The spirit of Pentecost is the spirit of revival. From the first, there was a cry for renewal and revival, to be part of an age-ending spiritual regeneration that would touch the whole world prior to the return of Christ. The first half of the twentieth century was a time of radical social and political change in Australia. They were also years of religious ferment which, although relatively insignificant at the time, were to have a long-lasting effect on the Australian church scene. Just as post-war immigration softened traditional Anglo-Saxon reserve and encouraged Australians to be more expressive and less conservative in their ways, so the emergence of Pentecostalism had a leavening effect on Australian Church life. By and large, today’s Church is less conservative and more informal in its style. This is partly, at least, the result of the growth of the Pentecostal movement. Even those who would not accept one iota of Pentecostal doctrine cheerfully adopt Pentecostal practices, especially in the realm of music. On the broad canvas of Australian Church life, early Pentecostalism was a minor detail. At the time, its existence seemed irrelevant. However, that small detail has now proven to be vital to the balance of the whole picture. To outsiders, the pre-War revival movements were insignificant; for insiders, everything else but revival was insignificant.

In early 1912, a young man named Charles Lewis Greenwood (1891-1969) attended the Footscray Church of Christ in Melbourne, Victoria, under duress from his fiancee. Greenwood had grown up in a dysfunctional family of 12
children, with a disrupted education.\(^1\) His earliest years were spent in the home of an uncle and aunt. He experienced poverty and bullying, undertaking part-time work even as a child to help his mother make ends meet. He was an enthusiastic sportsman, playing both cricket and football. By the age of 16, he was smoking, drinking, swearing, fighting, gambling and living a godless life. He had no significant experience of Christianity. His determined spirit was demonstrated by his practice of spending hours learning how to box and play quoits so that he would not be beaten at either pursuit.

Greenwood made a profession of faith and was baptised, but for all his diligent efforts, nothing changed. Eighteen months later, he knew in his heart that he was no different. Into that church came a man named Lisle Braun (later Brown) who told how his wife had been saved and baptised in the Holy Spirit in South Africa under John G. Lake’s ministry and how he himself had been healed of cancer.\(^2\) There was a mixed reaction to this story, some rejecting it and others delighted by it. The result was that 17 people were baptised in the Spirit, including Greenwood himself (20 November 1913).\(^3\) After church, Greenwood, the girl and her mother visited Braun, who greeted him with, ‘Young man, you are a great smoker.’\(^4\) Braun laid hands on him and prayed for him. Greenwood never smoked again.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Greenwood, *Life Story*, 1965, p.1ff. Unless otherwise stated, details of Greenwood’s life are from this source.

\(^2\) In 1898, the wife of John Graham Lake (1870-1935), an American publisher, real estate and insurance businessman, was instantaneously healed of tuberculosis through Dowie’s ministrations in Zion, Illinois. Lake became an elder in the Catholic Apostolic Church. In 1907, after Dowie’s death, he was baptised in the Holy Spirit, turned his back on a lucrative career, and the following year, went to South Africa with his wife and seven children, where he began his ministry among Zion people. Within months, his wife died. However, he continued preaching for five years and by the time he left, there were some 600 new congregations in South Africa under the name Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM). The AFM is today one of the leading Pentecostal denominations in South Africa. Their practice of baptism by triple immersion is a reflection of their Zion origins. See Burgess et al, 1988, p.531; John G.Lake, *Sermons Dallas: The Voice of Healing*, 1949, pp. 44, 130; G.Lindsay, *John G.Lake: Apostle to Africa* Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1980, pp.3,17,24,27,53; Lindsay, *Dowie 1951*, p.271.

\(^3\) There are some discrepancies between different versions of Greenwood’s story. In 1964, he claimed that 33 people received the Spirit and that he was baptised in the Spirit on 25 November, 1913. See APF address transcript, 1964.

\(^4\) The Brauns were also instrumental in leading the Armstrong family into Pentecostalism. See M.Brett, ‘Maxwell Armstrong,’ unpublished essay, Tabor College, 1996.
He now felt challenged in other areas. He told his fiancee that he wanted to sever the relationship until they were both filled with the Holy Spirit. In fact, the engagement was never resumed. He began an earnest quest for the Spirit. He began to attend Pentecostal meetings in Albert Park, a Melbourne suburb, probably conducted by Robert Horne.\(^5\)

For three years, Greenwood struggled with his new faith, most of the time seeking earnestly to be filled with the Holy Spirit, at times regretting his decision to break off his engagement, at others drifting back into worldly ways. It was a young lady named Ada Painter, who had received the Spirit at Eltham, who warned him that he was 'grasping a bubble that would crumble in his hands' and urged him to take a stand for God.\(^6\)

Since 1905, Greenwood had been working at the McKay Harvester Company at Sunshine, an outer suburb west of the city of Melbourne. Once when there was industrial unrest Greenwood, now fervent in faith, refused to go on strike. As a result, he was ostracised by his work mates. It was all part of the making of him. 'I made a companion of the Lord,' he said later. 'I started to walk with Him.'

Finally, on 20 November 1913, at the age of 23, he attended a meeting where in earnest desperation he poured out passionate praise to God and in the process spoke briefly in tongues. Convinced he had made it up himself, he did not continue. By now, he had fallen in love again, this time with Frances Ella Reed, who was to become his wife. She had already experienced glossolalia and prayed for him in tongues. Later, on the Carnegie railway station platform, his patient longing was rewarded and there, waiting for the train, surrounded by

\(^5\) For more on Horne, see Appendix Ten. Further research is yet to be done on Horne. The details given here are based on personal interviews with L. Brabham, D. Brabham, I. Martin and H. Broadley; from comments by C.L. Greenwood; and from an address given at the opening of the Southern Evangelical Mission's new building in Brighton in 1961, possibly by E. Holland, who succeeded Horne as pastor. Where there are discrepancies, I have taken the latter source as the more reliable. Unfortunately, some other printed materials were lost in the 1987 fire.

other passengers, his inhibitions now finally broken, he burst out speaking in tongues! He later recalled —

I was baptised with the Holy Ghost and with fire and I will never forget that wonderful experience ... I was filled with the Holy Ghost as much as my little frame could take in at that time. In His loving kindness and tender mercy He has seen me from above. Thank God for the mighty baptism in the Holy Ghost.  

On 19 August 1915, Greenwood and Frances were married, and settled in Sunshine. One by one, Greenwood began to lead people to Christ and soon started a small Bible Study group in his home. There were some dramatic cases of healing and exorcism including that of Albert Lowe, an alcoholic.

For nearly a decade, the meetings continued. Some people were baptised in water in the Greenwoods’ bath. Others were baptised in the Spirit. Greenwood was small in stature, but lively, energetic and vigorous. Although acutely aware of his own lack of education, and uncertain of his speaking ability, he found himself able to hold people’s attention when he preached and he proved particularly gifted in bringing people to a point of commitment. He spoke the language of the working man and pulled no punches. To his family, Greenwood’s effectiveness was simply explained. Others relied on their knowledge and talents; Greenwood could only depend on the power of the Holy Spirit.

Leo Harris, who was converted under Greenwood’s ministry in

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8 Some 50 years later, Greenwood described Lowe’s exorcism in this way — ‘He came inside and knelt at the table. He had not been kneeling very long when the spirit that had controlled him all his life started to manifest itself. You have never seen anything like it in your life ... That spirit lifted him up off his knees as high as the table and had him hanging in mid-air ... That held him there and when he did that and started to make awful noises ... I rushed behind the door ... I was scared and as I put my face to the ground I cried to God and the power of God fell on me. I got up off my face, ran across to him (by this time he was flat on his back) and put my two knees on his chest. (I would never do it again.) I commanded the unclean demon to come out of him and ... the demons gave way. That spirit was gone immediately. He burst out speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gave him utterance. He was delivered that night from demon power and baptised in the Holy Ghost.’ Lowe was to become one of Greenwood’s most loyal and devoted partners in ministry. At one point, when damaging rumours were being spread about the meetings at Sunshine and the Greenwoods in particular, Lowe’s loyalty and encouragement was invaluable. Lowe was to become one of Greenwood’s most loyal and devoted partners in ministry. See Greenwood, *Life Story*, 1965, p.35f.

9 H.Dwight, personal interview, 12 June 1990.
Perth in 1928, recalled, 'He spoke so vividly of judgement that he scared me out of my seat.' He was not alone in his respect for Greenwood’s preaching. Another man said —

As a Gospel preacher I do believe that Charles Lewis Greenwood was not surpassed by any I have heard, with his clarity, sincerity and urgent yet generous appeal.

The small group banked their tithes, purchased an acre of land in Martin Street and set about building the Sunshine Gospel Hall, a weatherboard structure seating 220 people with a small brick room at the rear, which was completed in February 1925.

Alfred Valdez

In that same year, the inaugural flight from Europe to Australia was made by the Italian the Marchesse de Pinedo, the first moving pictures with sound were introduced to Australia and Sydney’s population exceeded one million for the first time. And Good News announced with great excitement that A.C.Valdez (1896-1988), another American evangelist, would commence his Melbourne campaign on Sunday 8 March at Good News Hall. Other congregations who wished to invite him to preach for them were urged to contact the secretary Winnie Andrews. After six months in New Zealand, Valdez arrived in Melbourne in 1925, at the age of 29, accompanied by his mother, his wife and

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10 Leo Harris, personal interview, c.1970.
12 Tithing is the practice of giving one tenth (a tithe) of one’s income to God. See biblical passages such as Malachi 3:10 ('Bring the whole tithe into the storehouse, that there may be food in my house. Test me in this," says the LORD Almighty, "and see if I will not throw open the floodgates of heaven and pour out so much blessing that you will not have room enough for it" — NIV). Although not usually compulsory, it is generally practised by Pentecostal people.
13 Ethel King and Jessie Ferguson, missionaries from India, were present at the opening. See C.L. Greenwood, ‘The Melbourne Revival,’ AE July 1926, p.20.
14 For background on Valdez, see Appendix Ten.
small child, with little money and little idea of what he would do next. At the beginning of March, he found himself at Good News Hall where he was generously received. At his first two meetings, as they began to pray, people were baptised in the Holy Spirit. The initial newspaper advertisements promised ‘a New Testament Revival’ during a ‘protracted campaign’ at Good News Hall. A late news item in Good News was full of hope—

Evangelist Valdez and his mother have captured all hearts. His impassioned addresses, with their mingled pathos and humor [sic], reach right home to the hearers, and create a resolution to go clean through with Jesus.

Within a week, however, the ‘protracted campaign’ was over. ‘The Lord did not permit us to stay there,’ Valdez recalled years later. The following advertisement appeared in the press—

SPECIAL NOTICE — The Evangelist has cancelled his engagement to conduct services at Good News Hall, Queensberry-street [sic], North Melbourne, and has severed all connection with that mission on account of doctrinal differences. The Evangelist hereby publicly states that he believes in the TRIUNE GOD, the UNCREATED DEITY of the LORD JESUS CHRIST and the PERSONALITY and DEITY of the HOLY SPIRIT; and that he holds and teaches all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith.

Plainly, Lancaster’s unorthodox beliefs had again proven a barrier too large to surmount. After a couple of days, Valdez left the Hall and began to preach for Robert Horne’s Southern Evangelical Mission. It was there he heard a voice say clearly that he should go to Sunshine. He had no idea what this meant, but

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15 Years later (in the 1960’s?), Valdez, his memory less than reliable, said he was 26 at this time. See A.C.Valdez, ‘The Call and Circumstances of A.C.Valdez coming to Australia and New Zealand in 1925,' transcript of taped address, Richmond Temple, Melbourne, n.d. but c.1964. Other details of Valdez’ ministry are from this source unless otherwise stated.


17 Age, 7 March 1925, p.11.

18 GN 16:3 March 1925, pp.17,24; May 1926, p.9.

19 See Valdez, Address, c.1964.

20 Age, 14 March 1925, p.11.

21 Age, 14 March, 1925, p.11; 21 March 1925.
later discovered there was a Melbourne suburb of that name and took the train there. He called at the Sunshine Gospel Hall and there met Greenwood who was working on the new building. 'As he (Greenwood) got closer,' Valdez recalled, 'I could see that he was speaking in tongues. Then he stopped and said, "Come inside, brother, I knew you were coming."' Greenwood told him that he and his small group had been praying all night that Valdez would come to them.\(^\text{22}\)

Not everyone agrees with this version of the story. Elviss Greenwood, C.L. Greenwood's son, alleged that his father had gone to Good News Hall and invited Valdez to Sunshine.\(^\text{23}\) Several former members of the Hall claim that Greenwood 'took Valdez out.'\(^\text{24}\) In an address given in September 1965, Greenwood himself admitted he had invited Valdez, but after he left the Hall. He told how he had heard Valdez at Good News Hall and how before Valdez spoke a young man, probably Alex Buchanan, made a statement about their belief in the Godhead, noting that 'whispers' had got to the ear of the evangelist. According to Greenwood, Valdez had insisted on their being open about their beliefs, or he would not take the platform. The result was that many people left the meeting.\(^\text{25}\)

**Sunshine**

Greenwood later gained Horne's permission to talk with the evangelist, and invited him to Sunshine.\(^\text{26}\) Valdez visited the new church, thoroughly quizzed Greenwood on his doctrines, and agreed to preach for him. By the beginning of April, a full program of meetings was under way. There were tarrying meetings

\(^\text{22}\) Valdez, Address, c.1964.


\(^\text{25}\) There are several inconsistencies in the recollections of both Valdez and Greenwood. Greenwood, for example, incorrectly claimed that everyone walked out of Good News Hall when Buchanan spoke. He noted that Valdez was 23 (not 29) when he came to Melbourne. On the other hand, Valdez's story of his call to Sunshine is incomplete. He omitted significant facts, such as Greenwood's visit to the SEM. Valdez also claimed that 'scores' of students at the Melbourne Bible Institute were baptised in the Spirit, which was plainly an exaggeration.

\(^\text{26}\) Greenwood, *Life Story*, p.42. The young man mentioned was possibly W.A. Buchanan.
The Spirit of Revival

on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, evangelistic services on Thursday and Saturday nights and two services on Sundays. Within a few nights, capacity crowds began to attend. People stood outside, unable to gain admittance. Greenwood recalled —

During this campaign the power of God was manifested in a wonderful way: sinners were converted, many believers were baptised in the Holy Spirit, and the power of God fell at every meeting. Soon the news spread that the Lord was pouring out His Spirit in Sunshine, and people came from near and far. Night after night the church was packed, the altar lined, and christians [sic] from all denominations were baptised in the Holy Spirit.

Trains from Melbourne to Sunshine were crowded. As they travelled, the people sang favourite hymns such as 'Joy Unspeakable,' 'Love Lifted Me' and, a favourite of Valdez, 'I've Anchored in Jesus.' Some were reportedly converted on the trains. Valdez claimed that people were woken up in the middle of the night and told to go to Sunshine.

Others were so overcome by their experience they lay on the floor for hours at a time. Visions and revelations were reported. On occasion, there were demonic manifestations as people were liberated from oppression. The most common testimony was that of speaking in other tongues. It was assumed that people might spend hours on their knees or their faces before the Spirit came. Some people were so emotionally drained after these episodes they had difficulty standing on their feet and had to be assisted to the railway station. Others had lingered so long in prayer they missed the last train and either walked home or were driven by the few people who owned motor vehicles. Fortunately, the brick room at the rear of the hall was relatively sound-proof, for there was

27 Age, 4 April, 1925.
28 Richmond Temple Souvenir, 1939, pp.6f; cf AE July 1926, p.20; GN July 1925, p.20.
30 Valdez, address, c.1964. As this comment was made forty years later, it may not be reliable.
plenty of shouting, crying, tongue-speaking and singing.\textsuperscript{31} Alan Wilson remembered the Sunshine meetings as being characterised by 'noise and fervour,' but not so much that he as a child could not sleep under the seats.\textsuperscript{32}

Meanwhile Saturday tarrying meetings continued at Sunshine, with eighteen receiving the Spirit on one occasion. In the twelve months after the campaign commenced, some 400 people claimed to have been baptised in the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{33} Meetings also continued in the Town Hall each Tuesday and Thursday with three services on Sundays.\textsuperscript{34}

Compared with the huge crowds that had flocked to hear Reuben Torrey in 1902 or Wilbur Chapman in 1909 and 1912, the Sunshine/Prahran gatherings were almost minuscule. The local community newspaper, the \textit{Prahran Telegraph} did not consider them worth a mention. The visits of earlier Pentecostal evangelists Smith Wigglesworth and Aimee Semple McPherson had also drawn larger numbers, both needing the 4,500 seat Wirth's Olympia to accommodate them.\textsuperscript{35} Within a few months, Gypsy Smith (1860-1947) was to visit Melbourne. He, too, would pack Wirth's Olympia where the choir alone numbered 1000 voices and where his messages were relayed by radio to

\textsuperscript{31} On Easter Monday, 1926, W.J.Nankervois penned the following lines about these tarry meetings which are handwritten on the inside cover of a bound volume of the \textit{Australian Evangel 1926-1927} owned by A.Wilson of Pinnaroo, SA —

\begin{quote}
There’s a little brick room in Sunshine Hall 
Whose walls give forth no sound, 
You can shout as you will with never a fear 
Of troubling the folks around. 

The seekers flocked to the little brick room
'Till scores and hundreds there, 
Baptised in the mighty Spirit’s power, 
The works of God declare. 

All hail to the great Baptiser, 
'Twas there He set me free, 
'Twas in a little room at the back, 
The blessing fell on me.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{32} A.Wilson, personal interview.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Argus}, 23 May 1925, p.18; RTS, 1939, p.7. Note that other figures have been quoted by different people (eg G.Gadge — 500) including, years later, Greenwood himself, but 400 is probably nearest.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Age}, 6 June 1925, p.10.

\textsuperscript{35} Chant, 1984, pp.66ff.
suburban and country areas.\textsuperscript{36} Around the same time, the Anglican James Hickson was attracting large crowds to his healing services and the Churches of Christ evangelist Earnest Hinrichsen was founding new congregations all over Australia.\textsuperscript{37} And in terms of numbers, the Catholic Eucharistic Congress in Sydney in August 1928 far eclipsed all the evangelical activities, let alone the small gatherings led by Valdez.\textsuperscript{38} Yet for those concerned, the ‘Sunshine Revival’ was highly significant. It marked the beginning of formal Pentecostal denominationalism and the emergence of an identifiable Pentecostal movement.\textsuperscript{39} It relocated Pentecostal revival in the mainstream of evangelical theology. Historically, it was the legitimate child of the marriage of evangelicalism and enthusiasm.

Among those who were baptised in the Holy Spirit was a 22-year-old Methodist named Len Jones (c.1900-1974), a student from the newly established (1920) Melbourne Bible Institute, also located in Prahran.\textsuperscript{40} Jones was interested but not convinced of the validity of what he saw at Sunshine until challenged by Greenwood to measure it by the Bible. The next day, the principal of the College, Canon C.H.Nash, spoke on Luke 11:13 and James 4:2.\textsuperscript{41} Spurred by this unwitting guidance, Jones decided to return to Sunshine. J.M.Roberts, a former Methodist lay preacher, prayed with him and, with a wisdom not always

\textsuperscript{36} W.Philips, ‘Gypsy Smith in Australia in the 1920s,’ in M.Hutchinson et al, 1994, pp.185ff.
\textsuperscript{38} O'Farrell, 1985, p.373. Neither the 1928 Congress in Sydney nor the 1934 Congress in Melbourne seems to have attracted any interest or reaction from the Pentecostals. I have not found any reference to either in any of the Pentecostal journals of the day.
\textsuperscript{39} Although Good News Hall was the first Pentecostal congregation, Lancaster persistently resisted attempts to establish a denominational structure. See Chapter Six.
\textsuperscript{41} Luke 11:13 — ‘If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children: how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him’ (AV); James 4:2 — ‘Ye have not, because ye ask not’ (AV).
characteristic of the new movement, did not coerce him. The next Sunday, 3 May 1925, Jones and a fellow student received the Pentecostal experience. Soon another eight students were baptised in the Spirit. Ultimately, Nash, whose genuine ecumenism enabled him to fellowship with Christians of many persuasions, but whose evangelicalism compelled him to set biblical boundaries, as he understood them, became concerned about potential disunity. After talking with several of the students concerned, on 13 May 1925, he issued the following injunction —

In view of the unsettlement already caused, and possible division threatened, by the present (so-called) Pentecostal movement, all students of the Institute are asked —

To refrain from common action which might reasonably be regarded as taken in the interests of that movement

1. To avoid as far as possible all discussion of the subject one with another

2. To abstain from attendance at any meeting connected with that movement.

This created a problem for Jones who was the Principal's secretary. On 20 May, 1925, Jones wrote a gracious but plain letter to Nash, resigning as a student from the Institute.

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42 Note that Jones gives the date as 1 May, but in 1925, this was a Friday.

43 Paproth, in Treloar (ed), 1997, pp.137ff. In his short (117pp) study on hermeneutics, The Fourfold Interpretation of Jesus Christ in the New Testament (Melbourne: S.John Bacon, n.d.), Nash indicates his attitude to glossolalia, not by what he says about it, but by what he does not say. In reference to the conversion of Cornelius, for instance, Nash concedes that 'the sudden intervention of the Holy Spirit' made it impossible to argue against the admission of Gentiles to the Church, but makes no attempt to develop this (p.35).

44 Minutes of the Executive Committee, Melbourne Bible Institute, 2 June 1925. The Committee, chaired by Dr J.J.Kitchen, unanimously endorsed Nash's action and a handwritten note to this effect was added to the notice.

45 L.Jones, letter to C.H.Nash, 20 May 1925, held in Bible College of Victoria archives. The following is part of Jones' letter — 'As far as I can see at present I shall have to leave the Institute in view of the notice that has been put up. If I were to stay I would be responsible not only to you as Principal, but to God, to follow absolutely what has been set down ... This is not a hasty conclusion but is the step after prayerful consideration, and I find I cannot stay under those conditions.

'It is very hard for anyone else to realise what this step has caused me, and if I were to follow my inclinations and desires (if any) instead of His leading, it would not be the way I am going... I have to leave my friends and go amongst strangers. I am misunderstood and thought to going into error... Man has not influenced me one way or the other in this matter, as I have held solidly to God's Word and I don't think He will lead me into error when I am endeavouring to follow His Word faithfully.
Nash was evidently concerned that Jones might be going to Good News Hall, because he loaned him a couple of volumes on the theme of eternal punishment. Jones wrote back to assure him that in every respect he was orthodox in evangelical doctrine, and had simply added to his previous beliefs the baptism in the Holy Spirit and divine healing. Subsequent correspondence reveals an ongoing love and respect between the two men, with Nash adhering to his longstanding conviction that he had seen the Holy Spirit 'working wondrously both in the formation of Christian character and in empowerment for service in quiet ... normal ways' and reaffirming his prayer that God would continue to use Jones 'as an instrument of righteousness and holiness.' His prayer was answered. Within a decade, Jones was conducting revival campaigns throughout Australia and New Zealand. Jones was later to attribute his lifelong passion for missions to his time at the Institute.

Although Valdez's original instructions to Christians who were baptised in the Holy Spirit was to remain faithful members of their home churches, the hostile reaction many received from their denominations compelled him to rethink his stance. Ultimately, accepting the need to consolidate the new work, Valdez proposed to establish a church. The Prahran Town Hall was engaged and meetings were held nightly for the purpose of instruction on 'the truth of church government.' At these services, people continued to be saved and healed and baptised in the Spirit. People fell to the floor because of a sense of God's

'My dear Mr Nash, I know you have been praying that I will be guided aright, and God knows ... the influence your life has meant to me, which I shall never forget and thank Him for. I love you as I never have before, and I know that your love for me is still the same...' 

46 L.Jones, letter to C.H.Nash, 8 January 1926.
48 GN 24:1 January 1933, p.8. A feature of Jones's early ministry was what is currently termed 'being slain in the Spirit' ie collapsing to the floor under the laying on of hands or healing prayer. For nearly fifty years, Jones served as a Pentecostal pastor both in Australia and overseas, founding the Slavic and Oriental Mission (later World Outreach) in 1932 and editing the Evidence magazine. During World War II, he directed YMCA activities with the Australian Army in the Middle East. See Jones, 1974, Introduction, pp.8ff. Jones was not the only Pentecostal minister encouraged by Nash. Assemblies of God pastor Lloyd Averill also recalled how it was Nash who urged him to enter the ministry. See Averill, 1992, p.23.
49 Jones, 1974, p.8.
presence; one woman saw a ball of fire resting on the top of her head and then coursing through her whole frame, resulting in her being healed from a longstanding affliction and speaking in tongues; a Churches of Christ pastor was healed of a growth. At the end of the week, Valdez appointed elders, including Greenwood, and deacons. The Pentecostal Church of Australia was established. 51

Identical advertisements placed in the Church Notices columns of both the Age and the Argus clearly and without subtlety described the function and ethos of the new body —

THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH OF AUSTRALIA is a newly organised Church in Melbourne, and it is founded on straight and clean orthodox teaching. Our object in organising this church in central Melbourne is to further propagate the fourfold truth of the New Testament, SALVATION, HOLY GHOST BAPTISM, DIVINE HEALING and the SECOND COMING OF CHRIST. This church will be in fellowship with the recognised PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES OF THE WORLD, and will have the expectation of a chain of Evangelists of international fame. We desire the prayers of all God's children. Pray with us for a nation-wide HOLY GHOST, REGENERATING, DEVIL REBUKING, REJUVENATING GLORIOUS REVIVAL. Until we locate in central Melbourne, our meetings will continue in the PRAHRAN TOWN HALL... 52

There was no doubt about the distinctive emphasis of the new church —

The revival continues. THE LATTER RAIN IS FALLING. ASK YE OF THE LORD RAIN IN THE TIME OF THE LATTER RAIN. JESUS HIMSELF is the Baptiser, many hungry souls are being filled with the Spirit, and have a real Bible experience. Come and be blessed. 53

It is unlikely these Pentecostal meetings would have attracted much attention from the mainline churches, had Valdez kept them as revivalistic rallies. Divine healing, for instance, was not an issue. At the very time Valdez was ministering


52 Age, 9 May 1925; The Argus, 9 May 1925, p.16.
in Prahran, a conference on spiritual healing was conducted as part of the 1925 Anglican Church Congress in which there was enthusiastic support for the healing missions being conducted by James Hickson.54

The moment Valdez decided to establish a church there was a predictable reaction. Naturally, some clergy were concerned at the prospect of losing people to the new movement. Evangelical leaders, Dr D.Stewart MacColl (Baptist) and Dr John James Kitchen (Brethren), who had been instrumental in the establishment of the Melbourne Bible Institute,55 and were already disturbed by the Jones incident, called a meeting attended by several hundred clergy to discuss the matter.56 In response, Valdez himself arranged a rally at the Collins Street Assembly Hall. A large crowd turned out for the occasion, including some civic leaders, and, according to Valdez, it was a ‘100% victory.’57

Overall, however, there is little evidence of the denominations being overly concerned about what was happening. Melbourne’s Methodist Spectator, for example, includes a brief and relatively irenic half-page item in the 30 September issue noting that speaking in tongues is generally discouraged by Paul and that there is no biblical evidence to suggest that it should accompany baptism in the Holy Spirit,58 but there is no specific mention of Valdez or the Pentecostal Church. A further article on ‘counterfeit Christianity’ names

53 Argus, 12 May 1925, p.6.
54 Argus, 12 May 1925, p.6; see also Breward, 1993, p.119.
56 According to one of those present the Pentecostal cause was not helped by someone interrupting with a loud and prolonged utterance in tongues and ultimately being ejected. See C.Gadge, personal interview, 2 March 1992.
57 D.Dawson, personal interview; Valdez, address, c.1964. Duncan claims that Valdez actually attended that same meeting and addressed those present with ‘convincing power and dignity.’ See Duncan, 1978, p.17. This is confirmed by Gadge who recalls MacColl speaking of Pentecostal excesses rather than quoting Scripture and Valdez handling the debate in a gentlemanly manner (Gadge, personal interview, 2 March 1992). As both Dawson and Gadge claim to have attended the meeting of which they speak, and as to this point I have been unable to locate any relevant newspaper advertising or other documentation, it is difficult to ascertain the correct version. Jones later wrote, ‘The first person I ever heard speak clearly in tongues was myself; it was very real and wonderful... Dr S.MacColl and others were greatly concerned about me and I spent time with them all during which they endeavoured to show me the wrongness of it all, bringing 40 years ago the same arguments against the experience that we still hear today.’ — L.Jones, personal interview.
Christian Science, Spiritism, Millennial Dawn, Theosophy, Mormonism, Seventh Day Adventism and Catholicism but not Pentecostalism.\(^59\) There were almost certainly many unofficial comments, however. 'The leading churches of the day,’ wrote Edwin Ridgway of Good News Hall, ‘ascribe all “speaking in tongues” to the devil.’\(^60\)

Late in 1925, the Richmond Theatre at 343 Bridge Road, Richmond, was offered to Valdez on a three months lease with an option to purchase. There was accommodation for some 1200 people and the purchase price was 6000 pounds — all of which was raised at one service.\(^61\) Renamed Richmond Temple, the new building included shops across the front, which were used as a Bible and tract Department, and a large platform which accommodated the church’s burgeoning choir and orchestra. Above the platform was a text: ‘The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin.’ Rooms at the rear were used for counselling and prayer.

**Kelso Glover**

In 1926, an invitation was extended to Kelso R. Glover, another young American, to visit Melbourne.\(^62\) He and his wife arrived in 1926. For three weeks, there was a series of special meetings in which people continued to be converted, healed and baptised in the Spirit. Not long after his arrival, Valdez returned to America and the assembly unanimously invited Glover to be the new pastor. He was seen as ‘a gifted teacher’ whose steadying hand kept them founded on God’s Word and whose wisdom steered them from needless error.\(^63\)

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\(^{58}\) Spectator, Vol LI #39 30 September 1925, p.936.

\(^{59}\) Spectator, Vol LI #44 4 November 1925.

\(^{60}\) Ridgway, Paths, c.1946, p.66. Ridgway wrote this around 1946, but it reflected a view he had heard many times in the previous two decades. In fact, this charge was still being laid in the 1950s and 1960s and was addressed to me personally on more than one occasion.

\(^{61}\) Duncan, Pentecost p.8.

\(^{62}\) For additional information on Glover see Appendix Ten.

\(^{63}\) Duncan, Pentecost, p.8.
Early in the piece, Glover began a popular ten-week series on the Second Coming of Christ. Surviving transcripts of his lectures indicate a lively, genial but polemic style in which he readily took opposing views to task. He dismantled the increasingly popular pre-tribulation premillennialism of the Brethren leader John Nelson Darby (1800-1882). Glover also refuted the common Pentecostal idea that only those baptised in the Holy Spirit would constitute the raptured Bride of Christ. The ‘tribulation saints,’ far from being inferior, would be those who had suffered tribulation and come through victoriously.

Holiness was a strong theme for Glover. He eschewed the ‘once saved always saved’ teaching, which he attributed specifically to the Brethren movement, and taught plainly that those who did not continue in the faith would be lost —

Pentecost is too expensive a religion to fool with. I want to tell you ... you have to overcome or you will go into the lake [of fire] ... I am here for serious business. We have to draw the line in Richmond Temple. You can stop on which side you like. I am a preacher of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is too serious a thing. One of the saints there was helping a poor drunkard along the street endeavouring to get him settled somewhere and another man comes along and says, ‘Remember, brother, you were once saved, you can never be lost.’ We have to stop that kind of stuff ...

Richmond Temple stands for holiness. You have got to believe in holiness or the other. This is a sobering thing. I am intensely in earnest, this is not a matter of doctrines, it is a matter of life and death for souls ... A man can have differences of opinion on things, but friends, this point of once saved ... is too dangerous a thing to tolerate for one second in Pentecost ... Pentecost has a vision to sweep the


65 Premillennialism was also taught by the charismatic Edward Irving (1792-1834), from whom Darby may have learned it. But it was Darby through the Brethren movement and the Scofield Reference Bible who popularised the theory. See Dallimore, 1983, pp.47ff; I.Murray, The Puritan Hope Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1984. It is interesting that although Glover’s teaching was well appreciated at the time, the Assemblies of God today have rejected his stance and enthusiastically embrace pre-tribulationism.

Richmond Temple
Photo courtesy Lois Manley-Breen
world. I am a Pentecostal preacher, still preaching without holiness we are going to be lost ... We are building a church that believes in holiness.\textsuperscript{67}

It was not uncommon for Glover to punctuate his preaching with a statement in tongues followed by an interpretation, a practice which was continued by Greenwood throughout his ministry.\textsuperscript{68}

Prior to his departure, Valdez had established the Victorian Bible Institute. Its name was imposing and, in fact, with its 30 students, it had a more encouraging start than the Melbourne Bible Institute, whose initial 1920 class numbered only one.\textsuperscript{69} On the other hand, unlike its Evangelical counterpart, it was short-lived, lasting only for two years. Its purpose was to provide 'anointed preachers' and to counteract 'erroneous teachings' — an ill-disguised reference to Good News Hall.

Glover soon became the main teacher in the Institute and gave it a stability and balance it needed. The school was productive. Among those who emerged as ministers from the Institute were W. Jones, who went to Parkes, Norman Priest, to Orange, and Nellie Mather to Bendigo and Ballarat.\textsuperscript{70}

The \textit{Australian Evangel} appeared in July 1926. It was a house magazine, carrying sermons preached at the Temple and news reports from assemblies.

In the year 1927, Charles Kingsford Smith and Charles Ulm set a new record for circumnavigating Australia by air, Federal Parliament House was opened in Canberra and moves were made to establish the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). In that same year, Kelso Glover returned to the USA and Charles Greenwood became the new pastor at Richmond Temple. The position was initially offered to him for six months with a salary of eight pounds a week; he was to hold it for the next 41 years. Messrs Nokes, Ellis, Roberts, Ruffell,

\textsuperscript{67} K. Glover, 'The Overcomer,' pp.16ff.
\textsuperscript{68} K. Glover, 'The Overcomer,' p.10.
\textsuperscript{69} A number which grew to four by the end of the year. In 1926, there was a total of 59 enrolments at MBI, which accepted new enrolments each term. Source: \textit{Students of the Bible College of Victoria (inc. Melbourne Bible Institute)} 1989, p.1.
\textsuperscript{70} AE December 1930, p.10. See Chapter Ten for more on Mather.
Beruldsen and Tuck were elected elders. It was also agreed to purchase the Sunshine Hall from its trustees.\textsuperscript{71} The English Pentecostal evangelist Smith Wigglesworth visited Melbourne in March of that year and laid hands on both Charles Greenwood and Philip Duncan of Sydney commissioning them for the work of the Lord.\textsuperscript{72}

It was not long before other assemblies around Australia began to request affiliation with the new movement. Although little explanation is given for the reasons for this, there seems no doubt that, in contrast with Good News Hall, it was the orthodox evangelical teaching and the stronger organisational structure of the Pentecostal Church that attracted people. So the original congregation in Parkes soon sought affiliation as did a small group of people in Perth, W.A.\textsuperscript{73}

Spiritual blessings were not restricted to public services. At a deacons’ meeting in February 1932, when the members knelt to pray, reported the secretary, the praises that resulted were reminiscent of a time at Sunshine when ‘the very place seemed to be shaking with the power that was in there.’\textsuperscript{74} He had never seen the power of God so manifest at a deacons’ meeting before.\textsuperscript{75}

**Richmond Temple**

By 1928, there were 240 members at Richmond Temple. One hundred and twenty three of the 133 members present at a members’ meeting voted for Greenwood to be called for a further six months.\textsuperscript{76} The Sunshine property was subdivided and some of the land sold, the building itself finally being purchased by the Scouts for 450 pounds in 1929.\textsuperscript{77} Greenwood was re-elected each year,

\textsuperscript{71} *Minutes of General Assembly Meetings*, Richmond Temple, 2 October 1927.

\textsuperscript{72} Duncan, *Pentecost* p 9.

\textsuperscript{73} *Minutes* Richmond Temple, 3 April 1927.

\textsuperscript{74} From the outset, leadership in Pentecostal churches was usually in the hands of a pastor or pastors and elders, with deacons being responsible for the management of the finances, maintenance of buildings and the like. Both the term ‘elder’ and the term ‘deacon’ were derived from passages such as 1 Timothy 3:1ff which refers to the qualifications expected of both.

\textsuperscript{75} *Minutes of Deacons’ Meeting*, Richmond Temple, 24 February 1932.

\textsuperscript{76} *Minutes*, Richmond Temple, 4 November 1928.

\textsuperscript{77} *Minutes*, Richmond Temple, 22 December 1929.

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but not without some demurring. In 1933, the elders decided on a three-months call with the option of further terms; the deacons wanted a more reasonable twelve-month appointment. The members unanimously endorsed the deacons' recommendation.\textsuperscript{78}

Greenwood was now being called a pastor-evangelist and in 1934, 'after weeks of praying and seeking the mind of the Lord,' Greenwood suggested the assembly recall Glover as pastor and that he himself engage in evangelistic work throughout Victoria.\textsuperscript{79} There was another reason as well — there had been a suggestion of Greenwood misappropriating funds and he felt the need of someone to assist in resolving the matter. Glover returned to Australia in 1935 and ministered in Melbourne and Adelaide. Greenwood was totally exonerated and shortly afterwards the Church Secretary resigned, being replaced by J.M. Roberts, who later became a pastor.\textsuperscript{80}

There was a positive response to Glover's ministry and 'almost every meeting' saw 'an overflow to the altar of people seeking the Saviour.' A Thursday night teaching series on Hebrews provided 'a rich feast for the saints.'\textsuperscript{81} Greenwood took the opportunity to visit other congregations. From January to March, he campaigned at Oakleigh where 23 'found salvation' and 13 were baptised in the Holy Spirit. As a result, a full time pastor was appointed.\textsuperscript{82} At Easter, he was in Adelaide where eleven people received the Spirit and several were converted. In May he travelled to Queensland.\textsuperscript{83} Meanwhile, a growing fellowship of churches was developing with congregations in Ballarat, Bendigo, Oakleigh and Williamstown in Victoria; Sydney, Parkes and Woy Woy in New South Wales; and Adelaide, Wallaroo and Kadina in South Australia.\textsuperscript{84} However, Glover did not stay and Greenwood continued as pastor at Richmond Temple, being

\textsuperscript{78} Minutes, Richmond Temple, 5 November 1933.

\textsuperscript{79} Minutes, Richmond Temple, 20 October 1934.

\textsuperscript{80} Greenwood, \textit{Life Story}, p.67; Minutes, Richmond Temple, 8 July 1935; 13 October 1935; Minutes, Deacons' Meeting, 6 October 1934.

\textsuperscript{81} AE 8:2 May 1935, p.8.

\textsuperscript{82} AE 8:2 May 1935, p.3.

\textsuperscript{83} AE 8:3 July 1935, pp.3,8.
reappointed annually. In 1936, a Board of Pastors replaced the Board of Elders as the governing body of the church. Greenwood had decided he would no longer work under an eldership. He was an opportunist and often found administrative procedures frustrating. Although he could be very tender with the needy and would drop everything to answer a pastoral care call, when he was convinced something was right, nobody could swerve him from it. ‘He was a conundrum,’ said one pastor. On the one hand, he was clearly a man of God; yet on the other he was insecure and threatened by other ministries. When new movements like the Apostolic Church started, he strongly opposed them. People were often offended by his implacability. He was stern with discipline in the church. Any office-holder who failed in some area of their Christian living would be firmly brought into line. Yet for all that, he was very much aware of his own deficiencies —

There was nobody in Richmond Temple more unqualified to do this work that God had given me to do ... How the people put up with me I do not know. They were very, very gracious to me because remember I had no Bible School training, I had no education. It was pretty hard for me to read my Bible and understand it ... It was hard going to learn by candle light but God in His loving kindness and tender mercy in a marvellous way helped me.

84 AE 8:2 May 1935, pp.8f; AE 8:3 July 1935, p.3.
85 Minutes, Richmond Temple, 28 October 1936.
86 Greenwood, Life Story, 1965, p.68. Greenwood was well-known for his reluctance to share authority. He opposed the establishment of new congregations in Melbourne, for example, unless with his prior agreement. See S.Douglas, personal interview, 21 November 1989; personal knowledge.
87 M.Laurens, personal interview, 12 June 1990; K.Lowe, personal interview, 12 June 1990; G. and I.George, personal interview, 12 June 1990. This comment was also made by members of Greenwood’s family. See H.Dwight, personal interview, 12 June 1990; L.Manley-Green, personal interview, July 1990.
88 K.Conner, personal interview, 6 June 1991; comments made by several Apostolic pastors in interviews.
89 This opinion was expressed by several interviewees although they usually preferred not to be quoted. When I asked one pastor what he thought of Greenwood, he replied, ‘Is the tape switched off?’
90 G. and I.George, personal interview, 12 June 1990.
From its inception, there were enthusiastic reports of the work. A 1928 report described the Sunday morning as 'never to be forgotten.' The singing in the Spirit (ie in tongues) was like 'a heavenly choir.' It was like standing in God's presence. Greenwood's preaching was 'thrilling and heart-searching' and many were being converted. Six people had been baptised in the Holy Spirit, the congregation was increasing and they were 'on the tiptoe of expectation for a mighty revival'.

In April 1931, twenty people were baptised in water and the next month, 1200 children attended a children's rally. Four years later, the enthusiasm had not diminished. A report in the *Australian Evangel* spoke of God's 'continued blessing' and of 'deep ministry in the Spirit.' They rejoiced to see 'the unction and power' resting on Greenwood. Many had been baptised in water and there was an 'overflow' of both 'sinners and backsliders weeping their way to the cross.'

Table 9.1: Membership Richmond Temple 1928-1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>220</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>210</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>202</td>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Minutes, Richmond Temple, various dates*

92 AE December 1928, p.7.
93 AE May 1931, p.10; AE June 1931, p.10.
94 AE 8:3 July 1935, p.8.
Nevertheless, after an initial surge, over the fifteen years following Greenwood's appointment, the membership declined significantly from 240 to 135 (see Tables 9.1 and 9.2).

A heavy blow was struck early in the piece with a loss of 65 members in 1932 to the Apostolic Church. It also evident that Greenwood's strength lay in his evangelistic, rather than his pastoral gifts. 'He had a uniquely anointed ministry,' said one of his peers at his funeral, many years later. 'I have yet to meet his equal when it comes to an appeal for souls at the conclusion of a service.' Was he less successful in shepherding the sheep he gained?

He was a lively, effervescent preacher. He was never still, ranging all over the platform, and jumping up and down 'like a jack-in-the-box' — he was even known to stand on the balustrade! He punctuated his preaching with utterances in tongues. He had a great concern for missions and promoted mission giving at every opportunity. He prayed for the sick. When he prophesied, he did so with eyes open, looking straight at the people concerned. Sometimes, he would step down from the platform and approach

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95 Greenwood, Life Story, 1965, p.65. See further on the Apostolic Church in Chapter Nine.
98 G. and I.George, personal interview, 12 June 1990.
99 It is common Pentecostal practice to have one's eyes closed when prophesying, that is, speaking an unpremeditated 'message' by inspiration of the Spirit.
people individually, challenging them about secret sins or hidden practices in their lives. He was fearless in his presentation of the gospel. His simple, direct style allowed no room for misunderstanding. The following extract is illustrative of his preaching. His passion to preach Christ; his enthusiasm for being baptised in the Holy Spirit; his commitment to holiness; his plain, forthright approach; his practice of interspersing his preaching with an utterance in tongues and an interpretation, with its mingling of Scripture quotations, pseudo-Elizabethan English and suggestions of divine inspiration and authority —

Can any man add or take away from the efficacy of the sacrifice of Calvary? A thousand times, 'No.' So, brother and sister, if you teach that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit is necessary to qualify you for translation [to heaven], then that moment you magnify the baptism above the work of Christ wrought out on Calvary...

Interpretation of tongues — *Awake thou that sleepest. Arise from the dead and Christ will give thee light. For understandest thou that thou needest light for the darkness? Yea, and if thou shalt follow Me who continually is in the light, thou shalt not walk in darkness. But hearken thou diligently. He that walketh in the light as He is in the light hath fellowship with one another and the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth thee from all sin. And if thou wilt allow the Lord thy God by the power of the Holy Spirit to operate upon thy heart, and thou wilt be in subjection and obedient to His Spirit, know thee not that He will gird thee and clothe thee so that thou wilt be able to stand in His presence and not be ashamed when He cometh.*

God pity the day when in our hearts there is something that becomes greater than Calvary. There is nothing greater...

But remember this, there is a mighty baptism in the Holy Ghost that takes the soul into a place of ecstasy, power and glory that there is nothing on earth can touch it. It is something more than doctrine. It is something more than speaking in tongues. The baptism of the Holy Ghost is a mighty filling that reveals Jesus in His majesty

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and glory; that magnifies Him and makes Him to be the mightiest, the truest, the best, and most wonderful Saviour... \(^{101}\)

Greenwood continued to travel, visiting India and Queensland in early 1937,\(^ {102}\) where discussions were held with Charles Enticknap and Henry Wiggins with a view to securing a closer unity of Pentecostal churches in Australia. Since Van Eyk’s departure, most of the congregations in Queensland had re-grouped under the name Assemblies of God and had already been accepted in cooperative fellowship with the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and the USA.\(^ {103}\) That year, at Easter, an ‘all Australian Conference’ was held in Sydney ‘for the purpose of uniting all the Australian assemblies in a common loyalty to an approved Constitution.’\(^ {104}\) Some 150 delegates gathered for three days of worship and inspiration followed by another three of hammering out the new basis of union. They discussed methodology and structure, but strove to adhere to ‘the faith which was once delivered to the saints.’ At times, they wondered if they were trying to achieve the impossible, but with prayer, perseverance and ‘every other means’ in their power, an agreement was reached. They believed they had achieved a blend of autocracy and democracy, creating no ‘mere organisation, but a blessed organism, impregnated with Divine life and power.’ After several suggestions were put forward, the common name Assemblies of God in Australia was adopted by all. Charles Greenwood was elected chairman with Charles Enticknap vice-chairman and Henry Wiggins, newly arrived from England, as secretary.\(^ {105}\) The *Glad Tidings Messenger* of Queensland and Victoria’s *Australian Evangel* were merged. There were 39 assemblies in the new movement.\(^ {106}\) When the proposal was put to the Richmond Temple

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\(^{101}\) C.L. Greenwood, ‘The Ten Virgins,’ AE 6:11 April 1933, pp.2ff. Note that the practice of using Elizabethan English for interpretations and prophecies was widespread amongst Pentecostals until the 1980’s.

\(^{102}\) Minutes, Richmond Temple, 23 November 1936.

\(^{103}\) Minutes, Richmond Temple, 23 November 1936.

\(^{104}\) Duncan, *Pentecost*, p.16; AE August 1937, p.4.

\(^{105}\) AE August 1937, pp.4f; D and G. Smith, 1987, pp.35ff.

\(^{106}\) D and G. Smith, 1987, p.36.
congregation for endorsement, there were no dissenting votes. In practice, Enticknap, Duncan and Greenwood were the leaders of the new movement, often working in concert, but always careful to maintain their own individuality and autonomy.

Sydney

As in Melbourne, several small Pentecostal groups started spontaneously in the 1920's. Jotham and Kate Metcalfe, who had been baptised in the Spirit through the agency of Good News Hall, held gatherings in their home in Northbridge. Irish preacher Thomas Bingham Lennon, a former Catholic, ran meetings in the Elim Mission Hall, Marrickville. Langley Symmonds, an elderly converted Jew, conducted Friday night open air meetings and Sunday services at Rockdale under the name Assembly of God. Maxwell Armstrong and his wife May conducted Pentecostal meetings in their home in Leichhardt. After fifteen months in Cleveden, near Parkes, they pastored an assembly at Rozelle.

In 1922, the Duncan family joined the movement. Frederick Duncan (1865-1937), the proprietor of the Duncan and Sons Railway Overalls factory in Alexandria, was an enthusiastic lay evangelist who was a deacon at the Evangelical Burton Street Baptist Tabernacle and well regarded as a lay Christian leader in Sydney. During the dedication service for his son Philip Brandon (1899-1990), the minister declared that like his biblical namesake, the child would be an evangelist who would ultimately father four daughters

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107 Minutes, Richmond Temple, 8 July 1937.
109 GN 1:6 October 1913, p.11.
110 GN 15:3 March 1924, p.18.
112 N.L.Armstrong, personal interview, 30 April 1990. See further on Armstrong in Appendix Ten.
who would prophesy, a statement which itself proved startlingly prophetic. In the early 1920s, Philip was converted under the ministry of John Ridley (1896-1976), the renowned Baptist evangelist, who had been himself converted in the Burton Street Tabernacle through William Lamb’s preaching. Immediately, Duncan threw himself into evangelism and by 1923 had started a Sunday School in the then remote suburb of Oyster Bay. The following year, he and Mollie Jarvis were married at Burton Street. By 1926, there was a small church with its own building.

Meanwhile, Dr R.H. Fallon, a member of Burton Street, had invited Smith Wigglesworth, to speak at the church. Wigglesworth’s Pentecostal approach and vigorous methods of ministering to the sick were legendary. He was certainly ill-suited to a Baptist congregation and his ministry there was short-lived. With characteristic bluntness, he warned them they had missed the day of God’s visitation, then moved to the Australia Hall and conducted services there for six weeks. His major emphasis was always faith. Fallon later wrote —

‘Only believe.’ That is the perpetual teaching of Brother Wigglesworth. This is his text for all time and everywhere, and everything he says illustrates and enforces it.

Wigglesworth had a major impact on Duncan’s life. He and his father were also asked to leave Burton Street. The spirit of Pentecost had again proven too irreverent for an Evangelical sanctuary. The Duncan family began to attend Pentecostal meetings around Sydney. By 1924, Frederick Duncan was pastoring the assembly at the Elim Mission Hall. The next year, they heard about what

29 October 1993; M.Duncan, personal interview, 29 October, 1993. Further details of the Duncan family are from these sources unless otherwise stated.

114 J. Ridley, A Soldier’s Testimony, Melbourne: S. John Bacon, n.d., pp.7f. It is of interest that around 1950, Ridley was baptised in the Holy Spirit through the testimony of a converted actress named Janet Allen and a tract written by Duncan, and joined the Pentecostal movement for a time. G. Bowling, personal interview; my own personal knowledge.

115 AE August 1926, p.6; Duncan, Pentecost, pp.70f.


118 AE April 1927, p.5.

119 GN 15:7 July 1924, p.18.
was happening at Sunshine and it was there Philip Duncan was baptised in the Spirit. He was praying in Greenwood’s house, beset with doubts, when Greenwood’s five-year-old daughter Hazel came to him and laid hands on him singing a chorus about the blood of Jesus. He saw a vision of approaching light and began to speak fluently in tongues.\(^{120}\)

There was strong opposition to the fledgling Pentecostals from the Baptists and others, including allegations of immorality and fanaticism, a situation which was to make life difficult for Duncan’s four daughters in their school years. There was clearly a need to gather the various Pentecostal groups together and moves were made to establish an organised assembly. In August 1925, a building was secured and renovated in Australia Street, Newtown, not far from where Dowie had begun to teach about divine healing fifty years earlier. Initially, they used the name Newtown Full Gospel Assembly, but by the end of the year it was known as the Sydney assembly of the Pentecostal Church of Australia. Greenwood and Roberts visited the new work, appointed deacons and elders and saw 27 people baptised in the Holy Spirit. Frederick Duncan led the work until Len Jones came from Melbourne. Wigglesworth returned in 1927, and during his visit, laid hands on Philip Duncan, declaring that God had called him into His service.\(^{121}\) The next year, Duncan became pastor.\(^{122}\)

The emergence of the Apostolic Church\(^{123}\) together with the impact of the Depression resulted in a loss of members and in 1931, they moved to Jubilee Temple, 470 Elizabeth Street, Surry Hills, the building being provided rent-free by F. Penfold, of W.C. Penfold and Co Pty Ltd. It was a rough area and some cutting-edge evangelism took place among prostitutes, criminals and outcasts. In 1934, Duncan took over Langley Symmonds’ work at Rockdale. Meanwhile, the original church moved to Redfern and then to Petersham. By this time, the Duncan and Sons clothing business was doing very well, especially through

\(^{120}\) Woodham, 1997, p.12; H. Dwight, personal interview, 12 June 1990.

\(^{121}\) SMH 19 February 1927, p.7.

\(^{122}\) AE July 1926, p.6; Duncan, 1978, p.7.

\(^{123}\) See Chapter Nine.
making uniforms for the armed services, and Philip Duncan became manager.\textsuperscript{124} Nevertheless, he turned his back on the business world to enter full-time ministry. After working in several country areas for a time, he became pastor of the work at Petersham where he stayed till his retirement. In 1945, he became chairman of the Assemblies of God in Australia.

**William Booth-Clibborn**

William Booth-Clibborn (b.1893), grandson of General William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, was another who indirectly owed his Pentecostal experience to John Alexander Dowie.\textsuperscript{125} He was a man of unique talents. Duncan's description of him is revealing —

He was a man who was quite eccentric — he had no compunction whatever. Nevertheless, he did a grand work in Queensland and they still talk of his sermons. No one ever preached like him. He was genius if ever there was one. I can remember some of his sermons. He'd preach for a couple of hours and he would put so much into his sermons it would seem like four hours. He was prodigious in his knowledge. He was a linguist — he spoke seven languages. A prodigy! He was a mighty violinist, and often he would preach with his violin tucked under his chin. He'd preach with it there for an hour and all of a sudden he would play it — and could he play!\textsuperscript{126}

Booth-Clibborn’s whole family was musically endowed and his own musical talents were obvious. His uncle Herbert Booth was the ‘musician of the Booth family’ and his sister Evelyn was an accomplished pianiste.\textsuperscript{127} He published a song book called *Wings of Praise* containing 160 hymns including several of his mother’s and father’s compositions and some 38 of his own. Several of these were set to well-known secular tunes (‘Ah, sweet mystery of life,’ ‘O Sole Mio’) or to hymn tunes (‘Count Your Blessings,’) and even to ‘God Save the King.’ Some of the lyrics, such as ‘Mule Religion’ were creative, imaginative.

\textsuperscript{124} Duncan was a quick-thinker and when accused of militarism by manufacturing uniforms, he answered, ‘Would you rather the men went to war naked?’

\textsuperscript{125} See Appendix Ten.

\textsuperscript{126} P. Duncan, ‘Address,’ 1965.

\textsuperscript{127} E. Booth-Clibborn, *50 Years for Jesus* Chichester: New Wine, 1989, pp.27ff.
William Booth-Clibborn and family
Photo courtesy Phyllis Hobbs
and provocative.\textsuperscript{128} Tall and handsome, with a film star physique, Booth-Clibborn charmed his way into the hearts of many people. An obviously sympathetic review described him as a —

Pastor, Worker, Lecturer, Teacher and Evangelist all in One. An Author, and editor and a finished musician whose original compositions are sung all over the world. The most unique man of God in evangelism today, some have said ... Evangelist Booth-Clibborn is Heaven-born and Heaven-sent.\textsuperscript{129}

Booth-Clibborn believed that while the message of the gospel should be unchanged, the methodology of presenting it needed constant updating. He pulled no punches —

\textsc{The Message must never be changed but the style and service should suit the century...} My Grandfather General William Booth created a furore by striking out in novel fashion and procedure to reach the godless of England ... 60 years have passed since that date and things have changed with a vengeance ... We must make the most of the moment ... Modern preaching must be pointed, powerful and impertinent. The whole counsel of God must now be declared and in the power of the Holy Spirit ... Fifteen minute sermons, pretty texts, vestments and ritual, lazy litanies [sic], antiquated anthems and all servile ceremonialism will attract fashionable pharisees, but our cry is back to the acts of the Apostles, the simplicity of true spirituality, means and methods for our times, with a message superior to any, and a willingness to be made ‘all things to all men.’\textsuperscript{130}

So Booth-Clibborn used music, the printed page, radio, drama and even a ‘moving picture’ to proclaim the Word. His slogan was, ‘Master music, Modern methods and Matchless messages.’\textsuperscript{131} His unconventional yet not unsophisticated style of ministry proved to be highly successful in Australia.

\textsuperscript{128} W.Booth-Clibborn (ed), \textit{Wings of Praise}, published by the author, Sydney, n.d. Opinions varied about the quality of the songs — ‘He made up such wonderful hymns. Some of them were rubbish, but some were beautiful’ — R.Woodham, personal interview, 29 October 1993.
\textsuperscript{129} ‘Cooee,’ Toowoomba, #5 22 November 1931.
\textsuperscript{130} ‘Cooee,’ Toowoomba, #5, 22 November 1931.
\textsuperscript{131} ‘Cooee,’ 1:19 19 July 1931.
After a brief visit to Melbourne, both he and his wife Genevieve ministered in the Railway Institute in Sydney, with some success. Around August, Booth-Clibborn proceeded to Brisbane, Queensland, while Genevieve continued the Sydney meetings. Finally, in October, she joined him in Queensland. Successful meetings were conducted in Mackay, where numbers grew to around 700 on the final night, Townsville and Rockhampton, where there were some 60 converts, many of whom were baptised in the City Baths, and a number of cases of divine healing.

Like his grandfather, Booth-Clibborn was quick to use innovative methods to attract a hearing. In Rockhampton, he walked a chair upside down through the street, crying, 'Look! Look! This is how sinners are walking today — their heads dragging in the dirt and their minds grovelling on earthly things; their feet meanwhile trampling the treasures of God and Heaven underfoot!' There was 'no lack of a crowd that night,' wryly comments the reporter.

Something of the strong Booth spirit was also evident in his attitude to the existing Pentecostal churches. In both Melbourne and Sydney, he tried to unite the churches under one banner but although they agreed with him in principle, they objected to his forceful manner of trying to accomplish his purpose. He was more successful in Brisbane, where although he was clearly and unequivocally the leader, his charismatic gifts and his winning personality drew people's support.

In Brisbane, Booth-Clibborn was sponsored by the Christian Covenanters' Confederacy, an interdenominational organisation founded by his uncle Herbert

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134 AE January-February 1931, p.7. On another occasion he is reported to have set his hat on the ground and jumped around it pointing to it and shouting, 'It's alive! It's alive!' When sufficient people had gathered, he picked up his hat, revealing his Bible which he then grasped, held high and proclaimed, 'The Word of God which lives and abides forever!'

135 P.Duncan, Address, 1965; M.Duncan, personal interview, 29 October 1993. Both Philip Duncan and his wife Mollie spoke of Booth-Clibborn as being strong-willed and domineering in asserting his own ideas — even on one occasion to the point of using physical force.

136 'Our beloved leader ...,' 'Cooee,' 2:16 20 December 1931.
(‘Ambassador’) Booth, who had toured Australia in 1922. He hired a tent seating 800 people and erected it in Barry Parade, Valley. On 22 November 1930, 500 people attended the opening service and soon the numbers grew to 1000. Some 200 conversions were recorded.

In 1930 and 1931 the Great Depression was at its height. Although Queensland was the only State to have an unemployment benefits scheme, available resources were soon exhausted and a means test was introduced. Voluntary and charitable agencies found their work increasingly in demand. Cinema proprietors urged people to escape their woes by losing themselves in the world of fantasy. Booth-Clibborn encouraged people to forget their hardships by celebrating the joys of faith —

Preaching a gospel of gladness, Evangelist William Booth-Clibborn, a grandson of the late General William Booth, continued his mission in a large marquee at Barry Parade last evening ... Louder and more joyously the song of challenge and encouragement rose until not only the flimsy walls of the big marquee, but roof and all threatened to fall. ‘Good evening, everybody,’ the young evangelist greeted the large congregation, ‘let everybody shake hands with everybody else around them.’ The leader of the mission himself set the fashion and it was vigorously followed.

‘Get rid of that old Presbyterian starch,’ he continued. ‘Put a smile on your faces; toss off your troubles. Get the oil of gladness in your hearts.’

The smiles came and unemployment and other troubles were forgotten as the audience lost themselves in the spiritual uplift of the sacred songs.

‘Put up your hands,’ called out the evangelist, and a forest of arms were upheld, as the choral procession of faith proceeded. Seizing a violin, he played an obligato which shrilled above the loud tones of the piano and the singing of the crowd.

There seems little doubt that the privations of the Depression years were sufficient motivation for many people to attend these Pentecostal meetings. Yet

137 Herbert Booth’s ministry was appreciated by some of the early Pentecostals eg GN 9:1 February 1923, p.17; 15:8 August 1924, p.20.
138 AE March 1931, p.2.
there is also evidence that many of those who attended were employed or at least had adequate means. In December, the evangelist launched the Love and Loyalty League, for 'the maintenance of its programme' of 'a full gospel with signs and wonders following ... arousing the masses from their lethargy and professors (of Christianity) from their formality.' Membership cost one pound per annum. Funds raised in this way enabled the purchase in 1931 of their own tent — the Canvas Cathedral — which seated 2000 people. Not that everyone who signed up paid promptly. At the end of the year, there were clear reminders for delinquent payers to honour their commitment. And there were other appeals for funds as well — for a grand piano, for a flag, for a collapsible organ for outreach work, for clothing for the needy, for a radio program, for a truck for country work, for foreign missions, for 168 pounds for repairs to the tent when it was damaged by a storm and for ten thousand pounds for a permanent building for the new church. The congregation was clearly not without means. Deprivation theories are inadequate to explain Booth-Clibborn's success.

By May 1931, there had been almost 600 recorded conversions — the target was 1000. By the end of the year, over 100 had been baptised in the Holy Spirit. On 31 May, Booth-Clibborn began a series of radio broadcasts. His penchant for alliteration had already been demonstrated with sermon topics such as 'Reason or Revelation — Which?,' Will the Trade Tide Turn?', 'In Training for Reigning,' and in slogans like 'The Great Sunday Night Super-Service' and 'Back to the Bible with Booth-Clibborn.' But in announcing the radio programs he excelled himself —

At last! Your prayers are answered! We Broadcast Brisbane's Brightest Boon! On the Wings of the Wind, Wafted on the Waves of the air comes to every Queensland

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140 'Cooee' 3 May 1931.
141 AE March 1931, p.3.
142 'Cooee,' 2:15 13 December 1931.
143 These and further details of Booth-Clibborn's Brisbane ministry are taken from Cooee, 3 May 1931 to 18 September 1932, unless otherwise stated. Cooee was a one-page type-written newsletter published weekly and widely distributed.
The Spirit of Revival

home the thrill and throb of the Revival over Radio Station 4BC (made to measure = Booth-Clibborn) another proof that the C.C.C. methods are modern.

Two twenty pm. Tuesdays tune into CCC Trio 4bc Brisbane’s brightest boon on Barry Parade broadcasting Booth-Clibborn’s Canvas Cathedral Campaign Chorus Choir proclaiming, publishing, presenting, preaching, praising Christ crucified, crowned and coming King!

By July 1931, 2,500 copies of the weekly ‘Canvas Cathedral Cooee’ were being printed. The number soon rose to 3,000 and on one occasion 10,000 were published. There were open air meetings, youth functions, hospital visitation bands, camp meetings and special interest groups.

1932 began with a rush. Twenty three professed conversion in the second week of the month. By March, the total number since the tent meetings were launched was 900. In one two-week period in March, there were 57 ‘decisions for Christ.’ Around a dozen baptismal services were conducted over 16 months. People talked of ‘the Canvas Cathedral revival.’ Booth-Clibborn tried every possible means of attracting people. His sermon topics were provocative—

- How to drown
- Is sickness caused by sin?
- The Prodigal that Stayed at Home
- The Pulse of a Dying World
- Noise in the Cemetery
- A New View-point on the Problem of Evil
- Who Killed Jesus?
- Mule Religion
- The Worst Woman in Town

He used a blackboard to illustrate his preaching. There was a motion picture of his ministry in various countries around the world. Books and badges were on sale at the tent. On Saturday 31 October he preached ‘the longest sermon in the history of Brisbane’ — a four-hour marathon with a ‘song intermission.’ Hundreds came to hear it. This message was repeated ‘by popular request’ the following February. On the first anniversary of the tent campaign, 500 people
attended a Sunday morning communion service and ten thousand flowers adorned the platform — symbolic of the launching of the fund for ten thousand pounds needed to erect a permanent building. Music was a crucial part of the ministry. In addition to the evangelist’s own contribution there was a 150 voice choir and every week the choir items were announced in advance. Members were required to practise regularly and to dress appropriately. There was a meeting every night of the week so no one would ever come and find the tent empty.

It was not all glitz and glamour. The fact that Booth-Clibborn could preach several times a week for sixteen months as he did indicates a significant depth of intellectual and spiritual resources.\textsuperscript{144} There were weekly Bible Studies and missionary meetings and regular gatherings for days of fasting and prayer. And Booth-Clibborn’s preaching, although dramatic, was lucid, reasoned, biblical and clear.\textsuperscript{145} On one occasion the tent was severely damaged by a tropical storm and a temporary tent was provided by a local business. There were also struggles with sickness. After his ‘Chrysler car conquered floods, storms, running rivers (and) logs,’ en route to Toowoomba, Booth-Clibborn returned to Brisbane by train ‘grievously sick’ and called for the church leaders to come and pray with him. Within a week, he was fully recovered. There was also criticism and opposition. ‘Those who stand on their dignity are disturbed at our freedom,’ wrote Booth-Clibborn —

\begin{quote}
We are altogether too lively! We lift our hands in singing and laugh! We are too lavish, too loud. We stay too long and too late at it! Such extremes, such extravagances! Such abandonment to emotion!... We are furiously assaulted as fakers, false teachers and fanatics by a class of religious zealots who having lost the power cling to a form or godliness. These crystalized Christians imagine the body may be kept healthy not by giving it food but by minding and mending the raiment only! THEY REST IN A FORM and are dead whilst the corpse remains
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{144} One disillusioned lay leader wrote, ‘Van Eyk would not have been able to hold an Evangelistic Crusade for over twelve months — he did not probe deeply into Scripture like Booth-Clibborn did.’ In the light of Van Eyk’s extant printed sermons this seems an unjust claim. See T.Hallop, personal correspondence, 30 April 1993.
well dressed. They have lost the spirit in the letter, they have left the substance and followed the shadow.¹⁴⁶

Booth-Clibborn was not the only preacher. George Burns and Alex Buchanan¹⁴⁷ often ministered in the tent. George Burns, disillusioned after his experience with Van Eyk, was now engaged in itinerant work around Queensland. In July 1931, he reported twenty decisions for Christ in Nanango, 140 kilometres north west of Brisbane, and a month later there were 44 potential new members for a church there. In September, he was in Rockhampton, where there was a ‘full house’ and the ‘beginnings of a big blaze’ and a local preacher in the Church of Christ was healed of defective eye sight. In November 1931, in nearby Toowoomba there were services every night of the week in ‘Canvas Cathedral Number Two,’ which was dedicated by Mrs Booth-Clibborn who preached there in early December. Here the work originally consolidated by Van Eyk was now represented by two Pentecostal congregations — the larger one now calling itself an Assembly of God; the smaller a remnant of the Apostolic Faith Mission. Burns became ‘dangerously ill’ and in January, 1932, the young Sydney evangelist Heather Burrows joined him in Toowoomba where she was soon followed by Genevieve Booth-Clibborn.

Mrs Booth-Clibborn exercised a prominent role in the Brisbane ministry, as did Leila Buchanan, Heather Burrows and Mary Ayers, and visiting missionaries such as Jessie Ferguson and Isabella Hetherington.¹⁴⁸ In August 1930, Genevieve Booth-Clibborn arrived in Brisbane and after two weeks’ rest, preached five times in one week. A month later she returned and preached regularly in the Canvas Cathedral until moving to Toowoomba. There, the tent was ‘taxed to capacity’ with enthusiastic people, many of whom were unchurched. ‘Cooee’ reported that Mrs Booth-Clibborn had ‘taken well’ in

¹⁴⁵ For a sample of Booth-Clibborn’s preaching see GN 5:10 October 1924, pp.3f; Chant, 1984, pp.330ff.
¹⁴⁶ ‘Cooee,’ Toowoomba, #5 22 November 1931.
¹⁴⁷ See Appendix Ten for background on Buchanan.
¹⁴⁸ See further on these women in Chapter Ten.
Toowoomba. By the time she left, there were 40 recorded commitments to Christ. It was widely seen as revival.

At the first anniversary of the Tent ministry, a fund was launched for a permanent building. Three months later, the Executive Council 'with Evangelist William Booth-Clibborn's authority' sought to have the Canvas Cathedral Congregation incorporated as the Covenant Christian Church and on 28 February 1932, the new church was formally commenced. At the same time, the Booth-Clibborns announced their intention to journey on to the United States. Special farewell services were held in which the evangelist was 'supported by Mr and Mrs Buchanan.'

But it was to neither W.A.Buchanan nor George Burns that Booth-Clibborn turned when seeking a successor. The new pastor was a Welshman named John Hewitt. He had visited Queensland previously but returned to England a year before. 'I am delighted to know I am still remembered,' he wrote. Another evangelist, he was well able to sustain the momentum of the Canvas Cathedral — in his first six months there were 66 baptisms — and to see the laying of the foundation stone for Glad Tidings Tabernacle on 13 August 1932. The new building was opened on 10 December. Hewitt’s ministry there was brief and after ten months, he left to join F.B.Van Eyk in evangelism and subsequently the Apostolic Church. By 1937, Buchanan was pastor of the Tabernacle. ‘There is much that could be said concerning the good hand of God upon us,’ he wrote later, ‘but at best we are unprofitable servants — graciously His for Time and Eternity.’ Ten years later he opened a Christian book ministry which still bears his name today.

150 See the foundation stone of the church building in Valley, Brisbane.
151 GC 2:1 March 1933, pp.89f.
152 Glad Tidings Tabernacle records; Alan and Jean Conwell, personal interview, c.1992.
153 W.A.Buchanan, ‘Know Your Ministers,’ in AE 20:12 December 1963, pp.16f. Buchanan’s disposition was reflected in advice given to young Lloyd Averill who was concerned about taking on an Assemblies of God church when he had a Good News Hall background. Buchanan’s opinion was, ‘Just use biblical phraseology — don’t try to interpret it.’ This was a reflection of Mrs Lancaster’s own approach. Lloyd Averill, personal interview, 20 November 1990.
Cities and towns with Assemblies of God churches in 1939
By 1939, there were 39 Assemblies of God churches in Australia, mostly in Queensland (see accompanying map).\textsuperscript{154}

Much of the practice of the Pentecostal evangelists of the 1920’s and early 1930’s was common to evangelists of all denominations. The American J.Edwin Orr, visited Australia in 1936 and conducted rallies in major city churches where men stood to their feet to publicly confess their sins and there were extended times of prayer and penitent weeping before God and people knelt ‘to seek the gracious infilling of God’s Spirit.’ At the final gathering in Melbourne, there were some 5000 people present.\textsuperscript{155} He was particularly struck by the weekly gatherings for prayer initiated by William ‘Cairo’ Bradley in the basement of the Sydney Town Hall, where hundreds gathered for intercession and thousands of prayer requests were dealt with.\textsuperscript{156} It was the Pentecostals’ innovative style, daring claims and distinctive doctrine that set them apart. But for them, it was not just a matter of boldness or innovation or non-conformity. The distinctive feature was the infilling of the Holy Spirit. Revival was impossible without it. And successful Christianity was impossible without revival. For these 1920s preachers, the spirit of Pentecost was the essential and crucial element in all they did.

\textsuperscript{154} See Appendix One. That there were twice as many congregations in Queensland as in all the other States combined possibly reflects the fact that Australian Pentecostalism flourished in provincial, country towns (see Chapter Two). Roe suggests that the relatively successful growth of theosophy in Queensland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was assisted by its congenial climate and that ‘Queensland at this time presented a milieu in which theosophy might be expected to flourish — muddled, tense, volatile, futuristic.’ She notes that the world’s first Labour government was in Queensland; that it was from Queensland that William Lane migrated to Paraguay to establish his ideal colony; that assisted immigration and its resultant fermentation of new ideas and ideals continued longer in Queensland than anywhere else in Australia; that ‘labour followed capital’ from the southern States; and that after 1860, mining booms spurred development in the Far North. She argues that this proliferation of new and radical ideas and of progressive industry possibly provided a congenial climate for theosophy. See Roe, 1986, pp.115f. To what extent this argument applies to the development of Pentecostalism, which took place two decades after the establishing of theosophy, and during both a World War and a Great Depression, is not immediately evident. However, Queenslanders, with their more casual lifestyle and less conventional manners, may well have found in Pentecostalism an acceptable and comfortable form of religion suited to their less urban society.

\textsuperscript{155} J.E. Orr, \textit{All Your Need} London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1936, pp.66ff, 89. It is of interest that Booth-Clibborn’s mother was in correspondence with Edwin Orr (p.99).

\textsuperscript{156} ADEB, 1994, p.48.