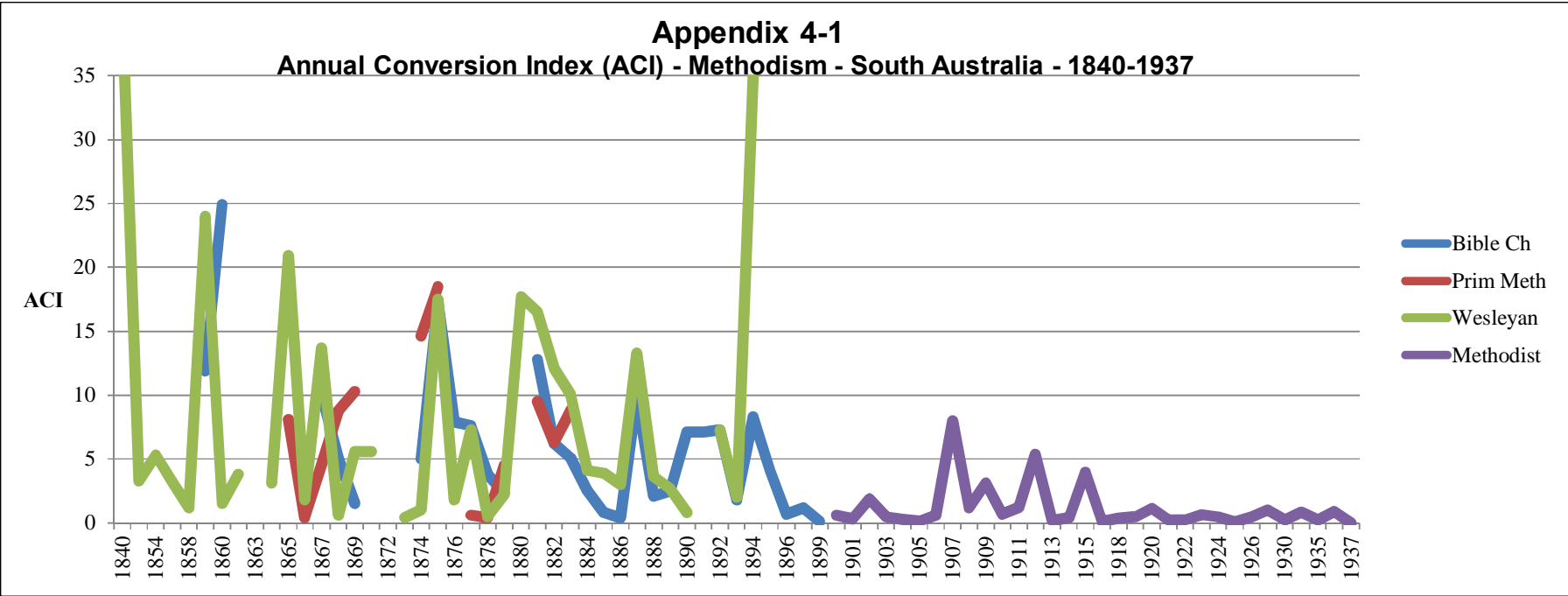
Year	Denomination								
	Bible Christian			Primitive Methodist			Wesleyan		
	Conversions	Members	ACI	Conversions	Members	ACI	Conversions	Members	ACI
1840-41							109	277	39.3
1851							40	1215	3.3
1853									
1853-54							80	1506	5.3
1853-60	519	1233	25.8						
1855							60	1850	3.2
1857									
1858							30	2477	1.2
1859	125	1049	11.9	125	791	15.8	620	2579	24.0
1860	108	1233	24.9				44	2841	1.5
1862							126	3280	3.8
1863				77	1265	6.1			
1864							112	3604	3.1
1865				125	1545	8.1	827	3957	20.9

Year	Denomination								
	Bible Christian			Primitive Methodist			Wesleyan		
	Conversions	Members	ACI	Conversions	Members	ACI	Conversions	Members	ACI
1866				7	1740	0.4	80	4502	1.8
1867	162	1619	10.0	85	1855	4.6	659	4800	13.7
1868	82	1630	5.0	169	1913	8.8	32	5045	0.6
1869	25	1612	1.5	210	2041	10.3	284	5066	5.6
1870							300	5319	5.6
1872				60	2054	2.9			
1873							20	4762	0.4
1874	80	1579	5.0	326	2237	14.6	50	4762	1.0
1875	272	1579	17.2	445	2404	18.5	853	4869	17.5
1876	145	1828	7.9				91	4951	1.8
1877	152	1998	7.6	15	2348	0.6	358	4896	7.3
1878	80	2063	3.8	8	2208	0.4	25	4864	0.5
1879	50	2150	2.3	85	1904	4.5	105	4802	2.2
1880							878	4938	17.7
1881	296	2306	12.8	179	1875	9.5	864	5231	16.5
1882	152	2461	6.2	127	2022	6.3	754	6205	12.1
1883	135	2638	5.1	238	2700	8.8	735	7236	10.1
1884	70	2772	2.5				323	7829	4.1
1885	22	2790	0.8				304	7848	3.9
1886	11	2800	0.4				232	7741	3.0
1887	281	2817	10.0				991	7445	13.3
1888	59	2805	2.1	18	3013	0.6	269	7382	3.6
1889	70	2801	2.5				195	7229	2.7
1890	202	2839	7.1				60	7151	0.8
1891	213	2994	7.1						
1892	243	3311	7.3				562	7638	7.3
1893	62	3439	1.8	42	2908	1.4	153	7791	2.0
1894	315	3797	8.3				3032	8611	35.2
1895	160	3928	4.1						
1896	29	3996	0.7						

Year	Denomination								
	Bible Christian			Primitive Methodist			Wesleyan		
	Conversions	Members	ACI	Conversions	Members	ACI	Conversions	Members	ACI
1897	49	4007	1.2						
1899	5	3976	0.1	5	3100	0.1	271	8474	3.2
Total	4149			2321			14451		

Methodist			
Year	Conversions	Membership	Annual Conversion Index (ACI)
1900	82	14738	0.56
1901	45	14769	0.30
1902	282	15054	1.87
1903	80	15451	0.51
1904	43	15636	0.27
1905	22	15910	0.14
1906	102	16329	0.62
1907	1372	17009	8.06
1908	212	17322	1.22
1909	571	18393	3.1
1910	125	18905	0.66
1911	238	19262	1.24
1912	1117	20764	5.38
1913	44	21295	0.20
1914	80	21689	0.37
1915	900	22738	4.0
1916	20	22791	0.09

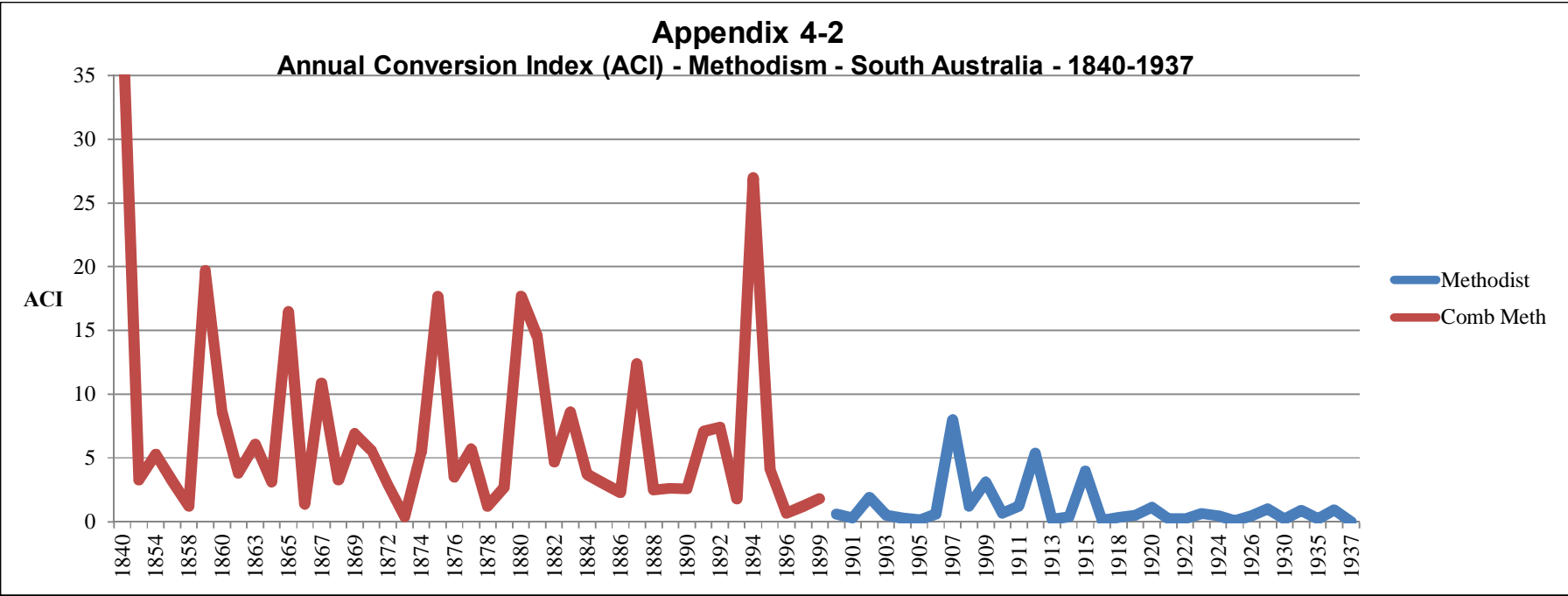
Methodist			
Year	Conversions	Membership	Annual Conversion Index (ACI)
1918	79	23264	0.34
1919	115	23112	0.50
1920	264	23115	1.14
1921	56	23020	0.24
1922	57	23418	0.24
1923	150	23569	0.64
1924	111	23449	0.47
1925	17	24187	0.07
1926	117	24509	0.48
1928	243	25433	1.0
1930	64	26056	0.24
1934	238	27482	0.87
1935	63	27384	0.23
1936	250	27450	0.91
1937	2	27855	0.007
Total 1900-1937	7161		



**Annual Conversion Index for Bible Christian, Primitive Methodist, and Wesleyan Churches 1840-1899**  
**Annual Conversion Index for the Methodist Church of Australasia, South Australia Conference, 1900-1937 (Methodist)**

Annual Conversion Index (ACI): The number of recorded conversions per year as a percentage of the annual membership. Indicates the relative converting activity in the church in any one year. Gaps in the graphs indicate that there were no recorded conversions in that period. Note that the graph line is only formed when two or more years of conversions were entered. See Appendix 3 for complete figures.





**Annual Conversion Index (Combined) for the Bible Christian, Primitive, and Wesleyan Methodist Churches 1840-1899 (Comb Meth)  
Annual Conversion Index for the Methodist Church of Australasia, South Australia Conference, 1900-1937 (Methodist)**

Annual Conversion Index (ACI): The number of recorded conversions per year as a percentage of the annual membership. Indicates the relative converting activity in the church in any one year.

## Appendix 5

### Methodist Conversions – South Australia – Summary 1838-1939

Period	Years	Conversions	Average Number of Conversions per Year	Conversions		Conversion Events		Conversions as % of Membership Growth
				Adelaide	Country	Adelaide	Country	
1838- 1865	27	3163	117	2002	1161	15	24	45.6%
1866- 1901	35	17913	543	5286	16355	60	209	250.1%
1902- 1913	11	3728	339					88.6%
1914- 1939	25	2826	113	654	2017	9	44	45.6%
Total		27630	270	7942	19533	82	277	

Sources: Data from Appendices 2 and 3.

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