‘Three Great Forces are at Work Trying to Control Events’: Australian Anglican Views on the League of Nations, Communism, and Fascism, 1927-1939

Alexander Charles Parsons

Department of Historical and Classical Studies

The University of Adelaide

Thesis Presented as the Requirement for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

February 2023

Contents

Abstract

Historians of Twentieth Century Australia have paid little heed to the Anglican Church. It is seen as a conservative establishment institution, with the clerical ideals interchangeable with those of mainstream conservative political figures. There has also been an assumption of a general Australian indifference towards foreign affairs throughout the first half of the Twentieth Century, excepting specific activist groups. I argue that, at least in the context of interwar international idealism, these assumptions are misguided and misleading.

This thesis argues that many figures within the Australian Anglican Church, across the institutional hierarchical spectrum, expressed passionately held and well-informed views on international affairs through the interwar period. It does so through a systematic examination of South Australian and Victorian Anglican periodicals, diocesan papers and local parish papers. The latter of these has been almost entirely unutilised by historians. Throughout these sources, a wide range of heterogeneous views emerge, demonstrating a genuine intellectual engagement with world concerns beyond the borders of Australia.

My title utilises a striking quote from Frederick Head, the Archbishop of Melbourne, from his 1937 Synod Address. He declared that in world affairs 'three great forces are at work trying to control events: Communism, Fascism and the League of Nations'. This quote forms the structure of this thesis: the Anglican response to each of these 'forces' is examined in turn.

The Australian Anglican Church as a whole was a dedicated supporter of the ideals of collective security as embodied by the League of Nations. This is in direct contrast to the Australian conservative establishment, whose interest in the League was begrudging. While clergymen disagreed over the inherent Christianity of the League's goals and practices, and became increasingly dismayed with its failures in halting conflict in Manchuria and Abyssinia, overall the Church remained steadfast in its belief in the value of League idealism.

The Australian Anglican Church was steadfastly anti-communist through this period. The mainstream Anglican view spoke of communism in terms of disease and vermin. Yet, there was a significant undercurrent of sympathy for at least some communist aims. The Great Depression led many Anglican clergy to disavow capitalism and to advocate for a revitalised Australian society. Some sought to learn from communism in order to augment a new Christianised Australia. The economic and industrial successes of Soviet Russia were of especial interest for this purpose.

The Australian Anglican Church had a complicated relationship with fascism. In the early 1930s, fascism was associated with Italy, and especially with Roman Catholicism. Australian Anglican anti-Catholic sentiment meant Italian fascism was treated largely with indifference. The rise of Nazi Germany radically altered the Australian Anglican Church's understanding of fascism. It embraced the notion of 'totalitarianism', believing that fascism and communism were fundamentally alike due to their anti-Christianity. The main Anglican fear throughout this period was an outbreak of war that might destroy British civilisation, but by early 1939 the disdain for fascism had overtaken this concern and Australian Anglicans began to suggest the moral necessity of war with Hitler.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Alexander Parsons

9 September 2022

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Associate Professor Vesna Drapac and Associate Professor Paul Sendziuk for their ongoing guidance and assistance throughout the process of developing this thesis. Thanks especially to my primary supervisor Vesna, whose detailed feedback was instrumental in guiding my work to this final result.

I also offer special thanks to Dr David Hilliard for offering his time and expertise in the early stages of my research. This was especially valuable in relation to drawing my attention to the value of the State Library of South Australia's collection of Anglican parish papers, which determined the direction and scope of my overall research.

I would also like to thank the kind and helpful staff at the State Libraries of South Australia and Victoria, as well as the Anglican Archives in Adelaide.

Introduction

The late 1920s and 1930s were a particularly turbulent period of world history. The Great Depression that began in 1929 precipitated economic suffering on an unprecedented scale, and imposed severe social and financial hardships across the world. The apparent failure of capitalism, and of the liberal democratic system that supported it, emboldened those who sought to offer an alternative societal structure, be that communism, fascism, or something in between. It became clear that the First World War, hailed as 'the War to End War', had not come close to achieving this goal. The threat of another catastrophic war became increasingly acute up until the moment of its eventual outbreak in September 1939. Australia, though a relatively remote British outpost, was not spared this financial, emotional, and indeed spiritual, turmoil. In fact, Australia was one of the countries most severely-impacted by the blight of the Depression.[1]

There is a wealth of academic writing that has investigated the domestic crises resultant from the Depression and international events during the interwar period. However, this is not the case in relation to Australian engagement with the international situation. There is something of a historical assumption that Australians, through the 19th and early 20th centuries up until the Second World War, maintained a relative indifference to foreign affairs outside of the direct scope of the British Empire. According to this line of thinking most Australians, in their geographic location remote from the British Imperial motherland and the European seats of the global colonial powers, understood foreign events as largely irrelevant to local concerns.[2] The first regular air transport between Europe and Australia was established in June 1933 and took 28 days.[3] Technological and infrastructural improvements meant that by 1938 mail sent by plane could reach Sydney from London in only 10 days.[4] In this context, Eric Andrews argued in his seminal book *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (1970) that 'it was natural for Australians to be absorbed in developing their continent and fighting their own political battles'.[5] He chose to emphasise this fundamental idea by opening the book, which remains to this day the standard academic text on the topic, with a cartoon taken from the by then conservative Sydney periodical, *The Bulletin*. In this image, included in the Appendix as Figure 1, two farmers converse over a farm fence somewhere in rural Australia. One tells the other: 'They tell me things are not too good in Europe, Dave'. The other responds:

---

[1] Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers* (Brisbane: University of Brisbane Press, 1978): 2.
[2] Eric Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970): 3.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

'What's wrong? Drought?'[6] The cartoon is obviously meant to be an exaggerated joke, but its very existence demonstrates that the sentiment that it is mocking was at least thought to exist at the time. By opening his book with this image, Andrews gives credence to the general idea of basic Australian indifference to the outside world.

This standard narrative of Australian apathy towards far-off crises includes two key exceptions during the interwar period: the Roman Catholic Church and the Communist Party.[7] Both were passionate about global Communism, albeit on opposite ends of the spectrum. My thesis contends that this limited historical focus has overlooked another influential Australian demographic that actively sought to engage with the international concerns of this period. The Church of England in Australia (hereafter the Anglican Church, its official name since 1981), linked to its mother Church in Canterbury, was inherently based around an internationalist scope, at least within the context of the British Empire.[8] While many Australians would have identified culturally with Britain, the connections of the Anglican Church with England were institutional and formalised. With the inherently internationalist scope of their Church, the Anglican clergy frequently and passionately commented upon international affairs in a manner inconsistent with Andrews', and the mainstream historiography's, suggestions to the contrary.

This thesis explores the Australian Anglican Church's understandings of, and responses to, the tumultuous international events of the late 1920s and 1930s. It is worth explaining how the topic of this thesis was formulated to give some context as to its scope and goals. My original plan for this thesis was quite different from what it has become. My initial research goal was to explore the Anglican Church in Australia's reaction to the Second World War, especially with regards to the active involvement of the clergy with deployed troops. This particular gap in the historical literature was suggested to me by prominent historian of Australian Christianity, David Hilliard. I obliged this suggestion, and began my PhD. I decided that it would be necessary to explore how the Anglican Church discussed fascism and Nazi Germany in the years before the outbreak of the war. As I began this research, however, I found that the Anglican Church published copious amounts of material regarding the various international crises of the interwar period, such as the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 and the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. With my own research background in the study of 'generic fascism' and the Spanish Second

---

[6] *Bulletin* 26 July 1939.

[7] I will refer to the 'Roman Catholic Church' rather than simply the 'Catholic Church' due to the need to avoid confusion over the meaning and use of the term 'catholic'. Mainstream Australian Anglicanism at this time embraced the word 'catholic' in a more general sense and bristled at the suggestion that the Pope's followers could lay exclusive claim to the term.

[8] 'Church of England in Australia', the official term prior to 1981, is cumbersome.

Republic, I realised that the interwar period represented a novel trove for historical research.[9] Therefore, my main research question developed in response to the plethora of untapped primary material that I found early in my investigations. And it is thus: How did the Church of England in Australia publicly respond to the competing international ideologies surrounding the international crises of the late 1920s and 1930s? The answer to this question, my thesis proposes, is that a great number of clerical members of Anglican Church in Australia were thoughtful and dedicated commentators on foreign events during the interwar period, even if their conclusions were heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory. While many priests did fit the Australian stereotype of indifference to the world at large, this vision cannot be sustained for the Church as a whole.

The ramifications of this study for the general history of the Australian Anglican Church and Australian engagement with international politics during the interwar period are significant. As will become clear, my research unearthing the breadth and depth of Australian Anglican consideration of these international questions demonstrates that the Church has been too readily dismissed in the historiography. It has been typecast as a conservative body with political views aligned overwhelmingly with mainstream secular conservatism and with nothing specific to offer on grander international political questions. This thesis shows that many Australian Anglican clergymen, from the top to the bottom of the clerical hierarchy, thought deeply and personally about the international political realm during the interwar period, and that distilling the views of the Church's membership down to a single 'official' position would be misleading. Therefore, this is not simply a study of the Church's responses to specific political crises around the world. This thesis demonstrates the vibrancy of Australian Anglican intellectual endeavour and offers broad insight into the workings of a major and influential Australian socio-cultural institution.

The structure of the thesis is framed around a quote by the Archbishop of Melbourne, Frederick Head. He announced in his 1937 Synod Charge that 'three great forces are at work trying to control [world] events: Communism, Fascism and the League of Nations'.[10] I have used these three 'forces' to subdivide my thesis into sections examining the Australian Anglican response to each in turn. While there is some degree of overlap of these topics, separating my thesis sections by ideological themes like this allows for more analytical clarity than simply focussing on specific case

[9] For my previous work, see: Alexander Parsons, ""Everybody's Favourite Fascist": An Examination of the Figure of José Antonio Primo de Rivera in the Historiography of Spanish Fascism," Masters Thesis, University of Adelaide: 2018.
[10] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Charge to Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1280 (September 24, 1937): 465.

studies. Given this focus on the three distinct forces of the League of Nations, communism and fascism, three immediate and specific questions logically follow:

> How did the Anglican Church in Australia understand and react to the efforts of the League of Nations to foster world peace?
>
> How did the Anglican Church in Australia understand and react to the goals and deeds of Soviet communism?
>
> How did the Anglican Church in Australia understand and react to the rise and spread of fascism across Europe?

Overarching these questions there exists a fundamental question that this thesis seeks to address: How do the responses by Anglican clerical figures to the above 'forces' illuminate the Australian Anglican Church's conceptualisation of its own role in Australian society? While the specific responses to these crises are fascinating, the implications of this study reach towards something more fundamental about the nature of interwar Australian Anglicanism and its relationship to political conservatism and political activism.

The Anglican press devoted many words to outlining their views on these 'three great forces' so described by Archbishop Head. The Anglican Church strongly supported the League of Nations' ideals of world peace. The Church's response to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 was lukewarm, but it rallied to support the Abyssinian cause in response to Italian aggression in 1935. Anti-communism was a central tenet of Australian Anglicanism, shaping the understanding of both foreign and domestic affairs. While there was an undercurrent of a degree of sympathy for some Soviet social and economic aims, these views were not endorsed by mainstream Anglicanism and were generally rejected with overt hostility. The Australian Anglican Church's response to fascism evolved from a distaste for its purported links to Italian Roman Catholicism to a hatred of its anti-Christian 'totalitarian' aspirations. The key element linking the responses to all three of these phenomena was an overriding fear of an imminent global war and the potential collapse of British Christian civilisation.

The chronological boundaries of this thesis are set as 1927 and September 1939 inclusive. The latter choice is self-evident, as the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe comprises a significant and obvious point of rupture with the appropriately-named interwar period. 1927 requires justification, however. Initially I chose the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 as a logical starting point for an exploration of the escalating crises of the 1930s. However, with the study of the Anglican response to the League of Nations, 1927 seemed a more appropriate beginning. The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact of 1928, in which international warfare was theoretically outlawed, generated excitement amongst the Australian Anglican press, and spurred further interest in the

League of Nations as a body that could potentially bring about genuine change.[11] 1927 also works well for a discussion of Anglican responses to communism, as that year marked the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War. The Chinese Communist Party was to play a significant role in this conflict, not least in the minds of Australian Anglicans as a murderous group of bandits dedicated to fatally expunging British Christian missionaries from China. This period of slightly-more than a decade allows for both specific detail and an appreciation of the manner in which views changed over time, without becoming overwhelming in chronological scope.

The views of the Australian Anglican Church at this time should not be considered a parochial affair, something able to be dismissed as inconsequential. During interwar period, Anglicanism was the predominant Australian religion. The 1933 census is the most pertinent to this time period, as the censuses on either side fell in 1921 and 1947, too early and too late respectively to be of specific use for my purposes. In the 1933 national survey, 86.4 percent of Australians identified themselves as some form of Christian.[12] This was well down on the 1921 census, which found that 96.9 percent of Australians identified as Christian.[13] The shift is due to the fact that the 1933 census was the first to state that answering the question about religious affiliation was optional.[14] In 1933, 12.9 percent of respondents failed to answer that question, up from 1.9 percent in 1921.[15] The largest Christian denomination overall in Australia was 'Church of England', representing 38.7 percent of the overall population.[16] Roman Catholicism was the second largest, with 19.6 percent.[17] Even if many respondents were only nominal followers of the Anglican faith, this data demonstrates that the Anglican Church was a significant institution that could claim to speak for a large number of Australian citizens.

Though the Anglican Church was not officially established as the State Religion of Australia, akin to its established nature in England, it nonetheless maintained a prominent position within Australian society. The Church, especially its high-ranking clergy, was seen as inextricably linked with the Australian ruling classes. The social circles of the clerical elites were coterminous with those of prominent businessmen and politicians.[18] The secular press extensively covered Anglican sermons,

---

[11] "Outlawing of War," *The Church of England Messenger* LX:1042 (August 24, 1928): 388.
[12] "Year Book Australia, 2002," Australian Bureau of Statistics, page last revised 20 August 2007, https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/2f762f95845417aeca25706c00834efa/E989A36F23095A09CA256B350010B3FC?opendocument
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Anne O'Brien, "The Case of the 'Cultivated Man': Class, Gender and the Church of the Establishment in Interwar Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 27 (1996): 249.

meetings, and declarations, ensuring that Anglican voices were amplified for the population who did not regularly attend church services.[19] The Anglican Church saw itself as the moral arbiter of Australian values, and was not shy to espouse its views on moral questions. The Church insisted to its followers, and seems to have genuinely believed, that its commentary on political issues did not count as 'politics'.[20] 'Politics' in a pejorative sense was instead understood as partisanship regarding, or direct affiliation with, a particular political party. Nonetheless, it was the Church's duty 'to interfere when legislation seeks to interfere to the detriment of personality and character'.[21] Clergymen repeatedly explained to their flocks that the Church's purview was humanity's spiritual health, which extended far beyond the confines of strictly 'religious' matters.[22] This argument was made in response to frequent secular (and sometimes internal clerical) criticism directing the Church to stick to religious affairs, to the extent that one example in 1937 apologised to their readers for boring them with another repetitive defence of Anglican political activism.[23]

Despite this prominent position in Australian society, historians have been regretting the relative lack of academic interest in the influence of the Australian Anglican Church for over two decades. Anne O'Brien argued in 1996 that 'the cultural significance of the Anglican Church is greater than historians have acknowledged'.[24] She believed that the Anglican clergy was seen as so intertwined with conservative elites that their 'views faded into the background'.[25] Brian Fletcher agreed in 1999, when he lamented the fact that most historical investigations into the Australian Anglican Church have taken biographical or institutional forms, in stark contrast to the English Church 'where much attention has been paid to the role of the Church in shaping the nation'.[26] He complained 'that more has not been attempted in Australia is unfortunate because the capacity of the Anglican Church to influence opinion was considerable'.[27] Fletcher reiterated this criticism in 2007, frustrated that mainstream Australian historiography seemingly rejected the importance of

[19] For an example of an article of this nature, see: "Revised Anglican Constitution," *The Advertiser* 6 September 1933, 23.
[20] W.G. McKenzie, "The Challenge of the State," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVII:1189 (April 13, 1934): 182.
[21] "The Church and Politics," *The Australian Churchman* 3:4 (June 1930): 9.
[22] For example, the Archbishop of Melbourne declared the issue of inflation to not count as 'politics', as it had a moral dimension to it: Frederick Head, "The Call to the Church of England in Victoria," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1107 (February 20, 1931): 76.
[23] "Christianity and Politics," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:10 (July 1937): 1.
[24] O'Brien, "The Case of the 'Cultivated Man'," 244.
[25] Ibid., 246.
[26] Brian Fletcher, "Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901-1962," *The Journal of Religious History* 23:2 (1999): 216.
[27] Ibid.

religion as a social force.[28] This thesis intends to make a step towards filling this significant gap in Australian historical study.

Literature Review

My research touches upon a variety of intersecting bodies of historical literature. Very little scholarship directly relates to Australian Anglican perceptions of the international situation during the 1920s and 1930s. This is a surprising situation, given the richness of the primary material that I have uncovered. There has been a small amount of historical research in the last fifteen years stating that the Australian Anglican Church was interested in foreign events during this period. However, none of this scholarship has offered depth or detail on the topic, mentioning it only in passing. A general sense seems to be emerging regarding the importance of the Anglican Church's responses to the interwar crises, but this thesis is the first attempt to address this historical question in any detail. This section will cover the literature regarding Australia and the Anglican Church – specific literature reviews surrounding the League of Nations, communism and fascism will be included at the start of each corresponding chapter.

There is a significant academic literature devoted to Australian diplomatic history and the crises of the interwar period. Most of this material takes the approach of top-down high politics history, focussing on decisions made by Prime Minister Joseph Lyons, members of his Cabinet, and official Australian representatives in London and Geneva. W. J. Hudson (1934-) wrote extensively on this topic, most prominently in *Towards a Foreign Policy: 1914-1941* (1967) and *Australia and the League of Nations* (1980).[29] Both of these books explain the actions of the Australian Federal Government. A more recent example of this approach comes in David Bird's *J. A. Lyons – The 'Tame Tasmanian': Appeasement and Rearmament in Australia, 1932-39* (2008), which outlines the Australian Prime Minister's turbulent time in office.[30] Christopher Waters' *Australia and Appeasement: Imperial Foreign Policy and the Origins of World War II* (2012) is generally accepted as the most influential recent example of high political Australian diplomatic history of the 1930s, situating it within the global context of inter-Imperial state relationships.[31] These books offer broad

[28] Brian Fletcher, "Australian Anglicanism and Why It Matters: Some Historical Reflections," *Anglican Historical Society Journal* 44 (2007): 6.
[29] W.J. Hudson, *Towards a Foreign Policy: 1914-1941* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1967).; W.J. Hudson, *Australia and the League of Nations* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980).
[30] David Bird, *J. A. Lyons – the 'Tame Tasmanian: Appeasement and Rearmament in Australia, 1932-39* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008).
[31] Christopher Waters, *Australia and Appeasement: Imperial Foreign Policy and the Origins of World War II*. (London: I.B. Taurus, 2012).

political context for the period, but their specific focus on political actors and institutions means this corpus of literature has a different academic purview from my own.

More directly relevant to my approach is the literature regarding Australian public, rather than governmental, responses to the international situation. There are only two significant publications covering this material. Andrews' *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* straddles the line between focus on high-ranking government officials and a social history approach, as he incorporates the views espoused in the Australian press. As stated earlier, Andrews' key argument is that the Australian public was relatively indifferent to far-off foreign events.[32] Even today, more than half a century later, Andrews' work is still upheld as the standard text on Australian public perceptions of the interwar period. The other important book is Carolyn Rasmussen's *The Lesser Evil? Opposition to War and Fascism in Australia 1929-1941* (1992). Rasmussen focusses overwhelmingly on activist social organisations, in particular the Movement Against War and Fascism that was supported by, but independent from, the Comintern.[33] Both of these books mention the Australian Anglican Church and some of its more prominent individuals in passing, but offer no systematic exploration into the views of the Church as an institution.

The British historiography is useful for establishing context for my research. The social importance of the established English Church, and the fact that England represented the core of the Church itself, has meant that there is a considerably larger body of work regarding the English Church's responses to international affairs. England's direct proximity to the turbulence on the European continent also meant that active engagement with foreign affairs was more relevant to the lives of English clergymen than their distant Australian counterparts. Alan Wilkinson's *Dissent or Conform?: War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945* (1986) remains a central text regarding the English Anglican Church's positions on foreign events during this period.[34] However, Wilkinson is more interested in the two World Wars than the period between them. Nevertheless, Wilkinson does comment on the English Anglican Church's passionate support for the League of Nations and economic sanctions towards Italy, and on the comparative indifference towards the Spanish Civil War.

There is a body of literature focussed directly on the English Anglican Church's views on specific interwar international concerns that has no Australian equivalent. Tom Lawson has written

---

[32] Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement*, 3.
[33] Carolyn Rasmussen, *The Lesser Evil? Opposition to War and Fascism in Australia 1929-1941* (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 1992).
[34] Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?: War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945* (London: SCM Press, 1986).

extensively on English Anglican interactions with Nazism, for example. His core argument is that there has been a self-congratulatory English Anglican belief that the Church of England was comparatively anti-Nazi during the interwar period, and that this belief is fundamentally incorrect.[35] Ben Edwards' *With God on Our Side: British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War* (2013) covers individual British clerical entanglements with Spain, both in favour of the Republic and of Franco, in some detail.[36] These works offer excellent points of comparison, or at least a frame of reference, for study of the Australian Anglican perceptions of the same events and ideas. This context is particularly helpful, given how often the Australian Anglican commentators explicitly cite English Anglican publications as a key source of information.

Moving to Australian historical literature directly related to the Anglican Church, it must be said that most 'Church histories' have a scope and focus that does not align with my own research interests. They are frequently published by local parishioners, and while these works are valuable for understanding the history of a single congregation or parish, they rarely, if ever, go into detail regarding political questions. Pamela Welch declares that the majority of these types of texts are written by loyal adherents with the purpose of painting their own denomination in the best possible light, rather than a dedication to historical scholarship.[37] Broader histories of Anglicanism in Australia like David Hilliard's *Godliness and Good Order* (1986) and Ian Breward's *Australia: The Most Godless Place Under Heaven?* (1988) offer a useful source of general context.[38] These books cover topics like institutional developments, changes in liturgical practices, theological debates, and the construction and spread of new parishes. Domestic and local concerns are likely more engaging to these scholars and their readers, as they are more directly relevant to their own experiences within the Church and their academic interests.

There have been a number of historical investigations into Anglican Church engagement with domestic political issues, demonstrating the general degree of religious engagement with 'politics'. To cite a South Australian example, Judith Raftery provides a detailed exploration of various political causes that interested Anglican and other Christian denominational passions in her unpublished PhD thesis "Till Every Foe is Vanquished: Churches and Social Issues in South Australia, 1919-1939" (1988). The section of this work that bears the most relevance to my own research is a

---

[35] Tom Lawson, "The Anglican Understanding of Nazism 1933-1945: Placing the Church of England's Response to the Holocaust in Context," *Twentieth Century British History* 14:2 (2003): 112-137.
[36] Ben Edwards, *With God on Our Side: British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013).
[37] Pamela Welch, "Constructing Colonial Christianities: With Particular Reference to Anglicanism in Australia, ca 1850-1940," *Journal of Religious History* 32:2 (2008): 237.
[38] David Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986).; Ian Breward, *Australia: "The Most Godless Place Under Heaven?"* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1988).

chapter devoted to interwar Christian pacifism. While this chapter on pacifism makes some comment about Roman Catholic responses to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War, she does not include the views of the Anglican Church on those topics.[39] In the segment regarding Anglicanism, Raftery wrote about pacifism in a purely abstracted theological sense without any direct practical application.[40] She turned three of her chapters into a 1991 journal article which explored some of the domestic concerns that occupied the South Australian Anglican Church.[41] Raftery's research is an excellent example of the degree to which the South Australian Anglican Church saw overtly political issues as part of its purview.

There has also been some historiographical focus on the progressive ideas of the 'social gospel' during this period. The social gospel was a theological framework that advocated activist clerical involvement in progressive social causes aimed at the amelioration of socioeconomic disadvantage.[42] It was distinct from Christian socialism in that it did not explicitly reject the system of capitalism, though it nonetheless had similar aims and aspirations of alleviating the striking poverty caused by the Great Depression.[43] Joan Mansfield's article "The Social Gospel and the Church of England in New South Wales in the 1930s" (1985) remains the gold standard on this topic, and focuses on the domestic reforms advocated by prominent NSW Anglican bishops Francis De Witt Batty (1879-1961), John Moyes (1884-1972) and Ernest Burgmann (1885-1967).[44] Coverage of the social gospel in general has been limited to a domestic focus, even though these men were not shy about discussing international issues and ideas. The absence of research into the views of proponents of the social gospel regarding the international crises of the interwar period as a component in understanding their worldview is a surprising oversight of the literature.

On the topic of Australian Anglican interest in foreign affairs, Andrews' *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* argues that the Anglican Church's apparent indifference was in line with the Australian norm. The passion of Australia's Roman Catholics has been effectively demonstrated by Pauline Kneipp in 1979 and Mary Kneipp in 1998 with respect to Abyssinia and Spain

---

[39] Judith Raftery, "Till Every Foe is Vanquished: Churches and Social Issues in South Australia, 1919-1939," (PhD, Flinders University, 1988): 352.
[40] Ibid., 342.
[41] Judith Raftery, "Betting Shops, Soup Kitchens and Well-Kept Sundays: The Response of the South Australian Churches to Some Social Issues, 1919-39," *Journal of Religious History* 16:4 (1991): 433-455.
[42] Joan Mansfield, "The Social Gospel and the Church of England in New South Wales in the 1930s," *The Journal of Religious History* 13:4 (1985): 411.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 412.

respectively.[45] There has been no equivalent study into Anglican responses to those events or other similar interwar crises.

Over the last fifteen years, there has been something of a shift away from the assumptions of Anglican indifference towards foreign affairs. Brian Fletcher's *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* (2008) embodies this trend, and is the most important piece of secondary literature to my research. Fletcher makes some striking remarks. He stated that the Spanish Civil War 'generated deep concern' amongst Anglicans, but did not supply a reference for this statement or mention the conflict again.[46] Similarly, he stated that 'strong criticism was also levelled against Japan' for its actions in Manchuria but without further comment.[47] He offered slightly more detail about the Church's response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, stating that it was outraged over the conflict due to a belief in collective security and the League of Nations.[48] Fletcher assumed these three positions, in contrast to the standard narrative established by Andrews, without explaining his reasoning or supplying evidence to support his conclusions. This work is crucial to my research not for its degree of detail and insight, therefore, but for the fact that it is one of the few sources to address the topic at all. As we shall see, the primary material I have found supports Fletcher's basic argument, and my thesis develops these key ideas.

Similarly, Meredith Lake argued in 2010 that Anglican students at Sydney University felt intense passion towards foreign affairs. She states that they were 'stirred by events such as the formation of the League of Nations, the distress of the capitalist system during the Depression, Japan's expansion into Manchuria, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, the rise of Hitler and the Spanish Civil War,' but offers no further context or detail.[49] It is not made clear whether their passion derived from their Anglicanism, their position as university students, or a combination of both.

This re-evaluation of Australian Anglican engagement with international affairs of the interwar period was most stridently asserted by Anglican historian and priest John Moses in a chapter of *National Socialism in Oceania* (2009). In his study of Australian Anglican responses to Nazi German anti-Semitism and the arrival of Jewish refugees into Australia in the 1930s, Moses was

---

[45] Pauline Kneipp, "Australian Catholics and the Abyssinian War," *Journal of Religious History* 10:4 (1979): 416-430.; Mary Kneipp, "Australian Catholics and the Spanish Civil War," *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 19 (1998): 47-64.
[46] Brian Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne: Broughton, 2008): 152.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Meredith Lake, "Faith in Crisis: Christian University Students in Peace and War," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 56:3 (2010): 445.

adamant that the Anglican Church was both more interested in, and more knowledgeable about, international events than almost any other Australian group.[50] He ascribed this interest to the clergy's natural inclination towards reading about events in Britain and the rest of the Empire, especially given how many of the bishops were born in England.[51] While by 1930 the overall majority of Australian Anglican bishops were Australian-born, every single metropolitan bishop had been invited from their English home to take up the position in Australia, demonstrating the continuing perceived importance of the imperial core.[52] Australian-born bishops remained wary of nationalism at this time, and were happily subservient to the English metropolitan leadership.[53]

My own research can be understood as an investigation into the validity of these more recent historiographical claims, on the basis of a broad base of empirical evidence. In both the case of Fletcher and Lake, it seems evident that the authors sympathise with the causes of Manchuria, Abyssinia and the Spanish Republic, and thus consider Anglican support for them as something to be praised. I myself hold a similar view. This is an interesting point to consider, however. Tom Lawson, previously mentioned as a scholar of Anglican views on Nazism, explicitly sought to oppose the idealisation of the English Anglican Church based on its responses to Hitler.[54] He believed that historians have given undue attention to the more outspoken English Anglican anti-fascists, who did not in fact represent mainstream Anglicanism but aligned more closely with outspoken anti-fascist ideals that posterity considers to be more morally sound.[55] His argument is that by focussing on these critical voices historians have implicitly, or even explicitly, white-washed the image of the Church in an ahistorical manner.[56] This criticism could likely be made towards Moses' chapter cited above, as his key argument is that Australian Anglican churchmen should be understood through a lens of 'pragmatic benevolence' in their response to Nazi anti-Semitism.[57] He centred the voice of George Stuart Watts, the most outspokenly progressive of prominent Church figures and a figure who will be introduced shortly, and suggested that he represented the Church as a whole; this is the kind of approach specifically criticised by Lawson. Moses insisted that the clergy 'abhorr[ed] all

[50] John Moses, "The Church of England in Australia, Nazi Germany and the Reception of Jewish Refugees," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*. (Peter Lang: Frankfurt, 2009): 215.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ruth Frappell, "Imperial Fervour and Anglican Loyalty 1901-1929," in *Anglicanism in Australia*, ed. Bruce Kaye. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002): 98.
[53] Brian Fletcher, "Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society," in *Anglicanism in Australia*, ed. Bruce Kaye. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002): 308.
[54] Lawson, "The Anglican Understanding of Nazism 1933-1945," 112.
[55] Ibid., 113.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Moses, "Church of England and Nazi Germany," 209.

forms of racial discrimination, though … some were clearly not necessarily fond of Jews'.[58] Anti-Semitism was not especially common in the Anglican periodicals, but when it appeared it was usually quite strident, so Moses' statement can be seen as something of a deflection.[59] Overall, the chapter veers towards hagiography. The basic idea of unduly romanticising the Australian Anglican Church based on the views of an outspoken progressive minority seems a potentially plausible critique of Fletcher and Lake as well. My own research utilises a broad base of primary material to give a more holistic overview of the breadth of Anglican Church opinion, thereby avoiding this pitfall.

Methodology and Sources

Though the title of my thesis refers to the 'Australian Anglican Church', and I use this phrase throughout, my empirical research has focussed on three key areas. These are the South Australian Church, the Victorian Church, and the national Sydney-based newspaper *The Church Standard*. I refer to the 'Australian' Church, rather than 'the South Australian and Victorian' Church for the sake of convenience, but also because it is an appropriate use of terminology – no study of this magnitude can be so completely exhaustive as to claim to be representative of the entire Australian position. My focus on South Australia and Victoria represents a deliberate decision to deprioritise the focus on NSW, which has been the Australian Anglican jurisdiction covered most frequently by historical research. I do, however, incorporate an element of the NSW Church into this thesis, in the form of *The Church Standard*. This is because the national scope of the newspaper meant it had a demonstrable impact in both South Australia and Victoria. Clergymen in both states read and responded to *The Church Standard*, and actively endorsed it.[60] As a result of this South Australian and Victorian-centred scope, this thesis contains relatively little explicit focus on the competing forms of churchmanship in the Australian Anglican Church. Throughout this period there was an ongoing struggle between the ideals of Evangelicalism (Low Church) and Anglo-Catholicism (High Church).[61] The diocese of Sydney was the centre of Evangelicalism in Australia at this time, while Victoria and South Australia were dominated by those who aimed towards compromise, often

[58] Ibid., 215.
[59] For one example, see this article explaining how all Jews remain personally responsible for the death of Christ and remain eternally cursed until they repent and convert to Christianity: "The Editor's Note Book," *The Church Standard* XXIII:1139 (July 13, 1934): 5.
[60] For some examples of the Adelaide diocesan paper's recommendations, see: "Church Congress and "The Church Standard,"" *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIII:1 (October 1928): 4.; Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Church Standard," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXV:8 (May 1931): 1.; Proteus, "The Church Standard," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 30:3 (December 1 1935): 5.
[61] For a history of early churchmanship disputes in Australia, see: Stuart Piggin, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australia, 1740-1914* (Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2018).

leaning towards a soft form of Anglo-Catholicism.[62] *The Church Standard* was a resolute bastion of Anglo-Catholicism in Sydney, so it too lends itself to a relatively limited focus on the Evangelical viewpoint. There is a large volume of extant research that delves more deeply into the rifts between these two approaches to Anglican worship, and deep examination of this topic is simply beyond the scope of my own research.[63]

This thesis covers the views of a large number of Australian Anglican figures, representing a heterogeneous group. Though 'the Church' could put forward a dominant mainstream opinion, one supported by its most prominent bishops, there were always pockets of dissent on all sorts of matters. My thesis can be understood as a fundamentally exploratory piece of research, engaging with a large volume of hitherto unutilised primary material. As a result, the scope can sometimes seem broad. It incorporates the stated views of many clergymen and a few lay Anglicans, though some more prominently than others. It goes into considerable depth regarding different Anglican clergymen's opinions regarding specific issues. This was a deliberate decision to effectively demonstrate the scope of Australian Anglican views, the breadth of which is a key finding of my thesis overall.

It is worth addressing the reality that this thesis overwhelmingly focusses on the stated opinions of men. Though the Anglican Church has made strides towards reducing institutional misogyny within its structures in recent decades, the Church of the interwar period was overwhelmingly patriarchal and 'masculinist'.[64] The Church was self-consciously in favour of 'manliness'; it 'valued physical prowess, a desire for excitement and adventure, direct and forthright dealings, [and] the admiration of the hero'.[65] In this climate, where the clergy was formally restricted to men and there was passionate debate as to whether lay women were even allowed to attend Synod meetings, the views of men dominate Church publications.[66] This focus on the views of men, necessitated by the fact that women were fundamentally excluded from positions of authority within the Church, is especially inconvenient given the fact that women were more frequent attenders of Church services than men, and thus were more representative of the general Anglican

---

[62] Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 2000): 225.; David Hilliard, "The Transformation of South Australian Anglicanism, c.1880-1930," *Journal of Religious History* 14:1 (1986): 56.

[63] For example, see: Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*.; Michael Hogan points out that sectarian disputes within religions attract considerable outside public interest, and thus are a popular topic of discussion: Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1987): 3.

[64] Anne O'Brien, "Masculinism and the Church in Australian History," *Australian Historical Studies* 25 (1993): 449.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Peter Sherlock, "'Leave It to the Women': The Exclusion of Women from Anglican Church Government in Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 39:3 (2008): 294.

flock.[67] I have sought to offset this androcentrism by incorporating the passionate activism of Melbourne-based lay Anglican and outspoken progressive activist Helen Baillie wherever possible, though her dedication to these topics means she is unlikely to be representative of Anglican women more generally.

The broad view of institutional Anglican responses to the international events of the interwar period is based upon publicly-disseminated written material. The Anglican Church sought to influence public opinion on these affairs, so their public proclamations demonstrate what information and ideas they wanted to impart to their Australian followers. This material came in a number of forms. Local parish papers were organised by parish priests and available to Anglicans in the immediate area. Diocesan papers were authorised by the bishop and sent across the State, and had higher production values and more prominent contributors. There were a number of Anglican-affiliated periodicals, ranging from those with an intellectual focus to those intended for a working class audience. As mentioned earlier, *The Church Standard* sought to educate the entire Australian Anglican population on a wide variety of issues, both religious and secular. All in all, the wealth of untapped published material remains extensive. None of this material has been digitised, so finding relevant elements necessitated an exhaustive reading of the entire corpus between the years 1927 and 1939 wherever extant. This comprehensive approach avoided the pitfall of keyword-searching an online database that may give a skewed unrepresentative result if not managed carefully, as well as allowing for a holistic understanding of the overall style, content and goals of the Anglican discourse of the period. This was a labour-intensive approach, facilitated only by limiting my geographical focus to South Australia, Victoria and the *Church Standard*.

I initially had the goal of supplementing this published material with archival material such as the personal papers of prominent individuals. This material simply does not exist. The Anglican Archives in Adelaide only held published sources I could access elsewhere. The Anglican Archives in Melbourne offered a portion of the same printed material held by the State Library Victoria. Neither maintained any collection of unpublished personal papers of prominent Anglican interlocutors or the like. The State Library Victoria holds a small collection of personal papers belonging to prominent Victorian vicar Farnham Maynard, and the State Library of New South Wales has a considerable volume of personal papers of George Stuart Watts, both key figures in my thesis. However, in both cases the extant material begins in the 1950s, with nothing from the time period I cover. From 1921 to 1957, there existed in Adelaide an interdenominational body called The Round Table Christian Sociology Society, which likely would have contained fascinating insights into a number of Adelaide

[67] Ibid., 298.

Anglican priests whose views appear in this thesis. However, the surviving notes from this group only exist from 1943 onwards.[68] Nevertheless, given that my focus is on the swathe of publicly-expressed opinions from Australian Anglican clerical figures, any private views of the figures involved would only be additional flavour rather than a core element of my argument. The purpose of my research has been to offer a broad scope of the institutional Anglican views, and the material I have utilised offers an excellent insight into what the clerical establishment wanted to convey to their readership regarding international affairs. It is therefore worth offering a more detailed explanation of each of the types of sources that I used.

Parish Papers

The Anglican parish paper has been a remarkably underutilised historical source. These short pamphlets served as a link between the priest and their flock. They offered the practical utility of a schedule of upcoming events, summaries of past activities, and updates regarding important happenings in the personal lives of church attendees. They also served as a way for the local priest to offer commentary, both religious and secular, especially to those who were unable to hear it for themselves in person at church services. Most Anglicans attended Church regularly but not every single week, so keeping everyone updated served a useful purpose.[69] In terms of historiography, there are really only two publications of any note that embrace this source of information, both focussing on the English Church. K.D.M. Snell published an article examining English Anglican parish papers between 1860 and 2010, dedicated to developing an outline of the content they covered. Snell's findings in the English context hold entirely true in the Australian context as well. He declared that the Anglican parish papers were 'remarkable for their out-reach ambitions and potential: they embodied a "globalised pariochalism"' that sought to understand the place of the local within the scope of the global.[70] Snell addressed a likely concern of modern sceptical researchers: 'Readers might presume that parish magazines encapsulated the most narrow and circumscribed features of community life, that they were inward-looking, closed to the external world. Yet this was far from the truth'.[71] The only other historian to cover the value of Anglican parish papers, Jane Platt, agrees with the point that parish papers could be a bastion of reflective intellectual commentary on the state of the world. Platt suggests that the lack of academic investigation into parish papers as a

[68] Daryl Adair, "The Round Table Christian Sociology Society," *Flinders Journal of History and Politics* 13 (1988): 6.
[69] Hilliard, "The Transformation of South Australian Anglicanism," 40.
[70] K.D.M. Snell, "Parish Pond to Lake Nyasa: Parish Magazines and Senses of Community," *Family and Community History* 13:1 (2010): 45.
[71] Ibid., 55.

historical source has been due to a combination of secularist modernist dismissal of seemingly quaint belief systems and a natural tendency towards emphasising sources of 'high culture' at the expense of the low.[72] She emphasises that the parish paper is an excellent source for assessing clerical views – the papers were seen by the clergy as 'a form of outreach' to both regular Church attendees and the public at large.[73]

I consulted more than fifty parish papers across South Australia and Victoria, the full list of which is included in the bibliography. The South Australian papers have been readily accessible to the public in the State Library of South Australia since the time of publication. At least one rector expressed shock in April 1932 that the official State Library (known then as the Public Library) had requested an ongoing subscription to the publication and copies of all previously-published issues, musing to his readership that he did not consider the paper of any particular historical interest.[74] Regardless, the State Library maintained a policy of actively seeking out these publications and storing them for posterity.[75] As a result, I can be confident that my examination of these sources is as close to comprehensive as is possible. I consulted more than forty South Australian papers, a significant sample size and potentially all the papers that still exist today. This policy of preservation means it is especially surprising that these parish papers have been overlooked by historians, given their easy accessibility.

In Victoria, there has not been a similar policy of central and public archival of parish material, so each parish church has been left to their own archival devices. As mentioned earlier, the central Anglican Archive in Melbourne is mostly limited to storing prominent published Anglican works, and thus could not offer practical assistance in my research. The lack of centralised archival practice meant that although I approached more than fifty Melbourne Anglican parish churches, only nine actually had relevant material for me to investigate. One volunteer archivist at a Melbourne church said that he had been in that position for decades, and I was the first person to enquire after old parish papers.[76] Other churches apologised for having thrown away documents decades ago to make space for other material, and another had recently had their archive mostly destroyed by a rainstorm in which the window was left open.[77] Given the practical challenge of

[72] Jane Platt, *Subscribing to Faith? The Anglican Parish Magazine 1859-1929* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 5.
[73] Ibid., 3.
[74] "Parochial," *The Parish Paper [St John's Coromandel Valley]* 3:26 (April 1932): 4.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Personal communication.
[77] Personal communication.

accessing this material, it is therefore not surprising that the Victorian parish papers have not been explored historically to any significant degree.

Parish publications were written and distributed by individual churches, with readership generally limited to their own local parish area. While these papers varied considerably in the degree to which they engaged with the 'political' issues at the heart of this thesis, there are a number of structural commonalities between them. The vast majority of the papers were published monthly, though some were bimonthly or quarterly, depending on the availability of funding. They were often free, but were sometimes sold at a rate of 2 shillings per year. These costs do not seem to have been particularly strictly enforced, as pleas by the editors of these papers for members to pay their mounting tabs litter the various papers. The circulation of the papers is generally a mystery, though a few specific instances of concrete figures can be found. St Margaret's Woodville (Adelaide) claimed a circulation of 100 homes in 1937, St George Gawler (South Australia) claimed 200 in 1931 and St Luke's Whitmore Square (Adelaide) stated a relatively constant circulation of 600.[78] The parish paper of St Michael's Henley Beach (Adelaide) avoided the problem of potential lack of interest by simply delivering a free copy to every Anglican household in the suburb.[79] These are likely to have been the upper end of parish circulations, however. The rector of St Barnabas' Croydon (Adelaide) lamented that in 1937 the number of parish households receiving the paper was only 17.[80]

The structure of these papers followed a general pattern. They were normally 4 pages long, on paper the rough size of A5. A small number were 8 pages long, but this generally meant the same volume of content interspersed with a much larger amount of local advertising. Almost all papers opened with a letter from the rector/vicar/priest-in-charge. These letters ranged enormously in length, topic, scope and depth, though very frequently addressed local events and personal experiences that the readership could easily relate to. In many cases, these letters directly from the man in charge of the parish church form the most useful part of these magazines for my purposes, as they demonstrate exactly what he thought worthy of communicating to his flock. After the letter, the papers followed two broad patterns. The first group are those that mostly recounted parochial affairs like deaths, births and marriages, as well as upcoming local social events. Some of these locally focussed papers were written primarily in prose paragraphs, while some were almost entirely dot-point summaries. The other broad pattern was that of a more article focussed paper. Papers in this group did not ignore the parochial affairs mentioned above, but they were supplemented by

[78] "Untitled," *Parish Paper [St George's Gawler]* 2 (April 1931): 2.; "Untitled," *Parish Paper [St Luke's Whitmore Square]* XXI:10 (July 1936): 4.
[79] "Untitled," *Parish Paper [St Michael's Henley Beach]* 52 (June/July/August 1936): 5.
[80] "Untitled," *St Barnabas Croydon Parish Gleaner* 74 (October 1940): 4.

articles of varying length and contributors. Sometimes they were exegetical explanations of certain hymns or prayers, sometimes they were articles about the looming threat to global democracy. Certain priests were obviously more interested in international affairs than others, but these ideas often seeped into the papers of less overtly political parishes as well. In the Appendix, I have included Figure 2, a set of photographs of the June 1939 parish paper of St Michael's Henley Beach. It offers a glimpse into what these papers typically looked like. This is not a perfect representation of the genre. The rector's letter section is a little shorter than most, and the volume of advertisements is larger than usual, but the basic structure and content gives a good impression of the typical format and style.

Diocesan Papers

Above the parish in the institutional Anglican Church hierarchy of jurisdictions is the diocese, which encompasses the territory and population under the spiritual guidance of a bishop. My research encompasses eight of these dioceses, covering the entirety of South Australia (two) and Victoria (six). While there are now three Anglican dioceses in South Australia, during the interwar period there were only two: Adelaide, which encompassed the city of Adelaide as well as the adjacent lands from Kangaroo Island to the Barossa Valley, and Willochra, which included the rest of the State. The current South Australian diocese of The Murray was not established until 1970. The European settlement of Victoria had been comparatively extensive, and so the smaller State held six dioceses during my period. These were the urban Archbishopric of Melbourne (which extended to Geelong), as well as Ballarat, Bendigo, Gippsland, Wangaratta and St Arnaud. The last of these no longer exists, as it was subsumed within the diocese of Bendigo in 1976.

Australian diocesan papers have been examined by historians for decades. However, no previous examinations have approached the papers with the view of exploring Anglican responses to international affairs. The diocesan papers, with their much larger target audience, were grander in scope and volume than the local parish examples. However, they generally followed the same basic structure as the parish papers. *The Adelaide Church Guardian*, for instance, typically contained 16 pages, with those pages considerably larger in size than the standard parish paper, a little bigger than A4. This increased scope came with an increased price tag, that of 4 shillings per year for 12 monthly issues.[81] It claimed a circulation of 1,900 in 1935, which the Bishop declared embarrassingly

[81] About $20 in 2022 AUD.

low compared to Brisbane's circulation of around 5,000.[82] Like the parish papers, the Diocesan papers typically opened with a letter from the Bishop, which was often over a page long. These papers also contained a much larger number of articles on a broad range of religious, social, economic and political topics, often commissioned specifically for the paper. Articles were also frequently taken verbatim from other Australian Anglican diocesan papers, British Anglican newspapers or, very rarely, the Australian secular press. Some maintained a Letter to the Editor section. Letters sent to the diocesan papers generally covered local affairs and explicitly religious questions, rather than political ones. The notable exception to this was an ongoing passionate anti-communist sentiment throughout the period. I have supplied photographs of the first 3 pages of the January 1939 edition of *The Adelaide Church Guardian* in the Appendix, which shows the common structure of an opening front-page article followed by the Bishop's letter. This particular issue was chosen to demonstrate the degree to which these papers openly engaged with the fraught political topics of the times.

The two most prominent of the diocesan papers covered in this thesis are those from the dioceses of Adelaide and Melbourne. These dioceses represent the major population centres of each state, and were headed by the leaders of each respective ecclesiastical province. As such, the views of the Bishop of Adelaide and the Archbishop of Melbourne hold particular sway in this study, as they were often seen as the literal embodiment of the Church of England in each diocese. Arthur Nutter Thomas (1869-1954) was the Bishop of Adelaide from 1906 to 1940. He was born in London, and first visited Australia in his mid-30s upon his election to the Adelaide episcopate. Nutter Thomas was an avowedly conservative man, at ease in Adelaide's high society.[83] In a quasi-official 1988 biography, his priestly colleague and friend, Lionel Renfrey, asserted that Nutter Thomas was averse to discussing politics and conceptualised his role strictly in traditional religious terms.[84] The vision of Nutter Thomas portrayed in this biography, denounced by a 1991 article as an 'inadequate, self-indulgent … incurious, infuriating, even pompous' book, does not seem to match the primary material.[85] While hardly a political radical, Nutter Thomas and his flagship diocesan periodical *The Adelaide Church Guardian* commented frequently on political events.

Nutter Thomas' Victorian counterpart was Frederick Head (1874-1941), the Archbishop of Melbourne from 1929 until his death in a car accident in 1941. Like Nutter Thomas (and much of the

---

[82] *Year Book of the Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide, and the Diocese of Willochra 1935-36* (Adelaide: Sands & McDougall, 1935): 115.

[83] Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order*, 82.
[84] Lionel Renfrey, *Arthur Nutter Thomas* (Adelaide: Self-published, 1988): 116.
[85] Brian Dickey, "Christianity in South Australia," *The Journal of Religious History* 16:3 (1991): 352.

Australian Anglican episcopate in general), Head was born in London and came to Australia for the first time upon his election to the archbishopric. As his quote that forms the title of this thesis suggests, it is clear that Head was no stranger to proclamations regarding international politics. He offered more frequent and detailed commentary than that expounded by Nutter Thomas, and indeed the other bishops covered here. As a result, Head, the highest-ranking Anglican clerical figure explored in any depth in my thesis, is also one of the most prominently featured.

Anglican Magazines

This thesis also incorporates an examination of three Victorian-based Anglican periodicals not specifically attached to any parish or diocese. *The Australian Church Quarterly* (originally *The Defender*) was an Anglo-Catholic magazine aimed at a highly educated audience, and featured lengthy and intellectually rigorous articles on theology and politics.[86] It was edited by Farnham Maynard (1882-1973), the vicar of St. Peter's Eastern Hill (Melbourne).[87] He is a key figure in this thesis due to his outspokenly progressive (and prolific) writing on international issues. He was a towering figure in interwar Melbourne Anglicanism, but was deliberately avoided by a great many local clerics, especially Evangelicals.[88] Maynard was a member of the Abyssinian Relief Committee dedicated to sending aid to the victims of Italian military aggression, as well as the Spanish Relief Committee that sent aid to the Spanish Republic in its fight against fascist insurrection. In contrast, *The Australian Churchman*, the official magazine of the Church of England Men's Society (a social club for Anglican men), presented a more down-to-earth working-class sentiment. It billed itself as a bastion of manliness and openly mocked the idea of women reading its articles. Much of its content was light-hearted and comical in tone. By the late 1930s, however, this magazine became outspoken on political issues, both domestic and international. Finally, *Brother Bill's Monthly* was the vehicle of maverick priest Reginald Nichols (1888-1960) for communicating with his 'unseen ministry' of (he hoped) the entire country.[89] He hosted a daily radio show on 3AW from 1934 to 1943 in the persona of 'Brother Bill', and intended to reach a secular audience with his magazine that eluded what he

[86] Anglo-Catholicism was a school of Anglican thought that emphasised the 'catholicism' of Anglicanism – its unbroken succession of bishops from St Peter. Anglo-Catholics preferred more lavish ceremony and bristled at being called 'protestants'. Their rival Evangelical faction criticised Anglo-Catholics as crypto-Papists whose ceremonies were indulgent.
[87] 'Rector' was the term used for the priest in charge of a parish in South Australia, while 'vicar' was the term used in Victoria. They are functionally synonymous.
[88] David Hilliard, "Anglo-Catholicism in the Religious Ecology of Melbourne," in *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, ed. Colin Holden. (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997): 180.
[89] "About Ourselves," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 1:1 (August 1934): 5.

considered the dry and staid official clerical publications.[90] He wrote many lengthy articles on foreign affairs, sometimes from a pro-fascist viewpoint, until the magazine's sudden cancellation in 1943 when he was arrested for 'having sent obscene words by post' to his mistress.[91] His clerical career ended instantly and he retired to a life of growing flowers in Sydney.[92] These three Victorian publications from specific partisan Anglican perspectives not only offset the comparative dearth of Victorian parish material, but offers insight into a greater breadth of Anglican thought.

The Church Standard

The South Australian and Victorian sources are compared and contrasted with *The Church Standard*, the quasi-official national weekly Anglican newspaper. I include it despite the fact that it was published outside of the two states that are my focus. This is for two main reasons. First, the newspaper was widely distributed and read by clergymen around Australia, and multiple articles in both *The Adelaide Church Guardian* and Melbourne's diocesan paper *The Church of England Messenger* praise *The Church Standard* and recommend it to their own readers. Second, the semi-official nature of the newspaper meant that it nominally represented the Anglican Church's views on various political issues, and thus exists as a potential baseline for how other Anglican sources responded to these concerns. In particular, *The Church Standard* has value for the intensely outspoken nature of its editor, George Stuart Watts (1899-1988). Watts was a priest with a general Sydney license, and was the editor of the newspaper from 1933 until 1940. The end of his tenure was an acrimonious one, as he was summarily fired after the conservative lay Anglican board that ran the newspaper were finally fed up with his political beliefs. For the apparent prominence of Watts, it is surprising to note that I could only find a single example of historical discussion of his influence. In 1972 L.C. Rodd published a biography of Sydney Anglo-Catholic priest John Hope (1891-1971), a man who was a personal friend of Watts.[93] Rodd explained that Watts was hated by the Evangelical Sydney Anglican establishment for his political and theological views, and that the *The Church Standard* was much more influential in Australian states apart from NSW.[94] Rodd was an unabashed supporter of Watts' progressivism: he proclaimed that 'within a week of Stuart Watts' dismissal *The Church Standard* as an influential journal ceased to exist, though a travesty dragged on

[90] Bridget Griffen-Foley, "Radio Ministries: Religion on Australian Commercial Radio from the 1920s to the 1960s," *Journal of Religious History* 32:1 (2008): 35.
[91] He cast himself as a martyr: "A Personal Letter to Our Readers," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 9:11 (April 1943): 3.
[92] David Pear, "Nichols, Reginald Gordon Clement (1888-1960)" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography: Volume 11* (1988).
[93] L.C. Rodd, *John Hope of Christ Church* (Sydney: Ambassador Press, 1972): 97.
[94] Ibid., 111.

for some years until it folded up. The loss to the Church in Australia was considerable'.[95] Watts' passionate leftist beliefs, often explicitly outlining specific practical action that other clergymen were unwilling to commit to, are a ready point of comparison for South Australian and Victorian Anglican views on foreign crises. *The Church Standard* exists as a fascinating barometer for the acceptability or otherwise of Australian Anglican views on foreign affairs. A representative example of the first page of Watts' weekly commentary on international events is supplied in the Appendix as Figure 4.

Chapter Outline

The structure of this thesis follows the tripartite nature of Archbishop Head's proclamation regarding the 'three great forces trying to control events': the League of Nations, communism and fascism. It comprises three sections, each with two chapters. The thesis first explores the League of Nations and Australian Anglican support for the institution. It then covers communism and the widespread Australian Anglican antipathy towards this ideology. It finally addresses fascism, and outlines the ambiguous and increasingly hostile responses of Australian Anglicans to this strange new phenomenon.

Each section follows the same pattern across its two chapters. The first chapter is divided into two parts. It opens by exploring how the Australian Anglican Church conceptualised the 'force' in terms of its relationship to Christianity and Christian ideals. It then addresses how the Church responded to the 'force' in the domestic Australian context. The second chapter of each section examines the Church's responses to the international context of the 'force'. These chapters are based around representative case studies demonstrating the ways in which members of the Church understood these phenomena.

The first section is dedicated to the League of Nations and the ideal of collective security against the threat of war. This section highlights the extent to which the Australian Anglican Church feared the threat of a return to global war, and the ways in which they sought to avert this potential catastrophe. Chapter One is entitled 'The Purpose and Value of the League of Nations'. It argues that while there was some disagreement over whether the League could be genuinely called 'Christian', its fundamental ideals were nonetheless worthy of support. The Church nominally endorsed the actions of the League of Nations Union (an organisation established to raise awareness and support

[95] Ibid., 144.

for the League of Nations) in Australia, but the specific level of engagement with this activist group was relatively minimal.

Chapter Two is entitled 'The League of Nations in the International Realm: The Crises of Manchuria and Abyssinia'. It utilises the two key case studies of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the Italian invasion of Abyssinia to demonstrate that members of the Anglican Church in Australia could never quite agree on the specific functionality of the League. Was it a purely consultative body, an international police force, or an ineffectual farce? Those who most associated the League with Christian idealism were prone to optimism regarding its utility in a post-Abyssinian Crisis world when the majority of Australians, Anglicans or otherwise, considered the organisation a self-evident failure.

The second section of the thesis focusses on the Australian Anglican responses to communism. Chapter Three is entitled 'The Threat and Idealism of Communism'. Overwhelmingly, the Australian Anglican sentiment was that communism was not merely incompatible with Christianity, it was fundamentally antithetical to Christianity to the point of potentially being demonic. Its focus on materialism and the explicit rejection of religion disgusted Australian Anglicans who frequently discussed the ideology in terms of pathology. Even in this charged atmosphere, however, there was an underlying suggestion that the aims of communism such as universal brotherhood and the equality of man were not so different from those of Christianity. In the Australian context, the Anglican Church was intensely fearful of communist infiltration. The dire economic conditions of the Great Depression in Australia and the resulting mass unemployment led to Church paranoia that the small and ineffectual Communist Party of Australia was on the cusp of recruiting hordes of disaffected men to their cause and taking over Australia by force.

Chapter Four is entitled 'Communism in the International Realm: The Soviet Union and the Chinese Civil War'. It demonstrates that the Australian Anglican Church was highly interested in the domestic events of the Soviet Union, usually through the lens of religious persecution. They were horrified by the sufferings of the Russian Orthodox Church, yet remained fascinated by the apparent industrial successes of the Soviet state. In particular, from 1936 when official persecution eased off due to a change in Soviet religious policy, there was a degree of Anglican awe for the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution. The chapter also covers the case study of the Chinese Civil War. If Russia represented the horrors of communist domination in practice, China represented the global threat communism was seen to pose. The situation in China was understood as the tendrils of Soviet communism expanding beyond its borders, the embodiment of a potentially imminent world revolution. In response, the Church embraced a messianic understanding of Nationalist leader

Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife Soong Mei-Ling. They were understood as representing the counter to global communism: an embrace of the Christian religion as the foundation for statehood.

The final section of this thesis covers the Australian Anglican response to fascism, the last of Archbishop Head's three 'great forces'. Chapter Five is entitled 'The Threat and Promise of Fascism'. The mainstream Anglican view of the relationship between fascism and Christianity shifted in line with the shift from the predominant example of the fascist state switching from Italy to Germany. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, fascism was mostly seen by conservative Australians as something relatively benign. The limited degree of anti-fascism at this time was linked to anti-Catholicism: the relationship between fascism and the Roman Catholic Church was understood as a combination of two distasteful concepts mutually degrading each other. The Anglican Church was passionately anti-Roman Catholic at this time, and invoked the charge of fascism to try to demonstrate the moral failure of the Papacy. However, as Nazi Germany became increasingly threatening on the world stage, Australian Anglican commentators changed their position on the relationship between fascism and Christianity. They utilised the concept of 'totalitarianism', in which fascist and communist ideology alike were fundamentally anti-Christian. As the interwar period wore on, fascist totalitarianism was increasingly perceived as Satanic in nature. In the Australian domestic context, critical Anglican fears of fascism were close to non-existent. There was no apparent domestic threat posed by fascism in the manner posed by communism, and at least until the late-1930s many conservative Australians were inclined towards sympathetic portrayals of fascism in general.

Chapter Six is entitled 'Fascism in the International Realm: The Spanish Civil War and Nazi German Aggression'. It covers two key case studies reflecting Australian Anglican responses to internationalist fascism. The first is the Spanish Civil War. The mainstream Anglican view of the Spanish Civil War aligned with British foreign policy, supporting strict neutrality to avoid risking an escalation of the crisis. The fear of spreading war was greater than the fear of spreading fascism. There was also a belief that a successful Republican victory would enhance the standing of global communism. A vocal minority of Australian Anglicans disagreed, and supported the cause of Republican Spain. In particular, Watts ensured that *The Church Standard* was among the most stridently anti-fascist publications in the country. He believed that the true threat posed by the Spanish Civil War was the spread of fascist ideology, and that containing military violence to Spain would not contain the contagion of fascism. The second case study is the Munich Conference and its aftermath. As with Spain, the mainstream Anglican position resolutely supported British foreign policy. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's agreement with Adolf Hitler in October 1938 was understood as the divine hand at work. The Anglican Church expressed guilt for its support of the Treaty of Versailles, which it considered unjustly punitive, and thus supported in principle Hitler's

aspirations of restoring German pride. Yet, throughout 1939, with Hitler's ambitions clearly not sated by the arrangement, the Church began to shift towards reiterating the diabolical nature of fascist totalitarianism. By the middle of the year, official Church publications advocated the necessity of war to halt the spread of fascism. By the outbreak of war, after more than a decade of sheer terror at the prospect of a return to world conflict, the Church was almost uniform in its total support for Allied aims in the conflict.

Overall, therefore, this thesis argues that the views of the interwar Australian Anglican Church have not yet received the depth of academic study they deserve. Rather than being a sideshow mentioned in passing as being overwhelmingly in favour of conservative government policy, the Church contained a variety of often incompatible and passionately held visions regarding the state of international society. Prominent clergymen frequently publicly espoused intensely held views on the worrying international developments through the latter parts of the interwar period. The Church actively sought to influence public opinion on foreign events and their potential impact upon Australia. Many clerical commentators were very well-informed about international political developments, and felt that it was a moral and spiritual duty to shape Australian discourse on this topic. The Australian Anglican Church felt a strong kinship with the English Church which, along with missionary idealism, led to an inherently internationalist perspective that constantly looked beyond Australia's borders. The Church engaged with contemporary ideological developments, trying to ascertain how they could be reconciled, if at all, with Anglican Christianity. Clergymen followed international developments and intellectual commentary closely and adapted their views to changing world circumstance. Many in the Anglican Church had an inflated sense of the Church's agency in shaping world affairs, linked closely to their theological background, and even if the solutions suggested do not seem very practical (they were overwhelmingly limited to prayer rather than concrete action) they nonetheless demonstrate a genuine belief in the value of shaping public opinion. These commentators on the League of Nations, communism and fascism did not consider these 'forces' as abstracted foreign phenomena, and the internationalist views espoused by many of the clergymen examined in this thesis undercuts the general view of indifferent Australian isolationism embodied with the cartoon referenced by Andrews. In short, the depth and nuance of the Australian Anglican Church's international understanding of the turbulent years of the interwar period have hitherto been ignored or dramatically simplified by the historiography of both the Church and of Australian history in general. Rather than being seen as functionally synonymous with the conservative establishment, the interwar Anglican Church should instead be understood as having a multifaceted and diverse collection of views on international politics, even if they did indeed generally trend towards conservative ideals.

Chapter One: The Purpose and Value of the League of Nations

When Archbishop Frederick Head warned his Synod that the world was facing a battle between three global forces, one of those cited stood apart from the other two. In this tripartite struggle, the League of Nations was understood as the sole force for 'good'. Unlike communism and fascism, the optimistic internationalist idealism within the League of Nations was aligned with the Australian Anglican conception of 'British civilisation'. This thesis begins with an examination of the Australian Anglican views regarding the League, as an investigation of Australian Anglican aspirations in the international realm offers key context for later evaluation of their fears and concerns.

This chapter opens with a review of the vast historical literature related to the League of Nations, and the limited scholarship on the Australian Anglican Church's engagement with it. The chapter then continues into the first of the two core questions asked of each 'force' studied in this thesis: how did the Anglican Church understand the League's relationship with Christianity? Unsurprisingly, Australian Anglicans believed that genuine peace could only be accomplished on Christian lines. The mainstream Australian Anglican viewpoint was a steadfast support for the League of Nations, with the organisation understood as either an inherently Christian movement or as the closest approximation to a Christian movement to which a secular organisation could aspire. Nonetheless, there was an undercurrent of Australian Anglican distrust for the League, generally due to the idea that its secular and materialist component member states could not live up to Christian ideals and genuinely achieve peace.

The chapter then concludes with the second question asked of each of the three core case studies: how did the Anglican Church respond to the League of Nations in the Australian context? The primary method the Church engaged with the League was calling for prayers for its success. A key idea was that the League needed worldwide public opinion in its favour to succeed, and that it was the duty of the Church to encourage pro-League sentiment. The main practical engagement the Church offered was support for the state branches of the League of Nations Union (LNU). The LNU was a British organisation established in 1918 dedicated to fostering the ideals of the League of Nations in the public consciousness across the Empire. Each Australian state had its own branch, which organised events designed to spread the message of international cooperation.[96] Diocesan attempts at active engagement with the LNU were made across South Australia and Victoria, but the extent to which they succeeded in their goal of generating widespread support among the parishioners is hard to assess.

[96] James Cotton, "Australia in the League of Nations: A Centenary View" *Department of Parliamentary Services* (2018): 13.

Overall, this chapter argues that while Australian Anglican support for the League of Nations was not unquestioned and automatic, clergy across the hierarchical spectrum generally believed in the League. If it was not always appreciated as a Christian organisation, it was seen as approximating Christian idealism as best as a secular organisation could manage, and was thus worthy of endorsement. In the words of a Melbourne archdeacon at the 1932 Melbourne Synod: 'the Church ought to be the great League of Nations, and if it were functioning aright there would not be any need for the League'.[97] In our fallen world, however, he insisted that supporting the League was a Christian duty given it was the best option that could be expected.[98] The overall tone shifted towards pessimism and even despair after the League's overt failings in response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, but that will be examined in Chapter Two.

The historiography of the League of Nations began immediately alongside the establishment of the organisation itself. The idealistic attempt at some form of global political cooperation attracted significant academic and intellectual attention, which continued throughout its two decades of existence.[99] The question of the function and utility of the League was not abstract; its activities and goals were understood as directly influencing British (and therefore Australian) foreign relations around the world. One prominent example in the Australian context that demonstrates this is *Australia and War To-Day* (1935) by former Prime Minister Billy Hughes. Hughes represented an increasingly popular opinion at that time that the League of Nations was a worthy force in the abstract, but through no fault of its own something of a failure in practice.[100] He insisted that while the League 'has done a lot of good' it nonetheless 'cannot perform miracles' and thus could not be relied upon to ensure world peace.[101] In Hughes' view, accepting this view of the League was a crucial step in securing the ongoing existence of an Australian nation in the face of imminent foreign aggression.

Histories of the League of Nations frequently utilise a framework of diplomatic history, focussing on key political figures and incorporating elements of international relations theory. *Australia and the League of Nations* (1980) by W.J. Hudson, for example, follows this approach.[102] This is understandable, given the League of Nations' most prominent goal was to foster peace between countries. For more practical reasons, it is also an easy way to structure an evaluation of the League, and in particular one country's own relationship with it. This form of national evaluation

---

[97] "Diocesan Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1154 (December 9, 1932): 589.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *The American Historical Review* 112:4 (2007): 1091.
[100] W.M. Hughes, *Australia and War To-Day: The Price of Peace* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935).
[101] Ibid., 39.
[102] W. J. Hudson, *Australia and the League of Nations* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980).

is seen explicitly in "Australia in the League of Nations: A Centenary View" (2018) by James Cotton, an article commissioned by the Department of Parliamentary Services. Cotton's approach focussed on key Australian political figures, as well as 'Australia' as its own actor with agency within the British Empire.[103] A particular feature of some of the most prominent examples of these 'high-politics' historical approaches is an adherence to the notion of a 'decline and fall' narrative, emphasising the seemingly doomed nature of the League and downplaying or ignoring any of its successes.[104]

In the last three decades there has been something of a resurgence and revitalisation of League of Nations scholarship. Susan Pedersen, in a 2007 historiographical article about academic perspectives on the League of Nations, attributes this scholarly renaissance to the fall of the Soviet Union and a return to a multilateral world situation.[105] She argues that the collapse of one of the two competing global superpowers that had divided the world into separate blocs meant that post-Cold-War academics felt obliged to re-evaluate multi-national peace and cooperation initiatives.[106] The League of Nations represented the first important example of this trend, and was thus an obvious point of interest. Recent scholarship on the League of Nations has disavowed the 'decline and fall' narrative which implicitly dismisses the importance of the League, and instead focuses on the ways the League incubated the international ideals that came to reside in the United Nations Organisation. Scholars have increasingly emphasised 'trans-national' rather than 'international' linkages, especially involving individual bureaucrats and functionaries within the League who had previously been ignored in favour of the flashier high-profile figures.[107] Patricia Clavin argues in the first chapter of the edited volume *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars* (2011) that more historical value can be obtained through a 'study of how the League facilitated the creation of epistemic communities' across national boundaries than by further investigation into 'the popular caricature of its farcical disarmament programme'.[108] Following Clavin's lead in the same volume, Helen McCarthy argues that the investigation into 'how feminists, pacifists, anti-colonial campaigners and humanitarian reformers worked across national borders and through the international machinery of the League to advance their respective causes' offers more insight than does endlessly repeating 'the task of explaining the

[103] Cotton, "Australia in the League of Nations".
[104] Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," 1091.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 1092.
[107] Patricia Clavin, "Conceptualising Internationalism Between the World Wars," in *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars*, ed. Daniel Laqua. (London: I.B. Taurus, 2011): 2.
[108] Ibid., 4.

failures of collective security'.[109] With this shift in focus, historians have been interested in League sub-organisations relating to economic reconstruction, disease eradication, the assistance of minorities and displaced peoples and involvement in the ethics and realities of the Mandate system, as well as the individual people engaged with multiple of these goals at once.[110] These are fascinating new directions for League of Nations scholarship. Contemporary Australian Anglican responses to the League of Nations, however, were overwhelmingly fixated on the promise of world peace through collective security. In the mind of the interwar public, these secondary elements, no matter how noble or successful, paled in comparison to the League's stated main goal of ensuring global peace. The potential value of the League of Nations to Australian Anglicans was encapsulated in its ability to prevent war.

There is little academic scholarship on the topic of Australia and the League of Nations. That which does exist, like the examples of Hudson and Cotton above, concerns high-politics and governmental figures and policy above all else. Little academic research has addressed the LNU in Australia. An exception to this deficit is seen in a chapter in *Transnational Ties: Australian Lives in the World* (2008) by Nicholas Brown. This chapter focusses on R.G. Watt (1889-1967), the President of the Australian League of Nations Union, and his personal trials and tribulations in that role.[111] While Brown's interest is biographical, it also attempts to situate Watt's goals and ideals in a trans-national context. Brown argues that the LNU was a profoundly sociable organisation, reliant on personal connections and relationships, and that Watt himself was so personally likeable that he raised the profile of the organisation to heights it would otherwise likely not have attained.[112] In 2014, Hilary Summy argued that the Australian LNU had been functionally ignored by historians due to its apparently inconsequential role in shaping Australian society.[113] She suggested that the Australian public was indifferent to the LNU, and that its only tangible impact was altering the Victorian public school curriculum to highlight the League's existence.[114]

---

[109] Helen McCarthy, "The Lifeblood of the League? Voluntary Associations and League of Nations Activism in Britain," in *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars*, ed. Daniel Laqua. (London: I.B. Taurus, 2011).
[110] See: Karen Gram-Skjoldager and Haakon A. Ikonomou, "Making Sense of the League of Nations Secretariat – Historiographical and Conceptual Reflections on Early International Public Administration," *European History Quarterly* 49:3 (2019): 420-444.
[111] Nicholas Brown, "Enacting the International: R. G. Watt and the League of Nations Union," in *Transnational Ties: Australian Lives in the World*, ed. Desley Deacon et al. (Canberra: ANU Press, 2008).
[112] Ibid., 80
[113] Hilary Summy, "Countering War: The Role of the League of Nations Union," *Social Alternatives* 33:4 (2014): 15.
[114] Ibid., 17.

While there are no prominent historical monographs focussing on the Australian LNU, there are two key British examples. Donald Birn's *The League of Nations Union: 1918-1945* (1981) remains the authoritative narrative history of the organisation, though it retains the pessimistic vision disavowed by the more recent scholarship.[115] Helen McCarthy's *The British People and the League of Nations* (2011) shifts the focus away from high politics and to the British public and their relationship with the League. She examines the role of the LNU in fostering public support for the League of Nations, but also how its members were involved in a variety of campaigns for differing forms of humanitarian reform.[116] This research is in line with the recent trend towards trans-nationalism introduced earlier alongside her chapter contribution to *Internationalism Reconfigured*.

On the topic of Anglicanism and the League of Nations specifically, we need to once again go to the British literature to find any scholarship of note. McCarthy's *The British People and the League of Nations* includes an entire chapter devoted to the relationship between the British Churches and support for the League of Nations. McCarthy argues that the Anglican clergy retained a large cultural influence in interwar Britain and that 'their widely publicised utterances and interventions served to shape the tone and content of public debates'.[117] She points out that the LNU, while never officially endorsing the League as a Christian body, nevertheless tolerated and implicitly accepted this idea to curry favour with the clergy, as they benefitted immensely from the Anglican Church's influential networks and public legitimacy.[118] McCarthy also highlights some interesting examples of explicit Anglican rejection of the League. For instance, the 'maverick' Bishop of Durham, Hensley Henson, publicly rebuked the LNU after they asked for permission to address his 1934 Diocesan conference.[119] This idea of Anglican opposition to the League is fascinating. As Markku Ruotsila states in a 2014 article, the general historical assumption has been that the Anglican Church was near unanimous in its belief in the League of Nations as a Christian force for good.[120] He argues that a subset of British Christians, namely hardline Evangelicals, held an eschatological worldview that meant that they saw the secular League of Nations as potentially Satanic and thus worthy of scorn and derision.[121] These opponents of the League were never organised and thus had almost no public

[115] Donald Birn, *The League of Nations Union: 1918-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).
[116] Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[117] Ibid., 80.
[118] Ibid., 95.
[119] Ibid., 88.
[120] Markku Ruotsila, "The League of Nations Controversy among British Protestants," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65:2 (2014): 328.
[121] Ibid.

influence, but their existence undermines the traditional claims of a homogeneous Anglican belief in the League as a force for good.[122]

There is almost nothing in the historical literature specifically about the Australian Anglican Church's relationship with the League of Nations. What little that does exist is both sweeping and contradictory. L.C. Rodd, in his aforementioned biography of John Hope, a prominent Sydney Anglo-Catholic priest, insisted that the Australian Anglican Church felt that collective security and the League of Nations were 'topics best left alone'.[123] How he came to this conclusion given the wealth of evidence to the contrary is not clear. At the other end of the spectrum are the views of Brian Fletcher. His article "Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901-1962" (1999) embraced the common view seen in the British scholarship, arguing that 'the establishment of the League of Nations was strongly supported by Anglicans'.[124] He suggested in passing that Australian Anglican support for the League was overwhelmingly based on Imperial nationalism, as the League was thought to be a functional arm of British foreign policy goals.[125] In his monograph *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* (2008), Fletcher claimed that Anglicans were significantly invested in the League of Nations' aspirations of world peace, though offered little specific detail.[126] Anglican priest-historian Tom Frame mentions in passing that Australian Christian support for the League was a logical conclusion of the vision of 'humanity's unity before God'.[127] None of these claims about the Australian Anglican relationship with the League of Nations are supported with evidence.

The League of Nations and Christianity

Both the core argument of those Australian Anglicans who endorsed the League of Nations' idealism, and those who were dismissive of it, revolved around the degree to which the League represented Christian ideals. World peace was understood by the clergy as being something that could only be achieved through the evangelisation of Christianity across the globe. Christian eschatology supposed that Jesus Christ would usher in a Millennium of peace, and though there were significant differences in exegesis regarding this idea, the core concept of 'peace' as inherently Christian remained. Prominent Anglican clerics often tied the League of Nations specifically to Christianity,

[122] Ibid., 339.
[123] L.C. Rodd, *John Hope of Christ Church* (Sydney: Ambassador Press, 1972): 107.
[124] Brian Fletcher, "Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901-1962," *The Journal of Religious History* 23:2 (1999): 227.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Brian Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne: Broughton, 2008): 94.
[127] Tom Frame, *Church and State: Australia's Imaginary Wall* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006): 28.

though the League itself never endorsed such an interpretation. As mentioned earlier, the British LNU at least was content to be seen as a Christian organisation to gain public support in that country, but the League itself made no similar suggestions given it sought to represent the entire world. Other Australian Anglicans believed that even if the League was not truly Christian, it was nevertheless the most capable secular attempt at Christian internationalism that could be imagined and was thus worthy of support regardless. There was, however, a small undercurrent of rejection of, or at least indifference towards, the League, usually with the pessimistic assessment that the world was insufficiently Christian to implement the League's idealistic goals. In order to understand the Australian Anglican Church's conceptions of war and peace, it is necessary to examine the impact of the Great War of 1914-1918 on the minds of the clergy.

Impact of the First World War on Anglican Anti-War Sentiment

The First World War loomed large in the minds of Australian Anglicans who sought to maintain a lasting world peace. This was for two interlocking reasons. First, and most obviously, the war had been a humanitarian disaster, especially for Australia. As put by the Australian War Memorial:

> For Australia, the First World War remains the costliest conflict in terms of deaths and casualties. From a population of fewer than five million, 416,809 men enlisted, of whom more than 60,000 were killed and 156,000 wounded, gassed, or taken prisoner.[128]

This was an enormous psychological and demographic blow to Australia, irrespective of the nationalist myth-making that endorsed Australian sacrifice as an example of admirable national character.[129] The Anglican Church was heavily involved in the calls for Australian involvement in the war. Indeed, Anglicans were considerably overrepresented in the volume of Australian volunteers at the outset of the war.[130] Michael McKernan was scathing of the Church in his seminal book *Australian Churches at War* (1980). He suggested that the view that the war should be welcomed as 'Australia's testing time, her baptism of fire' was close to universally held by Anglican clergymen, and suggested that 'Australian clerical reaction to war was as romantic as that of the general population'.[131] He regretted the fact that:

---

[128] "First World War 1914-1918," *Australian War Memorial*, accessed 10 May 2022, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/first-world-war

[129] For a recent exploration of the legacy of the ANZAC myth see: Matt McDonald, "Remembering Gallipoli: Anzac, the Great War, and Australian Memory Politics," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 63:3 (2017): 406-418.

[130] Michael Snape, "Anglicanism and Interventionism: Bishop Brent, The United States, and the British Empire in the First World War," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 69:2 (2018): 302.

[131] Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-1918* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1980): 1.

> Clergymen … presumed to speak as the guardians of public morals, as the leaders of thought, as the "wise men of the tribe". Unfortunately, their performance did not accord with their aspirations. The thoughts they placed before the people were often banal and commonplace[.][132]

He declared the war a disaster for the Anglican Church, as its 'glib, superficial response to a catastrophe of overwhelming proportions' discredited them in the eyes of a public increasingly sceptical of the value of the conflict.[133] Anglican historians have fought back against McKernan's claims. John Moses, an Anglican priest and historian, for example, argued in 2001 that Anglicans were 'among the *very best informed* section of the community' regarding the causes and impact of the war.[134] Moses argued that Anglican views regarding the supposedly repugnant nature of German Christianity were insightful, and that a passionate dedication to the British Empire was thereby warranted.[135] However, regardless of any defensive justifications and irrespective of their rationale, the overall Anglican clerical sentiment was indeed fervently pro-war. Stuart Bell offers something of a middle ground approach in the context of evaluating the role of the English Church in endorsing the First World War that applies to the Australian context as well. He suggests that 'to modern eyes the close association of the leaders of the Church and state [on the joint support for the war]… looks like a derogation of Christian duty to challenge and question those who hold power,' but that it would be unfair and anachronistic to expect such views from people at the time.[136]

By the mid-1930s in particular, the Australian Anglican Church itself acknowledged and often expressed shame regarding its support of the First World War. These moments of reflection usually occurred around anniversaries of the conflict: Armistice Day and Anzac Day. A representative example can be seen in the parish paper of St. Augustine's Unley (Adelaide) for Anzac Day 1935. The paper supplied in full a speech given by Wallace Conran (1895-1972), the rector of Parkes, NSW. Conran lamented that the Church had previously pretended that 'every man who died in the war died gaily and nobly as a hero making the supreme sacrifice for love of King and country'.[137] He believed that very few Australians would still cling to that notion.[138] He suggested

> we may thank God to-day that [the Australian war-dead] were spared the knowledge of the cruel waste and utter futility of those four tragic years of war. We have learned since that

---

[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid., 172.
[134] John Moses, "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The "Prussian Menace," Conscription, and National Solidarity." *The Journal of Religious History* 25:3 (2001): 307. (Original emphasis)
[135] Ibid., 309.
[136] Stuart Bell, "The Church and the First World War," in *God and War: The Church of England and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Stephen Parker et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 57.
[137] Wallace Conran, "Anzac Day, 1935," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:35 (June 1935): 2.
[138] Ibid.

> modern warfare brings in its train no glittering prizes for the victor. Victor and vanquished alike are crippled and impoverished. I say we have learnt this lesson.'[139]

Clergymen saw the Church as morally compromised by its past enthusiasm for bloodshed, thereby making the struggle for a world without war an essential goal of the Church. In this context, Australian Anglican anti-war sentiment was fundamental to their ideals and self-perception. It should be noted at this stage that the historiography of Christian pacifism is vast and complex, and is simply beyond the scope of this thesis. Strict ideological pacifism was distinct from generalised support for the League of Nations' ideals of peace, and pacifists were never close to a majority in the Australian Anglican Church.[140]

'Peace' as Inherently Christian

The idea that Christianity, and Christianity alone, was the way in which the world could maintain international peace was ingrained in the core of Australian Anglicanism. To the extent that the men of rank within the Church endorsed the League of Nations, it was through the lens of the League representing Christian ideals, or at least the best approximation yet attempted by a sinful world. Before examining Australian Anglican responses to the League of Nations specifically, it is therefore essential to outline an overview of what 'world peace' meant to them.

Australian Anglicans fundamentally saw themselves as peacemakers during the interwar period. The very concept of international peace was so couched in the terms of Christianity so as to be inextricable from their teachings. An article in the *Mount Gambier Parish Paper* for Armistice Day 1930 is a representative example of the Australian Anglican conception of peace as being inherently spiritual (and thus Christian):

> The war to end war was fought with guns. We have learned since that Peace on earth is dependent on other forces than material ones. … The first step towards reformation is to cleanse our minds – spiritualise the outlook. … The war of good with evil still persists, and in all the confusion it is sometimes difficult to estimate which way the battle is going. We are optimistic and will not hear of anything that does not suggest victory for the good. To-day the most strenuous fight is the spiritual. We have our ideals to maintain, our Christian standards to uphold, our Church to defend. It is through these that we may look for the day of peace. The finest victory is the conquest of man's soul. No guns, just prayer and sacrament – and the peace of God, which passed all understanding, will be in our hearts.[141]

This vision of the world granted precedence to spiritual affairs, rather than 'material' ones, which were understood as only being solvable through Christianity. Failures and missteps on the road to

---

[139] Ibid.
[140] Fletcher, *Anglicanism in Australia*, 153.
[141] "Armistice Day." *Mount Gambier Parish Paper* 172 (November 1930): 2.

world peace were thus understood as, above all, 'the standard of Christ [sadly breaking] down in international relations'.[142]

The interwar Australian Anglican Church believed that lasting international peace was impossible without the guidance of Christianity. Peace was thought to be inherently threatened without a worldwide spiritual conversion. Rector John Montgomerie (1893-1961) of St. Luke's Whitmore Square (Adelaide), articulated this view, stating that Christianity 'embrac[ing] men of all nations' was the main hope for world peace.[143] Likewise, the parish paper of St. Augustine's Unley (Adelaide), insisted that 'there can be no will to peace unless there is a will informed by the Spirit of Christ'.[144] It was unequivocal on the topic, reiterating forcefully 'there is no way of avoiding war save by permeating the nations of the world with the Spirit of Christ'.[145] As articulated by Harry Thrush (1893-1975), rector of St Cuthbert's Prospect (Adelaide), 'peace' in this sense was not merely an absence of conflict, but the creation of a new non-violent world society only possible 'through sin and evil being conquered, and strenuous work on the lines laid down by the Gospel'.[146]

A corollary of the Australian Anglican belief in the inherent Christianity of the prospect of peace was the belief that non-Christian cultures were inherently opposed to peace. Further discussion of this point is beyond the scope of this thesis, but one particular example is too striking to ignore. Muslims were particularly distrusted by Australian Anglicans in the interwar period; they were considered members of 'a fighting creed' that would enslave Europe given the chance.[147] Frank Weston (1894-1970), the rector of St Augustine's Unley, feared in 1936 that Turkey and Arabia would unite in a 'great Mahommedan league of nations' to rival the existing organisation.[148] Weston believed this 'would at once present a menace to the whole of Christendom'.[149] Tellingly, for Weston, a Christian (at least implicitly) League of Nations was a noble goal, but if an Islamic version existed it would be self-evidently antithetical to world peace. He impressed upon the reader this difference, stating that

> it is only fair to compare the picture of an Arab army, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, spreading the faith to the cry from violated homes, burning cities and ruined lands, with the message of Jesus Christ to His disciples, 'Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you'.[150]

---

[142] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "Bishop's Pastoral Address," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 32:1 (October 1937): 2.
[143] John Montgomerie, "The Rector's Letter," *St. Luke's Parish Paper* XVII:12 (August 1932): 2.
[144] Conran, "Anzac Day, 1935," 4.
[145] Ibid.
[146] H.C. Thrush, "From the Rector," *Parish Paper* 177 (Dec 1931): 2.
[147] H.F Oakeshott, "World Disarmament," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:1 (October 1938): 18.
[148] Frank Weston, "Rector's Letter," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:49 (August 1936): 2.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

This kind of claim is suspect given the history of Christianity's own violent spread in certain areas of the world, but is also undermined by the various examples of the parish papers embracing heroic Crusader imagery.[151]

The Australian Anglican belief in Christianity's essential role in fostering global peace is embodied in a statement by Francis Crotty (1879-1940), vicar of Holy Trinity East Melbourne and Canon of St Paul's Cathedral (Melbourne). In *The Church of England Messenger* in 1931, he stated that 'the truth is that all good found in non-Christian religions, and much more that is not in them, is to be found in Christianity'.[152] He continued with an even blunter assessment: 'Christianity is essential. It is Christ or Chaos.'[153] As a result of these religious principles, Australian Anglicans were required to contextualise the role of the secular League of Nations and its aspirations of world peace with the idea that only Christianity could truly offer this dream.

The League of Nations as the embodiment of Christian Ideals

Australian Anglican proponents of the League of Nations often claimed that it was an implicitly Christian organisation, even if the League did not acknowledge this itself. With the Christian religion understood as the fundamental progenitor of world peace, the incorporation of the League into a Christian framework is not surprising. In fact, Anglicans had solid reasoning for doing so: in 1922, the Australian LNU published *Christianity and the League of Nations*, a pamphlet which argued that 'the Covenant embodies, and applies to international relationships, principles and lines of action which derive their sanction and authority from the truths of Christianity'.[154] This approach also highlighted that the choice of the word 'Covenant' as the foundational text of the League was a demonstration of the inherent Christianity of the League.[155] While this belief was no doubt genuinely held by the author of the pamphlet, this endorsement of the League as a Christian institution was not replicated again by the Australian LNU, let alone the League's leadership in Geneva. Nevertheless, Bishop Nutter Thomas of Adelaide was a strong advocate for this approach. In January 1929, in an addendum to a letter from the Chairman of the LNU requesting that at least 10 people from each congregation sign up as paid members, Nutter Thomas stated:

---

[151] For example, the 'Young Crusader' regular segment aimed at children within *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* incorporated traditional crusading imagery: W.T. Taylor, "The Young Crusader Page," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:25 (August 1934): 8.
[152] F.E.C. Crotty, "Christ or Chaos," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1105 (January 23, 1931): 27.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Cited in: James Cotton, "Australia in the League of Nations: Role, Debates, Presence," in *Australia and the United Nations*, ed. James Cotton et al. (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2012): 16.
[155] Ibid.

> Most earnestly do I commend the League of Nations and its work to the people of South Australia. I have heard objection take to the covenant of the League on the ground that it is not Christian: but I have always maintained that, although the name of Christ is not mentioned, yet the Covenant is truly Christian, based on Christian principles, and inspired with the spirit of Christ. All Christians should help this hopeful work.[156]

He repeated this claim in his pastoral address to the Adelaide Synod in 1932: 'The Covenant of the League of Nations is, as I have always maintained, Christian in principle and spirit'.[157]. When invited to speak at St James' Old Cathedral in Melbourne in November 1933, the Bishop gave a speech on international peace. He concluded his oration, as reported in *The Church of England Messenger*, with an exhortation 'advocat[ing] loyalty to the League of Nations, which, though not by any means perfect, was no doubt the best medium toward international good will.'[158] With Nutter Thomas at the helm, *The Adelaide Church Guardian* was thus prominent in its support for the League. In July 1933, the periodical published Bishop Philip Crick (1882-1937) of Ballarat's call for the support of 'the vision embodied in the League of Nations, of a brotherhood of equal partners'.[159] While not explicitly claiming that the League's vision was specifically Christian, the use of the word 'brotherhood' is significant given the frequency of its use in Christian theology.[160] A July 1935 article by T. H. Prince (1906-1944), a prominent Adelaide public servant and Anglican radio host, entitled 'Christianity and Inter-national Relations' returned to the question of the Christianity of the League:

> No subject before the nations to-day is of greater importance than this, for on the application of Christian principles between the various races hinges the question of peace or war in the whole world. … Now we have the League of Nations, the nearest international approach to the gospel of Jesus Christ which the world has yet seen.[161]

As we shall see later, Prince did not believe that 'nearest yet' was good enough, however.

Like Bishop Nutter Thomas in Adelaide, Archbishop Head of Melbourne endorsed the idea that the League of Nations was, at its core, a Christian organisation. In January 1928, *The Church of England Messenger* compared 'the manifestation of the spirit of the League of Nations' positively to 'the Christmas spirit', suggesting that if both were embraced year-round, international peace could well be possible.[162] In June of that year, the paper stated that if 'the Holy Spirit of God' would guide the leaders of the nations in their co-operation, 'the day may be brought appreciably nearer when

---

[156] "The League in Australia," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIII:4 (January 1929): 7.
[157] "The Bishop's Pastoral Address," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXVI:12 (September 1932): 5.
[158] "Peace of the World," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1179 (November 24, 1933): 545.
[159] Philip Crick, "The Church and the Present Day," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 27:10 (July 1933): 5.
[160] The 'brotherhood of man' was often linked with the 'fatherhood of God' – see: "The Lambeth Conference and War," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXV:2 (November 1930): 8.
[161] "Death of Mr. T. H. Prince," *The Advertiser* 4 November 1944, 8.; T.H. Prince, "Christianity and Inter-national Relations," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 29:10 (July 1935): 12.
[162] "The Outlawing of War," *The Church of England Messenger* LX:1026 (January 13, 1928): 2.

the nations shall not learn war any more'.[163] Canon Crotty of St. Paul's Cathedral Melbourne embodied the optimistic Anglican perspective when he said that 'the League of Nations is the greatest attempt in modern times to apply Christian principles to international affairs'.[164] He qualified this statement, however, with the notion that 'such an admirable institution can only effectively function if it has behind it people with Christian character and conscience', which meant that the Anglican Church should not allow the League to pursue a secular peace alone.[165] The Melbourne diocesan paper considered the potential threat of a League of Nations unmoored from Christian sentiment as a dangerous possibility. In an article commemorating Armistice Day in 1932, *The Church of England Messenger* heralded gloom:

> There rises before us the spectre of war in other spheres. The great war came to a conclusion; what of those hopes for a better world, more humane conditions, brotherhood and fellowship? So far they have not materialised; the sky seems black, movements sinister and secret, efforts to divide, not unite, are to be found at work amongst most nations.[166]

Its proposal for a solution was as follows:

> The Church is not tied to policies, she is bound to proclaim the way of Christ. International discord brought forth the League of Nations, imperfect yet, but working along the right lines for the settlement of national discord. The League is an attempt to apply Christian ethic to international dispute. Though not consciously built by the Church, it owes its very foundation to her message.[167]

This is a representative example of the feeling of ownership of the concept of peace felt by the Australian Anglican Church.

The perceived role of the Church in fostering the Christian values of the League of Nations was demonstrated in the 1932 Melbourne Synod. Synod resolved to declare official support for the League of Nations. The movement by P. A. Wisewould (1887-1963), vicar of Holy Trinity Oakley, appealed 'to the clergy and laity of the Church to "give their support to the effort to promote those ideals of peace, brotherhood and justice for which the League of Nations stands"'.[168] The reasoning supplied was that 'all wanted peace, but it must be upon a religious and ethical basis. It was the work of the Church to see that such a peace was secured'.[169] This is an interesting position, as it implies that should the League be ignored by the Church, the peace achieved may not be made according to Christian principles. Thus, the Church, through its support of the League, should guide

---

[163] "Renunciation of War," *The Church of England Messenger* LX:1036 (June 1, 1928): 242.
[164] Crotty, "Christ or Chaos," 27.
[165] Ibid.
[166] "Armistice Commemoration," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1152 (November 11, 1932): 531.
[167] Ibid., 532.
[168] "Diocesan Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1154 (December 9, 1932): 589.
[169] Ibid.

the League towards the 'Christian' solutions that might otherwise have eluded it. This position was reinforced by the seconder of the motion, Archdeacon Hancock, whose response was mentioned earlier but stands to be repeated here for emphasis. He stated 'that the Church ought to be the great League of Nations, and if it were functioning aright there would not be any need for the League'.[170] Hancock continued by informing Synod that 'in the Revised Prayer Book there was a prayer for the League'.[171] Due to technical and legalistic reasons this revision never became official even though it was endorsed by the English Anglican Church authorities.[172] It still held some moral sway, however. Hancock believed that this prayer for the League was an integral and worthy prayer, and was upset that it was not being invoked frequently enough by Australian churches.[173] He argued in favour of an entire service of Holy Communion in favour of the League to compensate for this deficit.[174]

One final example from *The Church of England Messenger* demonstrates just how closely this belief in the interlinkages between the League's goals and Christianity's goals aligned. The article 'Peace and Goodwill' from February 1935 was not written by a Victorian, but rather by one of the prominent New South Welsh 'social gospel' advocates, Francis De Witt Batty, the Bishop of Newcastle. This article, a printing of a speech given in Melbourne at the All Anglican Assembly in November of the previous year, clearly represented the vision of the editors of the Melbourne diocesan paper given its length of three and a half full pages. De Witt Batty opened his commentary on 'Peace and Goodwill' on a strong emotional note, stating that:

> the issue before the world to-day [international peace] is the greatest ever presented to mankind. The progress of human invention has for the first time made possible a real world fellowship. It has also made possible a real world war which, as is generally recognised, would mean the wiping out of white civilisation.[175]

He was not pessimistic, however, stating that:

> Perhaps the most encouraging of all the circumstances that make for peace is the fact that to-day men are everywhere thinking of universal peace as a real possibility. It is no longer

---

[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] The prayer went as follows: 'O GOD, who art the lover of justice and peace: Give thy grace, we humbly beseech thee, to the Assembly [*or* Council] of the League of Nations; and so guide them by thy Holy Spirit, that by word and deed they may promote thy glory, and set forward peace and goodwill among men; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*.' (original emphasis). *The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928*. London: Cambridge University Press [undated], 143.
[173] "Diocesan Synod 1928," 589.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Francis De Witt Batty, "Peace and Goodwill," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1211 (February 1, 1935): 53.

> regarded as the negligible aim of a few visionary fanatics, but as a practicable ideal for practical men.[176]

He continued, becoming even more optimistic, referring to the League of Nations while claiming that:

> Peace is a heavenly vision. Indeed, it is more than a vision to-day. Definite attempts are being made to bring it within the sphere of practical politics; to embody it in human institutions. Above all, the vision has been implemented in what is admittedly the most practicable machinery yet devised for securing its realisation.[177]

De Witt Batty was unequivocal: 'The principles upon which the League of Nations is founded are the principles of Christ Himself'.[178] He implored people to realise that 'as Christian men and women we are bound to give our close attempt to this most Christian attempt to solve the world's most serious problem'.[179] He concluded with a pithy remark summarising his vision: 'the League is an attempt, the first attempt that has ever been made, to try Christianity in the sphere of international politics'.[180]

The League of Nations as Insufficiently Christian

While an Anglican belief in the Christian spirit of the League of Nations embodied in De Witty Batty's quote was relatively popular and mainstream in the early-to-mid 1930s, Church was not a monolithic bloc of thought on the topic even at the height of Anglican support for the League. Not all Australian Anglican clerical figures ascribed Christian values to the League of Nations. An alternative pessimistic vision was rooted in the conviction that regardless of the aspirations of the League, the realities of the secular and materialist world simply did not allow for its success. For some, a lack of a genuine change in the hearts of men (and these Anglican theorists did speak only in terms of men in this regard) would mean that peace remained impossible. This approach posited that the League, as a secular materialist construction, was unable to foster this change of heart itself, and was thus aspiring pointlessly towards an impossible goal. There was also the occasional rejection of the League for geopolitical reasons, but this was not prominent amongst the clergy. As previously mentioned, Ruotsila has written extensively on British and American Anglican opposition to the League of Nations, focusing on the eschatological beliefs of a subset of hardline Evangelicals who disavowed all world governing structures as inherently 'fallen'.[181] This theological opposition to the

[176]Ibid., 54.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid., 55.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ruotsila, "League of Nations Controversy".

League of Nations does not seem to be present in the South Australian and Victorian primary material covered in this thesis.

A useful example of the strain of pessimism towards the League can be seen in the words of H. Wallace Bird (1893-1983), the rector of St Augustine's Unley (Adelaide), in a speech given at an Adelaide Teachers' Conference in July 1932. Entitled 'The Appeal of Christ to the Nations', Bird's speech categorised the League under a section called 'Discontent and Disillusionment'. He claimed that if the League was not successful, British civilisation was doomed, so he did not deny the League's potential value.[182] He was not optimistic, however: 'The process of perishing is now at work, but the final conflagration is not yet'.[183] Bird broadly agreed with those Anglican thinkers who endorsed the League, stating that 'the League of Nations represents the only international attempt to set above the passion of nationalism a court which will arbitrate in matters of dispute, and help prevent the inevitable end of the otherwise hopeless tangle'.[184] Yet, he did not claim that this attempt was specifically Christian-inspired. He immediately followed up with: 'There have been Leagues of Nations before in the course of history. They have all failed, and the present attempt is also likely to fail unless it receives a new impetus and dynamic through the creation of a Christian International'.[185] This, at its core, represents the strain of Australian Anglican pessimism towards the League of Nations.

Bird's comment is striking for two reasons. He insisted, without evidence, that there have been previous versions of the League of Nations before in world history, all failures. This was an attempt to discredit the League by dismissing its ideals as unoriginal, given it was just another attempt in a line of previous tries towards peace. Though Bird did not mention it by name, it seems likely that he had in mind the Concert of Europe. This system, lasting much of the 19th century but in its prime through the 1820s-1830s, prioritised a maintenance of the 'balance of power' within Europe to avoid war, and incorporated a number of Congresses to resolve diplomatic disputes.[186] While it could be considered an 'institutional precursor' to the League of Nations system, the League itself was so much more advanced in scope and functionality that such an aside like Bird's is not particularly insightful without further exploration.[187] It also dismisses the difficulties inherent in such a global organisational structure, as once again this had apparently been managed multiple times

[182] "The Appeal of Christ to the Nations," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXVI:10 (July 1932): 5.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Academic debate continues as to the success of the Concert. See: Dan Lindley, "Avoiding Tragedy in Power Politics: The Concert of Europe, Transparency, and Crisis Management," *Security Studies* 13:2 (2003/4): 195.
[187] Ibid.

previously. This offhand dismissal of the League served the purpose of demonstrating that only with a rival organisation focussed explicitly on Christianity could true peace emerge. He escalated his criticism of the League even further into an outright attack: 'The Covenant of the League takes no notice of God. It is as far removed in spirit from the great declarations of the Hebrew prophets as it is removed from them in time'.[188] This is an immense claim to make, essentially declaring that the League was anti-Christian. For Bird, the only alternative to the League's likely doomed attempts towards peace was his vision of a Christian International. He insisted that disarmament 'is a matter for the Churches, and our divisions are largely responsible for the present deadlock in the impact, or the desired impact, of organised Christianity on world politics'.[189] His world-view was such that the primary agent of world history, in this specific instance through its inaction due to a lack of ecumenical cooperation, was the Christian Church. This basic position was endorsed in *The Adelaide Church Guardian* in October 1933, in an article that claimed that in response to the failure of the World Economic Conference held in London earlier that year, 'there is no hope in the multitude of human counsels which leave God out of account'.[190] While Nutter Thomas himself would not have included the League within that group, those sympathetic to Bird's position would have.

Bird's belief that the League of Nations was fundamentally flawed due to its non-Christian foundation was not a popular position in the published Anglican material in Australia. However, it had a significant precedent in the British literature. In November 1927, *The Church Standard* republished an article from *The Church Times*, one of the two prominent London Anglican newspapers read across the Anglican diaspora.[191] The author of this piece was unapologetic:

> We have been in some ways severe critics of the League of Nations. We still hold that its constitution on a non-Christian basis was a terrible blunder, and we still think that the idea of most of its members, that peace can be maintained by threats of force rather than by spiritual sanctions, was a dangerous mistake.[192]

Even with this denunciation of the core of the League, *The Church Times*' conclusion remained that: 'the obvious duty now is the strengthening of the ideal of the League of Nations', because 'in the federation of civilised humanity in which it embodies lives the only hope of civilisation'.[193] Thus, even when the non-Christianity of the League of Nations was specifically denounced, the authors of the piece still rallied behind its secular ideals. In this sense, Bird's position was even more of an outlier.

---

[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] "Industrial Sunday (October 8th, 1933)," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 28:1 (October 1933): 3.
[191] *The Church Times* was broadly Anglo-Catholic; the rival *Church of England Newspaper* was broadly evangelical.
[192] "War or Peace? At the Edinburgh Congress," *The Church Standard* XVI:797 (November 4, 1927): 242.
[193] Ibid.

A less overt, and more common, form of dissociation from the League of Nations was the position of simply ignoring it altogether. *The Willochran*, South Australia's second diocesan periodical, is an interesting example of this approach. It was silent regarding Anglican support for the League of Nations. Bishop Richard Thomas (1880-1958) of Willochra, who was avowedly hostile to the institution of democracy and endorsed dictatorship as a solution to the social ills of the Great Depression, did not mention the League before the Abyssinian crisis (and only then to discount it as worthless).[194] His pessimism towards the international situation nonetheless demonstrated an unspoken hostility. In his pastoral charge to the Willochra Synod of 1932, Thomas included a segment called 'The World Outlook'. He lamented:

> The whole world is now faced with the gigantic problem of how to abolish armaments and at the same time be sure of peace and safety. Taking the world as it is constituted to-day, and putting aside all pious platitude, we all know deep down in our hearts there is only one answer to that question and put it in simple language it is just this: "It cannot be done".[195]

His tone throughout was fatalistic; the League was not worth mentioning given the inevitability of human failure. He believed:

> The desired solution [to disarmament] appears to be as far away as ever. And it will continue to be so, the world being what it is. I do not say this in any derisive way, nor because I think there is anything to be said in favour of war, but I do think we must be honest and face the facts. The spirit which is abroad throughout the world to-day must inevitably reach one conclusion, and that is war on a bigger scale than we have known it.[196]

Support for the League is implicitly cast as self-deluded dishonesty, as refusing 'the facts'. Thomas realised that his message would not be palatable, but offered up what to him was the obvious solution:

> You will say that I am painting a dark outlook for the immediate future, and you may ask have I any encouraging words to utter or constructive proposal to make? To that question I have an answer and I believe it is the only solution. I take my stand before the Cross on Calvary's Hill, and I see hanging upon It the Body of JESUS CHRIST, the Son of GOD.[197]

His proposed solution to humanity's problems was not tangible actions that might be accomplished by the League or a similar organisation, but a resigned reliance on religious abstraction. In January 1933, Thomas rebuked those optimistic Anglicans who suggested that 'world-wide international peace is assured'.[198] He insisted that 'a false optimistic outlook upon mundane affairs' offered by mundane institutions like the League was a harmful distraction, and that the only permissible form

---

[194] "Extracts from Pastoral Address," *The Willochran* 97 (October 1936): 899. For his anti-democratic beliefs, see: Richard Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," The Willochran II:74 (January 1931): 608.
[195] Richard Thomas, "Pastoral Charge," *The Willochran* III:81 (October 1932): 706.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Richard Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Willochran* III:82 (January 1933): 716.

of optimism in the increasingly troubled times was 'that good will ultimately triumph over evil'.[199] In his view, expressed clearly in his pastoral address to the 1933 Synod, earthly conflicts were a reflection of heavenly battles, and thus could not be solved through materialist agencies like the League: 'There is continual warfare going on in the invisible world, and the strife here below is a counterpart of that struggle which is taking place in the world unseen against spiritual wickedness in high places'.[200] Thomas summed up his position in October 1933, when he instructed his parishes to 'pray earnestly for help in these troublous days' of economic hardship and industrial unrest because 'only God can order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men'.[201]

This recourse to otherworldly values and dismissal of secular aspirations towards peace can also be found in the South Australian parish papers. Frank King (1874-1948), the rector of St Theodore's Rose Park (Adelaide), declared in February 1931 that the Church's only important task was the conversion of heathens and that:

> too much time is spent on organisations, some of which only represent "sentimental humanitarianism". Church organisations should be a means to an end, not an end in themselves, and should have a definite spiritual objective.[202]

King was presumably talking about Church-run organisations that offered 'sentimental humanitarian' services at a local level like food for the poor suffering through the ongoing Depression. However, this message of Church adherence to strictly spiritual efforts would similarly discourage support for the League of Nations and the League of Nations Union in particular. Similarly, rector Cecil Swan (1889-1982) of St Barnabas' Clare (SA) announced in January 1934 that 'talking, scheming, hoping, merely foolish optimism and drifting will not solve our difficulties or Australia's and the world's problems'.[203] Instead, he advocated for the sole efficacy of Christian prayer.[204] The most pessimistic example of all came in the parish paper of St Luke's Whitmore Square (Adelaide) in November 1935. Rector John Montgomerie lamented the inevitability of imminent and constant war, which he insisted was proclaimed by scripture.[205] He denounced what he saw as the hypocrisy and farce of attempting international discussions at Geneva in an age doomed to conflict by supernatural forces, and declared that the only possible response was to embrace 'Christ as your Saviour, and accept Him now. There is no other escape'.[206] This approach is

---

[199] Ibid.
[200] Richard Thomas, "Extracts from a Pastoral Address," *The WIllochran* III:84 (July 1933): 744.
[201] Richard Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Willochran* III:85 (October 1933): 759.
[202] Frank King, "A Letter from the Rector," *S. Theodore's Church Notes* 223 (February 1931): 2.
[203] Cecil Swan, "Rector's Letter," *The Parish Leaflet* XXVIII:365 (January 1934): 2.
[204] Ibid., 3.
[205] John Montgomerie, "The Rector's Letter," *St. Luke's Parish Paper* XXI:2 (November 1935): 2.
[206] Ibid.

the closest example to those anti-League Anglicans explored in the studies by Ruotsila. In both cases, theological fatalism projected secular or materialist peace-making as doomed to failure.

Overall, therefore, the Australian Anglican Church overwhelmingly endorsed the League of Nations as a force for good, though with variable enthusiasm and optimism. Overt pessimism was generally, but not exclusively, limited to local parish priests rather than bishops. Unsurprisingly, those who saw the League as an attempt at bringing Christian ideals into international relations were more outspokenly favourable towards it, while those who felt it was insufficiently Christian in nature were more pessimistic regarding its success.

The League of Nations in the Australian Domestic Context

With the overarching intellectual relationship between the Australian Anglican Church and the ideals of the League of Nations thus examined, the question follows: how did the Anglican Church respond to the practicalities of engaging with the League in the Australian domestic context? There were two key responses. The most common approach was the dissemination of positive commentary on the League's efforts and goals, which in the most extreme form meant calling for prayers for its success. As this is quite similar to what has just been covered above, further demonstration of this point will be brief. The Church also supported the League of Nations Union in a more direct sense as well, by engaging with the Australian branches of the LNU, usually by advocating active Anglican membership in that group and by hosting LNU speeches at Church events. However, given that synodal calls for parish corporate membership in the LNU seem to have gone overwhelmingly unheeded, it seems likely that interest in the LNU was mostly top-down rather than bottom-up.

Publicity and Prayer for the League of Nations

The Anglican press' primary goal when discussing the League of Nations was spreading public knowledge and fostering public interest in the organisation and its ambitions. Calls for prayers for the success of the League of Nations were a staple of the interwar Anglican press. An example from *The Adelaide Church Guardian* is seen in the 'Principal Resolutions of the Synod' in September 1933, when the Adelaide Synod resolved:

> That this Synod deplores the seriousness of the present international situation emphasised by the failure of the Disarmament Conference and the World Economic Conference, and calls on all Christian people to pray for peace and goodwill between the nations that selfish

> and economic Nationalism may give place to a wider international mind and outlook, and for the effective functioning of the League of Nations.[207]

Parish papers mentioned the League with far less frequency than the larger Anglican publications, so when they did it was generally a call for support of the League without much further content. In August 1930, Egerton North Ash (1888-1954), the rector of St John's Halifax St (Adelaide) demonstrated an example of this. In a detailed examination of the causes and effects of the Great Depression, he invoked the resolve of the League of Nations against its opponents as something worthy of emulation:

> The fact that many people will misunderstand or take advantage of our actions should no more deter us from practising Christianity, than the existence of sabre-rattling Governments should deter the League of Nations from prosecuting its ideals of peace.[208]

A particularly verbose example can be seen in the words of Edward Bleby (1870-1943), rector of St Paul's Pulteney St (Adelaide), in October 1933. He opened his monthly letter in *The Echo* with the announcement that:

> Our prayers are required on behalf of the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference; self-seeking on the part of some nations, a want of confidence in their neighbours on the part of others, endanger the peace and safety of the world, and our prayers are needed that the dark clouds may disperse without breaking into the threatened storm.[209]

Another example of the support for the League in parish papers is seen in Frank Weston's Rector's Letter in *The St Augustine's Chronicle* of August 1935. In a lengthy and detailed treatise on war and peace and using the pretext of the 21st anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War, Weston concluded with a statement representative of the general Anglican feeling at the time:

> Greater interest should be taken in all that makes for peace, more money should be subscribed for the strengthening of the League of Nations, and more prayers should be offered that the wills of men may be bent to the will of God, until the kingdoms of this world become the Kingdom of our God and of His Christ.[210]

For him, financial and prayer-based support went hand-in-hand, and were both required for the League to obtain its goals.

These calls for prayer for the goals and ideals of the League of Nations can be seen across the Victorian publications to a similar degree and extent. Given that these calls for prayer overlap considerably with the content covered in earlier in this chapter, this point does not require further

---

[207] "Principal Resolutions of the Synod," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 27:12 (September 1933): 6.
[208] Egerton North Ash, "A Message from the Rector," *S. John's Parish Magazine* 21:26 (August 1930): 2.
[209] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXVIII:326 (October 1933): 2.
[210] Frank Weston, "Rector's Letter." *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:37 (August 1935): 2.

belabouring at this stage. It is instead more useful to shift to the question of direct practical engagement with the League.

Direct Engagement with the League of Nations Union

The goal of fostering public interest in the work of the League of Nations culminated most directly in the Anglican endorsement of the efforts of the League of Nations Union. The LNU was well-suited to engagement with the Anglican Church: its most prominent members were highly-educated Anglican men.[211] They occupied similar social circles as Anglican bishops, and thus linkages between the LNU and the Anglican Church were not limited to official capacities, but involved personal friendships as well.[212] These prominent members of the LNU were overwhelmingly lay Anglicans, however, rather than priests; Carolyn Rasmussen commented in 1992 that 'the LNU in Australia seems to have appealed more strongly to "intellectuals" and academics than politicians or clergymen'.[213] As we shall see, this is too dismissive of a claim to make, at least at the level of the bishoprics. The primary LNU organisation, headquartered in Britain, achieved a level of public prominence far in excess of what was managed by the Australian branches, and was considerably more practically interlinked with the English Anglican Church.[214] Nevertheless, each Australian state's branch remained dedicated to the idea that with public interest and knowledge of the travails of the League of Nations would come a groundswell of public support which would pressure the federal Government into foreign policy aligned with the League of Nations' goals. Public opinion was thus understood as the key to world peace.

In South Australia, interest in the League of Nations Union came from the top. Bishop of Adelaide Nutter Thomas was one of the many joint Vice-Presidents of the LNU from 1923 onwards.[215] Even though this was an honorary position, the intention of publicly linking the cause of the LNU to the Anglican Church is apparent. The height of Nutter Thomas' own personal engagement with the LNU was in 1929. As mentioned earlier, in that year he proclaimed the inherent Christianity of the League of Nations. *The Adelaide Church Guardian* incorporated this statement within an article that also included a call by the Chairman of the South Australian LNU for 10 members of each congregation to join the LNU as representatives of their churches.[216] This plea

[211] Brown, "R. G. Watt and the League of Nations Union," 84.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Carolyn Rasmussen, *The Lesser Evil? Opposition to War and Fascism in Australia 1929-1941* (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 1992): 12.
[214] McCarthy, "Voluntary Associations and League of Nations Activism in Britain," 188.
[215] Rasmussen, *The Lesser Evil?*, 12. For example, the NSW LNU branch had 26 Vice-Presidents at its peak.
[216] "The League in Australia," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIII:4 (January 1929): 7.

was never again brought up within *The Adelaide Church Guardian*. In July 1929, Nutter Thomas made his sole appearance as a speaker at the weekly LNU Adelaide luncheons. These meetings, held at the Railway Station Dining Room on North Terrace, attracted an average of 40-50 attendees, but were also reported on in the secular press and thus reached a mass audience at least to some extent.[217] Nutter Thomas' speech was titled 'Some Criticisms of the League', and was indeed an explicit rebuke to what he saw as excessive optimism towards the League's prospects of peace. He claimed 'that there was a temptation among supporters of the league to concentrate on its achievements, and there was danger of the people hoodwinking themselves in facing difficulties'.[218] His main criticism was the fact that 'the aloofness of the United States was a great handicap and an inherent weakness', but he was pleased that the election of Herbert Hoover as American President in 1928 was a sign that America might be about to shift its tone.[219] His overall argument, however, echoed his belief in the League as a Christian institution: he felt that education in Christianity would foster a general public support for the League, and embolden the actors within the League to push more strongly for 'Christian' solutions.[220]

The year 1929 was likely the height of *The Adelaide Church Guardian*'s overt support for the League of Nations Union. In November of that year, it published an article advertising an upcoming 'League of Nation's [sic] Pageant'.[221] Beyond its ideological goal of raising support for the League of Nations Union, it was a fundraising drive, with its two principal beneficiaries the LNU itself and the Missions to Seamen.[222] It was billed as 'a very fine pageant' that 'is to be far more magnificent than anything of the kind shown in Adelaide, and everyone who hopes for peace in the world should see it'.[223] The article insisted that 'all school children should be taken to it as a matter of education'. Strangely, given this enthusiasm, *The Adelaide Church Guardian* did not follow up with a report of this event. Reports from the secular press, however, were effusive with praise for the event. It was not a pageant in the modern sense of the word, but a play of 16 scenes outlining various moments in League history. *The Mail* was moved by the way the performances at the Theatre Royal portrayed the horrors of the Great War and the triumphant success of the League of Nations in its aftermath.[224] *The Advertiser* exclaimed that 'Adelaide has never before seen such a wonderful stage

[217] *News*, the Adelaide newspaper, frequently covered these meetings and summarised them for their readership.
[218] "End War," *News* 2 July 1929, 14.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid.
[221] "League of Nations Pageant," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIV:2 (November 1929): 5.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] ""The Warrior,"" *The Mail* 7 December 1929, 5.

display… a pageant based on the triumph of the League of Nations'.[225] Reporters were uniformly inspired by the practical performances and the symbolism of peace.

Irrespective of the interest in the LNU in *The Adelaide Church Guardian* in 1929, it was not mentioned again in that periodical until February 1939. Even then it was described only in passing, when Norman Crawford (1888-1982), a priest with general licence in Adelaide and formerly of Church of the Good Shepherd Plympton (Adelaide), wrote in an article about British pacifism simply that 'the peace work of the League of Nations Union is too well known to need emphasis here'.[226] While this demonstrates that he expected his readers to be familiar with the work of the LNU, this familiarity did not come from reading *The Adelaide Church Guardian.* During the decade between 1929 and 1939, all discussion of the League of Nations within this publication spoke about the international institution with no mention of its local branch of public supporters. While Nutter Thomas remained in his position of nominal authority within the LNU, he never again presented at the weekly meetings after 1929. This was in contrast to other religious figures like outspoken progressive Adelaide Congregationalist minister Edward Kiek (1883-1959), who continued to regularly offer their oratory services throughout the 1930s.[227]

Interest in the Adelaide parish papers towards the LNU was limited. Egerton North Ash, the rector of St. John's Halifax Street, (Adelaide), was one of the few South Australian priests who expressed dedicated support for the League of Nations. In his parish magazine he never mentioned the LNU. However, he evidently held it in high regard, given he gave a speech at one of the LNU's weekly meetings in 1929. His talk, entitled 'The Church and the League', 'hailed [the LNU] as persons banded together for the attainment of world peace'.[228] He claimed that 'many of the greatest reformations had been brought about by the church, not by direct frontal attacks, but by gradual pressure, which had caused grave abuses to give way before the power of the gospel'.[229] Regardless of the veracity of this grand claim, it is a good representation of the power members of the Anglican Church believed they wielded, or ought to wield. North Ash's main thrust was that 'it was the duty of the church to foster and encourage the aims of the league, and of the league to aid the church'.[230] A stronger statement of support for the League of Nations Union is hard to imagine.

The League of Nations Pageant extolled in *The Adelaide Church Guardian* was only mentioned by a single parish paper, the *Parish Magazine* of St Andrew's Walkerville. In November

---

[225]"Amateurs Provide Brilliant Pageant," *The Advertiser* 9 December 1929, 11.
[226] Norman Crawford, "Aspects of English Church Life," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:5 (February 1939): 7.
[227] For just one example of Kiek's ongoing commitment, see: "Economic Crisis," *News* 22 April 1931, 4.
[228] "Church and Peace," *News* 26 November 1929, 12.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.

1929, the paper advertised the upcoming 'very magnificent spectacle' organised by 'a very energetic committee'.[231] It concluded by saying that 'it is hoped that all church people will support it. They will find in it much beauty and a great deal to provoke thought'.[232] Regardless of this enthusiasm, the *Parish Magazine* did not run an article recounting whether the pageant was as much a success as hoped. The interest in the League of Nations in this paper was expressly attributed to the rector's wife, Mrs Hewgill, in 1931. In the list of 'Coming Events' in April of that year, 'a **meeting** in support of the **League of Nations**' was held at the Church.[233] The meeting was billed as being of great importance, involving speeches from 'one of our representatives at Geneva' as well as a former Attorney-General. A plea for attendance was issued, because 'it has been chiefly arranged by Mrs Hewgill, who is very anxious that it should be a success and asks you to help by coming'.[234] The parish paper does not offer a summary of the event itself.

Across the South Australian parish papers, there was only a single instance of parish engagement with the LNU on a continued and practical level. The June/July 1935 issue of the *Christ Church North Adelaide Parish Magazine* reported a resolution of their Easter Vestry.[235] This resolution was that Christ Church North Adelaide 'should become a corporate member of the League of Nations Union, in order that we might definitely associate ourselves with the aims and objects of the league'.[236] The timing of this announcement, and the following plea that 'the peace of the world must surely be constantly in our thoughts and prayers', indicates that this was a response to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia and the evident floundering of the League.[237] As mentioned earlier, though the Adelaide Synod recommended active and genuine engagement with the LNU, this call was not widely taken up, at least not in ways committed to print.

The Australian Churchman, the official magazine of the Church of England Men's Society (CEMS), reported that South Australian branches of the CEMS invited the LNU to deliver a speech on two occasions. In both instances, these speeches went by unremarked upon in the relevant local parish papers. In February 1931, the members of St Barnabas' Clare were treated to 'a fine address on the "League of Nations"' and 'were all surprised to learn of [the League's] wide operations and of what it has done during the short period it has been in existence'.[238] This is interesting in the sense that it demonstrates that as late as 1931, the League was still considered something of an unknown

[231] "The League of Nations Pageant," *St. Andrew's Walkerville Parish Magazine* (November 1929): 2.
[232] Ibid.
[233] "Coming Events," *St. Andrew's Walkerville Parish Magazine* (April 1931): 2. (Original emphasis)
[234] Ibid.
[235] "The Peace of the World," *Christ Church North Adelaide Parish Magazine* XXIV:9 (June/July 1935): 2.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] "South Australia," *The Australian Churchman* 3:12 (February 1931): 13.

entity, worthy even of quotation marks around it as if the reader would not be familiar with the term. *The Australian Churchman* also reported on a speech by J. Trego Williams, the Secretary of the South Australian LNU, at St John's Halifax St in August 1932.[239] This would likely be at the behest of North Ash, the aforementioned rector who was overtly interested in supporting the League of Nations' goals. The magazine declared the evening a great success, with the 38 men in attendance finding the tales of the League 'most inspiring'.[240] No further examples of such speeches are to be found in the periodical, though it is possible that similar meetings continued to be held but by late 1932 were no longer novel enough to warrant mention.

The situation in Victoria was broadly similar to that of South Australia with regards to Anglican engagement with the League of Nations Union. However, *The Church of England Messenger* was considerably more prominent a voice in support of the LNU for a much longer span of time than its Adelaide counterpart. In 1928, the publication contained an article explaining that the Baptist Union, a group that would become strongly associated with pacifist ideals, had voted to become a corporate member of the LNU to demonstrate its dedication to the cause.[241] This was evidently seen as an important step, given its coverage in a rival denomination's periodical. No call for similar action on the part of the Anglican Church was offered, however. More explicit Anglican engagement with the LNU in *The Church of England Messenger* began in 1931. In November of that year, the *Messenger* endorsed a public demonstration in support of the World Disarmament Conference organised by the LNU. It insisted that 'this meeting should receive the warm support of members of the Church', and quoted Archbishop Head as 'urg[ing] the clergy everywhere to announce that "we Anglicans may show that we are backing up this effort to secure international peace".'[242] In August 1932, Head used part of his fortnightly letter to 'emphasise the notice about the activities of the Australian League of Nations Union which appear in another part of this issue'.[243] He stated unequivocally that 'we need to support the work of this great organisation for peace and goodwill among men'.[244] The article to which he referred, 'The Australian League of Nations Union', was a list of upcoming public addresses by the LNU, as well as a request that clergymen contact the office of the League in Melbourne, which 'will endeavour to supply materials for sermons and addresses'.[245] The Archbishop thus instructed his subordinates to preach upon the topic of the importance of the

[239] "South Australia," *The Australian Churchman* 5:6 (September 1932): 13.
[240] Ibid.
[241] "The Outlawing of War," *The Church of England Messenger* LX:1037 (June 15, 1928): 277.
[242] "Disarmament," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1127 (November 27, 1931): 561.
[243] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1145 (August 5, 1932): 365.
[244] Ibid.
[245] "The Australian League of Nations Union," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1145 (August 5, 1932): 372.

LNU. From the material at hand, however, it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which this call was heeded.

Interest in the LNU continued through August 1932. The second issue of *The Church of England Messenger* of that month contained an article advertising an upcoming League of Nations Schools Day. The article posited that such an event was a way to 'greatly improve' Australian 'interest in world affairs'.[246] Eleven schools were involved in this event, and the author concluded their article by stating that 'it is hoped that the result of their work will be an enlarged and permanent interest in the League of Nations' amongst Victorian youth.[247] This genuine, if sporadic, support for the League of Nations Union was crystallised in December 1932 into explicit Diocesan policy. At the Melbourne Synod of that year, it was moved that 'this Synod, therefore, appeals to the clergy and laity of the Church to "give their support to the effort to promote those ideals of peace, brotherhood and justice for which the League of Nations stands" by joining the Victorian Branch of the League of Nations' Union themselves, and by encouraging their local churches and organisations to become corporate members of the Union'.[248] This was a significant resolution. Beyond generalised support for the idealism of the League of Nations, the highest Melburnian Anglican authority directly instructed Victorian Anglicans, laity and clergy alike, to embrace the LNU in both theory and practice. The resolution claimed that only by this fusion of Church and LNU could peace be secured 'upon a religious and ethical basis'.[249] This was no minor point to be buried in the long list of Synodal resolutions. It was a call to action.

After this momentous decision, *The Church of England Messenger* continued to offer supportive words for the LNU. In August 1933 it published an article about peace movements and expressed sadness over the apparent communist links of the Victorian Council against War.[250] In response, it concluded that 'we therefore feel that we should be better advised to the last unit possible the efforts of the League of Nations, through the League of Nations Union, remembering that the only effective antidote to war is goodwill'.[251] The Church remained reassured that the LNU was not tainted by communist ties like some other prominent anti-war organisations, likely helped by the Soviet Union's non-membership of the League. The *Messenger* advertised various LNU speeches such as one about 'Australia, Japan and the Will to Peace' by Dr. C. L. McLaren in August 1934, by stating that 'it is the work of the League of Nations Union to provide the public with reliable

[246] "League of Nations Union," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1146 (August 19, 1932): 398.
[247] Ibid.
[248] "Diocesan Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1154 (December 9, 1932): 589.
[249] Ibid.
[250] "August 4," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1171 (August 4, 1933): 341.
[251] Ibid.

information on international affairs'.[252] It spruiked LNU drives for increased membership during 'League of Nations Week' in April 1935.[253] It continued to plead for public support for the LNU, stating that 'the League can only succeed if it is supported by the people of the world. We commend to you, therefore, the work of the Victorian Branch of the League of Nations Union and the desirability of the Churches supporting the League of Nations Union in whatever way possible.'[254] The increasingly resigned tone and repetition of the basic plea belies the reality behind the Archbishop's support for the LNU: that the general clerical position towards support for the LNU, at least in written form, was relative indifference.

A letter to the editor of *The Church of England Messenger* from P. H. Dicker demonstrates the general Anglican clerical sentiment towards the Diocesan resolution about the LNU. This letter was published in May 1933, which Dicker informed the reader 'is now more than six months since the [previously-mentioned] motion was agreed to in Synod'.[255] He followed his extensive quotation of that resolution by observing that:

> the latest list of members shows that while almost all our Church schools are corporate members of the League, and use the excellent literature provided by it, only one Parish Church – namely, All Saints' Geelong – has been made a corporate member. It seems that an opportunity, if not a duty, is being missed.[256]

The point that Anglican schools were almost universally corporate members of the League of Nations Union is a fascinating point, worthy of study. However, it is beyond the scope of this current project to cover that material in any detail. Dicker continued with a quote from the Archbishop of Canterbury claiming that 'it is the duty of Christian people to stand in and behind the League of Nations' to bolster his argument.[257] This point, made unequivocally by the head of the worldwide Anglican Communion, seems rather underemphasised by most Australian Anglican commenters on the League of Nations. The 1930 convocation of the Lambeth Conference, the decennial global meeting of Anglican bishops to confer on theological, clerical and political issues, was no less clear. It demanded full Christian support for the League and the LNU.[258] This too received surprisingly little comment in the Australian Anglican literature. Dicker concluded by optimistically stating 'it is expected that a number of the parishes in the Deanery will shortly follow the lead given by All Saints', and it is hoped that the movement will spread throughout the Diocese and beyond'.[259] This

---

[252] "Australian League of Nations Union," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVII:1198 (August 17, 1934): 390.
[253] "League of Nations Week," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1216 (April 12, 1935): 173.
[254] "Armistice Day – 1935," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1231 (November 8, 1935): 538.
[255] "Correspondence," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1166 (May 26, 1933): 237.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] "Lambeth on War and Peace," *The Church Standard* XVIII:949 (October 31, 1930): 6.
[259] "Correspondence," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1166 (May 26, 1933): 237.

letter is important both in the information it conveys, and the method in which it was conveyed. The fact that a resolution of such apparent importance did not result in a significant increase in the number of parishes as corporate members of the LNU suggests that support for the LNU was not deeply or widely held enough for churches to bother with the process. It is also notable that this call came from a letter to the editor, rather than an editor-sanctioned article. This potentially suggests that Dicker's enthusiasm was an outlier, and that the general Victorian parish clerical sentiment veered closer towards indifference.

Interestingly, however, Dicker missed at least one other parish church that was a corporate member of the LNU. All Saints St. Kilda East was a corporate member of the LNU for at least the years of 1931-1933, though it is possible that this membership extended significantly in either direction.[260] In January 1932, the enthusiasm for the LNU was seen in the fact that a prize was offered to the member of the church who recruited the largest number of new paying members by the upcoming annual meeting.[261] They also claimed that because 'we want young people to join', there would be prizes for 'the highest bridge score and the best dancing couple'.[262] While the *All Saints' Messenger* never mentioned this annual event apart from in 1932, in August 1933 it highlighted with pride the involvement of a local Anglican school in the League of Nations' School Day.[263] This annual event was held in Melbourne by the Victorian LNU branch between the years of 1932 and 1938, and usually incorporated pageantry from twelve to twenty local schools.[264]

There was only one other instance in the Victorian parish papers to which I have had access of explicit support for the LNU. In October 1929, St. Paul's Canterbury (Melbourne) dedicated an article to 'The League of Nations Union Study Circles' that had been held weekly throughout that month.[265] The article opened on something of a disappointed note, stating that 'attendance was not as large as we expected, probably because the importance of the subject is not realised by people generally'.[266] Beyond this, it simply stated that 'discussion regarding the successes of the League have been most interesting and informative' and supplied a list, including things like 'helped to avert 6 wars', 'protection of minorities' and 'disarmament by removing hatred and fear'.[267] Given this, it seems that these study circles were not so much interested in the work of the LNU in Australia or

[260] A lack of extant material prevents certainty here.
[261] "All Saints' Branch of the League of Nations' Union," *The All Saints' Messenger* (January 1932): 7. ; "The All Saints' Branch of the League of Nations' Union," *The All Saints' Messenger* (February 1932): 7.
[262] "All Saints' Branch of the League of Nations' Union," *The All Saints' Messenger* (January 1932): 7.
[263] "St. Michael's C.E.G.G.S," *The All Saints' Messenger* (August 1933): 6.
[264] Victorian newspapers reported regularly on these events.
[265] "The League of Nations Union Study Circles," *Parish Record* 60 (October 1929): 6.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.

how to engage with the organisation more extensively, but rather just explaining the basic premise of the League of Nations. It is evident that although the highest figures within the Anglican Church in SA and Victoria sought to establish the League of Nations Union as an important ally in the fight for peace, this did not necessarily translate to parish engagement with the LNU. Brown has argued in the NSW context that while Anglican churches were amongst the most strident supporters of the LNU in the early 1930s, by the mid-to-late 1930s church LNU membership had dwindled to almost nothing.[268]

Unsurprisingly given its more overtly political focus than other Anglican media, *The Church Standard* was a frequent mouthpiece for the support of the LNU. It managed this through both acting as a platform for the LNU itself to publish material, as well as the endorsement of the values of the LNU in its own original articles. An example of the former is an open letter from the NSW Branch of the LNU to the *Church Standard*'s readership in April 1930. The letter detailed the history of the League, claiming that after the First World War 'half the civilised races of the world… faced the fact of "Peace or Perish"'.[269] It outlined the goals of the League, including the abolition of secret diplomacy and 'exploitation of the coloured races'.[270] It implicitly, though uncritically, acknowledged the power imbalances still apparent in the operation of the League when it claimed that 'the cultivation of an atmosphere of international goodwill and security … can only be done by the co-operation of the Great Powers of the world, which represent the majority of mankind'.[271] The letter ended with a message that must have been endorsed, or at least tolerated, by the editorship of the newspaper, that the League of Nations Union was 'a divinely appointed instrument given to mankind in order that none may escape the destruction of the worldly war'.[272] While this final point seems confusing and contradictory, and may in fact be a misprint, it remains that the leaders of LNU saw their organisation as directly engaging in a cosmic duty. An example of the endorsement of the LNU by the newspaper itself can be found in July of the same year. The editor commented upon a speech by Sir Philip Game, Governor of NSW, at the annual dinner of the NSW LNU, stating that 'we trust the wise words of his address there sink into the hearts of all who heard or read them'.[273] Game said that while the obvious function of the League of Nations was providing the machinery for international conflict resolution, the organisation's 'real significance lay deeper, in that its purpose was to cultivate in mankind a will for peace'.[274] *The Church Standard* added that the LNU 'depends

[268] Brown, "R. G. Watt and the League of Nations Union," 89.
[269] "League of Nations Union," *The Church Standard* XVIII:919 (April 4, 1930): 493.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVIIII:932 (July 4, 1930): 3.
[274] Ibid.

largely on the support it receives from public opinion' and thus its readers should dedicate themselves to supporting the League.[275] Beyond these two examples, *The Church Standard* published articles written by the General Secretary of the LNU, Raymond G. Watt, such as 'The Church and Disarmament' in August 1931.[276] The newspaper contained many more similar examples, remaining steadfastly supportive of the LNU's ideals, even when the League itself clearly began to falter.

Despite some limited criticisms, the Anglican Church in South Australia and Victoria was genuinely dedicated to the ideals of the League of Nations. Both Bishop Nutter Thomas of Adelaide and Archbishop Head of Melbourne, the two highest-ranking figures in each respective state, endorsed the view that the League of Nations was not just a worthy ally in the Christian goal of world peace, but was itself an inherently Christian organisation even if it refused to unequivocally acknowledge this itself. This belief was no doubt helped by the widespread view that international peace was itself an inherently Christian concept. While the parish papers were not as prone to comment upon the League's idealism, when they did it was almost universally in a positive sense. The editors of *The Church Standard* were heavily invested in European affairs, and while sometimes critical of the efficacy of the League, were generally steadfast in their calls for Australian Christian support. Perhaps the most worrying sign from the perspective of genuine Christian engagement with the League and its goals was the relatively limited, or at least uneven, reception of the repeated Diocesan calls for parish corporate membership of the League of Nations Union.

[275] Ibid.
[276] Raymond Watt, "The Church and Disarmament," *The Church Standard* XX:991 (August 28, 1931): 5.

Chapter Two: The League of Nations in the International Realm: The Crises of Manchuria and Abyssinia

While Chapter One demonstrated the Australian Anglican theoretical conceptualisations of the League of Nations and its role in Australian society, this chapter will focus on how Australian Anglican commentators responded to the League of Nations in the international realm. It covers the two instances of greatest contemporary concern to Australians with respect to the League: the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935.[1] These crises shook the League of Nations to its core. The equivocal response of the League to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 is generally understood as the first major failure of the League. The inability of the League to prevent the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, and to prevent successful Italian occupation of the country, was heralded by many contemporaries the end of the League's potential international utility.

These two case studies demonstrate that there were three major Australian Anglican visions of what the League of Nations should or could be. First, there was the League of Nations as peaceful arbitrator. At the outset of both conflicts, optimistic Anglican observers held to the idea of the League of Nations as an impartial organisation capable of using conciliation and moral pressure to prevent violent geopolitical escalation. Second, there was the League as 'global policeman'. A constant question hung over the League as to the limits of its practical ability to enforce decisions. Australian Anglicans disagreed over whether granting the League punitive authority was a sensible way to intervene in international conflicts, or whether this was a fundamental breach of the League's solemn obligation to the pursuit of peace. In particular, this debate raged over the utility and morality of League-mandated sanctions against Italy. Third, there was the idea of the League as a failure. Despondency set in after the success of Italian colonial conquest, though it could be seen earlier in response to Japan and China over Manchuria. However, some Anglican clergymen remained dedicated to the League up to and even during the Second World War, insisting that a new and improved version was the only way to embark upon the creation of a peaceful world. Overall, this chapter concludes that the League of Nations and its aspirations of world peace were at the forefront of Australian Anglican clerical minds during the 1930s, irrespective of Australia's distance from conflicts in East Asia, Europe and East Africa.

[1] While some contemporary sources utilised the modern term for this country, 'Ethiopia', for the sake of consistency this thesis will stick with the most commonly used name in Australia at the time, 'Abyssinia'.

To understand the contemporary responses, it is necessary to have to give a brief overview of the events in both Manchuria and Abyssinia. As early as the mid-1930s, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria on 18 September 1931 was heralded as negative turning point for the League of Nations. A region of the Asian mainland adjacent to Japanese-occupied Korea and administered by China, Manchuria was mineral-wealthy and thus attractive to expansionist Japan. As an excuse to invade, the Japanese military staged a false flag attack upon the South Manchurian Railway near the city of Mukden (now Shenyang). Through imperialist treaty-bestowed 'special rights' granted after defeating the Russian Empire in 1905, this railway was operated by Japan even though it went through non-Japanese territory. In response to this supposed attack by the Chinese against the Japanese railway, Japan invaded and occupied Manchuria. A Chinese boycott of Japanese goods resulted from the invasion, which led Japan to attack Shanghai in late January 1932. Western powers expressed dismay over the potential threat to their Chinese trading enclave, and the Japanese withdrew from the city after just over a month of conflict with the Chinese military. While the world's attention was on Shanghai, Japan consolidated its control over Manchuria by declaring the independence of 'Manchukuo', which was in reality a puppet state controlled by Japan. China appealed to the League of Nations to settle the dispute, and an investigation led by British politician Victor Bulwer-Lytton (1876-1947) was launched. Before the results were announced, Japan formally recognised the independence of Manchukuo, angering world opinion. The Lytton Report came back with some degree of sympathy for Japanese claims to Manchuria, but nonetheless held that the invasion in 1931 had not been justified. In response, Japan formally announced its intention to leave the League of Nations, and the League's prestige suffered a significant blow. Japan effectively suffered no material consequences from the international community as a result of its invasion.

If the Manchurian Crisis was the warning bell for the health of the League of Nations, the handling of the Abyssinian Crisis was its death knell. Italian aggression towards the East African kingdom of Abyssinia was revealed to the world in December 1934, and escalated swiftly. A skirmish at Wal Wal, in a border area of Abyssinia claimed by Italy as part of its neighbouring colony of Eritrea, was used by Mussolini to call for Italian annexation of the African territory. Initial international hopes were set on League of Nations mediation, though these hopes were dashed when Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in October 1935. European public outcry, especially in Britain, was immense, and the British Government advocated the imposition of sanctions upon Italy. However, the Conservative British Government did not believe in the value of sanctions, and worked to prevent them from being successful. The exclusion of oil from the list of sanctioned items, and the refusal of Britain to close the Suez Canal to Italian ships, allowed Italian war goals to be accomplished relatively unmolested. With an ineffectual League offering no material support to the

Abyssinians, the country fell to the Italian conquerors by May 1936. The tacit acceptance of the legitimacy of this act of aggression by one member of the League against another outraged progressive opinion around the world. The League of Nations was thus revealed to be ineffectual at ensuring world peace, though it continued to exist in some form until 1946. Both of these examples of interwar military aggression have extensive historiographies, covering elements of the conflicts far beyond the scope of this PhD. As such, I will briefly summarise the key aspects of each.

The overwhelming focus of scholarship on the Manchurian crisis has been the realm of international relations and 'high politics'. This was put well by Sandra Wilson who wrote in 1992 that:

> the Manchurian Incident has been much studied, but few writers have strayed from a fairly narrow consideration of the military, political and diplomatic events which occurred between September 1931 and Japan's departure from the League of Nations some eighteen months later.[2]

This observation still holds today. The importance of Manchuria in the standard narrative of the downfall of the League of Nations has ensured continued academic interest, even if only in passing. For example, Christopher Waters' *Australia and Appeasement: Imperial Foreign Policy and the Origins of World War II* (2012) calls Japan's aggression in Manchuria a 'crucial international event', but it is never mentioned again within the book.[3] The seminal work on Australian public responses to international affairs during the 1930s, Eric Andrews' *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia*, is focussed on European affairs and does not address Manchuria. He acknowledged that 'fear of Japan, and interest in her policy, which influenced Australian attitudes to European events and to world affairs in general, has been largely ignored in this work'.[4] He explained this by stating that 'it seemed better to concentrate on the attitudes to the European dictators'.[5] Manchuria did, however, play a significant role in his subsequent work *The Writing on the Wall: The British Commonwealth and Aggression in the East 1931-1935* (1987). His detailed exploration of the response to Japanese aggression by the Australian government exemplifies the overwhelming high-politics focus on the Manchurian crisis in the scholarship. Andrews' main interest was to deconstruct the practical implications of the constitutional changes from the 'British Empire' to the 'British Commonwealth' through the different ways in which the British Dominions, in particular Australia, New Zealand and

---

[2] Sandra Wilson, "The Manchurian Crisis and Moderate Japanese Intellectuals: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations," *Modern Asian Studies* 3 (1992): 507.
[3] Christopher Waters, *Australia and Appeasement: Imperial Foreign Policy and the Origins of World War II* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2012): 10.
[4] Eric Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970): ix.
[5] Ibid.

Canada, responded to the potential threat of Japan.[6] Another example of analysis through the lens of high politics is seen in David Bird's 2008 biography of Australian Prime Minister Joseph Lyons. Bird suggests that Manchuria's fate was uninteresting to Australians, and thus Lyons understandably focussed on maintaining good trade relations with Japan.[7] When Japan and Manchuria are mentioned in any depth, it is to explain why the Australian government remained pro-Japanese throughout the early 1930s.[8]

Beyond these international political histories and broad histories of the Australia-Japan relationship, there have been two works regarding public opinion on the Manchurian Crisis in Australia. Both are unpublished theses dedicated to an examination of the Australian press. The first of these, a PhD thesis by P. Brian Murphy entitled 'Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941' (1975), has a mostly-high politics scope, but contains a pertinent chapter on Australian public understanding of the Japanese actions in Manchuria. It argues that 'support for the Chinese was confined almost solely to members of the Chinese community in Australia', and that the press on the whole was overwhelmingly either neutral-positive or overtly positive towards Japan's actions.[9] Importantly, it concludes that the *Adelaide Advertiser* was the only major newspaper in the country to offer 'sustained or comprehensive analysis of the wider implications of the crisis', and even with this detailed exploration, still came out on the side of supporting Japan.[10] The second study of public perception of the Japanese invasion was an Honours thesis by Julie Petalik titled 'Australian Perceptions of Japan and Crisis in Asia, 1930-1941' (1977). Petalik focussed on the *Adelaide Advertiser* and assumed that it represented the overall Australian press perspective.[11] Murphy stated, contradictorily, that the *Adelaide Advertiser* was the single least representative major Australian newspaper on the topic, due to its extensive interest in Manchuria. Irrespective of this, Petalik's work offers useful context for the secular press material that would be read by South Australian Anglicans during this eventful period. She concurs with Murphy's assessment regarding a general Australian sympathy for the Japanese invasion.[12]

---

[6] Eric Andrews, *The Writing on the Wall: The British Commonwealth and Aggression in the East 1931-1935* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987).
[7] David Bird, *J. A. Lyons – the 'Tame Tasmanian: Appeasement and Rearmament in Australia, 1932-39* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008): 41.
[8] Ibid.
[9] P. Brian Murphy, "Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941," (PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1975): 52-53.
[10] Ibid., 65-66.
[11] Julie Petalik, "Australian Perceptions of Japan and Crisis in Asia, 1930-1941," (Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1977): vi.
[12] Ibid., 22.

There is no historical study yet undertaken regarding Australian Anglican responses to the Manchurian crisis. The closest is Brian Fletcher's *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*. When discussing Australian Anglican activism against the rise of fascism in the 1930s, Fletcher offers precisely one sentence on the topic of Manchuria: 'Strong criticism was also levelled against Japan, not only for invading Manchuria but also for the atrocities committed in China'.[13] While this claim is in a strict sense true, the force with which he makes this case, implying a unified and robust Australian Anglican support for China against Japanese aggression, is misleading. Fletcher's references for this statement are two articles from *The Church Standard*, one from December 1935, and the other from October 1937.[14] Both articles are years removed from the initial invasion. Fletcher's choice of *The Church Standard* as a representative of mainstream Anglicanism is also flawed, as this newspaper was much more outspokenly progressive than the Anglican norm. As we shall shortly see, while the Australian Anglican leadership did eventually embrace the cause of the Chinese victims of Japan, throughout the duration of the crisis itself reactions were ambivalent.

Compared with academic writing on the Manchurian crisis, the historical literature on the Abyssinian crisis is vast. This is unsurprising, reflecting the same inherent Eurocentric biases that made the affair seem comparatively important at the time. Anglophone commentary is more interested in that which affects Europe, and Britain in particular, and the Abyssinian crisis was to a very significant degree a British affair. There are three nested relevant spheres of literature: the general literature about the nature and impact of the crisis, the literature about the Australian perspective on the crisis, and the limited content directly addressing Australian religious views of the crisis.

As with Manchuria, the vast majority of academic discussion approaches the Italian invasion of Abyssinia with a geopolitical focus on international relations. The leading figures featuring in these works are British, French and Italian politicians and diplomats, and events are considered in relation to concepts like 'national interest'. One example of this type of history is seen in David Carlton's article, "The Dominions and British Policy in the Abyssinian Crisis" (1972), which is dedicated to the perspectives of Dominion high commissioners.[15] A University of Queensland Masters thesis entitled "Australia and the Italo-Ethiopian War 1935-36" (1972) is based almost entirely on the British Foreign Office files that include commentary by Stanley Bruce, Australia's High

[13] Brian Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne: Broughton, 2008): 152.
[14] Ibid., 177.
[15] David Carlton, "The Dominions and British Policy in the Abyssinian Crisis," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 1:1 (1972): 59-77.

Commissioner to the United Kingdom.[16] This focus on high-political commentary continued until recently, as evident in the edited collection *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact* (2013). Billing itself as a revitalisation of historical investigation into the conflict, *Collisions of Empires* nevertheless largely maintains a high politics focus through its chapters' dedication to specific national responses to the events. For example, there is a chapter on British military preparedness for a conflict with Italy, one about French interest in security from Italy, one about Roosevelt's interest in sanctions, one about the views of Canadian diplomats, as well as chapters about the Soviet, Japanese, German and 'European Neutrals'' perspectives.[17]

Beyond the focus on the geopolitical international implications of the crisis, there is a segment of historical literature specifically on the Australian response. As stated above, however, this interest is usually limited to a focus on the men in charge of Australian Government and foreign policy. A couple of obvious examples include Waters' *Australia and Appeasement* and Bird's biography of Lyons.[18] Both of these books were mentioned previously regarding Manchuria, and the same point holds true here. Neither examines public responses to the crisis. Similarly, in W. Neville Sloane's chapter from *Collision of Empires*, the author is interested in the Australian response in order to understand the foreign policy of the British Empire more generally.[19] The work commonly cited as the default text about Australia and the Abyssinian Crisis is Carl Bridge's "Australia and the Italo-Abyssinian Crisis of 1935-6" (2006). This article is entirely devoted to the foreign policy of Joseph Lyons and his United Australia Party.[20] Diplomatic history of this nature remains the norm.

There is a relatively small number of published works that explore the Australian public reaction to the Abyssinian crisis. None reaches the degree of detail offered by Daniel Waley's monograph *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935-6* (1975). Given the discrepancy in public enthusiasm for League sanctions between the UK and Australia, this is hardly surprising. Haley explores the public passion for peace, and for British adherence to the nominal values of the League of Nations.[21] The earliest relevant Australian-focussed source, the definitive text despite its year of

---

[16] D.G. Carmichael, "Australia and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936," (Masters Thesis, University of Queensland, 1972).
[17] *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, ed. G. Bruce Strang. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).
[18] Waters, *Australia and Appeasement*; Bird, *J.A. Lyons*.
[19] W. Neville Sloane, "The Paradox of Peaceful Co-existence™: [sic] British Dominion's Response to the Italo-Abyssinian Crisis 1935-1936," in *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, ed. G. Bruce Strang. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013): 185-203.
[20] Carl Bridge, "Australia and the Italo-Abyssinian Crisis of 1935-6," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 92:1 (2006): 1-14.
[21] Daniel Waley, *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935-6* (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1975).

publication, is a chapter entitled "The Australian Press and the League of Nations in the Abyssinian War" written by R.I. Downing and R.J.B. Foxcroft. This chapter from *Press, Radio and World Affairs* (1938) was not intended to be a historical investigation so much as a study of the state of the Australian press.[22] An earlier chapter in the volume explains that Australian media reportage on the Abyssinian conflict was hampered by its uncritical adoption of British press coverage, which consistently overemphasised Italian struggles and downplayed their successes.[23] The main argument of Downing and Foxcroft was that the Australian secular press was confused about the war in Abyssinia. They claimed that this confusion was unavoidable due to the competing claims of supranationality of the British Empire and the League of Nations, which resulted in Australian citizens torn between dedication to one or the other.[24] The authors found a divergence in newspaper perspectives ranging from support for the League to bolster collective security, support for the League for explicitly pro-British expediency, and ardent Australian isolationism through rejection of the League.[25]

The second most important published work that explores Australian public reaction to the Abyssinian crisis is Eric Andrews' *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (1970). Andrews includes commentary from the newspapers, but also expands his scope across two chapters to include the views of the Australian Labor Party, the Communist Party, and the Roman Catholic Church.[26] Given the obvious link between the Roman Catholic Church and the Italian state, as well as the influence of Irish Catholics within the Labor movement, this focus on Australian Roman Catholic reception above that of the other religions is understandable. In comparison, Andrews has little interest in the Anglican perspective. Similarly interested in the link between Roman Catholicism and Labor is Pauline Kneipp's "Australian Catholics and the Abyssinian War" (1979). This article, another generally regarded as authoritative on the topic, offers a detailed and nuanced perspective on the confused, conflicted and often simply apathetic position of Australian Roman Catholics towards Italian aggression in Africa.[27]

---

[22] William Macmahon Ball, "Preface," in *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia's Outlook*, ed. William Macmahon Ball. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938): 5.
[23] William Macmahon Ball, "The Australian Press and World Affairs," in *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia's Outlook*, ed. William Macmahon Ball. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938): 15.
[24] R.I. Downing and E.J.B. Foxcroft, "The Australian Press and the League of Nations in the Abyssinian War," in *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia's Outlook*, ed. William Macmahon Ball. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938): 76.
[25] Ibid., 78.
[26] Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement*.
[27] Pauline Kneipp, "Australian Catholics and the Abyssinian War," *Journal of Religious History* 10:4 (1979): 416-430.

More recently, Fiona Paisley's "The Italo-Abyssinian Crisis and Australian Settler Colonialism in 1935" (2017) offers an alternative perspective on Australian responses to the conflict. She explores Australian unease regarding colonialism in Africa, and its implications for ongoing colonial oppression of Indigenous Australians, and especially in Australian colonial New Guinea.[28] Her main focus is on the posthumous clippings of Bessie Rischbieth, an Australian delegate to the League of Nations. Rischbieth, an anti-slavery activist, was convinced by Italian claims of eliminating slavery in Abyssinia as justification for their invasion, while at the same time was deeply uneasy about the colonial treatment of African and Indigenous peoples.[29] She came to believe that British inaction against Italian oppression of Abyssinians would result in a global uprising of Africans, Muslims and 'the "negro" element of the US' that would overthrow white rule.[30] Rischbieth's personal notes contained clippings from newspaper articles from Anglican Archbishop of Perth Henry Le Fanu, demonstrating both Australian Anglican interest in the topic, and the ability to influence public perceptions. The quoted statements by Le Fanu were, however, quite vague: he suggested that treating non-white people in Australia better might be a good idea.[31]

In terms of direct historical investigation into Australian Anglican views on the Abyssinian crisis, there is nothing of any depth. A few works with a generalised scope have mentioned Anglican thought in passing, but this has been limited and superficial. Quotes by prominent Anglican figures, particularly those from New South Wales, are treated as representative of monolithic Anglican thought. Andrews offers one short paragraph about the views of Archbishop Howard Mowll (1890-1958) of Sydney and Bishop Horace Crotty (1886-1952) of Bathurst, cast as representing two different wings of Australian Anglican thought regarding Abyssinia and the League. Andrews outlined that Crotty 'declared that if Italy could not be stopped it was the beginning of the end,' but considered this position as an outlier.[32] Instead, he insisted that:

> Church feeling, which regarded the League as a source of moral influence, but reluctantly faced facts and supported action, was probably better expressed by Dr H Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney, who said he would support sanctions, but with "profound reluctance and regret".[33]

As will be seen, this view is not supported by the South Australian and Victorian evidence. Andrews' research into the Anglican position was limited exclusively to what was published in the *Sydney*

[28] Fiona Paisley, "The Italo-Abyssinian Crisis and Australian Settler Colonialism in 1935," *History Compass* 15:5 (2017): 1-13.
[29] Ibid., 3.
[30] Ibid., 7.
[31] Ibid., 8.
[32] Eric Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970): 36.
[33] Ibid., 37.

Morning Herald, so was hardly comprehensive. Later, he offered a single sentence purporting to summarise the Australian Anglican position regarding the end of the war (praise for 'the League ideals') without a reference supplied.[34] Kneipp's article on Australian Roman Catholic reaction mentions Anglicanism in passing but offers no particular insight.[35] In *Australia and the League of Nations*, W.J. Hudson argues that 'protestants' [*sic*] in Australia were indifferent to Abyssinia beyond instinctual support for British policy.[36] The most significant claim made about the Australian Anglican response to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia comes from Fletcher. He offers two sentences arguing that the Australian Anglican Church was uniform in its fervent outrage over the conflict.[37] While this position lacks nuance and detail, Fletcher's point generally holds true: the Anglican Church was certainly emotionally invested in the Abyssinian Crisis.

The League of Nations as International Arbitrator

At the outset of both crises, Australian Anglicans embraced the League of Nations as an impartial arbitrator able to mediate international disputes in lieu of warfare. The obvious hope was that the League would prevent the outbreak of violent conflict before it began. This sentiment was particularly strong in the case of Manchuria, given that the League had yet to suffer a serious setback in its peacemaking duties and had in fact had some notable successes in that field through the 1920s.[38] In practice, contemporary Australian Anglican viewpoints largely concurred with the Australian secular press that Japan's claims were fundamentally legitimate and that arbitration was the obvious and justified reaction to a quarrel between two disputants with equally plausible concerns. By the time of the Italian threat of aggression against Ethiopia, the dedication to a 'both sides' approach was more obviously flawed. Nonetheless, the Australian Anglican Church was committed to the League solving conflict through negotiation. It put forth the idea that Italy's fundamental 'need' for territorial expansion in Africa was legitimate, and that some concession in this respect would allow for a mutually satisfactory arrangement. The idea of the need to appease an aggressor through territorial concessions is a well-established element of 1930s international relations. Thus, even with a steadfast dedication to international League mediation, the Australian Anglican Church expressed a fundamental commitment to upholding pro-imperial and pro-colonial norms that today seem incompatible with humanitarian ideals.

---

[34] Ibid., 53.
[35] Kneipp, "Australian Catholics and the Abyssinian War," 418.
[36] W. J. Hudson, *Australia and the League of Nations* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980): 87.
[37] Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 152.
[38] The 'Corfu Incident' of 1923 is the most prominent example.

Manchuria

Contemporary Australian Anglican commentary on the crisis in Manchuria was relatively limited, and what discussion did exist was out of step with how the situation would be viewed in retrospect. The dominant position taken at this time argued that both sides of the dispute had some degree of legitimacy, and that the role of the League was to find a compromise solution amenable to both parties. Given the context of one member state of the League of Nations aggressively occupying the territory of another, and the dedication of the Australian Anglican Church to issues of international morality, this may seem like a peculiar position to take. However, the Australian Anglican Church concurred with the Australian public more broadly.

The Church Standard was the most prolific Australian Anglican publication on the topic of Manchuria, and throughout the early days of the conflict was optimistic about the potential for League arbitration. In October 1931, while the editor believed that 'the results of the Manchurian crisis are still most difficult to forecast',[39] he expressed great relief at the influence of the League of Nations in containing the conflict, stating that 'it is serving the useful function of providing a "cooling down" period. Without the League there might by now have been war'.[40] By early December, editorial optimism was even higher, as by then 'the Manchurian position [was] more hopeful than at any time since the dispute began'.[41] The paper hailed the establishment of a neutral zone around the disputed railway area as a 'positive [step] towards peace' as the fruits of intervention of the League.[42] The article continued to praise the manner in which the League 'worked persistently for a suspension of hostilities pending an investigation'.[43]

As the conflict wore on, *The Church Standard* lost some of its initial confidence in the League's imminent success, but remained dedicated to supporting its efforts at arbitration. It was resolutely defensive of the League's actions against its critics. In late December 1931, the editor denounced 'the attack upon the League of Nations by Mr E H Louw, South African Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington' as 'another of the foolish criticisms which have recently been uttered'.[44] In January 1932 the editor denounced those who criticised the League for its apparent ineffectualness in Manchuria as dangerously 'ill-informed'.[45] This editorial also featured a key element of the Australian Anglican response: the idea that effective international arbitration

[39] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:999 (October 23, 1931): 3.
[40] Ibid.
[41] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1005 (December 4, 1931): 3.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1008 (December 25, 1931): 3.
[45] "Editorial Note,." *The Church Standard* XX:1009 (January 8, 1932): 3.

required the prima facie treatment of the conflicting sides as equally legitimate in their aims and desires. In this particular case, *The Church Standard* demonstrated this idea implicitly when it lamented that '[u]nfortunately the League's failure to control the two combatants seems to be undermining public confidence in the League.'[46] While the description of invader and invaded as alike in being 'combatants' is technically accurate, it ascribes a sense of moral equivalence between the two parties which seems inappropriate given the reality of the situation.

The idea that the Australian Anglican Church should support the League of Nations' arbitration process without explicitly endorsing the victim or condemning the perpetrator was evident throughout the period of the conflict. It was put most bluntly by Edward Bleby, rector of St Paul's Pulteney Street (Adelaide). Bleby wrote about the Manchurian crisis in his parish paper, *The Echo*, five times between October 1931 and January 1934, whereas no other parish papers covered in this study mentioned it at all. His letters to his flock regarding war in East Asia followed a similar theme. In October he wrote that 'we need to pray very earnestly that peace may be preserved throughout the world and that we may be spared from having again to witness, and feel the dread effect of the horrors of war'.[47] The following month, he declared that:

> it is to be hoped that the trouble may not extend to other nations and that even the two belligerents may yet find some means of reconciling their differences without continuing the suicidal policy of active warfare.[48]

Both parties are cast as equally culpable co-belligerents. Most crucially, however, he stated outright what he felt the duty of the Anglican clergy to be:

> It is not for us to determine the merits or demerits of the dispute between China and Japan, but we need to pray that peace may soon be restored and that God may comfort and sustain those who are suffering and bereaved.[49]

Bleby deliberately rejected the need for the Anglican Church to undertake critical analysis of the situation, whereby one could determine the culpability of an aggressor nation.

The perceived need for an apparently neutral approach can also be seen in the position of the *Church of England Messenger*. The Melbourne diocesan magazine printed three articles in the 5 February 1932 issue on the Manchurian crisis, demonstrating the significance of the conflict. The first of these, entitled 'Disarmament', was predominantly concerned with the Disarmament

[46] Ibid.
[47] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXVI:302 (October 1931): 2.
[48] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXVI:303 (November 1931): 2.
[49] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXVII:319 (March 1933): 2.

Conference struggling along in Geneva at the time, though it offered a significant aside about Manchuria. It declared that:

> Unfortunately the Conference at Geneva is meeting under the shadow cast by the ugly situation in China – a situation that will require all the tact and sympathetic consideration that the nations can possibly give if it is not to become a menace to the world's peace. We pray that the difficulties may be overcome, and that the Conference may settle down to its work with the knowledge that it has the support of the peoples of the world.[50]

It made no comment as to the specifics of the conflict, let alone ascribing guilt to one party, and instead offered 'sympathetic consideration' to both perpetrator and victim.

A more detailed account of the conflict occurred a few pages later in an article about the Annual Conference of the Australian Student Christian Movement, held in Adelaide the previous month. Kenneth Bailey (1898-1972), an Anglican law professor, spoke on the topic of 'The Existing Order and Disorder in the International Sphere', warning the attendees that 'several separate and distinct problems existed, any single one of which, if unsolved, was capable of inducing the collapse of western civilisation as it stands to-day'.[51] He claimed that 'amid the conflict of world forces almost the sole factor for order and reasonableness was the League of Nations, which represented an attempt, feeble though it might be, to guarantee peace and security to the world'.[52] He warned that 'the League itself was now going through a severe test – perhaps too severe for it to survive – over the Manchurian situation'.[53] Bailey established the conflict as being between two parties with similarly worthwhile, if incompatible, goals. He downplayed the seriousness of the actions of the aggressor state by describing the invasion and occupation as merely a 'quarrel'.[54] Both participants in the quarrel were supplied with respectable motives: China 'claimed the right, as a self-respecting nation, to resist interference in what she considered her own property', while Japan 'asserted her right to protect her legitimate interests where the Chinese government was either powerless to do so or surreptitiously hostile'.[55] He claimed that any seeming dilatoriness of the League could likely be explained by the fact that 'the position was too obscure as yet for the guilty party to be discerned'.[56] Critically, however, Bailey acknowledged a crucial factor in understanding how a Church that so unashamedly embraced the ideals of international peace could refuse to condemn so blatant an act

[50] "Disarmament," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1132 (February 5, 1932): 52-53.
[51] "The Annual Conference of the Australian Student Christian Movement," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1132 (February 5, 1932): 56.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

of international aggression: the fact that the Anglican Church agreed with the Australian public's sympathy for the Japanese war goals.

Australian public opinion in the early 1930s held that Japan, as a modern industrialised state, required access to raw materials and an outlet for economic production. From this perspective, the Japanese claims of their occupation of Chinese territory as earnestly defensive in nature were treated as genuine. With Australia's history so closely tied to colonialism, its settlement based on the genocidal British occupation of foreign land, and with British colonial practices still oppressing significant swathes of the world's population at the time, it is not surprising that conservative Australian men of a certain social and economic stature would sympathise with Japanese colonial ambitions.[57] In particular, given a latent fear of Japanese expansionism that was 'mainstream and widespread' in Australia at the time, far-off Manchuria was understood as an acceptable target for Japanese colonialism.[58] One Australian diplomat in February 1932 made this clear when he pronounced 'Let [Japanese expansion] not be south! Let it be west towards Asia!'[59] An Anglican example of support for Japanese colonialism comes from Farnham Maynard, vicar of St Peter's Eastern Hill (Melbourne) in *The Defender* of September 1931, contemporaneous with the Japanese invasion. He wrote in this intellectual Anglo-Catholic periodical, of which he was the editor, that 'it is not unnatural that Germany, Japan and Italy, with increasing populations and with next to no colonial territory, are envious of the British control of a quarter of the earth'.[60] He concluded his discussion of the topic with support for the Japanese position: 'Are we ready to act towards Japan as we should wish Japan to act towards us, were our positions reversed?'[61] Thus in the eyes of Maynard it would be hypocritical for Australian Anglicans to denounce the Japanese occupation of new territory for their colonial ambitions. It does not appear that Maynard felt the need to alter his public perspective on this issue, as *The Defender* offered no further commentary on Japanese aggression.

The Church Standard offered multiple instances of open support for the Japanese cause. In its first report on the conflict on 25 September 1931, *The Church Standard* took for granted that 'Japanese interests in Manchuria' were both real and legitimate, as a result of the Portsmouth Peace Conference of 1905 that followed the Russo-Japanese War.[62] Unfair treaty impositions upon China

---

[57] Sandra Wilson, "Containing the Crisis: Japan's Diplomatic Offensive in the West, 1931-33," *Modern Asian Studies* 29:2 (1995): 360.
[58] David Dutton, "A British Outpost in the Pacific," in *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia*, ed. David Goldsworthy. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001): 43.
[59] Quoted in: Murphy, "Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941," 81.
[60] Farnham Maynard, "Editorial," *The Defender* XI:3 (September 1931): 5.
[61] Ibid., 6.
[62] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:995 (September 25, 1931): 3.

by outside powers were commonplace at the time, and heavily benefitted the European powers, so it is hardly surprising that Australian observers would accept the validity of imperial treaty impositions at the expense of China. The article continued, stating that 'China recognised this [treaty imposition], yet has for some years constantly endeavoured to undermine Japanese influence in Manchuria, through irritation and interference with the Japanese control of the South Manchuria railway'.[63] Chinese opposition to Japanese control of its territory was dismissed as Communist agitation: 'There is very little doubt that behind the hand of China there has been the mind of the Soviet, and that Japan has suffered much annoyance'.[64]

In October 1931, *The Church Standard* praised Japanese action. It insisted that Japan 'seems to have endeavoured to avoid any step that could be regarded as aggressive,' and was content to adhere to recommendations of the League.[65] It engaged in active victim-blaming, stating that:

> unfortunately the improved conditions in Manchuria have been accompanied by outbursts of anti-Japanese feeling in Southern China. The Government, as usual, is unable to exercise any effective control and a repetition of incidents such as have already occurred may lead to further serious friction.[66]

Thus, Chinese public opposition to the Japanese invasion and occupation of China was cast as the potential cause of further conflict. It went even further, denying even the basic assumption of Japanese aggression. Instead, it asserted that 'Japan was faced with circumstances which forced her to assert her ability to protect her own nationals'.[67] In this version of events, Japan had no option but to occupy Manchuria for humanitarian reasons. The anti-Chinese victim-blaming continued, with 'China's evident disappointment at not receiving the unequivocal support of the League, to which she has for so long failed to carry out her own financial obligations' being literally described as humorous.[68] Overt support for the League mediation process was not seen as incompatible with anti-Chinese hostility, as demonstrated in the conclusion of this editorial that both praised the League and criticised the apparently uncivilised nature of China:

> Up to the present the negotiations mark another success for the League. Should further friction occur, it will be through the action of Chinese mobs which the League cannot reach and the Government cannot control.[69]

---

[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:996 (October 2, 1931): 3.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

The Australian Anglican perception of the Chinese population as an unruly, amorphous and violent cohort will be returned to Chapter Four regarding Australian Anglican anti-Communism.

By mid-November 1931, *The Church Standard* endorsed the Japanese position that the withdrawal of troops from Manchuria would result in chaos.[70] It wrote that 'there is now a growing feeling that Japan has a good deal of right on her side and that the maintenance of her legitimate interests in Manchuria requires the presence of her troops and justifies to a large extent the measures she has taken'.[71] The editor even went so far as to criticise the interpretation of events taken by the League of Nations. He wrote that:

> much anxiety is also being felt regarding the attitude of the League. As the "Times" has pointed out, "the dispute was thrust on the League in circumstances which made the Japanese seizure of Mukden appear an isolated event instead of the last of a series extending over a quarter of a century and forming the background from which recent Japanese action cannot be divorced." Viewed as an isolated event, Japanese action may appear aggression; regarded in its historical setting it may more truly appear as a barely avoidable necessity.[72]

This is a striking statement to come from an Australian religious newspaper, even if it aligned with general secular opinion. It seemed to agree with the Japanese delegate at Geneva who asked: 'If Japan is ejected from China, where can she go?'[73] One potential answer to this question was suggested a few months later, when *The Church Standard* warned that the possibility of Filipino independence from the USA would have dire consequences for Australia 'and may well prove epochal'.[74] The newspaper argued that 'recent events in Manchuria' indicated that Japan would likely invade the Philippines if the USA withdrew its forces, and using the 'magnificent opportunities for colonisation as well as for the supply of the coal, iron, oil and agricultural foodstuffs which Japan lacks', would potentially be emboldened for further southward action.[75]

Further sympathy for Japan can be seen in the reportage on a May 1932 visit to Australia by Japanese warships. The editor announced that 'we bid hearty welcome to our Japanese visitors in the ships Asama and Iwate'.[76] These were Japanese warships that circumnavigated Australia on a goodwill tour, visiting all state capitals.[77] The reportage of *The Church Standard* was in line with the

[70] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1002 (November 13, 1931): 3.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1017 (March 4, 1932): 3.
[74] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1023 (April 15, 1932): 3.
[75] Ibid.
[76] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1029 (May 27, 1932): 3.
[77] Murphy, "Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941," 86.

secular press, expressing nothing but positivity towards the visitors and their home country.[78] The Anglican newspaper remarked pleasantly that:

> it is a fitting coincidence, too, that the visit should take place in Empire week, for the British and Japanese alone have survived, with perhaps added prestige, the general change from Empire to Republic that followed the Great War.[79]

This is not a flippant remark, given the degree of Imperial patriotism that permeated Australian and particularly Anglican society at the time. The author grounded sympathy for the Japanese Empire in a relatable manner. The article continued, praising Australia and Japan's 'ties of friendship in the past and present', while envisioning 'a common outlook and recognition of common interests between us [that] will help to direct the world on to a road of common peace'.[80] With Japan a historic British ally, it made sense in the view of *The Church Standard* to continue to policy of cooperation and amity, regardless of Manchurian concerns.

Overall, Australian Anglican support for the League of Nations as a supposedly impartial arbitrator was predicated on an inherent sympathy for the Japanese cause that was fundamentally at odds with the League's aspirational goals of international peace. By insisting upon a narrative in which the two conflicting parties both had some baseline level of legitimacy, the crimes of the aggressor were downplayed.

Abyssinia

Early Australian Anglican commentary on the Abyssinian Crisis followed a similar pattern when discussing the arbitrative potential of the League of Nations. However, given the conflict involved Britain to a far greater degree, and occurred during increasingly troubling world circumstances, this commentary was greater in both volume and urgency than that regarding the Manchurian crisis. Australian Anglicans were hopeful for League success in mediation between Italy and Ethiopia, but were often cautious and sometimes pessimistic about the likelihood of success. Even with these seemingly increased stakes, and the overtly unjust position taken by Italy, some Australian Anglican adherents to League arbitration nonetheless continued to embrace the idea of the legitimacy of colonial aggression and called upon Ethiopia to compromise by abdicating territory and/or sovereignty.

Given the length of time between the Wal Wal incident in December 1934 and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935, Australian Anglican commentary regarding the League of

---

[78] Ibid.
[79] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1029 (May 27, 1932): 3.
[80] Ibid.

Nations' ability to forestall war occurred for almost a full year. This commentary was often cautious or even pessimistic, given the recent failure of the League to prevent war in Manchuria or implement a satisfactory solution to the crisis. Yet, it remained hopeful for successful League mediation. The September 1935 issue of *The Adelaide Church Guardian* offers a glimpse into the strength of Anglican feeling on this issue. It included a transcript of a recent call to prayer made by Bishop Nutter Thomas, in which he proclaimed that 'never since 1914 has there been a more critical moment in the history of the nations'.[81] He continued, claiming that the success of the League of Nations would literally determine the fate of the world: 'the League of Nations Council meets in the first week of September to deal with the Abyssinian question, and great issues hang upon its decisions'.[82] He concluded his call to prayer with a plea for 'not only the maintenance of peace, but for the promotion of concord among the nations'.[83] The parish paper of St. Cuthbert's Prospect (Adelaide) praised Nutter Thomas for acknowledging the situation, given that 'the Abyssinian question looms large in the public eye at present, and the Church prays that peace and goodwill may be maintained'.[84] The Bishop's words were read aloud in all Anglican churches.[85] The association of Christianity with peace outlined in the previous chapter was again reinforced here. For example, rector Arthur Webb (1887-1952) of St John's Coromandel Valley (Adelaide) lamented 'that a nominally Christian nation like Italy can contemplate so vile an action as the attack upon Abyssinia, is an atrocious act of disloyalty to Christ himself'.[86] For him, the obvious solution was the rejection of 'nominal Christians' and the embrace of worldwide 'practical Christianity'.[87]

The Church of England Messenger also understood the Abyssinian situation as a grave and important affair. In August 1935, the Vicar-General affirmed that 'overshadowing the thoughts of most of us is the threatening cloud hanging over Abyssinia'.[88] The periodical insisted that

> Peace is not a negative condition, but an active, permanent, self-adjusting principle, which would strictly and impartially preserve the just rights of every people. The League of Nations has constantly striven to bring such into existence[.][89]

The following issue optimistically concluded that 'it would seem that the outlook [of Italian-Abyssinian peace] is improving,' and that 'should this desirable end be brought about it will be a

---

[81] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Peace of the World," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 29:12 (September 1935): 1.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] "Untitled," *Parish Magazine* 203 (September 1935): 2.
[85] Arthur Webb, "Rector's Letter," *The Parish Paper* 5:59 (September 1935): 2.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] "The Vicar-General's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1224 (August 2, 1935): 363.
[89] "War Clouds," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1224 (August 2, 1935): 364.

triumph for the League of Nations'.[90] It later concluded that 'all who hope for peace must be prepared to support the League up to the hilt', foreshadowing the debate regarding the role of the League in suppressing active warfare with force.[91] The editor reinforced this position the following issue when they proclaimed 'if [Australians] are genuine in our desire for peace we must be prepared to support any action which the League may take in order to preserve its position as the arbiter of international disputes'.[92]

Though the Australian Anglican Church still generally adhered to the idea of the League of Nations as an impartial arbitrator, the overall sense was that the threat of war predominantly came from one of the two disputants. Unlike Manchuria, where Australian Anglican commentary was in response to an invasion with which they held latent sympathy, the almost-year-long build up of looming Italian aggression was viewed as unquestionably unjustified. As a result, there was less adherence to both-sidesism (though not none, as will be demonstrated shortly). Even before the outbreak of war, Australian Anglican writers portrayed Abyssinia in a sympathetic light while criticising the duplicity of Italy. This was still an uneasy position to take for a Church, as evidenced by *The Church of England Messenger* imploring its readers August 1935 to keep 'free from partisanship' when considering the crisis, and to instead 'pray earnestly for peace'.[93] Bleby denounced Italy in July 1935 as dooming the League to irrelevance by ignoring its good-faith attempts at mediation.[94] An article in *The Church of England Messenger* in August 1935 denounced Italian duplicity aimed at tanking League discussions.[95] Archbishop Head himself decreed at the end of September 1935 that the dispute over Abyssinia was 'another struggle of might against right', with the Italians as the obvious transgressors.[96] Stuart Watts, editor of *The Church Standard*, was intensely outspoken on this particular point. As early as mid-July 1935 he was despondent about 'the apparent hopelessness of averting Italian aggression against Abyssinia'.[97]

Those Australian Anglicans who wanted to engender sympathy for the Abyssinian people emphasised the Christian heritage and culture of that kingdom. In September 1935 *The Church Chronicle for Ballarat*'s leading front-page article described the Ethiopians as the custodians of an ancient form of Christianity, the descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.[98] The long

---

[90] "Italy and Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1225 (August 16, 1935): 390.
[91] "Italy and Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1226 (August 30, 1935): 413.
[92] "Italy and Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1227 (September 13, 1935): 437.
[93] "War Clouds," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1224 (August 2, 1935): 365.
[94] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXIX:347 (July 1935): 2.
[95] "Italy and Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1227 (September 13, 1935): 437.
[96] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1228 (September 27, 1935): 459.
[97] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1191 (July 19, 1935): 7.
[98] "The Romance and Tragedy of History," *The Church Chronicle* XLVI:9 (September 1935): 196-197.

and detailed article invoked Christian prophecy, and hailed the Abyssinian people as a noble bastion against the oncoming tides of barbarous Islam.[99] Most importantly, though, the writer makes a direct parallel between the suffering of Jesus Christ on the cross and that of 'the people of Ethiopia or Abyssinia today: "He is led as a sheep to the slaughter[.]"'[100] The final message is clear:

> Meanwhile the world waits and prays. It prays that the League of Nations may be strong and united to persuade a bellicose nation to accept conference rather than force and bloodshed…. All true churchmen in Sacrament and prayer will remember their anxious brothers and sisters in Abyssinia.[101]

Similar sentiment can be found in *The Church of England Messenger*. One article from October 1935 transcribes commentary by Estelle Blyth, daughter of the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, from the London *Guardian*. There, she recounts Ethiopia's conversion to Christianity in the 4th century CE and then explains a plethora of religious rites and customs unique to that country. She is keen to emphasise the fact that the Ethiopian state gifted Westminster Abbey an ornate cross in 1901, 'as a thankoffering [*sic*] for King Edward's recovery'.[102] Another article from July 1936 laments that even though Abysssinian Christianity was 'of a very backwards sort', there was nonetheless 'no question which is the better representative of the true Christian spirit – Haile Selassie or Signor Mussolini'.[103]

Despite all this, there remained an undercurrent of Australian Anglican sympathy for Italian goals. In August 1935, *The Church Standard* reviewed the most recent issue of *The Round Table*, a British intellectual periodical dedicated to current affairs and international relations through an intensely pro-Imperial lens, which included a pro-colonialist take on the Abyssinian situation. The reviewer agreed with the basic premise of *The Round Table*: that Italy's grievances regarding its lack of access to African territory were fundamentally legitimate, and needed to be resolved.[104] This position was not an endorsement of Italian aggression, but rather an assertion that genuine mediation by the League of Nations needed to involve some form of territorial concession to Italy.[105] It concluded that due to genuine Italian need for expansion in Africa, 'the reader will, we think, be more than ever convinced of the necessity for a settlement by an independent body with which only the League provides us'.[106] Thus, the value of the League was as a backdoor form of colonial oppression. The newspaper featured an article shortly afterwards by William Ashley-Brown (1887-

---

[99] Ibid., 196.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., 197.
[102] Estelle Blyth, "The Church of Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1229 (October 11, 1935): 492.
[103] "The Italian Bishops and Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1249 (July 17, 1936): 352.
[104] "The Abyssinian Crisis," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1195 (August 16, 1935): 6.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.

1970), a NSW priest, who insisted that the League's goal should be to 'reconcile Italy's hope for a place in the sun with Abyssinia's national and spiritual independence,' as if those two things had equal value.[107] His racist rationale was overt, given that he warned that to refute Italy's ambitions 'might easily separate the world into two warring factions of colour'.[108] This was not an outlandish position at the time. For example, Ernest Norman (1887-1956), the vicar of Holy Trinity Hampton (Melbourne), worried that war in Africa 'would mean the passing of the leadership of the world from the white races to the coloured'.[109]

The idea that Italian demands, if not necessarily Italian actions, were justified was represented near the pinnacle of the Anglican institution. *The Church of England Messenger* quoted the Archbishop of York in January 1936 as insisting that once the unpalatable fighting in Abyssinia was complete, the League of Nations should embark upon the most effective way to ensure future peace. In his view, that was the reapportionment of African territory to Italy and Germany.[110] Thus, even in this context of aggressive war, the resolute belief in the legitimacy of colonial occupation survived.

Even Watts in *The Church Standard*, the most vehement critic of Italian action on the African continent, remained convinced of the legitimacy of colonial exploitation. In February 1936, he declared 'Christian internationalists – and all true Christians are internationalists – must view sympathetically the German and Italian demand for the restoration or provision of colonies'.[111] He continued, taking for granted the idea that economics necessitated the invasion of foreign lands: 'an outlet must be found for surplus population, and it is only reasonable that the mother country should desire to keep its overseas nationals within the family'.[112] His opposition to Italian apportionment of African territory was based solely on the fascistic nature of their government at the time, believing that 'no child-race should be left to the mercy of the fanatics and lunatics who are shaping the destinies of Germany and Italy'.[113]

While the Australian Anglican Church strongly believed in the League of Nations' goal of arbitrating peace in Ethiopia, it did not necessarily consider Italian aims as unjust. Instead, it was the act of war itself that was the problem, rather than the goals of that aggression. Australian Anglican

---

[107] W. Ashley-Brown, "Italy and Abyssinia," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1201 (September 27, 1935): 5.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ernest Norman, "Vicar's Letter," *Parish Paper* IX:87 (September 1935): 2.
[110] William Temple, "The Christian and the World Situation," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1235 (January 3, 1936): 10.
[111] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1221 (February 21, 1936): 6.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.

hopes and fears for Ethiopia shifted dramatically when war finally came in October 1936, and with it the need to grapple with a fundamental question regarding the League of Nations: what power and authority did it actually have to halt ongoing war, and how should it utilise them? While this was a pertinent question in the case of Manchuria, it was an all-encompassing one in the case of Abyssinia.

The League of Nations as Global Policeman

Once the optimistic arbitration phase of both the Manchurian and Abyssinian conflicts gave way to the reality of war, Australian Anglican commentary shifted to the question of how the League of Nations was supposed to enforce its decisions. Debate over this issue was relatively abstract in the case of Manchuria, but took on a degree of urgency for Abyssinia due to Italian aggression seemingly risking peace in Europe. Overall, the Australian Anglican Church fully endorsed the League's application of economic sanctions against Italy, though there was some level of disagreement as to their specific purpose. Were these sanctions expedient policy merely designed to frustrate Italian military ambition, or were they representative of inspirational world collaboration for the earnest purpose of collective security? Towards the end of the conflict, some prominent Australian Anglican clergymen lamented the lack of military sanctions against Italy, believing that the failure of the League to utilise force to prevent war rendered it impotent.

Manchuria

In February 1932, the expansion of Japanese military aggression to Shanghai spurred Australian Anglican consideration of how the League of Nations should deal with rogue states. Violence in Shanghai was considerably more upsetting to Western observers than violence in remote Manchuria. Wilson argues that any limited anti-Japanese sentiment in Australia during the Manchurian crisis came exclusively from the occupation of Shanghai.[114] In the words of Andrews, 'on the night of 28-29 January 1932 the vague threat of the Manchurian affair was replaced by a new and much more dramatic crisis in the great Chinese trading port of Shanghai,' which was the location of 61% of British investment in China and the home of various European settlers.[115] In particular, so many Australians had sought a new life in Shanghai after suffering the impact of the Great Depression that in 1932 the British Government instructed Lyons to make a public plea for Australians to stop travelling there because all available job vacancies were already filled.[116] As such,

[114] Wilson, "Containing the Crisis," 366.
[115] Andrews, *The Writing on the Wall*, 54.
[116] Sophie Loy-Wilson, "White Cargo: Australian Residents, Trade and Colonialism in Shanghai Between the Wars," *History Australia* 9:3 (2012): 154, 158.

the Japanese attack on Shanghai was not understood as merely an assault on the Chinese, but also on the British and Australians.

On 12 February 1932, *The Church Standard* published hostile commentary on the 'rather startling proposals' made by French Minister for War, André Tardieu (1876-1945), in response to events in East Asia.[117] Tardieu argued that the League needed increased practical power to deal with events like the attack on Shanghai, including 'having its own police force and enforcing its own decisions by its own authority'.[118] *The Church Standard* was horrified by this prospect, believing it a betrayal of the peaceful idealism that the League represented.[119] The restrained functionality of the League envisioned by the newspaper was explained thus:

> The League was intended to be a kind of clearing-house where the nations might, in an atmosphere of good-will, compose their differences and make their several contributions to the new era that was to be.[120]

By granting the League autonomous powers of coercion against aggressors, therefore, the editor felt strongly that these 'French proposals would thus involve the conversion of the League into the very opposite of what its framers intended'.[121] He reassured the reader that 'the scheme appears to have been received without enthusiasm'.[122] The editor felt that the League operating as an international police force would only serve to legitimise violent conflict on the international stage.

Yet, Archbishop Head presented a fundamentally different position at a Peace Demonstration held at the Melbourne Town Hall in early February 1932. Head discussed the practical limitations of international law. He pointed out that so far the League of Nations had applied international law, but had not achieved worthwhile results.[123] Thus, 'the world was asking how the League was to prevent war between Japan and China'.[124] His proposed solution was that 'an international police force or army was needed. Injustice, cruelty and violence must be checked by force'.[125] He reiterated that 'since the war an erroneous idea that [military] force in itself was an evil had grown up'. This criticism could be levelled directly at the sentiment espoused above in *The Church Standard*.[126] Head felt that a League of Nations, equipped with genuine force behind it, would allow for smaller states to enjoy a greater freedom from aggression from hostile neighbours

---

[117] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1014 (February 12, 1932): 3.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] "The Cause of Peace," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1132 (February 5, 1932): 59.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.

than the limited arbitration advocated by *The Church Standard*. The ability and desirability of the League of Nations to enact coercive and punitive measures remained an underlying question. It was raised again by *The Church of England Messenger* a year later, in an almost identical manner. After stating that 'news from the Far East is very disturbing, though we hope that even now some means will be found to bring an end to the dispute,' the article outlined that 'one of the weaknesses of the League of Nations, a weakness of which all have been aware, has shown itself, in that it has no coercive power over a member which refuses to be guided by its decisions'.[127] It continued: 'the League must be supported and given the right to demand obedience, but how this is to be done is yet to be discovered'.[128] The only solution proffered was prayer.[129] Given that the European powers had no military capability of enforcing sanctions against Japan due to the USA's non-membership, these questions of sanctioning Japan were moot.

Abyssinia

The comparatively abstract question of what the League should be allowed to do in the context of Manchuria was markedly different from the specific question of what the League should do in response to Italian designs on Abyssinia. The Eurocentrism of the League and the geopolitical importance of continental Europe to the British Empire meant that the Abyssinian crisis was felt as much more threatening to the Australian Anglican Church than was Japanese aggression against Manchuria. British naval dominance in the Mediterranean also made the practical enforcement of sanctions considerably more plausible than against Japan years earlier.

While other Anglican publications waited until the outbreak of war to openly embrace the cause of economic sanctions against Italy, *The Church Standard* wrote from May 1935 onwards about their potential utility. Between May and October 1935, the newspaper printed 17 articles about the looming threat of Italian invasion, demonstrating its passionate interest the situation. During May and July, Watts was characteristically despondent with regards to the crisis. He believed that cynical British geopolitical interest in its African colonies meant that collective security was fundamentally a farce.[130] He later proclaimed that 'each day's cables reveal more strongly the apparent hopelessness of averting Italian aggression against Abyssinia'.[131] By August, he was devastated that the League was imminently doomed, given that it seemed unable to commit to a strategy of enforcing sanctions upon Mussolini.[132] In September, he reservedly acknowledged that

[127] "The Far Eastern Crisis," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1160 (March 3, 1933): 76.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1189 (July 5, 1935): 7.
[131] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1191 (July 19, 1935): 7.
[132] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1196 (August 23, 1935): 6.

British 'public opinion was setting strongly in the direction of enforcing sanctions against a wrongdoer'.[133] He was not roused to optimism yet, however.

By late September, however, the situation had shifted in a manner which allowed Watts to disavow his pessimism. The declaration by British Foreign Secretary Samuel Hoare (1880-1959) of full British support for League sanctionist policies revitalised Watts' passion for League success. Watts gave his first genuine endorsement of the League of Nations' Abyssinian prospects. He did not hide his surprise over the 'sudden and gratifying increase in the prestige of the League,' and evidently felt that 'British adherence to League principles and her readiness to take her share in enforcing against an aggressor those measures which the Covenant provides' could now potentially spare the world a military conflagration in East Africa.[134] Watts praised 'the solid adherence to the Covenant and the increased prestige of the League'.[135] His newfound faith and trust in the League was about to face its ultimate test.

Upon the eventual outbreak of armed hostilities, the Australian Anglican Church was unequivocal in its endorsement of economic sanctions against Italy. These measures were not simply framed as punishment of an aggressor, but as a policy of saving civilisation itself from the fires of catastrophe. As explained by Watts, Anglican supporters of the League ideal were not particularly interested in the specific fate of Abyssinia, which was something of a side note in the whole affair: 'interest is at present directed less upon Abyssinia than upon the operation of sanctions and the future of the League'.[136] Abyssinia was the case to test the viability of the League of Nations, not something inherently worth saving on its own merits. Watts quoted Virginio Gayda, the editor of Italian Fascist newspaper *Il Giornale d'Italia*: 'the question is now "how the foundations of the political and spiritual system of Europe to-morrow shall be laid"'.[137] *The Church Standard* proclaimed that the League's decision to implement sanctions against Italy was 'one of the greatest decisions in history.'[138]

The Adelaide Church Guardian published direct commentary on the Abyssinian travails through the letters of Wilfred Docker (1882-1956). Docker was a prominent Adelaidean priest, working as rector of St Mary Magdalene Moore St from 1922 to 1934 and as an honorary canon of St Peter's Cathedral from 1928 to 1934. In 1934 he accepted a position in a London church, though he

[133] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1198 (September 6, 1935): 7.
[134] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1200 (September 20, 1935): 7.
[135] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1201 (September 27, 1935): 7.
[136] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1207 (November 8, 1935): 7.
[137] Ibid.
[138] "The League of Nations and the Abyssinian Crisis: Where Does Australia Really Stand?" *The Church Standard* XXIV:1202 (October 4, 1935): 6.

never lost his connection with Adelaide. He wrote a monthly letter of several pages to *The Adelaide Church Guardian*, frequently covering contemporary European political events. His letters are amongst the most evocative elements of *The Adelaide Church Guardian*'s commentary on the state of the interwar world. Docker was relieved at the League's application of economic sanctions against Italy, believing that 'for the first time the League seems determined to put [genuine collective security] into practice'.[139] He also offers an interesting perspective in the sense that his letters criticised the Australian press for seemingly failing to understand the global significance of the Abyssinian conflict. He wanted to impress on the Adelaide readership the fact that 'the great and supreme question is whether the League of Nations can function in such a way as to prevent war or to limit it in time and area. All other questions are secondary to that'.[140] He believed that this point was understood by 'the whole public opinion of Great Britain', but seemingly not in Australia.[141]

The Anglican clerical response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in Victoria was even more animated in favour of the League of Nations than was the case in South Australia. Archbishop Head claimed to speak for all Australians when he announced in his *Church of England Messenger* missive on 11 October 1935:

> The whole country is awaiting with anxiety the events during the next few days at Geneva and Rome. The feeling is very strong that the League of Nations must be supported in its defence of right against might.[142]

In an unsigned article later in that same issue, it was proclaimed that 'though the prestige of the League has received severe shaking, we believe that it will be able to take such steps as will achieve [a shorter and restricted conflict].'[143] It concluded that 'so far as we in Australia are concerned, our attitude must be one of loyal support to the League in whatever it may determine to do'.[144] In his pastoral letter for Armistice Day in November 1935, read aloud in all Anglican churches in the Diocese of Melbourne, Head reminded everyone that 'the present crisis in international affairs is something very much greater than a struggle between Italy and Abyssinia, it is a question of the right of small nations to live'.[145] Sanctions were invoked using religious terminology, demonstrating how much he believed in their righteousness. He declared that sanctions must be supported by all nations to ensure that 'the Covenant may be kept sacred and inviolate'.[146] This striking terminology

---

[139] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from England," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 30:3 (December 1935): 10.
[140] W.B. Docker, "An English Letter," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 30:4 (January 1936): 8.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1229 (October 11, 1935): 483.
[143] "War in Abyssinia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1229 (October 11, 1935): 485.
[144] Ibid.
[145] "Armistice Day – 1935," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1231 (November 8, 1935): 538.
[146] Ibid.

was not invoked idly, as Head continued: 'Italy's aggressive action in Abyssinia threatens civilisation's life-line,' and as a result, 'we must bend every effort to increase support for the League, which was the one great gain of the battlefields'.[147] His active interest in the specific application of sanctions was demonstrated in December 1935, when he used his monthly 'Archbishop's Letter' in *The Church of England Messenger* to criticise their uneven application. He was adamant that 'it is of vital importance to the peace of the world that the League of Nations should uphold the sanctions to which it has committed itself under the leadership of Great Britain'.[148]

Support for economic sanctions against Italy were not limited to major Anglican periodicals. Charles Murray (1899-1950), the rector of Christ Church North Adelaide, declared in November 1935 that 'one matter is uppermost in our minds, the crisis in Abyssinia, in which the whole world is inevitably concerned'.[149] He endorsed the unprecedented efforts 'to preserve peace and prevent aggression as are now being made through the League of Nations'. The effective implementation of sanctions against Italy suggested that society was making steps towards the achievement of the 'Kingdom of peace and righteousness on earth'.[150] Herbert Cavalier (1877-1965) of St. Peter's Glenelg (Adelaide) called for his flock to pray for the success of the League's actions.[151] Arthur Webb, rector of St. John's Coromandel Valley, went so far as to declare that even if League sanctions had a negative impact on the Australian economy, all hardship endured by Australians was worthwhile. He '[did] not doubt that we shall willingly do what is asked of us' in making 'sacrifices for the cause of peace'.[152]

There were also occasional examples of Australian Anglican degree of support for sanctions against Italy for geopolitical reasons of *realpolitik*. In February 1936, Reginald Nichols wrote a long and detailed article in his magazine *Brother Bill's Monthly* with the title 'Why Great Britain is Interested in the Italian War with Abyssinia'. In it, he expressly rejected the idea that sanctions should be embraced to support the League of Nations and collective security.[153] Instead, he insisted that Italy was using the Abyssinian invasion as a test run for further aggression in Africa, this time against British colonies. Nichols believed that this would be the start of an Italian push to steal colonial territories across the British Empire.[154] He was pleased that 'the League of Nations is no

---

[147] Ibid.
[148] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1234 (December 20, 1935): 613.
[149] Charles Murray, "Rector's Letter." *Parish Magazine* XXIV:11 (November/December 1935): 1.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Herbert Cavalier, "Rector's Letter," *S. Peter's Church, Glenelg* 341 (November 1935): 3.
[152] Arthur Webb, "Rector's Letter," *The Parish Paper* 5:60 (October 1935): 2.
[153] "Why Great Britain is Interested in the Italian War with Abyssinia," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 2:7 (February 1936): 14.
[154] Ibid., 16.

longer an instrument of French policy', and he considered that British dominance of the League meant that its actions would align with British military goals, and it should be supported by Australian Anglicans.[155] In this view, Nichols was an outlier amongst the Anglican clergy, but in line with mainstream Australian conservatism, which did not care for the specific fate of the Abyssinian state.[156] The Australian conservative political class was far more concerned with British Imperial interests in the immediate African vicinity of Abyssinia.[157] Nichols' cynical embrace of the League stands out strongly amongst the Anglican clergy, despite its commonplace outside of the Church, demonstrating the extent to which the Anglican Church earnestly believed in the idealistic value of the League.

Despite the League's endorsement of sanctions on Fascist Italy, punitive measures were implemented haphazardly. Various prominent Australian Anglican sources indicated a complete dedication to the League's decisions, implicitly endorsing League-sponsored military action if that decision was taken. These men never explicitly called for military action, not even Head, who had previously endorsed the League being granted its own independent police force. Bleby had lost faith in the power of the League of Nations by the outbreak of the Abyssinian war, and refused to believe that economic sanctions would have any effect on Italian ambition.[158] He felt that the only way to save Abyssinia and the prestige of the League was for a League-sponsored British declaration of war against Italy.[159]

The most strident Australian Anglican establishment figure to endorse military sanctions against Italy was Bishop Thomas of Willochra. Thomas wrote about international affairs rarely, so his comments in October 1936 indicate that he must have cared particularly strongly about this topic. He offered a harsh rebuke of British foreign policy when he lamented the failure of Britain to deny Italian shipping access to the Suez Canal. He believed that this act alone could have saved Abyssinia and forced Italy to cease its aggression. He laconically mentioned that 'this would probably have meant war with Italy and other countries too; but is not the risk of war and death to be preferred to dishonour?'[160] This fascinating statement indicates why he could never embrace the ideals of the League of Nations.

---

[155] Ibid., 14.
[156] G. Bruce Strang, "Introduction," in *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, ed. G. Bruce Strang. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013): 3.
[157] Steven Morewood, "'This Silly African Business': The Military Dimension of Britain's Response to the Abyssinian Crisis," in *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, ed. G. Bruce Strang. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013): 75.
[158] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXX:350 (October 1935): 2.
[159] Ibid.
[160] "Extracts from Pastoral Address," *The Willochran* 97 (October 1936): 901.

The Australian Anglican Church was never able to agree upon whether the League of Nations should be a purely consultative body based around impartial arbitration, or an organisation entitled to endorse and direct military force against sovereign states. This question cut to the heart of Australian Anglican conceptions of what 'peace' actually meant and what measures should be embraced to achieve it. When it seemed like sanctions were a plausible mechanism to halt Italian aggression, and endorsed by British foreign policy, the Australian Anglican Church also endorsed their application. Yet, this fundamental tension regarding the functionality of the League of Nations was never truly resolved. By the time Italian success in Abyssinia seemed inevitable, the Australian Anglican Church overwhelmingly shifted to third key response to the League: disillusionment and despair.

The League of Nations as Failed Experiment

The evident failure of the League of Nations in response to the two case studies explored in this chapter devastated its Australian Anglican adherents. Throughout the Anglican coverage of the Manchurian crisis, apprehension and despair related to the potential failure of the League system was limited to *The Church Standard*. By the time of disquiet in Abyssinia, however, the Church had embraced the idea that the silence regarding Japanese aggression was in fact a moral failing on its own part. Others, prone to pessimism, believed that the failure to prevent the outbreak of war at all sealed the doom of the League of Nations and, potentially, of the world. Italy's eventual military success and the withdrawal of sanctions as a result delegitimised the League in the eyes of the world. *The Church Standard* in particular held that the removal of sanctions against Italy after the war was won was an indefensible travesty. However, those Australian Anglicans who believed most strongly in the Christianity of the League of Nations could not simply discard it. Even when they agreed that the League turned out to be a failed experiment, they felt that it was the Church's duty to revitalise or reform the League into something new. This dream eventually came true with the fruition of the United Nations; indeed, as explored earlier, traditional historiography has viewed the League of Nations as a doomed prototype of this successor organisation. With resilient ongoing belief in the League's idealistic vision, the Australian Anglican Church's views were not representative of Australian secular opinion.

Manchuria

Contemporary Anglican writing on the potential for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria to destabilise and undermine the liberal internationalist ideals of the League of Nations was basically limited to commentary within *The Church Standard*. The newspaper most directly addressed this

concern in the 'Editorial Notes' of 2 September 1932. It wrote that the situation in Manchuria was to '[assume] a sinister significance in Far Eastern Affairs'.[161] The specific concern was not for the victims of the war, but for the global implications of the conflict. It worried that Japan's claims about resigning from the League 'set at nought the whole League system of settling disputes' and 'may, in the last resort, involve the virtual collapse of the League'.[162] From this point onwards, the threat of Japanese disavowal of the League of Nations raised serious questions about the prospects and even basic functionality of the League's goal of peace. In mid-September, *The Church Standard* acknowledged that even a compromise by the League to avoid a Japanese exit would potentially constitute an insurmountable blow to the League. It did not mince words when claiming 'the test which the League soon has to meet in a most acute form is whether by its moral force it can overrule the appeal to brute force of some of its members'.[163] It acknowledged that letting Japan have 'a free hand in the East' would be a repudiation of the very principles of the League, and that irrespective of its actions, the League was likely facing a crisis.[164] This crisis was not abstract in the eyes of *The Church Standard*. It lamented that 'the public at large is more vaguely aware that all is not well, though it probably fails to realise the momentous importance of what is happening'.[165] The statement about the vagueness of the Australian public's knowledge is likely accurate, given that the Lytton Report (the formal outcome of the League of Nations investigation into the conflict) 'occasioned little comment in Australia'.[166]

The situation in Manchuria led *The Church Standard* to levy serious charges of fundamental ineffectuality against the League of Nations. By January 1933, the editor believed that Japan's 'complete contempt for the League' was strategically valid, given that 'the League has already procrastinated long enough to enable Japan to consolidate her illegal gains'.[167] He lamented that the League's mechanisms were unworkable, as 'the Powers are too engrossed with their own problems to risk taking any decisive steps over Manchuria'.[168] Yet, these criticisms of the League were not explored in any depth at this stage by the editor. By the end of February 1933, the newspaper announced that 'the Sino-Japanese dispute [had reached] its most critical phase'.[169] As a result, 'the League, too, [faced] its greatest crisis'.[170] In response to this, *The Church Standard* rallied fully to the

[161] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1043 (September 2, 1932): 3.
[162] Ibid.
[163] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1045 (September 16, 1932): 3.
[164] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1046 (September 23, 1932): 3.
[165] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1048 (October 7, 1932): 3.
[166] Murphy, "Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941," 94.
[167] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1062 (January 13, 1933): 3.
[168] Ibid.
[169] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1068 (February 24, 1933): 3.
[170] Ibid.

support of the League, stating that 'whatever may be its future, it is to its credit that it did make a decision in accordance with the principles of justice, fraught though the decision was with grave consequences for itself'.[171] While the League 'would have had more credit had it risen to its responsibilities sooner', the position of the newspaper was that a setback of this nature should not be used to discredit the organisation entirely.[172]

This rally was short-lived, however. By April 1933, *The Church Standard* denounced the League as functionally worthless. The editor declared that 'The League's handling of the dispute has been unfortunate throughout, having been characterised by that sacrifice of principles to expediency which in the long run always reveals itself as so inexpedient a policy'.[173] The article concluded that 'the League, the main safeguard against war, has been demonstrated to be almost impotent'.[174] The newspaper maintained its pessimistic vision of the Manchurian crisis' impact on the efficacy of the League of Nations for the rest of the decade. In August 1934, it declared that the world's tacit acceptance of the independence of Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet state, '[meant], in effect, Great Britain's renunciation of the League'.[175] It decreed French opposition to German rearmament plans in 1935 as self-evidently pointless, given that 'Japan's unchecked aggression in Manchuria in 1931 provides sufficient evidence of the helplessness of the League'.[176] Thus, by August 1935, Watts could write that while the League operated with conspicuous success for about a decade, the failure to prevent Japanese aggression in Manchuria meant that 'the world reverted to the old false slogan that preparation for war was the best method of ensuring peace'.[177]

The unsettling prospect that the Manchurian crisis had demonstrated a core weakness in the League of Nations was mostly limited to *The Church Standard*. Bishop Philip Crick of Ballarat brought up the idea in his May 1933 Synod address. While discussing the 'unsettlement and danger' in international affairs, by which he meant the threat of spreading Soviet Communism, he mentioned the Manchurian conflict in passing.[178] He warned that:

> The vision embodied in the League of Nations, of a brotherhood of equal partners pledged to subordinate their own specialised points of view to the arbitrament [sic] of a central authority, is now in the balance between success and failure, owing to the recent action of Japan.[179]

---

[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1075 (April 14, 1933): 3.
[174] Ibid.
[175] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIII:1146 (August 31, 1934): 3.
[176] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIII:1175 (March 29, 1935): 7.
[177] "Anti-War," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1193 (August 2, 1935): 6.
[178] "The Diocesan Synod," *The Church Chronicle* XLIV:5 (May 1933): 107.
[179] Ibid.

This sentence was replicated in *The Adelaide Church Guardian* two months later as its sole mention of Manchuria during the period of the crisis, demonstrating this unsettling sentiment's influence.[180] Thus, while paling in comparison to later discussion of Abyssinia, the Manchurian crisis did elicit concern amongst some Australian Anglicans as to the effectiveness of the League of Nations.

In the intensified global context of the Abyssinian crisis, the Australian Anglican response to the Manchurian crisis took on a different tone. Relative Anglican silence regarding the fate of Manchuria was recast with hindsight as a moral failing of the Church itself, and various clergymen sought to rectify this situation. The shift to moral outrage over international public indifference to the fate of Manchuria was seen in November 1934, slightly before the escalation of the Italian-Ethiopian conflict. Prominent Adelaide geographer and historian Grenfell Price (1892-1977) contributed an article to *The Adelaide Church Guardian* entitled 'The Shadow of War' which dealt with Manchuria directly. He reminisced about 'the early months of 1931 [when] the world still held to the pathetic belief that the "war to end war" had not been fought in vain'.[181] By 1934, however, he exclaimed that 'what a tragic change has now come over the scene!'[182] Price ascribed the seismic shift between the period when 'the "Geneva Spirit" had become a real thing' and the current fearful world to 'the fatal date, September 19th, [*sic*] 1931.'[183] When 'the War Lords of Japan disobeyed their civil leaders and invaded Manchuria', he proclaimed, 'international demoralisation began'.[184] This is a striking statement to make, given that *The Adelaide Church Guardian* had previously mentioned the Japanese invasion of Manchuria only once before this point, in passing in a quote extracted from the Ballarat Synod mentioned above. Price lamented that 'the nations failed to accept the Japanese challenge, and as a contemporary cartoon depicted, international co-operation became a case of "Half a league, half a league, half a league onwards" with headless France in the lead'.[185]

The Church Standard remained the most passionate Anglican voice regarding the Manchurian crisis, and explicitly blamed the Anglican Church for its complicity in the situation. In August 1935, Watts condemned the Anglican Church for its indifference regarding Manchuria. He believed that although 'the Churches for some time espoused the League, … the enthusiasm was short-lived'.[186] He accused Anglican leaders like Nutter Thomas and Head of a false support for the

[180] Philip Crick, "The Church and the Present Day," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 27:10 (July 1933): 5.
[181] A. Grenfell Price, "The Shadow of War," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 29:2 (November 1934): 6.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] "Anti-War," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1193 (August 2, 1935): 6.

League, one that did not materialise into anything substantial when faced with a genuine moral challenge. For Watts, Anglican silence at the time of the crisis was tantamount to a betrayal of the League of Nations. By January 1937, Watts despaired that nominal Anglican Church support for the League of Nations had never materialised into practical results. He insisted that the Church had failed to assist the League 'at a time when it is so greatly in need of help'.[187] His belief was that if the promises by the Church to support the League 'had been upheld, there would be no invasions of Manchuria or Abyssinia'.[188] Exactly how this support was to be achieved in practice was never really made clear, however.

Likely in order to assuage this feeling of institutional guilt, Watts included a two-part detailed retrospective of the Manchurian crisis in December 1935. It listed prominent Japanese politicians and military officials by name, and gave explanations of their goals.[189] It acknowledged for the first time the fact that the Japanese military itself blew up the South Manchurian Railway as a pretext to invade, in stark contrast to the earlier reporting by *The Church Standard* that supported Japanese actions against Chinese harassment.[190] The political wrangling of Chinese, Japanese and British diplomats were narrated, with specific hostility towards the duplicity of the British, who were understood as more interested in maintaining economic relations with Japan than with establishing a just peace.[191] The second part of the article ends with a round condemnation of 'the indifference on the part of Great Britain to Japanese aggression'.[192] The single sentence summation of Australian Anglican views on the Manchurian Crisis written by Fletcher in *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* referenced this article to draw its conclusion that the Australian Anglican Church expressed strong criticism of Japan.[193] Fletcher is thus not incorrect in his assessment, but as we have seen, the resolve shown by 1935 does not align with the complexities of the views of the previous few years.

As the 1930s progressed, the Anglican Church increasingly accepted the idea that Manchuria was a lamentable turning point in the history of the League of Nations. Watts declared with embarrassment in April 1937 that 'a considerable part of conservative opinion in England and Australia actually encourage[d] Japan'.[194] He felt that by doing so, proponents of this conservative vision 'assisted in bringing about the downfall of the whole collective system'.[195] He avoided directly

---

[187] "The Brussels Peace Congress," *The Church Standard* XXV:1266 (January 8, 1937): 6.
[188] Ibid.
[189] "The Far East," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1211 (December 6, 1935): 6.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] "The Far East," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1212 (December 13, 1935): 7.
[193] Fletcher, *Anglicanism in Australia*, 152.
[194] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1282 (April 30, 1937): 7.
[195] Ibid.

implicating the previous editor of his own newspaper in this group, however, likely through tact rather than ignorance.[196] While Australian Anglican interest in Manchuria declined by the late 1930s due to other geopolitical preoccupations, it is likely that the words of Wangaratta priest Raymond Nicholls in *The Australian Church Quarterly* in September 1943 were representative of overall disillusionment. He declared that 'the breakdown of such an artificial system [of the League of Nations] was inevitable.'[197] With a decade of hindsight, Nicholls felt that as soon as 'Japan challenged the assumptions on which the League rested – collective security – and got away with it in Manchukuo', the League of Nations was doomed.[198]

Abyssinia

Anglican despair over the failures of the League of Nations with respect to Italy and Ethiopia dwarfed that of unease in response to Japan and China. Italian military success was understood as having delegitimised the League and everything it stood for. As explained by Gaynor Johnson in *Collision of Empires*, 'after the "resolution" of the crisis in 1936, all but a few viewed the League as defunct'.[199] Yet, even with public disillusionment in the League of Nations at critical mass, some key figures within the Church believed that the League had failed due to the intransigence of its membership, rather than faulty institutional structures. Thus, adamant believers like Nutter Thomas and Head remained convinced that the League idea could not be abandoned, no matter the practical realities.

In response to the success of Italian aggression against Ethiopia, and the evident inability of the League of Nations to hold violent member states accountable, those amongst the Australian Anglican Church fell into two camps. These two differing approaches basically represented pessimism and optimism over the imminent future of the world. The majority of Anglican sources embraced pessimism, and either ceased any coverage of the League or lamented its evident failure. However, those who saw in the League the spirit of Christ remained dedicated to idealism.

The Australian Churchman published a distillation of popular Australian Anglican sentiment regarding the League in April 1938. In an article covering the implications of the Anschluss, the author proclaimed the League 'a mere shadow organisation' which remained fundamentally unable to protect its member states and thus should be ignored.[200] Three South Australian figures offer

---

[196] Ibid.
[197] Raymond Nicholls, "The Religious Needs of Youth To-Day," *The Australian Church Quarterly* 8:3 (September 30, 1943): 29.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Gaynor Johnson, "Philip Noel-Baker, the League of Nations and the Abyssinian Crisis, 1935,1936." in *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, ed. G. Bruce Strang. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013): 53.
[200] "The Fury Hits," *The Australian Churchman* 11:2 (April 1938): 3.

similar examples of the widespread pessimistic approach. As previously established, Bishop Richard Thomas of Willochra expressed no sympathy for the League of Nations throughout his tenure. The one time he mentioned the organisation in his monthly letters in *The Willochran* was in response to the Italian success against Ethiopia. In October 1936, he stated plainly that 'the inability of the League of Nations as an effective agency in the interests of world peace was revealed during the Italian-Abyssinian dispute'.[201] He offered no further detail, and one gets the impression that he believed in the apparent worthlessness of the League considerably earlier than this revelation.

Perhaps the most emblematic embodiment of the despair felt by some Anglican observers, however, comes from Edward Bleby, rector of St Paul's Pulteney Street (Adelaide). He wrote on the topic of the invasion of Abyssinia in his parish paper no less than nine times. Before the outbreak of war, Bleby was pessimistic about the value of the League of Nations in preventing full-scale violence. In June 1935, he worried that 'unless the Holy Spirit shall inspire the nations of the world, the prospects for peace and the existence of civilisation are very dark'.[202] He commented in July that 'the League of Nations is a beautiful ideal, but unless the members of the League are willing to adopt an unselfish policy and work together for the welfare of all nations it is certain to be a failure'.[203] In particular, he believed that Mussolini would not be willing to work within the confines of the League, and thus it would be unlikely to assist Abyssinia if called upon. His pessimistic approach was borne out, and by May 1936 he was despondent. He decreed that 'the ignoble success which Italy has obtained in Abyssinia has shown that the League of Nations is an absolute failure, and that civilisation is in grave danger of being destroyed'.[204] He was left, by his standards, speechless: 'I am sorry that I cannot write in stronger terms, but the English language does not contain words which would adequately describe the conduct of Italy'.[205] His rage had not subsided the following month, when he pronounced that 'the absolute failure of the League of Nations has become apparent to the world'.[206]

Finally, John Montgomerie, rector of St. Luke's Whitmore Square (Adelaide), felt vindication for his eschatological views of Biblical apocalyptic prophecy. He insisted that:

> The Bible clearly teaches that nations are to war with each other right up until the end of the present age, and while there may be a short gap of peace from time to time, yet we know

[201] "Extracts from Pastoral Address," *The Willochran* 97 (October 1936): 899.
[202] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXIX:346 (June 1935): 2.
[203] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXIX:347 (July 1935): 2.
[204] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXX:357 (May 1936): 2.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXX:359 (July 1936): 2.

> from the clear statements of Scripture that one war will no sooner end that another will commence.[207]

He quoted prominent American ambassador Henry Morgenthau (1856-1946) as declaring the League of Nations at Geneva 'a fine example of hypocrisy or farce – or perhaps I should say Tragedy.' He believed that any secular attempt at international peace was impossible in a world before the conclusion of 'the last of all wars so far as this age is concerned, yet before us, namely, the Battle of Armageddon'.[208] As a result of this hardline theological position, Montgomerie felt that war in Europe was inevitable, and as a result 'judgment is near'.[209] He concluded his letter with a highly evocative account of the imminent apocalypse, the only escape from which would be complete surrender to Jesus Christ.[210] This dogmatic approach to the League of Nations' attempts to avert war in Africa does not seem to have been replicated elsewhere in the Australian Anglican milieu.

Unsurprisingly, Watts was similarly enraged in his commentary in *The Church Standard*. While he discussed it repeatedly over the next few years, the position of *The Church Standard* is encapsulated in his immediate response, on 8 May 1936:

> The fall of Abyssinia is pregnant with possibilities which a staggered world cannot yet estimate. Collective security is a chimera. National honour is disbanded. Christianity has failed against the powers of darkness and a great Christian Church has abdicated its proud claim to be the arbiter of morality.[211]

Unlike the more optimistic members of the Australian Anglican Church who will be discussed shortly, Watts held no idealised vision of a revitalised League:

> It has to be recognised that the League has failed in its first major attempt to prevent aggression. Whatever may be its future, no nation will nor can rely upon its aid, with any confidence. There is talk of reforming the League – but its failure is due to the treachery of its members. Economic causes are the root of our problem, and a reformed League could not attempt to deal with them.[212]

Watts thus disagreed with the mainstream Anglican view that a supranational body should strive for peace through inculcating Christian ideals, and embraced a materialist position instead. It is worth ending discussion of *The Church Standard*'s position on the League of Nations with a final emotive quote by Watts from October 1936. He denounced the 'false, pretentious, helpless cowardly'

---

[207] John Montgomerie, "The Rector's Letter," *St. Luke's Parish Paper* XXI:2 (November 1935): 2.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1232 (May 8, 1936): 7.
[212] Ibid.

League, and announced that 'slain by its own moral cowardice, the corpse of the League of Nations should be removed' from any discussion of the future of international relations.[213]

In contrast to this general sense of disillusionment, some of the most ardent Australian Anglican supporters of the League of Nations did not abandon their faith in the organisation, or at least in the ideals underpinning it. Bishop Nutter Thomas was not immune to the shock and despair of Italian victory in Ethiopia and the impotence of the League to prevent it. He dedicated his September 1936 Synod Address to the idea that 'NATIONALISM HAS RUN AMUCK'.[214] He proclaimed:

> We had hope that the covenant of the League of Nations, and other pacts which followed, had secured all nations – or at least those which belonged to the League – from sudden attack. The great nations of the world had put their signature and seal to solemn promises, and we woke up one morning to find that these promises were valueless – utterly valueless, and that to certain nations a promise meant nothing at all.[215]

The success of the Italian campaign shattered the Bishop's conception of the world:

> I think our countrymen at present are dazed: we do not know where we stand: we do not know whom we can trust: we begin to feel that our standards of truth and justice, of honour and honesty are unintelligible to other nations, and theirs are unintelligible to us; we speak different languages, and no interpreter can make them plain.[216]

However, rather than give in to despondency, Nutter Thomas proclaimed that 'the League of Nations deserves our whole-hearted support: in so far as the League can be said to have failed, it has been because it has been belittled and betrayed by those who should have stood by it'.[217] Nutter Thomas' primary solution to the world's ills was a reiteration that Christianity must truly reform itself into a force that 'stands for something more than personal religion' and organise international conciliation on Christian grounds.[218] As part of this renewed internationalism, Nutter Thomas was unwilling to abandon the League. He proclaimed: 'It is not the principles of the League that have failed, but the nations who had pledged themselves to its principles'.[219] He remained resolute:

> I feel most strongly that it is our duty either to strengthen the existing covenant, or to work for the establishment of a new League which shall be kept clear as possible from the entanglements of the past, and into which the nations can enter without mutual recriminations, rather than abandon our chief hope of peaceful co-operation.[220]

---

[213] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1255 (October 16, 1936): 7.
[214] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Pastoral Address," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 30:12 (September 1936): 1.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid., 4.
[218] Ibid., 1.
[219] Ibid., 4.
[220] Ibid.

These two options suggested by Nutter Thomas were incompatible with each other and wildly idealistic given the political realities of the time. He did not explain how a strengthening of the covenant, which he stated was not flawed in itself, only in how it was not adhered to, would offer any increased chance of world peace. Even less realistic was the alternative option, as the idea of nations joining a replacement league that somehow has avoided 'the entanglements of the past' seems inadvisable on top of impossible. Nutter Thomas seemingly gave up on this dream to some extent, as he would never mention the League of Nations again in *The Adelaide Church Guardian*. Only one parish paper, Christ Church Mt Gambier, commented upon the Bishop's defense of the League, and only in passing.[221]

While the Bishop of Adelaide refrained from further personal pleas, the Diocesan magazine maintained a defensive optimism regarding the League. In the August 1937 issue, the periodical published 'A Letter from Rev. Canon R. P. A. Hewgill, M. A.', which was sent by the rector of St. Andrew's Walkerville while on a trip to Europe. In Grindelwald, Switzerland, Hewgill (1875-1960) recounted a visit to 'the huge palace [in Geneva] – for I can only call it that – of the League of Nations, which is still in that building.'[222] He did not shy away from strong words: 'A cynic might say that the League died before its house was furnished, and indeed the vast empty building gave one the feeling of an empty tomb'.[223] Thus, less than a year after the Bishop's plea for continued support for the League, his flagship monthly admitted that the League was basically dead. However, Hewgill was not prepared to give up that easily, and concluded stating 'but we must work for a resurrection'.[224]

In Melbourne, *The Church of England Messenger* was more resolute in its continued support of the League in the face of adversity than was its Adelaide counterpart. After the apparent victory of the Italians in Addis Ababa in April 1936, Archbishop Head remained optimistic about the state of the League. After comparing Italian victory in Abyssinia to Napoleon's 'victory' in Moscow, Head wondered whether now Italy was vulnerable to a German attack against Austria.[225] This is an interesting suggestion to make, given it seemingly embraces the idea of 'balance of power' politics, something anathema to the ideals of collective security. He refused to admit that the League had truly failed in Ethiopia: 'As against Mussolini the League of Nations seems to be weak, but it is really

[221] J.W. Clarke, "Rector's Letter," *Mount Gambier Parish Paper* 206 (September/October 1936): 2.
[222] R.P. Hewgill, "A Letter from the Rev. Canon R. P. A. Hewgill, M. A.," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:11 (August 1937): 10.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1244 (May 8, 1936): 219.

strong because it stands for right against might'.[226] The fact that might had relatively easily conquered right was apparently not relevant, because 'We believe that God reigns, and that He is not really on the side of the big battalions'.[227] Thus Head was resolute that the League and Christianity were intertwined even at this stage. Another article insisted that 'it is not quite true to say that the League of Nations has been proved to be an ignominious failure'.[228] Instead, 'something has been accomplished, but all that has been attempted has not been gained.'[229] This article effectively summed up the strain of defensive optimism towards the League that continued to some extent until its end:

> Have we not expected too much in too short a time? We believe that the Nations of the world were prepared to accept the ideal of peace as set forth in the Covenant of the League; we find that the time is not yet. That does not mean that it will never be, or that it is not appreciably nearer than it was a generation ago. We believe that those things for which the League has been striving are becoming more and more the desire of the peoples of the world, and that despite sets-back, such as the present, the world is steadily moving towards the establishment and maintenance of a peace based on righteousness and fellowship.[230]

Like Nutter Thomas' exhortation to maintain support for the League, the article admits that:

> It may be that there must be drastic alterations in the Constitution of the League, possibly there will be drastic changes, but having seen a vision of the ideal, the world cannot go back, it must go forward towards the establishment of the Kingdom of Peace, from which must be cast forth all that makes for bitterness and distrust.[231]

The ideals of the League were thus understood as too intertwined with those of Christianity itself, that even if the structure of the League was disposable, its spirit needed to continue to be embraced even in the face of failure. To admit otherwise would be to discredit Christianity's ownership of the concept of peace.

The Church of England Messenger remained dedicated to the League of Nations and the role Christianity could play in its salvation. In early July, Head declared that 'the one thing that can really save the League of Nations is that the Church throughout the world should draw closer into one in the service of the Master'.[232] He believed that 'our greatest need just now is for prayer as we think of the difficulties through which the League of Nations is passing'.[233] Later in that same issue, the publication declared

---

[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid.
[228] "Notes and Comments," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1244 (May 8, 1936): 221.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1248 (July 3, 1936): 315.
[233] Ibid., 316.

> that there has been a failure to stop this aggression, all friends of the League must admit; they, too, must feel that the prestige of the League has received a serious setback. But we have yet to learn that initial failure means complete and final ruin. There are those who speak and write as though this were the end of the League of Nations. Such cannot be contemplated.[234]

This article is essentially a thesis statement of the vision of Archbishop Head and *The Church of England Messenger*. They refused to let the evident failure of the League in the realm of war dampen their passion for its success. The periodical reinforced the idea that:

> The will for peace is growing, and the League is the most effective instrument yet devised for expressing that will. It may not be a perfect instrument, but until that is forthcoming, we must make the most of what there is, accepting failure, not as a complete check, but as a temporary setback, showing the weakness of the instrument, and pointing to methods by which it can be made stronger. [235]

It ended on an optimistic note, stating that:

> We do not believe that the nations will willingly sacrifice the conception enshrined in the League of Nations, believing that the prayers and influence of those who seek peace will be of sufficient efficacy to overcome the present serious situation.[236]

Thus were the fates and goals of the League of Nations and Christianity understood as inextricably linked.

The two case studies of Manchuria and Abyssinia demonstrate the ways in which the Australian Anglican Church responded to the trials and tribulations of the League of Nations. While the League's goals of peace were widely understood as admirable, there was a fundamental disagreement over its specific scope and function. If it was simply a forum for international communication, how would it be able to solve any international disputes? If it deserved the ability to militarily enforce its demands, how could it truly claim to be an organisation dedicated to peace? If it had failed in the two most pressing conflagrations of the time, did it still have salvageable value or was it beyond redemption? These questions were pondered by Anglican intellectuals both clerical and lay, and the Australian Anglican Church never managed to resolve this tension even while generally supporting the League's ambitious goals. The dream of a genuine, Christian peace remained elusive.

---

[234] "The League of Nations," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1248 (July 3, 1936): 317.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.

Chapter Three: The Threat and Idealism of Communism

Of the three forces that Archbishop Head warned about in his 1937 proclamation, communism was the most likely to evoke a visceral reaction from his Australian followers. Communism, an internationalist and self-avowedly atheistic creed devoted to world revolution and the abolition of capitalism and empire, was understood by many in Australia to represent an existential threat to their entire conception of British Christian civilisation. Centred around the Soviet Union, which had become the world's first communist state after a revolution in 1917, communism terrified and appalled most Australian Anglican clergymen, as it did most Christians.

This chapter begins with a historiographical background of the study of communism and anti-communism in Australia. The chapter then uses the same structure as the section on the League of Nations to ask two key questions. First: how did Australian Anglicans understand the relationship between Christianity and communism? The overwhelming consensus was that communism's atheistic foundation rendered it entirely incompatible with Christianity, and that attempts at finding common ground were borderline heretical. Certain commentators directly invoked Satan as the source of communist ideology. Yet, there was an element of sympathy for some of the social aims of communism, if not the practices, and thus a small number of Australian Anglicans suggested that communism may have the potential to be reconciled with Christianity by excising its atheistic foundation. There was a degree of sympathy for anti-capitalist ideals, an acknowledgement of the confluence of some egalitarian ideals between Christianity and communism, and a respect for communist passion.

The second key question engages with more practical concerns: how did the Church react to communism in the Australian domestic context? In line with the unrelenting hostility, many Anglican clergymen were outraged at perceived communist inroads into Australian society, and vehemently opposed anything that might risk further communist infiltration. While their fears were out of line with the realities of an extremely weak and ineffectual Communist Party of Australia, this was far from clear at the time. The industrial unrest and mass unemployment due to the Great Depression made Australia seem like a tinderbox awaiting a communist spark to send the whole country up in flames. Apart from these general fears of communist subversion, there were a number of ways in which Australian Anglican perceptions of communism were more nuanced. The chapter concludes with a case study of Reverend William Davies of St Thomas' Port Lincoln, a town in country South Australia. Davies' seeming tolerance for communism was intensely controversial in the eyes of Port Lincoln locals. This example demonstrates the anti-communist norms expected of an Anglican priest at this time, and the consequences for transgression. Overall, this chapter demonstrates that while

religious opposition to communism is typically understood by historians in the context of the Roman Catholic Church, extreme anti-communism was both a widely and deeply held belief across the interwar Australian Anglican Church as well.

The historiography of Australian Anglican Church responses to the ideology of communism is neither deep nor broad. In respect to the 1930s, it is very limited indeed. That which exists is mostly focussed on the Cold War period. The major exception is the small body of work regarding the social gospel in the 1930s. There is a comparatively large historiography regarding the Roman Catholic Church in Australia's response to communism, though this too is overwhelmingly focussed on the decades of the Cold War.

The most in-depth investigation into the Church of England in Australia's conceptualisation of and response to the perceived threat of communism in the twentieth century is Doris LeRoy's unpublished PhD thesis entitled *Anglicanism, Anti-Communism and Cold War Australia* (2010). LeRoy claimed that her study was the first significant study of Australian Anglican anti-communism, and it remains singular in that respect to this day.[1] LeRoy explores how during the 1950s the Australian Anglican Church embraced the anti-Communist crusade typically more associated with Roman Catholics. She argues that Australian Anglicans readily adopted the strident anti-communist ideals of Geoffrey Fisher (1887-1972), the Archbishop of Canterbury, as outlined in the Lambeth Conference of 1948, and then struggled to reconcile this hostility with the realisation by the Lambeth Conference of 1958 that some level of accommodation with Communist countries was politically expedient for the British Commonwealth.[2] LeRoy based her structure around prominent British and American visitors to Australia, such as the 'Red Dean' of Canterbury Hewlett Johnson, the Queen, and American preacher Billy Graham, as well as the relationship between the Australian Anglican Church and Australian Government policy. Overall, the purpose of her research was to fill a gap in Cold War literature by focussing on the Australian Anglican Church. My own research demonstrates that Australian Anglican anti-Communism did not begin with the Cold War, but was heavily entrenched in the belief system of the clerical hierarchy from the 1920s onwards.

Beyond LeRoy's study, there have been a small number of historical explorations of individual Anglican clergymen's perspectives on communism during the years of the Cold War. Paul Terracini explored the extent to which Bishop John Moyes of Armidale campaigned against the attempt to criminalise the Communist Party in 1951, an affair that aroused significant moral

[1] Doris LeRoy, "Anglicanism, Anti-Communism and Cold War Australia," (PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2010): 1.
[2] Ibid, 14.

indignation across political divides.[3] Terracini argued that the moral standing offered to Moyes as an Anglican Bishop granted him significant political influence over this divisive question, even if the Anglican Church overall remained ardently anti-communist.[4] There has also been a study of the 'Christian Communism' of Farnham Maynard, vicar of St. Peter's Eastern Hill (Melbourne). Although previously amenable to some form of socialism, Maynard was radicalised by the Second World War: his anger led him to more explicitly embrace Marxist ideas.[5] In 2019, Marxist historian Roland Boer examined the theological arguments of Maynard espoused in two of his publications from 1944 and 1947.[6] Boer stated that he was not interested in the historical context or implications of Maynard's writing, only in pure exegesis of its spiritual and ideological argument and the potential usefulness this might have for modern Marxist thinkers.[7] Colin Holden has also investigated what he called the 'Christian socialism' of Maynard, but like Boer focussed on Maynard's life and career after the Second World War when he had become increasingly radical in his views.[8]

As far as I am aware, there is only one work significantly related to Australian Anglican perspectives on issues adjacent to communism in the 1930s. Joan Mansfield's "The Social Gospel and the Church of England in New South Wales in the 1930s" is, as established in the Introduction, still held with high regard as the standard text on the operation of the social gospel in the 1930s. While the scope of my own research is distinct in geographical focus and broader in institutional scope, Mansfield's article deftly outlines the position taken towards communism by the most prominent figures of the socio-economically progressive wing of the Anglican Church. The men who endorsed the social gospel were prepared to endorse a form of Christian socialism, understood as free from the materialism of capitalism that had caused such hardship during the Great Depression.[9] Yet, while they professed an interest in studying communism for any potential merits to be extracted for their preferred form of socialism, they remained resolute in their view that Soviet-style communism was irrevocably tainted by its atheism.[10] It is notable that Mansfield's study is specifically limited to NSW. This is an obvious choice for an article of its length, as the most prominent proponents of the social gospel were all indeed based in NSW. My own research expands

[3] Paul Terracini, "Bishop J S Moyes and the Attempt to Ban the Communist Party," *History Australia* 8:2 (2011): 106.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Renate Howe, "Town and Gown: Father Maynard and the Student Christian Movement," in *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, ed. Colin Holden. (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997): 116.
[6] Roland Boer, *Red Theology: On the Christian Communist Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
[7] Ibid., 149.
[8] Colin Holden, "Political Pilgrimages and Pilgrims: Farnham E. Maynard as Anglo-Catholic Socialist," in *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, ed. Colin Holden. (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997).
[9] Joan Mansfield, "The Social Gospel and the Church of England in New South Wales in the 1930s," *The Journal of Religious History* 13:4 (1985): 414.
[10] Ibid., 417.

this scope by focussing on South Australia and Victoria. However, it is impossible to set a hard limit to this geographical boundary, as the views of men like Bishop Ernest Burgmann of Goulburn and Moyes, in particular, although based in NSW, were particularly prolific in Anglican publications around Australia.

It is worth noting that the bulk of historical study on Christian anti-communism in Australia has focussed on the Roman Catholic Church, and the Cold War period. Roman Catholic anti-communism had a huge impact on Australian politics. Historian Nicholas Reid suggests that Australian Roman Catholic anti-communism in the 1950s shaped the nature of Australian society for decades, primarily through its fostering of the Labor Party split of 1954/55.[11] This monumental political schism, fostered by the actions of Roman Catholic firebrand B. A. Santamaria (1915-1998) in his quest to save the labour movement from communist infiltration, had significant political ramifications for Australia.[12] The fact that Roman Catholic anti-communism had such a tangible impact on Federal politics explains why many academics interested in both Roman Catholicism and labour history continue to be invested in this discussion.[13]

There exists in the literature a significant gap regarding the nature and degree of Australian Anglican anti-communism before the Cold War period. Given the extent to which Anglican publications fixated on communism and the Soviet Union during this period, this is something of a surprising oversight. This chapter argues that anti-communism was already core part of Australian Anglicanism by the late 1920s, and was entrenched due to the impact of social and economic devastation of the Great Depression. At a time when it seemed plausible to many within the Church that capitalism would soon be replaced by an alternative form of societal structure, communism stood aloft as an obvious point of comparison, be that for good or ill.

[11] Nicholas Reid, "Struggle for Souls: Catholicism and Communism in Twentieth-Century New Zealand," *Australian Historical Studies* 37:128 (2006): 72.
[12] Race Mathews, "Collateral Damage: B. A. Santamaria and the Marginalising of Social Catholicism," *Labour History* 92 (2007): 89.
[13] See for example an article in left-wing cultural periodical *Overland* wherein journalist Paul Ormonde laments the emotional damage suffered by his father and uncle, both Roman Catholic Labor voters, in relation to the schism: Paul Ormonde, "How Evatt Scuppered Santamaria's Religious Vision," *Overland* 142 (1996): 62-66.

Communism and Christianity

The dominant view amongst the clergy of the Church of England in Australia through the 1920s and 1930s was that communism was inherently evil and irredeemable.[14] Anglican ideals at the time strove for an unapologetically 'Christian' Australia, something that many prominent churchmen thought was being increasingly lost as society progressed through the twentieth century. As such, they viewed the open espousal of anti-religious ideals by proponents of communism, and especially the apparent anti-religious violence committed by the government of the Soviet Union, as satanic or demonic.[15] 'Bolshevism' was used as a synonym for communism, with the intended effect of evoking the horrors of Soviet religious persecution. This section will explore the raw passionate disdain the Anglican mainstream had for communism, and will then offer some examples of more nuanced interpretations from the Australian clergy. These included the idea that the Depression indicated that capitalism was a demonstrable societal failure; an acknowledgement of the alignment of significant ideals of communism and Christianity; praise for communist dedication to their goals; and the idea that obsessing over anti-communism was an unwelcome distraction from actually instating Christian social reforms.

Communism as Antithetical to Christianity

Australian Anglican fear and disgust towards communism as the antithesis to Christianity could be seen across all the forms of published Anglican material. In South Australia *The Adelaide Church Guardian* denounced Bolsheviks as 'a wolf-pack who hate science, philosophy and art' in February 1930 and later that year Bishop Nutter Thomas decried the fact that Bolshevism wanted to 'smash its way through to a ruthless and sterilising domination'.[16] In 1933 the periodical approvingly published Bishop Philip Crick of Ballarat's vision that communism represented 'an organised anti-God propaganda and an attack on the fundamental principles of Christianity itself'.[17] This sentiment was seen across the South Australian parish papers as well. Edward Loan (1881-1973), rector of St. Margaret's Woodville (Adelaide), declared that communists, 'who make out of the denial of God a new religion' were 'the most serious enemy of Christianity'.[18] He warned that 'the Communists are

[14] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "A Lenten Pastoral," *The Parish Leaflet* XXVI:320 (April 1930): 3. The Bishop urged his followers to 'stand on the side of good' in response to the Russian 'menace to the civilised world'.
[15] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVII:853 (December 14, 1928): 347.
[16] "The Evolution of the Bolshevik," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIV:5 (February 1930): 6.; "The Bishop's Pastoral Address," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIV:12 (September 1930): 4.
[17] Philip Crick, "The Church and the Present Day," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 27:10 (July 1933): 5.
[18] Edward Loan, "Rector's Letter," *The Parish Magazine* 171 (August 1933): 2.

preparing a giant offensive against the Church, compared with which all the persecution of Christians hitherto heard of will seem like child's play. The uprising of Communism is a judgment upon the whole Christian Church'.[19] Norman Crawford, priest-in-charge of Church of the Good Shepherd Plympton (Adelaide), believed in March 1931 that communist 'anti-religious propaganda spreads like a noxious poison-gas over civilisation'.[20] This evocative imagery of communism as some form of pestilence is repeated throughout the literature. Later that year, Crawford offered an extensive article in his parish paper that argued that communism's materialism was the embodiment of Satan on Earth.[21]

Victorian Anglican publications were similarly strong in their denunciations of communism as a force for evil. *The Church of England Messenger* decreed in 1931 that communism was a 'foreign pagan element … which can only result in moral and economic chaos'.[22] An article later that same year insisted that:

> In shutting its eyes to the reality of the spiritual world, and setting itself above all that is called God or worshipped, communism has become blind to what is for the good of mankind, and thinks only of destruction.[23]

The Church News for Gippsland declared in 1930 that there was a worldwide battle between the Gospel of Marx and the Gospel of Christ, declaring that the former was 'entirely anti-Christ, anti-moral, anti-Bible, anti-God, anti-everything holy and pure'.[24] In 1936, it claimed that communism was 'a fanatical religion, the new Islam', evoking obvious imagery of a hated 'other'.[25] *The St. Arnaud's Churchman* believed that communism's atheism meant that it 'is zealously working to white-ant our present civilization with a view to its destruction'.[26] *The Living Church in the Diocese of Wangaratta* succinctly demonstrated the universal Anglican position, when it stated that communism was 'opposed to every moral and spiritual value' of Christianity.[27] *The Australian Churchman* agreed, denouncing communism's 'universal brotherhood [of] a gospel of hate'.[28]

---

[19] Ibid.
[20] Norman Crawford, "Priest-in-Charge's Letter," *The Link* 34 (March 1931): 2.
[21] Norman Crawford, "Oranges or Lemons?" *The Link* 41 (October 1931): 4.
[22] F.E.C. Crotty, "Christ or Chaos," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1105 (January 23, 1931): 27.
[23] "Through with Communism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1117 (July 10, 1931): 316.
[24] "Facing a World Wide Crisis," *The Church News* 29:9 (November 1930): 4.
[25] "The Garden of China," *The Church News* 35:1 (April 1936): 5.
[26] "Why Does Communism Hate Religion?" *The St. Arnaud Churchman* 4:10 (July 1, 1931): 4.
[27] "Communism and Christianity," *The Living Church* II:7 (December 1929): 7.
[28] "The Menace of Communism," *The Australian Churchman* 4:7 (September 1931): 2.

Anglican Sympathy for Anti-Capitalism and the Need for a New Australian Society

Despite the vehement and nigh universal denunciation of communism within the Australian Anglican interwar literature, the situation was not quite so clear-cut in some instances. The reality is that there was more nuance to Australian Anglican anti-communism than may be suggested by the above quotations. There was a significant undercurrent of, if not sympathy for, then understanding of, communist aims and methods. The devastating economic situation during and following the Great Depression meant intense hardship for many Australians, and some in the Anglican Church realised that the apparent failings of capitalism at this time risked radicalising workers and pushing them into the arms of communism. Thus, there were two key elements worth highlighting at this point: that some prominent Australian Anglicans believed that the collapse of capitalism was imminent (and possibly deservedly so) and thus an alternative system needed to be constructed, and that the Church needed to appreciate that some of the aims and practices of communism could be considered praiseworthy and respectable. Even amongst those Anglican clergymen who believed both of these points, however, the anti-religious elements of Marxist doctrine remained too significant a barrier to genuine cooperation. In fact, the fear of communism was a driving force in the call for a reformed or revitalised economic system in Australia, and whatever could be learned from communism needed to be used to offer a more acceptable alternative to the Australian people.

The brutal reality of the Great Depression in Australia meant that some Anglican clergymen felt the obligation to advocate for a fundamental restructuring of society. Nutter Thomas' 1931 Synod Address raised this point in no uncertain terms. After discussing problems with low wages and mass unemployment, he declared that

> a better system is much to be desired! For few can be satisfied with our present system, which has developed into a class war, with as great and serious a menace to the peace and prosperity of the world as the Great War itself.[29]

The place he felt that communism should occupy in this restructuring was clear:

> There are unfortunately in our midst those who would foster the spirit which encourages such a class war, who would abolish by violence our present system, in order to replace it by Communism on Russian lines. But there is a better way – the way of reform; and it is, as I conceive it, our duty as Christians and Churchmen to get behind our present troubles, to set to work to begin to build up a better system – a system founded on right and Christian principles – a system that will bring contentment to all, conquer hate, and abolish the class war. Christianity is the one bulwark against Communism, despair and ruin.[30]

[29] "The Bulwark of the Christian Church," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXV:12 (September 1931): 3.
[30] Ibid., 4.

While the specifics of Nutter Thomas' vision are vague, we nonetheless see a genuine belief in the need for fundamental economic and political change in Australian society. Today we may look back from the vantage point of the continued existence of capitalism and assume such a situation was inevitable, but this was far from the case in the early 1930s. Australian Anglicans saw the demonstrable failure of capitalism and aspired towards a better world, even if not always quite clear on the specific details. As put by Norman Crawford, priest-in-charge of Church of the Good Shepherd Plympton (Adelaide): 'the present industrial system is not a very ancient structure. … The modern Capitalistic system is only as old as the Puritan movement'.[31] Such a recent invention held no inherent right to perpetuity, and seemed increasingly anachronistic in a world of escalating interconnectedness.[32]

The Willochran stands out as one of the more overtly anti-capitalist diocesan papers. Carl Crowley (1883-1967), the Priest-in-Charge at Streaky Bay (a town with a population of 1600 on the west coast of the Eyre Peninsula) published an article in 1931 outlining the failures that he saw within the Australian economic system.[33] He denounced 'the Old Order' as comprising 'Competition, thus Capitalism'.[34] He believed that the Depression conclusively proved that capitalism had failed, and the only viable alternative for the democratic world was socialism, with its 'ideal [of] mutual good'.[35] He felt that 'the watchword of Socialism [was] Co-operation', and thus inherently more Christian than capitalism.[36] Crowley nevertheless despised communism, which could not be viewed through a sympathetic lens. He characterised communism as unholy deification of the State, and as 'tyranny writ large'.[37] Bishop Thomas was inclined to agree with this sentiment. In his 1933 Pastoral Address at Synod, Thomas rejected the idea that economic recovery was imminent. He lamented 'the amazing spectacle of millions of people reduced to poverty in a world of plenty'.[38] He continued:

> Some people say that it is all due to an inherent weakness in the capitalist system which has run its course and must now be relegated to the world's scrap-heap of gigantic failures. I am quite ready to admit its obvious defects and that to all appearances it is about to pass away.[39]

Given the worldwide political, economic and social turbulence of the 1930s, it is understandable that many doubted the continued existence of capitalism, regardless of their thoughts about the

---

[31] Norman Crawford, "Priest-in-Charge's Letter," *The Link* 40 (September 1931): 2.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Population of 1642 in the 1933 Census.
[34] C. Campbell Crowley, "What is Democracy?" *The Willochran* III:76 (July 1931): 643.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Richard Thomas, "Extracts from a Pastoral Address," *The WIllochran* III:84 (July 1933): 744.
[39] Ibid.

potential alternatives. As emphasised in *The Church of England Messenger* in September 1931, the critique of communism as inherently godless could be just as easily applied to capitalism as well, and some critics felt that capitalism's blithe indifference to Christianity was potentially more insidious than communism's explicit persecution.[40]

Church figures thus saw themselves as the obvious leaders in shaping a new society in the waning days of capitalism. For example, Frank Weston, rector of St. Augustine's Unley (Adelaide), declared at the end of 1934 that now was the time for the Anglican Church to take charge and make its mark on a new Australia. He was very direct:

> This mood and temper demand from the Church some answer to the problems and the presentation of a leadership which rings clear and final, and echoes in decision and certainty. If the Christian Church possesses this spiritual and intellectual dynamic, now is her opportunity to release these agencies and save a world that is heading for disaster and despair.[41]

Weston saw this as a moral duty and absolutely imperative, given that 'we are beholding a new world and new age coming into being before our very eyes'.[42] This notion of an opportunity to radically reshape Australia on Christian moral lines was not limited to Weston, and the volatility of the situation made both the opportunities and risks readily apparent. If a new epoch was dawning, it was imperative that it was forged by Christian minds, rather than godless communists. As explained by Reginald Stephen (1860-1956), Bishop of Newcastle between 1919-1928, in *The Australian Churchman*, the way Christianity could most conclusively defeat the threat of communism was to render its accurate claims of systemic unfairness irrelevant by changing the system.[43]

The Need to Learn from Communism to Defeat It

In the process of advocating for a revitalised Australian society, some Anglican commentators sought to learn from elements of communism that they believed salvageable. *The Adelaide Church Guardian* issued an article in December 1936 in which a basic sympathy for some of the aims of communism could be detected. It opened:

> Communism we are told is an attempt to establish the Kingdom of God on earth, without God, and there is little doubt that in the alloy of Communism one may discover much

[40] "Communism and Capitalism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1122 (September 18, 1931): 436.
[41] Frank Weston, "The Rector's Letter," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:29 (December 1934): 2.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Reginald Stephen, "What Has the Church to Say?" *The Australian Churchman* 7:6 (August 1934): 8.

> Christian metal interfused with that of Mammon so that in the manner of alloys neither component reveals its true, peculiar nature.[44]

The author implies that without the 'interfusion' of Mammon, a Biblical term meaning wealth or riches and here suggesting secular materialism, the core tenets of communism align with those of Christianity. This is a statement that does not easily sit with the earlier denunciations of communism as fundamentally Satanic or evil.

The Melbourne Diocesan Synod of 1936 went further when considering how best to restructure Australian society in the apparently dying days of capitalism. They expressed the view that communism (and fascism) needed to be studied more deeply and effectively by churchmen, in order to learn any potential benefits for Australia.[45] Farnham Maynard, vicar of St. Peter's Eastern Hill, moved the following motion:

> That Communism and Fascism were spreading throughout the world and were enemies of the Church, was generally accepted. If they were enemies, they should be studied in order that they might be refuted; if they were not enemies, they should be understood lest we should be found to be fighting against God.[46]

He continued provocatively:

> If properly studied, one could not but be impressed by the amount of good contained in them. A great transformation for good had taken place in Italy and Russia. It behoved the Christian Church to discern whether the good is the essence and the bad the accidents, or the bad the essence and the good the accidents.[47]

He radically challenged the general Anglican assumptions with his belief that 'there is much more in common between Communism and Christianity than most Communists and most Christians realised'.[48] He felt that even though capitalist democracy 'such as we enjoyed at present' was better than communism or fascism, it was unlikely that it would survive for long and thus Australian Anglicans urgently needed a better understanding of the other available options.[49]

Though Maynard's motion passed and was endorsed by the Synod, it was immediately controversial. One attendee warned that this statement was a mistake, and would fool the laity into believing that 'there was something to be said in favour of Communism', which was 'not a system of economics, [but] a godless creed'.[50] He denounced Maynard for being 'too broadminded' on this

---

[44] "Considering Christmas," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:3 (December 1936): 1.
[45] This resolution will be explored with regards to fascism in Chapter Five.
[46] "Diocesan Synod – 1936," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1256 (October 23, 1936): 521.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 522.

crucial issue.[51] Maynard likely had a reputation for 'broadmindedness' that was known by then across the Victorian Anglican Church; in 1927 he had been officially reprimanded by the Archbishop for allowing a decennial celebration of the Russian Revolution in his parish hall, for example.[52] This criticism turned out to be representative of a significant proportion of the Melbourne lay Anglican opinion, as this motion resulted in an outburst of outrage in person and in the secular press.[53] The public hostility was enough to force *The Church of England Messenger* to offer a clarification in defence of Synod.[54] Maynard expanded further upon his understanding of communism in an editorial in June 1938 in *The Australian Church Quarterly*, of which he was the editor. He outlined his view that:

> it is not difficult to show that Communism has very much in common with Christianity: the common belief in the essential equality of all men; the common transcendence of racial distinctions in a universal brotherhood; the common stress on the value of the child, and education, and so on.[55]

Maynard nevertheless maintained a general hostility to communism, and devoted the rest of the article to dismissing the potential of 'Christianising' communism. He felt that communism had been discredited in practice by the events of the Spanish Civil War and by Stalinist oppression, and so it was more important to extract worthwhile elements from the husk of communism than to try to reinflate it through Christianisation.[56] Interestingly, as previously alluded to, Maynard did eventually shift in favour of a Christianised communism.[57] This occurred possibly as early as 1939, but did not fully develop until the late-1940s.

Members of the Anglican clergy, resolute in their belief that their Church was the moral authority around which a reformed Australia must emerge, were unashamedly impressed by at least one core tenet of communism: the passionate dedication of its adherents. *The Adelaide Church Guardian* praised Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin in December 1936. 'The sacrificing determination of Marx starving himself to write his gospel for the proletariat' and 'the life of Lenin with its burning intensity of purpose to bring to fruition a scheme the fruits of which he could not hope to enjoy' were considered a noble form of dedication and self-sacrifice worthy of emulation.[58] The idea here is one seen across the Anglican literature: that the passion of communists for their ideal society was

---

[51] Ibid.
[52] Holden, "Farnham E. Maynard as Anglo-Catholic Socialist," 72.
[53] For an example of press coverage, see: "Church and Communism," *The Argus* 9 October 1936, 8. Letters to the Editor were generally hostile to the idea.
[54] "To Study Fascism and Communism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1257 (November 6, 1936): 539.
[55] Farnham Maynard, "Editorial," *The Australian Church Quarterly* 3:2 (June 24 1938): 2.
[56] Ibid., 3.
[57] Boer, *Red Theology*, 6.
[58] "Considering Christmas," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:3 (December 1936): 1.

not being effectively replicated by Christians striving after their own vision of utopia. The author directly invoked Lenin as a positive example worth emulating in dedication:

> If we would save the world we must take to ourselves the form of servants. Lenin for years lived on six pounds a month. He did it in spite of the fact that he considered religion the opium of the people. What price are we willing to pay to save souls in the light of Christmas joy…?[59]

This sentiment was echoed directly at the Melbourne Synod of 1935. One Mr Chamberlain declared that he had 'the greatest respect for the enthusiasm of the Communistic leaders', and lamented that the Church would do much greater good for the world if it had 'half as much'.[60] The way communists could be defeated was by Christians embracing a comparable level of practical zeal.

Even amongst those who held no sympathy for communism, there was something of a backlash against the extreme anti-communism seen within the Anglican community. These commentators felt that a focus on the evils of communism was a fatal distraction against an alternative positive message in trying to improve the Australian situation. In July 1937, for example, Bishop William Johnson (1889-1960) of Ballarat wrote to his flock about his despair over Anglican obsession with denouncing communism. He stated upfront that 'of course communism based on atheism and materialism is a horror to be shunned,' but he believed that strident anti-communism was 'a means of side-stepping the urgent problem which confronts our industrial civilisation'.[61] He used this as a lesson to advocate for greater Christian engagement with a fearful public, stating that:

> We of the church must at least be honest and admit that if organised religion had clearly and consistently resolved that the spiritual and physical needs and hungers of mankind should be met in the right way, COMMUNISM would not now be at hand to meet them in the wrong way.[62]

He was adamant that 'just to denounce Communism is futile; nay, it is a dishonest evasion of responsibility'.[63] Thus, this form of rejection of anti-communism was concerned with the practical implications rather than the moral worthiness of the position. It was a call to arms for increased levels of Christian reform. This idea leads neatly into the second section of this chapter, pertaining to practical responses in the Australian context.

---

[59] Ibid.
[60] "Diocesan Synod – 1935," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1232 (November 22, 1935): 571.
[61] "The Bishop's Letter," *The Church Chronicle* XLVIII:7 (July 1937): 149.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Communism in the Australian Domestic Context

Australian Anglican denunciations of communism were not limited to the abstract. The Church feared the spread of communist ideology within Australia, and the imminent violence that this suggested to them. Their primary fear was that workers would be disillusioned by destitution following the economic collapse of the Great Depression and would turn to communism in despair. A secondary fear was that the lack of Christian education in public schools would risk alienating Australian youth from religion and render them susceptible to godlessness. Some Anglican clergymen were so concerned about the infiltration of Australian society by communism that it became something of a boogeyman, invoked as the cause of a variety of political situations that in reality had no relation to the Soviet creed. This chapter concludes with a detailed exploration of the experiences of William Davies, rector of St. Thomas' Port Lincoln, South Australia, whose suspected sympathies for communism strongly contributed to a schism of his parish and his departure from the town. The public passion demonstrated in this example shows that Anglican anti-communism was intense, genuinely-held, and not limited to the clergy.

The Anglican fear of communism at this time was strongly linked to the realities of the Great Depression. This was covered briefly in the previous chapter, but is worth exploring in more detail. Ray Broomhill's authoritative *Unemployed Workers* (1978) suggests that even though official figures claimed an unemployment rate in 1932 of 29%, the real value was considerably higher.[64] He suggests that unemployment in Adelaide, the worst-hit of all Australian capitals, reached almost 50%, among the highest rates in the entire world.[65] This social reality, exacerbated by an overwhelmingly conservative and moralistic conceptualisation of unemployment relief by both the State and Church, meant that life for working-class men in Adelaide could be unbearable. At the same time, however, Adelaide's social elites, including Nutter Thomas and much of the Anglican clergy, suffered almost no direct material harm from the Depression.[66] They fundamentally did not understand the depths of suffering experienced by the working class, and leant on moralising ideas about the importance of hard work, and of apportioning a universal blame for the situation equally amongst all men, no matter their role in the capitalist hierarchy.[67] The turbulent situation unsettled the middle and upper

[64] Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers: A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide* (Brisbane: University of Brisbane Press, 1978): 2.
[65] Ibid., 3.
[66] Jean Rogers, "Leisure and Adelaide's Social Elite During the Great Depression 1929-34," (Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1984): 3.
[67] Paul Nicholls, "Australian Protestantism and the Politics of the Great Depression, 1929-31," *The Journal of Religious History* 17:2 (1992): 216.

classes, who felt that 'social revolution was a very real possibility in Australia'.[68] A number of studies have delved into the responses of the Anglican Church in South Australia to this devastating situation. John Lonie's unpublished 1973 Masters thesis on class relationships in South Australia during the Depression included 'the saintly spires of the Anglican Cathedral' as core to the conservative 'Establishment' which his study focused on.[69] He barely differentiated the clergy from politicians throughout, though, mentioning them only in passing and interchangeably with politicians. Broomhill's works describe the various Church of England unemployed hostels, though in practical terms rather than in relation to specific Church views on the Depression.[70] Sarah Dinning's unpublished 1980 Honours thesis is the most important of these sources for my purposes. It covers the titular "social and political response of the Church of England in South Australia to the Great Depression" in detail. She argues that the Church's response was overwhelmingly moralistic in nature, with the clergy seeing the Depression as a failure of Australian morality and the solution in an increase in personal Christian values.[71] Her key argument, that seems to hold true, is that the Anglican Church insisted upon its own political neutrality while in fact being intensely guided by anti-Labor hostility and sympathy for political conservatism.[72] Surprisingly, she barely mentions communism in her work at all. A single paragraph about the 'wild and vague rhetoric against "Bolshevism"' is the only commentary on the topic.[73] Dinning's thesis effectively demonstrates the gap that my own thesis fills: the specific nature of Australian Anglican anti-communism has yet to be investigated even in the historiography of Australian Anglican responses to the Great Depression.

The Infiltration of Communism through the Workers

Throughout the years of the Depression, the Australian Anglican clergy were deeply concerned that economic conditions would allow the infiltration of Australia by communist agitators. In September 1931, *The Parish Leaflet* of St. Barnabas' Clare (SA) contained a letter from the Bishop of Willochra which warned that 'the present distress and unemployment mean that Communism is spreading very rapidly in South Australia'.[74] The link to the societal malaise of the time was overt: 'the

[68] Ray Broomhill, "Political Consciousness and Dissent: The Unemployed in Adelaide During the Great Depression," *Labour History* 34 (1978): 58.
[69] John Lonie, "Conservatism and Class in South Australia during the Depression Years 1929-1934," (Masters Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1973): 106.
[70] Broomhill, *Unemployed Workers*, 162.
[71] Sarah Dinning, "The Social and Political Response of the Church of England in South Australia to the Great Depression, 1929-34" (Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1980): 26.
[72] Ibid., 7.
[73] Ibid., 33.
[74] "Unemployment," *The Parish Leaflet* XXVI:337 (September 1931): 2.

Communists are using the false analogy of Russia to delude the suffering unemployed into the belief that the adoption of the system would raise the average standard of living'. He concluded: 'the victory of Communism in Australia will mean the end of Christianity as in Russia', and thus that 'the Christian Churches and Christian morality stand as the chief barrier to Communism.'[75] *The Adelaide Church Guardian* published an account of a speech at St. Peter's Cathedral by John Montgomerie, rector of St Luke's Whitmore Square (Adelaide) in which he declared that given communism 'was aiming at world dominion', the Church needed to 'face up to Communism in Australia, where the tenets of Lenin' were gaining a foothold amongst the disillusioned masses.[76] In 1933, rector Herbert Cavalier of St. Peter's Glenelg (Adelaide) wrote that that year in particular was 'critical' for everyone's safety, as communism was potentially 'gaining a real hold on Australia'.[77] He argued that because normal church-goers were privately selfish and callous, 'they've brought a curse on the Church.' He continued: 'In Russia, that is obvious. Out here things have not gone so far, but the same causes are at work, and unless there is a change, we can expect the same results. The year is indeed critical'.[78] He concluded with the remark: 'The sad thing is that organised Communism is godless and would ruin the Church here as it has ruined it in Russia'.[79]

This degree of fear can be seen in the ways that the Church publications narrated the activities of Australian communists. For example, a May 1933 article in *The Church of England Messenger* warned its readers that 'communism has increased in Melbourne [by] 100 per cent during the past year', though it did not offer an explanation as to what that precisely meant.[80] It continued, fearful of the fact that a recent Carlton by-election had involved 2,253 votes for the Communist Party candidate, representing nearly 13% of the vote.[81] The author worried that 'a less majority than that rules in Russia'.[82] *The Church News* warned the following year never to underestimate communism, as regardless of its seeming numerical irrelevance on a national scale, it was poised to strike at any moment.[83]

The general Anglican sentiment regarding the potential threat of communist infiltration is summed up by *The Church Standard* in March 1932. The newspaper praised the Federal Government for its restructuring of the Crimes Act 'in a way which will enable it to deal with Communist

---

[75] Ibid.
[76] "Nationalism, Communism, and Christianity," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 28:12 (September 1934): 14.
[77] Herbert Cavalier, "Rector's Letter," *S. Peter's Church, Glenelg* 308 (February 1933): 2.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] W. Backholer, "The Changeless Christ for the Changing World," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1166 (May 26, 1933): 220.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] "Communism," *The Church News* 33:7 (September 1934): 2.

agitators'.[84] These changes included criminalising the publication of material supporting any 'unlawful associations' as declared by the Attorney-General, and were implemented in an attempt to prevent pro-Communist literature entering the country from Europe.[85] *The Church Standard* clearly understood the primary example of an 'unlawful association' as the Communist Party of Australia. It supported a wide definition of 'Communist' for these purposes, 'because the greater number of professing Communists are manifestly very ignorant as to what Communism means'.[86] This sort of statement demonstrates the self-assuredness of Australian Anglican critics of communism, literally positioning themselves as more knowledgeable about the nature of communism than were communists themselves. In practice, the legislative change of the Crimes Act had little impact on communism in Australia, far below *The Church Standard*'s desire for the deportation of all 'foreign agitators' and imprisonment of all Australian communists.[87]

The Infiltration of Communism through the Schools

The other key way in which the Australian Anglican Church felt that communism was potentially infiltrating Australian society was through the lack of Christian teachings in state public schools. The receding emphasis of religion in children's education was viewed by Anglicans as one of the core tragedies of society's move towards modern 'materialism' at the expense of Christianity. Thus, went the Anglican fear, children who grew up in a secular environment would be more susceptible to the promises of communism, without the religious education that might inoculate them against this virulent ideological disease. Bishop Nutter Thomas made this point in his 1931 Synod Address, when he declared that one of the key reasons why communism was making inroads into Australian society was 'the prevalent neglect of GOD and indifference to religion, fostered unfortunately in this State by the refusal to allow the Bible to be taught in our State schools'.[88] He reiterated this point in 1933, stating that the fact that 'religion in State schools [was] still being opposed by legislators' meant that society was '[playing] into the hands of Bolshevists and others whose aim is to abolish the existing social order'.[89] Arthur Bulbeck (1894-1964), the rector of St. Barnabas' Clare, contributed an article to *The Adelaide Church Guardian* in September 1937 that demanded mandatory Christian education

[84] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX: 1018 (March 11, 1932): 3.
[85] Roger Douglas, "Saving Australia from Sedition: Customs, the Attorney-General's Department and the Administration of Peacetime Political Censorship," *Federal Law Review* 30:1 (2002): 136.
[86] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX: 1018 (March 11, 1932): 3.
[87] Ibid.
[88] "The Bulwark of the Christian Church," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXV:12 (September 1931): 4.
[89] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 28:3 (December 1933): 1.

in state schools, which he claimed was the most important 'topic of the day'.[90] He pronounced that 'the new paganism in general, and Communism in particular have issued a challenge which can no longer be ignored if our faith and Christian morality are not to be seriously impaired'.[91] He recounted the worldwide spread of communist Sunday Schools 'where the image of our Blessed Lord is worked into the pattern of the door-mat'.[92] He was disgusted that these groups were supposedly 'established in every Australian capital city'. The purpose of outlining these rival school structures was to lament that the Anglican Church could not offer a more effective alternative. Bulbeck was direct in his view: 'our children are falling to the Communist disease because we give them only a secular education'.[93] Henry Langley (1877-1968), vicar of St. Mary's Caulfield (Melbourne), agreed, stating in 1931 that secular education meant that 'the rising generation will be a prey to the communist'.[94] The parish magazine of St. Andrew's Walkerville, Adelaide, captured the mood when it warned that non-Church schools allowed for the 'perversion' of children by 'Communist Bolshevik missionaries'.[95]

The Church of England Messenger agreed with the core conceit that religious instruction in schools was the only way to ensure a healthy society. In a description of the situation in Soviet Russia, the periodical reported that the 'forbidding of religion to be taught in the schools' led to 'the consequent ghastly increase of immorality in children'.[96] This was not an idea limited to the Soviet example; it embodied an Anglican belief that the very concept of morality was tied to a religious education. Other commentators responded with some degree of praise for the Soviet education system, but only in its efficacy rather than its goals. For example, the parish paper of St. Mary's Caulfield reported in December 1936 that the Anglican Church should be directly inspired by the Russian example: 'they really believe that in education they have a means of establishing the kind of community they consider to be ideal'.[97] The author thus concluded that the only manner in which Australia could be transformed into a genuinely Christian society was for the Anglican Church to 'take the responsibility of training [the] young'.[98] The general Anglican sentiment can be summed up by Alfred Craig (1889-1968), the vicar of Holy Trinity Hampton (Melbourne), who declared that given that 'Communism with its foul and Godless teaching is an active force in our midst to-day', the practical solution was to ensure that the public could be taught 'the knowledge of the Fatherhood of

[90] A.L. Bulbeck, "Religious Education," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:12 (September 1937): 5.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Henry Langley, "The Vicar's Letter," *S. Mary's Church Chronicle* XXXIV:5 (June 1931): 2.
[95] "Are Church Schools Worth While?" *St. Andrew's Walkerville Parish Magazine* (October 1931): 2.
[96] "Tyranny of the Soviet," *The Church of England Messenger* LXII:1080 (February 7, 1930): 54.
[97] "Religion in Education," *S. Mary's Church Chronicle* I:13 (December 1936): 8.
[98] Ibid.

God, which is the greatest bulwark against Communistic propaganda'.[99] The struggle to influence the youth was a battlefield in which the Church was desperate to emerge victorious.

Communism as an Omnipresent Looming Spectre

Beyond the specific fears of economy and education, Australian Anglican commentators were prone to invoke the spectre of communism as something of a catch-all response to political events of which they disapproved. It could be invoked as a benchmark for the concept of evil. For example, *The Church Standard* criticised the politics of NSW Premier Jack Lang, who was generally despised by the Anglican Church due to his populist and economically progressive policies.[100] As part of his plan to alleviate the conditions of the working poor, Lang proposed to halt interest payments on British loans. In response, *The Church Standard* slammed him as a de facto communist:

> Whether or not Mr. Lang is the conscious agent of Moscow, in many ways he has caused us to think that he would rather take Moscow than Westminster as a guide, and further his recent actions and proposed legislation are such that their logical consequences would, in our opinion, tend to create that chaotic condition which is the native soil of revolutionary communism.[101]

The editor felt so strongly about these policies representing the '[un]conscious agent of Moscow' that it resolved that Governor 'Sir Philip Game in resisting the proposals of Mr. Lang is fighting a battle not only for the salvation of New South Wales, but for all Australia'.[102] Even if Lang was not a communist, his anti-British political decisions were understood as justifying the scathing comparison.

In another instance, Bishop George Cranswick (1882-1954) of Gippsland related to his flock in *The Church News for Gippsland* that 'the spirit of atheistic communism' had infected the NSW Government, which led them to deliberately open the Sydney Harbour Bridge during Holy Week to spite the Christian Churches.[103] *The Church Standard* agreed with this basic sentiment, though it went about outlining the horror of the situation more evocatively. Opening with a tale of the 'anti-religious campaign carried out by Communists in Spain', the author concluded that such extreme examples of communist 'white-anting tactics' were not the true threat to the Australian Anglican

---

[99] Alfred Craig, "Vicar's Letter," *Parish Paper* VII:51 (September 1932): 2.
[100] This was before the editorship of progressive firebrand Watts as editor, who may well have felt differently. For an example where *The Church Standard* was outraged that Lang acknowledged that the views of non-Christian Australians deserved respect, see: "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVIII:955 (December 12, 1930): 3.
[101] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XIX:984 (July 10, 1931): 3.
[102] Ibid.
[103] George Cranswick, "Letter from the Bishop," *The Church News* 31:1 (March 1932): 4.

Church.[104] Indeed, the fear of overt domination by communism represented an 'unconscious naiveté … that would be amusing were it not so serious, for here in Sydney, in a nominally Christian country, the Church has been the object of an attack in some ways far more deadly, because of its subtlety'.[105] As mentioned above, this deadly, subtle attack on the Church by the forces of secularism was the carnival atmosphere in Sydney during Easter. The writer was disgusted:

> Sydney bedecked with flags, the spirit of carnival everywhere, the ball rooms, theatres, racecourses and the Show Ground crowded with revellers and pleasure seekers, could hardly have shown more contempt for the most solemn season in the Church's Kalendar had it been under Communism.[106]

When not directly accusing communism of being the root cause of this spiritual injustice, *The Church Standard* nonetheless understood that such a comparison with a despised phenomenon would be a rhetorically useful approach. The article's purpose was to rally Anglican public support in favour of the sanctity of the Christian calendar, claiming that it was 'far better an open enemy' like communists than those who claim to be upstanding Christians but support the degradation of their faith by enjoying public ceremonies.[107]

Another example of communism being invoked to criticise domestic political events can be seen in Farnham Maynard's parish paper for St. Peter's Eastern Hill in September 1934. He was outraged at the construction of the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, labelling it 'the most pagan thing ever built in Australia'.[108] He was livid, announcing that:

> Our civic leaders are frequently warning us of the perils of Bolshevism, but they have suffered to be set up in our midst a monument which will need no alteration if the curse of Atheistic Communism is permitted to overwhelm our civilisation.[109]

He was prone to theatrics, as he outlined his refusal to attend the dedication ceremony thus:

> Two thousand years from hence it may be that this pile of stone will be all that is left of our present city, and archaeologists will be learnedly explaining that atheistic Communism must have overtaken Australian civilisation at least before this ruin was completed; for it will stand to reason that no Christian Community could possibly have set up a monument so utterly irreligious.[110]

This was seemingly a unique complaint made by Maynard, given that the Shrine attracted 300,000 people to its opening ceremony, the largest public gathering ever seen in Australia at that time, and

---

[104] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:1021 (April 1, 1932): 3.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Farnham Maynard, "Vicar's Letter," *St. Peter's Parish Paper* (September 1934): 3.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

was described by one Victorian newspaper as 'a noble shrine' that would come to achieve similar world respect as the Statue of Liberty.[111]

Rev. William Davies and Anti-Communism in Port Lincoln

The extent to which communism was viewed as a direct threat to Australian values and society by the Anglican Church is evident in the case study of William Davies (1983-1951), the rector of St. Thomas' Port Lincoln (SA). It is worth exploring in particular depth, as Davies was outspoken in his monthly letters to his parish and the situation devolved into such strife that it generated secular media attention. It is also an excellent case by which to explore how the lay Anglican public felt about communism beyond the guidance of their clergymen. It demonstrates the fear of communist infiltration of Australian society, as well as general sentiments as to what Anglican parishioners felt about communism. The fate of Davies has been covered before within the historical literature. David Hilliard published an account of 'The Anglican Schism at Port Lincoln, 1928-1955' in 1995.[112] Hilliard's scholarly interest was in the dispute over the appropriate level of Anglo-Catholicity of Anglican worship in the town, and thus framed the incident through this lens. While he acknowledged that Davies was 'a militant socialist' and was thus at odds with standard Anglican conservatism, Hilliard believed that doctrinal disputes were more passionate than political ones and covered the anti-communist element only in passing.[113] My study does not disagree with Hilliard's argument regarding the importance of Anglo-Catholicism in these events, but it seeks to restore the prominence of anti-communism to this schism.

Public fears of communism and personal anti-communist hostility played a significant role in the breakdown of the Port Lincoln Anglican community in the early 1930s. Rector William Davies was in charge of St. Thomas' Port Lincoln between 1928 and 1934. Shortly after arriving he began to alienate a significant portion of the community with his 'flamboyant Anglo-Catholicism,' and his tenure only became increasingly emotionally charged.[114] Davies' political ideals were considerably more radical than the mainstream views of both the residents of Port Lincoln, a regional and conservative community, and of the elder figures of the Anglican Church itself.[115] He was a supporter of the need for systemic change to assist the plight of the working man. Davies repeatedly devoted

[111] Carl Bridge, "Appeasement and After: Towards a Re-assessment of the Lyons and Menzies Governments' Defence and Foreign Policies, 1931-41," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51:3 (2005): 376.; "Shrine of Remembrance." *Record* 17 November 1934, 2.
[112] David Hilliard, "The Anglican Schism at Port Lincoln, 1928-1955," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 23 (1995): 51-69.
[113] Ibid., 61.
[114] David Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986): 63.
[115] William Davies, "The Rector's Monthly Letter," *The Ensign* 4:2 (June 1931): 3.

space in *The Ensign*, his monthly parish magazine, to asserting the right and duty of the Church to comment upon political issues irrespective of public disquiet at the Church 'interfering' in such matters.[116] In one instance his disdain for the proponents of such criticism is evident with his condescending and exasperated tone:

> In view of the volume of criticism directed against the priests of the Church of St Thomas because of their activities in the interests of social reform we reprint for the benefit of those who care to use their brains the Resolutions (73-80) of the 1920 Lambeth Conference.[117]

As a result of the economic upheaval caused by the Great Depression, Davies grew increasingly anti-capitalist. In a 1930 Easter Address he claimed that:

> In the present crisis in the world, while we witness the deathpangs of the capitalist order of Society it is our duty to trumpet aloud our conviction that until men come back to the one true faith and fashion Society on the basis of the one true Faith there can be no permanent amelioration of the ills of human society.[118]

In January 1931, he criticised 'the capitalist' as acting out of pure self interest in 'amassing more unnecessary wealth' and that 'no fortune is possible that is not made up of the work of labourers'.[119] In May of that year, Davies stated in his Annual Report that 'I am increasingly confident that there is no solution for our ills within the framework of the capitalist order of society' and continued on to explain that Christian empathy cannot co-exist with the corruption of Australian capitalist society.[120] Davies was not necessarily totally out of step with the Anglican mainstream on this point, given that various bishops of the Church agreed with the premise that capitalism in its existing form had failed, as we have seen earlier in this chapter. Yet, the extremity of his proposed solutions went beyond the spiritual vagaries proffered by other clergymen. While comparatively radical, Davies was nevertheless still opposed to communism, although not to the same extreme degree as others. In the aforementioned 1930 Easter Address, he posited that, given the failure of capitalism, the future would be fought between two groups. The first of these was 'those who accept philosophical and historical materialism,' the communists.[121] The second were the Anglo-Catholics, whose belief system was 'the only possible basis to a full and cultured life for the members of human Society'.[122]

---

[116] William Davies, "Christian Aspects of the Labour Question," *The Ensign* 3:9 (January 1931): 7.; "The Church and Politics," *The Ensign* 4:2 (June 1931): 4-5.
[117] "The Bishops and Social Reform," *The Ensign* 4:2 (June 1931): 4.
[118] William Davies, "Rector's Address to the Vestry Easter 1930," *The Ensign* 2:13 (May 1930): 3.
[119] William Davies, "Christian Aspects of the Labour Question," *The Ensign* 3:9 (January 1931): 7.
[120] William Davies, "Rector's Annual Report," *The Ensign* 4:1 (May 1931): 3.
[121] Davies, "Rector's Address to the Vestry Easter 1930," 3.
[122] Ibid.

In April 1932, he denounced the concept of class warfare, something central to Marxist orthodoxy.[123] His resolute socialism did not mean he was sympathetic towards Bolshevik-style revolution.

The inciting incident for the chain of events leading to the breakdown of the Port Lincoln Anglican community occurred in early May 1931. In the Parish Hall after church services on a Sunday night, a public meeting of about fifty people gathered to discuss the issue of Christian opposition to war. The chairman, Rev. Eric Tregilgas of the Port Lincoln Methodist Church, opened by affirming that the meeting 'would not be allowed to develop into a political or sectarian one'.[124] Yet, he immediately continued with 'just as he was opposed to war, he was against Communism, for though many Communists may rant against war, they were not opposed to it if it suited their own ends'.[125] Given that the entire purpose of the meeting was to come together to issue a political statement on the topic of war, the tone was set that 'politics and sectarianism' in this case meant pro-communist statements. The conflation of the fear of communism and the fear of war more generally was re-affirmed by Mr V. R. Mitton of the Port Lincoln Baptist Church, who after affirming that his Church was morally opposed to international war segued into a criticism that 'the Communist group was in favour of civil war if it suited its own ends'.[126] The event then discussed the Christian understanding of warfare, and voted that war was incompatible with the Gospel of Christ.[127] This was a relatively radical position to take, as while the mainstream Anglican Church held a basic level of sympathy towards pacifism, it repeatedly expressed the idea that it was not a practical option in reality.[128] At the conclusion to this event, Davies' assistant priest Alfred Baker (1904-1989) called a surprise resolution. The text of this proposal was as follows:

> That this meeting of citizens of Port Lincoln views with great alarm the spirit of extreme nationalism and jingoism engendered in the minds of the children by the ceremony of saluting the Flag, as practisted [sic] in the State and High Schools of this State, and in the interests of international peace and goodwill, believing that such is of the greatest danger to such peace and goodwill, calls upon the Minister of Education to have his ceremony discontinued. This meeting further directs that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Minister of Education.[129]

Chairman Tregilgas expressed shock and outrage, but was procedurally compelled to allow the vote, which to his dismay registered a tie at 18 votes each for yea and nay.[130] Tregilgas thus, in the words

---

[123] William Davies, "The Rector's Monthly Letter," *The Ensign* 4:11 (April 1932): 3.
[124] "Resolution of Protest Against War," *Port Lincoln Times*, 8 May 1931, 12.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] For example, Bishop Nutter Thomas proclaimed in 1936 that 'pacifism would bring about greater evils than it sought to avoid': Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:3 (December 1936): 3.
[129] "Amazing Motion Moved by Church of England Clergyman," *Port Lincoln Times,* 8 May 1931, 7.
[130] Ibid., 9.

of an indignant article on the event in the *Port Lincoln Times*, 'expressed loyalty to Country, King and Flag' by breaking that tie in favour of disapproval.[131] The journalist continued, praising Tregilgas' defeat of a 'seditious thrust at the Sovereign'.[132]

As suggested by the content of the above article, public hostility to this attempted resolution was swift and strong. The Mayor sent a telegram to the Premier to condemn Baker, and implied that Baker was acting under instruction from Davies. The Mayor stated that he 'disapproved of the tactics of Mr. Davies, and that until such time that he stopped causing friction in the community [the Mayor] would have nothing to do with him'.[133] It is interesting to note that Davies was referred to here as 'Mr.' rather than the traditional 'Rev.,' which may have been a deliberate expression of personal disrespect. On top of this, the Returned Sailors and Soldiers' Imperial League met the following day and passed three unanimous resolutions:

> That the sub-Branch views with disgust the disloyal motion submitted at a public meeting in Port Lincoln on Sunday, May 3, and declares its conviction that such motion expresses the views of a very small section of the residents of Port Lincoln.
>
> That the sub-Branch declares its whole hearted desire for the abolition of war but will not countenance any movement which might imperil the safety of Australia or which does not declare its staunch loyalty to King and Empire.
>
> That all loyal citizens be called upon to actively combat those reactionary forces whose aims are inimical to the peace and safety of Australia.[134]

With these resolutions, it is clear that the League considered that the vote was the act of a 'movement which might imperil the safety of Australia' rather than those of an individual, and that it felt that active opposition to these 'reactionary forces' was mandatory for 'loyal citizens'. It is not hard to extrapolate from context that communism was the 'reactionary force' deemed a threat here.

This level of condemnation was not sufficient for the community in Port Lincoln. On Thursday 7 May, a few days after the original Sunday 3 May meeting, another was convened in the Town Hall to denounce Baker as disloyal.[135] Roman Catholic Father P. L. Kelly claimed that 'today the enemy is insidious', while the President of the Port Lincoln Returned Sailors and Soldiers' League insisted that 'the idea [to halt the flag-saluting ceremony] was so absurd that they had every reason to suspect a sinister motive'.[136] The fact that when Davies was called upon to defend himself and St. Thomas', his first act was to try to reassure the listeners that the public meetings regularly held in his

---

[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid, 7.
[133] "Council Expresses Indignation," *Port Lincoln Times*, 8 May 1931, 9.
[134] Ibid., 13.
[135] "Citizens Declare Staunch Loyalty to Country, King and Flag," *Port Lincoln Times*, 15 May 1931, 9.
[136] Ibid.

church 'are not of a Communistic nature' strongly suggests that this was a charge against him that was readily assumed.[137] The public understanding of the situation hinged around the perceived failure of Rev. Davies to uphold the staunch anti-communism expected of a priest of the Anglican Church. Davies distanced himself from Baker's motion, claiming that because he was out of town that day he had no advance knowledge of the 'unfortunate and regrettable resolution'.[138] He appealed to the audience on their own nationalistic terms, pleading that suggesting the Church of St. Thomas endorsed Baker's views were 'not fair; it is not playing the game; it is not British'.[139] He nevertheless attempted to defend Baker on a personal level, stating that he was young and inexperienced, rather than disloyal. During this defence, he was interrupted by a member of the crowd accusing Baker of being easily led, implicitly by communism.[140]

Davies also addressed the claim that 'he had made the bullets, and left Mr Baker to fire them'.[141] In response to this, Davies acknowledged that 'he was being charged in many quarters with being a Communist'.[142] His retort was simple: 'That was not true, for a Communist was not a Christian'.[143] Yet, this statement was not enough for some in the audience. After a discussion regarding the specific flag-related practice at Port Lincoln schools, a subsequent speaker, Mr T. E. Ashton, the president of the High School Council, shifted the topic of inquiry back to the supposed communist threat posed by Davies.[144] He stated that 'certain literature had been circulated in the town by the rector, some of it finding its way into unemployed camps'.[145] Ashton then read aloud an extract of this unnamed pamphlet, which bore no link with the purpose of the meeting other than a shared fear of communism:

> The [Anglo-]Catholic Church if true to its purpose and to its Leader, must, in the midst of anti-Christian systems of Society be a Revolutionary Church, the Red Army of the Divine Revolutionary of the Gallilee. It must therefore be the greatest enemy of the Capitalist system throughout the World, and of all the Empires of the World, including the British Empire.[146]

When Davies stated that this pamphlet did come from the rectory, he was met with cries of 'Boo' and 'Shame'. When he retorted 'Do you all agree with every paper that comes into your household?'

---

[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid, 13.

he was swiftly jeered with 'Not *The Ensign*!'[147] Questioning continued down this track, with a Mr J. Campbell interrogating Davies regarding claims that "Russia was on the right track," and how that could be reconciled with Christianity.[148] Davies dismissively answered that he could explain it to him later in private. Finally, the meeting passed a resolution condemning Baker's intentions as disloyal, and '[calling] upon the citizens to resist actively any persons acting contrary to the permanent peace and order of the Commonwealth'.[149] This resolution was seen as so important that it was cabled to the Premier, apparently to warn him of the communist menace threatening Port Lincoln.[150] The way in which the interrogation focussed specifically on political issues, with communism brought up repeatedly, suggests that Hilliard's interpretation of Anglo-Catholicism as the core aspect of dispute is only part of the story.

Davies' response to the situation outlines the way in which an Anglican priest was expected to conform to the overall Church's anti-communist platform. Davies' letter in the July 1931 issue of *The Ensign* summed up his exasperation with the situation in Port Lincoln:

> There has been a good deal to laugh about during the past few weeks in Port Lincoln. … The most extraordinary feature, and the most amusing to me, has been the fact that a Bishop, or Bernard Shaw, or Ibsen, or Capek, or Thomson, can say the most extreme and what some people call revolutionary things and they are hailed with applause, and with a gentle murmur of "How clever and interesting." But let a simple priest say the same things in blunt and unpolished terms and he is hounded and called "disloyal," and his name sent to the Premier.[151]

His point rings true to some considerable extent. For example, the bishop overseeing Davies' parish of Port Lincoln was Richard Thomas of Willochra, who publicly called for the replacement of the Australian Government with a dictatorship and received no censure.[152] Davies made little attempt to hide his bitterness over the situation:

> If you want your boy to grow up with that philosophy go on believing and teaching the old outworn theories. Go on refusing to listen to the eager voices speaking in the world outside. Go on refusing to listen to those who are perhaps saying things which are strange to your ears. Go on shouting, 'Bolshevist,' and 'disloyal,' to those who are trying to bring the new knowledge into contact with everyday things. Go on, in fact, burying your heads in the sand and closing your eyes and ears to the great world which nevertheless will roll on and leave us in a backwater with bits of broken dreams and shattered toys.[153]

---

[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] William Davies, "The Rector's Monthly Letter," *The Ensign* 4:3 (July 1931): 3.
[152] Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order*, 108.
[153] Davies, "The Rector's Monthly Letter," *The Ensign* 4:3 (July 1931): 3.

Davies' clerical woes continued, as in 1932 a significant portion of his followers abandoned him to form their own rival Anglican congregation on the outskirts of town, at St. Nicholas' mission hall.[154] This schism was the main focus of Hilliard's interest, especially in the competing forms of ceremony at the new church. With ever increasing bitterness evident in his monthly letter in *The Ensign*, Davies continued to preach against the perceived failures of capitalism while nonetheless rejecting communism.[155] This continued until October 1933, when Davies was forced to cease publication of *The Ensign* by the Parish Council, ostensibly for budgetary problems caused by the abandonment of much of the flock.[156] His outspoken political views were central to this rift, however. By May 1934, Davies gave up and resigned, returning to England. He compared his time in Port Lincoln to the ordeal experienced by St. Paul in his arduous struggle to convert the Romans in first-century Ephesus to Christianity.[157] This case study demonstrates the extent to which Australian Anglicans feared the infiltration of subversive communism by an anti-capitalist priest, even when said priest repeatedly and expressly denounced communist aims and methods.

It is clear that the fear of and disgust towards communism was rife throughout the interwar Australian Anglican Church. It was frequently likened to a deadly disease, one that rotted out the very concept of Britishness and Christianity. Clergymen believed it was their spiritual duty to protect Australia from communist infiltration and subversion. They believed that they could accomplish this through bringing the horrors of communism to public attention and by supporting the working classes whose livelihoods had been destroyed by the Great Depression. They thought that infusing overt Christianity into public education would inoculate children against the communist contagion. The case study of Rev. Davies demonstrates that this anti-communist passion was not limited to the clergy, but was held by the laity as well. Even still, however, there remained a significant undercurrent of sympathy for some of the broader aims of communism, and an overt acknowledgement of the failings of capitalism and the need to learn from communism, if only to more reliably defeat it in the battle for Australia's revitalised future society.

Following the structure established in the first section, the next chapter will continue to explore Australian Anglican responses to communism. It explains how the Church understood the impact of communism in the international sphere through a focus on two key case studies: the Soviet Union and China.

---

[154] Hilliard, "Anglican Schism and Port Lincoln," 64.
[155] William Davies, "Rector's Monthly Letter," *The Ensign* V:10 (February 1933): 3.
[156] William Davies, "Rector's Monthly Letter," *The Ensign* VI:4 (October 1933): 3.
[157] "Rector's Farewell Sermon," *Port Lincoln Times*, 25 May 1934, 12.

Chapter Four: Communism in the International Realm: The Soviet Union and the Chinese Civil War

Given the Australian Anglican disgust towards communism in the abstract and the apparent threat of communism in Australia, it is unsurprising that Australian Anglicans held a similarly intense hostility towards communism in the international sphere. There were two main distinct, but overlapping, Anglican concerns regarding communism in the international realm, represented by the Soviet Union and the Chinese Civil War.

The Soviet Union featured heavily in Anglican sources throughout the interwar period, overwhelmingly in the context of reporting ungodly hardships upon the local population. The Soviet Union's campaigns of state atheism and the persecution of Russian Christians meant that the majority of Australian Anglican commentary on 'the Soviet experiment' was scathing. However, even amongst Russia's most ardent critics there was frequently an acknowledgement of some level of success in their remaking of society, and an awareness that some of these utopian aims could be commended. The Anglican sympathy for Soviet aspirations reached an unlikely zenith in the account of Helen Baillie, an Anglican laywoman whose visit to the Soviet Union in 1936 resulted in a glowing review of the country published in the prominent Anglican periodical *The Australian Church Quarterly*.

The persistent fear of the potential spread of communism beyond the borders of the Soviet Union was an important part of how Anglicans understood the apparent threat of communism within Australia's borders. The case of the Chinese Civil War demonstrates the extent to which they understood communist goals of violent and terroristic expansion. Interwar Australian Anglicanism believed strongly in missionary activity, and it was often thought that Soviet-directed communism represented the gravest threat to worldwide Christian evangelism. The case of China presented a cautionary tale, but also an uplifting one: by the late 1930s communism was seemingly on the wane due to the leadership of recent Christian convert Chiang Kai-Shek. He and his wife Soong Mei-Ling were understood as examples of how to defeat communism: through a Christianising revolution of public and personal morality.

Overall, this chapter argues that Australian Anglicans viewed the Soviet Union with fear and hostility, though sometimes with an element of hesitant fascination. The Church believed that international events pertaining to communism were inherently newsworthy, even if they featured places typically ignored by the Australian public, because of the threat communism posed to Christian society. The global threat of Soviet tendrils was a core component of Australian Anglican perceptions of interwar international affairs.

Horror and Fascination towards 'the Soviet Experiment'

Given the extent to which Australian Anglicans feared the infiltration of Australian society by agents of Moscow, it is not surprising that their primary interest in international communism was directed towards the domestic realities of the Soviet Union itself. Their responses were driven by both horror and fascination. Anglican writing that was dominated by horror can be broken down further into two broad categories: lamentations over the persecution of Christianity specifically, and disgust over the transformation of certain broader societal norms such as the role of family and sex. Both of these will be examined in turn. Yet, as we have seen, even with widespread condemnation of Soviet policies, some Anglican commentators could not resist a certain degree of sympathy with the aims of the 'Soviet experiment'. Soviet society was cast as more efficient than its capitalist competitors and broadly supported by the populace. Overt sympathy for Soviet aspirations increased in 1936 after a relaxation of official religious persecution.

Persecution of Russian Christians

The suffering of Russian Christians under the Soviet heel was among the most popular international topics covered in Australian Anglican publications. While the Soviet Union had proclaimed its overt hostility to organised religion as early as 1918, practical realities in establishing the new regime meant that the assault on the Orthodox Church was initially limited to the official separation of church and state, separation of church and schooling, and the confiscation of institutional Church property.[1] After the conclusion of the Civil War in 1922, the Soviet State imprisoned the Patriarch and sponsored a rival Church hierarchy, more explicitly amenable to Soviet political needs, called the Living Church.[2] This organisation was not especially popular, and by 1929 it was evident to Soviet authorities that their anti-religious campaign was not working as well as hoped. The middle of that year began a new phase of anti-religious persecution, one that was much more violent and indiscriminate.[3] Public manifestations of faith and church propaganda were criminalised, existing places of worship were closed, children were encouraged to ridicule their parents' spiritual beliefs, and most gallingly to foreign observers, priests were brutalised through imprisonment, deportation

[1] Daniela Kalkandjieva, *The Russian Orthodox Church, 1917-1948: From Decline to Resurrection* (London: Routledge, 2015): 13.
[2] Philip Walters, "The Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet State," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 483 (1986): 136.
[3] Stephanie Roulin, "A Martyr Factory? Roman Catholic Crusade, Protestant Missions and Anti-Communist Propaganda Against Soviet Anti-Religious Policies, 1929-37," *Twentieth Century Communism* 7:7 (2014): 157.

to labour camps, and even execution.[4] Foreign condemnation was particularly outraged by the new policy of targeting all religion in the Soviet Union, rather than solely the Russian Orthodox Church. For instance, an article in the Adelaide *Advertiser* from June 1929 was mostly interested in the shifting fate of Russian Baptists, who had previously been openly tolerated by the Government as a potential rival to Orthodox hegemony.[5] Swiss historian Stephanie Roulin argues that the Roman Catholic Church deliberately declined to comment on Soviet religious persecution throughout the 1920s, even as the Church was resolutely anti-communist in general, because it benefitted from the weakened authority of the Moscow Patriarchate.[6] The Roman Church first issued a formal denunciation of Soviet policy in early February 1930, when persecution began to directly impact Roman Catholics within the Soviet domain.[7] Within a few weeks the Archbishop of Canterbury added official Anglican protest.[8]

Anglican outrage over the persecution of Christianity in Russia was not limited to the UK. Australian clergymen took up the cause with gusto. *The Adelaide Church Guardian* officially endorsed the calls by the Archbishop of Canterbury to turn 16 March 1930 into a worldwide day of prayer for Russian Christians, as did *The Church of England Messenger*.[9] The horrific suffering of Russian Christians was emphasised: the priests exiled to Siberia were 'suffering far harsher treatment than that meted out to political prisoners under the Czars'.[10] *The Church Chronicle of Ballarat* reported statistics supposedly from a Russian Orthodox bishop asserting that '31 bishops, 1560 clergymen, and more than 7000 monks and nuns of the Russian Church have been killed, without trial or hearing, while 48 bishops, 3700 clergymen and more than 10,000 monks and nuns are in prisons'.[11] At the end of March 1930, *The Church of England Messenger* described the worldwide day of prayer for Russian Christians. The periodical took an optimistic tone, believing that prayer had achieved at least some of its goals:

> On Monday morning [the day after the prayer] we were told that the rigour of the persecution was being lessened. We trust that the world has not been misinformed, and that this misguided policy is coming to an end…. It would seem that the protest which has been made quickly bore fruit.[12]

---

[4] Ibid.
[5] "Soviet Blow at Christianity," *The Advertiser*, 7 June 1929, 19.
[6] Roulin, "A Martyr Factory?" 159.
[7] Ibid.
[8] "Soviet Persecution," *The Argus*, 14 February 1930, 7.
[9] "Prayers for Christians in Russia," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIV:6 (March 1930): 11.; Frederick Head, "A Lenten Pastoral," *The Church of England Messenger* LXII:1082 (March 7, 1930): 99.
[10] "Tyranny of the Soviet," *The Church of England Messenger* LXII:1080 (February 7, 1930): 54.
[11] "Atheism or Liberty," *The Church Chronicle* XLI:4 (April 1930): 82.
[12] "The Russian Church," *The Church of England Messenger* LXII:1083 (March 21, 1930): 124.

This was far from the case.

Australian Anglican interest in the fate of persecuted Christians in the Soviet Union was not limited to this initial burst of Soviet anti-clerical activity. The April 1930 declaration in *The Living Church in the Diocese of Wangaratta* that 'we should keep remembering the Russians until the tyranny ends' was indicative of the ongoing Anglican interest.[13] *The Church of England Messenger* reported in May 1930 that support for the Russian Christian was a 'widespread interest' across the entire Anglican world.[14] In March 1931, that periodical proclaimed that continued Soviet persecution of Christianity was demonstrative of its universal truth, as why else would the government be so afraid of its power.[15] It insisted that no matter how bad the situation looked, Soviet 'victory cannot be permanent'.[16] By May 1931, *The Church of England Messenger* had to issue a statement telling its readership to stop requesting days of prayer for Russia, as their frequency risked diluting their impact.[17]

The high point of Anglican denunciation in Victoria came in August 1931, when a joint manifesto was launched by a number of church leaders from various denominations, including Archbishop Head. The proclamation explicitly denied that it sought to influence the domestic politics of a foreign sovereign nation: 'we are not so much concerned in the economic and political changes as in the fact that the Bolshevists are making systematic war on religion'.[18] It denounced the fact that 'the despotic Soviet Government is atheist, and regards religion as an anti-social factor which must be removed. … Religion in all its forms is hated and feared'.[19] It continued, stating that 'authenticated figures show that the Soviet Government have already exterminated 30 bishops, 2,691 parish priests, 1,962 monks and 3,440 nuns, clerks and Church officers; to-day tens of thousands are perishing in the cruel timber camps'.[20] The proclamation suggested a specific prayer for daily use, which called upon God 'to look in mercy upon Thy Church in Russia, and to shorten the days of its affliction,' as well as to 'bestow upon the Christians of Russia constancy of faith and courage in the face of adversity'.[21] The manifesto concluded with a call for 'all who believe in

[13] "Russian Persecution," *The Living Church* II:11 (April 1930): 11.
[14] "A Refined Bolshevism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXII:1088 (May 30, 1930): 252.
[15] "Russia and the Bible," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1109 (March 20, 1931): 124.
[16] Ibid.
[17] "Prayer for the Church in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1113 (May 15, 1931): 230.
[18] "Christianity in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1119 (August 7, 1931): 363.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

freedom to help in a great protest against this revival of the worst methods of barbarism'.[22] An explanation of the letter in the same issue announced that:

> So long as [anti-clericalism] remains, and it seems to be a permanent constituent of Marxian communism, and there is continuance of persecution of those who cling to the practices of their religion, the Church must continue to pray for and to help the victims of this twentieth century intolerance.[23]

While the Anglican sources did not maintain quite this density of published passion for the plight of Russian Christians, it nevertheless remained a mainstay throughout the 1930s, just as implored above. *The Church of England Messenger* reported positively on perceived failings of the anti-God campaign and of shifts in official Soviet policy that indicated an increased tolerance for Christianity.[24] *The Church Chronicle for Ballarat* strongly believed that 'the Orthodox Church will emerge purified and strengthened from its years of persecution under the Soviet regime'.[25] *The Church Standard* wrote frequently on the topic, and in particular was interested in recounting personal tales from persecuted Russian Christians. One such example was Inocento Serisev, a Russian priest who fled the hardships of Soviet Russia for Japan and eventually Sydney.[26] These individualised accounts ensured that tales of the sufferings of Russian Christians were not abstract.

Soviet Russia as an Immoral Society

While the sad and violent fate of persecuted Russian Christians met with the most overt and emotional responses from Australian Anglican publications, there was another form of running commentary regarding the Soviet Union throughout the interwar period. Apart from just the harsh fate of Russian Christians, Australian Anglican publications were impassioned about the overall nature of Soviet society. These observers despised many of the new aspects of Soviet society, and saw them as directly linked to the same anti-religious sentiment that caused such grief to the Russian priesthood. This sentiment was summarised succinctly by Frank Harty (1898-1988) in *The Adelaide Church Guardian* in 1930: as a result of policies made by 'a wolf-pack who hate science, philosophy and art. … Russia today is Hell on earth'.[27] Two key points were emphasised in this denunciation of the Soviet experience: that the Soviet Government relied on force and brutality to

[22] Ibid.
[23] "The Menace of Communism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1119 (August 7, 1931): 364.
[24] "The "Anti-God" Campaign in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVI:1165 (May 12, 1933): 211.; "Moscow Churches Crowded," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1221 (June 21, 1935): 304.
[25] "Religion in Russia," *The Church Chronicle* XLVI:11 (November 1935): 258.
[26] Inocento Serisev, "Russian Priest's Life Story," *The Church Standard* XXIII:1167 (February 1, 1935): 5.
[27] "The Evolution of the Bolshevik," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIV:5 (February 1930): 6.

control its subjects, and that its social reforms represented the height of materialist immorality. Each will be explored in turn.

The despotic nature of the Soviet Government was repeatedly emphasised by Australian Anglican observers, often with an unfavourable comparison to Australian/British Imperial democracy. These observers sought to reassure their readership that the Russian public was avowedly anti-Bolshevik in nature, and the vast majority of the population were victims rather than collaborators. An article from *The Church Standard* in 1928 reported on a document promulgated by Russian exiles in Paris who claimed to represent 'the real sentiments of the Russian people, now become slaves'.[28] The newspaper was supportive of the proclamation, and warned its readership that they must oppose 'the folly, nay the madness, of trying to progress in any social direction by a reign of terror and the suppression of free thought'.[29] An article in the same paper from early 1931 declared that the situation in Soviet Russia was even worse than chattel slavery. This was because 'fresh supplies of [political prisoner] slaves are always available,' meaning that 'those financial reasons do not exist which dictated the preservation of life, at least, of a bought slave'.[30] Bishop Donald Baker (1882-1968) of Bendigo proclaimed to his 1931 Synod that 'only a small fragment of the Russians are really in sympathy with Bolshevic [*sic*] ideals. Especially (so it is alleged) is this true of the peasants.'[31] He argued that any apparent peasant support for the Soviet State was simply the result of 'land-hunger' rather than genuine ideological belief.[32] He believed that once these peasants had been satiated in this regard, they remained victims of brutal suppression, given that 'Bolshevic [*sic*] Communism rests on force'.[33] The specific nature of Soviet society was sometimes slightly unclear in this commentary. For example, excerpts from Bishop Lewis Radford (1869-1937) of Goulburn's 1932 Synod Address were replicated in *The Church of England Messenger*. Radford declared that Soviet society was 'not the coercion of law but of lawlessness'.[34] The implication was that Soviet rule was so arbitrary and unjust that the rules governing society could not even be considered laws.

The apparent repudiation of traditional family life was perhaps the most troubling non-violent element of Soviet society to Australian Anglicans. Norman Crawford, priest-in-charge of Church of the Good Shepherd Plympton (Adelaide), offered a representative example of this

---

[28] "The Russian National Union," *The Church Standard* XVI:806 (January 20, 1928): 374.
[29] Ibid., 375.
[30] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVIII:962 (February 13, 1931): 3.
[31] Lewis Radford, "Modern Communism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIII:1121 (September 4, 1931): 411.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] "The New Coercion," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1139 (May 13, 1932): 220.

sentiment in March 1931. He exhorted that 'with the rejection of Christian belief goes the repudiation of Christian morals'.[35] He was disgusted that 'home sanctities, the marriage ties and the standard of Christ have been assailed'.[36] *The Church Standard* offered in March 1930 an account of the ways in which Moscow sought 'to destroy religious liberty and Christian morality'.[37] William Johnson, the Dean of Newcastle and future Bishop of Ballarat, felt that the destruction of the traditional family structure was perhaps 'the greatest danger to the whole structure of European civilisation'.[38] He described 'a frightful curse of vagabond children, waifs who belong to no one, but subsist[ing] in the most frightful state of wretchedness, physical and moral, upon the charity of the people, themselves dreadfully poor'.[39] He suggested that money that should have been used to protect these 'wild children' was instead being devoted to propagating international class war.[40] Johnson was disgusted that Soviet youth received sex education, which he insisted resulted in widespread sexual promiscuity and the abandonment to the wild of 'countless' young mothers and children.[41] In 1930 one diocesan paper reported on a 'war against dolls in Russia' which indicated that the very concept of childhood joy was to be destroyed.[42] By 1934, Head proclaimed that Soviet society could not last much longer 'without the sanctity of the home'.[43] In 1936, his diocesan magazine agreed, suggesting that skyrocketing rates of divorce in Russia signalled that society was teetering on failure.[44]

The Anglican obsession with maintaining traditional sexual values can be most directly seen in a report in *The Church Standard* in March 1932. It was an extract from an article written for the Australian Women's Guild of Empire by one Catherine Mackerras. She reviewed *Revolutionary Communism: Property, Sex and the Family in Soviet Russia* (1932) by Garnet Portus (1983-1954), a trained Anglican priest and lecturer in economic history at the University of Sydney. Portus' booklet was a transcription of a speech given at the annual conference for the Australian Student Christian Movement of that year. Mackerras' review was scathing, and *The Church Standard* explicitly endorsed it. In response to Portus' claim that marriage's main purpose is alleviating the biological desire for sex, even in Christian countries, Mackerras was outraged.[45] Portus reported positively on

---

[35] Norman Crawford, "Priest-in-Charge's Letter," *The Link* 34 (March 1931): 2.
[36] Ibid.
[37] William Johnson, "Bolshevism," *The Church Standard* XVIII:916 (March 14, 1930): 450.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] "War Against Dolls in Russia," *The Church News* 29:3 (May 1930): 6.
[43] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVII:1182 (January 5, 1934): 5.
[44] "Divorce in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1235 (January 3, 1936): 18.
[45] Catherine Mackerras, "The Arm-Chair Bolshevik," *The Church Standard* XX:1018 (March 11, 1932): 10.

the Soviet acceptance of sex as a natural function, and Mackerras decried this as evidence that communism had shattered the very concept of romantic love.[46] She argued that the abandonment of female chastity as a prized social virtue inevitably resulted in the exploitation of 'thousands of unhappy girls who were bourgeois enough to prize their virginity'.[47] She warned that legalising promiscuity was an untenable position that would cause so much social disruption that it would need to be abandoned. In response to Portus' suggestion that Soviet policy did not envisage the destruction of the family as a concept, Mackerras was indignant, adamant that 'the abolition of the family has always been one of their chief objectives'.[48] She concluded with the point that communism was a 'sexually depraved' and 'barbarous and degraded' ideology, and expressed disgust that Portus was seemingly among those 'who are anxious for the Russian experiment to succeed'.[49] The obvious point here to emphasise is that Mackerras took for granted that the failure of 'the Russian experiment' was desirable. In accusing Portus of supporting Soviet policy, Mackerras implicitly suggested that he too was tainted with sexual depravity and barbarous, degraded morals. Of these two voices, Mackerras was more representative of the Anglican norm than was Portus. The latter's support for a Christianised form of communism labelled him as notorious amongst his fellow co-religionists.[50] *The Church of England Messenger* also commented upon Portus' presentation, though in less passionate terms than *The Church Standard*. It simply reported with comparatively little editorialisation that the Soviets 'regarded with disfavour two of the institutions characteristic of our society – private property and the family'.[51] It is likely that the editor did not feel it necessary to rouse the passion of the readership as Mackerras did, given that they were unlikely to sympathise with these positions.

Australian Anglican periodicals often reported examples in which Soviet policy seemed to falter in order to discredit communist ideology and to reassure themselves that the 'experiment' was incapable of success. *The Willochran* offered 'Strange News from Russia' in 1932, reporting that the 'Marxian philosophy of equality of wages' was being abandoned by Stalin.[52] It then suggested that the acceptance of the principle of individualism had embarrassed communism, which would

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] For example, *The Church Standard* in 1931 declared that Portus' ideas regarding communism 'come up short' and even indicated that he fundamentally misunderstood Christianity: "Communism and Christianity," *The Church Standard* XX:991 (August 28, 1931): 19.
[51] "The Annual Conference of the Australian Student Christian Movement," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1132 (February 5, 1932): 57.
[52] "Strange News from Russia," *The Willochran* III:78 (January 1932): 669.

now have to make 'an historic "volte face"' in order to survive.[53] Sometimes these commentaries involved a degree of sardonic humour. For example, *The Church of England Messenger* published 'a curious story' from the Uzbek state newspaper *Pravda Vostoka*. It recounted the tale of a State vodka shop being forced to put up a poster warning that vodka was a poison and alcoholism the Soviet Union's deadly enemy, and another outlining that due to the State wanting to reward its citizens drink shops will remain open until 10pm.[54] The intention of the story was to suggest a self-evident and embarrassingly comical discrepancy between Soviet ideals and Soviet reality. Bishop Stephen Hart (1866-1952) of Wangaratta took this approach to its logical conclusion in December 1936 when he declared to a conference audience that 'Bolshevism has not accomplished Communism', and that it would never manage to do so.[55] Presaging decades of academic debate, he declared that 'Stalin is not easily distinguishable from Hitler or Mussolini', and that all three totalitarian states were abominable.[56] The basic Australian Anglican sentiment is summed up in *The Church Standard* by the words of A. Clunies Ross when he declared that communism had led to ten years of misery in Russia.[57] Though written in 1932, this sentiment could be extrapolated to any year throughout the 1930s and still accurately represent the Australian Anglican perspective.

Acknowledgement of Some Soviet Successes

Even though general Australian Anglican sentiment was implacably hostile towards the anti-Christian ideals and practices of the Soviet Union, there remained an undeniable element of awe and wonder in relation to its apparent successes. Even amongst those who denounced the atheistic nature of communism, there could sometimes be found an element of admiration for Soviet advancements. This undercurrent became more apparent from 1936 onwards, as that year represented a shift, at least in legal terms, away from explicit religious persecution.

The fundamental contradictions faced by Australian Anglicans when discussing the enigma of the Soviet Union and its revolutionary society are articulated in an article from *The Church Standard* in March 1930, at the height of Anglican outrage over Christian persecution. The editor

[53] Ibid.
[54] "Facing Both Ways," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIV:1136 (April 1, 1932): 165.
[55] "Presidential Address of the Bishop of Wangaratta at the Triennial Conference, Sydney, December 11, 1936," *The Australian Churchman* 9:11 (January 1937): 7.
[56] Ibid.
[57] A. Clunies Ross, "The Church and Communism," *The Church Standard* XX:1031 (June 10, 1932): 4.

endorsed a League of Nations Union pamphlet, which was touted as offering 'a view of the progress of Bolshevism very different from that conveyed by the daily press'.[58] He suggested that:

> Bolshevism is the most colossal, the most complex, the most extraordinary experiment in re-fashioning human society that ever has been attempted on earth. It is a gigantic, original and strange compound of good and evil. At times it fills us with horror, terror and disgust; at other times it moves us to wonder and admiration. It unites savagery with idealism; cold blooded cruelty with brotherliness; atheism with sincerity. It operates with a scale of moral values different from those prevalent in our own civilisation and which cannot be reduced to our ethical formulas, because they do not coincide with our moral distinctions.[59]

This quote encapsulates the sheer confusion and seeming contradictions of Soviet society as viewed from Australia. That this statement was published at all in a newspaper so vehemently anti-communist at the time is itself striking, demonstrating the potential nuance of Australian Anglican responses to the Soviet Union through the interwar period.

Given that the primary cause of Australian Anglican hostility towards the Soviet Union was its policy of state atheism, there was some scope for a positive portrayal of Soviet politics that seemed to avoid that touchy subject. Even in parish papers like Norman Crawford's of March 1931, in which communist anti-religious propaganda was described as a 'noxious poison-gas over civilisation', it could be suggested that 'Russia in revolution is probably evolving some good things'.[60] The implication of this praise, however, was that Christian nations should be inspired to achieve similar results in their own countries, lest communism appear the more appealing option to the public. Communist successes were often an ominous warning rather than something to be celebrated. *The Church Standard* reported on this idea in late 1929, stating that:

> Bolshevism cannot be regarded as a merely negative revolutionary movement. It contains really positive elements which cannot fail to make permanent contributions to the course of human development.[61]

Yet, these positive elements needed to be co-opted by Western societies 'to help us change the spirit and the working of our so-called social order', rather than uncritically endorsed in the Soviet context.[62] Bishop George Cranswick of Gippsland made the point clearly and explicitly in his 1936 Synod address in which he argued that the basic foundation of Soviet society was commendable, and was achieving startlingly effective results. In his view, this should inspire Australia to revitalise

---

[58] "A Different Aspect of Russia's Anti-God Policy," *The Church Standard* XVIII:915 (March 7, 1930): 438.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Norman Crawford, "Priest-in-Charge's Letter," *The Link* 34 (March 1931): 2.
[61] "The Round Table," *The Church Standard* XVIII:897 (October 25, 1929): 198.
[62] Ibid.

and reinvigorate its own society through a deeper embrace of Christianity.[63] He listed off a number of Soviet successes:

> And what do we see? A new order is emerging that is making amazing progress. Their literacy has risen from 35 per cent in 1913 to 85 per cent to-day.In 1912 there were 3,500,000 pupils and students. To-day there are over 25,000,000. The circulation of daily papers have been multiplied by 12 times since the revolution. In 1927 they were the eighth nation in industrial production; to-day they are the second. They accomplished that in five years.[64]

Cranswick explained that this success was due to the fact that Soviet society was 'founded on a better basis than ours', that of co-operation rather than competition.[65] He refuted the traditional Anglican image of the downtrodden Russian peasant, proclaiming that 'the vast majority of the Russian people are enthusiastically behind their great political experiment', even going so far as to state that 'the Russian is "the most unified and hence the happiest man in Europe to-day"'.[66] The risk, as far as Cranswick was concerned, was not that totalitarian Soviet communism was a failure imposing great hardship upon the people under its yoke, but that its success was so overt and alluring that it risked Christians abandoning their spirituality and embracing secularism.[67] He advocated immediate desecularisation of Australia's public education system as a bulwark against this threat.[68] Stuart Watts, editor of *The Church Standard*, agreed with the assessment of Soviet success, but felt less threatened in his response. He simply stated that 'while many aspects of Sovietism it would be unwise to copy … on the whole the system has been amazingly successful'.[69]

Part of the combination of fear and admiration for the Soviet system came from the idea that its political system was more efficient than Western-style capitalism. Especially at the height of the Depression, the apparent successes of the Five Year Plans were perceived as an existential threat. A representative example of this fear can be seen in Maynard's 1931 article for *The Defender*, in which he worried:

> In Russia, under the Bolshevik regime, with the "Five Years' Plan" in operation, the whole vast Country is being developed under the absolute control of the best brains that can be commandeered to direct the process. Can our disintegrating democratic world, with its crazy economic machine creaking and groaning and jamming, stand against the efficiency of such powerful organisations?[70]

---

[63] George Cranswick, "Caesar or God," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1245 (May 22, 1936): 252.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 253.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 254.
[69] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1248 (August 28, 1936): 7.
[70] Farnham Maynard, "Editorial," *The Defender* XI:2 (June 1931): 4.

Soviet communism's apparent force of will to industrialise and revolutionise society was therefore understood as a rebuke to the comparative inefficiency of Western liberal democratic capitalist society. The Soviet Union thereby elicited both awe and fear simultaneously.

A fascinating defence of the practical realities of Soviet communism was offered by Ernest Burgmann in *The Church of England Messenger* in January 1935. In an explanation of why the Church cannot 'wholly agree with' nor 'wholly condemn' communism, Burgmann posits that the Russian people were experiencing the realities of environmental determinism.[71] 'Communism is the law of the Steppe land,' he believed. 'It is no accident that Communism reached its great expression in modern history on the vast plains of Russia'.[72] He explained:

> On the Steppe land man learned to live in close-knit groups. Like the wolf, man had to learn to hunt in packs if he were to hold his own on the vast Steppe lands of eastern Europe and Western Asia. Geography imposed an altogether different discipline on the men of Russia to that imposed by the Western lands of Europe.[73]

This pseudo-scientific sociological justification for Soviet communism suggests that rather than an unthinkable aberration from normal historical development, it was a natural and expected eventuality. Despite this apparent inevitability, Burgmann was not interested in excusing what he saw as the 'ruthless[ness] in over-riding personal rights' within Soviet territory: he denounced the fact that 'Communism like the wolf pack recognises no rights in any outside the pack. Other sections or classes must need to be liquidated if they get in the way'.[74] Even when communism was constructed as an authentic national development rather than some sort of abominable historical aberration, it was still understood as overly harsh and cruel and incompatible with the societies of 'the Western lands of Europe'.

One idiosyncratic position articulated only once in the Anglican literature covered by my research was the idea that the Russian Revolution was, in the long-term, a boon for the Russian Orthodox Church. Charles Perry (1871-1937), a Melburnian Anglican priest resident in New Zealand at the time of publication in 1932, contributed an article to *The Defender* that endorsed the Russian Revolution. He reminded the audience that 'few revolutions have been accomplished without the shedding of blood, and many of them have cost the lives of some ecclesiastics'.[75] He insisted that in the same way that contemporaries agreed that the French Revolution 'brought much benefit to

---

[71] Ernest Burgmann, "Wealth and Poverty," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1210 (January 18, 1935): 37.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Charles Perry, "The Russian Church," *The Defender* XII:2 (June 1932): 62.

mankind', so too must we admit that 'the Russian Revolution was not all bad'.[76] And when he discussed the elements of the revolutionary process that were, in fact, good, he was explicitly interested in those pertaining to Christianity rather than society in general. He lauded the destruction of 'that most unhealthy alliance between Tsardom and Christianity which was typified in Rasputin', and suggested that the sufferings of the Orthodox priests in Soviet Russia was their own fault for having been too closely involved with a despised regime.[77] He believed that even if the Soviet government was officially atheistic, it was healthier for the spirituality of the Orthodox faith to remain in relative hiding and conduct missionary activity with reduced scope, than to be indelibly tainted by association with the ancien regime.[78] He was optimistic that a period of hardship would revitalise Christian belief in Russia, however bad it felt at the time. As stated above, this position seems to have been uniquely held, or at least uniquely articulated, by Perry. The general Australian Anglican sentiment was not so ready to declare state atheism superior to an established Orthodox Church.

Optimistic Visions of Soviet Society

The most striking examples in the Anglican press of positive portrayals of the Soviet Union came in 1935/36, with the publication of multiple travelogues from recent visitors to that country. The most interesting of these was the account of Helen Baillie (d.1970), a personal friend of Farnham Maynard and a devoted lifelong progressive activist, most famous for her work with the Victorian Aboriginal Fellowship Group which advocated for Indigenous rights and improved social conditions.[79] Her report, published in the December 1935 issue of *The Defender*, was declared 'a splendid article' by the diocesan paper of her resident Melbourne, praised for 'speak[ing] of much that is good which she found [in Russia]'.[80] Maynard introduced his friend's account with the promise that 'Miss Helen Baillie's article on Russia will be read, we feel sure, with great interest'.[81] He was overjoyed that the apparent conclusion to be drawn from the account was that 'the writer has at last learnt that the fundamental truth of our religion is that Christ is Truth'.[82] In the pursuit of truth, therefore, Maynard

[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, "One Woman's Concerns for Social Justice: The Letters of Helen Baillie to Farnham Maynard, 1933-1936," in *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, ed. Colin Holden. (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997): 85.
[80] "Books and Magazines," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1236 (January 17, 1936): 34.
[81] Farnham Maynard, "Editorial," *The Defender* 15:4 (December 24 1935): 3.
[82] Ibid.

was pleased that Baillie could return with a glowing recommendation of certain aspects of Soviet Russian society, given that:

> It is inconceivable that [God] would wish us to distort fact, to shut our eyes to truth of any kind, to deny beauty discovered in an unexpected place, or, for any reason whatever, to call good evil, or evil good.[83]

He acknowledged that any Christian visiting Russia would have preconceived notions of its alleged horrors (which he attributed to malicious lies of the Roman Catholic Church), and as such a dedication to unbiased truth would be a holy endeavour. He reiterated to his readership that just because 'the hands of Lenin and his associates are red with the blood of many true martyrs for Christ', that does not mean that Anglicans should 'consider all their ways and works anathema'.[84] While Maynard acknowledged in passing the monumental issue of 'whether a passer-by can form a true estimate of the actual conditions in Russia', his overall conclusion was that 'it is surely our wisdom to recognise the valuable elements in the communistic experiment, or achievement, and to see how they can be included in a Christian Social Order'.[85] Baillie's voyage to Soviet Russia could be seen as the ultimate embodiment of Maynard's previously discussed belief in the need for Anglican study of communism seen in his declaration at Melbourne Synod. A first-hand report from a local Melbourne Anglican witness was exactly the thing Maynard desired, hence his obvious enthusiasm for the article.

Baillie's report was formulated after spending 'a few weeks' in the Soviet Union, on an officially organised trip for foreign tourists. These sorts of tours were organised by the Soviet Government in order to portray their country in the best possible light, with guides chaperoning guests around the country and making sure they came away with positive impressions to publicly spread upon their return.[86] The Soviet Union was a very unpopular tourist destination for Australians: Sheila Fitzpatrick estimates less than 200 Australians visited during the entire 1930s, and almost all were political sympathisers who wished to experience the Soviet experiment firsthand.[87] Baillie thus neatly fit into the category of 'fellow-traveller': she sought to refute the words of 'several Australian politicians in recent Press articles' who 'emphasised the great poverty they saw in Russia'.[88] She suggested that it was only natural that 'the majority of the people are poorly dressed'

---

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., 4.
[85] Ibid., 8.
[86] Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998): 372.
[87] Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen, *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick et al. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008): ix.
[88] Helen Baillie, "Impressions of a Visit to the Soviet Union," *The Defender* 15:4 (December 24 1935): 9.

given that industrialisation took greater precedence.[89] She was in awe of worker enthusiasm and living conditions.[90] Her only significant criticism was the fact that Russian Christians and Russian Christianity were excluded from national life, though she blamed the Orthodox Church for bringing this opprobrium down on itself through corruption and association with the Tsar.[91] The most striking element of Baillie's experience, however, was her overall conclusion about the nature of Bolshevism. She was adamant that 'Socialism, as far as it exists in Russia, has certainly done a great work in the cause of justice and humanity'.[92] This was not a common Anglican sentiment, but hardly outside the realms of possibility. Yet, she went further still, declaring her belief that '"our comrades" are unconsciously serving Him Whom they deny with their lips'.[93] Her overall conclusion was that the Soviet Union, or at least its population, were unwitting agents of Christ himself, and that Soviet society and its aspirations were not only compatible with Christianity but were implicitly Christian themselves. She concluded with the statement that 'one longs for the day when they will be led to know the Carpenter of Nazareth as their Unseen Comrade', representing her belief that if only the Soviet Government acknowledged Christianity and abandoned the anti-religious component of Marxism, that a truly just society could exist on Earth.[94] This was a radical statement to make, as it went beyond even those who might be sympathetic to a Christianised communism in the abstract, to an endorsement of Soviet society as it was. It does not seem that any other Anglican commentator at this time conceptualised Soviet society in such a manner, and in fact the mainstream view of communism as satanic rather than godly meant that Baillie's vision was anathema to that of the Anglican establishment. That *The Church of England Messenger*'s review of her article declared it 'splendid' without any specific criticism of its conclusion is relatively surprising given its radical conclusions.[95]

Australian Anglican hostility towards the Soviet Union softened to some degree towards the end of 1936, coinciding with the new Soviet constitution of that year. This was due to the fact that the new constitution, at the insistence of Stalin and against the general sentiment of the Communist Party, implemented a policy of freedom of religious worship.[96] Churches were allowed to operate comparatively freely, and the public display of Christianity was no longer suppressed.[97] Given that

[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., 9.
[91] Ibid., 15.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] "Books and Magazines," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1236 (January 17, 1936): 34.
[96] Roland Boer, "Sergei and the "Divinely Appointed" Stalin: Theology and Ecclesiology in Church-State Relations in the Soviet Union in the Lead-up to the Cold War," *Social Sciences* 7:4 (2018): 76.
[97] Ibid., 77.

the oppression faced by Christians in Russia was the primary cause of Australian Anglican anti-Soviet sentiment, criticism towards the Soviet Union relaxed somewhat. *The Church of England Messenger* was sceptical at the outset of January 1937, insisting that there was now an unfortunate misconception that the Soviet Government intended to be friendlier towards the Orthodox Church.[98] A fortnight later, it was exultant to be apparently proven wrong, declaring that the 'days of greatest darkness have passed'.[99] In June, it twice reported that the 'fanatics' of the Anti-God Movement were utterly disappointed by the failure of their campaign.[100] In January 1938, a sermon preached at All Saints' St Kilda declared that ever since the allowance of public practice of religion there was a growing number of Russian youth attending Church services, which bode well for the future of Russian society.[101]

With this general sense of relief regarding the Russian Church, it became implicitly more acceptable to praise Soviet society. In May 1937 Reginald Nichols wrote in *Brother Bill's Monthly* that 'we are not now so critical and sceptical about what Russia has done and is doing', and announced that 'great things are being achieved in response to an awakened national consciousness'.[102] He does not explicitly link this shift in perspective to the revitalisation of Christianity in Russia, but it is within this context that he could make such a statement. Similarly, *The Australian Churchman*, previously extremely anti-communist, wrote an article towards the end of 1937 about how, if forced to choose between fascism and communism, the Church should choose communism.[103] It explained that there was no unemployment problem in Russia, and that the Soviet Union was the only state that fully embraced the ideals of the League of Nations: it pleaded for total global disarmament and offered unconditional support of League policy regarding the Italian invasion of Abyssinia.[104] The author realised the enormity of what they were saying, and stated simply 'the truth hurts sometimes, and at times challenges our sincerity'.[105] They went so far as to defend the size of the Soviet military, a frequent cause for alarm in the Anglican press, as the only plausible defence against fascist aggression.[106] Mainstream Australian Anglican sentiment towards the USSR and

---

[98] "The Church in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1261 (January 1, 1937): 16.
[99] "Religion in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1262 (January 15, 1937): 28.
[100] "Religion in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1272 (June 4, 1937): 278.; "Religion in Russia," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1273 (June 18, 1937): 303.
[101] Norman Keen, "Sermon Preached in All Saints' Church, St, Kilda, on the Feast of S. Stephen, 1937," *The All Saints' Messenger* (January 1938): 7.
[102] "A Personal Letter to Our Readers," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 3:10 (May 1937): 6.
[103] "The Worker, The Church and Communism," *The Australian Churchman* 10:8 (October 1937): 14.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid

communism had shifted considerably since the early 1930s, based not only on internal Soviet policy reforms but dramatically changing world circumstances, particularly involving Nazi Germany.

The Australian Anglican Church was interested in domestic Soviet affairs, but overwhelmingly from a hostile perspective. With communism understood as a universal threat, the single example of a communist-run state that embraced atheism and rejected Christianity was an understandable preoccupation. Increasingly nuanced interpretations of Soviet society appeared throughout the interwar period, but the fundamentally anti-Christian foundation of the USSR proved mostly insurmountable even for Anglicans who envisioned a reformed Australian society.

The Chinese Civil War as a Communist Threat to Christian Missionary Evangelism

Beyond the unquenchable fascination with the Soviet Union, Australian Anglican commentators expressed their hostility to global communism primarily through the lens of its threat to missionary evangelism. While hardly limited to this specific case, the most prominent example of this fear can be seen in discussion of China and the Chinese Civil War in particular. Christianity considered itself a missionary faith, one which was destined to be spread across the entire world. One of the most promising lands for imminent conversion was believed to be China. The greatest perceived threat to a Christianised China, however, was not indigenous religion, but dedicated missionaries of Soviet idealism. This was expressly articulated in *The Adelaide Church Guardian* in 1929 when it declared in an article titled "The World Foe" that the 'chief antagonism which Christian missions have to face is not the claim of rival religions, but the anti-religious materialism that finds its most notable expression in Bolshevism'.[107] The article posited that 'the Jew and the Mohammedan especially' were rapidly abandoning all religious belief and instead embracing 'a fanatical belief in a change in the world order'.[108] This was particularly concerning, given that 'it means a rallying cry of anti-Christian forces under one single banner'.[109] John Montgomerie, rector of St Luke's Whitmore Square (Adelaide), reiterated this point in 1934 when he warned that 'aiming at world dominion, Communism was the greatest opponent of Christianity'.[110] Thus was the Chinese Civil War understood by the Australian Anglican press: as a titanic struggle between the promise of a Christian China represented by missionaries and local converts, and the peril of a communist one forced upon the populace by nefarious Soviet agents.

---

[107] "The World Foe," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIII:4 (January 1929): 10.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] "Nationalism, Communism, and Christianity," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 28:12 (September 1934): 14.

This section will introduce how the Australian Anglican Church conceptualised the value of missionary activity, and then proceed to explore the ways in which Australian Anglican commentators understood the role of the Soviet Union in the Chinese Civil War. From the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War in 1927, Australian Anglican sources wrote passionately on what they considered to be a monumental struggle between the forces of Christianity and communism. Three key points can be drawn from this literature. First, Australian Anglicans perceived the strife in China as the result of deliberate Soviet policy, representative of the Kremlin's aspirations for violent world domination. Second, Australian Anglican sources reported vividly on the violence and chaos of the situation, considered as the natural consequence of the cruelty of communist ideology. Finally, they thought that the only salvation for China was its official adoption of Christianity as a key barrier to the spread of communism. This is seen through the messianic embrace of Nationalist Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife Soong Mei-Ling as the saviours of Christian China. The Chinese Civil War seemed to Australian Anglican writers to represent the likely future of the world, if communism were allowed to establish footholds in countries across the globe.

Missionary Evangelism as a Core Anglican Tenet

Missionary evangelism has been a central tenet of Christianity from its inception. Australian Anglicanism in the interwar period was no exception.[111] A direct example of this practice was outlined by *The Adelaide Church Guardian* when it explained that prayer for missionary success was one of the key responsibilities of being a Christian.[112] Nutter Thomas agreed, and proclaimed that such an act was the height of Christian nobility.[113] Norman Crawford of Church of the Good Shepherd Plympton (Adelaide) demonstrated the popular view that Christian missionaries were the first 'pioneers of internationalism', and that the process of Christianising the world was an essential step towards global peace.[114] The process of mission was thus a core element of what Christianity strove towards.[115]

Many parish papers dedicated significant volume of their publications to missionary tales, and to seeking funds for specific foreign missions. New Guinea, territory granted to Australia under a

[111] Stuart Piggin, "Australian Anglicanism in a World-wide Context," in *Anglicanism in Australia*, ed. Bruce Kaye. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002): 201.
[112] "Facing a World Wide Crisis," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXV:3 (December 1930): 4.
[113] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "A New Year Pastoral," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXVI:4 (January 1932): 3.
[114] Norman Crawford, "Rector's Letter," *The Link* 25 (June 1930): 1.
[115] For an authorised exploration of Australia's primary missionary body demonstrating this point, see: Brian Kyme, *Grit & Grace: The Story of the Anglican Board of Mission – Australia* (Perth: John Septimius Roe Anglican Community School, 2013).

League of Nations mandate after the First World War, was a particular favourite of Anglican missionary enthusiasts.[116] This land was now nominally under Australian dominion and was geographically close to the Australian landmass, yet remained alien and exotic to residents of South Australia and Victoria. St Augustine's Unley (Adelaide) was an outlier in terms of its overt passion for New Guinea missionaries, but it represented something akin to the theological Anglican ideal. In particular, its ongoing updates about the specific events and personalities of a particular New Guinea Anglican missionary church funded by local parishioners were unmatched elsewhere.[117] However, its frequently desperate tone suggests that perhaps the missionary spirit was more closely felt by clergymen than lay Anglicans. It repeatedly pleaded for its readership to engage more directly with foreign missions.[118] In 1933, *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* derided New Zealand Anglicans for 'ceas[ing] to be missionary hearted'.[119] In 1934, it devoted two pages to an article criticising the fact that 'it is rather surprising to hear people say very often that they do not wish to have anything to do with the support of missions'.[120] Its retort to this was stern: 'A church that is not missionary-minded is no church at all. And the man or woman who thinks that to assist in the work of missions is not for them place themselves outside the pale of Christianity'.[121] Thus, while the degree of popular support for foreign missions was ambiguous and likely lacking, the institutional Church itself remained committed to the ideal.

China was the most prominent international battleground between the two forces of missionary Christianity and global communism covered in the Australian Anglican literature. Around this time, China was considered to be the most promising, and important, country in the world ripe for conversion to Christianity. As seen in the earlier exploration of Anglican sentiment towards the Manchurian crisis, Australian Anglican feelings towards China and the Chinese people were usually dismissive and disdainful, seeing them as unruly, backwards and prone to violent disorder. This only intensified the perceived importance of Christian conversion. In the words of *The Adelaide Church Guardian*: 'China has been likened to a great sleeping giant, but she is waking up, and we must ask ourselves, what is the awakening of China going to mean to the world?'[122] There had long been Australian Anglican interest in the work of the China Inland Mission, an interdenominational

---

[116] The trials and tribulations of the Anglican Bishop of New Guinea in converting the local population were a popular source of comment. For example, see: "Letter from the Bishop of New Guinea," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:6 (March 1939): 15-16.
[117] William Taylor, "A Letter from New Guinea Mission," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:28 (November 1934): 8.
[118] "Missionary Notes: Hard Facts," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* 4 (October 1932): 5.
[119] "Missionary Notes," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* 12 (July 1933): 9.
[120] William Taylor, "The Spirit Behind Christian Missions," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:25 (July 1934): 2.
[121] Ibid.
[122] "A Notable Gathering," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIV:9 (June 1930): 4.

Protestant missionary program in China. *The Adelaide Church Guardian* declared this organisation 'inspiring' in 1930, for example, and *The Church of England Messenger* cheered for their safety in 1934.[123] Beyond this, there was a personal connection to Chinese missionary activity. The Archbishop of Sydney from 1933 to 1958 was Howard Mowll, a British-born man who had previously been renowned for his work as Bishop of Western China from 1925 to 1933. When he came to occupy the very significant clerical position in Australia, he generated considerable interest in his previous escapades in this foreign and to Australians, exotic land.[124] Even more closely linked to Adelaide, however, was the fact that George Jose, the Dean of Adelaide, had been a missionary in China. He regaled the readership of *The Adelaide Church Guardian* with a number of tales of his adventures there.[125] These connections likely made the prospect of a Christian China less abstracted to many Anglicans who knew these men personally or heard them speak or read their writings.

The Soviet Union as the True Aggressor in China

Chinese political unrest in the late 1920s and early 1930s was seen by Australian Anglicans as evidence of the existential risk the Soviet Union posed to the world. China's woes were blamed on Soviet machinations. The actual impact of Soviet advisors in the outbreak and course of the Chinese Civil War has been long debated, though recent research suggests that Chinese communists were often independent from Moscow's instructions.[126] Regardless, my interest lies in the Australian Anglican perceptions of the situation. *The Church Chronicle* summarised the basic premise effectively with its commentary that China was 'in a welter of confusion largely induced, it seems, by the propaganda of Soviet Russian agents hoping to exploit the people for their own advantage'.[127] *The Church Standard* was particularly keen on the idea of Soviet agency as the primary cause of social unrest in China. In March 1927, it wrote that 'it is also unquestionable that the present disturbances in China … are directly due to Soviet propaganda', and warned that Russia's production of poison gas and its army of 9 million men waiting for the chance to strike was 'much greater … than anywhere else in the world'.[128] China was understood as being particularly susceptible to Bolshevik thraldom,

[123] "Facing a World Wide Crisis," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXV:3 (December 1930): 4.; "Good News for Missionaries in China," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVII:1196 (July 20, 1934): 342.
[124] For an example, see: Howard Mowll, "The Racial Question and Missionary Work," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1209 (January 4, 1935): 5-9.
[125] G.H. Jose, "Postscripts from China in the Nineties," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:2 (November 1938): 1,3.
[126] Alexander Pantsov, "Comintern Activists in China: Spies or Theorists?" in *Foreigners and Foreign Institutions in Republican China*, ed. Anne-Marie Bradie. (London: Routledge, 2012): 103.
[127] "Pyramid or Cube," *The Church Chronicle* XXXIX:3 (March 1928): 51.
[128] "The Hosts of Midian," *The Church Standard* XV:765 (March 25, 1927): 474.

as the people's 'anti-foreign sentiment' against Western imperialism could easily be 'exploited as an ally in the base scheming of the Soviet propaganda'.[129] This anti-foreign sentiment did indeed exist in China, and nationalist intellectuals were often critical towards Christianity, which they viewed as 'a narrow and intolerant faith in the service of the expansionist West'.[130] While Australian missionaries insisted that they represented only spiritual enlightenment rather than Western imperialist exploitation, this notion was poetically described by Sarah Paddle as 'a seductive fantasy'.[131] It is unsurprising, however, that contemporary Anglican commentators blamed the Soviets rather than engaging in critical self-reflection. In April, the newspaper utilised the common imagery of a virulent Moscow when it proclaimed that 'the emissaries of a confessedly anti-Christian power are launching their envenomed darts against all that makes for peace' in China.[132] This idea was reinforced in June:

> [it was the] aim of Soviet leaders to arouse animosity against Great Britain in every corner of the globe. Asia has been a particularly favourable theatre for their poisonous activities. The Chinese disturbance revealed the violence of Russian hatred.[133]

Events in China were thereby understood as calculated movements by the Soviet Union against British interests.

The disgust exhibited towards the pernicious international reach of the Soviet Union was epitomised in *The Church Standard* in August 1927 by an article it chose to reprint in full from the *Sydney Morning Herald*.[134] Written in response to the Nanchang uprising in which the Chinese Communist Party seized control of the city of Nanchang in response to the Nationalist massacre of Chinese leftists in April of that year, the article was shocked and outraged that 'China has gone mad'.[135] The author, British Shanghai customs official Bertram Simpson (writing under the pseudonym Putnam Weale), wailed with a sense of personal betrayal that 'scholars and converts alike who were taught and cared for for years vie with one another in turning on those who befriended them'.[136] He believed that the reason for the apparently widespread civil unrest in China was that educated Christians across the country had been seduced by Soviet ideals and had become impassioned with 'an unholy fervour [to Bolshevise] their neighbours'.[137] He insisted that atheist Chinese schoolteachers had launched 'a Bolshevist engine of war' at the behest of Moscow, whose

---

[129] Ibid.
[130] Jessie Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s," *Modern Asian Studies* 10:3 (1976): 397.
[131] Sarah Paddle, ""To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China," *Itinerario* 34:3 (2010): 69.
[132] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XV:768 (April 15, 1927): 515.
[133] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XV:775 (June 3, 1927): 603.
[134] Putnam Weale, "The Yangtse," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 June 1927, 10.
[135] "The Persecutions in China," *The Church Standard* XVI:784 (August 5, 1927): 69.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

primary goal was 'to poison the minds of all young men and women at the most susceptible age by making their teachers have a common viewpoint'.[138] Simpson recounted a supposedly verbatim conversation between Soviet Comintern advisor Mikhail Borodin and a Christian missionary teacher, in which Borodin instructed him to support the military overthrow of the Chinese state and to teach his pupils to endorse the same.[139] While this supposed conversation is likely apocryphal, its legitimacy is not really relevant here. The fact that it was published by *The Church Standard* as legitimate demonstrates that strength of the belief in global Soviet evil machinations.

As the civil war continued without the feared communist victory, the Anglican press' fears of Soviet foreign policy success waned in the Chinese context. By January 1930, for example, *The Church Standard* maintained the pestilential metaphor when discussing the threat of communism in China, but without the imminent terror of years past. An article suggested that even though 'Bolshevism has sown its deadly seed in China', Chinese cultural practices of land ownership meant that 'the [communist] crop is probably less than in any other disturbed country'.[140] Nevertheless, the underlying assumption that any Chinese societal discord could be explained by Soviet intervention remained salient. For example, in September 1931, in response to the Manchurian crisis, *The Church Standard* insisted that Japanese claims to the disputed territory were inherently legitimate as they stood in the way of Soviet plans. The author concluded that 'there is very little doubt that behind the hand of China there has been the mind of the Soviet, and that Japan has suffered much annoyance'.[141] By March, the newspaper endorsed the Japanese position of defending itself against the 'grave danger of an eastward spread of Communism through a land which the Chinese Government has failed to govern'.[142] Overall, domestic Chinese strife which may have held a relatively abstract interest to Australian Anglicans achieved prominence due to the idea that the situation represented a key foreign policy goal of a Soviet Union dedicated to violent world revolution.

The Horrors of Missionary Martyrdom

Given this seemingly threatening context, it is understandable that Australian Anglican commentary on events in China was focussed on tales of graphic violence and horror perpetrated by communists, often against Chinese Christians and missionaries themselves. The martyrdom forced upon these

[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] M. Patey, "Chinese Character," *The Church Standard* XVIII:907 (January 10, 1930): 340.
[141] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XX:995 (September 25, 1931): 3.
[142] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XXI:1069 (March 3, 1933): 3.

individuals was understood as emblematic of suffering under communism more broadly, and a dire warning for what could happen in Australia should communism take hold. Graphic tales were told of the capture and murder of two English missionary women at the hands of communist 'bandits' in 1930.[143] One of the ladies had her fingers cut off in an ineffectual effort to extort a ransom from the Church Missionary Society.[144] Attempts to resist were praised as heroic and holy, and emphasis was put on the brutality of communist actions. *The Church News for Gippsland* wrote in February 1928 about the fact that 'many Chinese Christians to-day are standing up boldly for their faith, in spite of persecution'.[145] In these accounts, non-Christian Chinese people were frequently reduced to amorphous 'hordes' and 'mobs'; they were understood as the epitome of backwardness and anti-modernity, prone to irrational violence, dehumanised into a sea of interchangeable brutes.[146] The periodical recounted the tale of a local Chinese Christian priest called Reverend Ling who was captured and tortured by communists who demanded that he renounce his faith.[147] It includes detailed descriptions of the violence he suffered, and the article concludes with the fact that once 'he began to pray silently for his persecutors … fear left him'.[148] The inspirational message intended for the readership is clear.

In the same month, *The Church of England Messenger* was even more impassioned by the topic, reprinting an article from an American Episcopal periodical called *Living Church*.[149] The author, Stanley High, set the tone with his opening claim that 'when the final record is written, no modern period of Christian history will be more inspiring than this present period in China'.[150] He claimed that the experiences of Chinese Christians were the worst sufferings of a Christian people since the persecutions under the Roman Empire in the first century.[151] The focus remained on tales of personal violent suffering: 'a pastor in a city near Hankow was taken by the Reds, bound, beaten, and carried in disgrace through the streets of the city'.[152] The story feels particularly apocryphal in this instance, as the pastor's resolute belief in Christ in the face of summary execution so impressed the communist kidnappers that they released him in awe.[153] This sort of story is a common trope in

[143] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVIII:938 (August 15, 1930): 83.; "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVIII:947 (October 17, 1930): 3.
[144] "Editorial Notes," *The Church Standard* XVIII:947 (October 17, 1930): 3.
[145] "World Glimpses," *The Church News* 26:12 (February 1928): 15.
[146] Lachlan Strahan, *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 4.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] The Episcopal Church in the USA is part of the worldwide Anglican Communion.
[150] Stanley High, "The Faith of Chinese Christians," *The Church of England Messenger* LX:1029 (February 24, 1928): 85.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.

Christian tales of martyrdom. The main theme High sought to demonstrate in his report was the idea that genuine Christian idealism amongst Chinese converts was enough to stand up to communist violence, even at the risk of death. They were upheld as the true embodiment of Christianity, holding the line against what a subsequent article described as 'the greatest foe in Christian history'.[154] This sentiment can be seen elsewhere, such as in an excerpt from missionary V. H. Donnithorne recounted in *The Church Standard*. He rejoiced that after 'a night of terror' imposed by 'the Reds' involved the deaths of those who 'refused to join the Communists', the local population graciously accepted 7000 Bibles and 'the next day the preaching hall was packed with many people for many hours and rapt attention was paid to the Gospel message'.[155] The moral, therefore, was that the evil of communism was failing to take root in China, and was even inadvertently enlightening the local Chinese population by driving them towards Christianity.

Chiang Kai-Shek and the Promise of a Christian China

In response to these various horrors, the Australian Anglican Church embraced the role of a Christianised China as a bulwark against atheistic Soviet communism leaking from the confines of Russian territory. There was a genuine belief that the Chinese Government was on the precipice of officially embracing Christianity. The two heroes in Australian Anglican visions of China's conversion were Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife Soong Mei-Ling. The dynamic partnership was embraced by Australian Anglicans as the embodiment of Christian modernity: Chiang as the masculine political figure using his strength to save China from communism, and Soong as the feminine matronly figure representative of the grace and wisdom of Christian teaching. But this yearning for China's conversion was not simply a spiritual affair. As Bishop Hart of Wangaratta warned his congregation in April 1935, a Christian China would negate the threat of the 'Yellow Peril', while 'a nation with no religion is an animal'.[156] The implication here was that should China fall to communism it would likely turn its eyes south towards Australia with ideas of military conquest, and that Christianity would serve as a safeguard against this potential eventuality. Thus, when the Australian Anglican Church articulated the idea that Christianity or communism were the only two plausible outcomes in China, the hope for the former was both spiritual and geopolitical.[157]

[154] "Bishop Mowll," *The Church News* 30:6 (August 1931): 3.
[155] "The Church in Other Lands," *The Church Standard* XVIII:969 (April 10, 1931): 8.
[156] Stephen Hart, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Living Church* VII:10 (April 1935): 1.
[157] "The Garden of China," *The Church News* 35:1 (April 1936): 5.

Australian fears of communism in the domestic sphere were thus inextricable from Anglican views of foreign events.

Early Australian Anglican commentary on Chiang Kai-Shek was relatively subdued. *The Church Chronicle* praised him in 1928 as representative of a 'new China' due to his marriage in an English church in Shanghai while dressed in European-style clothing.[158] *The Adelaide Church Guardian* included a report from Harold Anderson of the West China Union University on the front page of its March 1929 issue. In this report, Anderson praised 'the more tolerant and responsible outlook of Chiang Kai Shek' which 'has surprised even his own friends'.[159] Anderson attributed this to 'his newly-married wife, … a member of an old Chinese Christian family'.[160] At this point, Chiang did not particularly stand out, as Anderson proceeded to discuss a number of other Chinese politicians, and attributed governmental success to the leadership as a whole.

By the early 1930s, the Australian Anglican press began to report on Chiang's leadership in a more messianic tone. In June 1931, *The Church Chronicle* ran a story by T. Z. Koo, a prominent Chinese Christian spokesperson who was well known amongst Australian Anglicans at the time, about how 'Chiang Kai-Shek's plan to unify China' was finally unstoppable, after years of prayer for China.[161] Koo was inspired by Chiang's recent conversion to Christianity at the behest of his wife, and suggested that his personal and political character was now imbued with the wisdom of Christ himself.[162] Historians have debated for close to a century the earnestness of Chiang's conversion to Christianity: was it sincere or a cynical move to consolidate power?[163] Academics disagreed whether his public statements like one in 1937, in which he asserted that his anti-communist beliefs were based on Jesus' rejection of Satan, should be taken seriously.[164] Contemporary Australian Anglicans considered his conversion self-evidently authentic. With his private diaries finally released to historians in the early twenty-first century, they were proven correct. His entries suggest his conversion was earnest, and his personal beliefs strongly-held.[165] In January 1932 *The Church Chronicle* referred to Chiang as a 'priest' whose main goal was 'to make the nation Christain [*sic*] in Five Years'.[166] *The Church Chronicle* eagerly compared this policy with the Bolshevik equivalent, and

---

[158] "New China," *The Church Chronicle* XXXIX:9 (September 1928): 177.
[159] "First Hand News of the Present Situation in China," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* XXIII:6 (March 1929): 1.
[160] Ibid.
[161] "Dr. Koo, An Educated Chinese, Speaks on China," *The Church Chronicle* XLII:6 (June 1931): 128.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Peter Chen-main Wang, "Chiang Kai-shek's Faith in Christianity: The Trial of the Stilwell Incident," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 8:2 (2014): 194.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Bae Kyounghan, "Chiang Kai-Shek and Christianity: Religious Life Reflected from his Diary," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 3:1 (2009): 4.
[166] "China's Five-Year Plan," *The Church Chronicle* XLIII:1 (January 1932): 16.

suggested that the similarity was not coincidental: Chiang '[knew] Bolshevism at close quarters. The Bolshevik Borodin was for some time [his] foreign political advisor. [Chiang] had enough of it and him'.[167] Chiang's personal experiences with Soviet-style communism, and his resolute rejection of them, strengthened Australian Anglican belief in his potential success in Christianising China.

By the late 1930s, Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife shared the status of heroic figures in the Australian Anglican imagination. Soong's writings were reprinted in Anglican publications. One example was a detailed explanation of her Christian beliefs in *Brother Bill's Monthly* in December 1935.[168] The same magazine described her later as representing 'the new dynamic force from the West'. By using her Christianity to convert her husband, she thereby accomplished the destruction of 'the old crusted Conservatism which has caused Chinese life to crystallise and be conventionalised in rudimentary form'.[169] The sentiment in the Australian Anglican Church towards Chiang and Soong, the apparently the successful vanquishers of Chinese communism, was summed up by *The Church Standard* in June 1937. It declared that Chiang was the emissary of Christ himself, sent to save China from Bolshevism.[170]

As has been amply demonstrated in this chapter, Australian Anglican hostility towards communism was not limited to abstract spiritual concerns or fears of unrest in Australia. Communism was perhaps the second most popular topic for discussion of foreign affairs, after events directly pertaining to Britain and especially the British throne. The Soviet Union was a source of endless horror but also of cautious fascination, while the risk Soviet machinations posed to the rest of the world were most clearly interpreted through the lens of China. The open embrace of Christianity by world leaders, and the spread of that religion to the populace at large, was understood as the most effective way to protect British society. Chiang Kai-Shek was understood as the perfect example of this approach. Despite elements of resistance to hardline interpretations of the idea, anti-communism was nonetheless a foundational bedrock of the interwar Australian Anglican Church's understanding of international affairs.

---

[167] Ibid.
[168] Madame Chiang Kai-Shih [sic], "What Religion Means to Me," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 2:5 (December 1935): 37.
[169] Lancelot Foster, "The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 4:8 (March 1938): 16.
[170] "China and the Bible," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1287 (June 4, 1937): 2.

Chapter Five: The Threat and Promise of Fascism

The Australian Anglican response to the third pillar of Head's 1937 tripartite declaration of world forces, fascism, was relatively complicated compared to the other two. The overwhelming Anglican view of the League of Nations was positive, with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The overwhelming Anglican view of communism was negative, with varying degrees of sympathy. Anglican views of fascism were comparatively muted and ambiguous, at least until the late 1930s when it was clear that Hitler's Nazism posed the greatest threat to European peace. I follow standard historiographical convention with regards to nomenclature surrounding Mussolini's Italy. When discussing the government of Italy, the word Fascism is capitalised. However, when discussing fascism as a more generalised phenomenon, as so-called 'generic fascism', a lower case 'f' is utilised.[1] Fascism is thus understood as the first representation of fascism more broadly. However, in the Anglican sources, the capitalised form of 'Fascism' was used both in a specific Italian sense and a broader generic sense. This can potentially be confusing, especially given that individual Anglican figures could be inconsistent regarding capitalisation even within a single written article. Any quotes regarding fascism and/or Fascism have been left verbatim, even if not in line with current historiographical practice.

Following the same structure as the previous two parts, this chapter explores the ways in which Australian Anglican commentators understood the relationship between fascism and Christianity. Through the early 1930s, Australian Anglicans did not really conceptualise fascism in terms of its relationship to Christianity in the manner seen in the examples of the League of Nations and of communism. However, they strongly associated fascism with Roman Catholicism. This was a religion that Australian Anglicans had long distrusted, something they understood as foreign, politically suspect and potentially even dangerous.[2] Nevertheless, Roman Catholic fascism was still viewed as preferable to atheistic communism. There was a small minority Anglican view sympathetic to what they saw as the potential Christian aspirations of fascism. However, towards the late-1930s, fascism as a concept became increasingly associated with the violent aspirations of Nazi Germany, rather than Fascist Italy. With this change came a significant shift in understanding fascism. It was now understood as part of a fascist-communist dyad called totalitarianism. Both fascism and communism were framed as fundamentally alike in nature and goal: a repressive dictatorship dedicated to quashing or corrupting Christianity and enforcing its political will on its population. This

[1] For discussion of the complexities of defining 'generic fascism' see: Andreas Umland, "Refining the Concept of Generic Fascism," *European History Quarterly* 39:2 (2009): 298-309.
[2] John Wolffe, "Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire, 1815-1914," in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary Carey. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 47.

construction allowed for anti-communist hostility to be harnessed against fascism as well, as totalitarianism was understood to be fundamentally incompatible with a functioning Christian Church. Anglican criticism of totalitarian fascism's anti-religious foundation revolved around the fate of Germany's Protestant Churches, and especially the figure of Lutheran pastor Martin Niemöller (1892-1984). His attempts to oppose Nazi religious laws that sought state domination of the German Churches led to his imprisonment. Australian Anglican critics of the Nazi regime saw him as the primary Christian martyr of the regime.

This chapter subsequently explores the Australian Anglican responses to the threat of fascism within Australia. In contrast to its passionate anti-communism in Australian domestic affairs, the Anglican Church rarely offered any domestic-oriented anti-fascism. Given the stridently anti-religious sentiment of communism and the perceived immediacy of communist threat to Australian society through the hard years of the Depression, it is not surprising that the Church perceived communism as a far more dangerous prospect. Even if fascism was a force threatening Europe, it was not understood as threatening Australia to a similar extent. The South Australian and Victorian material makes no mention of the various 'Australian fascisms' such as the nationalist paramilitary groups like the New Guard. Neither does *The Church Standard*. The Victorian Church did not comment upon the declarations of State Cabinet member Wilfred Kent Hughes (1895-1970) ostentatiously declaring himself a fascist in 1932, though they covered various political developments through this period. Yet, the idea of fascism as a direct threat to the Australian way of life was not entirely absent in the Anglican sources. The two most prominent ways Australian Anglicans invoked fascism as a threat to Australia was by using 'fascist' as an epithet for any form of increasingly centralised executive power, and when decrying the Australian Roman Catholic Church's increasingly prominent role in Australian society.

There are four key interleaved components of the historiography of fascism with respect to Australia. In ascending level of importance for this thesis, they are: Australian diplomatic relations with the fascist powers during the interwar period; local Australian fascism through the lens of 'generic fascism'; the role of Italian Fascist and German Nazi organisations in Australia; and finally, Australian public responses to foreign fascism. Each will be outlined in turn.

As was the case with the historiography of the League of Nations, there exists a significant corpus of academic literature on the topic of Australian 'high politics' of the period. This material must be mentioned to establish the overall scope of the literature, but it bears little relevance for my own research. An example of this material is seen in the work of Carl Bridge, especially his 2005 article arguing in favour of a significant rehabilitative re-assessment of the Australian Federal

Government's ardent support for appeasement of Hitler.[3] Debate over the nature of Prime Ministers Joseph Lyons and Robert Menzies' views regarding fascism, and the extent to which they affected Australian foreign policy, seem unlikely to abate. David Bird points out that Lyons met with Mussolini twice, in June 1935 and April 1937, and waxed lyrical afterwards in favour of the dictator.[4] Menzies visited Nazi Germany in 1935 and 1936 and came away with a cautiously positive vision of Nazi society.[5]

There is also a significant volume of academic research into potential local Australian variants of fascism. This literature is based around the concept of 'generic fascism'. Scholars of fascism have struggled for decades to define 'fascism'. There is a general consensus that there is a core element of the phenomenon that means that it is worthwhile to consider different groups across the world as being specific variants of fascism.[6] This idea is not new. Left-wing critics understood fascism to be a fluid term with merit beyond the confines of Mussolini's regime, as did contemporary admirers of Mussolini like Oswald Mosley and his British Union of Fascists.[7] Debates over the precise way to define 'fascism' can become arcane, and are far beyond the purview of this thesis. Most definitions emphasise some key features such as intense nationalism, a propensity towards violence, and an extreme hostility towards liberal democracy and communism alike.[8] In this framework, the group that historians most frequently cite as the main example of the Australian variant of fascism was the New Guard.[9]

This organisation was a paramilitary group led by Eric Campbell (1893-1970), a lawyer and former military officer, and operated in NSW in the early 1930s. It claimed 100,000 members, though this number is suspect; Andrew Moore suggests a more plausible number of 60,000.[10] This group has fundamentally been defined through its failure to achieve its explicit aim of overthrowing the State Government of NSW Premier Jack Lang. As it happened, a 1932 constitutional crisis resulted in Lang's dismissal by the NSW Governor, robbing the New Guard of its primary *raison*

---

[3] Carl Bridge, "Appeasement and After: Towards a Re-assessment of the Lyons and Menzies Governments' Defence and Foreign Policies, 1931-41," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51:3 (2005): 372-379.
[4] David Bird, *Nazi Dreamtime: Australian Enthusiasts for Hitler's Germany* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012): 45.
[5] Christopher Waters, "Understanding and Misunderstanding Nazi Germany: Four Australian Visitors to Germany in 1938," *Australian Historical Studies* 41 (2010): 377.
[6] Umland, "Refining the Concept of Generic Fascism," 298.
[7] R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1934), 89.
[8] For one of the most popular definitions of fascism, see: Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Routledge, 1991).
[9] Andrew Moore declared it 'Australia's contribution to inter-war fascism': Andrew Moore, "Discredited Fascism: The New Guard After 1932," *Australian Journal of History and Politics* 57:2 (2011): 188.
[10] Evan Smith, "The Pivot of Empire: Australia and the Imperial Fascism of the British Union of Fascists," *History Australia* 14:3 (2017): 390.; Moore, "Discredited Fascism," 189.

d'être.[11] Moore lamented in 2005 that the mainstream historiography of the group treated it as something of a joke, as a group primarily defined as 'an interlude with a demented Irishman' (in reference to the eccentric member Francis DeGroot).[12] Moore warned that the New Guard was nonetheless the most significant and successful extreme-right wing group in Australian history, one which 'came perilously close to attempting to seize power' in the final days of Lang's government.[13] Yet, the group was fundamentally unsuccessful in generating widespread mainstream support. Moore believed that a crucial element of this failure was the inability of Campbell to generate a form of genuine charismatic leadership seen in other fascisms, and that society never seemed to be teetering on the edge of the communist abyss to the extent seen in Europe.[14] Aurelian Mondon has argued that a more fundamental reason can explain fascism's failure in Australia: unapologetic racism and brutal colonisation were fundamental tentposts of Australian society rather than fringe extreme-right issues.[15] In other countries where a fascist demagogue might be able to garner popular support by exhorting the public to demand a more reactionary policy on these two issues, in Australia these reactionary views were the mainstream position of the United Australia Party.[16] There was simply no need for reactionary Australians to turn towards fascism in this political climate. The New Guard made half-hearted overtures to local Italian Fascist organisations, but the relationship failed to eventuate due to Campbell's extreme pro-British views that considered Italians inherently inferior as a people.[17] The group also tried to link with the British Union of Fascists, initially with some success. However, after the New Guard's the decline in membership post-1932, Mosley's fascists felt Campbell's group too ineffectual to be worth financially supporting.[18]

Given considerably less academic attention, the other key example of Australian fascism was Victorian politician Wilfrid Kent Hughes. He flamboyantly declared himself a fascist while serving in the Victorian Cabinet in 1933. Geoff Spenceley's article on Kent Hughes stands alone in academic interest in the figure, even though Spenceley considers Kent Hughes to be the clearest example of a fascist intellectual in Australia.[19] Spenceley's work will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

---

[11] Moore, "Discredited Fascism," 196.
[12] Andrew Moore, "Writing About the Extreme Right in Australia," *Labour History* 89 (2005): 13.
[13] Moore, "Discredited Fascism," 190.
[14] Ibid., 203.
[15] Aurelien Mondon, "An Australian Immunisation to the Extreme Right?" *Social Identities* 18:3 (2012): 356.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Gianfranco Cresciani, "Italian Fascism in Australia, 1922-45," in *The Attractions of Fascism*, ed. John Milfull. (New York: Berg, 1990): 310.
[18] Smith, "The Pivot of Empire," 392.
[19] Geoff Spenceley, "'The Minister for Starvation': Wilfrid Kent Hughes, Fascism and the Unemployment Relief (Administration) Act of 1933," *Labour History* 81 (2001): 135-154.

The value for me of historical research into 'Australian fascism' is in the fact that it gives context for the domestic realities upon which the Anglican Church remained silent. Historians have argued that the Anglican Church's forays into political questions were fundamentally aimed at opposing the policies of the Labor Party, and their silence regarding fascism is telling in this respect.[20]

The next subset of historical research relevant to my purposes is the considerable amount of writing regarding the official organisations of the Italian Fascist Party and German Nazi Party in Australia. Gianfranco Cresciani, the doyen of studies of Italian Fascism in Australia, argues that despite considerable propaganda efforts and some mediocre espionage attempts, the Italian Fascist Party organisations in Australia accomplished nothing of particular note and were poorly run.[21] Other scholars agree. Desmond O'Connor's historical investigations conclude that in the limited examples of significant Italian-Australian engagement with official Fascist organisations, such as in Port Pirie, it was due to them offering genuinely useful social functionality unavailable elsewhere.[22] Attempts by the Italian regime to control Italian migrants through domination of business and cultural societies was largely ineffectual.[23] A recent study by Gerardo Papalia concludes that almost all Italian-Australian engagement with any Fascist Party organs in Australia was due to a vague patriotism rather than genuine fascist ideological conviction.[24] Any particularly ardent supporters were outliers, such as tropical medicine researcher Raphael Cilento, whose fascism has recently been explored by Philip Deery and Julie Kimber.[25]

A similar story exists for academic work on the Nazi Party in Australia. John Perkins contributed several articles to the study of Nazism in Australia, and concluded that although less than 200 Party members resided in Australia, the Party nonetheless held some degree of sway over German Australian migrants.[26] These studies focussed on institutional nature of the Australian Nazi

---

[20] David Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986): 108.
[21] Cresciani, "Italian Fascism in Australia, 1922-45," 315.
[22] Desmond O'Connor, "Port Pirie's Italians and Fascism," *Italian Historical Journal*, 2:1 (1994): 4-9.; Desmond O'Connor, "Viva il Duce: the influence of Fascism on Italians in South Australia in the 1920s and 1930s," *The Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, 21 (1993): 5-24.
[23] Gianfranco Cresciani, "A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ed. Emily Turner-Graham. (Peter Lang: Frankfurt, 2009): 81.
[24] Gerardo Papalia, "The Italian "Fifth Column in Australia: Fascist Propaganda, Italian-Australians and Internment," *Australian Journal of History and Politics* 66:2 (2020): 214.
[25] Phillip Deery and Julie Kimber, ""Bordering on Treason"? Sir Raphael Cilento and Pre-Second World War Fascism in Australia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 65:2 (2019): 178-195.
[26] John Perkins, "The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities in Australia, 1933-39," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (1991): 111.

Party organisation, and the nature of its prominent figures.[27] Barbara Poniewierski suggests that this upper-level focus has been the result of 'an unfortunate silence, an unwillingness to broach a topic of great sensitivity', given the controversial and emotional subject matter.[28] More useful for my own purposes is a collected volume entitled *National Socialism in Oceania* (2009). It covers a range of topics from Nazi attempts to categorise the Australian landscape through a racialist lens to the increasing irrelevance and Nazification of the views of Eric Campbell of the New Guard.[29]

This final segment of the historiography of Australia and fascism is the most directly related to my argument. The fundamental point to emphasise is that sympathy for fascism, especially Italian Fascism, was widespread and mainstream in interwar Australian society. Conservative Australians lauded fascism for its apparent efficiency, and its success in warding off the horrors of communism, even if they admitted that fascism was too distasteful for British sensibilities to work in Australia. This is a fundamental point when considering the Anglican Church's response. It was a conservative institution, thus inclined to endorse fascism in a similar manner to the Australian mainstream, but at the same time saw itself as adept at guiding Australian public opinion towards justice. Understanding the general Australian public sentiment towards fascism is therefore important in assessing the way in which the Church views differed.

As mentioned earlier, Cresciani demonstrates that 'Mussolini and Fascism undoubtedly enjoyed wide and unmitigated support in Australia, at least until 1935'.[30] He emphasises that the secular press and the conservative establishment were in broad agreement with the Roman Catholic Church, believing that Fascist efficiency revitalised Italian society and saved it from communist barbarity.[31] Cresciani shows that while many Australians sympathised with Mussolini's regime, they nonetheless saw fascism as something appropriate for a racially inferior nation, one temperamentally unsuited to democracy.[32] Roslyn Cooper argues that almost all Australian tourists who visited Italy had only positive things to say about Fascism.[33] She suggests that these laudatory

---

[27] John Perkins, "'The Party Was Not Without Its Intrigues': The Struggle for Control of Hitler's NSDAP in Australia," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 82:1 (1996): 88-105.; John Perkins, "An Old-Style Imperialist as National Socialist: Consul-General Dr Rudolf Asmis (1879-1945?)" in *The Attractions of Fascism*, ed. John Milfull. (New York: Berg, 1990).

[28] Barbara Poniewierski, "National Socialism in South Australia," in *Germans in South Australia*, ed. Peter Monteath. (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011): 269.

[29] Emily Turner-Graham, "'The Forest is the Original House of the German Soul': *Die Brücke* and the Complexities of Finding a Racial Landscape," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ed. Emily Turner-Graham. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009).; Andrew Moore, "The Nazification of the New Guard: Colonel Campbell's Fascist Odyssey, 1933-1938," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ed. Emily Turner-Graham. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang: 2009).

[30] Cresciani, "Italian Fascism in Australia, 1922-45," 309.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 310.

[33] Roslyn Cooper, "Australian Tourists in Fascist Italy," *Journal of Australian Studies* 14:27 (1990): 23.

reports of the revitalised Fascist state bore no relation to actual developments, but were based on crude racial stereotypes: that Italians, traditionally understood as a 'dirty' people, were now presenting themselves in a 'clean' manner.[34] Australians did not comprehend anything about the nature of Fascism; they were just thrilled that 'the land of ruins and romance' was now 'comfortable' to visit.[35] In the early 1930s, 'Mussolini' was a generic word for an inspirational man taking charge to get things done effectively.[36]

Nazism was more controversial than Fascism, though still generally perceived by the Australian conservative establishment as acceptable. M.B. Hayne argued in 1985 that Australian society was overtly supportive of Hitler's accession to power, to an extent unparalleled in the Anglophone world.[37] Upon Hitler's triumph in 1933, Australian newspapers almost universally praised him as a bulwark against communism, though they were swift to denounce the explicit anti-Semitic policies shortly introduced.[38] Hayne lambasted Australian politicians for failing to criticise Hitler in any meaningful manner, even while moderate British conservatives were doing so.[39] He suggested that the governing United Australia Party was sympathetic to Nazism by quoting their official newspaper, which contained several articles complimenting the manner in which Hitler had improved Germany.[40] Andrew Bonnell has written about *The House That Hitler Built* (1937), a book written by Australian academic Stephen H. Roberts (1901-1971) after a visit to Nazi Germany at the behest of conservative NSW Premier Bertram Stevens.[41] Roberts' conclusions were not laudatory, but the book was nonetheless relatively sympathetic to the Nazi project and to Hitler personally, and became an international bestseller on publication.[42] Bonnell has also explored Roberts' growing disillusionment with Nazi Germany through 1938 and 1939, and the resulting manner in which he was socially excluded from his conservative establishment peers due to his fervent rejection of appeasement.[43] Overall, therefore, the Australian conservative elite were generally sympathetic towards fascism in Europe. Bonnell summarised the standard view as 'fascism is fine for the Italians

---

[34] Ibid., 25.
[35] Ibid., 27.
[36] Roslyn Cooper, ""We Want a Mussolini": Views of Fascist Italy in Australia," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 39:3 (1993): 354.
[37] M.B. Hayne, "Australian Reaction to Hitler's Accession to Power," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 71:1 (1985): 62.
[38] Ibid., 63.
[39] Ibid., 70.
[40] Ibid., 71.
[41] Andrew Bonnell, "Stephen H. Roberts' *The House That Hitler Built* as a Source on Nazi Germany," *Australian Journal of History and Politics* 46:1 (2000): 1-20.
[42] Andrew Bonnell, "Stephen Roberts and the Nazi Threat, 1938-39," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ed. Emily Turner-Graham. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009): 185.
[43] Ibid.

and Germans, just not for us'.[44] Ardent and passionate Nazis in Australia were a vanishingly small cohort, and were basically seen as harmless kooks.[45]

In this literature, three works stand out due to their coverage the Anglican Church's responses to foreign fascism. The first is interesting only as another example of simplistic generalisations. After considerable exploration of the Roman Catholic Church's 'generally uncritical stance' towards Nazism, Hayne mentioned in passing that the Anglican Church denounced this fact as representing 'another example of Roman perfidy'.[46] They suggested that Anglican passion for denouncing 'fascist dictatorship' was significantly influenced by a desire to criticise the Roman Catholic Church.[47] As we shall shortly see, the Australian Anglican Church did see the issues of fascism and Roman Catholicism as linked, and this accusation holds widely true. Hayne did not offer any specific examples, however, and undermined their credibility somewhat by subsequently suggesting that the Anglican Church 'tended to ignore the totalitarian nature of the Soviet regime' out of anti-Catholic spite.[48] As the previous chapters have shown, the Anglican Church was not shy about denouncing the Soviet state or its ideology.

Brian Fletcher, in *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*, made a brief and sweeping reference to Australian Anglican views of fascism. He did not cover Anglican interest in Italian Fascism, but commented that by the late 1930s: 'marginally, from the religious standpoint, the Church preferred fascism because, unlike communism it did not deny the existence of God'.[49] When dealing specifically with Nazism, this comment is broadly true; when dealing with Italian Fascism it is quite misleading. As has often been the case with Fletcher's work, his position is generally accurate but lacking in depth and detail.

The final important source on Australian responses to foreign fascist regimes is seen in a chapter of the aforementioned *National Socialism in Oceania*. John Moses, the Anglican priest-historian, dedicated his contribution to the volume to the study of the Anglican Church's views on Nazi anti-Semitism. He claimed that although *The Church Standard* was the most outspokenly anti-Nazi Australian Anglican publication, anti-Nazism permeated the Church publications in general.[50] He commented upon the English Anglican press' reaction to the seizure of power by Nazi Germany as

---

[44] Ibid., 196.
[45] Bird, *Nazi Dreamtime*, xiii.
[46] Hayne, "Australian Reaction to Hitler's Accession to Power," 69.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Brian Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia* (Melbourne: Broughton, 2008): 141.
[50] John Moses, "The Church of England in Australia, Nazi Germany and the Reception of Jewish Refugees," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ed. Emily Turner-Graham. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009): 216.

being in line with the secular media, which he believed was 'the greatest consternation'.[51] This suggestion does not align with the secular press perspectives shown by Hayne. As mentioned in the Introduction, Moses' argument was that the Anglican Church acted with 'pragmatic benevolence' on the topic of German anti-Semitism.[52] This idealistic position does not quite align with the overt anti-Semitism of Bishop Nutter Thomas of Adelaide, at least, when in January 1939 he warned his readership that allowing refugees from Nazi Germany would result in Australia 'committing Jewicide'.[53] This was an obscene pun suggesting that Australia would commit 'suicide by Jew' by letting in refugees. Moses' work seems primarily dedicated to exonerating the Anglican Church from any charge of anti-Semitism, as he insists that:

> the Anglicans were acutely aware of the massive injustices perpetrated in the name of Christianity on the Jewish people throughout history and were deeply moved or at least felt obliged to make amends, as far as humanly possible, during the era of unprecedented Nazi persecution.[54]

This seems an excessive claim. The criticism made by Tom Lawson mentioned in the Introduction applies here. Lawson's key argument is that that Anglican historians have overly emphasised the actions of an outspoken minority of clergymen with regards to Nazism, in order to whitewash the Church's overall lacklustre response.[55]

The historiography of Australia and fascism is vast and complex. While there has been some limited investigation of the Anglican Church's positions on Italian Fascism and German Nazism, it has been mostly superficial and limited to Nazism from 1938 onwards rather than earlier.

Fascism and Christianity

There were two key phases in Australian Anglican interwar perspectives of the relationship between fascism and Christianity. Throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, Australian Anglican commentary on the relationship between fascism and Christianity was understandably focussed on Fascist Italy, given that it was the sole example of a fascist state. Fascism was not understood as an

---

[51] Ibid., 203.
[52] Ibid., 209.
[53] "On the Verge of Jewicide," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:4 (January 1939): 1.
[54] John Moses, "The Church of England in Australia, Nazi Germany and the Reception of Jewish Refugees," in *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ed. Emily Turner-Graham. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009).
[55] Tom Lawson, "The Anglican Understanding of Nazism 1933-1945: Placing the Church of England's Response to the Holocaust in Context," *Twentieth Century British History* 14:2 (2003): 113.

internationalist creed in the same manner that communism was, so discussion on the topic was basically limited to the specific relationship between Fascist Italy and the Roman Catholic Church. As such, the first part of this section will cover the extensive Anglican commentary on this relationship.

The establishment of Nazi Germany and Dollfuss' Austro-Fascist states in 1933, as well as the subsequent flourishing of European fascist movements, radically altered Anglican views of the international situation. By the time of the conclusion of the Abyssinian Crisis in 1936, it was becoming increasingly clear that aggressively expansionist Nazism represented the most likely threat to European peace. The general conceptualisation of fascism dramatically shifted. By then it was increasingly clear that 'fascism' was indeed a phenomenon with universalist aspirations, rather than simply a uniquely Italian form of governance.[56] Australian Anglican critics of European fascism embraced the term 'totalitarianism' to describe the horrors of fascist regimes – governments that sought to control the totality of life within their grasp. However, this term was not limited to describing Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany – it included the Soviet Union within its framework. These 'different, but strangely parallel, creed[s]' were understood to be so fundamentally alike in nature as to be combined into component elements of totalitarianism.[57] Using this framework, Australian Anglican hostility to fascism solidified and intensified, continuing to escalate right up until the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe in September 1939.

Fascism and Roman Catholicism

The connection between fascism and Roman Catholicism was taken for granted, with the assumption that both the ideology and the religion were repugnant to Protestant Australian values. The precise nature of these links varied between commentators, sometimes wildly contradictorily. Some Anglican writers insisted that Roman Catholics embraced fascism willingly due to a defect in their form of worship. Others declared that Roman Catholics begrudgingly accepted fascism due to political weakness but were tainted by their cowardly submission regardless. Others still believed that Roman Catholics were pitiable victims of fascism deserving sympathy. The malleability of the interpretation of the relationship between Roman Catholicism and fascism was embodied in the way that Pope Pius XI (1857-1939), leader of the Church from 1922-1939, was cast as either as a strident and willing enabler of fascism or a feeble and helpless old man held hostage to Mussolini's whims, depending on the situation. This question was most pertinently raised in response to the Pontiff's

[56] The 1934 Montreux Fascist International demonstrates this idea, as does the use of 'fascist' by other European groups.
[57] Henry Langley, "The Vicar's Letter," *S. Mary's Church Chronicle* III:11 (October 1938): 1.

silence in the face of Italian aggression against Ethiopia, while the majority of the Church institutions cheered for Mussolini's military triumphs. Australian Anglicans dramatically escalated their anti-fascist and anti-Catholic sentiments in response to this war. The debate over the goals of Pope Pius XI, and the limitations imposed upon him by the fascist regime, presaged decades of historiographical debate on this topic that will likely continue for decades hence.[58] Sometimes Australian Anglicans conflated fascism and Roman Catholicism into a single force of evil. As will be explored at the end of this chapter, it is likely that most Australian Anglicans held greater antipathy for Roman Catholicism than they did for fascism. As a result, when conflating the two the purpose was to smear Roman Catholicism with the abstracted negativity of fascism, rather than actually arguing against fascism in its own right. Despite all this, however, there was nonetheless a small undercurrent of Australian Anglican sympathy for fascism from a Christian viewpoint. This sympathetic view did not endorse any prospect of a Christianised fascist future for Australia, but it aligned with the general conservative Australia vision of fascism being an appropriate form of governance for foreign, racially-inferior peoples.

A key element of the Australian Anglican critique of Italian fascism was that it sought to harness Christianity and bend it to the will of the State. The Australian Anglican Church perceived this threat as soon as the 1929 Concordat between the Church and Fascist Italy ended decades of isolation of the Pope within the confines of the Vatican. The resultant Lateran Treaty established the foundations of the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and Fascist Italian State. The diocesan paper of Wangaratta, *The Living Church*, demonstrated the Australian Anglican scepticism towards this eventuality. The article opened with a quote from recently-retired British Foreign Secretary Austen Chamberlain sending 'respectful congratulations' to Mussolini and the Pope, and the author believed that such sentiment represented 'the first thought of most people'.[59] However, *The Living Church* countered this point by quoting the London Anglican paper the *Church Times* to denounce the fact that 'the Pope has behaved all through as if the matter was simply one concerning Italy'.[60] *The Living Church* was appalled that the Pope was uninterested in joining the League of Nations.[61] It argued that Roman Catholicism was fundamentally defective due to its 'Italianisation': the fact that the Pope was Italian, the Cardinals were Italian, they lived in Italy and were 'most intimately connected with [Italian] government' meant that the Church was susceptible

[58] For a recent exploration of the relationship between Pius XI and Fascism, see: David Kertzer, *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[59] "Fascism and the Pope," *The Living Church*. 1:11 (May 1929): 4.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

to domination by fascism.[62] The periodical argued that it was likely that the apparent concessions to the Church in the Lateran Treaty, such as Roman Catholic education becoming mandatory in all schools, would in fact reinforce fascist state power over the populace.[63] *The Living Church* was concerned that Roman Catholic priests would simply be subsumed into the fascist State and used to persecute potential dissidents. It believed that Roman Catholicism had profaned itself in this arrangement, giving moral authority to fascist repression, given that 'Fascists cannot be trusted not to use force in the name of Religion'.[64] This early commentary represents the dual hostility of Australian Anglicans towards both fascism and Roman Catholicism: the Church risked being subsumed and corrupted by the fascist State, but it was susceptible to this risk based on an apparently fatal flaw of the Church itself.

One Australian Anglican commentator went further, and argued that Roman Catholicism was inherently predisposed towards fascist tyranny, and that this fusion represented a grave danger to the world. Farnham Maynard, vicar of St Peter's Eastern Hill (Melbourne), outlined a strident denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church's relationship with fascism in June 1931. In *The Defender*, he argued that in spite of the widespread material devastation of the Great Depression, 'the greatest menace with which we are faced is not the reduction of the standard of living but the possible loss of liberty on a large scale'.[65] He believed that the primary threat to 'the priceless [gift] of God' was efficient autocracy overpowering worldwide democracy, and he saw a Roman Catholic endorsed fascism as a core threat in this regard.[66] Rather than being a victim, Maynard insisted that the Roman Catholic Church was amenable to fascism, as the Church was 'a highly organised autocracy' which craved a political system that embraced a similar structure.[67] He believed that Roman Catholicism was predisposed towards supporting autocratic dictatorship, to the extent that he suggested that the Pope would bless a hypothetical Dictator of Australia.[68] Maynard also assumed that in the case of an Australian dictatorship, the dictator would himself naturally be a Roman Catholic.[69] Colin Holden has suggested that Maynard was among the few people in Australia who feared a fascist revolution more than a communist one.[70] While no other Anglican figures were quite so animated about fascism and Christianity in 1931, Maynard's concerns would become

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Farnham Maynard, "Editorial," *The Defender* XI:2 (June 1931): 4.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Colin Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St Peter's, Eastern Hill, Melbourne 1846-1990* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996): 217.

increasingly mainstream as the decade wore on. In particular, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 provided a rallying cry for Australian Anglicans hostile to both fascism and Roman Catholicism.

The popular Italian support, both lay and clerical, for the invasion of Ethiopia was the catalyst for increasingly widespread Australian Anglican criticism of the relationship between Roman Catholicism and fascism. As covered in Chapter Two of this thesis, the Australian Anglican Church was devastated by the outbreak of war in Abyssinia and was scathing of the Italian Fascist state for its aggression against another member state of the League of Nations. Australian Anglicans sought an explanation for Italian aggression, and found it in the relationship between fascism and Roman Catholicism. The question that needed answering was whether the Roman Catholic Church was a reluctant participant, thereby primarily a victim of fascism, or a willing participant, thereby morally culpable in fascist crimes.

The more popular of the two options was that the Roman Catholic Church was an unfortunate victim of fascism, muzzled and leashed into obedience. *The Church of England Messenger* lamented in November 1935 that the Roman Catholic Church was physically incapable of making public declarations on the topic of morality lest it incur the wrath of the Italian Fascist state.[71] The paper quoted Jellicoe Rogers (1877-1938), a priest from Deniliquin, NSW, who believed that the temporal power of Mussolini prohibited the Pope from making any comment without fear of significant reprisal.[72] The threat of punishment was such that Rogers argued that it was unreasonable for foreign non-Catholics to criticise the Pope too harshly.[73] However, Rogers undercut his call for sympathy somewhat by concluding with his belief that the Pope, and especially the Cardinals, were in fact amenable to fascism as an ideology in a manner that delegitimised the Church's claims of universality.[74] By ending with this sentiment, Rogers represented the frequent tendency amongst Australian Anglican critics of fascism to incorporate hostility towards the Roman Catholic Church as well.

Archbishop Head commented on the issue in the following issue of *The Church of England Messenger* in late November 1935. In it, he offered a sympathetic portrayal of the Roman Catholic Church as unqualified victim of fascism. He lamented the fact that the Church was 'so far crushed by the power of the Duce that it has apparently offered no resistance to Fascism'.[75] He concluded that 'there can be no sadder man in Europe to-day than the Pope', given that he clearly would have

---

[71] Jellicoe Rogers, "Untitled," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1231 (November 8, 1935): 545.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Charge to Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1232 (November 22, 1935): 560.

wanted to speak out against the invasion of Ethiopia but must have been forcibly prevented from doing so.[76] Head's Synod address of the following year (1936) reiterated this point. He was devastated that the Roman Catholic Church had still refrained from denouncing Italian horrors in Ethiopia, but reiterated that the Church was entirely 'muzzled' and that the Pope was a captive 'dependent of the Italian Dictator'.[77] In this view, fascism's relationship with Christianity was unquestionably one of dominance and control.

On the other hand, *The Church Chronicle* vehemently disagreed with this position. This diocesan paper believed that such sentiment unjustly absolved the Pope of his silent complicity.[78] The article angrily asked:

> Christian Abyssinians and Christian Italians are alike the victims of one man's insensate ambition. Why, then, does not Pius XI denounce Mussolini as Hildebrand denounced Henry IV, Alexander III checkmated Frederick Barbarossa, and Gregory IX defied Frederick II?[79]

The clear implication was that regardless of fascism's hold over Italy, the Pope had a spiritual duty to oppose the war even at the risk of his own personal safety. The question of Pope Pius XI's personal culpability throughout this tumultuous period in Italian history was thus both important and polarising for Australian Anglicans. Interestingly, however, upon the Pope's death in 1939, the Anglican press expressed nothing but sympathy and respect, declaring him 'a great Christian leader who courageously upheld the cause of Christianity in the face [of] opposition and persecution'.[80] Upon his death, the general Anglican consensus embraced Pius XI as a victim of fascism, rather than an enabler.

Despite disagreements over the figure of the Pope and his personal culpability, as the decade wore on and Fascist Italy became directly involved in European violence in the Spanish theatre, the Australian Anglican Church increasingly understood Roman Catholicism and Italian fascism as something of an amalgamated force of evil. *The Church News*, for example, was harshly critical of the fact that events in Spain and Abyssinia demonstrated that Roman Catholicism was overly 'linked with Fascism'.[81] *The Church of England Messenger* described the occupying forces in Addis Ababa as representing 'Fascist-Roman Catholic rule', explicitly conflating the two.[82] This

---

[76] Ibid.
[77] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Charge to Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1255 (October 9, 1936): 484.
[78] "The Papacy in Fetters," *The Church Chronicle* XLVI:12 (December 1935): 279.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXII:1317 (February 24, 1939): 75.
[81] "Communism and Fascism," *The Church News* 35:8 (November 1936): 2.
[82] "Expelled Missionaries," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1273 (June 18, 1937): 292.

apparent synthesis led many Anglican critics to decry that the Roman Catholic Church itself was tainted, and represented a grave threat to British Anglican civilisation. *The Church News* considered this threat overt in November 1936, when it warned that a 'world-wide alliance between Fascism and the Church of Rome would constitute a huge menace to world peace'.[83] *The Australian Churchman* argued that fascism posed the greatest danger to world peace of any political creed, and lamented that the Catholic Church had embraced 'Fascism in all its brutality' so wholeheartedly.[84] *The Church of England Messenger* warned in April 1938 of the likelihood of another world war that would 'eventuate in the destruction of all that makes life worth living'.[85] Its primary fear was of Soviet aggression, though it also believed that fascism could well be the unholy spark. The author felt that it was 'shameful that a section of the Church' endorsed aggressive war through its association with fascism.[86] It went further, however, arguing that 'though Fascism pretends to favour religion, the latter assumes a Satanic form'.[87] This is more than a simple disagreement with the Roman Church: it was a declaration of its utter corruption. *The Church Chronicle* feared in October 1938 that the Catholic Church was about to formally declare itself in favour of the spread of fascism across the entirety of Europe.[88] Even though this dreaded proclamation never arrived, simply the fear that it was imminent demonstrates the degree of heightened passion.

In response to this concern, a number of Australian Anglican sources denounced the Roman Catholic Church as compromised beyond salvation by its fascist sympathies. *The Church Chronicle* wrote in November 1938 that a Church which blessed 'the rape of Abyssinia' and so passionately embraced the cause of Franco in Spain 'is a Papacy tied to the wheel of Italian progress and morally bankrupt'.[89] Even considering long-simmering anti-Catholic sentiment in the Anglican Church, this was a strident comment for an official diocesan paper. *The Australian Churchman* went even further in August of that same year. In an article penned by a guest writer simply named 'The Tramdriver', the paper argued that fascism 'in all its beastly, bestial brutality' was leading the world to a war in which women and children were to be massacred without mercy.[90] He concluded that 'any church that supports such a creed deserves to be cast into obscurity'.[91] Australian Anglican anti-fascist

---

[83] "Fascism and Romanism," *The Church News* 35:8 (November 1936): 2.
[84] "The Worker, The Church and Communism," *The Australian Churchman* 10:8 (October 1937): 14.
[85] R. Chambers Norman, "Whither Drifting? The Question of the Day," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1295 (April 22, 1938): 181.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] "The Roman Catholic Church and Freedom," *The Church Chronicle* L:810 (October 1938): 129.
[89] "Editorial Notes and Comments," *The Church Chronicle* L:11 (November 1938): 145.
[90] One of Us (The Tramdriver), "The Christian Worker and War," *The Australian Churchman* 11:6 (August 1938): 14.
[91] Ibid.

critics associated the worst Italian Fascist excesses with the institutional authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

While the overall Australian Anglican sentiment associated fascism with a form of Christianity repugnant to their own sensibilities, there was nonetheless a small contingent of Australian Anglican support for fascism through a Christian lens. That which existed was limited to before 1935, given that the tenor of discussion changed so dramatically in response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The most significant linkage between Italian Fascism and Christianity in a positive sense came from Reginald Nichols in his *Brother Bill's Monthly*. In September 1934, shortly before the threat of Italian aggression shifted the narrative, Nichols contributed a four-page long hagiographic account of the Fascist leader's childhood.[92] He wrote about Mussolini's 'sheer hard work, grit and determination' in contrast to pitiful 'human driftwood' seen around the world.[93] Mussolini's tale allowed Nichols to explain that 'looking at others who climb the heights, we gain new faith and courage … and we recover our belief in the invincible spirit of man'.[94] Mussolini 'has laughed at danger, difficulty and death. But in a few short years he has made Italy a nation to be reckoned with and feared'.[95] In making these comments, Nichols embodied the general conservative sentiment regarding the 'efficiency' of fascist rule in Italy, and in its ability to rejuvenate the Italian nation and its national pride.[96] In Nichols' words, 'Mussolini has forced Italy to realise her soul and destiny as a nation to be reckoned with in the future'.[97] This vision was mainstream in conservative Australian circles. Nichols' tale insisted that fascism only utilised violence surgically, where necessary to restore Italy's great potential, enacted by a passionate and idealistic force of youth dedicated to the ideals of Italy.[98] In saving Italy from socialist anarchy, Mussolini was thought to have 'brought about a remarkable change in his country'.[99] What is striking about this account, however, comes in Nichols' conclusion: he declared that Mussolini was 'religious in a very real sense in that he is the instrument of God to deliver his nation'.[100] Thus, fascism in Italy was not merely amenable to Christianity in the eyes of Nichols; fascism in Italy was Christianity incarnate. Nichols made no mention of the institutional Roman Catholic Church in this commentary – Mussolini himself was the crucial element. Importantly, Nichols offered little concrete exploration of fascist views, and really

---

[92] Reginald Nichols, "Mussolini's Boyhood and Early Years: The Making and Fashioning of Italy's Patriot Dictator," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 1:2 (September 1934): 34-36, 40.
[93] Ibid., 34.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Cresciani, "Italian Fascism in Australia," 309.
[97] "Mussolini's Boyhood and Early Years," 34.
[98] Ibid., 35.
[99] Ibid., 40.
[100] Ibid.

seemed enamoured with the Duce as a charismatic individual worthy of a cult of personality irrespective of the details or nuances of his political ideology. When Fascist Italy was not threatening British Imperial interests, therefore, Nichols was happy to present Mussolini as a saviour figure.

There was one other suggestion in the Australian Anglican media that Italian fascism was potentially endorsed by God. However, it was not articulated by a local Australian figure; rather, it was a quotation from a British Anglican source. In 1935, Bishop George Cranswick of Gippsland contributed an additional supplement to his diocesan paper in which he explained his view that 'civilisation is decaying: an era is drawing to a close'.[101] He explained that Europe was 'ablaze' with nationalism, due to the rightful fear of Bolshevism.[102] He quoted William Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Inge was notorious enough to need no further introduction to Cranswick's readers. He was famous enough to be appreciated by the secular press as well. Inge was hailed by the *Launceston Examiner* in 1935 as 'one of the most powerful thinkers of modern times'.[103] He was known for his outspoken and passionate support for reactionary social causes. Known as 'the Gloomy Dean' for his pessimistic view of human nature, Inge hated democracy, opposed women's suffrage and was an ardent proponent of eugenics.[104] Cranswick quoted Inge's insistence 'that the inspiration of Fascism and Nazism is love, not hatred' seemingly uncritically.[105] Cranswick continued:

> They both stand for no more class-war, and instead for "sympathy, fraternity and mutual helpfulness from and to all Germans or Italians. Masters and men with their families," [Inge] says, "mix on terms of perfect equality and unforced brotherhood."[106]

Inge therefore emphasised what he saw as the alignment between fascism and Christian ideals such as brotherhood and egalitarianism. Interestingly, though the Australian Anglican press referred to Inge somewhat frequently throughout the 1930s, this example seems to be the only time his thoughts on fascism were addressed. Nevertheless, Cranswick suggested some basic affinity with Inge's position, as he did not rebuke the notion of fascism being love-based. He continued, stating that although he was apprehensive regarding 'the persecution of the Jews and some other dictatorial practices', he believed that 'we may nevertheless be able to learn some useful things from the Fascist experiments'.[107] So, while there may have been an Anglican champion of the inherent Christianity of fascist ideology in Britain, there was no similar figure in Australia.

---

[101] George Cranswick, "The Church's Mission in a Changing World," *Supplement to The Church News* (April 1935): 5.
[102] Ibid., 9.
[103] "Dean Inge and Communism," *Examiner*, 14 December 1935, 6.
[104] Matthew Grimley, "Inge, William Ralph," Oxford Dictionary of Biography, 2004.
[105] Cranswick, "The Church's Mission in a Changing World," 9.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

German Nazism and the Concept of Totalitarianism

The rise of a belligerent and violently repressive Nazi Germany dramatically escalated the apparent threat of an internationalist fascism. In response to this development, Australian Anglicans embraced the concept of 'totalitarianism' – a unified definition that included Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. According to *The Church Chronicle*, these three totalitarian states 'appear[ed] not as one anti-Christ but as several' working in tandem, and together represented the ultimate form of 'human materialism'.[108] Andrew Chandler has argued that in the English case, Anglican priests literally understood Nazism as simply an updated form of Bolshevism.[109] By conflating fascism and communism into a single force of evil, defined by its opposition to Christianity, widespread Anglican anti-communism was utilised to elevate Anglican anti-fascism to a degree previously unseen.

The topic of totalitarianism is complex. This section will first define totalitarianism, both as a historiographical term and contemporary category. It will then demonstrate how this conceptualisation allowed for ardent anti-communist passion to be shifted to anti-fascism, and portray communism and fascism as a unified force of anti-Christian materialist evil, the primary world threat to Christianity. This enemy was understood as a resurgence of the original enemy of Christianity: paganism. Finally, this section examines the case study of German Lutheran priest Martin Niemöller, whose experiences of Nazi persecution were taken up by Australian Anglicans as a microcosm of totalitarian evil.

The term 'totalitarianism' had been in use since the 1920s, and was initially coined as a self-description of Mussolini's Italian state.[110] As Mussolini explained in *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932), totalitarianism represented the idea that 'everything is in the state, and no human or spiritual thing exists, or has any sort of value, outside the state'.[111] The state thereby would have total control over the lives of its subjects, who could dedicate themselves to the betterment of Italy. A fully realised interpretation of this doctrine left no room for a functioning, independent Church. The use of totalitarianism as an analytical category rose to prominence in the 1950s in the early years of the Cold War as a way to understand the Soviet Union through a hostile lens of comparison with Nazi Germany. The 'totalitarian' similarities between the regimes of Hitler and Stalin became the

[108] "The Totalitarian State," *The Church Chronicle* XLVIII:3 (March 1937): 61.
[109] Andrew Chandler, "Lambeth Palace, the Church of England and the Jews of Germany and Austria in 1938," *Leo Baeck Year Book* 40 (1995): 236.
[110] Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Introduction," in *Beyond Totalitarianism*, ed. Michael Geyer et. al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 3.
[111] Benito Mussolini, *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932): 2. In reality this essay was mostly written by Italian fascist ideologue Giovanni Gentile rather than Mussolini himself.

dominant interpretation of Soviet history and politics for decades.[112] In practice, totalitarian models of understanding these two regimes downplayed differences and focussed on the ways in which these evil states were inherently distinct from the preferable form of government seen in American liberal democracy.[113] Totalitarian dictatorship was thus understood primarily as a monstrous overreach in state power and authority; the antithesis of the personal freedoms enjoyed by many citizens of democratic states. Modern scholarship has moved past this reductive analysis of the Cold War period.[114] There is nonetheless an ongoing fascination with comparison between Nazism and Stalinism, and between Hitler and Stalin.[115] While Australian Anglican usage of the term predated its general academic adoption by almost two decades, the goal of conflating the horrors of Soviet and Nazi rule into a monolithic opponent was similar. As summarised by Bishop Stephen Hart of Wangaratta in his Synod address at the end of 1936, in the eyes of the Australian Church 'Stalin is not easily distinguishable from Hitler or Mussolini'.[116] All three were understood as 'simply … consistent atheistic materialist[s]', to which *The Church of England Messenger* asked 'and why should such a one have any morals?'[117]

In September 1936 *The Adelaide Church Guardian* offered an effective explanation of what 'totalitarianism' meant to Australian Anglicans. It recounted the key points of 'a most instructive lecture' given to Church members by Congregationalist minister Edward Kiek, who was an outspoken progressive activist and prominent contributor to Adelaide political debates.[118] Kiek explained that given democracies across Europe were giving way to 'government by a dictator or the Totalitarian State', it was incumbent upon Australia to consider whether this option could represent 'a way out of our present difficulties'.[119] Kiek summarised the trend:

> The Totalitarian State, although it does produce an orderly nation, does not recognise any rights of the individual – the State is all in all. All business enterprise is discouraged, or controlled by the State. Societies of all types are drastically pruned or abolished. The

[112] For a seminal work in the field, see: Hannah Arendt, *The Burden of Our Time* (London: Secker & Warburg): 1951. It was renamed *The Origins of Totalitarianism* in subsequent editions.
[113] Juan Linz, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes," in *Handbook of Political Science*, Volume 3, *Macropolitical Theory*, ed. Fred Greenstein et al. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975): 241.
[114] Geyer, "Introduction," 1.
[115] For example, see: Bruce Pauley, *Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini: Totalitarianism in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).
[116] "Presidential Address of the Bishop of Wangaratta at the Triennial Conference, Sydney, December 11, 1936," *The Australian Churchman* 9:11 (January 1937): 7.
[117] "An Australasian Summary," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXII:1321 (April 21, 1939): 186.
[118] "Principal Kiek: Dictatorship Useful in An Emergency," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 30:12 (September 1936): 12.
[119] Ibid.

> Totalitarian State does not admit any control outside itself, and so the Church and the League of Nations are not acknowledged.[120]

After explaining what totalitarianism involved, Kiek swiftly denounced it as ineffectual at solving Australia's social and economic woes and instead advocated for a more explicit federal adoption of Christian values and policies as an alternative way forward.[121] Although not Anglican himself, his summary described the Anglican view of totalitarianism throughout this period.

Interestingly, at least at first, fascism was still understood as the lesser of the two totalitarian evils. Communism remained the more pressing threat in the eyes of the Anglican Church. It was seen as a legitimate challenge to democracy, while fascism was a barbaric and peculiar aberration. Even within the framework of totalitarianism, anti-communism took precedence over anti-fascism. For example, in July 1935 *The Church of England Messenger* positively reviewed *Christ and Communism* (1935) by prominent American missionary figure Stanley Jones.[122] The editor strongly agreed with Jones' notion that 'Fascism [cannot] be permanent. It has the seeds of its own decay within itself, is national fever not strength, a flare-up before the end'.[123] Thus, the true threat posed to the Anglican Church on the European continent remained Soviet Communism. Jones' thesis was similarly embraced by Bishop Cranswick of Gippsland in his May 1936 Synod Charge. Cranswick devoted much of his speech to the threat posed by totalitarianism around the world. Even though he explained his views of the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany in turn, it was clear which of the three was understood as the greatest threat.[124] Citing Jones specifically, Cranswick dismissed fascism as not being 'a new order in the sense that the Russian experiment is'.[125] Rather, it was merely a more violent form of traditional capitalism, and concluded that 'it is difficult to think of it as representing a permanent issue'.[126] Even within the framework of totalitarianism, fascism sometimes remained a comparatively abstract threat compared to atheistic communism.

Utilising the framework of totalitarian similarity, Australian Anglican writers sometimes considered communist inspiration as the fundamental root of fascist evil. In May 1938 *The Church of England Messenger* published an article that suggested that Hitler's desire to 'put himself in the place of God' was merely an attempt to emulate Lenin and Stalin.[127] Someone who signed themselves as A.P.F.D., likely a member of a country SA parish, was even more forthright in *The*

---

[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] "Christ and Communism," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1222 (July 5, 1935): 330.
[123] Ibid.
[124] George Cranswick, "Caesar or God," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1245 (May 22, 1936): 253.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] "The Church in Germany," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1296 (May 6, 1938): 203.

Willochran in his ascription of blame. He insisted 'that the misunderstandings and follies that led to the rupture of Britain and Italy over Abyssinia and over Spain, are all due to the conflict between the actives forces of Communism and Fiscism. [*sic*]'[128] Russia, which 'is ruled by tyranny, fear [and] cruelty', was seen as actively conspiring to damage relations between democracy and fascism.[129] *The Willochran* thus endorsed the view that:

> The Communist plan being to involve Britain and France in a war against Germany and Italy, in which all would be so injured that civilisation would perish, and Communism would reign undisputed.[130]

This extreme vision was clearly not popular amongst his peers in Tumby Bay, however. A.P.F.D. immediately claimed that the usual response to him espousing this idea was 'mocking laughter or irritated contempt'.[131] By getting published, however, he at least got the satisfaction of trying to convert 'those whose minds are not already closed to the idea'.[132]

Once Australian Anglicans generally adopted the idea of a totalitarian enemy, totalitarianism was understood as the primary opponent of Christianity across the world. The key defining feature of totalitarian evil was its intolerance for an independent Christian Church. Cranswick demonstrated this view clearly in his Gippsland Synod Charge of 1936. He proclaimed that people were living through one of the greatest turning points in human history.[133] But for the actions of the Christian Church to prevent it, the oppression seen in 'what is known as The Totalitarian State' would shortly come to pass 'in British countries'.[134] His conclusion was unequivocal:

> The world's dividing line is clear. It is Caesar or Christ again. The totalitarian state as the logical representative of the most dominant trend of world thought takes one side and the Christian Church the other.[135]

Totalitarianism was not merely opposed to Christianity; it was its earthly nemesis incarnate, and the Church stood as the only viable opponent.

Australian Anglicans viewed the suppression of religion, both personal and institutional, by totalitarian regimes as their most egregious transgression. The regimes were linked primarily by their anti-Christian sentiment. One particular set of descriptions of the totalitarian countries was

---

[128] A.P.F.D., "The European Situation," *The Willochran* 108 (July 1938): 1021.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Cranswick, "Caesar or God," 252.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid., 254.

repeatedly published verbatim across the Australian Anglican media. Usually titled 'Claim of the God-Makers', it went as follows:

> **Germany:** "We do not want any other god than Germany itself." – Adolf Hitler
>
> **Italy:** "Outside our principles there is no salvation for individuals, and far less for nations… Nothing human or spiritual exists, much less has value, outside the State." – Benito Mussolini
>
> **Russia:** "Away with the priests, we will mount to the heavens and throw out all gods." – A song of the Pioneers
>
> **Japan:** "We regard our Emperor as living God."
>
> **THE CHRISTIAN ANSWER:** "Increase in us True Religion."[136]

This embodies the general Australian Anglican sentiment towards totalitarianism. The outrage of totalitarian society was that it could not accommodate private or institutional Christianity within its political structures. Nutter Thomas reinforced this vision with a contribution contribution to the widely syndicated Anglican parish paper *The Link* in March 1937, in which he explained to his readers that the primary horrors experienced by residents of Italy, Germany and Russia stemmed from 'the opposition to religion' imposed upon all three.[137]

Australian Anglican proclamations against the materialistic horrors of totalitarianism were often self-critical. They considered that the rise of such doctrine was only possible due to the waning social and political influence of Christianity, and of a general lack of moral fortitude on the part of the clergy. For example, *The Adelaide Church Guardian* published an article by Bishop John Moyes of Armidale in April 1938 in which he declared that:

> In part at least totalitarian doctrines and indeed the secularisation of States and Communities is due to the failure of the Church. The Church has become on the whole a piece of self-preservative machinery; she is mainly on the defensive, and has allowed spiritual fact to be relegated to an ever smaller sphere of life.[138]

Secularisation in general was understood as a precondition of totalitarianism, and needed to be opposed by the Church. Bishop Johnson of Ballarat gave a speech to this effect to the Parish Festival of St Peter's Eastern Hill in Melbourne in mid-1937. Johnson lamented that 'totalitarian States (whether Fascists or Communists)' were oppressing millions of people and threatening European peace.[139] He dismissed 'those who were tempted to blame Fascism or Communism' for this state of

---

[136] "The Claim of the God-Makers," *The Parish Paper* [of St. John's Coromandel Valley (Adelaide)] 7:73 (March 1937): 3. (Original emphasis)
[137] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "Bishop's Letter," *The Link* 3 (March 1937): 2.
[138] J.S. Moyes, "God, Man and Freedom," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 32:7 (April 1938): 9.
[139] "The Bishop's Address," *St. Peter's Parish Paper* (August/September 1937): 3.

affairs, and instead insisted that these ideologies were only able to take hold in the first place due to the failure of the European public to genuinely embrace Christianity.[140] Johnson explained the Australian Anglican Church's goal, and the only plausible way to combat the spread of totalitarianism, was 'to strive to rebuild a new Christian order based on the principles of Jesus Christ'.[141] Thus, when confronted by a radical alternative secular materialist societal structure, the Church felt that an alternative radical Christian restructuring was the only way to save Christendom.

Anglican commentary on the fascist ideology of the Nazi State was dedicated to religious policies. There was a general sense that the affairs of foreign countries were their own business. *The Church of England Messenger* made it clear, for example, that 'With Hitler's coup d'etat in seizing the office we have no sympathy; nevertheless, that is a matter for his own people to deal with as they see fit'.[142] *The Australian Churchman* similarly declared that 'Hitlerism is the affair of its own people if confined to Germany'.[143] However, the fate of Christianity within Germany was not understood in the same terms of political sovereignty. Head worried that the issue of singular importance within the new Nazi state was whether it could 'subordinate the Church to its will'.[144] The question of 'how far religion really can be controlled by a Dictator' had implications far beyond the confines of Germany, and concerned Christians worldwide.[145] Bishop Hart of Wangaratta expressed this view bluntly:

> By Hitlerism we should understand that despotism of the central government which is the present national ideal of Germany. But the only aspect of it which concerns us is the attempt by the government to regulate church teaching and practice.[146]

The rhetorical utility of this comparison was immediately demonstrated by the fact that the main point of his article was to denounce the 'Hitlerism' being undertaken by the Victorian State Government in regulating Christian teaching in public schools.[147] The invocation of fascism as a domestic spectre like this will be explored further later in this chapter.

The extent to which Australian Anglicans understood materialistic totalitarianism as a sacrilegious threat is demonstrated by their widespread condemnation of fascism as a form of modern paganism. This was a serious charge, as paganism was understood by Anglicans as the

---

[140] Ibid., 3.
[141] Ibid., 4.
[142] "Von Hindenburg," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVII:1198 (August 17, 1934): 379.
[143] "Europe," *The Australian Churchman* 7:6 (August 1934): 1.
[144] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVII:1182 (January 5, 1934): 5.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Stephen Hart, "Hitlerism in the Schools," *The Living Church* VII:12 (May 1935): 3.
[147] Ibid.

embodiment of a rejection of their God. An excerpt from the English *Church Times* printed in the parish paper of St. Augustine's Unley (Adelaide) articulates this view clearly:

> Totalitarianism is a new form of paganism in our modern world. It claims the whole life of the individual, and demands its supreme and exclusive loyalty, which is due to God, and God alone. … Christianity and Totalitarianism are bound to clash. Our God is a jealous God. He suffers no myth or ideology which comes between Him and man, seeking to demand, direct and control the whole life of the individual and of the community.[148]

The concluding sentence in that article effectively articulates the way in which totalitarian aspirations were understood to be antithetical to Christianity. While 'pagan' was sometimes used as something of a catch-all term for particularly despised groups of non-Christians (Nutter Thomas commented in 1939 that 'there are no people who are more pagan than the pagan Jew'), it was most commonly used across Anglican literature to denounce totalitarian fascists.[149] For example, vicar Henry Langley of St. Mary's Caulfield (Melbourne) described fascism simply as 'pagan, cruel and wrong'.[150]

The main reason for the adoption of this term, beyond a simple epithet, was outlined by Head in his 1938 Melbourne Synod address. He proclaimed that 'modern dictatorships have substituted other gods for Jesus Christ – the race, the glory of past imperialism, or government by the working class'.[151] In the totalitarian worldview, the worship of these state-related elements were more useful and appropriate than worship of a traditional god. Australian Anglican critics did sometimes invoke the term 'pagan' in a more literal sense as well, relating it to the worship of pre-Christian Germanic gods. *The Church Chronicle* was disgusted in February 1936 by 'the new Paganism that is raising its head in Germany to-day', seen in Nazi youth camps devoted to worshipping traditional Nordic gods.[152] The parish paper of St. Mary's Caulfield (Melbourne) accused the Nazi state of dismantling churches and replacing them with shrines to Odin.[153] These claims were something of a sideshow to the core fear of the deification of the concept of the state, however.

As the overt threat of Nazi German aggression escalated through the late 1930s, Australian Anglican denunciation of pagan totalitarian fascism reached its high point. In early 1937, *The Church News for Gippsland* warned that Nazi paganism was likely the greatest threat to Christianity in the world. It suggested that if 'the Pagan forces of Nazi Nationalism' were not overcome by the German

---

[148] Francis Cho-min Wei, "The War in China," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:69 (April 1938): 3.
[149] "On the Verge of Jewicide," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:4 (January 1939): 1.
[150] Henry Langley, "The Vicar's Letter," *S. Mary's Church Chronicle* III:11 (October 1938): 1.
[151] "Provincial Synod of Victoria," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1310 (November 18, 1938): 539.
[152] "A.B.M. Summer School," *The Church Chronicle* XLVII:2 (February 1936): 33.
[153] "Mental and Spiritual Health," *S. Mary's Church Chronicle* I:15 (February 1937): 1.

Churches, 'it is difficult to see how [World] War in the near future can be avoided'.[154] This pessimistic sentiment was soon part of the Anglican mainstream perspective. Nutter Thomas insisted in June 1939 that 'the conflict with the totalitarian nations in which we are engaged is a **spiritual** conflict. It is a conflict between Christianity and paganism – let us make no mistake'.[155] The idea of an existential battle between Christians and pagans was widespread by the late 1930s, and the proposed solution was an intensification of the Christianisation of Australian society. This was a goal frequently advocated throughout the years following the devastating economic collapse of the Depression. Nutter Thomas warned in January 1939 that the only way to effectively defeat a totalitarian state in which 'the state is God' was 'to show convincingly that democracy is a better thing in every way than a Nazi, Fascist or Bolshevist State'.[156] Yet, he suggested, 'I doubt indeed whether democracy is a better thing, unless it is a **Christian** democracy'.[157] In his eyes, Australia was failing to meet that required threshold.[158] When the parish paper of St. Augustine's Unley reprinted these words, the editor added that the world was now stuck in a battle to the death between 'Christianity and Paganism once more'.[159] This conception of fascism is about as antithetical to Christian ideals and beliefs as was possible.

Martin Niemöller as the Representative Martyr of Fascist Persecution

Australian Anglican criticism of fascist totalitarian anti-religious policies was overwhelmingly focussed around the person of Martin Niemöller. This situation echoes the English Anglican Church's focus, where Tom Lawson suggests that the obsession over Niemöller as 'Nazism's primary and universal victim' was fundamentally anti-Semitic in its comparative indifference to the fate of German Jews.[160] Niemöller was a Lutheran pastor and a controversial figure. He was a reactionary opponent of Weimar democracy and endorsed the seizure of power by Hitler, and was unashamedly anti-Semitic.[161] He generally supported Nazi political goals, though he was arrested in July 1937 for speaking out against Nazi religious policy requiring institutional deference to the state. The Nazi government sought to limit the autonomy of the German Churches through the creation of a

[154] "Herr Hitler's Gospel," *The Church News* 36:1 (April 1937): 2.
[155] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:9 (June 1939): 2. (Original emphasis)
[156] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:4 (January 1939): 2.
[157] Ibid. (Original emphasis)
[158] Ibid.
[159] "Democracy is Challenged," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:79 (February 1939): 6.
[160] Lawson, "The Anglican Understanding of Nazism," 114.
[161] Robert Michael, "Theological Myth, German Antisemitism and the Holocaust: The Case of Martin Niemoeller," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2:1 (1987): 105.

centralised and officially-authorised German Christian Church. Niemöller was a prominent figure of the Confessing Church, an organisation that resisted this intrusion of the state into the realm of religion. The struggle between the Nazi State, the official German Evangelical Church, and the Confessing Church is vastly complex, and is known as the *kirchenkampf* (church struggle).[162] Niemöller and the Confessing Church's core belief was that Christianity could not be subordinated to the totalitarian state. As a result of his disobedience, Niemöller was kept as a political prisoner and eventually tried for sedition in March 1938. His punishment of seven months imprisonment had already been served, though he was immediately rearrested by the Gestapo upon release. His ongoing imprisonment in a concentration camp until the end of the Second World War ensured his position as an embodiment of Nazi persecution of Christianity in the eyes of the Australian Anglican Church. Historians have debated the extent to which Niemöller could be considered a genuine anti-Nazi, given his only significant critique of Nazism related specifically to religious policy.[163] Lawson suggests that that contemporary Anglican idealisation of Niemöller as heroic anti-Nazi was 'barely conversant with either reality or the self-image of the Confessing Church', for example.[164]

As a prominent outspoken Protestant critic of Nazi German religious policy who was not embroiled in messy politics beyond this, Niemöller was an easy figure for Australian Anglicans to rally around. In the words of the Bishop of Chichester quoted by Docker in *The Adelaide Church Guardian*: 'never have I seen a braver Christian nor a man in whom the lamp of faith burns more brightly'.[165] The personal fate of Niemöller, persecuted by the totalitarian Nazi State, was widely understood as representative of the Christian faith in Germany more generally. Great interest was shown in the arrest, trial and imprisonment of Niemöller, with the overwhelming view that he was a holy martyr being persecuted by an unholy regime. Docker wrote that 'the Christian world has been watching the trial of Dr Niemöller' and was relieved at the relatively light sentence handed down.[166] He admitted, however, that the possibility of being charged at all rested on the fact that 'the Nazi state is founded on the principle that the State is superior to any person or thing'.[167] Docker remained affronted that Niemöller was immediately moved to 'some prison or camp where he is likely to remain so that he may not be free to preach or to speak in public'.[168] He concluded that

---

[162] Kyle Jantzen, "Propaganda, Perseverance and Protest: Strategies for Clerical Survival in the German Church Struggle," *Church History* 70:2 (2001): 295.
[163] Keith Robbins, "Martin Niemöller, the German Church Struggle, and English Opinion," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31:2 (1970): 168.
[164] Tom Lawson, *The Church of England and the Holocaust: Christianity, Memory and Nazism* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006): 44.
[165] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from London," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:12 (September 1937): 11.
[166] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from England," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 32:8 (May 1938): 8.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

'Christian opinion can in no way acquiesce in this state of affairs, and it is clearly to be seen that the Christian religion is still suffering repression in Germany'.[169]

In this manner, Niemöller's suffering was transposed onto the suffering of German Christianity in the abstract. Frederick Head explicitly considered Niemöller a martyr akin to those from 'the days of the early persecutions'.[170] In March 1938, *The Church Chronicle* lamented that the secret police had silenced Niemöller's anti-Nazi sentiment.[171] In the view of the author, Niemöller's fate was the literal embodiment of 'the ludicrous falsities upon which the Nazi philosophy is based'.[172] It reiterated in November of that year that 'Dr Niemöller is being kept in solitary confinement, deprived of all companionship even in the exercise yard, and cut off from books and writing materials'.[173] He was a tragic and sympathetic figure in the Australian Anglican imagination. In November 1938, Niemöller's imprisonment was once more reified into a representative imprisonment of Christianity in the Nazi state:

> it is hard to resist the conclusion that Dr Niemöller will be released only when reason or spirit are broken. The only religion which the Nazi state will tolerate is that which teaches that the Gospel has no concern with the kingdoms of this world; only with 'a happy land far, far away'.[174]

Docker summarised Australian Anglican sentiment with his comment that 'we all watch that gallant Christian pastor with eyes of sympathy' at the time of his forty-seventh birthday 'in a concentration camp, where he is still kept in solitary confinement'.[175] Thus, in the Australian Anglican mind, German Christians could never be free while Niemöller was in chains.

Linked to the conception of Niemöller as a martyr for the entirety of German Christianity was the idealisation of him as an anti-Nazi rebellious figure. Criticism of the Nazi state, without directly engaging with 'politics', was possible through the endorsement of Niemöller as a heroic religious dissident. *The Church Times News for Gippsland* gave the topic most of a page in October 1937 in an article titled "German Preacher Defies His Enemies".[176] It reported on his last sermon before his arrest, describing his actions of 'refus[ing] to submit to Nazi dictatorship in spiritual things' as the embodiment of 'character of courage and persistence'.[177] The author declared that

---

[169] Ibid.
[170] "Provincial Synod of Victoria," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1310 (November 18, 1938): 539.
[171] "Editorial Notes and Comments," *The Church Chronicle* L:3 (March 1938): 33.
[172] Ibid.
[173] "Editorial Notes and Comments," *The Church Chronicle* L:11 (November 1938): 145.
[174] Ibid.
[175] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from England," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:6 (March 1939): 11.
[176] "German Preacher Defies His Enemies," *The Church News* 36:7 (October 1937): 2.
[177] Ibid.

Niemöller's religious insubordination was worthy of dedicated Australian prayer.[178] Norman Keen (1905-1954) offered a sermon to All Saints' St. Kilda (Melbourne) which he dedicated to 'the light of Christian truth [which] still burns with a flame that nothing can extinguish'.[179] Keen used the example of Niemöller to demonstrate this idea: 'he has repeatedly defied orders issued by the Nazi Government' in his dedication to following '[God's command]… to speak boldly against a pagan regime'.[180] Keen was inspired by Niemöller's stated belief that Churches could not accept 'a position of tentative neutrality' to avoid persecution, and needed to stand up for moral righteousness irrespective of personal consequences.[181] *Brother Bill's Monthly* was even more adulatory, declaring that the 'fighting priest [who] leads the opposition to Hitler's nearly invincible regime' was the single 'most potent power against the Hitler dictatorship'.[182] Three pages were devoted to a detailed account of Niemöller's life and career, and Nichols was adamant that 'although it was not Niemoeller's [*sic*] aim to start a revolt against Hitler, his movement has come to assume great political importance. The only effective opposition to the dictatorship is now the Churches'.[183] *Brother Bill's Monthly* embraced martial and insurrectionary language when discussing the role of Niemöller in Nazi Germany: 'as leader of a great movement, Niemoeller [*sic*] has taken up arms against a seemingly invincible dictatorship'.[184] Niemöller was thus understood as the last stand of German Christianity against the Nazi materialist onslaught. The tone was optimistic, as the total supplication and/or destruction of the Churches in Germany could not be countenanced. This was the sort of rhetoric condemned by Lawson in the English example as the most out of touch with reality. Niemöller was an effective lightning rod for Australian Anglican anti-Nazi sentiment, as the self-proclaimed apolitical nature of the Confessing Churches meant that criticism could be aimed squarely through a lens of religion.

Fascism in the Australian Domestic Context

In contrast to the previous two international forces covered in this thesis, there was relatively little Anglican engagement with the domestic relevance of fascism within Australia. While the League of Nations had the League of Nations Union and communism had frequent agitation by the Communist

[178] Ibid.
[179] Norman Keen, "Sermon Preached in All Saints' Church, St, Kilda, on the Feast of S. Stephen, 1937," *The All Saints' Messenger* (January 1938): 8.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] "Niemoeller's Crusade," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 4:6 (January 1938): 35.
[183] Ibid., 37.
[184] Ibid.

Party of Australia, there was no equivalent organisation to advocate for fascism in Australia. There was no replication of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) blackshirts marching through Australian streets. Eric Campbell's New Guard, the closest equivalent to a popular fascist movement in Australia, never achieved prominence, as explained earlier. The Fascist Party and Nazi Party Australian outposts were focussed entirely on migrants from those respective backgrounds. Examples of political figures or groups flirting with an Australian form of fascism went by without comment. Lacking an obvious threat of domestic Australian fascism akin to the communists or the BUF, it is not surprising that Australian Anglican criticism of fascism was mostly relegated to foreign commentary in a post-Abyssinian invasion world. There were, however, two main exceptions. The first was a tendency to use 'fascist' as a broad epithet towards any form of political power consolidation. The second was an Anglican hostility towards the domestic Roman Catholic Church, in line with anti-Catholic passion explored earlier in the broader context.

Anglican Indifference to 'Australian Fascism'

In line with the relative indifference of the Australian Anglican authorities towards any domestic fascist threat, no South Australian or Victorian Diocesan or parish magazines commented upon anything that could be called Australian fascism. Though there is some debate as to the genuine applicability of the label, Eric Campbell's New Guard is most commonly understood as the closest approximation of an authentic local Australian fascism.[185] This paramilitary group was mostly active in NSW, so my focus on the South Australian and Victorian Church may explain the lack of interest. It was also at the height of its power in 1932, earlier than most Australian commentators felt potentially threatened by the spread of fascism beyond Italy. This was also before *The Church Standard* appointed its firebrand editor George Stuart Watts in 1933, and the previous editor Frank Harty was considerably less invested in political affairs. *The Australian Churchman* covered the actions of Francis De Groot, a prominent member of the New Guard, in unlawfully cutting the ribbon at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in March 1932 to spite Premier Jack Lang.[186] It is therefore plausible that the group could have received some Anglican coverage. However, the article about De Groot made no mention of his paramilitary associations, and in fact even sympathised with the spirit of his action.[187] This was because of the previously-established general sense of outrage

[185] Matthew Cunningham argues that the New Guard's ideology was too individualist to be 'genuine' fascism; he nevertheless admits that Eric Campbell self-identified as a fascist: Matthew Cunningham, "Australian Fascism? A Revisionist Analysis of the Ideology of the New Guard," *Politics, Religion and Ideology* 13:3 (2012): 375-393.
[186] "Sydney Harbour Bridge," *The Australian Churchman* 5:2 (April 1932): 1.
[187] Ibid.

amongst the clergy that the opening of the Bridge coincided with the Easter weekend and was thereby a deliberate profanement of Holy Week by Lang. De Groot's pointed snub of protocol by stealing Lang's glory pleased Lang's religious critics. While Campbell did continue to attempt to implement an Australian variant of fascism through the 1930s into the period where the Church was more actively engaged in anti-fascist sentiment, by that point he had lost any public following and was seen as an irrelevant crank.[188]

An even more prominent demonstration of the relative lack of interest in the potential threat of fascism compared to communism was the lack of commentary regarding Wilfrid Kent Hughes. From 1931 Kent Hughes was an influential member of the Victorian branch of the United Australia Party, serving briefly as Deputy Premier in 1935. He was a member of a prominent Anglican family: his uncle, Ernest Hughes (1860-1942), was vicar of St Peter's Eastern Hill (Melbourne) from 1900-1926, directly preceding Farnham Maynard in the role.[189] In 1933, he implemented brutal relief policies for the unemployed that denied aid to many applicants.[190] As Minister for Sustenance, his devotion to the Darwinian idea of survival of the fittest gained him the popular moniker of 'Minister for Starvation'.[191] It was in this context that Kent Hughes published a series of articles in the Melbourne *Herald* newspaper entitled "Why I Have Become A Fascist". He declared that fascism was inevitably coming to Australia within the next few years, and that this situation was highly desirable.[192] His conceptualisation of fascism was rather simplistic. He insisted that the true component of fascism was the corporate state, and that all elements of theatrics and violence could be dispensed with; he declared himself 'a Fascist – without a shirt!'[193] He lamented the fact that Australians generally believed the 'cartoonist image' of fascism being a force dominated by 'Mosley's blackshirts, Hitler's Brown Shirts and [Irish fascist Eoin] O'Duffy's Blue Shirts', and wanted them to instead realise that rationally ordered dictatorships such as those of Mussolini and Hitler would solve Australia's economic woes.[194] As mentioned earlier, Geoff Spenceley suggests that this proclamation, however idiosyncratic, was 'the most public attempt by an Australian politician to articulate an Australian version of fascism'.[195]

---

[188] Moore, "The Nazification of the New Guard," 103.
[189] Geoff Spenceley, "'The Minister for Starvation': Wilfrid Kent Hughes, Fascism and the Unemployment Relief (Administration) Act of 1933," *Labour History* 81 (2001): 136.
[190] Ibid., 140.
[191] Ibid.
[192] W.S. Kent Hughes, "Why I Have Become a Fascist," *The Herald*, 14 November 1933, 6.
[193] Ibid.
[194] W.S. Kent Hughes, "Why I Have Become a Fascist," *The Herald*, 16 November 1933, 6.
[195] Spenceley, "'The Minister for Starvation,'" 147.

The fact that no Anglican source offered any commentary on Kent Hughes' public declarations is striking. Given the devastating impact of the Depression on the Australian public, the frequent Anglican commentary on domestic affairs relating to this crisis, the Anglican bona fides of Kent Hughes himself, and the stir in the secular press over the declaration, the lack of comment within the Victorian Anglican papers suggests that the Anglican Church was not particularly perturbed by the situation. Paranoia about communism in Australia was ubiquitous, but a Government Minister declaring himself a devoted fascist received no written clerical response. The key reason for this silence was the timing of the declaration. In early 1932, years before the Abyssinian invasion turned public and Anglican sentiment against Mussolini, the Anglican Church broadly sympathised with Italian fascism in the manner explained by Cresciani earlier. Proclaiming a desire for a fascist Australia in 1932 would likely have been seen as a bit peculiar but rather benign.

'Fascism' as a Criticism of Institutional Authority

One important caveat exists in this narrative of general Australian Anglican indifference to the potential threat of fascism in Australia. *The Church Standard* was outspoken in its denunciation of what it considered to be fascist encroachment into Australian politics. However, the editors' conception of what 'fascism' entailed was simplistic: it was any form of increase in Government power, especially with respect to media censorship or the curtailment of clerical authority by the secular state. The editor George Stuart Watts proclaimed in February 1937 that 'for quite a long time we have been asserting that there is a distinct tendency towards fascism operating in Australia'.[196] He was frustrated 'that our prophecies are regarded as mere alarmism or that the public are not fully seized with the dangers of Fascism'.[197] He was adamant that 'Nothing can be more adversely affected by fascism than the Church, and the Church is slumbering in the face of the danger'.[198] However, when we examine the particular evidence for an increasingly fascist Australia that Watts saw, they seem more in line with standard conservative tendencies rather than actually fascist. He despised the censorship of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation when it reported on fascism in Europe.[199] He denounced pre-selection of candidates for election as a form of fascism.[200] He declared that Prime Minister Lyons (a Roman Catholic of Irish descent) was himself a crypto-fascist undermining Australian society.[201] Most passionately, given his own Anglo-Catholic tendencies, he

[196] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1271 (February 12, 1937): 7.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1279 (April 9, 1937): 7.
[200] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1292 (July 9, 1937): 7.
[201] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1279 (April 9, 1937): 7.

declared the arch-Evangelical Sydney Anglican Diocese as fascist when it sought to suppress his own political and ecclesiastical views.[202] Basically, 'dictatorship' and 'fascism' were coterminous in the mind of Watts, and any form of government censorship or increase in institutional power that limited progressive voices was inherently fascist. This approach is in line with what has become a memetic complaint amongst scholars of fascism for decades: that 'fascism' is a term inherently debased by its use as a general epithet against someone whose political beliefs do not align with one's own.[203] Using 'fascist' as an epithet against one's political enemies, regardless of their actual views, therefore has a long history; another prominent example is seen in early 1930s with the Comintern's position that social democrats were 'social fascists'.[204] Beyond the outspoken passion of Watts, therefore, Australian Anglicans felt little direct threat from fascism. They were, however, prone to invoking this threat in one particular context: in response to potential gains by the Australian Roman Catholic Church.

Fascism and the Australian Roman Catholic Church

Given that Australian Anglicans associated the Roman Catholic Church so deeply with Mussolini's regime, when they launched criticisms against Australian Roman Catholics they often incorporated accusations of fascism. However, these criticisms were more tied to the idea of disloyalty to Australia rather than a genuine fear of spreading fascism. Anglicans often believed that Australian Roman Catholics could not be proper loyal British subjects to the Crown due to their subordination to the Pope.[205] 'Fascism' was invoked as something of a spectre to demonstrate the non-Britishness of these potentially duplicitous Papists. The term was used as a smear to besmirch their religion without going into any particular depth beyond the implicit assumption that fascism was bad. For example, *The Church Standard* suggested that Roman Catholics were inherently intellectually stunted. This was because their religion meant that they 'must rely upon authority rather than upon the use of reason', and that this love of being told what to believe explained their disgraceful predisposition towards fascism.[206]

The main area in South Australia or Victoria in which the Anglican Church invoked the threat of fascism in Australia surrounded a 1937 Victorian State Government plan to offer funding to

[202] "The S. James's Dispute: A Fight For Liberty," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1323 (February 18, 1938): 6.
[203] For a recent example of the many studies that grapple with defining fascism, see: Mabel Berezin, "Fascism and Populism: Are They Useful Categories for Comparative Sociological Analysis?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 45 (2019): 349.
[204] Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998): 163.
[205] Timothy Verhoeven, "Introduction," *Journal of Religious History* 39:2 (2015): 177.
[206] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1250 (September 11, 1936): 7.

Roman Catholic schools. The basic Anglican belief surrounding the potential Roman Catholic fascist threat to Australia was rooted in the premise that Roman Catholicism represented the tendrils of 'a thoroughly alien and foreign power'.[207] As a result, Anglicans were hostile to any suggestion that Roman Catholic schools should receive financial support. Head dedicated much of his 1937 Synod Charge to this topic. He opened bluntly: 'we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Roman Catholics in Australia acknowledge a divided political allegiance, partly to the British Empire, partly to the separatist ideals of President de Valera in Ireland, and partly to the Pope'.[208] He gave evidence of this potential for betrayal of British Imperial ideals by stating that Roman Catholic Churches remained silent on the Coronation Day of George VI earlier that year.[209] He followed up that 'to strengthen that Church by grants from the taxes, therefore, be not only an injustice to the vast majority of Christians in Australia, but it would also be creating a political situation which might one day be dangerous'.[210] To support the idea that the Roman Catholic Church posed a potentially existential threat to British Imperial democracy in Australia, Head insisted that the Church was inseparable from the doctrine of fascism. He denounced the Roman Catholic clergy for supporting Franco and his Moorish troops, and reiterated that whenever the British Empire has stood for the League of Nations, Roman Catholicism had stood 'for Fascism as exemplified in Abyssinia and Spain'.[211] He concluded that 'we as loyal members of the British Empire do not desire any of our Australian children to be taught in our schools that the policy of our Empire in international affairs is mistaken and wrong', seemingly without any sense that this position was hypocritical given the criticism of Roman Catholicism as too devoted to uncritical support of Italian foreign policy.[212] He then urged all Melbourne Anglicans to write to Parliament to prevent the 'Despotic Roman Church' from receiving any money for its schools.[213] Other Anglicans felt similarly towards the idea of a fascist Roman Catholic Church as a potential threat. *The Bendigo Church News* published an account by the Bishop of Armidale arguing that allowing Roman Catholics their own schools would instil Italian fascist values, which were 'traitorous to the genius of Australian life'.[214]

Following an established trend, the most extreme anti-Catholic sentiments regarding Australian Roman Catholics as a fifth column of fascist-inspired turncoats was seen in the outspoken columns of *The Church Standard*. Watts wrote in October 1936 that due to his perception of the

---

[207] Vigilant, "The Roman Menace," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1256 (October 23, 1936): 533.
[208] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Charge to Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1280 (September 24, 1937): 464.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid., 465.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid.
[214] John Moyes, "On State Aid to Religious Education," *The Bendigo Church News* XXVII:9 (September 1937): 9.

Pope's alliance with fascism, which was undermining the very nature of Christianity on a worldwide scale, 'the underground influence of the Vatican merit[ed] careful observation in Australia.'[215] He felt that this was not an abstract or distant threat. He was adamant that

> We have also in our midst, a strong Fascist organisation concealed under its ecclesiastical guise. Its propaganda power is enormous, the more so as it works upon the unhesitating obedience which the religious side of the organisation demands. There is little need to point to its potential power in the political sphere. The Abyssinian conflict gave some indications of that.[216]

In May 1937, *The Church Standard* wrote about a Melbourne lecture by Ashby Swan, a Presbyterian minister. Swan told the crowd that fascism denied the Christian principle of brotherhood, as seen by the massacres of the Spanish Republicans.[217] The newspaper then stated that Swan 'also pointed out the perils of Fascism in our own land' without further clarification.[218] It is evident, however, that this was an expression of hostility towards the Australian Catholic Church. Intriguingly, this lecture was not reported upon in either the remainder of the Anglican press or the secular press. The only other instance of commentary upon this speech seems to have come from *Australian Jewish News*, which advertised the May speech in an April issue.[219] This suggests that Watts was actively searching for anti-fascist/anti-Catholic material to include in his weekly newspaper to an extent unmatched by other publications, given the fact that he was based in Sydney.

Overall, the Anglican Church in Australia did not perceive any significant threat to Australia from fascism. Mondon's argument that Australian politics was basically immune to the reactionary appeal of fascism due to mainstream conservatism already fulfilling these goals holds true in the Anglican sphere. When fascism was invoked as a potential threat to Australia, it was a functional euphemism for the Roman Catholic Church.

---

[215] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1254 (October 9, 1936): 7.
[216] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1257 (October 30, 1936): 7.
[217] "Fascism and the Church," *The Church Standard* XXV:1286 (May 28, 1937): 31.
[218] Ibid.
[219] "The Challenge of Fascism," *The Australian Jewish News*, 30 April 1937, 10.

Chapter Six: Fascism in the International Realm: The Spanish Civil War and Nazi German Aggression

Mainstream Australian Anglican interest in fascism as an international force of malevolence began around 1935. As we have seen, this was tied to two related developments around this time: the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the construction of the threat of anti-Christian totalitarianism. From this point onwards, fascism was associated with the suppression (or potentially perversion, as was seen in the case of Roman Catholicism) of legitimate Christian worship, as well as the overt threat of violent aggressive expansionism. Australian Anglican sentiments in relation to fascism mostly deferentially followed British Imperial foreign policy, dedicated to the prevention of a catastrophic European conflagration. Two case studies effectively demonstrate the Australian Anglican responses to international fascism. The example of Italy and Abyssinia could also be included, but it has already been examined in considerable depth.

The first case study is the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939. In July 1936, the Spanish military rose in rebellion against the left-wing Government which had recently won an election. After the initial putsch failed in around half of the country, including the key cities of Madrid and Barcelona, Spain was rent into two warring political entities. The rebels, who called themselves Nationalists, coalesced around the military general Francisco Franco. Franco adopted the previously-marginal Spanish fascist party, the Falange, as the singular political party of his controlled area. Although Britain and France brokered an official non-intervention agreement in the guise of neutrality, Franco's rebels enjoyed immense material support from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.[1] While there remains academic debate over whether Francoist forces were at this time genuinely 'fascist' (some historians insist only on 'semi-fascist' or 'para-fascist', for example), many contemporaries understood Franco's overt embrace of fascist trappings and his alliance with foreign fascist powers as indicative of his own fascism.[2] Javier Rodrigo makes the convincing point that had Francoist Spain fallen at some point during the Second World War, there would be no plausible reason to exclude it from the category of 'fascist'. Subsequent academic reluctance to name it so is due to the shifting political nature of the dictatorship over the subsequent forty years.[3] The Spanish Civil War, therefore, represented the threat of violent fascist expansion through insurrectionary means, potentially posing a risk to the entirety of Europe. The mainstream Australian Anglican response to the conflict was support for the British policy of non-intervention. Conflict in Spain was a

[1] Douglas Little, *Malevolent Neutrality* (London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 8.
[2] Stanley Payne, "The Defascistization of the Franco Regime, 1942-1975," in *Modern Europe After Fascism*, ed. Stein Ugelvik Larsen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 1584.
[3] Javier Rodrigo, "Fascism and Violence in Spain: A Comparative Update," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 25:3 (2012): 192.

relatively abstract idea, while the threat of a pan-European war that might result from British involvement was understood as an existential threat to British Christian democracy. *The Church Standard* was an outlier in its unceasing anti-fascist support for the Spanish Republic. Thus, Australian Anglicans generally believed that a swift end to the Spanish Civil War, irrespective of the political persuasion of the victorious party, was the most desirable outcome.

The second case study, Nazi Germany through the mid-late 1930s, further demonstrates the conflicting anti-fascist ideals and anti-war fears of Australian Anglican observers. They denounced Nazism as a force for evil, yet were overwhelmingly supportive of the British policy of appeasement. Australian Anglicans despised German fascism for its totalitarian goal of quashing the German Protestant Churches, and saw it as a threat to European civilisation more broadly. However, as with Spain, the fear of war and the despair relating to its consequences trumped any anti-fascist sensibilities. Australian Anglicans rallied in support of the Munich Agreement of 1938, whereby Nazi Germany was offered a portion of Czechoslovakian territory in an attempt to dissuade further threats of invasion, as divine intervention. However, a small minority did express some dismay over this moral and practical abandonment of the Czechoslovakian peoples to totalitarian rule. By mid-1939, after the Nazi refutation of the Munich Agreement by invasion of the rest of Czechoslovakia, Australian Anglicans fully committed to anti-fascism and increasingly saw Nazi fascism as a worse threat to Christianity than war. When war did finally arrive in September 1939, it was universally embraced with utmost dedication to Britain. The war was understood as a spiritually necessary battle for British Christianity.

In combination, these two case studies demonstrate that until early 1939, despite the increasingly overt risks of a fascist expansion across the European continent, the overriding international concern of the Australian Anglican Church was the aversion of a repeat of the horrors of the First World War. Fascism, and even war itself, in Spain could be compartmentalised away if it meant the continuation of peace in the European heartland. Though they despised anti-Christian Nazi fascism, only the sense of betrayal initiated by Hitler's reneging of the Munich arrangement to refrain from further territorial conquests shifted the balance in favour of anti-fascism over anti-war.

The Spanish Civil War as the Potential Tinderbox for European War

The overwhelming mainstream Australian Anglican view of the Spanish Civil War was aligned with the official foreign policy of the British and Australian Governments. The French and British Governments successfully advocated for the creation of a Non-Intervention Pact to legally bind themselves, the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany to an agreement to withhold aid to either rival

party in Spain.[4] The rationale behind this move was that allowing for foreign intervention in Spain would dramatically increase the risk of the situation spiralling out of control into a pan-European war. This fear of a second world war, one which risked plunging all of Christendom into a spiral of violence, greatly outweighed the fear of creeping fascism across the European continent. This sentiment was shared by British and Australian politicians as well as Anglican clergymen.

From the perspective of the cynical strategic interests of the British government, the policy of non-intervention was a resounding success. The war was contained to Spanish territory, and the resulting Franco dictatorship was generally amenable to British interests. For the Spanish government, however, non-intervention was a monstrous farce. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany signed onto the pact and promptly ignored it by sending material and financial aid.[5] In response, the Soviet Union also sent military advisors and monetary support (though to a significantly smaller degree than the fascist powers), leaving only France and Britain adhering to their legal requirements. British refusal to assist Spanish democracy against a fascist insurrection was memorably described by Labour Peer Lord Strabolgi (1886-1953) in August 1936 as 'malevolent neutrality'.[6] Historians have generally agreed that the British government viewed the Spanish Republic with suspicion due to the Spanish government's support for socialist reforms, and that this was a significant factor in the decision to deny it military support.[7]. There is also a general historical consensus that with British support, it is likely that the Spanish Republic would have emerged victorious in the Civil War, thereby halting the expansion of fascism at least temporarily.[8] Thus, the Conservative British Government was unwilling to risk igniting a pan-European war in defense of a Spanish society towards which it felt relatively indifferent. A fascist Spain was potentially better than a socialist Spain in the eyes of some British politicians.[9]

Interestingly, British historian Scott Ramsay has recently argued that the historiography of the Spanish Civil War has been too keen to accept the idea that British Government support for non-intervention was rooted in anti-communist fear of a Sovietised Spain.[10] He provocatively asserts that the British policy represented 'benevolent neutrality', and that the true motive for British support

---

[4] Enrique Moradiellos, "The Origins of British Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War: Anglo-Spanish Relations in Early 1936," *European History Quarterly* 21 (1991): 339.
[5] Paul Preston, "Mussolini's Spanish Adventure: From Limited Risk to War," in *The Republic Besieged*, ed. Paul Preston et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 22.
[6] Little, *Malevolent Neutrality*, 8.
[7] Douglas Little, "Red Scare, 1936: Anti-Bolshevism and the Origins of British Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23 (1988): 291.
[8] Moradiellos, "Origins of British Non-Intervention," 339.
[9] Scott Ramsay, "Ideological Foundations of British Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War: Foreign Office Perceptions of Political Polarisation in Spain, 1931-1936," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 31:1 (2020): 58.
[10] Ibid., 57.

can be entirely explained through the perceived need for the containment of armed conflict to within Spain's borders to avoid a continental war.[11] He does not dispute that many prominent British politicians, including Prime Minister Baldwin, were concerned about communism in Spain, but argues that broader strategic goals were what drove the policy of non-intervention.[12] This is an interesting point to consider. In the case of the Australian Anglican press' dedicated support for non-intervention in Spain, there were complementary trends that prioritised both the fear of war and the fear of communism. The former was the most widespread and passionate, but the latter cannot be discounted. As such, Ramsay's claims cannot be neatly transposed onto the views of the Australian Anglican Church, though they do seem to hold some basic level of legitimacy.

Support for Neutrality

As mentioned already, the Australian Anglican Church strongly embraced the policy of non-intervention in Spain. The goal of containing the conflict trumped all others. An emblematic example of this line of thinking is seen in *The Australian Churchman*. It wrote in September 1936 that its readership should offer prayers that the conflict would be confined to Spain, and made no comment on the morality of either belligerent force.[13] 'It needs little imagination to see how dangerous the situation has been' to European peace, the paper suggested.[14] The following month, it argued that neutrality was the only acceptable response, as any practical support could only escalate the conflict beyond Spain's borders.[15] In February 1937, *The Australian Churchman* reiterated the view that without foreign assistance, the war in Spain could be localised and thus pose no threat to the peace of Europe.[16] W.B. Docker, the London correspondent for the *Adelaide Church Guardian*, strongly agreed. He insisted that it was the moral 'duty of the people to refrain from taking sides', and that the British policy of non-intervention had saved Europe: 'the war might have set alight the whole of Europe had it not been for… [the] pact of non-intervention'.[17] Docker was relieved that 'a great danger to the civilised world seems to have been averted' in this manner.[18] In an October 1936 article that denounced fascism as the embodiment of hatred, *The Church News for Gippsland* was at

[11] Scott Ramsay, "Ensuring Benevolent Neutrality: The British Government's Appeasement of General Franco during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," *The International History Review* 41:3 (2019): 606.
[12] Ibid.
[13] "Events in Spain," *The Australian Churchman* 9:7 (September 1936): 1.
[14] Ibid.
[15] "Events in Spain," *The Australian Churchman* 9:8 (October 1936): 1.
[16] "Spain and European Peace," *The Australian Churchman* 9:12 (February 1937): 2.
[17] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from London," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:2 (November 1936): 8.
[18] Ibid.

the same time radiant that non-intervention had seemingly prevented a European war.[19] The two points were not portrayed as connected in any way. *The Church of England Messenger* did not hide the fact that it interpreted Spain from a position of geopolitical implications, paternalistically insisting that:

> The efforts of the British and French Governments to prevent assistance being rendered are in accord with the best interests of the Spaniards themselves, and certainly in accord with the best interests of other peoples.[20]

The latter part of this statement is the crux of overall Australian Anglican perspectives on the fate of Spain. It was understood to be in British national interests for the war to be confined.

The dedication to non-intervention extended to a belief that it was not fundamentally important which side emerged victorious in the end. Both the Spanish Republic and the fascist-aligned insurgents were usually thought to be tainted and unworthy of support. At the extreme ends of Anglican opinion, Franco's forces were understood as obvious fascists, while the Government was feared to desire a Soviet-style communist outpost. In practice, however, these views were rarely expressed in the Anglican media, and were sometimes expressly refuted. Two articles from *The Church of England Messenger* embody this point that observers were often not quite sure how to categorise the forces fighting for control of Spain. Head declared in his October 1936 Synod address that he believed that 'Fascism, as exemplified in Italy, allied with the Nazism of Germany, is aiding the rebels who stand for the Monarchy and the Church'.[21] He contended also that 'the Socialist Government is being supported by Russia and the Communists of every country'.[22] Yet, by January 1937, the journal insisted bluntly in an uncredited article that:

> We have said before, and still hold, that it is not a conflict between Fascism on the one hand and Communism on the other, or between religion and atheism, despite the efforts of propagandists to make it appear to be such.[23]

This is in direct contradiction to the Archbishop's official proclamations only a few months earlier. No acknowledgement was made of those previous comments. This article did not clarify to what extent the forces of fascism, communism, religion and atheism actually participated in the conflict.

Despite this degree of shifting response, *The Australian Churchman* demonstrated the mainstream Australian Anglican position in an article from October 1936. It informed its readership

---

[19] "Nazi and Bolshevik," *The Church News* 35:7 (October 1936): 2.
[20] "Spain and European Peace," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1262 (January 15, 1937): 28.
[21] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Charge to Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXIX:1255 (October 9, 1936): 483.
[22] Ibid.
[23] "Spain and European Peace," *The Church of England Messenger* LXX:1262 (January 15, 1937): 28.

that 'there have been suggestions that the fight is really a conflict between communism on the one hand, and fascism on the other', but that 'better informed opinion discountenances this clearly defined distinction'.[24] The editor lamented that Australians should be 'chary about cherishing hopes that one particular party may be victorious'.[25] This was due to the fact that 'which ever is victorious, the extremists on that side will probably take control, and there will be an aftermath of antagonism and bitterness that will take long to destroy'.[26] *The Australian Churchman* posited that both sides were similarly bad, but did not go into detail as to what this might mean in practice. Docker came to the same basic conclusion in *The Adelaide Church Guardian*, but offered more specificity as to why. He quoted the views of William Temple (1881-1944), the Archbishop of York, to explain that because the Spanish Government had adopted extreme leftist views in response to the military uprising, 'no result was, from that time forward, either possible or conceivable, which is not purely disastrous'.[27] The two available options suggested by Temple and endorsed by Docker were:

> Either a socialist faction, in which, as a result of the rebellion, anti-christian [*sic*] forces are dominant, will impose a regime, which multitudes will detest, or else the army will set up a dictatorship in alliance with a Church that has on the whole steadily resisted the development of popular education, and will thereafter owe its position of influence to the lawless exercise of armed force.[28]

Docker doubled down on pessimism with another quote, this time from Percy Herbert, the Bishop of Blackburn in England. Herbert claimed moral equivalence of the two forces, stating that:

> Which ever side gains the eventual victory, there must be a legacy of bitterness and hatred that will last for generations, and the supreme power will be in the hands of extremists who have triumphed through violence.[29]

It is notable that Docker immediately changed the subject of his letter to the 'ridiculous and abhorrent' presence of the BUF Blackshirts in London. He clearly considered himself an anti-fascist, at least in a local sense. He advocated the legal prohibition of the 'utterly un-British' practice of 'preaching the doctrines of Naziism [*sic*]' in public.[30] The link between this particular form of localised domestic anti-fascism and opposition to fascism in Spain did not breach the gulf of the ardent fear of a widespread European conflict.

Despite *The Church of England Messenger*'s aforementioned insistence that tales of Republican communism were a Roman Catholic propaganda distortion, some Anglican contributors

---

[24] "Events in Spain," *The Australian Churchman* 9:8 (October 1936): 1.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from London," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 31:3 (December 1936): 10.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

insisted that a Soviet Spain was plausible and potentially disastrous. An example of this sentiment came from Anglican layman and frequent article contributor Robert Chambers Norman (1851-1943) in April 1938. He wrote in *The Church of England Messenger* that the Spanish Civil War was a microcosm of a disastrous imminent future, of violent fascism rising up to overthrow repressive communism.[31] He described that while fascism embraced a 'Satanic' perversion of religion as opposed to communism's 'nationalised godlessness', Spain demonstrated that 'there is little difference between the diabolical butchery on both sides'.[32] He suggested that in the case of Spain the fascists were actually slightly worse, given that they 'add hypocrisy to the barbarity of the Communists', but the key point remained that the Spanish Civil War could be framed as a battle against a Sovietised Spain.[33] The parish paper of St. Mary's Caulfield (Melbourne), articulated in February 1937 an even more anti-communist vision of the conflict. It wrote that 'People are slaughtering each other in Spain, and some of the surrounding nations seem itching to join the fray'.[34] This could logically be interpreted as a reference to Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Instead, the article continued: 'Peace-loving countries are nervous, and a spectre called Communism threatens to turn cosmos into chaos'.[35] In this construction, the overarching threat emanating from Spain was the strengthening of communist anti-religious power.

Anglican Anti-Fascist Views of the Spanish Civil War

While the mainstream Anglican Church position was therefore in favour of British policy, there were still instances of explicit anti-fascist support for the Spanish Republic. As could be expected, this sentiment was centred around George Stuart Watts, editor of *The Church Standard*. The newspaper was unequivocal in its view that the correct way to understand the Spanish Civil War was in terms of the aggressive expansion of fascism. He denounced the insurrectionists as being 'in plain fact, the forces of Fascism' and stated that 'the non-intervention scheme, like the armaments embargoes in the Manchurian and Abyssinian affairs, is actually penalising the victim of aggression'.[36] In August 1936, Watts declared that 'Fascism is indeed achieving an internationalism which communism has failed to reach'.[37] This is a simple statement, but it has broad ramifications. With this understanding, fascism shifted to the primary ideological and practical threat to British interests on the European

[31] R. Chambers Norman, "Whither Drifting? The Question of the Day," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1295 (April 22, 1938): 181.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] "Mental and Spiritual Health," *S. Mary's Church Chronicle* I:15 (February 1937): 2.
[35] Ibid.
[36] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1250 (September 11, 1936): 7.
[37] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1247 (August 21, 1936): 7.

continent and at home due to its comparative success in achieving regime change. Communism preached international revolution but had failed to successfully claim and maintain power beyond the confines of the Russian Empire. Watts believed that fascist success in toppling the Spanish Republic was a grave danger to democracy across the entire world.[38] He was scathing of the British press, which clamoured for the imminent fall of Madrid to end the conflict as swiftly as possible.[39] He was disgusted by the belief espoused elsewhere that 'the sooner the act of aggression is over the better for European peace', given that 'the quickest way for the aggression to end is to let it succeed'.[40] While he did not direct his ire towards the Australian Anglican press, their sentiments were entirely in line with the British press that Watts excoriated. Readers of *The Church Standard* would hardly fail to notice this. By October, he expressed horror that the seemingly imminent fall of Madrid meant that 'there is, indeed, every sign that the majority of the European States will enter upon a Fascist stage with all the persecution and loss of liberty thereby entailed'.[41] Watts was adamant that if fascism successfully established itself in Spain, the template for control would be set, and that 'those who imagine that it could not happen here live in a fool's paradise'.[42]

In January 1937, Watts was in total agreement with the Anglican mainstream in his belief that the Spanish Civil War posed a grave threat to European peace. In contrast, however, he was adamant that non-intervention was ineffectual against containing the threat emanating from Spain, which was fundamentally ideological in nature. While other Anglican commentators were relieved at the obvious success of containing the conflict to Spain through non-intervention, Watts was worried that the true threat was only becoming 'increasingly dangerous to the peace of Europe'.[43] He believed that this threat to Europe was fascism itself, as it was 'a force which is not confined within national boundaries'.[44] For him, there was no sense in containing 'war' if the result still allowed for the spread of fascism. His rhetoric remained steadfast on the one-year anniversary of the war, when he insisted that 'Spain must be considered as a prelude to further fascist expansionism'.[45] A month later, in August 1937, Watts' nomenclature shifted in a subtle but significant manner. The situation was now a 'war against Spain', as distinct from a 'civil war'. The Spanish people were now framed as victims of foreign aggressors, rather than participants in a primarily internal struggle. This framework rejected the idea that the sanctity of state sovereignty had to be preserved by non-intervention,

[38] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1257 (October 30, 1936): 7.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1253 (October 2, 1936): 7.
[42] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1257 (October 30, 1936): 7.
[43] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1267 (January 15, 1937): 7.
[44] Ibid.
[45] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1293 (July 16, 1937): 8.

because in this perspective that sovereignty had already been violently violated by the fascist powers.[46]

Watts was thus adamant that the only way of keeping fascism in check was through warfare, and that Spain was the place for British democracy to make its stand. Watts was ebullient regarding British volunteers. In December 1936, he had nothing but praise for one 'Lord Churchill, who accompanied the first medical unit to Spain'. Churchill, who was the cousin of future British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, insisted that 'International Fascism intended to destroy democracy in other countries besides Spain where the people are not only fighting for themselves but for us'.[47] Watts believed that non-intervention was 'a fraud' and that 'the main objective of the nations concerned in the Spanish struggle [was to] ensure that the Spanish Government will not hit back at the enemies which are attacking her'.[48] He insisted that those who fought for the Republic, both Spaniards and international volunteers, were heroes. He was incensed, however, that 'no efforts, no heroism, can save the Spanish people' while Britain prevented the government from purchasing arms.[49]

Watts remained convinced that it was his duty as a prominent spokesman for the Australian Anglican Church to sway public opinion. In response to the German Nazi aerial bombing of the Spanish city of Guernica in 1937, widely considered a war crime due to its nature as a civilian target, the British Government accepted a small number of Basque child refugees.[50] Watts believed that this effort was pathetic and tokenistic:

> Perhaps when the children [evacuated from Basque Country] grow up, their gratitude will be tempered by a knowledge of the fact that Great Britain, the greatest exporter of armaments in the world, refused supplies to their country when threatened by rebellion and invasion while armaments and munitions were freely obtainable by the country's enemies.[51]

In light of this minimal effort, Watts believed that the Anglican Church had the responsibility to agitate in favour of the Spanish Government. He insisted that public groundswell against Italian aggression in 1935 'almost forced the Baldwin Government to take some action about Abyssinia', and that if the Anglican public were vocal enough they may be able to prevent the British Government from '[betraying] the world' once more.[52] Watts was passionately hostile towards the

---

[46] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1299 (August 27, 1937): 7.
[47] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1263 (December 11, 1936): 7.
[48] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1291 (July 2, 1937): 7.
[49] Ibid.
[50] For an examination of the British response to this refugee crisis, see: Sandra Dawson, "Refugee Children and the Emotional Cost of Internationalism in Interwar Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 60 (2021): 115-139.
[51] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1283 (May 7, 1937): 7.
[52] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1305 (October 8, 1937): 7.

British Conservative Party, arguing that it made Great Britain 'a quiet friend of the Spanish rebels and their German and Italian allies'.[53] He believed, in line with the subsequent general historical consensus, that had Britain offered assistance 'the rebellion would have been suppressed long ago'.[54] His bitterness was apparent. He mused that 'the same trick seems to have been played upon Spain as was used in the case of Abyssinia – delay and discussion while the aggressor gains his objectives'.[55] In response to institutional clerical support for continued non-intervention, he concluded: 'A cynic has suggested that each morning Anglican bishops ask themselves, "What can I compromise on today?"'[56] While attributing these strong words to a rhetorical cynic, it appears clear that Watts held this basic position himself. This is a strong accusation to emanate from the de facto official national Australian Anglican newspaper.

Given his construction of the Spanish Civil War as a war for the survival of democracy, it is understandable that Watts became increasingly passionate about the fate of Spain as the war shifted towards likely insurrectionist victory. He was already unequivocal about the need for British military support for the Spanish Republic in September 1936, and never renounced this belief. From the outset of the conflict he believed that because 'Fascism preaches eternal war as the means of realising its ends' there was no possibility of compromise.[57] He believed that a war against fascism in Europe was an inevitability, and he conceptualised the previous years as a series of ineffectual geopolitical retreats for British Christian democracy. By early 1939, he explained that 'we might have prevented aggression in Manchuria without recourse to war. We certainly could have done it in Abyssinia'.[58] When speaking of 'we' in this case, he is referring to the British Empire; even a radical Australian Anglican priest still considered himself British at heart. He mourned the fact that 'every retreat we have made has weakened our position', and that failure in Spain would cement fascist dominance over the Mediterranean.[59] The prospect of Spain being 'sacrificed', despite British strategic interests in the region, left him 'stupefied'. [60] He accused those who believed that non-intervention was the path to European peace of being 'obviously stupid'.[61] In response to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's claim of November 1938 that 'Spain was no longer a menace to the peace of Europe' due to the seemingly inevitable and imminent Francoist victory, Watts

[53] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1328 (March 25, 1938): 7.
[54] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1273 (February 26, 1937): 7.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXV:1253 (October 2, 1936): 7.
[58] "Notes and Comments," *Church Standard* XXVII:1371 (January 27, 1939): 7.
[59] Ibid.
[60] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVI:1330 (April 8, 1938): 7.; "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXVII:1365 (December 9, 1938): 7.
[61] "Notes and Comments," *Church Standard* XXVII:1371 (January 27, 1939): 7.

decried that 'competent observers' feel that 'Mr Chamberlain is unable to appreciate the realities' of the situation.[62]

One of Watts' final missives summed up his beliefs regarding the threat of fascism in Spain perfectly: the Spanish Government, in 'its struggle for life' had been 'deserted by countries which call themselves democracies'.[63] Irrespective of the geographical confines of the physical conflict, the moral and ideological conflict had spread far beyond the Pyrenees. He remained resolute, endorsing the view in February 1939 that 'Government Spain fights our battle – the battle of all democratic peoples'.[64] By the end of the war, Watts was emotionally defeated. In June he condemned the *Sydney Morning Herald* for an article about the failure of non-intervention – he insisted that this 'nauseating… monstrous farce' had been self-evident for years.[65] He scathingly decreed that this conclusion was as obvious in July 1936 as it was by June 1939. In August 1939, Watts believed that the new fascist constitution in Spain was exactly in line with his predictions over the previous years.[66] Ignored by the Anglican establishment throughout the conflict, Watts likely felt himself shouting into the void.

While Watts was a singular force for anti-fascist passion with respect to Spain, he was not entirely alone in this respect. A number of other Australian Anglican sources expressed hostility to the policy of non-intervention. Reginald Nichols claimed to speak for the entire Australian Anglican community when he declared in September 1937 that 'non-intervention is looked upon as a great joke'.[67] It was not being enforced against the fascist powers, and:

> everyone knows that the reason that it takes at least six months to obtain delivery of a new Italian car, and about a year to obtain a lorry, (even if they can be obtained then), is because all the Italian factories are working overtime on material for use in Spain.[68]

He believed that non-intervention was a failure of British policy in the sense that it allowed Franco, who Nichols believed was self-evidently a fascist, to exert considerable military pressure over the Mediterranean Sea.[69] As previously established, Nichols' outspoken views more closely resembled the traditional conservative vision of *realpolitik* than most, if not all, of his fellow clergymen. If

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] "Notes and Comments," *Church Standard* XXVII:1375 (February 24, 1939): 7.
[64] Ibid.
[65] "Notes and Comments," *Church Standard* XXVIII:1391 (June 16, 1939): 7. The article was "Throwing Off the Mask," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 June 1939, 10.
[66] "Notes and Comments," *Church Standard* XXVIII:1399 (August 11, 1939): 7.
[67] "Some Impressions in Italy," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 4:2 (September 1937): 23.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

Nichols' claim that his stated views represented public sentiment holds true, it was not expressed clearly in the Anglican clerical publications.

In April 1938 *The Australian Churchman* explicitly framed the Spanish Civil War as a flashpoint in the escalating threat of fascist domination of Europe. It categorised this force as 'The Fury'.[70] It wrote that Hitler's entry into Austria in March 1938 made the Jews tremble, and it predicted the continued Nazi expansion into Czechoslovakia.[71] Following this ominous trend, the article concluded that 'Spain seems to be doomed to come under the domination of The Fury'.[72] In March 1938, *The Bendigo Church News* published perhaps the most strident criticism of non-intervention in the Australian Anglican media outside of *The Church Standard*. This was seen in an article republished verbatim from the London Anglican paper *The Church Times*. The English author wrote that:

> Wars which most seriously threaten at the moment are, save in outward form, no longer wars between people and their governments; they are wars between fundamental and conflicting philosophies of life and of public order. What is going on in Spain under the name of civil war proves this.[73]

It continued, insisting that:

> The democracy which, at the instance of the English-speaking and the French peoples, had been spreading over the Western world is now not only challenged but distinctly checked by the opposing doctrines resting upon a philosophy of compulsion rather than of liberty, which are known as communism, as national socialism and as fascism.[74]

This position refuted the idea that the threat of 'war' and the threat of 'fascism' could be neatly separated in a way that allowed for non-intervention in Spain to make logical sense. It asked directly: 'How, therefore, under such circumstances can a democratic people be indifferent or neutral when a fellow-democracy is forcibly attacked by one of the philosophies of compulsion?'[75] The article concluded with a proposition that was reminiscent of the kind of 'police force' interpretation of the League of Nations: : 'Each [democratic state] in its own self-defence must stand together with the other democratic peoples if the attempt be made to submerge any one of them under the waves of a doctrine of compulsion'.[76] In this view, the fate of Spain left standing alone would surely befall the other democracies who refused to assist. While the author did not explicitly condemn the British

[70] "The Fury Hits," *The Australian Churchman* 11:2 (April 1938): 3.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "Three Aspects of War," *The Bendigo Church News* XXVIII:3 (March 1938): 19.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

policy in Spain, the implicit criticism is apparent by the call to intervene militarily in future situations where democracy is similarly threatened.

It is apparent that the Anglican Church in Australia was well aware of the potential categorisation of Franco's forces as the representative of fascism creeping across Europe. Though Watts and his national weekly newspaper were the obvious standout voice on the topic, he was not alone amongst the clergy. However, the standard position taken by the Anglican Church in response to the Spanish Civil War was one of deference to British foreign policy. The idea that the Spanish Republic posed a potential communist threat was often explicitly rejected, but also often endorsed as reality. The overwhelming fear of a European war ensured that Australian Anglican pro-interventionist voices were never taken remotely seriously.

The Threat of Aggressive Nazi German Expansionism

While the Spanish Civil War could be rationalised away as something of a European sideshow behind the curtain of the Pyrenees, the Australian Anglican Church had to contend with another potential fascist threat in the international arena. Nazi Germany's rearmament and expansionist aspirations could not be so easily dismissed as the battle for Spain's future. Despite continuing into early 1939, by 1938 the Spanish Civil War was almost entirely replaced as the most troubling European flashpoint by Nazi Germany. Anglican comment on Spain became minimal, whereas fears of Nazism were covered extensively across all levels of Anglican literature.

The Australian Anglican Church wrote prolifically on Nazi irredentism, especially as articulated at the Munich Conference. The Anglican Church in Australia viewed the Conference's appeasement of Hitler by ceding part of Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany as a gift from God to ensure European peace. There were, however, some Anglican figures who rejected the joyous atmosphere and pessimistically insisted that appeasement was doomed to failure. In March 1939, Hitler ignored the Agreement and invaded the non-gifted portion of Czechoslovakia, Australian Anglican sentiment turned immediately. While peace was still an ideal worth praying for, the prospect of righteous violence as the only way to curb Nazi aggression became increasingly acceptable.

It is worth briefly addressing at this point the lack of analysis regarding the Australian Anglican Church's response to the horrors of *Kristallnacht*. The reality is, unfortunately, that the anti-Semitic violence perpetrated by the Nazis in late 1938 aroused little comment in the Anglican press. When these outrages were mentioned, such as in a letter to the editor written by Helen Baillie in *The*

Church of England Messenger, they were couched in the context of the specific Nazi threat to Britain, which was understood to be the main concern.[77] While the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany was therefore looked upon with sympathy, it was not a pre-eminent factor in shifting Australian Anglican positions on the desirability of war with the Third Reich.

Support for the Munich Conference

As was the case with the Spanish Civil War, the Australian Anglican Church embraced the foreign policy platform of the British Government with regards to Nazi Germany. This is most evidently seen in the response to the crisis over Nazi aspirations for the conquest of the so-called Sudetenland, an area of Czechslovakia with a predominantly German-speaking population. In September 1938, Germany invaded this territory and sought to incorporate it into Germany. In response, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain flew to Munich for an emergency meeting, at which it was agreed (without a Czechoslovakian representative present) that the Nazi ocucpation would be legitimised in exchange for an end to any further territorial expansion. Chamberlain returned triumphant, declaring the famous line that there would be 'peace for our time' (often misquoted as 'peace in our time'). This meeting in particular has stood as a representative embodiment of the moral and practical failure of the British policy of appeasement of Nazi Germany, though there has been a revisionist reinterpretation of these events in recent years suggesting that appeasement was the most viable option at the time.[78]

The Australian Anglican Church considered the potential outbreak of war due to Nazi expansionism in late 1938 the most important international event of the interwar period. While most important foreign events were mentioned in some capacity across the spectrum of Anglican literature, the Munich Conference and the potential war it sought to avert were international news of an almost unprecedented nature. In line with Australian society overall, the Australian Anglican Church was overjoyed with the results of the Munich Conference and praised Chamberlain as the incarnation of the Christian spirit. This was in line with the English Anglican experience as well: the London *Church Times* denounced critics of the Munich deal as un-Christian warmongers, whose beliefs were 'extraordinary, even lunatic'.[79] Lawson suggests that while the British secular press declared the agreement an acceptable compromise at great cost to Czechoslovakian citizens, the

[77] "Correspondence." *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1311 (December 2, 1938): 585.
[78] For an exploration of decades of debate over Munich, see: R. Gerald Hughes, "The Ghosts of Appeasement: Britain and the Legacy of the Munich Agreement," *Journal of Contemporary History* 48:4 (2013): 688-716.
[79] Cited in: Andrew Chandler, "Munich and Morality: The Bishops of the Church of England and Appeasement," *Twentieth Century British History* 5:1 (1994): 85

English Anglican press' 'joy was unconfined for a peace that was literally believed to be heaven sent'.[80] Though there was little Anglican sympathy for Nazism, there was a significant degree of sympathy for the German state itself. Years of reflection on the seemingly harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty at the end of the First World War meant that core German demands seemed akin to genuine restitution.[81] The confiscation of German colonies was a key element contributing this sympathy, as the pro-colonial outlook of the Church affirmed that European countries had a right and need to foreign territories to exploit.[82] At the same time, however, Australians were entirely unwilling to countenance returning their recent New Guinea colony to Germany, and so the expansion of German territory on the European continent seemed a preferable option.[83] In the end, the threat posed by war was seen as far in excess of the threat of a relatively small geographical expansion of fascist rule.

Bishop Johnson of Ballarat demonstrated the core Anglican feeling regarding the Munich Conference when he spoke in his 1938 Synod Address. He declared that 'it is inevitable that in my charge I should refer to the momentous happenings which are taking place in world affairs'.[84] He thought it inconceivable that an Anglican Synod could refrain from commentary on the matter, given that in the recent past 'the world was saved from war only by a few hours'.[85] A representative example of the fear of war and elation at its avoidance is seen in the November letter from England to *The Adelaide Church Guardian* by Docker. He explained that 'for the past month we have had the dread of the horrors of war always oppressing us', leading to a unanimous public opinion dedicated to maintaining peace.[86] He claimed that 'the Churches are frequented day and night by interceding people' whose fear of war has rekindled a passionate Christian faith.[87] In a short postscript added after the resolution of the conference, Docker was overjoyed that 'our great Prime Minister has won the admiration of the world' as a vessel for God.[88] *The Adelaide Church Guardian* drew special attention to this letter in the same issue, reiterating that the 'breathing space' offered by the Agreement was a direct gift from God as a result of incessant Christian prayer.[89] *The Australian Churchman* declared Chamberlain a hero in two separate October 1938 articles, suggesting that he

---

[80] Tom Lawson, *The Church of England and the Holocaust: Christianity, Memory and Nazism* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006): 59.
[81] The author here supports German disregard for the Treaty, considering it too punitive to be enforced: "Foreign Affairs," *The Church of England Messenger* LXVIII:1215 (March 29, 1935): 149.
[82] "Notes and Comments," *The Church Standard* XXIV:1221 (February 21, 1936): 7.
[83] Ibid.
[84] "Presidential Address," *The Church Chronicle* L:12 (December 1938): 163.
[85] Ibid.
[86] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from England," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:2 (November 1938): 12.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 13.
[89] "World Peace A Personal Problem," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:2 (November 1938): 7.

had personally succeeded in turning international affairs into a realm in which 'Christian morality' could finally exist.[90] Bishop George Cranswick of Gippsland directly attributed Chamberlain's success to worldwide Christian prayer, allowing him to achieve 'a magnificent thing unique in the history of all nations'.[91] He praised the Czechoslovakian people for accomplishing 'one of the greatest moral victories ever, in being dismembered for the sake of world peace'.[92] The specific contribution of Australian Christian prayer to this success was slightly disputed, however. Frederick Head insisted that 'we cannot help linking [Chamberlain's visit to Hitler] with the prayers that have gone up to God from Australia'.[93] In late September, *The Church of England Messenger* was elated 'prayers for peace have been continuously used in our churches for many months past, and [they] will continue to be used until the international situation is cleared'.[94] In contrast, Arthur Nutter Thomas admonished his flock for not 'doing our part' – he felt that the British churches were crowded during the crisis, while Adelaide churches were shamefully not.[95]

The Australian Anglican Church overwhelmingly agreed that the Munich Conference represented a monumental step towards world peace. Frank Weston, the rector of St. Augustine's Unley (Adelaide), wrote that Chamberlain's decision to fly to Germany was likely the most important personal gesture of the twentieth century, given that it was successful in 'saving the world from calamity'.[96] Bishop Johnson wrote in *The Church Chronicle* that Chamberlain's actions represented 'a marvellous thing … a great change in the human heart'.[97] This idea, that the great ethical and political quandaries of the day could primarily be solved through individual embrace of Christian principles on a global scale, was a core tenet of Anglican thinking throughout the interwar period. Thus, the apparent example of the success of this model, seen through the person of a prominent British political figure, was understood as practical proof of the value of this approach to political questions. Johnson approvingly quoted 'a wealthy Indian, a graduate of Cambridge University' in saying that 'the world has reached a turning-point in its history and that Chamberlain is being used by God in a very wonderful way'.[98] As was covered earlier in this thesis, Archbishop Head declared at the 1938 Melbourne Synod that the Munich Conference represented 'a new and more effective

---

[90] "Steady, Boys, Steady!" *The Australian Churchman* 11:8 (October 1938): 2.;"The Peacemakers," *The Australian Churchman* 11:8 (October 1938): 2.
[91] George Cranswick, "A Letter from the Bishop," *The Church News* 37:8 (November 1938): 3.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1306 (September 23, 1938): 436.
[94] "Prayer for Peace," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1306 (September 23, 1938): 436.
[95] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter." *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:4 (January 1939): 2.
[96] Frank Weston, "The Crisis," *The St. Augustine's Chronicle* III:76 (November 1938): 3.
[97] "The Bishop's Letter," *The Church Chronicle* L:11 (November 1938): 146.
[98] Ibid.

form' of the League of Nations.[99] Chamberlain's personal dialogue with Hitler was seen as the apotheosis of the personal Christian spirit dedicated to peace. *The Church of England Messenger* was 'truly grateful to God' for the way Chamberlain prevented war.[100] Interestingly, it also thanked God for the 'preserv[ation of] the liberties of other peoples', which was not explained and appears incongruous with the terms of the Agreement, at least in respect to the Czechoslovakian populace.[101]

Anglican proponents of the deal did sometimes acknowledge the potential cost of the Munich agreement for those people whose homes were ceded to the Nazi state. The fate of 'Czechoslovakia and of the dispossessed Jews' was generally framed as an unfortunate, but distant, sacrifice worthy of ensuring European peace.[102] In early October, *The Church of England Messenger* rejected 'the inevitable voice of criticism' on this front and instead ordered its readership to '[remember] the horror of the cataclysm from which the world has been saved'.[103] As it explained, 'peace requires sacrifice', and in this case the required sacrifice was 'the people of Czechoslovakia'.[104] The paper insisted that Australians 'owe to them a debt of gratitude' for their subsumation into the Nazi machine, and that their sacrifice would allow for 'the opening of a new era in world affairs' of a 'permanently established' peace.[105] *The Australian Churchman* wondered in November 1938 'whether Chamberlain's policy of appeasement will be so heartily-endorsed when it involves sacrificing British interests'.[106] This wry aside leads us to the Anglican minority of overt critics of the Munich settlement.

Australian Anglican Criticism of the Munich Conference

Irrespective of the joy for Chamberlain's arrangement with Hitler in the Australian Anglican Church, there were nonetheless a small number of Anglican voices dissenting from this optimism. Some were broadly pessimistic about the future without offering specific advice, considering the Munich Agreement a basically pointless exercise. An example of this was Reginald Nichols, who was in England at the time of the tribulations and thus experienced English fear firsthand. He wrote home to the readers of *Brother Bill's Monthly* that regardless of the outcome of Chamberlain's actions, war

[99] "The Archbishop's Charge to Synod," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1308 (October 21, 1938): 483..
[100] "Britain Leads," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1306 (September 23, 1938): 437.
[101] Ibid.
[102] "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1307 (October 7, 1938): 459.
[103] "Threat of War Averted," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1307 (October 7, 1938): 460.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] "Peace In Our Time," *The Australian Churchman* 11:9 (November 1938): 2.

'will come sooner or later' given that 'Germany is ready' for European conquest.[107] Edward Bleby, the rector of St. Paul's Pulteney Street (Adelaide), was more curt. He dismissed the very premise of the conference. He insisted that 'no sane person could trust the signature of Hitler or Mussolini' given the extent of their 'self-seeking [and] callous brutality', and that prayer was needed to restrain them as much as possible rather than to placate them with territorial concessions.[108] These Anglican commentators believed that placating Nazi expansionism in this manner was not going to contain Hitler's ambitions, and that appeasing fascism was unsustainable.

Other Anglican critics went further, offering specific and direct criticism of the practical realities of the agreement. These opinions understood the deal as a betrayal of the people handed to Nazi rule, and as a victory for the concept of aggression. Melbourne lay Anglican Helen Baillie, whose trip to the Soviet Union was previously explored in Chapter Four, was outspoken in her anti-fascism with regards to the Munich Conference. In a letter to the editor published in *The Church of England Messenger*, she 'strongly protest[ed]' against the fact that '850,000 Czechs [were] to be handed over to Fascist rule'.[109] She included the text of a telegram sent to both Lyons and Chamberlain explaining that the temporary postponement of an anti-Nazi war was not worth the shameful 'betrayal of Czechoslovakia by the democratic powers'.[110] Baillie was adamant that 'surely all moral indignation should rise from the throats of all democratic people' with respect to the terms of the agreement, and was adamant that 'peace is impossible unless the foundations are laid on justice and righteousness'.[111] She believed that the only way to achieve 'the salvation of humanity' was for Australian Anglicans to 'take moral action in the name of world peace'.[112] To her, this meant a strident opposition to fascism, rather than its appeasement. Her letter was endorsed in the following issue by Clifford Nash (1866-1958), parochial minister of Melton (Melbourne). He insisted that Baillie's voice was representative of a growing proportion of the Victorian Anglican community, and 'deserves high commendation for its courageous outspokenness'.[113] He explained that true peace was impossible 'by strengthening the hands of an aggressor, hands already deeply stained by innocent blood', and expressed outrage that Czechoslovakia was forcibly sacrificed for British geopolitical interests.[114] Nash pointedly exclaimed that 'We hear much of the need for sacrifice on behalf of peace, but why should all the sacrifice be on the shoulders of weaker peoples, as in the

[107] "A Personal Letter to Our Readers," *Brother Bill's Monthly* 5:4 (November 1938): 5.
[108] Edward Bleby, "From the Rector," *The Echo* XXXIII:386 (October 1938): 2.
[109] "Correspondence," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1308 (October 21, 1938): 510.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] "Correspondence," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1311 (December 2, 1938): 585.
[114] Ibid.

case of Czechoslovakia?'[115] He concluded that 'Britain's weakness in the face of Totalitarian aggression' guaranteed an imminent world war.[116] *The Church of England Messenger*'s editorial staff were not swayed, however, and did not acknowledge these letters beyond their publication in the 'correspondence' section. Shortly afterwards, the periodical admitted that while 'the Munich agreement may not be all that we could have wished', it was nonetheless 'better than war'.[117] Rather than the passionate anti-fascism espoused by Baillie and Nash, the diocesan paper believed that 'a readiness not to be too critical of those whose manner of living and form of government differ from our own' was the key factor in maintaining European peace.[118] Czechoslovakia, like Spain before it, was viewed as marginal to British and Australian interests.

The Growing Acceptance of an Anti-Fascist War

The early optimism of the Australian Anglican Church for the policy of appeasing Nazi German geopolitical ambitions was rudely shaken in March 1939 when Hitler commenced the full-scale invasion of Czechoslovakia. While anti-fascist rhetoric in the Anglican press was comparatively muted around the time of Munich, Hitler's betrayal of Chamberlain's trust led Anglican commentators to embrace a practical anti-totalitarianism with previously unseen gusto. With war becoming increasingly likely, the Church began to steel itself for the eventuality, even while still hoping for a miraculous preservation of peace. Once again, the words of Docker's letter from England to *The Adelaide Church Guardian* effectively summarises the views of the Australian Anglican Church. Docker was outraged that:

> This month has seen a terrible shock administered to all decently-minded people and to most nations in the world by the repudiation of pledges solemnly given and reiterated at and after Munich by the leader of the German Reich. It is a shock that has moved men to the very depths of their being, stirring their indignation and moving them to angry protest. Nothing, I imagine, has for many years so deeply shocked the conscience of mankind as the action of Germany in annexing Czechoslovakia.[119]

He sought to resist immediate calls for war, insisting that even then 'as a nation we desire peace', no matter how 'hard [it is] in the face of European developments to keep that desire fresh in our minds'.[120] Rather than military force, Docker believed that 'the battle for peace must be fought out

[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] "Notes and Comments," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXI:1313 (December 23, 1938): 618.
[118] Ibid.
[119] W.B. Docker, "A Letter from England," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:8 (May 1939): 10.
[120] Ibid.

in the hearts and minds of men and women'.[121] He was supported by the Bishop of Adelaide, who was adamant that 'the conflict with the totalitarian nations in which we are engaged is a **spiritual** conflict'.[122] This focus on the spiritual nature of the conflict aligns with the discussion of Anglican conceptualisations of fascist totalitarianism covered in the previous chapter.

The breaking of the Munich pact invigorated Australian Anglican critics to emphasise the anti-Christian nature of Nazi rule, and how it increasingly posed a risk to British civilisation. *The Australian Churchman* insisted in March that Nazism was the embodiment of Satanic government, and its continued existence put 'Christian civilisation' at existential risk.[123] It argued in April that the entirety of the Anglican clergy needed to denounce the 'treachery in Czechoslovakia' lest they fail to genuinely uphold Christian principles.[124] Herbert Cavalier, rector of St. Peter's Glenelg (Adelaide), considered the German Churches irrevocably tainted by fascism, due to 'how definitely the actual teaching of Christ is given up' by them.[125] He believed that prayer for the soul of the German people was the only way to truly combat Nazism, though he nevertheless accepted that it was entirely plausible that it would become 'impossible to face Nazi ambition except by force'.[126] He treated this as a desperate fallback position, however, rather than advocating for violent action just yet.

The Australian Anglican Church refused to express regret for its support for the Munich Agreement. It insisted that the ideals represented at Munich were sound and worth endorsing, and that its subsequent betrayal did not mean that the Church was misguided in its initial support. The pact had been heralded as a new beginning in an era of Christian peace, and would have succeeded in this goal but for the treachery of Hitler. *The Church of England Messenger* made this position explicit in March 1939: 'this does not mean that we regret our acceptance of that agreement so splendidly brought about by the intervention of the Prime Minister of England, Mr Neville Chamberlain, whose dismay is easily understood'.[127] The periodical prayed for continued peace, but nevertheless felt compelled to warn that 'if they [Nazi Germany] force the world into war it will be their doing, not ours'.[128]

While the Church still clearly wanted peace, the reality of imminent war had set in. By April 1939, Head informed his Melbourne readership that continued Italian and German expansion

---

[121] Ibid.
[122] Arthur Nutter Thomas, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Adelaide Church Guardian* 33:9 (June 1939): 2. (Original emphasis)
[123] "The Problem That Confronts Us," *The Australian Churchman* 12:1 (March 1939): 2.
[124] "Beware the Ides of March," *The Australian Churchman* 12:2 (April 1939): 2.
[125] Herbert Cavalier, "Rector's Letter," *S. Peter's Church, Glenelg* 384 (June 1939): 3.
[126] Ibid.
[127] "Notes and Comments," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXII:1319 (March 24, 1939): 124.
[128] Ibid.

seemed inevitable, and that 'our work as citizens is to prepare ourselves for war so that we may be able to secure peace'.[129] In the same issue, *The Church of England Messenger* quoted Bishop Burgmann of Goulburn explaining that Chamberlain had been a fool to have been deceived by Hitler, given even a cursory familiarity with Hitler's ideals indicated that he would happily lie to achieve his desired results.[130] The article concluded with the absolute statement that there could be no compromise between the forces of Christianity and the forces of Nazism – not quite a call to arms, but as close to it as could be expected from a Church at this time.[131] *The Church Chronicle* wrote in April that as a result of the failure of Munich, the 'present order' was disintegrating and unable to be saved.[132] It believed that the true spirit of optimism was not a belief in the avoidance of war through 'a policy of peace by appeasement', but a belief that whatever imminent chaos that emerged would result in 'a new order' closer to Christian ideals.[133] Bishop Johnson gave a sermon insisting that although the Christian world wanted peace, Britain had a moral obligation to rearm and prepare for war in defence of Christian civilisation.[134] He insisted upon the primacy of a goal of solving German, Italian and Japanese 'economic difficulties [through] peaceful and constructive methods', but admitted that this relied upon the consent of the aggressor states that was likely not forthcoming.[135] *Brother Bill's Monthly* was characteristically forthright in April when it wrote that 'if Hitler does not put on the brake, things will reach such a stage that everybody will have to face the necessity of action'.[136] Nichols believed that nations which had achieved 'liberty' would and should righteously combat the spread of Nazism by force.[137] The optimistic hope for a peaceful solution continued throughout the middle months of 1939, but the spirit of fatalism did not subside.

On 3 September 1939, the greatest fear of the Anglican Church over the previous decade was finally realised. Britain had declared war on Nazi Germany in response to the invasion of Poland two days prior. In line with the increasing shift towards the acceptability of anti-fascist war, the Australian Anglican Church was essentially unanimous in its dedicated support for the war. Any sense of equivocality regarding the moral justification of military force was swept away. Edward Loan, rector of St. Margaret's Woodville (Adelaide), was among the number of Anglican clergy who were relatively silent on the topic of fascism throughout the interwar period. As late as March 1939,

---

[129] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXII:1321 (April 21, 1939): 172.
[130] "An Australasian Summary," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXII:1321 (April 21, 1939): 186.
[131] Ibid.
[132] "Editorial Notes and Comments," *The Church Chronicle* LI:604 (April 1939): 49.
[133] Ibid.
[134] "Is it War?" *The Church Chronicle* LI:604 (April 1939): 51.
[135] William Johnson, "The Bishop's Letter," *The Church Chronicle* LI:605 (May 1939): 67.
[136] "What Would America Do?" *Brother Bill's Monthly* 5:9 (April 1939): 23.
[137] Ibid.

he wrote in his parish paper in favour of a relatively sympathetic vision of Hitler and Mussolini, suggesting that criticising them would be hypocritical for a British Empire that had enjoyed centuries of expansion through force of arms.[138] In the October issue of that year, the first published after the declaration of war, Loan offered a different perspective. He informed his readership that 'goodness, beauty and truth can only be restored by overthrowing Nazi leaders'.[139] He now understood Nazism to be undeniably antithetical to Christianity, and only able to be halted by military action. In the words of Head: 'if ever there was a righteous war it is this one. If ever we could ask God to bless our arms we may do so now'.[140] Once the war was actually realised, fascism finally became the overwhelming threat in the eyes of the Australian Anglican Church.

The Munich Conference and the subsequent collapse of its agreements was, barring the abdication crisis of 1936, the international topic that generated the most Australian Anglican commentary throughout the interwar period. It involved fundamental issues close to the heart of the Church's self-conception of its role and value in society: the question of just peace, of just war, of totalitarian anti-Christian oppression, and the influence of Christianity on all of the above. Support for Chamberlain's apparent success at averting European military conflict in 1938 was entirely in line with long-held Anglican fears of the destructive potential of international war. Although Anglican anti-totalitarian thought despised the fascist nature of Nazi society, the fear of a return to a cataclysm akin to the First World War was overpowering. In response to the obvious betrayal by Hitler in March 1939, the Australian Anglican Church maintained its belief in the possibility and desirability of peace, but simultaneously began to seriously reckon with the potential need for British rearmament and preparation for a war in defence of Christianity.

[138] Edward Loan, "Rector's Letter," *The Parish Magazine* 299 (March 1939): 3.
[139] Edward Loan, "Rector's Letter," *The Parish Magazine* 306 (October 1939): 3.
[140] Frederick Head, "The Archbishop's Letter," *The Church of England Messenger* LXXII:1331 (September 8, 1939): 411.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have shown that Australian Anglicans across the breadth of the Church held strong and varied opinions on interwar international relations, particularly those relating the League of Nations, communism and fascism. The broader conclusions of this thesis go beyond the strict confines of Anglican responses to these specific 'forces', however. Using a rich trove of hitherto overlooked primary source material, I have drawn a number of important conclusions about the nature of the interwar Australian Anglican Church and its role in Australian society, as well as historians' responses to the Church's influence and activities throughout this time period. As such, the conclusions drawn here can help historians understand the ways in which the Anglican Church understood its own function and place in Australian society, and the ways in which its views could differ from traditional mainstream conservative perspectives.

A key finding of this thesis is that the breadth and depth of interwar Australian Anglican thought on matters of international affairs have not been effectively examined by historians. This is true even amongst historians whose research has specialised on the Anglican Church in Australian society and who have lamented the lack of academic interest in the influence of the Church across the twentieth century, such as John Moses and Brian Fletcher. The historical literature on this topic is scarce, and where it does exist is brief and sweeping. This has resulted in a simplistic and misleading view of the Anglican Church's political beliefs as functionally interchangeable with the conservative political class, which weakens our understanding of interwar Australian society as a whole. A trend towards focussing on the standout Anglican individuals of the period, such as Bishop Ernest Burgmann, has de-emphasised the need for a more comprehensive exploration of general Anglican clerical thought. This approach could potentially be criticised from the same angle taken by Tom Lawson with respect to the historiography of English Anglicanism and Nazism. Emphasising the views of outspokenly progressive clergy whose activism was not replicated across the Church, and whose political ideals more closely match contemporary values than did those of their peers, implicitly serves to whitewash some of the less savoury viewpoints generally held by clergy at the time.[1] This is most clearly demonstrated by historians' engagement with *The Church Standard*. It has rarely been explored as a primary source even though it was a prominent, prolific and respected publication. In the rare cases when it is mentioned, it is generally used simply as an indication of overall Anglican sentiment, representative of the Church's basic position on various matters.[2] This

[1] Tom Lawson, "The Anglican Understanding of Nazism 1933-1945: Placing the Church of England's Response to the Holocaust in Context," *Twentieth Century British History* 14:2 (2003): 113.
[2] See, for example: Brian Beasley, "'Death Charged Missives: Australian Literary Responses to the Spanish Civil War" (PhD thesis, University of Southern Queensland, 2006): 121.

serves to misrepresent *The Church Standard*'s progressive fringe beliefs as representative of the Anglican mainstream.

Following from this broad conclusion, this thesis has found that the Anglican clergy frequently held strong opinions on foreign events and international political affairs, and considered themselves very well-informed on these matters. They read and responded to newspapers both secular and Christian, both British and Australian, and sometimes from the European and American continents. Moses argues with respect to the First World War that Anglican priests were 'among the *very best informed* section of the community'. This could plausibly be true in the case of the interwar period as well.[3] And theirs was not an idle interest of personal curiosity – the Anglican Church unapologetically sought to inform the Australian public and influence their responses to these international situations. They understood the role of the Church as one of a moral duty to help shape the world into a more peaceful, more kind, more just place, as well as believing that the Church had genuine agency to do so. While clergymen railed against the idea of an openly 'party political' Church, they embraced the idea that a functioning Church needed to participate in shaping public opinion on moral issues. In this conception of the Church's place in the world, most of human activity could be categorised as 'moral issues' and thus the Church could not remain silent. Church officials were reflexively supportive of the positions taken by the Governments in Canberra and London, understandably so given the Church's position as quasi-official and established in each jurisdiction, but they were not unfailingly so. In some instances, clerical voices could be adamantly opposed to the positions taken by Imperial Governments. Churchmen were capable of reacting to the changing world realities and thereby develop their own views, rather than adhering to a dogmatic and static vision of the world. The degree of remorse shown in the mid-1930s over early-1930s support for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria is perhaps the clearest example of this capacity for self-reflection and change.

Australian Anglicans did not consider international affairs as something distinct from general 'Australian' concerns. Reductive stereotypes about interwar Australians being indifferent to world events do not hold true in the case of the Anglican clergy. Despite ideas about Australia being a remote part of the world, insulated from European squabbles by vast distance, Anglican commentators felt themselves and Australia in general as a core part of an interlinked world. This was primarily seen in two overlapping areas. English affairs mattered deeply to Australian Anglicans, and thus European matters that impacted England were understood as relevant to Australia as well.

---

[3] John Moses, "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The "Prussian Menace," Conscription, and National Solidarity," *The Journal of Religious History* 25:3 (2001): 307. (Original emphasis)

A deeply-held belief in Australia as an integral part of the British Empire necessitated a vision of Australia linked directly to world affairs. At the same time, international events in closer proximity to Australia – particularly relating to Japan – were understood as directly, and possibly cataclysmically, relevant to the Australian Church irrespective of Australia's role in the Empire. Australia's place within the Empire was being redefined throughout the interwar period. Its separate place at the League of Nations, distinct from Britain, allowed for a nascent Australian class of international diplomats to emerge. The 1931 Statute of Westminster increased the degree of self-government and autonomy of the British Dominions, accelerating a shift towards the conceptualisation of a British Commonwealth of Nations as distinct from a British Empire. In 1934, the Australian Commonwealth's External Affairs Department had a total of two staff, one of whom was entirely devoted to liaising with the League of Nations.[4] By 1936, this department had been expanded and strengthened, and for the first time something akin to 'Australian foreign policy', distinct from Imperial policy, could be said to have begun to exist.[5] It was in this environment of an Australian awakening in the international relations sphere that the Anglican Church's internationalist activism can be understood. The Church was a prominent and influential voice shaping the early days of direct Australian engagement with the world on its own terms.

Another key conclusion of this thesis is that the overlap between Australian Anglicanism and Australian conservatism has been overstated in the historical literature. There is a prominent aphorism that the Anglican Church in England was, at heart, 'the Tory Party at prayer'.[6] This general assumption has held true in the Australian historiography as well. As described in the introduction, Anne O'Brien argues that historians in general have been uninterested in exploring Australian Anglican political beliefs because they were seen as functionally the same as those of the general conservative political establishment.[7] This assessment has some merit, as the links between the Anglican Church and political conservatism are both prominent and obvious. However, there is more nuance in this relationship than has been generally recognised, and to insist upon this framework results in a reductive historical perspective. Even beyond the obvious progressive outliers like George Stuart Watts' editorship of *The Church Standard*, unrepresentative of the overall institution, there remain key points on which the Church disagreed with the conservative consensus. Most

[4] T.P. Fry, "Developments in Australian Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Machinery, 1934-1936," in *Australian Foreign Policy 1935-1936*. (The Australian Institution of International Affairs, 1936): 5.
[5] Eric Andrews, *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970): 71.
[6] Tom Lawson, "'I Was Following the Lead of Jesus Christ': Christian Anti-Fascism in 1930s England," in *Varieties of Anti-Fascism*, ed. Nigel Copley et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 121.
[7] Anne O'Brien, "The Case of the 'Cultivated Man': Class, Gender and the Church of the Establishment in Interwar Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 27 (1996): 246.

prominently, this can be seen in the genuine enthusiasm for the League of Nations and its ideals of collective security, which were begrudgingly tolerated by the Australian conservative establishment and discarded by them at the first available opportunity. As stated bluntly by G. Bruce Strang, from the distance of a century it is easy to forget how genuinely revolutionary the ideals of collective security were, and how little traditionalist conservative politicians actually believed in their value.[8] The degree to which prominent Anglican figures like Archbishop Head maintained an earnest belief in the values of the League, even after its failure to prevent war in Abyssinia, was strikingly distinct from the Australian secular political class. Australian conservatism embraced the League only when it aligned with perceived Imperial interests, while the Anglican Church was genuine in its support. So, while the Anglican Church was associated with socially conservative policies and opposition to the Labor Party, it nevertheless cannot be seen to represent the views of the Australian conservative political class.

Finally, this thesis supports the argument of K.D.M. Snell regarding the scope and focus of English Anglican parish papers applies in the Australian context as well. Snell argues that although historians have generally been dismissive of the limited and insular interests of parish papers, the reality is that these works would often engage deeply with international affairs and events.[9] They were the embodiment of a 'globalised parochialism' which was 'remarkable for [its] out-reach ambitions and potential'.[10] Parish papers were fundamentally didactic tools for the clergy to influence the lives of their parishioners, utilising 'an expansiveness of view that is often remarkable in retrospect'.[11] It should be quite clear at this point that Australian Anglican parish papers can be described in a similar manner.

This thesis has shown that the Australian Anglican Church that has often been treated in relatively tokenistic manner in historical scholarship. The academic literature relating the Church's views on international affairs and their domestic implications has been cursory, and even dismissive. In contrast to this perspective, my research has revealed that the underutilised Anglican primary material at the parish, diocesan, state and even national levels demonstrates that the Church had a thriving and pluralistic field of thought on the international crises of the interwar period. Archbishop Frederick Head's 1937 proclamation that the world was facing an imminent showdown between the forces of communism, fascism and the League of Nations encapsulated the fervour within the

[8] G. Bruce Strang, "Introduction," in *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, ed. G. Bruce Strang. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013):4.
[9] K.D.M. Snell, "Parish Pond to Lake Nyasa: Parish Magazines and Senses of Community," *Family and Community History* 13:1 (2010): 45.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 61.

Anglican Church for the fate of the world. Australian Anglican clergymen saw their role in shaping the nature of a new revitalised and Christianised society amidst the seemingly crumbling foundations of 1930s capitalism as one of immense significance. If three great forces were indeed trying to control world events, the Australian Anglican Church saw itself and Christianity broadly as righteously and inescapably part of that struggle as well. Given the ever-escalating international crises over this period, and the increasingly-catastrophic stakes, the Australian Anglican Church was understandably intensely engaged with issues of international politics and foreign affairs.

Appendix

Appendix

Figure 1

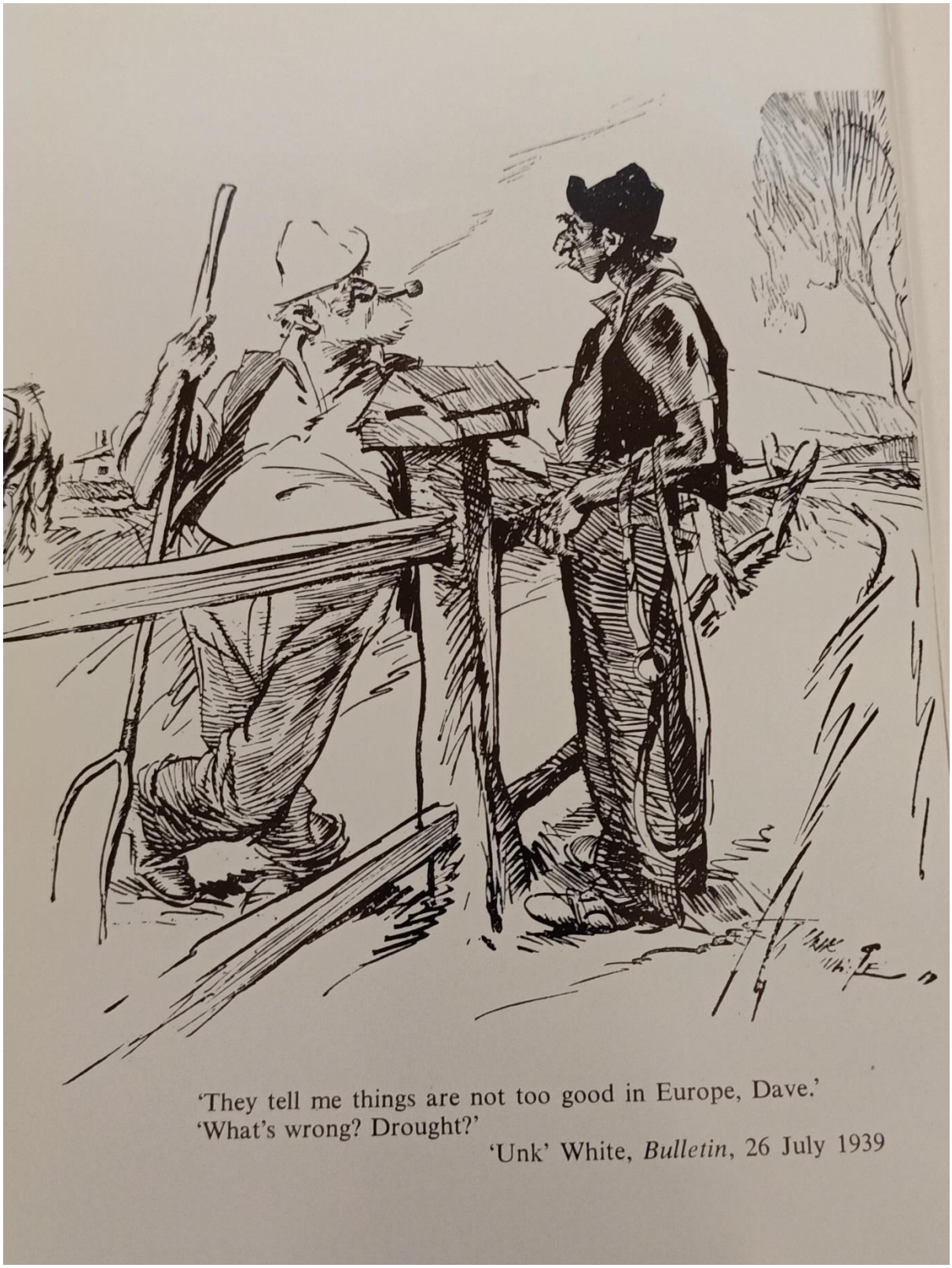
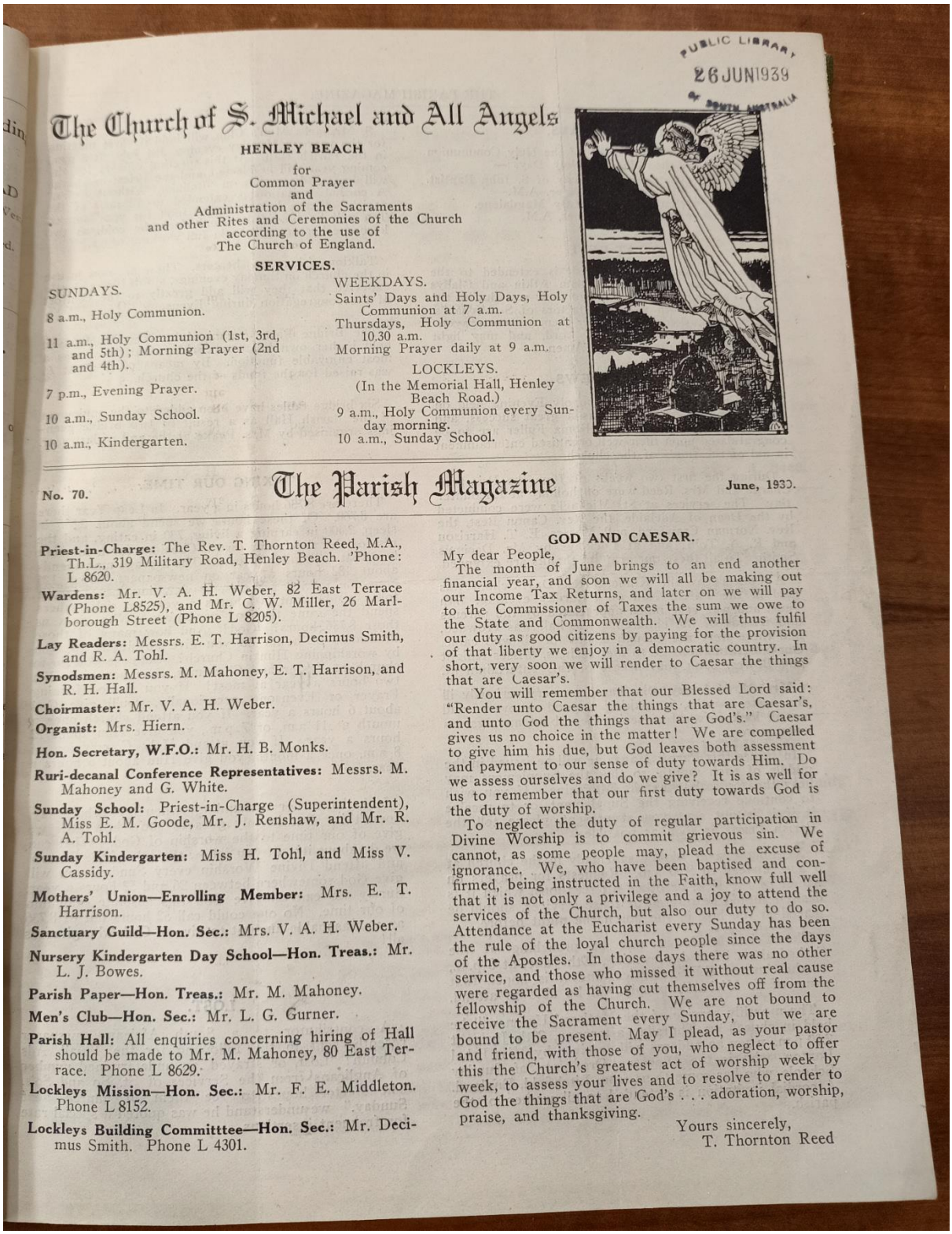


Figure 2.1



The Church of S. Michael and All Angels

HENLEY BEACH

for
Common Prayer
and
Administration of the Sacraments
and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church
according to the use of
The Church of England.

SERVICES.

SUNDAYS.

8 a.m., Holy Communion.

11 a.m., Holy Communion (1st, 3rd, and 5th); Morning Prayer (2nd and 4th).

7 p.m., Evening Prayer.

10 a.m., Sunday School.

10 a.m., Kindergarten.

WEEKDAYS.

Saints' Days and Holy Days, Holy Communion at 7 a.m.

Thursdays, Holy Communion at 10.30 a.m.

Morning Prayer daily at 9 a.m.

LOCKLEYS.

(In the Memorial Hall, Henley Beach Road.)

9 a.m., Holy Communion every Sunday morning.

10 a.m., Sunday School.

No. 70. **The Parish Magazine** June, 1939.

Priest-in-Charge: The Rev. T. Thornton Reed, M.A., Th.L., 319 Military Road, Henley Beach. 'Phone: L 8620.

Wardens: Mr. V. A. H. Weber, 82 East Terrace (Phone L8525), and Mr. C. W. Miller, 26 Marlborough Street (Phone L 8205).

Lay Readers: Messrs. E. T. Harrison, Decimus Smith, and R. A. Tohl.

Synodsmen: Messrs. M. Mahoney, E. T. Harrison, and R. H. Hall.

Choirmaster: Mr. V. A. H. Weber.

Organist: Mrs. Hiern.

Hon. Secretary, W.F.O.: Mr. H. B. Monks.

Ruri-decanal Conference Representatives: Messrs. M. Mahoney and G. White.

Sunday School: Priest-in-Charge (Superintendent), Miss E. M. Goode, Mr. J. Renshaw, and Mr. R. A. Tohl.

Sunday Kindergarten: Miss H. Tohl, and Miss V. Cassidy.

Mothers' Union—Enrolling Member: Mrs. E. T. Harrison.

Sanctuary Guild—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. V. A. H. Weber.

Nursery Kindergarten Day School—Hon. Treas.: Mr. L. J. Bowes.

Parish Paper—Hon. Treas.: Mr. M. Mahoney.

Men's Club—Hon. Sec.: Mr. L. G. Gurner.

Parish Hall: All enquiries concerning hiring of Hall should be made to Mr. M. Mahoney, 80 East Terrace. Phone L 8629.

Lockleys Mission—Hon. Sec.: Mr. F. E. Middleton. Phone L 8152.

Lockleys Building Committtee—Hon. Sec.: Mr. Decimus Smith. Phone L 4301.

GOD AND CAESAR.

My dear People,

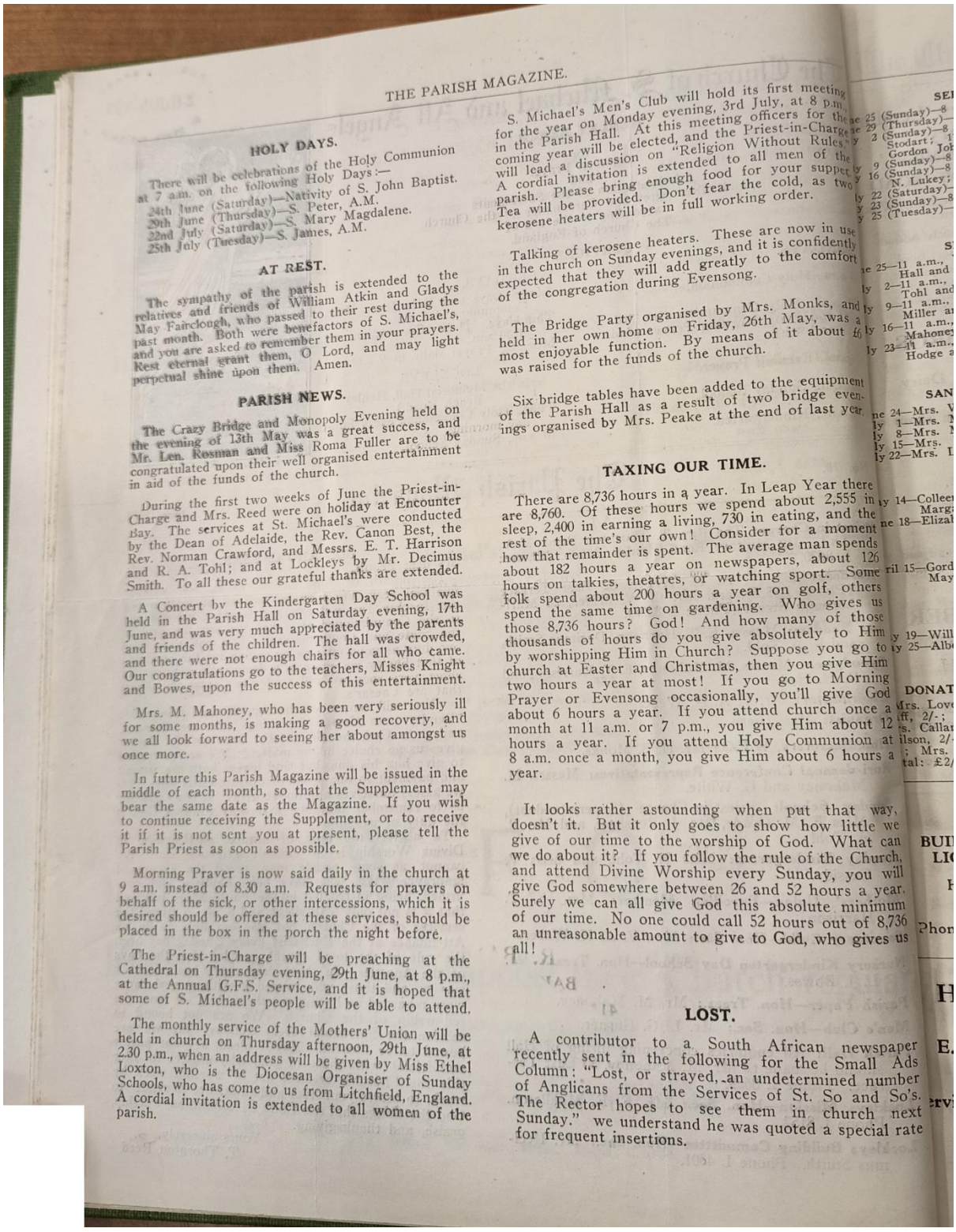
The month of June brings to an end another financial year, and soon we will all be making out our Income Tax Returns, and later on we will pay to the Commissioner of Taxes the sum we owe to the State and Commonwealth. We will thus fulfil our duty as good citizens by paying for the provision of that liberty we enjoy in a democratic country. In short, very soon we will render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.

You will remember that our Blessed Lord said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Caesar gives us no choice in the matter! We are compelled to give him his due, but God leaves both assessment and payment to our sense of duty towards Him. Do we assess ourselves and do we give? It is as well for us to remember that our first duty towards God is the duty of worship.

To neglect the duty of regular participation in Divine Worship is to commit grievous sin. We cannot, as some people may, plead the excuse of ignorance. We, who have been baptised and confirmed, being instructed in the Faith, know full well that it is not only a privilege and a joy to attend the services of the Church, but also our duty to do so. Attendance at the Eucharist every Sunday has been the rule of the loyal church people since the days of the Apostles. In those days there was no other service, and those who missed it without real cause were regarded as having cut themselves off from the fellowship of the Church. We are not bound to receive the Sacrament every Sunday, but we are bound to be present. May I plead, as your pastor and friend, with those of you, who neglect to offer this the Church's greatest act of worship week by week, to assess your lives and to resolve to render to God the things that are God's . . . adoration, worship, praise, and thanksgiving.

Yours sincerely,
T. Thornton Reed

Figure 2.2



THE PARISH MAGAZINE.

HOLY DAYS.

There will be celebrations of the Holy Communion at 7 a.m. on the following Holy Days:—
24th June (Saturday)—Nativity of S. John Baptist.
29th June (Thursday)—S. Peter, A.M.
22nd July (Saturday)—S. Mary Magdalene.
25th July (Tuesday)—S. James, A.M.

AT REST.

The sympathy of the parish is extended to the relatives and friends of William Atkin and Gladys May Fairclough, who passed to their rest during the past month. Both were benefactors of S. Michael's, and you are asked to remember them in your prayers. Rest eternal grant them, O Lord, and may light perpetual shine upon them. Amen.

PARISH NEWS.

The Crazy Bridge and Monopoly Evening held on the evening of 13th May was a great success, and Mr. Len. Rosman and Miss Roma Fuller are to be congratulated upon their well organised entertainment in aid of the funds of the church.

During the first two weeks of June the Priest-in-Charge and Mrs. Reed were on holiday at Encounter Bay. The services at St. Michael's were conducted by the Dean of Adelaide, the Rev. Canon Best, the Rev. Norman Crawford, and Messrs. E. T. Harrison and R. A. Tohl; and at Lockleys by Mr. Decimus Smith. To all these our grateful thanks are extended.

A Concert by the Kindergarten Day School was held in the Parish Hall on Saturday evening, 17th June, and was very much appreciated by the parents and friends of the children. The hall was crowded, and there were not enough chairs for all who came. Our congratulations go to the teachers, Misses Knight and Bowes, upon the success of this entertainment.

Mrs. M. Mahoney, who has been very seriously ill for some months, is making a good recovery, and we all look forward to seeing her about amongst us once more.

In future this Parish Magazine will be issued in the middle of each month, so that the Supplement may bear the same date as the Magazine. If you wish to continue receiving the Supplement, or to receive it if it is not sent you at present, please tell the Parish Priest as soon as possible.

Morning Prayer is now said daily in the church at 9 a.m. instead of 8.30 a.m. Requests for prayers on behalf of the sick, or other intercessions, which it is desired should be offered at these services, should be placed in the box in the porch the night before.

The Priest-in-Charge will be preaching at the Cathedral on Thursday evening, 29th June, at 8 p.m., at the Annual G.F.S. Service, and it is hoped that some of S. Michael's people will be able to attend.

The monthly service of the Mothers' Union will be held in church on Thursday afternoon, 29th June, at 2.30 p.m., when an address will be given by Miss Ethel Loxton, who is the Diocesan Organiser of Sunday Schools, who has come to us from Litchfield, England. A cordial invitation is extended to all women of the parish.

S. Michael's Men's Club will hold its first meeting for the year on Monday evening, 3rd July, at 8 p.m. in the Parish Hall. At this meeting officers for the coming year will be elected, and the Priest-in-Charge will lead a discussion on "Religion Without Rules." A cordial invitation is extended to all men of the parish. Please bring enough food for your supper. Tea will be provided. Don't fear the cold, as two kerosene heaters will be in full working order.

Talking of kerosene heaters. These are now in use in the church on Sunday evenings, and it is confidently expected that they will add greatly to the comfort of the congregation during Evensong.

The Bridge Party organised by Mrs. Monks, and held in her own home on Friday, 26th May, was a most enjoyable function. By means of it about £6 was raised for the funds of the church.

Six bridge tables have been added to the equipment of the Parish Hall as a result of two bridge evenings organised by Mrs. Peake at the end of last year.

TAXING OUR TIME.

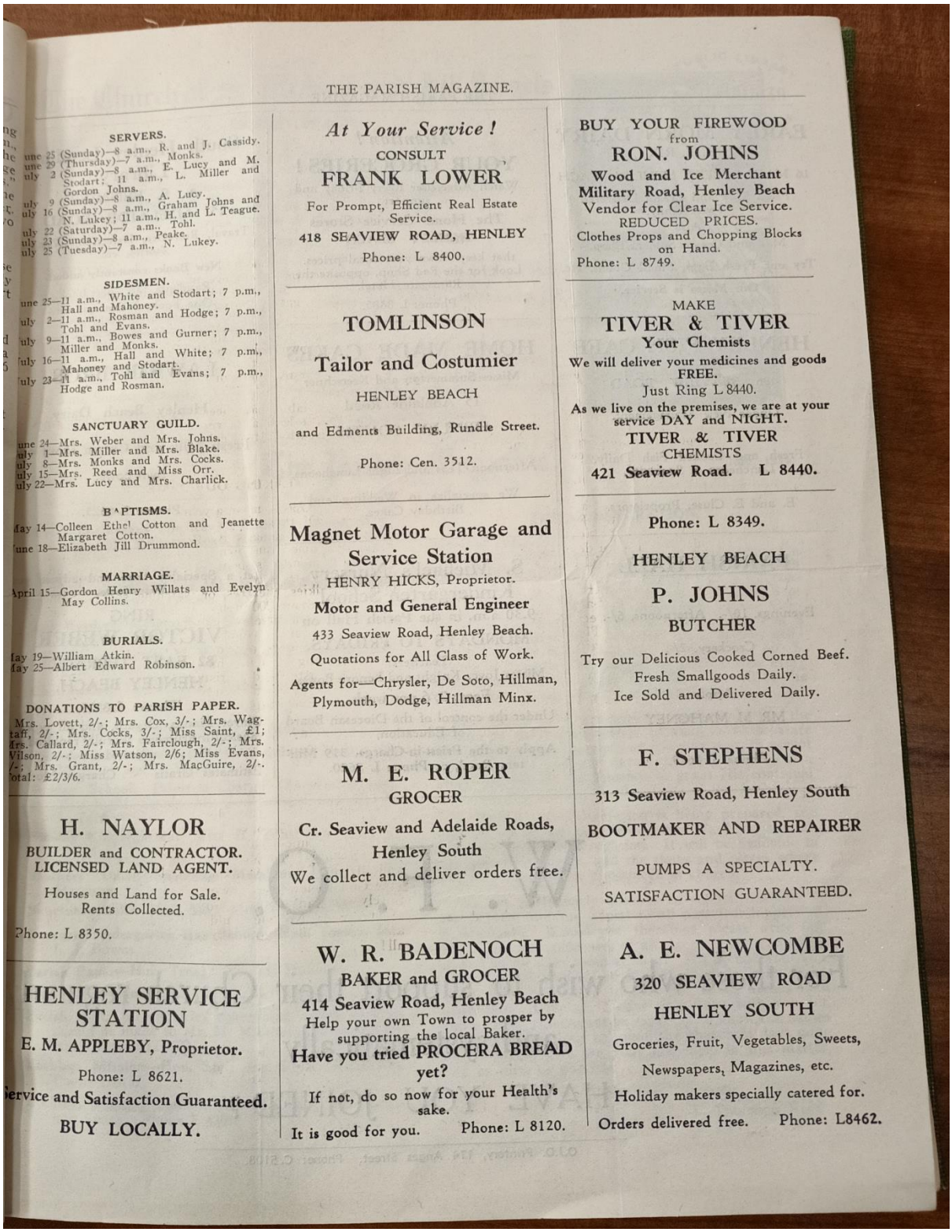
There are 8,736 hours in a year. In Leap Year there are 8,760. Of these hours we spend about 2,555 in sleep, 2,400 in earning a living, 730 in eating, and the rest of the time's our own! Consider for a moment how that remainder is spent. The average man spends about 182 hours a year on newspapers, about 126 hours on talkies, theatres, or watching sport. Some folk spend about 200 hours a year on golf, others spend the same time on gardening. Who gives us those 8,736 hours? God! And how many of those thousands of hours do you give absolutely to Him by worshipping Him in Church? Suppose you go to church at Easter and Christmas, then you give Him two hours a year at most! If you go to Morning Prayer or Evensong occasionally, you'll give God about 6 hours a year. If you attend church once a month at 11 a.m. or 7 p.m., you give Him about 12 hours a year. If you attend Holy Communion at 8 a.m. once a month, you give Him about 6 hours a year.

It looks rather astounding when put that way, doesn't it. But it only goes to show how little we give of our time to the worship of God. What can we do about it? If you follow the rule of the Church, and attend Divine Worship every Sunday, you will give God somewhere between 26 and 52 hours a year. Surely we can all give God this absolute minimum of our time. No one could call 52 hours out of 8,736 an unreasonable amount to give to God, who gives us all!

LOST.

A contributor to a South African newspaper recently sent in the following for the Small Ads Column: "Lost, or strayed, an undetermined number of Anglicans from the Services of St. So and So's. The Rector hopes to see them in church next Sunday." we understand he was quoted a special rate for frequent insertions.

Figure 2.3



SERVERS.

une 25 (Sunday)—8 a.m., R. and J. Cassidy.
une 29 (Thursday)—7 a.m., Monks.
uly 2 (Sunday)—8 a.m., E. Lucy and M. Stodart; 11 a.m., L. Miller and Gordon Johns.
uly 9 (Sunday)—8 a.m., A. Lucy.
uly 16 (Sunday)—8 a.m., Graham Johns and N. Lukey; 11 a.m., H. and L. Teague.
uly 22 (Saturday)—7 a.m., Tohl.
uly 23 (Sunday)—8 a.m., Peake.
uly 25 (Tuesday)—7 a.m., N. Lukey.

SIDESMEN.

une 25—11 a.m., White and Stodart; 7 p.m., Hall and Mahoney.
uly 2—11 a.m., Rosman and Hodge; 7 p.m., Tohl and Evans.
uly 9—11 a.m., Bowes and Gurner; 7 p.m., Miller and Monks.
uly 16—11 a.m., Hall and White; 7 p.m., Mahoney and Stodart.
uly 23—11 a.m., Tohl and Evans; 7 p.m., Hodge and Rosman.

SANCTUARY GUILD.

une 24—Mrs. Weber and Mrs. Johns.
uly 1—Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Blake.
uly 8—Mrs. Monks and Mrs. Cocks.
uly 15—Mrs. Reed and Miss Orr.
uly 22—Mrs. Lucy and Mrs. Charlick.

B^PTISMS.

lay 14—Colleen Ethel Cotton and Jeanette Margaret Cotton.
une 18—Elizabeth Jill Drummond.

MARRIAGE.

April 15—Gordon Henry Willats and Evelyn May Collins.

BURIALS.

lay 19—William Atkin.
lay 25—Albert Edward Robinson.

DONATIONS TO PARISH PAPER.

Mrs. Lovett, 2/-; Mrs. Cox, 3/-; Mrs. Wagtaff, 2/-; Mrs. Cocks, 3/-; Miss Saint, £1; Mrs. Callard, 2/-; Mrs. Fairclough, 2/-; Mrs. Wilson, 2/-; Miss Watson, 2/6; Miss Evans, /-; Mrs. Grant, 2/-; Mrs. MacGuire, 2/-. otal: £2/3/6.

Figure 2.4

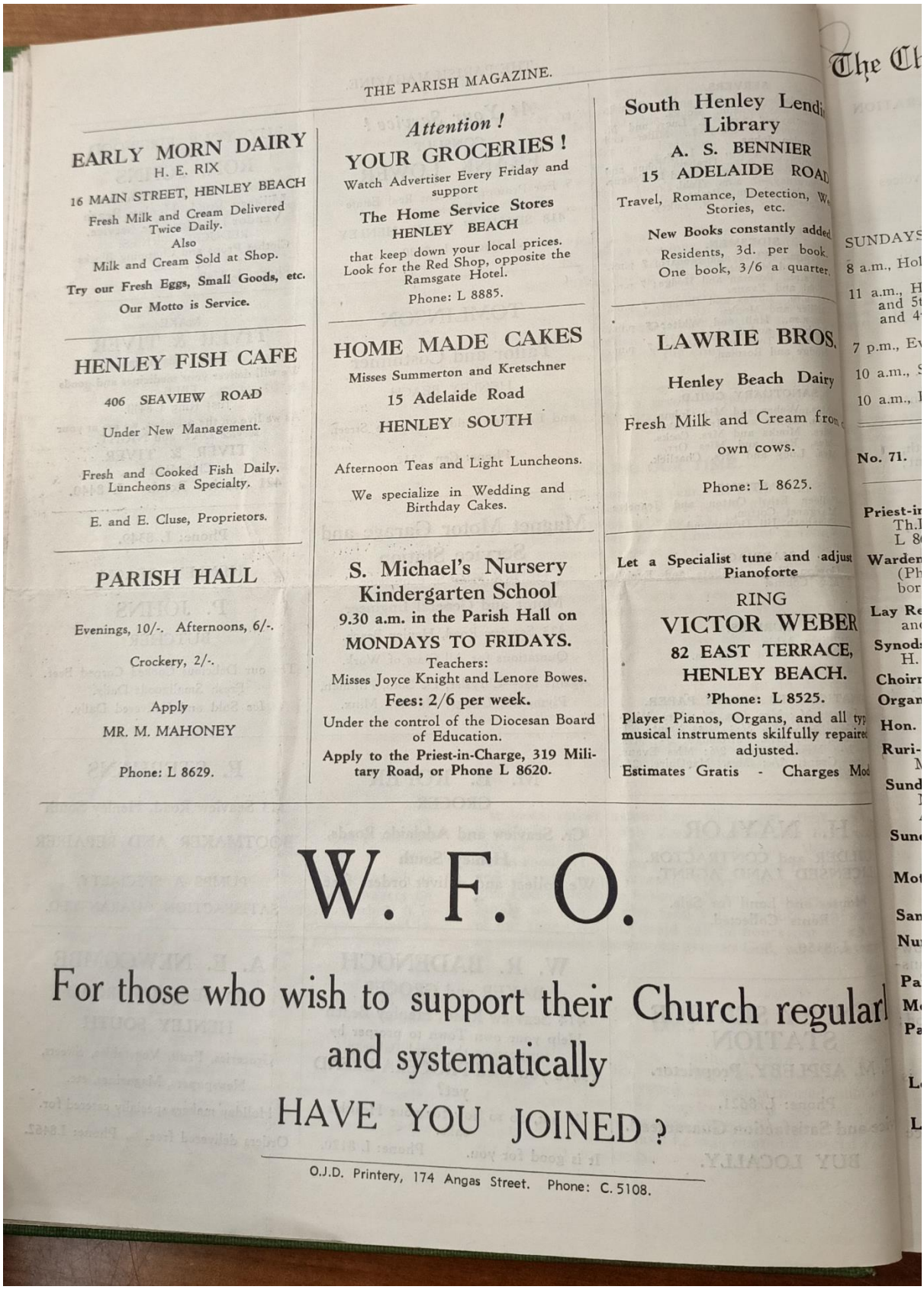
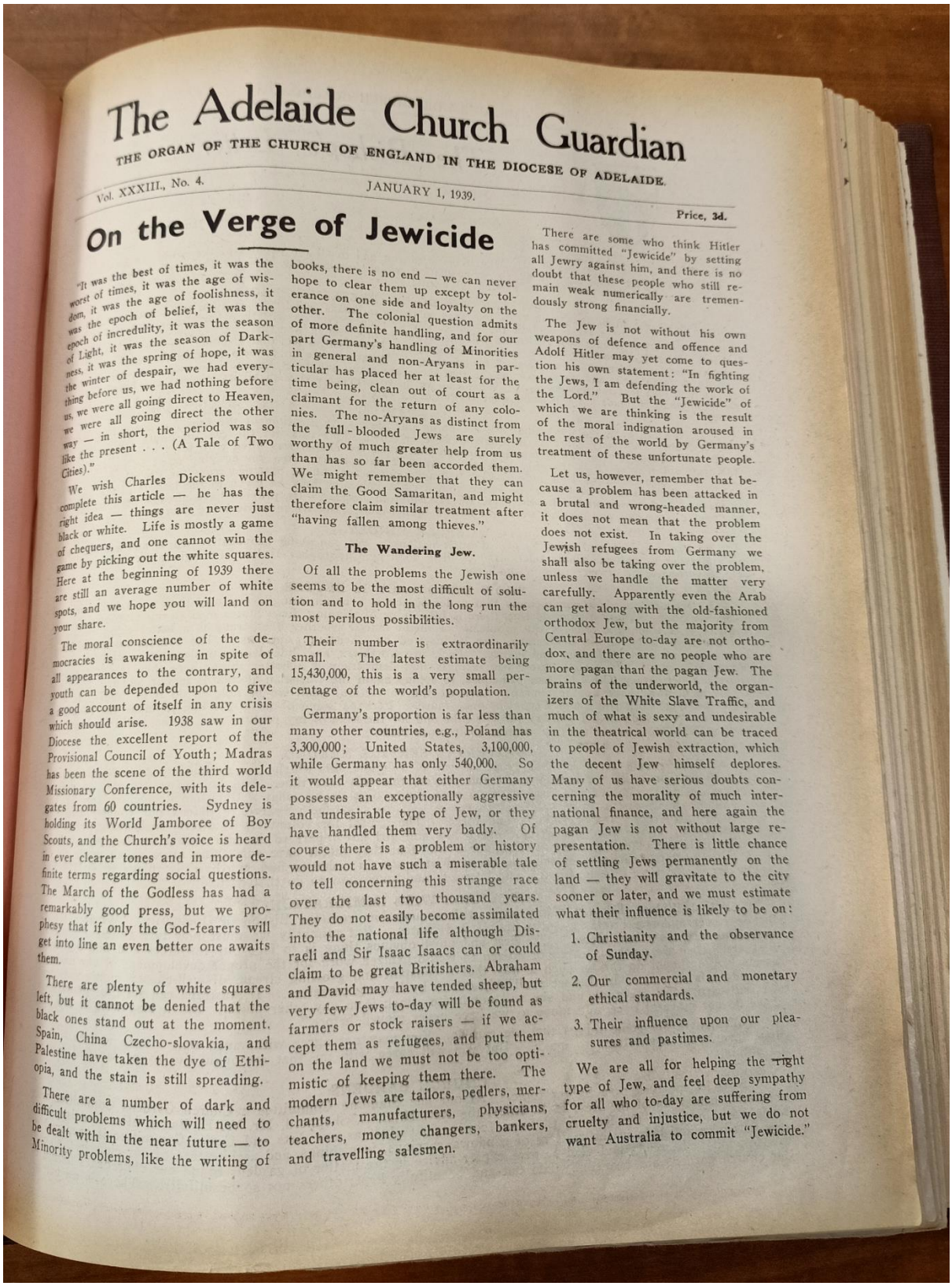


Figure 3.1



The Adelaide Church Guardian

THE ORGAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE DIOCESE OF ADELAIDE.

Vol. XXXIII., No. 4. JANUARY 1, 1939. Price, 3d.

On the Verge of Jewicide

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way — in short, the period was so like the present . . . (A Tale of Two Cities)."

We wish Charles Dickens would complete this article — he has the right idea — things are never just black or white. Life is mostly a game of chequers, and one cannot win the game by picking out the white squares. Here at the beginning of 1939 there are still an average number of white spots, and we hope you will land on your share.

The moral conscience of the democracies is awakening in spite of all appearances to the contrary, and youth can be depended upon to give a good account of itself in any crisis which should arise. 1938 saw in our Diocese the excellent report of the Provisional Council of Youth; Madras has been the scene of the third world Missionary Conference, with its delegates from 60 countries. Sydney is holding its World Jamboree of Boy Scouts, and the Church's voice is heard in ever clearer tones and in more definite terms regarding social questions. The March of the Godless has had a remarkably good press, but we prophesy that if only the God-fearers will get into line an even better one awaits them.

There are plenty of white squares left, but it cannot be denied that the black ones stand out at the moment. Spain, China Czecho-slovakia, and Palestine have taken the dye of Ethiopia, and the stain is still spreading.

There are a number of dark and difficult problems which will need to be dealt with in the near future — to Minority problems, like the writing of books, there is no end — we can never hope to clear them up except by tolerance on one side and loyalty on the other. The colonial question admits of more definite handling, and for our part Germany's handling of Minorities in general and non-Aryans in particular has placed her at least for the time being, clean out of court as a claimant for the return of any colonies. The no-Aryans as distinct from the full-blooded Jews are surely worthy of much greater help from us than has so far been accorded them. We might remember that they can claim the Good Samaritan, and might therefore claim similar treatment after "having fallen among thieves."

The Wandering Jew.

Of all the problems the Jewish one seems to be the most difficult of solution and to hold in the long run the most perilous possibilities.

Their number is extraordinarily small. The latest estimate being 15,430,000, this is a very small percentage of the world's population.

Germany's proportion is far less than many other countries, e.g., Poland has 3,300,000; United States, 3,100,000, while Germany has only 540,000. So it would appear that either Germany possesses an exceptionally aggressive and undesirable type of Jew, or they have handled them very badly. Of course there is a problem or history would not have such a miserable tale to tell concerning this strange race over the last two thousand years. They do not easily become assimilated into the national life although Disraeli and Sir Isaac Isaacs can or could claim to be great Britishers. Abraham and David may have tended sheep, but very few Jews to-day will be found as farmers or stock raisers — if we accept them as refugees, and put them on the land we must not be too optimistic of keeping them there. The modern Jews are tailors, pedlers, merchants, manufacturers, physicians, teachers, money changers, bankers, and travelling salesmen.

There are some who think Hitler has committed "Jewicide" by setting all Jewry against him, and there is no doubt that these people who still remain weak numerically are tremendously strong financially.

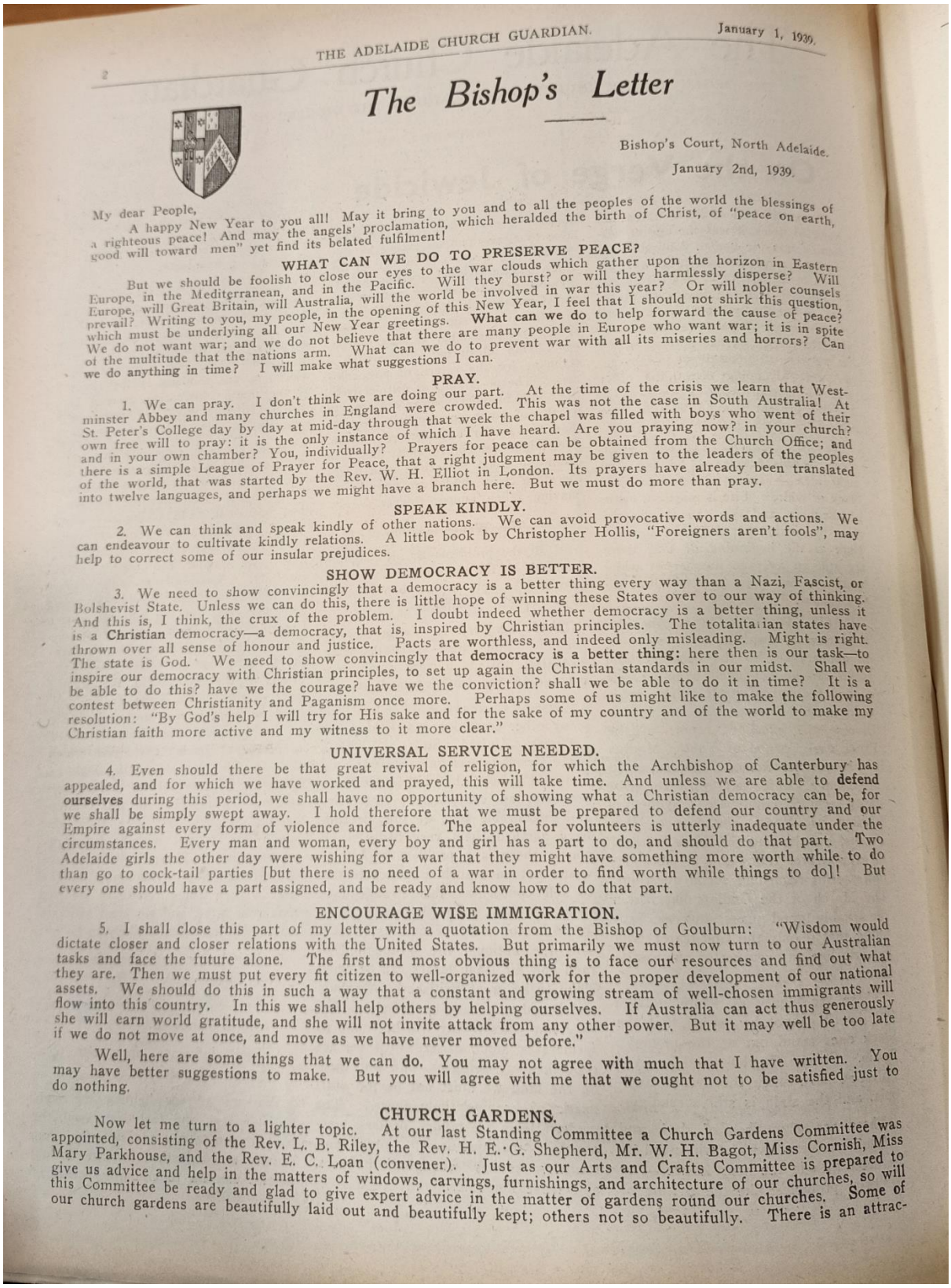
The Jew is not without his own weapons of defence and offence and Adolf Hitler may yet come to question his own statement: "In fighting the Jews, I am defending the work of the Lord." But the "Jewicide" of which we are thinking is the result of the moral indignation aroused in the rest of the world by Germany's treatment of these unfortunate people.

Let us, however, remember that because a problem has been attacked in a brutal and wrong-headed manner, it does not mean that the problem does not exist. In taking over the Jewish refugees from Germany we shall also be taking over the problem, unless we handle the matter very carefully. Apparently even the Arab can get along with the old-fashioned orthodox Jew, but the majority from Central Europe to-day are not orthodox, and there are no people who are more pagan than the pagan Jew. The brains of the underworld, the organizers of the White Slave Traffic, and much of what is sexy and undesirable in the theatrical world can be traced to people of Jewish extraction, which the decent Jew himself deplores. Many of us have serious doubts concerning the morality of much international finance, and here again the pagan Jew is not without large representation. There is little chance of settling Jews permanently on the land — they will gravitate to the city sooner or later, and we must estimate what their influence is likely to be on:

1. Christianity and the observance of Sunday.
2. Our commercial and monetary ethical standards.
3. Their influence upon our pleasures and pastimes.

We are all for helping the right type of Jew, and feel deep sympathy for all who to-day are suffering from cruelty and injustice, but we do not want Australia to commit "Jewicide."

Figure 3.2



The Bishop's Letter

Bishop's Court, North Adelaide.
January 2nd, 1939.

My dear People,

A happy New Year to you all! May it bring to you and to all the peoples of the world the blessings of a righteous peace! And may the angels' proclamation, which heralded the birth of Christ, of "peace on earth, good will toward men" yet find its belated fulfilment!

WHAT CAN WE DO TO PRESERVE PEACE?

But we should be foolish to close our eyes to the war clouds which gather upon the horizon in Eastern Europe, in the Mediterranean, and in the Pacific. Will they burst? or will they harmlessly disperse? Will Europe, will Great Britain, will Australia, will the world be involved in war this year? Or will nobler counsels prevail? Writing to you, my people, in the opening of this New Year, I feel that I should not shirk this question, which must be underlying all our New Year greetings. **What can we do** to help forward the cause of peace? We do not want war; and we do not believe that there are many people in Europe who want war; it is in spite of the multitude that the nations arm. What can we do to prevent war with all its miseries and horrors? Can we do anything in time? I will make what suggestions I can.

PRAY.

1. We can pray. I don't think we are doing our part. At the time of the crisis we learn that Westminster Abbey and many churches in England were crowded. This was not the case in South Australia! At St. Peter's College day by day at mid-day through that week the chapel was filled with boys who went of their own free will to pray: it is the only instance of which I have heard. Are you praying now? in your church? and in your own chamber? You, individually? Prayers for peace can be obtained from the Church Office; and there is a simple League of Prayer for Peace, that a right judgment may be given to the leaders of the peoples of the world, that was started by the Rev. W. H. Elliot in London. Its prayers have already been translated into twelve languages, and perhaps we might have a branch here. But we must do more than pray.

SPEAK KINDLY.

2. We can think and speak kindly of other nations. We can avoid provocative words and actions. We can endeavour to cultivate kindly relations. A little book by Christopher Hollis, "Foreigners aren't fools", may help to correct some of our insular prejudices.

SHOW DEMOCRACY IS BETTER.

3. We need to show convincingly that a democracy is a better thing every way than a Nazi, Fascist, or Bolshevist State. Unless we can do this, there is little hope of winning these States over to our way of thinking. And this is, I think, the crux of the problem. I doubt indeed whether democracy is a better thing, unless it is a **Christian** democracy—a democracy, that is, inspired by Christian principles. The totalitarian states have thrown over all sense of honour and justice. Facts are worthless, and indeed only misleading. Might is right. The state is God. We need to show convincingly that **democracy is a better thing:** here then is our task—to inspire our democracy with Christian principles, to set up again the Christian standards in our midst. Shall we be able to do this? have we the courage? have we the conviction? shall we be able to do it in time? It is a contest between Christianity and Paganism once more. Perhaps some of us might like to make the following resolution: "By God's help I will try for His sake and for the sake of my country and of the world to make my Christian faith more active and my witness to it more clear."

UNIVERSAL SERVICE NEEDED.

4. Even should there be that great revival of religion, for which the Archbishop of Canterbury has appealed, and for which we have worked and prayed, this will take time. And unless we are able to **defend ourselves** during this period, we shall have no opportunity of showing what a Christian democracy can be, for we shall be simply swept away. I hold therefore that we must be prepared to defend our country and our Empire against every form of violence and force. The appeal for volunteers is utterly inadequate under the circumstances. Every man and woman, every boy and girl has a part to do, and should do that part. Two Adelaide girls the other day were wishing for a war that they might have something more worth while to do than go to cock-tail parties [but there is no need of a war in order to find worth while things to do]! But every one should have a part assigned, and be ready and know how to do that part.

ENCOURAGE WISE IMMIGRATION.

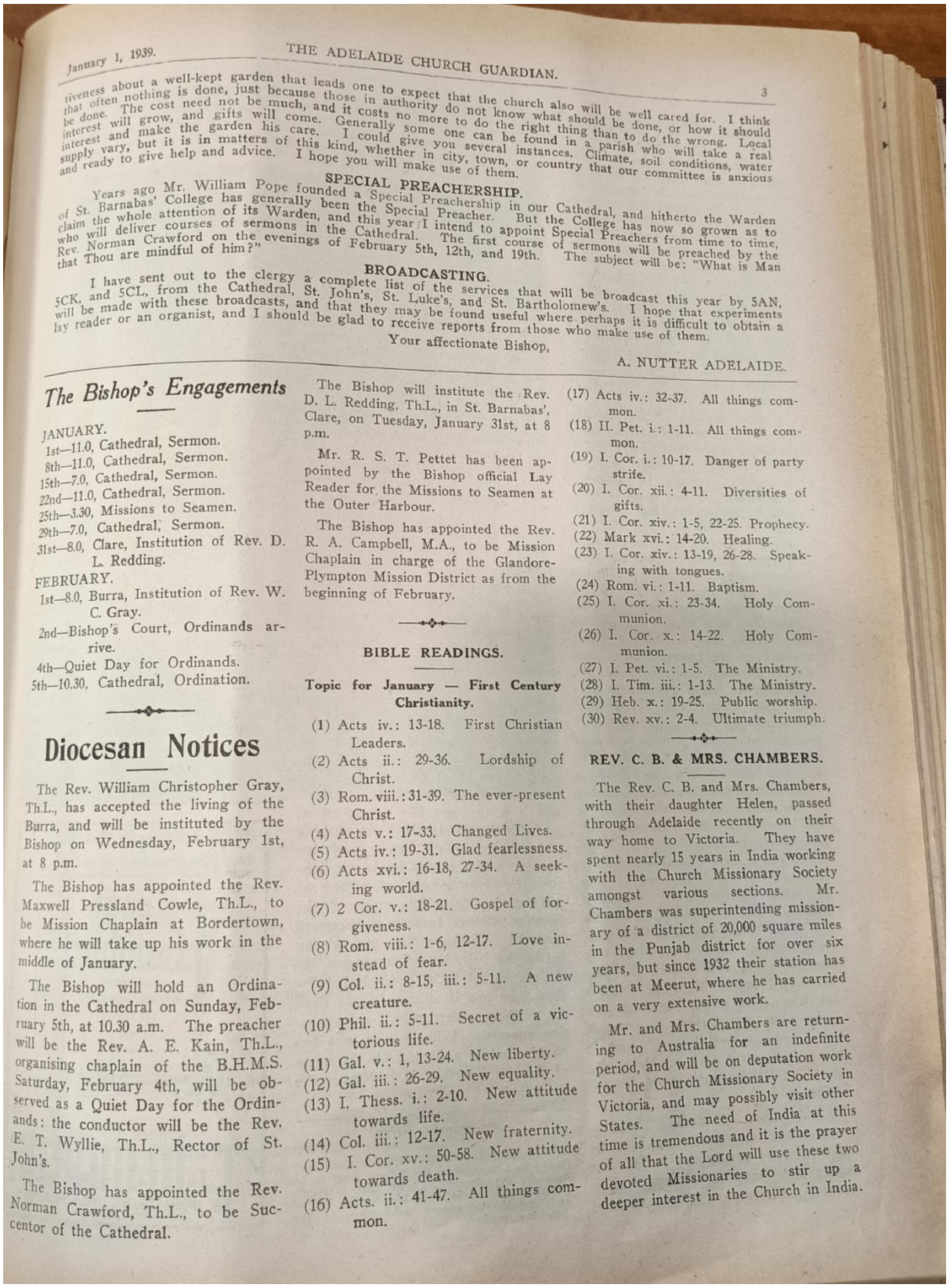
5. I shall close this part of my letter with a quotation from the Bishop of Goulburn: "Wisdom would dictate closer and closer relations with the United States. But primarily we must now turn to our Australian tasks and face the future alone. The first and most obvious thing is to face our resources and find out what they are. Then we must put every fit citizen to well-organized work for the proper development of our national assets. We should do this in such a way that a constant and growing stream of well-chosen immigrants will flow into this country. In this we shall help others by helping ourselves. If Australia can act thus generously she will earn world gratitude, and she will not invite attack from any other power. But it may well be too late if we do not move at once, and move as we have never moved before."

Well, here are some things that we can do. You may not agree with much that I have written. You may have better suggestions to make. But you will agree with me that we ought not to be satisfied just to do nothing.

CHURCH GARDENS.

Now let me turn to a lighter topic. At our last Standing Committee a Church Gardens Committee was appointed, consisting of the Rev. L. B. Riley, the Rev. H. E. G. Shepherd, Mr. W. H. Bagot, Miss Cornish, Miss Mary Parkhouse, and the Rev. E. C. Loan (convener). Just as our Arts and Crafts Committee is prepared to give us advice and help in the matters of windows, carvings, furnishings, and architecture of our churches, so will this Committee be ready and glad to give expert advice in the matter of gardens round our churches. Some of our church gardens are beautifully laid out and beautifully kept; others not so beautifully. There is an attrac-

Figure 3.3



tiveness about a well-kept garden that leads one to expect that the church also will be well cared for. I think that often nothing is done, just because those in authority do not know what should be done, or how it should be done. The cost need not be much, and it costs no more to do the right thing than to do the wrong. Local interest will grow, and gifts will come. Generally some one can be found in a parish who will take a real interest and make the garden his care. I could give you several instances. Climate, soil conditions, water supply vary, but it is in matters of this kind, whether in city, town, or country that our committee is anxious and ready to give help and advice. I hope you will make use of them.

SPECIAL PREACHERSHIP.

Years ago Mr. William Pope founded a Special Preachership in our Cathedral, and hitherto the Warden of St. Barnabas' College has generally been the Special Preacher. But the College has now so grown as to claim the whole attention of its Warden, and this year I intend to appoint Special Preachers from time to time, who will deliver courses of sermons in the Cathedral. The first course of sermons will be preached by the Rev. Norman Crawford on the evenings of February 5th, 12th, and 19th. The subject will be: "What is Man that Thou are mindful of him?"

BROADCASTING.

I have sent out to the clergy a complete list of the services that will be broadcast this year by 5AN, 5CK, and 5CL, from the Cathedral, St. John's, St. Luke's, and St. Bartholomew's. I hope that experiments will be made with these broadcasts, and that they may be found useful where perhaps it is difficult to obtain a lay reader or an organist, and I should be glad to receive reports from those who make use of them.

Your affectionate Bishop,

A. NUTTER ADELAIDE.

The Bishop's Engagements

JANUARY.
1st—11.0, Cathedral, Sermon.
8th—11.0, Cathedral, Sermon.
15th—7.0, Cathedral, Sermon.
22nd—11.0, Cathedral, Sermon.
25th—3.30, Missions to Seamen.
29th—7.0, Cathedral, Sermon.
31st—8.0, Clare, Institution of Rev. D. L. Redding.

FEBRUARY.
1st—8.0, Burra, Institution of Rev. W. C. Gray.
2nd—Bishop's Court, Ordinands arrive.
4th—Quiet Day for Ordinands.
5th—10.30, Cathedral, Ordination.

Diocesan Notices

The Rev. William Christopher Gray, Th.L., has accepted the living of the Burra, and will be instituted by the Bishop on Wednesday, February 1st, at 8 p.m.

The Bishop has appointed the Rev. Maxwell Pressland Cowle, Th.L., to be Mission Chaplain at Bordertown, where he will take up his work in the middle of January.

The Bishop will hold an Ordination in the Cathedral on Sunday, February 5th, at 10.30 a.m. The preacher will be the Rev. A. E. Kain, Th.L., organising chaplain of the B.H.M.S. Saturday, February 4th, will be observed as a Quiet Day for the Ordinands: the conductor will be the Rev. E. T. Wyllie, Th.L., Rector of St. John's.

The Bishop has appointed the Rev. Norman Crawford, Th.L., to be Succentor of the Cathedral.

The Bishop will institute the Rev. D. L. Redding, Th.L., in St. Barnabas', Clare, on Tuesday, January 31st, at 8 p.m.

Mr. R. S. T. Pettet has been appointed by the Bishop official Lay Reader for the Missions to Seamen at the Outer Harbour.

The Bishop has appointed the Rev. R. A. Campbell, M.A., to be Mission Chaplain in charge of the Glandore-Plympton Mission District as from the beginning of February.

BIBLE READINGS.

Topic for January — First Century Christianity.

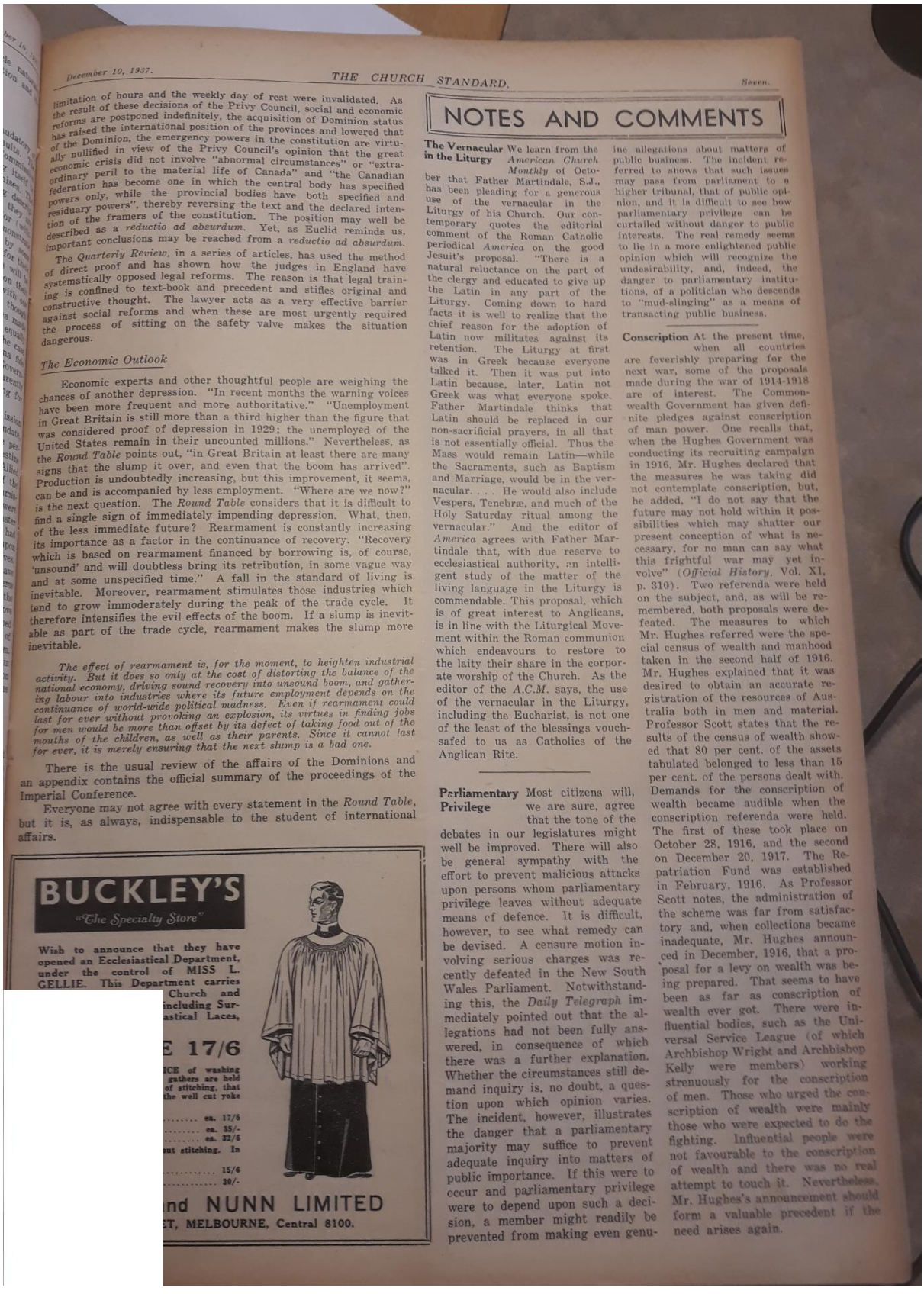
(1) Acts iv.: 13-18. First Christian Leaders.
(2) Acts ii.: 29-36. Lordship of Christ.
(3) Rom. viii.: 31-39. The ever-present Christ.
(4) Acts v.: 17-33. Changed Lives.
(5) Acts iv.: 19-31. Glad fearlessness.
(6) Acts xvi.: 16-18, 27-34. A seeking world.
(7) 2 Cor. v.: 18-21. Gospel of forgiveness.
(8) Rom. viii.: 1-6, 12-17. Love instead of fear.
(9) Col. ii.: 8-15, iii.: 5-11. A new creature.
(10) Phil. ii.: 5-11. Secret of a victorious life.
(11) Gal. v.: 1, 13-24. New liberty.
(12) Gal. iii.: 26-29. New equality.
(13) I. Thess. i.: 2-10. New attitude towards life.
(14) Col. iii.: 12-17. New fraternity.
(15) I. Cor. xv.: 50-58. New attitude towards death.
(16) Acts. ii.: 41-47. All things common.
(17) Acts iv.: 32-37. All things common.
(18) II. Pet. i.: 1-11. All things common.
(19) I. Cor. i.: 10-17. Danger of party strife.
(20) I. Cor. xii.: 4-11. Diversities of gifts.
(21) I. Cor. xiv.: 1-5, 22-25. Prophecy.
(22) Mark xvi.: 14-20. Healing.
(23) I. Cor. xiv.: 13-19, 26-28. Speaking with tongues.
(24) Rom. vi.: 1-11. Baptism.
(25) I. Cor. xi.: 23-34. Holy Communion.
(26) I. Cor. x.: 14-22. Holy Communion.
(27) I. Pet. vi.: 1-5. The Ministry.
(28) I. Tim. iii.: 1-13. The Ministry.
(29) Heb. x.: 19-25. Public worship.
(30) Rev. xv.: 2-4. Ultimate triumph.

REV. C. B. & MRS. CHAMBERS.

The Rev. C. B. and Mrs. Chambers, with their daughter Helen, passed through Adelaide recently on their way home to Victoria. They have spent nearly 15 years in India working with the Church Missionary Society amongst various sections. Mr. Chambers was superintending missionary of a district of 20,000 square miles in the Punjab district for over six years, but since 1932 their station has been at Meerut, where he has carried on a very extensive work.

Mr. and Mrs. Chambers are returning to Australia for an indefinite period, and will be on deputation work for the Church Missionary Society in Victoria, and may possibly visit other States. The need of India at this time is tremendous and it is the prayer of all that the Lord will use these two devoted Missionaries to stir up a deeper interest in the Church in India.

Figure 4



limitation of hours and the weekly day of rest were invalidated. As the result of these decisions of the Privy Council, social and economic reforms are postponed indefinitely, the acquisition of Dominion status has raised the international position of the provinces and lowered that of the Dominion, the emergency powers in the constitution are virtually nullified in view of the Privy Council's opinion that the great economic crisis did not involve "abnormal circumstances" or "extraordinary peril to the material life of Canada" and "the Canadian federation has become one in which the central body has specified powers only, while the provincial bodies have both specified and residuary powers", thereby reversing the text and the declared intention of the framers of the constitution. The position may well be described as a *reductio ad absurdum*. Yet, as Euclid reminds us, important conclusions may be reached from a *reductio ad absurdum*.

The *Quarterly Review*, in a series of articles, has used the method of direct proof and has shown how the judges in England have systematically opposed legal reforms. The reason is that legal training is confined to text-book and precedent and stifles original and constructive thought. The lawyer acts as a very effective barrier against social reforms and when these are most urgently required the process of sitting on the safety valve makes the situation dangerous.

The Economic Outlook

Economic experts and other thoughtful people are weighing the chances of another depression. "In recent months the warning voices have been more frequent and more authoritative." "Unemployment in Great Britain is still more than a third higher than the figure that was considered proof of depression in 1929; the unemployed of the United States remain in their uncounted millions." Nevertheless, as the *Round Table* points out, "in Great Britain at least there are many signs that the slump it over, and even that the boom has arrived". Production is undoubtedly increasing, but this improvement, it seems, can be and is accompanied by less employment. "Where are we now?" is the next question. The *Round Table* considers that it is difficult to find a single sign of immediately impending depression. What, then, of the less immediate future? Rearmament is constantly increasing its importance as a factor in the continuance of recovery. "Recovery which is based on rearmament financed by borrowing is, of course, 'unsound' and will doubtless bring its retribution, in some vague way and at some unspecified time." A fall in the standard of living is inevitable. Moreover, rearmament stimulates those industries which tend to grow immoderately during the peak of the trade cycle. It therefore intensifies the evil effects of the boom. If a slump is inevitable as part of the trade cycle, rearmament makes the slump more inevitable.

The effect of rearmament is, for the moment, to heighten industrial activity. But it does so only at the cost of distorting the balance of the national economy, driving sound recovery into unsound boom, and gathering labour into industries where its future employment depends on the continuance of world-wide political madness. Even if rearmament could last for ever without provoking an explosion, its virtues in finding jobs for men would be more than offset by its defect of taking food out of the mouths of the children, as well as their parents. Since it cannot last for ever, it is merely ensuring that the next slump is a bad one.

There is the usual review of the affairs of the Dominions and an appendix contains the official summary of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference.

Everyone may not agree with every statement in the *Round Table*, but it is, as always, indispensable to the student of international affairs.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Vernacular in the Liturgy We learn from the *American Church Monthly* of October that Father Martindale, S.J., has been pleading for a generous use of the vernacular in the Liturgy of his Church. Our contemporary quotes the editorial comment of the Roman Catholic periodical *America* on the good Jesuit's proposal. "There is a natural reluctance on the part of the clergy and educated to give up the Latin in any part of the Liturgy. Coming down to hard facts it is well to realize that the chief reason for the adoption of Latin now militates against its retention. The Liturgy at first was in Greek because everyone talked it. Then it was put into Latin because, later, Latin not Greek was what everyone spoke. Father Martindale thinks that Latin should be replaced in our non-sacrificial prayers, in all that is not essentially official. Thus the Mass would remain Latin—while the Sacraments, such as Baptism and Marriage, would be in the vernacular. . . . He would also include Vespers, Tenebræ, and much of the Holy Saturday ritual among the vernacular." And the editor of *America* agrees with Father Martindale that, with due reserve to ecclesiastical authority, an intelligent study of the matter of the living language in the Liturgy is commendable. This proposal, which is of great interest to Anglicans, is in line with the Liturgical Movement within the Roman communion which endeavours to restore to the laity their share in the corporate worship of the Church. As the editor of the *A.C.M.* says, the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy, including the Eucharist, is not one of the least of the blessings vouchsafed to us as Catholics of the Anglican Rite.

Parliamentary Privilege Most citizens will, we are sure, agree that the tone of the debates in our legislatures might well be improved. There will also be general sympathy with the effort to prevent malicious attacks upon persons whom parliamentary privilege leaves without adequate means of defence. It is difficult, however, to see what remedy can be devised. A censure motion involving serious charges was recently defeated in the New South Wales Parliament. Notwithstanding this, the *Daily Telegraph* immediately pointed out that the allegations had not been fully answered, in consequence of which there was a further explanation. Whether the circumstances still demand inquiry is, no doubt, a question upon which opinion varies. The incident, however, illustrates the danger that a parliamentary majority may suffice to prevent adequate inquiry into matters of public importance. If this were to occur and parliamentary privilege were to depend upon such a decision, a member might readily be prevented from making even genuine allegations about matters of public business. The incident referred to shows that such issues may pass from parliament to a higher tribunal, that of public opinion, and it is difficult to see how parliamentary privilege can be curtailed without danger to public interests. The real remedy seems to lie in a more enlightened public opinion which will recognize the undesirability, and, indeed, the danger to parliamentary institutions, of a politician who descends to "mud-slinging" as a means of transacting public business.

Conscription At the present time, when all countries are feverishly preparing for the next war, some of the proposals made during the war of 1914-1918 are of interest. The Commonwealth Government has given definite pledges against conscription of man power. One recalls that, when the Hughes Government was conducting its recruiting campaign in 1916, Mr. Hughes declared that the measures he was taking did not contemplate conscription, but, he added, "I do not say that the future may not hold within it possibilities which may shatter our present conception of what is necessary, for no man can say what this frightful war may yet involve" (*Official History*, Vol. XI, p. 310). Two referenda were held on the subject, and, as will be remembered, both proposals were defeated. The measures to which Mr. Hughes referred were the special census of wealth and manhood taken in the second half of 1916. Mr. Hughes explained that it was desired to obtain an accurate registration of the resources of Australia both in men and material. Professor Scott states that the results of the census of wealth showed that 80 per cent. of the assets tabulated belonged to less than 15 per cent. of the persons dealt with. Demands for the conscription of wealth became audible when the conscription referenda were held. The first of these took place on October 28, 1916, and the second on December 20, 1917. The Repatriation Fund was established in February, 1916. As Professor Scott notes, the administration of the scheme was far from satisfactory and, when collections became inadequate, Mr. Hughes announced in December, 1916, that a proposal for a levy on wealth was being prepared. That seems to have been as far as conscription of wealth ever got. There were influential bodies, such as the Universal Service League (of which Archbishop Wright and Archbishop Kelly were members) working strenuously for the conscription of men. Those who urged the conscription of wealth were mainly those who were expected to do the fighting. Influential people were not favourable to the conscription of wealth and there was no real attempt to touch it. Nevertheless, Mr. Hughes's announcement should form a valuable precedent if the need arises again.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

South Australian Parish Papers[12]

All Saints Hindmarsh

Angaston Mission District

Berri-Barmera Mission District

Christ Church Mount Gambier

Christ Church North Adelaide

Church of the Good Shepherd Plympton

Hills Mission District

Holy Trinity Lyndoch

Karoonda Mission District

Mallala Mission District

Millicent Mission District

St. Agnes' The Grange

St. Alban's Largs Bay

St. Andrew's Walkerville

St. Augustine's Unley

St. Augustine's Victor Harbor

St. Barnabas' Clare

St. Barnabas' Croydon

St. Bartholomew's Norwood

St. Bede's Semaphore

St. Chad's Fullarton

St. Cuthbert's Prospect

St. Cyprian's Melbourne Street

St. George's Alberton

St. George's Gawler

St. George's Goodwood

[12] All papers are available at the State Library of South Australia

St. James' West Adelaide

St. John's Coromandel Valley

St. John's Halifax Street

St. Jude's Brighton

St. Luke's Whitmore Square

St. Margaret's Woodville

St. Matthew's Kensington

St. Michael's Henley Beach

St. Michael's Mitcham

St. Paul's Pulteney Street

St. Peter's Glenelg

St. Philip's Broadview

St. Saviour's Glen Osmond

St. Theodore's Rose Park

St. Thomas' Port Lincoln

Victorian Parish Papers[13]

All Saints St. Kilda East

Christ Church Hawthorn

Holy Trinity Coburg

Holy Trinity Hampton

St Barnabas' Balwyn

St. Mary's Caulfield

St. Matthew's Prahan

St. Paul's Canterbury

St. Stephen's Richmond

Diocesan Papers

The Adelaide Church Guardian

[13] All papers were accessed on-site at each respective church

The Bendigo Church News

The Church Chronicle for Ballarat

The Church News for Gippsland

The Church of England Messenger

The Living Church in Wangaratta

The St. Arnaud Churchman

The Willochran

Anglican Publications

The Australian Churchman

Brother Bill's Monthly

The Church Standard

The Defender/The Australian Church Quarterly

Year Book of the Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide, and the Diocese of Willochra

Newspapers

The Advertiser

The Argus

The Australian Jewish News

The Bulletin

Launceston Examiner

The Mail

Melbourne Herald

News

Port Lincoln Times

The Record

Sydney Morning Herald

Secular Primary Sources

Ball, William Macmahon. "Broadcasting and World Affairs." In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia's Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 125-146. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Ball, William Macmahon. “Preface.” In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia’s Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 5. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Ball, William Macmahon. “The Australian Press and World Affairs.” In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia’s Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 9-33. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Downing, R.I., and E.J.B. Foxcroft. “The Australian Press and the League of Nations in the Abyssinian War.” In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia’s Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 76-105. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Eggleston, F.W. “Collective Security on Trial.” In *Studies on Australia’s Situation in the Pacific*, 7-26. Melbourne: The Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1936.

Foxcroft, E.J.B. “The Australian Press and the U.S.S.R.” In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia’s Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 56-75. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Hughes, W. M. *Australia and War To-Day: The Price of Peace*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935.

Kerferd, G.B. “The Australian Press and Imperial Ideals.” In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia’s Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 106-124. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Mussolini, Benito. *The Doctrine of Fascism*. 1932.

Palme Dutt, R. *Fascism and Social Revolution*. London: Martin Lawrence, 1934.

Pearson, A.G. “The Australian Press and Japan.” In *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia’s Outlook*, edited by William Macmahon Ball, 34-55. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1938.

Secondary Sources

“First World War 1914-1918,” *Australian War Memorial*, accessed 10 May 2022, https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/first-world-war

Adair, Daryl. “The Round Table Christian Sociology Society.” *Flinders Journal of History and Politics* 13 (1988): 5-18.

Akami, Tomoko. “Frederic Eggleston and Oriental Power, 1925-1929.” In *Relationships: Japan and Australia 1870s-1950s*, edited by Paul Jones and Vera Mackie, 101-132. Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2001.

Andrews, Eric. “The ‘Labor Daily’s’ Volte Face on the Abyssinian Crisis, 1935.” *Australian Outlook* 19:2 (1965): 207-212.

Andrews, Eric. “The Australian Government and Appeasement.” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 13:1 (1967): 34-46.

Andrews, Eric. “The Great Temptation: The Australian Government and the Sale of Arms to China During the Manchurian Crisis, 1931-33.” *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 23:3 (1977): 346-359.

Andrews, Eric. *Isolationism and Appeasement in Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970.

Andrews, Eric. *The Writing on the Wall: The British Commonwealth and Aggression in the East 1931-1935*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Burden of Our Time*. London: Secker & Warburg: 1951.

Bade, James. "Count Felix von Luckner's 1938 "Propaganda" Visit to New Zealand and its Consequences." In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, 17-29. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Bainton, Roland. *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960.

Baudendistel, Rainer. *Between Bombs and Good Intentions: The Red Cross and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936*. New York: Bergahn Books, 2006.

Bays, Daniel. *A New History of Christianity in China.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Beasley, Brian. "'Death Charged Missives: Australian Literary Responses to the Spanish Civil War." (PhD thesis, University of Southern Queensland, 2006.

Bell, Stuart. "The Church and the First World War." In *God and War: The Church of England and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stephen G. Parker and Tom Lawson, 33-59. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Berezin, Mabel. "Fascism and Populism: Are They Useful Categories for Comparative Sociological Analysis?" *Annual Review of Socialogy* 45 (2019): 345-361.

Bird, David. *J. A. Lyons – the 'Tame Tasmanian: Appeasement and Rearmament in Australia, 1932-39*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008.

Bird, David. *Nazi Dreamtime: Australian Enthusiasts for Hitler's Germany*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012.

Birn, Donald. *The League of Nations Union: 1918-1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Boer, Roland. "Sergei and the "Divinely Appointed" Stalin: Theology and Ecclesiology in Church-State Relations in the Soviet Union in the Lead-up to the Cold War." *Social Sciences* 7:4 (2018): 67-84.

Boer, Roland. *Red Theology: On the Christian Communist Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Bollen, J.D., A.E. Cahill, Bruce Mansfield and Patrick O'Farrell. "Australian Religious History, 1960-80." *The Journal of Religious History* 11:1 (1980): 8-44.

Bonnell, Andrew. "Stephen H. Roberts' *The House That Hitler Built* as a Source on Nazi Germany." *Australian Journal of History and Politics* 46:1 (2000): 1-20.

Bonnell, Andrew. "Stephen Roberts and the Nazi Threat, 1938-39." In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, 185-199. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Bonnell, Andrew. "Stephen Roberts as a Commentator on Fascism and the Road to War in Europe." *History Australia* 11:3 (2014): 9-30.

Breward, Ian. *Australia: "The Most Godless Place Under Heaven?"* Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1988.

Bridge, Carl. "Australia and the Italo-Abyssinian Crisis of 1935-6." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 92:1 (2006): 1-14.

Brock, Peter and Malcolm Saunders. “Pacifists as Conscientious Objectors in Australia.” In *Challenge to Mars: Pacifism from 1918 to 1945*, edited by Peter Brock, 272-291. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Broomhill, Ray. “Political Consciousness and Dissent: The Unemployed in Adelaide During the Great Depression.” *Labour History* 34 (1978): 58-67.

Broomhill, Ray. *Unemployed Workers: A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide*. Brisbane: University of Brisbane Press, 1978.

Brown, Nicholas. “Enacting the International: R. G. Watt and the League of Nations Union.” In *Transnational Ties: Australian Lives in the World*, edited by Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott, 75-94. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Callaghan, John. “Storm Over Asia: Comintern Colonial Policy in the Third Period.” In *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, edited by Matthew Worley, 18-37. London: I.B. Taurus, 2004.

Cappo, David and Timothy Verhoeven. “Religion and Foreign Policy.” In *Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates*, edited by Daniel Baldino, Andrew Carr and Anthony J. Langlois, 270-288. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Carlton, David. “The Dominions and British Policy in the Abyssinian Crisis.” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 1:1 (1972): 59-77.

Carmichael, D.G. “Australia and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936.” Master Thesis, University of Queensland, 1972.

Casey, R.G. *Australia’s Place in the World*. Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1931.

Chandler, Andrew. “A Question of Fundamental Principles: The Church of England and the Jews of Germany 1933-1937.” *Leo Baeck Year Book* 38 (1993): 221-261.

Chandler, Andrew. “Lambeth Palace, the Church of England and the Jews of Germany and Austria in 1938.” *Leo Baeck Year Book* 40 (1995): 225-247.

Chandler, Andrew. “Munich and Morality: The Bishops of the Church of England and Appeasement.” *Twentieth Century British History* 5:1 (1994): 77-99.

Chase, Malcolm. “‘True Democratic Sympathy’: Charles Stubbs, Christian Socialism, and English Labour, 1863-1913.” *Labour History Review* 83:1 (2018): 1-28.

Clarke III, J. Calvitt. “An Alliance of the ‘Coloured’ Peoples: Ethiopia and Japan.” In *Collision of Empires: Italy’s Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 231-259. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Clarke III, J. Calvitt. “Soviet Appeasement, Collective Security and the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935 and 1936.” In *Collision of Empires: Italy’s Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 261-285. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Clavin, Patricia. “Conceptualising Internationalism Between the World Wars.” In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, 1-14. London: I.B. Taurus, 2011.

Clavin, Patricia. “Europe and the League of Nations.” In *Twisted Paths: Europe 1914-1945*, edited by Robert Gerwarth, 325-354. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Cole, Keith. *Letters from China 1893-1895: The Story of the Sister Martyrs of Ku Cheng*. Melbourne: St Hilary’s Anglican Church, 1988.

Collinson, Patrick. “Religion, Society, and the Historian.” *The Journal of Religious History* 23:2 (1999): 149-167.

Cooper, Roslyn. ““We Want a Mussolini”: Views of Fascist Italy in Australia.” *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 39:3 (1993): 348-366.

Cooper, Roslyn. “Australian Tourists in Fascist Italy.” *Journal of Australian Studies* 14:27 (1990): 19-31.

Cotton, James. “Australia in the League of Nations: Role, Debates, Presence.” In *Australia and the United Nations*, edited by James Cotton and David Lee, 1-33. Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2012.

Cotton, James. *Australia in the League of Nations: A Centenary View.* Department of Parliamentary Services, 2018.

Cotton, James. *The Australian School of International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Coupland, Philip. “Anglican Peace Aims and the Christendom Group, 1939-1945.” In *God and War: The Church of England and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stephen G. Parker and Tom Lawson, 99-120. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Cresciani, Gianfranco. “A Not So Brutal Friendship. Italian Responses to National Socialism in Australia.” In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, 79-95. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Cresciani, Gianfranco. “Italian Fascism in Australia, 1922-45.” In *The Attractions of Fascism*, edited by John Milfull, 307-317. New York: Berg, 1990.

Cunningham, Matthew. “Australian Fascism? A Revisionist Analysis of the Ideology of the New Guard.” *Politics, Religion and Ideology* 13:3 (2012): 375-393.

Cutlack, F.M. *The Manchurian Arena: An Australian View of the Far Eastern Conflict*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934.

Dawson, Sandra. “Refugee Children and the Emotional Cost of Internationalism in Interwar Britain.” *Journal of British Studies* 60 (2021): 115-139

Deery, Phillip and Julie Kimber. ““Bordering on Treason”? Sir Raphael Cilento and Pre-Second World War Fascism in Australia.” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 65:2 (2019): 178-195.

Deery, Phillip and Neil Redfern. “No Lasting Peace? Labor, Communism and the Cominform: Australia and Great Britain 1945-50.” *Labour History* 88 (2005): 63-86.

Dickey, Brian. “Christianity in South Australia.” *The Journal of Religious History* 16:3 (1991): 349-353.

Dinning, Sarah. “The Social and Political Response of the Church of England in South Australia to the Great Depression, 1929-34.” Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1980.

Dobson, Jill. “Modernisation and Christianity: Australian Missionary Views of Japan, 1912-1939.” In *Relationships: Japan and Australia 1870s-1950s*, edited by Paul Jones and Vera Mackie, 71-100. Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2001.

Dutton, David. “A British Outpost in the Pacific.” In *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia*, edited by David Goldsworthy, 21-60. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001.

Edhouse, Margaret. “Some Australian Responses to the Italo-Abyssinian Crisis of 1935-36: An Examination of Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates between September 23 and October 11, 1935.” Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1970.

Edwards, Ben. *With God on Our Side: British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013.

Eldridge, John. “Bob Holman (1936-2016): Christian Socialism and the Quest for Equality.” *The Expository Times* 129:10 (2018): 451-457.

Ely, Richard. “Secularisation and the Sacred in Australian History.” *Australian Historical Studies* 19:77 (1981): 553-566.

Ferguson, E.A. “Australia’s Attitude Towards Collective Security.” In *Australian Foreign Policy 1935-1936*, 11-24. The Australian Institution of International Affairs, 1936.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila and Carolyn Rasmussen. *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s*, edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008.

Fletcher, Brian. “Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901-1962.” *The Journal of Religious History* 23:2 (1999): 215-233.

Fletcher, Brian. “Anglicanism and the Shaping of Australian Society.” In *Anglicanism in Australia*, edited by Bruce Kaye, 293-315. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Fletcher, Brian. “Australian Anglicanism and Why It Matters: Some Historical Reflections.” *Anglican Historical Society Journal* 44 (2007): 5-24.

Fletcher, Brian. *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*. Melbourne: Broughton, 2008.

Foster, Leonie. *High Hopes: The Men and Motives of the Australian Round Table*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986.

Fox, Charlie. *Fighting Back: The Politics of the Unemployed in Victoria in the Great Depression*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000.

Fox, Jonathon. “Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations.” *International Studies Review* 3:3 (2001): 53-73.

Frame, Tom. “Local Differences, Social and National Identity 1930-1966.” In *Anglicanism in Australia*, edited by Bruce Kaye, 100-123. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Frame, Tom. *Church and State: Australia’s Imaginary Wall*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2006.

Frappell, Ruth, Robert Withycombe, Leighton Frappell and Raymond Nobbs. *Anglicans in the Antipodes: An Indexed Calendar of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 1788-1961, Relating to Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific*. London: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Frappell, Ruth. "Imperial Fervour and Anglican Loyalty 1901-1929." In *Anglicanism in Australia*, edited by Bruce Kaye, 76-99. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Fry, T.P. "Developments in Australian Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Machinery, 1934-1936." In *Australian Foreign Policy 1935-1936*, 4-10. The Australian Institution of International Affairs, 1936.

Gascoigne, John. "The *Journal of Religious History* 1960-2010: The Changing Face of Religious History over Fifty Years." *Journal of Religious History* 34:3 (2010): 262-271.

Geyer, Michael and Sheila Fitzpatrick. "Introduction." In *Beyond Totalitarianism*, edited by Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick, 1-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Gould, Bronte. "Australian Participation in the Spanish Civil War." *Flinders Journal of History and Politics* 28 (2012): 98-117.

Gram-Skjoldager, Karen and Haakon A. Ikonomou. "Making Sense of the League of Nations Secretariat – Historiographical and Conceptual Reflections on Early International Public Administration." *European History Quarterly* 49:3 (2019): 420-444.

Grey, Jeffrey. *A Military History of Australia* (Third Edition). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. "Radio Ministries: Religion on Australian Commercial Radio from the 1920s to the 1960s." *Journal of Religious History* 32:1 (2008): 31-54.

Griffin, Roger. *The Nature of Fascism*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Grimley, Matthew. "Inge, William Ralph." Oxford Dictionary of Biography, 2004.

Grimshaw, Patricia and Peter Sherlock. "One Woman's Concerns for Social Justice: The Letters of Helen Baillie to Farnham Maynard, 1933-1936." In *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, edited by Colin Holden, 85-97. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997.

Harris, Andrea. "Preaching Morality: Sex, the Church and the Second World War." In *God and War: The Church of England and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stephen G. Parker and Tom Lawson, 81-98. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Hastings, Adrian. *A History of English Christianity 1920-1990*. London: SCM, 1991.

Hayne, M.B. "Australian Reaction to Hitler's Accession to Power." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 71:1 (1985): 59-74.

Hempenstall, Peter. "'This Turbulent Priest': E. H. Burgmann During the Great Depression." *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 27:3 (1981): 330-343.

Hempenstall, Peter. *The Meddlesome Priest*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993.

Henderson, Gerard. "More Pluralist than Thou: How Archbishop Mannix Tolerated Greater Political Disagreement than Cardinal Gilroy." *The Australasian Catholic Record* 94:3 (2017): 324-329.

Hilliard, David. "Anglo-Catholicism in the Religious Ecology of Melbourne." In *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, edited by Colin Holden, 169-187. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997.

Hilliard, David. “Introduction.” *Journal of Religious History* 34:3 (2010): 257-261.

Hilliard, David. “Religion in Playford’s South Australia.” In *Playford’s South Australia*, edited by Bernard O’Neil, Judith Raftery and Kerrie Round, 253-274. Adelaide: Association of Professional Historians, 1996.

Hilliard, David. “The Anglican Schism at Port Lincoln, 1928-1955.” *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 23 (1995): 51-69.

Hilliard, David. “The Transformation of South Australian Anglicanism, c.1880-1930.” *Journal of Religious History* 14:1 (1986): 38-56.

Hilliard, David. *Godliness and Good Order*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Hogan, Michael. *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*. Melbourne: Penguin, 1987.

Holden, Colin. “Political Pilgrimages and Pilgrims: Farnham E. Maynard as Anglo-Catholic Socialist.” In *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, edited by Colin Holden, 69-84. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997.

Holden, Colin. *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St Peter’s, Eastern Hill, Melbourne 1846-1990*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996.

Howard, Frederick. *Kent Hughes*. Melbourne: Macmillan, 1972.

Howe, Renate. “Town and Gown: Father Maynard and the Student Christian Movement.” In *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne*, edited by Colin Holden, 109-122. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1997.

Howe, Renate. *A Century of Influence: The Australian Student Christian Movement 1896-1996*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009.

Hudson, W. J. “Introduction.” In *Australia and Papua New Guinea*, edited by W. J. Hudson, 1-7. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1971.

Hudson, W. J. *Australia and the League of Nations*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980.

Hudson, W. J. *Towards a Foreign Policy: 1914-1941*. Melbourne: Cassell, 1967.

Inglis, Amirah. *Australians in the Spanish Civil War*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

Jackson, Hugh. “‘White Man Got No Dreaming’: Religious Feeling in Australian History.” *The Journal of Religious History* 15:1 (1988): 1-11.

Jackson, Paul. “Extremes of Faith and Nation: British Fascism and Christianity.” *Religion Compass* 4:8 (2010): 507-517.

Jenkins, Philip. *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Changed Religion Forever*. New York: Harper One, 2014.

Johnson, Gaynor. “Philip Noel-Baker, the League of Nations and the Abyssinian Crisis, 1935,1936.” In *Collision of Empires: Italy’s Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 53-71. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Jones, Paul. "'Racial Character' and Australia and Japan in the 1930s." In *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan*, edited by Paul Jones and Pam Oliver, 25-48. Melbourne: Monash Asia Institute, 2001.

Judd, Stephen and Kenneth Cable. *Sydney Anglicans*. Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 2000.

Kalkandjieva, Daniela. *The Russian Orthodox Church, 1917-1948: From Decline to Resurrection*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Kaye, Bruce. "The Emergence and Character of Australian Anglican Identity." In *Anglicanism in Australia*, edited by Bruce Kaye, 154-176. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Kershaw, Ian. "The Churches and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews – A Review." *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 427-437.

Kertzer, David. *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Kneipp, Mary. "Australian Catholics and the Spanish Civil War." *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 19 (1998): 47-64.

Kneipp, Pauline. "Australian Catholics and the Abyssinian War." *Journal of Religious History* 10:4 (1979): 416-430.

Kyounghan, Bae. "Chiang Kai-Shek and Christianity: Religious Life Reflected from his Diary." *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 3:1 (2009): 1-10.

Lake, Meredith. "Faith in Crisis: Christian University Students in Peace and War." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 56:3 (2010): 441-454.

Laqua, Daniel. "Preface." In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, xi-xvii. London: I.B. Taurus, 2011.

Lawson, Tom and Stephen G. Parker. "God and War: A Century in the Politics of Religion." In *God and War: The Church of England and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stephen G. Parker and Tom Lawson, 1-13. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Lawson, Tom. "'I Was Following the Lead of Jesus Christ': Christian Anti-Fascism in 1930s England." In *Varieties of Anti-Fascism*, edited by Nigel Copley and Andrzej Olechnowicz, 119-139. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Lawson, Tom. "The Anglican Understanding of Nazism 1933-1945: Placing the Church of England's Response to the Holocaust in Context." *Twentieth Century British History* 14:2 (2003): 112-137.

Lawson, Tom. *The Church of England and the Holocaust: Christianity, Memory and Nazism*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006.

Legge, J.D. "The Murray Period: Papua 1906-40." In *Australia and Papua New Guinea*, edited by W. J. Hudson, 32-56. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1971.

Leong, Karen *The China Mystique*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.

LeRoy, Doris. "Anglicanism, Anti-Communism and Cold War Australia." PhD thesis, Victoria University, 2010.

Lindley, Dan. “Avoiding Tragedy in Power Politics: The Concert of Europe, Transparency, and Crisis Management.” *Security Studies* 13:2 (2003/4): 195-229.

Linehan, Thomas. “‘On the Side of Christ’: Fascist Clerics in 1930s Britain.” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8:2 (2007): 287-301.

Linz, Juan. “Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes.” In *Handbook of Political Science*, Volume 3, *Macropolitical Theory*, edited by Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, 175-411. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975.

Little, Douglas. “Red Scare, 1936: Anti-Bolshevism and the Origins of British Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 23 (1988): 291-311.

Loane, Marcus. *Archbishop Mowll*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1960.

Lockley, Philip. “Social Anglicanism and Empire: C. F. Andrews’s Christian Socialism.” *Studies in Church History* 54 (2018): 407-421.

Lonie, John. “Conservatism and Class in South Australia during the Depression Years 1929-1934.” Masters Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1973.

Lovell, David. “Forging a Communist Part for Australia: 1920-1923.” In *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A Documentary Survey of Relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, edited by David W. Lovell and Kevin Windle, 57-63. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Lovell, David. “Moscow Takes Command: 1929-1937.” In *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A Documentary Survey of Relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, edited by David W. Lovell and Kevin Windle, 271-279. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Lovell, David. “Piecing Together the Past: The Comintern, the CPA, and the Archives.” In *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A Documentary Survey of Relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, edited by David W. Lovell and Kevin Windle, 1-23. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Lovell, David. “The CPA and the Comintern: From Loyalty to Subservience.” In *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A Documentary Survey of Relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, edited by David W. Lovell and Kevin Windle, 25-51. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Lovell, David. “The Price of Subservience: 1938-1940.” In *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A Documentary Survey of Relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, edited by David W. Lovell and Kevin Windle, 339-343. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Lovell, David. “Wilderness Years: 1924-1928.” In *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A Documentary Survey of Relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, edited by David W. Lovell and Kevin Windle, 193-197. Canberra: ANU Press, 2008.

Loy-Wilson, Sophie. “White Cargo: Australian Residents, Trade and Colonialism in Shanghai Between the Wars.” *History Australia* 9:3 (2012): 154-177.

Lutz, Jessie. “Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s.” *Modern Asian Studies* 10:3 (1976): 395-416.

Macintyre, Stuart. “The New Line in the Antipodes: Australian Communists and Class Against Class.” In *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, edited by Matthew Worley, 247-269. London: I.B. Taurus, 2004.

Macintyre, Stuart. *The Reds*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998.

Mansfield, Bruce. “Thinking about Australian Religious History.” *The Journal Religious History* 15:3 (1989): 330-344.

Mansfield, Joan. “The Social Gospel and the Church of England in New South Wales in the 1930s.” *The Journal of Religious History* 13:4 (1985): 411-433.

Mason, Robert. “Anarchism, Communism and Hispanidad: Australian Spanish Migrants and the Civil War.” *Immigrants and Minorities* 27:1 (2009): 29-49.

Mathews, Race. “Collateral Damage: B. A. Santamaria and the Marginalising of Social Catholicism.” *Labour History* 92 (2007): 89-111.

Mazower, Mark. *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

McArthur, Robert. ““The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing”: The Centrality of “God’s Will” to the Cold War Political Activism of the Reverends Frank Hartley and Alfred Dickie.” *Journal of Religious History* 34:3 (2010): 354-372.

McArthur, Robert. “Locating Christ in a Communist World: The Reverends Frank Hartley and Victor James as Political Travellers.” *Australian Historical Studies* 40 (2009): 178-196.

McCarthy, Helen. “The Lifeblood of the League? Voluntary Associations and League of Nations Activism in Britain.” In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, 187-208. London: I.B. Taurus, 2011.

McCarthy, Helen. *The British People and the League of Nations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

McDonald, Matt. “Remembering Gallipoli: Anzac, the Great War, and Australian Memory Politics.” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 63:3 (2017): 406-418.

McGregor, Russell. “A Dog in the Manger: White Australia and its Vast Empty Spaces.” *Australian Historical Studies* 43 (2012): 157-173.

McKenzie, Francine. “‘The Last Ditch Defender of National Sovereignty at Geneva’: The Realities behind Canadian Diplomacy during the Ethiopian Crisis.” In *Collision of Empires: Italy’s Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 165-183. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

McKernan, Michael. *All In! Australia during the Second World War*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1983.

McKernan, Michael. *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-1918*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1980).

Menghetti, Diane. “North Queensland Anti-Fascism and the Spanish Civil War.” *Labour History* 42 (1982): 63-73.

Michael, Robert. “Theological Myth, German Antisemitism and the Holocaust: The Case of Martin Niemoeller.” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2:1 (1987):105-122.

Mitchell, Stewart. “The Common Cause Movement in South Australia 1942-1945.” Honours Thesis, Flinders University, 1987.

Mondon, Aurelien. “An Australian Immunisation to the Extreme Right?” *Social Identities* 18:3 (2012): 355-372.

Monteath, Peter. *Dear Dr Janzow: Australia’s Lutheran Churches and Refugees from Hitler’s Germany*. Adelaide: Australian Humanities Press, 2005.

Moore, Andrew. “Discredited Fascism: The New Guard After 1932.” *Australian Journal of History and Politics* 57:2 (2011): 188-206.

Moore, Andrew. “The Nazification of the New Guard: Colonel Campbell’s Fascist Odyssey, 1933-1938.” In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, 97-113. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Moradiellos, Enrique. “The Origins of British Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War: Anglo-Spanish Relations in Early 1936.” *European History Quarterly* 21 (1991): 339-364.

Morewood, Steven. “‘This Silly African Business’: The Military Dimension of Britain’s Response to the Abyssinian Crisis.” In *Collision of Empires: Italy’s Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 73-107. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Morrison, Hugh. “Globally and Locally Positioned: New Zealand Perspectives on the Current Practice of Religious History.” *Journal of Religious History* 35:2 (2011): 181-198.

Moses, John. “Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The “Prussian Menace,” Conscription, and National Solidarity.” *The Journal of Religious History* 25:3 (2001): 306-323.

Moses, John. “The Church of England in Australia, Nazi Germany and the Reception of Jewish Refugees.” In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, 201-218. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Murphy, P. Brian. “Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941.” PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1975.

Murphy, P. Brian. “Australia-Japan Relations, 1931-1941.” PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1975.

Nash, David. “Reconnecting Religion with Social and Cultural History: Secularization’s Failure as a Master Narrative.” *Cultural and Social History* 1:3 (2004): 302-325.

Nicholls, Paul. “Australian Protestantism and the Politics of the Great Depression, 1929-31.” *The Journal of Religious History* 17:2 (1992): 210-221.

Nolan, Randall. “A Mediating Tradition: The Anglican Vocation in Australian Society.” PhD Thesis, Griffith University, 2007.

O’Brien, Anne. “Masculinism and the Church in Australian History.” *Australian Historical Studies* 25 (1993): 437-457.

O'Brien, Anne. "The Case of the 'Cultivated Man': Class, Gender and the Church of the Establishment in Interwar Australia." *Australian Historical Studies* 27 (1996): 242-256.

O'Farrell, Patrick. "Historians and Religious Convictions." *Australian Historical Studies* 17:68 (1977): 279-298.

O'Farrell, Patrick. *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*. Melbourne: Nelson, 1977.

Ormonde, Paul. "How Evatt Scuppered Santamaria's Religious Vision." *Overland* 142 (1996): 62-66.

Paddle, Sarah. ""To Save the Women of China from Fear, Opium and Bound Feet": Australian Women Missionaries in Early Twentieth-Century China." *Itinerario* 34:3 (2010): 67-82.

Paisley, Fiona. "The Italo-Abyssinian Crisis and Australian Settler Colonialism in 1935." *History Compass* 15:5 (2017): 1-13.

Pantsov, Alexander. "Comintern Activists in China: Spies or Theorists?" In *Foreigners and Foreign Institutions in Republican China*, edited by Anne-Marie Bradie, 93-108. London: Routledge, 2012.

Parker, Stephen. "Reinvigorating Christian Britain: The Spiritual Issues of the War, National Identity and the Hope of Religious Education." In *God and War: The Church of England and Armed Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stephen G. Parker and Tom Lawson, 61-79. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Pauley, Bruce. *Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini: Totalitarianism in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

Payne, Stanley. "The Defascistization of the Franco Regime, 1942-1975." In *Modern Europe After Fascism*, edited by Stein Ugelvik Larsen, 1580-1606. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Pear David. "Nichols, Reginald Gordon Clement (1888-1960)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography: Volume 11* (1988).

Pedersen, Susan. "Back to the League of Nations." *The American Historical Review* 112:4 (2007): 1091-1117.

Pedersen, Susan. "Settler Colonialism at the Bar of the League of Nations." In *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, 113-134. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Perkins, John. "'The Party Was Not Without Its Intrigues': The Struggle for Control of Hitler's NSDAP in Australia." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 82:1 (1996): 88-105.

Perkins, John. "An Old-Style Imperialist as National Socialist: Consul-General Dr Rudolf Asmis (1879-1945?)" In *The Attractions of Fascism*, edited by John Milfull, 291-306. New York: Berg, 1990.

Perkins, John. "The Swastika Down Under: Nazi Activities in Australia, 1933-39." *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (1991): 111-129.

Petalik, Julie. "Australian Perceptions of Japan and Crisis in Asia, 1930-1941." Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1977.

Phillips, P.D. "The Collective System in the Pacific." In *Studies on Australia's Situation in the Pacific*, 52-64. Melbourne: The Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1936.

Piccini, Jon, Evan Smith and Matthew Worley. “The History of the Far Left in Australia Since 1945.” In *The Far Left in Australia Since 1945*, edited by Jon Piccini, Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, 1-18. London: Routledge, 2018.

Piggin, Stuart. “Australian Anglicanism in a World-wide Context.” In *Anglicanism in Australia*, edited by Bruce Kaye, 200-222. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Piggin, Stuart. *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History, 1740-1914*. Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2018.

Piggin, Stuart. “Power and Religion in a Modern State: Desecularisation in Australian History.” *Journal of Religious History* 38:3 (2014): 320-340.

Platt, Jane. *Subscribing to Faith? The Anglican Parish Magazine 1859-1929*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Poniewierski, Barbara. “National Socialism in South Australia.” In *Germans in South Australia*, edited by Peter Monteath, 269-303. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011.

Preston, Paul. “Mussolini’s Spanish Adventure: From Limited Risk to War.” In *The Republic Besieged: Civil War in Spain 1936-1939*, edited by Paul Preston and Ann Mackenzie, 21-51. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.

Radi, Heather. “New Guinea Under Mandate 1921-41.” In *Australia and Papua New Guinea*, edited by W. J. Hudson, 74-137. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1971.

Raftery, Judith. “Betting Shops, Soup Kitchens and Well-Kept Sundays: The Response of the South Australian Churches to Some Social Issues, 1919-39.” *Journal of Religious History* 16:4 (1991): 433-455.

Raftery, Judith. “Till Every Foe is Vanquished: Churches and Social Issues in South Australia, 1919-1939.” PhD, Flinders University, 1988.

Ramsay, Scott. “Ensuring Benevolent Neutrality: The British Government’s Appeasement of General Franco during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939.” *The International History Review* 41:3 (2019): 604-623.

Ramsay, Scott. “Ideological Foundations of British Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War: Foreign Office Perceptions of Political Polarisation in Spain, 1931-1936.” *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 31:1 (2020): 44-64.

Rasmussen, Carolyn. *The Lesser Evil? Opposition to War and Fascism in Australia 1929-1941*. (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 1992).

Rees, Tim. “The ‘Good Bolsheviks’: The Spanish Communist Party and the Third Period.” In *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, edited by Matthew Worley, 174-202. London: I.B. Taurus, 2004.

Reid, Nicholas. “Struggle for Souls: Catholicism and Communism in Twentieth-Century New Zealand.” *Australian Historical Studies* 37:128 (2006): 72-88.

Renfrey, Lionel. *Arthur Nutter Thomas*. Adelaide: Self-published, 1988.

Ribi, Amalia. "'The Breath of a New Life'? British Anti-Slavery Activism and the League of Nations." In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, 93-113. London: I.B. Taurus, 2011.

Robbins, Keith. "Britain, 1940 and 'Christian Civilisation'." In *History, Society and the Churches*, edited by Owen Chadwick, 179-299. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Robbins, Keith. "Martin Niemöller, the German Church Struggle, and English Opinion." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31:2 (1970): 149-170.

Rodd, L.C. *John Hope of Christ Church*. Sydney: Ambassador Press, 1972.

Rodrigo, Javier. "Fascism and Violence in Spain: A Comparative Update." *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 25:3 (2012): 183-199.

Rogers, Jean. "Leisure and Adelaide's Social Elite During the Great Depression 1929-34." Honours Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1984.

Roulin, Stephanie. "A Martyr Factory? Roman Catholic Crusade, Protestant Missions and Anti-Communist Propaganda Against Soviet Anti-Religious Policies, 1929-37." *Twentieth Century Communism* 7:7 (2014): 153-173.

Ruotsila, Markku. "The League of Nations Controversy among British Protestants." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65:2 (2014): 327-346.

Ruotsila, Markku. *The Origins of Christian Anti-Internationalism: Conservative Evangelicals and the League of Nations*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2007.

Sadako, Ogata. "The Role of Liberal Nongovernmental Organisations in Japan." In *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations 1931-1941*, edited by Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto, 459-486. New York: Columbia University Pres, 1973.

Sherlock, Peter. "'Leave It to the Women': The Exclusion of Women from Anglican Church Government in Australia." *Australian Historical Studies* 39:3 (2008): 288-304.

Sima, William. *China & ANU*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2015.

Sloane, W. Neville. "The Paradox of Peaceful Co-existence™: British Dominion's Response to the Italo-Abyssinian Crisis 1935-1936." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 185-203. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Smith, Evan. "The Pivot of Empire: Australia and the Imperial Fascism of the British Union of Fascists." *History Australia* 14:3 (2017): 378-394.

Snape, Michael. "Anglicanism and Interventionism: Bishop Brent, The United States, and the British Empire in the First World War." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 69:2 (2018): 300-325.

Snell, K.D.M. "Parish Pond to Lake Nyasa: Parish Magazines and Senses of Community." *Family and Community History* 13:1 (2010): 45-69.

Spears, Ian. "The Ethiopian Crisis and the Emergence of Ethiopia in a Changing State System." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 33-51. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Spenceley, Geoff. "'The Minister for Starvation': Wilfrid Kent Hughes, Fascism and the Unemployment Relief (Administration) Act of 1933." *Labour History* 81 (2001): 135-154.

Strahan, Lachlan. *Australia's China: Changing Perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Stranahan, Patricia. "The Chinese Communist Party During the Third Period, 1927-34." In *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, edited by Matthew Worley, 301-318. London: I.B. Taurus, 2004.

Strang, G. Bruce. "'A Sad Commentary on World Ethics': Italy and the United States during the Ethiopian Crisis." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 135-163. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Strang, G. Bruce. "'Places in the African Sun': Social Darwinism, Demographics and the Italian Invasion of Ethopia." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 11-31. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Strang, G. Bruce. ""The Worst of All Worlds:" Oil Sanctions and Italy's Invasion of Abyssinia, 1935-1936." *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 19:2 (2008): 210-235.

Strang, G. Bruce. "Introduction." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 1-10. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Strong, Rowan. "An Antipodean Establishment: Institutional Anglicanism in Australia, 1788-c.1934." *Journal of Anglican Studies* 1:1 (2003): 61-90.

Summy, Hilary. "Countering War: The Role of the League of Nations Union." *Social Alternatives* 33:4 (2014): 15-19.

Summy, Hilary. "From Missionary to Ministerial Adviser: Constance Duncan and Australia-Japan Relations 1922-1947." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54:1 (2008): 28-43.

Swain, Shurlee. "Do You Want Religion with That? Welfare History in a Secular Age." *History Australia* 2:3 (2005): 79.1-79.8.

Tampke, Jürgen. *The Germans in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Terracini, Paul. "Bishop J S Moyes and the Attempt to Ban the Communist Party." *History Australia* 8:2 (2011): 106-127.

Thayer, Anne. "What's New in the History of Christianity?" *Religion Compass* 1:2 (2007): 279-293.

The Sino-Japanese Question relating to China's Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) 1931-1932. Sydney: The Society of Chinese Residents in Australia, 1933.

Thomas, Martin. "France and the Ethiopian Crisis, 1935-1936: Security Dilemmas and Adjustable Interests." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 109-133. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Tokita, Alison. "Foreword." In *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan*, edited by Paul Jones and Pam Oliver, i-ii. Melbourne: Monash Asia Institute, 2001.

Turner-Graham, Emily. "'The Forest is the Original House of the German Soul': *Die Brücke* and the Complexities of Finding a Racial Landscape." In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, 1-16. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Umland, Andreas. "Refining the Concept of Generic Fascism." *European History Quarterly* 39:2 (2009): 298-309.

Valkoun, Jaroslav. "Great Britain, the Dominions and Their Position on Japan in the 1920s and Early 1930s." *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations* 2 (2017): 32-46.

Van Diepen, Remco. "The Former European Neutrals, the Ethiopian Crisis and its Aftermath." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 311-339. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Verhoeven, Timothy. "Introduction." *Journal of Religious History* 39:2 (2015): 175-181.

Virtue, Nicolas G. "A Way Out of Isolation: Fascist Italy's Relationship with the Vatican during the Ethiopian Crisis." In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 287-310. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Waddington, Geoffrey T. "*Schreck* and *Schadenfreude*: Hitler, German Alliance Priorities and the Abyssinian Crisis, 1935-1936. In *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and its International Impact*, edited by G. Bruce Strang, 205-229. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

Waley, Daniel. *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935-6*. London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1975.

Walters, Philip. "The Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet State." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 483 (1986): 135-145.

Wang, Peter Chen-main. "Chiang Kai-shek's Faith in Christianity: The Trial of the Stilwell Incident." *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 8:2 (2014): 194-209.

Waters, Christopher. "Understanding and Misunderstanding Nazi Germany: Four Australian Visitors to Germany in 1938." *Australian Historical Studies* 41 (2010): 369-384.

Waters, Christopher. *Australia and Appeasement: Imperial Foreign Policy and the Origins of World War II*. London: I.B. Taurus, 2012.

Webb, Leicester. *Communism and Democracy in Australia: A Survey of the 1951 Referendum*. Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1954.

Webster, Andrew. "The Transnational Dream: Politicians, Diplomats and Soldiers in the League of Nations' Pursuit of International Disarmament, 1920-1938." *Contemporary European History* 14:4 (2005): 493-518.

Webster, Barbara. "'To Fight Against the Horrible Evil of Communism': Catholics, Community and the Movement in Rockhampton, 1943-57." *Labour History* 81 (2001): 155-173.

Weir, Todd. "A European Culture War in the Twentieth Century? Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Bolshevism between Moscow, Berlin, and the Vatican 1922 to 1933." *Journal of Religious History* 39:2 (2015): 280-306.

Welch, Pamela. "Constructing Colonial Christianities: With Particular Reference to Anglicanism in Australia, ca 1850-1940." *Journal of Religious History* 32:2 (2008): 234-255.

Wilkinson, Alan. *Dissent or Conform?: War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945*. London: SCM Press, 1986.

Williamson, Philip. "Christian Conservatives and the Totalitarian Challenge, 1933-40." *The English Historical Review* 115:462 (2000): 607-642.

Wilson, Sandra. "Containing the Crisis: Japan's Diplomatic Offensive in the West, 1931-33." *Modern Asian Studies* 29:2 (1995): 337-372.

Wilson, Sandra. "The Manchurian Crisis and Moderate Japanese Intellectuals: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations." *Modern Asian Studies* 3 (1992): 507-544.

Winter, Christine and Emily Turner-Graham. "Introduction." In *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of its Effect and Aftermath*, ix-xi. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.

Wolffe, John. "A Comparative Historical Categorisation of Anti-Catholicism." *Journal of Religious History* 39:2 (2015): 182-202.

Wolffe, John. "Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire, 1815-1914." In *Empires of Religion*, edited by Hilary Carey, 43-63. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Woodhouse, Fay. "Catholic Action and Anti-Communism: The Spanish Civil War Debate at the University of Melbourne, March 1937." *Journal of Australian Studies* 73 (2002): 89-99.

Worley, Matthew. "Courting Disaster? The Communist International in the Third Period." In *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, edited by Matthew Worley, 1-17. London: I.B. Taurus, 2004.