

**Anglicanism, Anti-communism and
Cold War Australia**

Doris LeRoy

**School of Social Sciences and Psychology,
Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development,
Victoria University**

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Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

"I, Doris LeRoy, declare that the PhD thesis entitled Anglicanism, Anti-communism and Cold War Australia, is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work".

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Abstract

The influence of the Anglican Church within Australia during the 1950s has received insufficient historical analysis, especially given its predominant numerical strength amongst Australian churches at that time. This thesis will rectify that oversight. The Anglican Communion worldwide exerted a singular ability to sway its adherents to follow the resolutions of the Lambeth Conferences, which were attended by the international hierarchy. Australian archbishops and bishops closely adhered to the deliberations of the Lambeth Conference in 1948. Subsequently, the Communion, under the leadership of Archbishop Fisher, adopted a decidedly conservative and anti-communist stance. The visits of Dean Hewlett Johnson, Queen Elizabeth II and Dr Billy Graham throughout the 1950s saw the reinforcement of that stance. The next Lambeth Conference, in 1958, displayed a realisation that some form of negotiation with the communist nations was necessary to circumvent nuclear war. It will be demonstrated that the hierarchy of the Anglican Church in Australia, and that of some laity, did not support this understanding. The thesis also traces, through church papers and observations of clergy, the increasingly close relationship between the Episcopal Church in America and the Australian church. By the end of the 1950s, the significant challenges faced by the Anglican Church had resulted in a diminution of its influence and numerical superiority, and a need to re-evaluate its position in Australian society.

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Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACC	Australian Council of Churches
ACR	<i>Australian Church Record</i>
ACQ	<i>Australian Church Quarterly</i>
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMA	American Medical Association
APC	Australian Peace Council
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
ASCM	Australian Student Christian Movement
BBC	British Broadcasting Commission
BGEA	Billy Graham Evangelistic Association
BSL	Brotherhood of St Laurence
CAA	Community Aid Abroad
CACC	Christian Anti-Communist Crusade
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CCIA	Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
CEB	Counter Espionage Bureau
CEMS	Church of England Men's Society
CICD	Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament
CIS	Commonwealth Investigation Service
CMF	Citizens Military Forces
CMS	Church Missionary Society

CPA	Communist Party (of Australia)
CPD	<i>Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates</i>
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CWIHP	Cold War International History Project Virtual Archive
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EU	Evangelical Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GBRE	General Board of Religious Education
GFS	Girls Friendly Society
GGG	Geelong Grammar School
HUAC	House Un-American Activities Committee
KGB	Committee for State Security – Russia
KPA	Korean People's Army
MCG	Melbourne Cricket Ground
MCEGGS	Melbourne Church of England Girls Grammar School
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MMBW	Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works
MU	Mothers' Union
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NCC	National Council of Churches
NSW	New South Wales

NZ	New Zealand
PECUSA	Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America.
PRC	People's Republic of China
RAAF	Royal Australian Airforce
ROCOR	Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SCRUSSR	The Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR
SPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
UAP	United Australia Party
UMA	University of Melbourne Archives
VPC	Victorian Peace Council
VPP	Victorian Parliamentary Proceedings
VOKS	All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
VTHC	Victorian Trades Hall Council
WA	Western Australia
WCC	World Council of Churches
WPC	World Peace Council
WW2	World War 2
WWP	World Wide Pictures
WVU	West Virginia University
YFC	Youth for Christ

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Anglicanism, Anti-communism and Cold War Australia

Synopsis

The overarching aim of this thesis is to examine the role of religion as a weapon against communism during the Cold War. The main emphasis will be on Australia throughout the 1950s. The thesis will represent the first systematic, scholarly attempt to investigate this issue. Specifically, the thesis will revolve around the local and national Anglican community, and its international links. Whilst the Communist Party, the Roman Catholic Church and the Peace movement within Australia have all received scrutiny from Cold War historians, the Anglican community remains a gap in the historiography. Moreover, whilst there has been recognition of the connection between religion and anti-communism in both Great Britain and the United States, it has been overlooked by Australian scholars. This thesis therefore seeks to fill that void through its analysis of a different, major and influential section of Australian society in the 1950s. This thesis will examine the interaction between the hierarchy of the church and the state in regard to anti-communism in the 1950s as well as the reaction of the clergy and the laity to the pressures from both hierarchy and state to establish an anti-communist attitude. While numerous studies have examined the role of the Catholic Church in fighting communism in the 1950s, little attention has been paid to the position of the Anglican Church in relation to Cold War anti-communism. This thesis demonstrates the willingness of the Anglican Church to join the anti-communist crusade, the impact on that willingness of overseas influences, and the pressure from the Church hierarchy on clergy and laity to conform.

The thesis will examine how religion was used and harnessed in the anti-communist struggle by focusing on the visits to Australia of three leading religious figures: Dr Hewlett Johnson, the dean of Canterbury (1950), Queen Elizabeth II (1954) and Dr Billy Graham (1959). All attracted vast audiences and, for a great many Australians, their visits were pivotal historical moments. A close analysis of each of the three visits will throw new light on our understanding of the Cold War in Australia by illuminating, in particular, the Anglican community. Anglicans exercised a significant influence, even hegemony, in 1950s Australia by dint of their numerical predominance both within the population and amongst leading Establishment identities.¹ Ultimately, the thesis will contribute to a broader understanding of

¹ The use of the word 'Establishment' here indicates an established social order, a group which held a great deal of power and influence in Australian society.

social change that occurred in Australia throughout the 1950s and the part played by the Anglican community in this change. Despite its hegemony (shrinking as it was during this period) the Anglican Church was as much subject to the vicissitudes of secular political debate as any other institution in 1950s Australia.

Chapter 1 Contestations in Anglican history before the 1950s

Establishment

The tortured history of the Establishment of the Church of England has been extremely well documented, examined and argued. This history will not be revisited here—it is far too vast a topic—except where necessary to explain vital aspects of Anglicanism which impinged on Australia up until the 1950s.

Religious matters were paramount in England from Henry VIII's abolition of the Roman Catholic pope's authority in England, through the reign of Edward VI when an effort was made to establish a strong Protestant faith; the attempt by Henry's daughter Mary Tudor to restore the Roman Catholic church; and eventual relative stabilisation of the Anglican church under the rule of her half sister, Elizabeth I. Under Elizabeth, there developed a *via media*, a middle way between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, developed, with the adoption of the Thirty Nine articles and a Book of Common Prayer.² The monarch was the church's Supreme Governor, with the archbishop of Canterbury the spiritual leader, carrying the apostolic succession brought to Canterbury by St Augustine.³ This fundamental tenet of Anglican belief was contested by both Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants.

Elizabeth's successor Charles proved unable to rule the three kingdoms he had inherited. He asserted the Divine Right of Kings, he followed the highly ritualised High Anglican form of worship, and he had married a French Roman Catholic, which aroused the suspicion among Protestants that there was a Papist plot to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. Charles was strongly supported by his choice as archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. Charles abolished Parliament, ruled England as a personal fiefdom for eleven years, and used the Court of the Star Chamber for political purposes.⁴ With these actions Charles

² The Thirty Nine articles are still signed by priests ordained into the Anglican Church today. The articles are regarded as dictated by reason and personal judgement in matter of doctrine and minimise divine authority. The Book of Common Prayer was still in use in the 1950s and is the basis for new forms of worship developed since.

³ Some claim that Celtic bishops from Ireland preceded Augustine into England. The important factor was the apostolic succession from the original 12 Apostles—discounted by dissenters and still contentious among Protestant, Anglican and Roman Catholic adherents.

⁴ The Court of the Star Chamber gained its name from the star pattern on its roof. James I and his son Charles used the court to examine cases of sedition, which, in practice, meant that the court could be used to suppress opposition to royal policies. It became used to try nobles too powerful to be brought to trial in the lower courts.

alienated the Puritans, and fostered an opposition that led directly to his eventual execution, the English Civil War and also saw the execution of the archbishop of Canterbury, Laud. Laud's insistence on a uniform style of High Anglican liturgy across England, Scotland, Ireland and even in the American colonies—together with his political activities in support of Charles—had brought about his downfall. The declaration of a republic and installation of Cromwell as Protector did nothing to calm the religious strife. Cromwell was unable to forge a national church based on Puritan principles. After his death and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 by the return of Charles II, the Church of England was re-established. The assumption of the throne on his brother's death by James II, a Roman Catholic, was to create more religious uproar. James tried to restore the Roman Catholic Church to England, and also authorised both Roman Catholic and Protestant dissenters to worship freely. This dictum was strongly resisted by the Church of England, the declaration of the King was not read out from the pulpits.

Relative calm descended on England only with the acceptance of William of Orange and his wife, Mary, daughter of James II, to rule jointly after James had fled into exile. Mary and William accepted limits to the sovereign's power, and Roman Catholics were excluded from attaining the throne. Queen Anne, Mary's sister, considered herself entirely English, and was very supportive of the Church of England. She was concerned with the poverty of some clergy and agreed to steps taken to relieve this—known as Queen Anne's Bounty. She also oversaw radical changes in the governance of England and Scotland, when the Act of Union was passed in 1707, and Great Britain was then made one realm. While the Church of England remained the Established Church in England, Scotland had a Calvinistic-Presbyterian church, of which the ruler was a member—but not Supreme Governor as in the Church of England. Anne's rule saw the institution of a two party system in the Parliament. The Act of Settlement (1701) ensured no Stuart could again rule. Following Anne's death George I, as son of Sophia of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth Stuart, Anne's second cousin, became King of Great Britain and King of Ireland. Under his rule the system of government by a cabinet was developed. The power of parliament became stronger—the Church of England remained the Established Church. This lineage remains that of the British monarchy today.

Court sessions were held in secret, with no right of appeal, and punishment was swift and severe to any enemy of the Crown.

Australian Anglicanism

The unresolved nature of the relationship between Church and State was reflected in some of the ambiguities evident in the history of the Australian colonies. During the nineteenth century Anglican evangelicals (Low church) and supporters of the Oxford movement (High church) were at either end of a spectrum in the Church of England. In between them were upper and middle class worshippers—a Broad church—who were disinterested in doctrinal disputes. They wished only for a place to worship. Church schools and university colleges provided an opportunity for the establishment of Anglican principles and practices which equipped students with a belief base that would last throughout their lives. The settlement of Australia had been regarded as a missionary opportunity by the church. The official chaplain sent with the First Fleet by the Established Church was Rev. Richard Johnson, an evangelical, who enjoyed connections to wealthy evangelicals in England. When he returned 'home' in 1800 his junior chaplain, Rev. Samuel Marsden, succeeded him. Marsden saw his role not only to 'plant' the church but to uphold morality and order. As a magistrate Marsden was harsh. His unpopularity was augmented by his success at establishing himself as a landowner, thereby gaining the dislike of secular people such as John MacArthur. His encouragement of non-conformist missionaries who worked with the poorer settlers and convicts gained converts for Anglicanism, since Marsden insisted on the official services having precedence.

More evangelical chaplains were sent out from London. Governor Macquarie's favourable attitude to religion resulted in it becoming a central part of Australian society. The church was no longer controlled by the military, but by the Governor. Moves were made to ensure more clergy were sent from England. By 1825 an archdeacon was appointed, and an ecclesiastical establishment developed which included a school system. The bishop of Calcutta was placed in charge of Australia, which was included in his diocese. Problems loomed for the church; being granted large amounts of land (its 'Glebe') only exacerbated the tensions in the colony. The landowners, non-conformists and Roman Catholics, resented the church. Rev. William Broughton, a High churchman, became archdeacon, with the oversight of a vast deanery which covered the entire eastern seaboard, Van Diemen's Land, and Norfolk Island. His attitude was different from his predecessor in that he regarded the State as duty bound to support the church, which he regarded as a spiritual entity. Governor Darling's aim that there would be a small church in every parish had his surveyors marking out these parishes, with a large church in every town. Broughton applauded this aim, and was shocked when the new Governor Bourke tried to institute school reform which would

weaken the Anglican system and control. A new diocese of Australia was formed, with Broughton installed as the bishop. He was careful not to upset the evangelical churchmanship of Sydney. He was able to forestall Bourke's plan for a system of schooling based on the Irish National system. However, the grip of the Church of England on the colony was weakened by the Church Act of 1836.

The Act provided funds for the four major religious denominations to pay for clergy and buildings. It therefore also assisted the development of Church of England schools and churches, even though signalling some loss of status. While some governance arrangements were instituted to enable congregations to manage their property, Bishop Broughton retained ultimate episcopal authority. Nothing was put in place to regulate the diocese. Sydney Anglican evangelicals believed the church should co-operate closely with the State, despite a perceived weakening of the ties between the two entities. In England the State was acting in a manner considered challenging by the Oxford movement (High churchmen). The action of the State in Great Britain in removing bishoprics in Ireland in 1833 prompted the movement to take stock of its purpose. That re-assessment was to affect the colonial churches, in that they were now seen by the movement as a model for future growth of an episcopally ruled church, autonomous in a secular society. The Oxford movement directed its attention toward the colonies. Support came to create more dioceses in the colonies, new bishoprics were established, and this move coincided with the funds Broughton had received through the operation of the Act. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was his agent in England for recruiting new clergy. Broughton thus finished up with an assortment of clergy of differing churchmanship, with some of the original evangelical clergy still having influence. There was by now a bishop in Newcastle, in Melbourne, in Adelaide (with jurisdiction over Perth), in Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), and in New Zealand. In his capacity as the bishop of Sydney, the metropolitanical see in Australia, Broughton called a month-long meeting of all the bishops in 1850. There was movement towards a governing body of the dioceses with provision for laity. The Australian church at a diocesan level needed a mechanism which did not solely rely on the letters patent issued to Broughton as bishop of Sydney, or the local legislature. Broughton was careful not to usurp the Royal Supremacy, the bishops met in conference only. The resultant agreement was to form, at provincial and diocesan levels, synods of bishops and clergy, associated with a convention of laymen for each synod. These synods and conventions 'might deliberate together', as the historians have put it, but the laity's authority was 'restricted to the temporal and the

practical'.⁵ Broughton was requested to seek the assistance of the archbishop of Canterbury to implement the recommendation of the conference. The laity of the colony reacted negatively to their exclusion on matters spiritual. Broughton waited until 1852 for an answer from England but then decided he would directly petition the Queen for a constitution for his own diocese. Bishop Perry, in Melbourne, had already decided his diocese should not be subject to Sydney's authority. While Broughton thought his proposed constitution would be a template for all colonial dioceses and create powerful autonomous provinces, his actions only sharpened the involved conflicts between clergy and laity based on churchmanship. Australia was not to see a constitution in place for another hundred years.

The school situation was not resolved until National schools were instituted in 1848, giving an opportunity for students to opt out of clerical schools (although there was provision for religious instruction in the schools). The Anglican schools were still in place. The establishment of universities was another area of contention, eventually leading to the model which was still in place a hundred years later—namely, a university where a professorial board controlled tuition—but where the churches founded colleges in which their adherents could reside. The gold rush to Australia in the 1850s signalled even more changes for the Church of England and Anglicanism.

Broughton, who had struggled so hard to bring his vision of the Anglican Church to Australia, died in 1853 in England, where he had travelled in the hope that he could convince the British Government to support his constitutional model. He was buried at Canterbury Cathedral, a fitting place for a man who struggled to create a Church of England in Australia in communion with other Anglican churches worldwide. The authorities did not realise how difficult Broughton's task had been. Their offer of translation of Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand to Sydney was met with a resounding rejection. Instead, Selwyn succeeded in having his diocese of New Zealand and the Pacific removed from Sydney's jurisdiction. After some difficulties, and the intervention of Archbishop Sumner of Canterbury, the Sydney see was filled by an evangelical (like Sumner), a vicar from Baslow, Rev. Frederic Barker. Barker was ill-prepared for the demands of Sydney. The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was no longer prepared to assist in the recruitment of clergy as it had for the High church Broughton. Barker called on evangelical sources in both England and Ireland, but also realised local sources of clergy were needed. The founding of

⁵ Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney: The Anglican Information Office, 1987), 55.

Moore College in 1856 was the answer to fill this need, and ensured a supply of locally ordained evangelical clergy. A standard was now set against which imported clergy were measured. The college was supported by evangelical dioceses in Australia, their clergy ordained in other dioceses besides Sydney. Moore was the only theological college in Australia until Trinity College was opened in Melbourne in 1878. Sydney's evangelical influence was thus spread across Australia, but High church bishops would have none of the Moore men. Ongoing strife over churchmanship in Anglicanism in Australia was thus perpetuated. For its part the laity became accepted into the ministry of the church as lay readers. These readers had status, but their positions were voluntary. The consecration in 1868 of St Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney saw the bishops gather for the first time since 1850. Barker of Sydney did not attend the first Lambeth Conference called in Canterbury that year as he disapproved of it, fearing that the conference implied separation from the Crown. The bishops made moves that resulted in the formation of General Synod, which would set up rules for the dioceses of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania on matters which the Crown and Imperial Parliament were no longer concerned. This synod did nothing to reduce conflict over Australian churchmanship. Barker claimed the position of primate uncontested. He did encounter opposition when he claimed his right as metropolitan to 'visit' his suffragan dioceses. In a rare meeting of minds, both Perry of Melbourne, an evangelical, and Short of Adelaide, a High churchman, were incensed. Barker ceased the practice, except for North Queensland. While working forms of synodical government were forged for dioceses, and indeed Australia if the General Synod was counted, constitutional problems still beset the church. It was Archbishop Fisher of Canterbury in the 1950s who was able to force action to resolve the impasse, which was due in the main to variations in churchmanship.

The growth of the church in Australia was to see more dioceses evolve, but the archbishop of Sydney remained the Australian primate. Change resulted at the turn of the nineteenth century, when separate ecclesiastical provinces suggested by the Lambeth Conference were formed, to match the civil provinces of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. Western Australia was added later. Each province required an archbishop. Since Sydney diocese insisted on electing their own archbishop, the automatic appointment of the archbishop of Sydney as primate ceased. One of the four metropolitans was elected by the bishops to be primate. Archbishop Wright of Sydney succeeded in retaining the primacy for Sydney by merely one vote in 1910; Archbishop Le Fanu of Perth was to be the first to deny the title to Sydney in 1935 by the same margin. Archbishop Mowll, the newly

appointed evangelical leader in Sydney, and indeed the Sydney diocese, took this defeat to heart and considered it a snub to the evangelical movement.

The 1950s in Australia

Anglicanism in Australia was different in some respects from that of other members of the Anglican Communion worldwide. Bishop Stephen Neill came to Australia in 1951 as part of the Commonwealth Jubilee celebrations. He was a highly respected historian, an Anglican clergyman member of both the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and had been deeply involved in the church in India; and he was also extremely involved in ecumenism. By 1951 he was assistant to the archbishop of Canterbury (Fisher) as well as Associate General Secretary to the World Council of Churches. However his importance in this context is his assessment of Anglicanism in Australia in the 1950s, since he was undoubtedly in a crucial position to judge this. His 1958 book on *Anglicanism* is still a highly respected text on the subject. His observations revealed a church which in some ways differed from others in the Communion, for example, Canada. Australia, to Neill, had an inverted, paradoxical nature. Australian synods dictated to the church. Their legal situation was that they were 'part' of the Church of England, not just 'in communion or in connexion with'.⁶ It was not until a Constitution was enacted in 1962 (after the Sydney evangelicals finally accepted it) that Australia was relieved of the burden of legal jurisdiction from Canterbury. Thus during the 1950s the Australian church was obliged to accept guidance from Canterbury, whereas for other parts of the Communion this guidance was accepted as a matter of choice. Neill observed the increasing Australian component of the Australian church, the missionary component to the Pacific, as well as the input of the Bush Brotherhood, which could be described as a High church organisation, in the more remote parts of Australia. Certainly even Low church Anglicans accepted Apostolic succession, which alienated them from the mainstream Protestant churches, as well as from the Roman Catholic church. On the whole the differences in churchmanship were forgotten by Anglicans when confronted by denominational challenges. Historian Brian Fletcher's overview of Anglicanism in Australia is also invaluable.⁷

⁶ Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism* (Mitcham, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1958), 308-313.

⁷ Brian H. Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia: Church, Society and Nation* (Mulgrave (Vic): Broughton Publishing, 2008).

Respect for religion generally has been identified by historian David Hilliard as prevalent in Australia at the beginning of the 1950s.⁸ Just over a decade later, by the mid 1960s there was a discernible diminution in those claiming a formal religious belief.⁹ For the Anglican Church in particular the challenge to cope with these changing circumstances was profound. This was, in large measure, due to the advent of the Cold War and the associated life and death struggle, as it seemed, with the insidious growth of communism worldwide. The church's engagement in this conflict over communism came at a high price, both to those extolling communism's virtues and those denigrating its values. An exploration of anti-communist attitudes within the Church of England in Australia in the 1950s necessarily requires some explanation of prior developments.

There can be no doubt of the influences on Anglicans in Australia from the Mother Church in England. From the formation of the colony in New South Wales great emphasis was placed on establishing religious organisations in the hope that this would support the State in the maintenance of law and order. Historians differ in their interpretation of the role played by the Anglican Church among the denominations, some misunderstanding the status of the church in the colony.¹⁰ The fact that the Anglican Church was never Established as in England appears to have been ignored by both by those in command of the colony and the church itself.¹¹ The role of the parson was to augment acceptance of the existing political and social system.¹² Historian Manning Clark identifies a very important dimension of religion in Australia: that of class.¹³ It was widely recognised that the Church of England was the

⁸ David Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality in Australia in the 1950s', in John Murphy and Judith Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties: Australian Historical Studies*, vol.109 (1997), 133-146: 135; David Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: A Study of Adelaide and Brisbane', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 16, no. 2, (1988), 219-335. See 'Don't mix Politics with Religion', Australian Public Opinion Polls 1183-1195, *Australian Gallup Polls*, July-August 1956; 'One Third Never Go to Church', Australian Public Opinion Polls 1324-1335, *Australian Gallup Polls*, July-August 1958.

⁹ James Jupp, *The Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 43.

¹⁰ Charles Manning Hope Clark, *Occasional Writings and Speeches* (Sydney: Fontana/Collins, 1980); Tom Frame, 'Local Differences, Social and National Identities', in Bruce Kaye et alia (eds), *Anglicanism in Australia: A History* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 100-202; 'Tricia Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia* (Canberra: Australia Government Publishing Service, 1996).

¹¹ Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand* (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 30-31.

¹² Hilliard, 'Church, Family and Sexuality in Australia in the 1950s', 144-145.

¹³ Clark, *Occasional Writings and Speeches*, 175, 186.

church of the wealthy, whilst the Roman Catholic Church was more representative of the working class, and often was hostile to the English.¹⁴ One important factor, however, Clark did not identify in his study of religion in Australia, was that the Anglican Church was influenced by the differing theological orientation of their early leaders, some of whom emphasised the reformed Catholic nature of the church,¹⁵ a distinction which put the church at odds with the dissenting Protestants. This claim of the reformed Catholic nature of the church also caused division with the Roman Catholics. Historian Tricia Blombery has argued that Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism divided (and continues to divide) the Anglican Church internally.¹⁶ This factor, aligned with the Synodal system in each colony/state, prevented the Church of England in Australia reaching agreement among themselves regarding an Australian Constitution (as noted) until 1962.¹⁷ Other church historians have documented, at some length, the problems encountered in a newly settled land where there appeared to be uncertainty regarding governance of churches transplanted from England.¹⁸

The work that best records the involvement of the archbishops of Canterbury with the Australian church from 1788 to 1961, that of Ruth Frappell et alia, demonstrates the extent to which consultation was made with the Anglican primate in England, archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, in the 1950s.¹⁹ It also proves the links from Lambeth Palace to Australia. The power and influence of the archbishop in the consultative process was evident. Australian Anglicans, both clergy and laity, consulted with the archbishop on diverse matters, willingly accepting his sometimes acerbic judgements. Bishop Wilde of

¹⁴ Clark, *Occasional Writings and Speeches*, 180.

¹⁵ Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia*, 12.

¹⁶ Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia*, 12. See also Alister McGrath, 'Anglicanism and Protestantism', *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 19th October 2007, focus page, available online <http://www.gazette.ireland.anglican.org/2007/191007/focus191007.htm> accessed 30 October 2007; Alister McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea: The Protestant Revolution* (London: SPCK, 2007).

¹⁷ Ruth Frappell et alia, *Anglicans in the Antipodes: An Indexed Calendar of the Papers and Correspondence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 1788-1961, Relating to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999). See Subject Index (395) which documents, via correspondence of the archbishops from 1905 to 1961, the long and tortuous process of efforts to achieve an Australian Constitution for the Australian Church. All materials described in this book are in the care of the Trustees of the Lambeth Palace Library, London.

¹⁸ Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (St. Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1993), 48-55.

¹⁹ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*.

Bathurst requested guidance on 'The Bathurst Ritual Prosecution' (known as the 'Red Book' prosecution),²⁰ while well-known anti-communist, W. C. Wentworth, attempted to achieve action by the church against the dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson.²¹ The archbishop was also well aware of the 'narrow partisanship' of the Sydney diocese.²² This partisanship, where the Sydney diocese sought to influence the Australian church along evangelical lines, resulted in divisions amongst the various states, as well as causing rifts within New South Wales. Archbishop Fisher was unafraid to comment on such matters, both by letter and directly when he visited Australia in 1950. Fisher considered his address to the House of Bishops in Sydney, 22 November 1950, when he called 'for some middle ground between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals', the best thing he did in the Antipodes. When he broadcast from Perth in 1950 he also revealed that he was equally committed to pronouncing on matters as diverse as 'Commonwealth, Christian heritage and materialistic communism'.²³

While it is obvious that Anglicans were not as affected by the dicta of the archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of the Anglican Communion worldwide, as Roman Catholics were of those of the Pope in Rome, the power and influence that was vested in Lambeth Palace is undeniable. During the 1950s consultation was always made regarding appointments as influential as bishops and archbishops in Australia. Frappell not only reveals candid and damning comments from Archbishop Fisher regarding the capabilities of those being considered for office, but also how these comments were sufficient to derail local preference.²⁴ The primate did, however, appreciate the complexities of the Australian church, especially the conflicts between the State bodies and more particularly the battle within the Sydney diocese and the wider State bodies for power between the evangelical and more conservative Anglo-Catholic laity and clergy. This conflict was to lead to differing attitudes to anti-communism, unlike the enforced uniformity of the Roman Catholic Church.

Much attention has been paid to the actions within the Roman Catholic Church during the 1950s in combating communism within Australia.²⁵ The encyclicals issued by the Pope

²⁰ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 281-283.

²¹ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 311.

²² Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 282.

²³ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 296.

²⁴ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes* (Election to the Archbishopric of Melbourne 1957), 326-327 and (Election to the Archbishopric of Sydney 1959), 329-330.

²⁵ Bruce F. Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy : Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001); see also Paul Ormonde, 'The Movement - Politics by Remote Control', in Paul Ormonde

—such as *Divini Redemptoris* (1937), where Catholic Action was enjoined to be 'the first and immediate apostles' with the priests against 'the snares of communism'—knew no direct parallel within the Anglican Church.²⁶ The Lambeth Conference, however, called by Archbishop Fisher in 1948, did pass resolutions which were specific in their intention to instruct the Anglican Communion worldwide regarding the need to fight communism. The Lambeth Conference is convened every ten years at the invitation of the archbishop of Canterbury, an occasion when bishops can meet for worship, study and conversation. Those invited to Lambeth have included archbishops, bishops, assistant and suffragan bishops within the Communion.

Influence from America to Europe

Prior to Lambeth 48 Archbishop Fisher had been approached to become involved with efforts to further President Truman's ambitions for an 'international anti-communist religious front' prior to the 1948 Inaugural Assembly of the World Council of Churches.²⁷ Fisher's involvement with Truman's ambitions should also be remembered in reference to Fisher's condemnation of the visit to Australia of Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, for the 1950 Melbourne peace congress. Archbishop Fisher was adept in handling and misleading President Truman's personal representative to the Pope, Myron C. Taylor, who was anxious to establish a closer co-ordination between the Anglican and Roman Catholic Communions. Fisher was well aware that any move to align more closely with the Vatican would be unpopular with his church.²⁸ Additionally there may well have been other pressures on

(ed.), *Santamaria: The Politics of Fear: Critical Reflections* (Richmond: Spectrum Publications, 2000), 163-864; Paul Ormonde, *The Movement* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson (Australia), 1972); Robert Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1972); Frank Rooney, *Dictators within the Labor Party of Australia* (Brighton-le-Sands, NSW Tower House Publications, 2005).

²⁶ 'Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*, Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Atheistic Communism to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and Other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See', in *Encyclicals* (Rome: 1937), available online at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19031937_divini-redemptoris_en.html, accessed 10 June 2007; See also Leo Dalton, 'Red Menace in Australia', *Australian Catholic Truth Society Record*, 10 July 1937, 1-16.

²⁷ Dianne Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's International Religious Anti-Communism Front, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the 1948 Inaugural Assembly of the World Council of Churches', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2001), 35-70: 46-47.

²⁸ Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's...', 48-49.

Archbishop Fisher, who had Freemason affiliations, and who subsequently revealed his 'deep antipathy' to the Roman Catholic Church regarding the contentious debate over the involvement of Anglican clergy with the craft.²⁹

President Truman, arguably, was naive in expecting co-operation between the Protestant leaders from whom he gained his knowledge of the nascent World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church.³⁰ Additionally there was a hardening of attitude toward communism in both Church and State in Britain. The socialist Attlee Government, as well as the Established Anglican church, was most antagonistic towards communism, a distinct change from recent attitudes during World War II. The church had its link to the State through the Anglican Rev. Herbert Waddams from the Religious Division of the Ministry of Information.³¹ Archbishop Fisher employed Waddams to conduct negotiations with the British Foreign office. Waddams was a known advocate of continuing the close alliance between Church and State: 'The religious and the political must be two aspects of the same activity'.³² It was in this climate that the 1948 Lambeth Conference was convened. It is unsurprising that the resultant resolutions reflected the background to their formation. Five of these resolutions are cited in full because of their unambiguous intent; there can be little doubt of their impact on the Anglican Communion.

Resolutions from 1948: Lambeth 48

Resolution 25

The Church and the Modern World - Communism

The Conference, while recognising that in many lands there are Communists who are practicing Christians, nevertheless declares that Marxian Communism is contrary to the Christian faith and practice, for it denies the existence of God, revelation, and a future life; it treats the individual man as a means and not an end; it encourages class

²⁹ Dianne Kirby, 'Christianity and Freemasonry: The Compatibility Debate within the Church of England', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 29, no. 1, (2005), 43-66: 51-52; see also Yasha Beresiner, 'Archbishop Fisher: A Godly Man and a Brother', *MQ - Masonic Quarterly Magazine*, 18 July 2006, Editorial, 7-10, available online <http://www.mqmagazine.co.uk/issue-18/index.php>, accessed 13 October 2007.

³⁰ Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's...', 42.

³¹ Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's...', 45.

³² Dianne Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate', *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 3 (1993): 250-283, 250.

warfare; it regards the moral law not as absolute but as relative to the needs of the state. The Conference holds that while a state must take the precautions it regards as necessary to protect good order and peace from all subversive movements, it is the special duty of the Church to oppose the challenge of the Marxian theory of Communism by sound teaching and the example of a better way, and that the Church, at all times and in all places, should be a fearless witness against political, social, and economic injustice.

Resolution 26

The Church and the Modern World - Communism

The Conference believes that Communism is presenting a challenge to Christian people to study and understand its theory and practice, so that they may be well instructed as to which elements in it are in conflict with the Christian view of man and must therefore be resisted, and which elements are a true judgment on the existing social and economic order.

Additionally, Resolution 10 was passed:

Resolution 10

The Church and the Modern World - The Church and War

The Conference affirms that it is the duty of governments to work for the general reduction and control of armaments of every kind and for their final elimination, except those which may be necessary for international police protection; but until such time as this is achieved, it recognises that there are occasions when both nations and individuals are obliged to resort to war as the lesser of two evils.

Perhaps more indicative of a widening of co-operation among religious bodies against the perceived threat of communism was the support the Conference gave to the formation of the World Council of Churches, and to encourage greater alliance with other Churches.

Resolution 75

The Unity of the Church - Foreign Relations

Believing that the increasing development of friendly relations between the Anglican Communion and Churches in foreign countries is of primary importance to the Universal Church, the Conference welcomes the establishment of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, of

the Advisory Council on Ecclesiastical Relations by the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and of the Committee appointed by the Scottish Episcopal Church. Further, considering the exchange of information between Churches of the Anglican Communion about the relations of our Communion with such foreign Churches to be of great advantage to all concerned, it hopes that each Church or province of the Anglican Communion will arrange for some similar council, or other agency, for this purpose.

The Conference expresses its sense of the value of the work done by chaplains of the Anglican Communion in foreign countries, especially in the establishment of friendly relations with the Churches of the countries where they are resident. Further, it trusts that suitability for this special work will be a major consideration in the selection of chaplains for such posts, and that the Church will make the utmost possible use of such men when so appointed.

Resolution 76

The Unity of the Church - The World Council of Churches

The Conference cordially welcomes the formation of the World Council of Churches and desires to place on record its deep appreciation of the valuable services already rendered to the cause of Christian unity by the officers and members of its Provisional Committee, and sends its good wishes to the Council for its first Assembly at Amsterdam and prays that God may guide and direct all its deliberations. The Conference hopes that the results of the Assembly at Amsterdam may be made widely known throughout the Anglican Communion, and that an active interest in the World Council of Churches may be encouraged in all dioceses and parishes.³³

Reinforcement came in the encyclical letter issued at the completion of the conference, read in 100 different languages throughout the world on 10 October 1948.³⁴

³³ Church of England: Resolutions passed at the Lambeth Conference, 1948, available online at <http://www.lambethconference.org/index.cfm> accessed 17 June 2007, used by permission, the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council 2006; see Lambeth Conference 1948, *The Lambeth Conference 1948: The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, Together with Resolutions and Reports* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948). The online source does not include the Encyclical letter.

³⁴ 'Lambeth Encyclical', *The Church of England Messenger*, 27 August 1948, 327.

World Council of Churches

The inaugural Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) was held in 1948 in Amsterdam. The resolve by the Anglican Church to encourage active interest by the WCC is particularly relevant to the Australian church, whose primate, Archbishop Mowll, was a dedicated and committed enthusiast for ecumenism. He had been the first President of the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches in 1946.³⁵ Mowll attended the assembly in Amsterdam, where John Foster Dulles delivered his keynote message that the Churches of the world were to prescribe 'Moral Leadership' to fight communism. Dulles' message reinforced the thrust of the resolutions made at the Lambeth Conference. Dulles also emphasised that 'war may have to be risked as the lesser of two evils'.³⁶ His stance was opposed by Professor Joseph Hromádka, the non-communist leader of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, who 'implicitly repudiated the Truman/Dulles approach'.³⁷ The involvement of the United States in the WCC has been well documented by historian Dianne Kirby.³⁸ American influence and backing in the WCC was extensive: John Foster Dulles, for example, was involved in the initial planning stages, and John D. Rockefeller gave financial support. The enthusiasm with which the organisation was embraced by both the primate of the Australian Anglican church and the primate of the worldwide Anglican Communion—both committed to ecumenism and evangelicalism—would have undoubtedly reinforced an anti-communist attitude among those in their flocks who shared their commitment. Archbishop Fisher was president of the inaugural meeting and one of the six joint presidents.

³⁵ Lake, Meredith, 'Western Heritage, Asian Destiny: The Australian Council of Churches' Activity in Asia, 1950—1965', *Eras* 7 (November 2005).

³⁶ John Foster Dulles, 'Moral Leadership', *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 15 September 1948, 706-708, available online <http://0-search.ebscohost.com.library.vu.edu.au:80/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=9739085&site=ehost-live>, accessed 15 March 2007.

³⁷ Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's ...', 62.

³⁸ Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's ...', 45.

Influences in Australia from Lambeth and World Council of Churches

The anti-communist bent of both the archbishop of Canterbury, head of the Anglican Communion and the archbishop of York, Cyril Garbett is a matter of record.³⁹ The enthusiasm of the 'Red' dean of Canterbury for the Soviet cause was a source of considerable embarrassment to both of the archbishops; accordingly much time was spent in endeavouring to dissociate the church from the dean's activities. The dean's visit to Australia in April 1950 for the Melbourne Peace Congress resulted in a flurry of correspondence between Lambeth and Australia. Fisher advised Archbishop Booth of Melbourne that the dean was 'incurable' and that he should not be 'received'.⁴⁰ As we shall see the dean did, in fact, have a difficult time in Australia, but respect for his office did mean he was afforded some opportunity to address church congregations. This respect by Anglicans for the hierarchal and patriarchal structures of the church, regardless of the personal attitudes of the respective office bearers, was to be at once a strength as well as a weakness in the decade to follow.

The diversity of the Anglican Communion was recognised both within and outside of Australia.⁴¹ However, this did not prevent attempts by the clergy and laity to establish dominance in the church for their particular brand of Anglicanism. Archbishop Fisher outlined the establishment of a central college in England whose purpose was to centralise Anglican instruction and learning for the clergy.⁴² This college would surely have perpetuated the English characteristics of the church worldwide. At the same time Bishop Burgmann worked toward the establishment of a college which would have a particularly Australian focus.⁴³ On a visit to Australia in 1931, before he was appointed as archbishop of Sydney, Dr Mowll recognised the opportunity to evangelise at the University of Sydney and

³⁹ Dianne Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda: The Archbishop of York and International Relations, A Political Study of Cyril Forster Garbett, 1942-1955* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1999). See also Dianne Kirby, *Religion and the Cold War* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁴⁰ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 294-295.

⁴¹ F. de Witt Batty, 'Presidential Address,' (1945), available online at <http://www.anglican.org.au/archive/document/173.pdf>, accessed 20 June 2007

⁴² Jeffrey Francis Fisher, 'The Centenary Service of the Australian Board of Missions' (1950), available online at <http://www.anglican.org.au/archive/document/175.pdf>, accessed 3 July 2007.

⁴³ Peter Hempenstall, 'Burgmann, Ernest Henry (1885-1967)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 13 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993), 300-301. See also Peter Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann* (St. Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1993).

at the large boys' schools.⁴⁴ Once Mowll was appointed as archbishop of Sydney in 1933 he was able to pursue his aim to establish conservative evangelicalism as a priority in the Sydney diocese. This aim put Mowll at odds with some clergy in the diocese, who considered Mowll's appointments left 'all the key positions in the Diocese in the hands of conservative Evangelicals'.⁴⁵ There can be no doubt about the autocratic style of Mowll's leadership and that this leadership shaped and controlled the Sydney diocese. Mowll was known to be very demanding, not above telephoning his clergy at all hours at his convenience.⁴⁶ Historian Frank Engels records 'the Conservative Evangelicals of the Diocese of Sydney were tightening relentlessly their control of the Diocese'.⁴⁷ More moderate churchmen, such as the warden of St Paul's College, Canon Arthur Garnsey (who was involved in the Student Christian Movement) had difficulty reconciling the need for necessary debate of current matters and the professed aim of advancing evangelical theology within the University of Sydney. This reinforcement of conservative evangelicalism within the Sydney diocese affected relations within the Anglican Communion in Australia. The fact that Mowll lost the election to become primate of Australia in 1935 by one vote—the first time the primate of Australia had not been chosen from the Sydney Diocese—did not deter him from his course to establish the evangelical character of the Diocese. This was despite the 'active dislike for the evangelical convictions of the Archbishop, and hostility to the evangelical character of the Diocese'.⁴⁸

Mowll was never to concede ground on his efforts to evangelise; he attended the Lambeth Conference of 1948 and the inaugural meeting of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam as primate of Australia, even though his 'Evangelical Churchmanship was unattractive in most Dioceses of the Commonwealth'.⁴⁹ The political climate of the 1950s made churchmen such as Mowll ideal as leaders of a concerted attack on 'Marxian communism' as outlined in Resolution 25 of Lambeth 48. Indeed, diocesan papers such as

⁴⁴ Ian Walker, 'A Very Difficult Experiment: Lay Initiative and Involvement In the Establishment of Anglican Residences in Sydney's Universities', paper delivered at the Anglican Historians Seminar 2003, available online at www.anglican.org.au/docs/SEMHISTWalker2003.pdf accessed 15 February 2007.

⁴⁵ Marcus Loane, *Archbishop Mowll: The Biography of Howard West Kilvinton Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1960), 143-149.

⁴⁶ Marcus Loane, *Mark These Men*, Acorn Press, Studies in Australian History (Canberra: Acorn Press, 1985).

⁴⁷ Frank Engels, *Christians in Australia. Times of Change 1918-1978*, vol. 2 (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1993), 107.

⁴⁸ Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*, 136.

⁴⁹ Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*, 251.

the *Australian Church Record* (ACR) illustrate that the laity also embraced the call to oppose communism wherever it was found. The differing nature of the other dioceses in Australia—even where a more measured and liberal stance was adopted—did not mean that opposition to communism was not aired. The 'tone' of the Melbourne diocese reflected an ability to foster trust and confidence between Anglo-Catholics and evangelicals notably lacking in the Sydney diocese.⁵⁰ Moreover, the Melbourne diocese had long been viewed as, at least, willing to consider the case for socialism.⁵¹ But once the Cold War commenced this situation changed.

Brian Porter's study of the Anglican Church in Melbourne diocese reveals that the combination of Archbishop Head with J. J. Booth as co-adjutor bishop also brought about ecumenical interactions with Victoria's Methodists.⁵² The untimely death of Dr Head in 1941 saw the elevation of Dr Booth to Archbishop with Bishop J. McKie as coadjutor bishop. These clerics complemented each other. Booth was to go to Lambeth in 1948, leaving his daughter in the care of Bishop McKie for the period of his absence. McKie spoke out on 'Christianity and Communism' in Booth's absence.⁵³ Additionally the *Church of England Messenger* carried a series of articles exploring 'Christianity versus Marxism'.⁵⁴ Further reinforcement of the official Lambeth line on Communism came from other articles in the church magazine, including reports of a sermon by the archbishop of York at the annual service of the Industrial Christian Fellowship at St Peter's, Eaton-Square, London.⁵⁵ Churchman Cyril Garbett explicitly excluded any kind of Christian 'Holy War' against

⁵⁰ Colin Holden, 'Introduction', in Colin Holden (ed.), *People of the Past? : The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture* (Parkville: History Dept, University of Melbourne, 2000), iv.

⁵¹ F. E. Maynard, K. Mertz, R. Gibson, *Fair Hearing for Socialism* (Melbourne, Prahran (Vic): Fraser & Morphett, 1944).

⁵² James Grant, 'Overview of the History of the Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997', in Brian Porter (ed.), *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997* (Collingwood: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1997), 1-26; 15.

⁵³ J. McKie, 'Communism and Christianity', *The Church of England Messenger*, 13 August 1948, front page, 305.

⁵⁴ A. C. Bouquet, 'Christianity Versus Marxism: The Most Important Struggle of Our Time', *The Church of England Messenger*, 9 September 1949, 348-349; A. C. Bouquet, 'Christianity Versus Marxism: The Schism between Religion and Labour', *The Church of England Messenger*, 7 October 1949, 393-395; A. C. Bouquet, 'Christianity Versus Marxism (3): What a Philosophy of Materialism Can Mean.', *The Church Of England Messenger*, 2 December 1949, 472-474.

⁵⁵ Cyril Garbett, 'Can a Communist Be a Christian?', *The Church of England Messenger*, 28 January 1949, 29.

communism, since the position of the Christians in the communist countries would be prejudiced, resulting in them being persecuted.⁵⁶ 'A Letter from the Archbishop' written by Archbishop Booth of Melbourne, printed at the time of the crippling 1949 coal strike carried the same connotation as that of the archbishop of York: communism was to be resisted by increasing vigilance against 'Marxian' or 'Russian' communism.⁵⁷ The influences from England are readily evident in these missives. What was also obvious at this stage was a hope that Christian evangelism would overcome the 'religion' of communism. The realisation that this was a false hope saw an escalation in church efforts to combat the 'atheist' Marxian communism, and growing isolation for those clergy and laity who professed an admiration for the communist system. The scene was therefore set for a turbulent decade in the church.

The 1949 Australian Election

The federal parliamentary election on 10 December 1949 was a subject on which Anglican clergy commented, both from the pulpit and in the church press. Bishop McKie, in a sermon preached in St Paul's on 13 November 1949, outlined the duty of Christians in politics. One of the thrusts of his sermon was that the Roman Catholic Church was not the only effective Christian opponent to communism. Another was that 'Socialisation' could see Christian principles crushed.⁵⁸ The appearance of this sermon as an article in the *Messenger* eight days before the election must be seen as commendation for the policies of the Liberal Party leader, Robert Menzies, who promised to outlaw the Communist Party if elected to lead the country. The *Church Standard*, the national weekly paper of the Anglican Church, carried large advertisements placed by both leaders, Menzies specifically targeting 'Socialism'.⁵⁹ Menzies also claimed that church leaders identified Socialism as 'the lineal descendant of the gross materialism of Karl Marx'. Not surprisingly, there was a widespread expectation that Menzies would take resolute action against the communists in Australia once elected as Prime Minister. Yet this expectation was not met with unreserved approval from all quarters of the church within Australia, or indeed with unqualified support from the polity at large. The 1950s, as a result, were to see conflict throughout all sections of the Australian society. The degree to which the Anglican Church engaged in that conflict demands close analysis.

⁵⁶ Cyril Garbett, 'Christianity and Communism', *The Church of England Messenger*, 13 August 1948, 307.

⁵⁷ J. J. Booth, 'A Letter from the Archbishop', *The Church of England Messenger*, 15 July 1949, front page, 264.

⁵⁸ J. McKie, 'The Christian and Politics', *The Church of England Messenger*, 2 December 1949, 469-471.

⁵⁹ R. G. Menzies, 'The Case against Socialism', *The Church Standard*, 2 December 1949, 9.

Literature Review

There are many unanswered questions concerning the role of religion as a weapon against communism in the early Cold War in Australia. Anti-communism was a major factor in making the 1950s a turbulent decade in Australian history as well as in the church.

The vexed question of how far Christianity could be accommodated with communism, or was its close cousin, has been explored by writers from a Christian background. Following the Russian Revolution, the most notorious and prolific of these was the 'Red' dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, whose *The Socialist Sixth of the World*, written in 1937 after visiting Russia, became a minor classic and a highly influential work in praise of the Soviet regime. It was reprinted during the war period when the Soviets were transformed into heroic fighters against the Nazi threat.⁶⁰ The English writer Robert Hughes' measured biography of the 'Red' dean revealed an Anglican churchman who was unafraid to challenge his church, but who ultimately became ineffective as an advocate for socialism when anti-communism became a major preoccupation of the Western allies.⁶¹ Contra to Johnson, another visitor to Russia, Stanley Jones, based in the Leonard Theological College, in Jubblepore, India, insisted in *Christ and Communism* (1935) that Christianity must strengthen itself to overcome communism.⁶² Publications such as these both informed and inflamed debate, internationally and within Australia. The study of Christianity and communism continued throughout the Cold War. John Bennett's *Christianity and Communism Today* was first published in 1948, and reprinted in 1960 with new material inserted to accommodate the death of Stalin.⁶³ Writing from the Union Theological Seminary, New York, Professor Bennett maintained that Christianity as a faith should be used to combat communism. Similarly, the influential British Roman Catholic priest, Reverend Martin D'Arcy, saw the need for Christians to better understand their faith in order to overcome materialistic Marxism.⁶⁴

Contemporary and other sources can be used to chart the shift from attempts by Anglicans to reach an accommodation with socialism to the intransigent mutual hostility of the early Cold War period. The series of lectures regarding socialism and the church, held in the Chapter House of St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne in 1944, were an accepted activity to

⁶⁰ Hewlett Johnson, *The Socialist Sixth of the World*, (London: Left Book Club, 1939).

⁶¹ Robert Hughes, *The Red Dean* (Worthing (UK): Churchman Publishing, 1987).

⁶² E. Stanley Jones, *Christ and Communism*, People's Library (London: Hodder and Staunton, 1935).

⁶³ John C Bennett, *Christianity and Communism Today* (London: SCM Press, 1960, 2nd ed.).

⁶⁴ Martin C. D'Arcy, *Communism and Christianity* (Mitcham: Penguin Books, 1956).

reconcile Christianity with communism. Literature emanating from this source formed the basis for study and discussion by Anglicans in Melbourne.⁶⁵ By the 1950s there could be no question of accommodation between the two super powers, America and Russia. The *Synod Charges* of the period reflect the hardened attitude within the Church of England towards communism, as did the support shown for known anti-communist lay people.

The historic predominance of Anglicans in the Australian community justifies concentration on that church, especially given its international influences. Additionally the privileged position of the Anglican Church in early settlement times is important to explain the power of the church in society at that time.⁶⁶ Blombery's explanation of the two main theological traditions within Anglicanism⁶⁷ helps in understanding of differentiation by Gary Bouma and Beverly Dixon between the Anglicans and other non-conforming Protestant churches. The divisive nature of these theological traditions is of major importance to any study of the Church of England. Reference will be made to newly released literature examining these traditions.⁶⁸ In 1949 professed Anglicans comprised 39 per cent of the population of Australia.⁶⁹ The analysis of the religious factor in Australian life by Bouma and Dixon will be used to illustrate the importance of this section of society during the 1950s.⁷⁰ Use of the reports, resolutions and encyclical letters issued from the Lambeth conferences of 1948 and 1958 will illustrate both the connection between Lambeth Palace and Australia and the changing attitudes of the worldwide Church.⁷¹ Most important to any analysis of the influence and control exercised on the Australian church from Lambeth is the

⁶⁵ Maynard, *Fair Hearing for Socialism*.

⁶⁶ Frame, 'Local Differences', 100-102.

⁶⁷ Blombery, *The Anglicans in Australia*, 45.

⁶⁸ Alister McGrath, 'Anglicanism and Protestantism'. See also Alister McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea*.

⁶⁹ Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 21-23.

⁷⁰ Gary D. Bouma and Beverly R. Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life* (Melbourne: MARC Australia, 1986).

⁷¹ The Lambeth Conference is one of the Instruments of Communion of the global Anglican Communion. See <http://www.lambethconference.org/index.cfm> to access Resolutions from the Conferences from 1867 to 1988 (By permission, the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council 2006). See also Lambeth Conference 1948, *The Lambeth Conference 1948 : The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, Together with Resolutions and Reports* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948) and Lambeth Conference 1958, *The Lambeth Conference 1958 : The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops Together with the Resolutions and Reports* (London: S.P.C.K.; Seabury Press, 1958).

calendar *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, an essential volume for any researcher of Anglican affairs in Australia.⁷²

Dean Johnson's visit to Australia has previously been examined but this earlier work concentrated merely on the 1950 Australian Peace Congress.⁷³ Other Anglicans involved in the congress and the Peace movement and their overseas connections also demand scrutiny: these include the famous Jessie Street, American theologian Professor Joseph Fletcher and Australian cleric Canon Maynard.⁷⁴ Further analysis of religious attitudes in the 1950s regarding communism and how best to fight it, will employ church histories,⁷⁵ proceedings of Synod,⁷⁶ actions and perspectives of religious political figures,⁷⁷ as well as recent research on how religion became a component of international diplomacy.⁷⁸

The attention Australia received from the Church of England hierarchy following the visit of the 'Red' dean bears testimony to the influence from Britain. The 1950 and 1951 visits to Australia of both the archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, and the archbishop

⁷² Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*.

⁷³ Doris LeRoy, 'Pyrrhic Victory? The 'Red Dean' Visits Australia' (BA Honours thesis, Victoria University, 2006).

⁷⁴ Lenore Coltheart, *Jessie Street: A Revised Autobiography* (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2004); (Lady) Jessie M. G. Street, *Truth or Repose* (Sydney: Australasian Book Society, 1966); Peter Sekules, *Jessie Street: A Rewarding but Unrewarding Life* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978); Heather Radi, *Jessie Street: Documents and Essays* (Marrickville: Women's Redress Press., 1990); Lenore Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', in Sheila Fitzgerald and Carolyn Rasmussen (eds), *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2008).

⁷⁵ Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*; Brian Porter (ed.), *Melbourne Anglicans: The Diocese of Melbourne 1847-1997* (Collingwood: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1997); Keith Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland' (PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962), among others.

⁷⁶ Joseph John Booth, 'Charge to Synod 2nd October 1949', in *Synod Charges: 1942-1956*, Ramsay Ware (ed.) (Melbourne: Diocese of Melbourne, 1949) (courtesy of Trinity Library, Melbourne).

⁷⁷ Paul Ormonde, 'The Movement – Politics by Remote Control', 163-184. Some reference will also be made to Methodist Rev. Irving Benson, since he was an important religious anti-communist using media to oppose communism.

⁷⁸ See Andrew Preston, 'Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations', *Diplomatic History*, vol. 30, no. 5 (November 2006), 783-812, available online <http://0-www.blackwell-synergy.com.library.vu.edu.au/toc/diph/30/5> accessed 20 March 2007; Jonathan Fox, 'Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations', *International Studies Review*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2001), 53-73, available online <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=1521-9488%28200123%293%3A3%3C53%3ARAAOEO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y> accessed 15 March 2007; William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

of York, Cyril Forster Garbett, will be interrogated in light of Kirby's work in establishing their religious political links.⁷⁹ Kirby convincingly argues that both Fisher and Garbett colluded with plans to fight communism using a religious base. The silence about this link in the literature—especially in biographies of the two archbishops—is telling, especially in view of the extensive travelling undertaken by Garbett to areas, like Australia, where communism was clearly a concern for the United States and Great Britain.⁸⁰

Queen Elizabeth II's role as titular head of the Anglican Church will be examined in relation to the dean's controversial position in the church.⁸¹ Stephen Neill's explanation concerning the governance of the Church of England is especially relevant to the 1954 Royal Visit, since the Australian Church did not, at the time, enjoy a separate constitution. Tom Frame's exploration of the Australian situation in *Church and State* is useful in that he examines the influence of the Anglican Church in conservative politics.⁸² The perception of many that the Anglican Church was the 'established' church will also be discussed using Blombery's *The Anglicans in Australia*.⁸³ This concept of a 'colonial' church is given attention in various histories of the Anglican Church and is most relevant to the Queen's visit.⁸⁴ Hilliard's history of the Church of England in South Australia is particularly useful in highlighting attitudes at the time of the visit.⁸⁵ Further discussion concerning the impact of Christianity, denominational variances and political linkages within Australia will be informed by Bouma and Dixon's comprehensive study.⁸⁶ Especially useful is their claim that church attendance is not necessarily indicative of the religiosity of the denomination studied. The use of the Queen as an anti-communist symbol will be explored, given the connections

⁷⁹ Dianne Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*. See also *Fisher to Garbett*, May 1947, vol. 38, Geoffrey Fisher Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, UK, cited in Kirby, *Church, State*, 153.

⁸⁰ Charles Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett: Archbishop of York* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1959). See also David Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher: Archbishop of Canterbury 1945-1961*, in K. C. Hanson and Charles M. Collyer (eds), *Princeton Theological Monograph Series 77*, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2007).

⁸¹ Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism*.

⁸² Tom Frame, *Church and State: Australia's Imaginary Wall*, Peter Browne and Julian Thomas (eds), *Briefings* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006).

⁸³ Blombery, *The Anglicans*; McGrath, *Christianity's Dangerous Idea*.

⁸⁴ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, vol. V (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1962), 243-244.

⁸⁵ David Hilliard, *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia* (Netley: Wakefield Press, 1986).

⁸⁶ Bouma and Dixon, *The Religious Factor*.

established by Dianne Kirby between the Church of England and President Truman's recognition of the use of religion as an anti-communist weapon.⁸⁷ Michael Hogan details 'the Anglican Ascendancy' from British settlement and touches on a dimension relevant to this topic: Prime Minister Menzies' uncanny ability to exploit religious objectives to obtain political advantage.⁸⁸ Menzies understood the power of Anglicanism in political life.

There is an abundant literature relating to the Royal Tour of 1954. However, this literature is essentially uncritical and unhelpful for any examination of the Queen politically or as the head of the Church of England. Fletcher supplies an Anglican view of the monarchy.⁸⁹ Historian Peter Spearritt endeavours to thread a way through the hysteria associated with her Tour and to provide a retrospective examination of the visit while also discussing attempts the movement towards republicanism.⁹⁰ He claimed that her role in the Anglican Church in 1954 was downplayed to encourage Roman Catholics to declare their loyalty.⁹¹ David Lowe refers to the unsuccessful sedition trial of communists who criticised the Royal family in 1953 and also suggests that the 1954 visit was 'a powerful antidote' to the removal of a European buffer zone in the Asian region following the French defeat in Vietnam. Lowe's analysis that efforts were made by the British to counter a growing American influence in the area adds a new dimension to the 1954 visit, together with the claim that Menzies was only too mindful of the electoral advantage.⁹²

Jane Connors' study provides a cultural history of this momentous visit—momentous because Elizabeth II was the first reigning British monarch to ever set foot on Australian soil. Her comprehensive account does not address, to any great extent, the political or religious component of the tour. Reference is made to the faithful kneeling on the pavement outside St Andrew's Cathedral while Her Majesty attended service inside, and to the Roman Catholic Archbishop Simonds' recognition of the position of the Queen in the Church of England. However Connors does offer the critique that historians have not treated this Royal Visit with

⁸⁷ Kirby, *Religion and the Cold War*. See also Kirby, 'Harry S. Truman's....', 35-70.

⁸⁸ Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*.

⁸⁹ Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 175-176.

⁹⁰ Peter Spearritt, 'Royal Progress: The Queen and Her Australian Subjects', *Australian Cultural History*, no. 5 (1986), 75-94.

⁹¹ Spearritt, 'Royal Progress', 85.

⁹² David Lowe, *Menzies and the 'Great World Struggle'* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1999). See also Lawrence W. Maher, 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Disaffection: Australia's Last Cold War Seditious Case', *Adelaide Law Review*, vol.16 (1994), 1-77.

the attention it deserves in the historiography of the nation.⁹³ The announcement of the defection of Vladimir Petrov by Menzies immediately following the departure of the Royal couple will be interrogated by literature relating to the actions of prominent anti-communists with Anglican connections such as W. C. Wentworth IV, Chief Justice Dixon, Lieutenant General Herring and other 'establishment' figures, products of Anglican Church schools and university colleges.⁹⁴ The period between the Queen's Visit of 1954 and that of Billy Graham in 1959 saw the election of two English archbishops to Australian sees, but a gradual increase in the American influence within the Australian Anglican church, and also in the nation more generally. Church and national attitudes towards the peace movement and suspicion of communist influence within Anglican schools can be traced through biographies, ASIO files and relevant press reports.⁹⁵

There has been a similar neglect of the Crusade of evangelist Dr Billy Graham to Australia in 1959, especially its role in the Cold War. The puzzling connections Graham forged with the Church of England in both Britain and Australia require fuller explanation. Graham received strong endorsement from the Established Church in Britain, as well as from the Australian Anglican primate, H. W. K. Mowll. Graham's invitation to preach at Windsor Castle⁹⁶ would have appeared to the Anglican community in Australia as a validation of the anti-communist stance Graham adopted. Despite the success of Graham's Crusade and the enthusiasm of 'even Australian-born-and-bred bishops like Burgmann' for the role of the monarchy in the church, dissenting voices were still heard.⁹⁷ Such dissent requires a detailed

⁹³ Jane Connors, 'The 1954 Royal Tour of Australia,' *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 25, no. 100 (April 1993), 371-382; Jane Connors, 'The 1954 Royal Tour of Australia', in Richard White and Penny Russell (eds), *Memories and Dreams: Reflections on Twentieth Century Australia: Pastiche II* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1997); Jane Holley Connors, 'The Glittering Thread : The 1954 Royal Tour of Australia' (Doctoral thesis, University of Technology Sydney, 1996), available online <http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/dspace/handle/2100/249> accessed 25 March 2007.

⁹⁴ Stuart Sayers, *Ned Herring: A Life of Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Edmund Herring* (Melbourne: Hyland House Melbourne in association with the Australian War Memorial Canberra, 1980); Philip Ayres, *Owen Dixon* (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press 2003).

⁹⁵ June Epstein, *A Golden String: The Story of Dorothy J Ross* (Collingwood: Greenhouse Publications, 1981); Barbara Falk, *D. J.: Dorothy Jean Ross 1891-1982* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2000); Barbara Falk, 'Lloyd, Gwendoline Kent (Gwenda) (1899 - 1965)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 15, (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2000).

⁹⁶ John Pollock, *Billy Graham: The Authorised Biography* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966).

⁹⁷ Frame, 'Local Differences', 119-120.

analysis which, so far, it has not received. Judith Smart provides an examination of Graham's visit, but it is a cultural study of Graham himself and written, in part, from the perspective of one who attended as a younger person.⁹⁸ While comparison of this study with Babbage and Siggins' work⁹⁹ will afford alternative views of the effectiveness of Graham's crusade, Smart acknowledged that Graham 'not surprisingly, took an openly anti-communist stance'. This stance does not appear to be acknowledged by Babbage and Siggins. Babbage's autobiography acknowledges some of the flaws he saw in Graham.¹⁰⁰ The scrutiny Graham's anti-communist attitude has received in recent literature will be examined.¹⁰¹ In short, there is plenty written about the crusade but analyses are rare.

Central to the Billy Graham Crusade in Australia was Mowll, the Anglican primate. Marcus Loane's hagiographic biography identifies Mowll as a 'conservative evangelical Anglican' who was totally committed to furthering the cause of evangelical churchmanship.¹⁰² Various church histories will be used to explore the political divisions within the Church of England in Australia.¹⁰³ A systematic exploration, at least for the Cold War period, has not previously been undertaken. There is no argument that the main divisions were between the Anglo-Catholic and the evangelical tradition, which attained superiority within the New South Wales diocese, despite fervent opposition from other dioceses.¹⁰⁴ However, Mowll's ability to inspire compliance from the Australian non-conforming churches meant that an invitation to visit Australia was accepted by Graham.¹⁰⁵ Mowll's expectations from this Australia-wide crusade will be investigated in view of the antagonism of some Anglo-Catholic clergy toward it and Mowll's conviction that evangelism was paramount.

⁹⁸ Judith Smart, 'The Evangelist as Star: The Billy Graham Crusade in Australia, 1959,' *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Summer 1999), 165-167.

⁹⁹ S. Barton Babbage and Ian Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross* (Melbourne: World's Work (1913), 1960).

¹⁰⁰ Stuart Barton Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, (Brunswick East: Acorn Press, 2004).

¹⁰¹ Harold Bloom (ed.), *The American Religion* (New York: Chu Hartley, 1992, 2006 edition); Nancy Gibbs and Michael Duffy, *The Preacher and the Presidents* (New York: Center Street, 2007); Nancy Gibbs and Michael Duffy, 'The Pastor in Chief,' *Time*, 20 August 2007, 34-41; Tom Frame, *Losing My Religion: Unbelief in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2009).

¹⁰² Marcus Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*.

¹⁰³ Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁴ Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 133-134.

¹⁰⁵ Billy Graham, *Just as I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997). For Mowll's ecumenical connections see Lake, 'Western Heritage, Asian Destiny'.

Historian Ian Breward provides some insights into the period by highlighting Graham's crusade as establishing a public visibility for 'Protestants' which rivalled that of the Catholic church.¹⁰⁶ Blombery outlines the impact of the Synodal and Diocesan governance of the church within Australia.¹⁰⁷ Mowll's undeniable determination to become primate, thus restoring the influence of the Sydney diocese (and therefore his ability to assist in promulgating the evangelical cause in Australia) is well documented by Loane.¹⁰⁸ The prestige of Mowll's position as primate ensured that he achieved the status he desired for the Lambeth Conference in 1948 and the first World Council of Churches (WCC) meeting, held at Amsterdam. There are obvious differences, which will be explored in this present study, between Kirby's revelations regarding this event and those contained biographical literature on John Foster Dulles.¹⁰⁹

The import of Dulles' speech in Amsterdam at the first WCC meeting supports the view that the United States (USA) regarded religion as a weapon to be used against 'Marxist Communism'.¹¹⁰ Guhin acknowledges Dulles' religiosity but claims Dulles did not allow this to affect his duties as US Secretary of State.¹¹¹ Henry Van Dusen's selection of some of Dulles' articles and addresses appears to contradict this.¹¹² Subsequent archival-based reassessments of Dulles' performance as Secretary of State reinforce Dulles' public image; as a 'Presbyterian moralist ready to do battle with the Devil' (of communism).¹¹³ Townsend Hoopes recognised this facet of Dulles' personality and the worldwide influence emanating from Dulles, a 'preacher-politician'.¹¹⁴ More recent investigation of the important and neglected role of religion in international relations has been undertaken, and this current research builds upon that work to show its influence in the Australian context.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁶ Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 148

¹⁰⁷ Blombery, *The Anglicans*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁸ Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*.

¹⁰⁹ Richard H Immerman, *John Foster Dulles: Piety, Pragmatism, and Power in U.S. Foreign Policy*, Joseph A Fry (ed.), *Biographies in American Foreign Policy*, (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc. , 1999), 14-15.

¹¹⁰ Dulles, 'Moral Leadership', *Vital Speeches of the Day*.

¹¹¹ Michael A Guhin, *John Foster Dulles: A Statesman and His Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

¹¹² Henry P. Van Dusen, *The Spiritual Legacy of John Foster Dulles* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

¹¹³ Immerman, *John Foster Dulles*.

¹¹⁴ Townsend Hoopes, *The Limits of Intervention: The Devil and John Foster Dulles* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1974).

¹¹⁵ See Preston, 'Bridging the Gap' and Fox, 'Religion'.

Accounts of the WCC meeting held in 1954 at Evanston are important sources for the anti-communist thread that was woven through the WCC. Norman Helms, a youth attendee at Evanston, recalled the suspicion held by the American authorities that Orthodox clergy could be working for the Soviets.¹¹⁶ Breward identified the suspicion with which the WCC was regarded by some Anglican clergy.¹¹⁷ Graham refers to his attendance at this conference as an observer where a connection was made with Archbishop Mowll. Together with his unstinting praise for Mowll, he also alluded to Mowll's ability to reach across all denominations within Australia.¹¹⁸ Loane highlighted Mowll's reciprocal admiration of Graham, as well as the power Mowll had to exert influence across denominational boundaries.¹¹⁹ Such connections form part of the scaffolding of this present study's third section – Graham's visit to Australia.

The position of the church in Australia is explored by using instances of anti-communism action in the church. The Anglican Church newspapers in the 1950s, especially the *Anglican*, and the *Australian Church Record*, are essential records of the attitudes inculcated among the adherents. Central to an assessment of the growing influence of the American church is the unpublished diary of a young Melbourne ordinand, Rev. Douglas Dargaville. His perceptive record of a world study tour reveals both the innovative nature of the Episcopalian church in America, and the animosity toward Americans in India.¹²⁰

Graham's connection to American Presidents is well documented, particularly by Graham himself.¹²¹ Most literature regarding Graham until recent times has been eulogistic. However, recent journal articles such as Crouse's 'Popular Cold Warriors' complicate this flattering portrait and reveal distinct anti-communist traits in Graham's evangelistic crusades.¹²² Harold Bloom's edited collection *The American Religion* is scathing of

¹¹⁶ Norman A Helm, 'Evanston after 50 Years', *Religion in Eastern Europe*, vol. 24, no. 6, (2004), 22-25.

¹¹⁷ Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*.

¹¹⁸ Graham, *Just as I am*.

¹¹⁹ Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*.

¹²⁰ Douglas Dargaville, 'Travel Diary - A. D. Dargaville - 1958-9'. My thanks to Rev. Dargaville for access to this unpublished diary.

¹²¹ Graham, *Just as I am*; See also Pollock, *Billy Graham*. These volumes do not permit scrutiny as references are vague. Marshall Frady, *Billy Graham: A Parable of American Righteousness* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979).

¹²² Eric Crouse, 'Popular Cold Warriors: Conservative Protestants, Communism, and Culture in Early Cold War America', *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, vol. II, Fall 2002 (2002), 1-18.

Graham's fundamentalism and anti-communism.¹²³ This work is essential in understanding the influence of Graham (and American religiosity) worldwide. Comprehending that influence is necessary in discussing the 1959 Australian crusade. The fiftieth anniversary of the 1959 Southern Cross Crusade has inspired a re-examination of the event. The DVD reliving those four months, which includes the film produced shortly after, offers an opportunity to hear Graham in action in front of the huge crowds he attracted.¹²⁴ Interviews with participants by journalist Geraldine Doogue illustrated that, for some, the religious experience has persisted.¹²⁵

Finally the effectiveness of the anti-communist attitude of the hierarchy of the Anglican church toward the communist-inspired 1959 Peace Congress in Melbourne on the clergy and parishioners will be discussed, using archival newspaper and other sources.

Ecclesiastical history is interesting and significant because it is situated at the meeting place between individual conscience and social action. The Anglican Church story in 1950s Australia is a chapter in this longer narrative about the relationship between organised religion and the State.

¹²³ Bloom (ed), *The American Religion*.

¹²⁴ Martin Johnson, 'Remembering '59 (Billy Graham Evangelistic Association): Billy Graham's Legacy - 50 Years On' (Australia: United Christian Broadcasters, 2009), DVD., 1 hour running time, colour and black and white.

¹²⁵ Geraldine Doogue, 'Billy Graham Down Under', *Compass*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 15 February 2009, available online <http://www.abc.net.au/compass/s2484481.htm>, accessed 2 March 2009.

Chapter 2 1950: Anglicans and the Peace Congress

The visit of the 'Red' dean to Melbourne in 1950 revealed an attitude to communism among some Anglicans that defied the dominant view emanating from Lambeth two years earlier. Anglicans like Hewlett Johnson found in communism an ideology that was not that far removed from the insistence on social justice that lay at the heart of the early church teachings. But in Australia communism had become a politicised issue on which the survival of the Menzies' Government depended. It was not likely that the Anglican Church fathers—in a period where their church was still the prevailing creed—would acquiesce to a minority of their flock who found something attractive in the teachings of Karl Marx. The 'Red' dean's visit laid this issue bare.

The 'Red' dean

The arrival in 1950 of Hewlett Johnson, the dean of Canterbury, in Australia for the Australian Peace Congress in Melbourne, at the 'warm invitation'¹²⁶ of Australian Peace Council (APC), received much publicity, most of it controversial.¹²⁷ He was a very different Anglican from the other senior Anglican attending from overseas, the American Professor Joseph Fletcher. The so-called 'Red' dean was a spritely 76-year-old, Fletcher was only 45 and, unlike Johnson, not well known in Australia. Additionally Johnson had not been a radical activist like Fletcher, whose path to the church will be discussed later. Johnson became a parish priest after attaining his theological degree from Oxford University in 1904, which he achieved in three years instead of the usual four, following the acquisition of an engineering degree and a working background in his father's factory. The Church Missionary Society would not accept him—¹²⁸the Society considered his theology 'overly liberal'.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Hewlett Johnson, *Searching for Light: An Autobiography* (London: Michael Joseph, 1968). 277.

¹²⁷ 'Peace', *Journal of the Australian Peace Council*, vol. 1, no. 1 (April 1950); 'Peace', vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1950), 14.

¹²⁸ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson', Templeman Library, University of Kent, in *Hewlett Johnson Papers* (Canterbury: 2008). See 1903-1924 available online <http://library.kent.ac.uk/library/special/html/specoll/Hewchron3.htm> accessed 12 April 2008. This biography was available online at the time of an exhibition held at the University of Kent on Johnson's life from November 2007 until Easter, March 2008.

¹²⁹ John Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury: Hewlett Johnson and the Russian Connection', 30 November 2007, 1. This Open Lecture was given at University of Kent, Canterbury in association with the exhibition on Dean Johnson's life at the Templeman Library, University of Kent at Canterbury, November 2007. I am grateful to Professor Butler for supplying me with this source.

Johnson's credentials as a Christian Socialist were well known, his life story equally so. While he was doubtless sincere in his desire to better the conditions of those worse off than himself, with whom he claimed affinity, there were no signs of material deprivation in Johnson's life. His ability to juggle his socialist activities with the onerous demands of his position as dean of the premier cathedral of the Anglican Communion was conceded, even by those who did not wish him well. Dedication to the Anglican Church was never in question for the dean; what was questionable was his determination to exalt communism to the status of a 'living faith' and to claim that communism could be compatible with Christianity.¹³⁰ These oft repeated beliefs enraged many in the church, and undoubtedly encouraged his cultivation by communist leaders. Johnson was fond of quoting Marx's definition of communism and socialism as justification for his own conviction that the answer to the world's problems lay in communism. In defining socialism and communism he wrote:

The two definitions run as follows. Socialism first: 'From each according to his ability: to each according to his work.' Communism next: 'From each according to his ability: to each according to his need.'¹³¹

Johnson moved in socialist circles and had influential socialist friends and contacts, one of whom was Ivan Maisky, the Russian Ambassador to Britain prior to the Second World War. This did hinder his rise through the ranks of the Anglican clergy.

The release of the dean's M15 file revealed it commenced in 1917, 'when the Marxist cleric spoke in Manchester in support of the Russian people's struggle'.¹³² The extensive travelling Johnson undertook must have taxed his M15 observers. With his first wife Mary he visited Germany and Austria at the end of the Great War to be involved in economic aid, back again to Switzerland, Austria and Italy in 1920, Germany and Austria again in 1921, returning to Berlin and Austria via Holland in 1922. All the while he maintained his parish work as well as undertaking study which gave him a doctorate for his study of the *Acts of the*

¹³⁰ Hewlett Johnson, *Christians and Communism* (London: Putnam, 1956), 13-14.

¹³¹ Johnson, *Christians*, 15. Johnson claimed the reference was from Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, 1875, and that the phrases had grown of the work of the Utopian Socialists. The first had been used by St Simon in the *New Christianity*, the second by Cabot in *A Voyage to Learia* (1840).

¹³² Paul Taylor, 'Ewan MacColl and the M15 Files', *Manchester Evening News*, 6 March 2006. The dean's files were released on the same day, 6 March 2006, as communist musician Ewan MacColl, with whom the dean had shared platforms. MacColl's files received rather more attention from the media than the dean's. Johnson chaired a meeting on 9 November 1917 where Bertrand Russell spoke to celebrate the overthrow of the Czar, 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson', (1903-1924).

Apostles in 1924. That same year he was appointed dean of Manchester.¹³³ This appointment did not affect his vigorous campaigns to better the lot of those less fortunate than himself, or his campaigns on social matters such as clean air and better housing. Nor did it prevent the Johnsons from travelling: Spain in 1927, Rome and Sicily in January 1928, and Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Italy in August of the same year. 1929 saw them in Sweden, Finland and Denmark – sadly this was the last time Mary was to accompany her husband, as she died from breast cancer in 1931.¹³⁴ This probably tempered his satisfaction at being appointed as dean of Canterbury, the foremost cathedral in the Anglican Communion, later that year.¹³⁵

Nowell Edwards' reappearance in his life in 1932 proved significant. Nowell, who was his cousin's daughter, was later to become his wife. As well, Johnson's meeting with A. T. D'Eye, a lecturer with the Workers' Educational Association, an organisation under the auspices of Oxford University Extramural Department,¹³⁶ must have helped to a degree to ease his grief at the loss of his wife. It was also in 1932 that Johnson travelled to China, a hazardous expedition for which Johnson obtained insurance lest he was kidnapped and the Cathedral canons be asked to provide ransom money.¹³⁷ Johnson's relations with his canons were strained, even in these early days, as he had asked Mahatma Gandhi to stay at the deanery when Gandhi was invited to London for the 1931 Round Table Conference, 'an early and unfruitful stage in the slow progress of India towards independence'.¹³⁸ The canons boycotted the reception the dean hosted for Gandhi, whom they considered to be an 'open rebel against law and order'.¹³⁹

¹³³ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson' (1903-1924). Johnson was appointed by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, possibly on the recommendation of William Temple, then archbishop of Manchester.

¹³⁴ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson' (1924-1931).

¹³⁵ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson' (1924-1931). Johnson was again appointed by Ramsay MacDonald, again on the recommendation of Temple. Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 55, claims Johnson was favourably regarded by King George since as dean of Manchester he had conducted services at Windsor.

¹³⁶ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 149

¹³⁷ Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 1. Johnson was thus in a position to compare the post revolution China to that he saw in 1932.

¹³⁸ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 64. This visit was organised by Christians concerned to work for a just reconciliation in India, a cause the Dean would have embraced wholeheartedly. In his papers is a cutting of a newspaper letter from "Rothmere" saying only a few elderly clerics and political cranks supported Gandhi.

¹³⁹ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 65.

Johnson's initial enthusiastic involvement in Major C. H. Douglas's Social Credit organisation¹⁴⁰ waned after he had visited Canada for the organisation in 1935. Johnson's attention now focussed on the Left Book Club, founded by the publisher, Victor Gollancz.¹⁴¹ The Club offered an alternative ideology to fascism and fought for world peace, with Gollancz providing the necessary tools for the intellectuals to hone their arguments and publish their material. Johnson became a frequent speaker and was provided with an avenue to circulate his works.¹⁴² But Johnson was most keen to visit Russia. This desire deepened with exposure to the influences of the 'real experts' on the Soviet Union; these included John Strachey, a leading British Marxist, and left-leaning clerics such as G. O. Iredell and Stanley Evans. Also influential was Nowell's return from Russia in 1936 full of enthusiasm for the possibilities of the communist system.¹⁴³

Johnson's belief in communism was strengthened by his experiences in Spain during the Civil War of the 1930s. He revealed to the world, by radio from Bilbao in 1937, his direct observation of the bombing of Durango by the Germans, which refuted claims by 'Franco's H.Q... that the Reds had blown up churches in Durango and killed the nuns'.¹⁴⁴ Johnson's correction of the erroneous assumption by Franco's representative that he was the archbishop of Canterbury was met with the Spaniard's reply: 'I regret the mistake, a stupid mistake indeed, for all the world knows that the Archbishop of England is on our side'. This

¹⁴⁰ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 91. This movement was most influential in Canada and in New Zealand, where the Social Credit Party achieved some electoral success.

¹⁴¹ See Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Victor Gollancz: A Biography* (London: Gollancz, 1987). A listing of the papers of Victor Gollancz, held by Warwick University, available online <http://www.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/ead/318.htm>, accessed 17 April 2008 include those used by Ruth Edwards for her biography of Gollancz.

¹⁴² Hollander decided to class Johnson an 'intellectual' partly since he published widely. See Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in search of the good society* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1981, 4th edn. 1990), note. 39, 452.

¹⁴³ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 91. Nowell had visited Russia on a visit organised by American Dr. Sherwood Eddy. Eddy was seeking Christian solutions to the reformation of industrial capitalism. See Hollander, *Political Pilgrim*, 124. Both Eddy and Johnson were also included by Hollander as intellectuals since they both wrote and spoke extensively on the USSR.

¹⁴⁴ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 144-145. See also 'Dean Watches Raid on Bilbao', *GuardianCentury*, 5 April 1937, available online <http://century.guardian.co.uk/1930-1939/Story/0,,127074,00.html>, accessed 9 April 2008. Johnson travelled to Spain against the wishes of Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden.

underscored the political differences between Johnson and the leader of his church.¹⁴⁵ Johnson also travelled to Russia in 1937, claiming his support of the 1917 Revolution and his known sympathies with the Soviet Union gave him contacts which enabled him, in three months 'of wide travel and research, to see more of the Soviet Union than many other men saw in as many years'.¹⁴⁶ His friend Maisky, still the Russian Ambassador to Britain, obtained the invitation for him to visit.¹⁴⁷ Johnson returned from Russia convinced that:

...in the main they (communists) are right, and I feel I must speak out on behalf of that right... There are many who would like to ring (Russia) around and prevent the success of her experiment from being known to the rest of the world. I feel, therefore, that I must take my part in this battle, which has a common front stretching from Spain to China.¹⁴⁸

He was never to sway from his path. Gollancz commissioned him to write a book on Russia on his return and published it through the Left Book Club.¹⁴⁹ *The Socialist Sixth of the World*, in collaboration with D'Eye and illustrated by Edwards, made Johnson famous.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 145. There was much pro-Franco Conservative feeling in England at the time. For discussion of similarities of sympathetic reaction to both fascism and communism see Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 58-59.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 149.

¹⁴⁷ Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 5. Butler states that this visit is not documented as are Johnson's other overseas visits and questions the possible involvement of VOKS—The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries—the organisation founded to squire Western intellectuals around Russia. There is reference to VOKS on his later visits. Since VOKS involvement in the visits of Western intellectuals is well documented, there appears little doubt of the organisation's involvement in all the visits of the dean to the USSR. Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 109, records Eugene Lyons' comment of the ability of VOKS to 'sell' the efficient operation of Soviet slaughter houses to vegetarians.

¹⁴⁸ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 96 cites a letter to Brian Dunningham, 24 November 1937. Dunningham is presumably the theosophist Brian Dunningham, who was President and General Secretary of the Theosophical Society of New Zealand. See http://www.theosophy.org.nz/about_TSinNZ.html accessed 18 June 2008.

¹⁴⁹ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 96. Gollancz had also travelled in Russia. Files located by Ludmila Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920-40: From Red Square to the Left Bank* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 147-151, stated that VOKS considered Gollancz 'a "businessman", and not a very pleasant one'. Gollancz had also alienated Dr Fisher, who would become archbishop of Canterbury, when working as a teacher at Repton School from 1916 to 1918, where Fisher was the headmaster. See Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 10-13. This incident will be studied in later chapters.

¹⁵⁰ Johnson's views on religion in Russia seem contrary to those of Beatrice and Sidney Webb, whose book *Soviet Communism: A new Civilisation*, vol 1 (London: Left Book Club, 1937) favoured the 'scientific' theory as to Russia's advancement and gave examples of repression of religion; see 1004-1016 ('Anti-Godism'). Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, discusses the paradox of clergymen such as Johnson who claimed that the Soviet Union came closer to the ideals of Christianity than Western society, 117.

The book was translated into 24 languages and ran to 22 editions.¹⁵¹ D'Eye, who had spent several months in Russia in 1934,¹⁵² provided, according to Hughes, the 'solid academic argument' missing from the mainly 'theological argument of the Christian Socialists'.¹⁵³

In the midst of the confused political situation in Europe, Johnson again visited Spain in 1938, this time with his young fiancé, Nowell Edwards. She was prepared to share Johnson's interests and gave him the benefit of her artistic talents in his endeavours to spread his socialist message. Their marriage in 1938 provided Johnson with considerable solace after the death of his first wife. Johnson's loneliness had been exacerbated by the friction within the Cathedral. The canons were scandalised by Johnson's support of the Soviets, especially after the non-aggression pact the Soviet Union signed with Nazi Germany in August 1939. In March 1939 Johnson had issued, through Gollancz his pamphlet, *Act Now: An Appeal to the Mind and Heart of Britain*.¹⁵⁴ This pamphlet outlined 'what he saw as the economic and social ills of Britain', as well as comparing the solutions offered by Fascism and Socialism'.¹⁵⁵ His conclusion that Britain should throw her lot in with the USSR, which held the key to the answer of the world's problems, remained popular until August 1939. The Pact 'effectively ended the united popular front which the Left Book Club had cemented'.¹⁵⁶ Gollancz, a Jew, objected to German treatment of the Jews and now could no longer tolerate Johnson's championing of the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁷ The canons voiced their dismay in a letter to *The Times* in March 1940, dissociating themselves from the 'political utterances of the Dean of Canterbury'.¹⁵⁸ In this they were at one with Archbishop Lang—and much later Archbishop Fisher, who urged him to give up 'either politics or the Deanery', a choice Johnson never intended to make.¹⁵⁹ The archbishops' belief that the dean was a threat to the stability to the Church of England appears undeniable; always outspoken, Johnson nevertheless developed tolerable relations with Archbishop Lang, although their politics differed.

¹⁵¹ Johnson, *The Socialist Sixth of the World*.

¹⁵² 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson' (1931-1939); see also Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 206. Hughes comments on the suspicions of some that D'Eye was in fact 'Moscow's agent'.

¹⁵³ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 78.

¹⁵⁴ Hewlett Johnson, *Act Now: An Appeal to the Mind and Heart of Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939). Gollancz had published this influential pamphlet by Johnson in March, reprints in April and July.

¹⁵⁵ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 100.

¹⁵⁶ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 101.

¹⁵⁷ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 100; Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 6.

¹⁵⁸ Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 2-3.

¹⁵⁹ Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury'. 3.

The invasion of the Soviet Union by German forces in June 1941 saw Johnson and D'Eye launch the National Anglo-Soviet Medical Aid Fund.¹⁶⁰ Following the Anglo-Russian agreement in July 1941 Johnson suddenly gained favour with the authorities for his efforts to raise money for the Red Army and the relief of the suffering of the Russian people. The invasion of the Soviet Union saw Anglo-Soviet Friendship Societies spring up in support of the Soviets. Johnson, who had long been involved in efforts to encourage better relations with the USSR, now functioned in a favourable context. Even though the war years saw the birth of their two girls and the evacuation of Nowell away from the deanery—leaving Johnson with the onerous tasks both of safeguarding the cathedral from the bombing of the Germans and raising funds for Russia—he found sufficient time to publish *The Secret of Soviet Strength* in 1943.¹⁶¹ Presumably he was gratified that his left wing-friend William Temple had been made archbishop of Canterbury in February 1942 on Lang's retirement, for he had a special affinity with Temple, whom he had known since 1918¹⁶² and with whom he shared political beliefs. Temple certainly would have been less critical of Johnson's appointment to the Board of the British Communist Party's *Daily Worker* in 1943 than Archbishop Lang would have been.¹⁶³ Johnson was later to become chairman of the board of the *Daily Worker*.¹⁶⁴ However the sudden death of Archbishop Temple in 1944 saw the appointment of Geoffrey Fisher to the see of Canterbury and as head of the Anglican Communion worldwide, on the recommendation of the Conservative Prime Minister Winston Churchill. A very difficult relationship developed between the archbishop of Canterbury and

¹⁶⁰ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 191.

¹⁶¹ Hewlett Johnson, *The Secret of Soviet Strength* (New York: International Publishers, 1943). Fidel Castro is reputed to have read *The Secret of Soviet Strength* whilst imprisoned in 1953-1954. See Miguel A. Faria, Jr., 'Fidel Castro and the 26th of July Movement', *Havana Journal online*, 27 July 2004, available online [http://havanajournal.com/politics/entry/fidel castro and the 26th of july movement](http://havanajournal.com/politics/entry/fidel%20castro%20and%20the%2026th%20of%20july%20movement), accessed 14 July 2008. Johnson and his wife were invited to the 5th anniversary of the founding of the Cuban Republic on 2nd January 1964. See <http://library.kent.ac.uk/library/special/html/specoll/CUBA.HTM> for photographs of the occasion. Johnson also met Che Guevara at that time; see 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson'. That Johnson 'ecumenically worshipped' across the communist spectrum is remarked by Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 166 and note 170 in this thesis.

¹⁶² 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson', (1903-1924).

¹⁶³ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson', (1903-1924).

¹⁶⁴ *News Weekly*, 19 April 1950, 1, claimed the dean told the English press that being made a director of the *Daily Worker* was the greatest day of his life.

his dean until Fisher retired in May 1961.¹⁶⁵ While Temple remained 'an idealistic man of the Left', Fisher was 'firmly anti-communist'.¹⁶⁶ Fisher held 'Soviet Communism to be a real threat to freedom and world peace'¹⁶⁷ and openly disapproved of Johnson's 'fellow-travelling' activities; however, the dean's appointment was for life. The dean's fellow-travelling credentials have been described pejoratively by historian David Caute but with the grudging admission that 'here was a good man, a Christian in spirit and in his dealings with others, who wished the world well'.¹⁶⁸ Johnson was never one to deviate from his own path, as Fisher discovered. The archbishop of Canterbury could rely for support for 'damage control' on the archbishop of York and primate of England, Cyril Forster Garbett, following Johnson's overseas visits. The critical influence of this partnership with respect to Australian Anglicanism would prove a consequence of Johnson's 1950 visit.

Johnson's next overseas trip had commenced in May 1945: it was a fact finding tour to the USSR with D'Eye, which proved momentous for the dean. Mrs Churchill attended a service conducted by Johnson at the British Embassy; VE day saw them in Moscow at a ball which Mrs Churchill also attended. The jewelled enamelled pectoral cross, which was to become Johnson's trademark and was to cause him problems with Archbishop Fisher, was given to him in Moscow at this time by Patriarch Alexei of the Russian Orthodox church. It was not usual for a dean to wear such a cross but Johnson wore it constantly, and this contributed to the confusion felt by some as to his ranking in the Church of England.¹⁶⁹ Fisher wrote to Johnson asking him not to wear the cross, a request Johnson ignored.¹⁷⁰ Johnson was also summonsed to meet Stalin; his fulsome account of his interview with Stalin, with Molotov in attendance, demonstrated Johnson's uncritical approach toward

¹⁶⁵ For a favourable study of Dr Fisher see Edward Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher: His Life and His Times* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1991).

¹⁶⁶ Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 85.

¹⁶⁷ Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 89.

¹⁶⁸ David Caute, *The Fellow-Travellers: Intellectual Friends of Communism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, revised ed.), 260-263.

¹⁶⁹ Pectoral crosses were normally only worn by bishops/archbishops as a badge of office. Deans, while in charge of cathedrals and controlling what occurs in them, are hierarchically subordinate to both bishops and archbishops. The wearing of large pectoral crosses by them is uncommon. Moreover it is seen as an Anglo Catholic practice, many Anglo-Catholic lay persons wear crosses. Bishops in the strongly evangelical diocese of Sydney in Australia do not wear pectoral crosses.

¹⁷⁰ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 136-137.

Stalin, an approach he never relinquished.¹⁷¹ For collecting funds to aid the Soviet Union Johnson was awarded 'The Order of the Red Banner of Labour' by the praesidium of the Supreme Soviet.¹⁷² He did not question why he and D'Eye were afforded preferential treatment, such as the 'special invitation from the Czechoslovakian Government to visit their country', the 'special non-stop plane provided', and access to prominent figures in both government and the church.¹⁷³ It was with dismay that Johnson found a 'growing tide of opinion' against the Soviet regime upon his return to Britain.¹⁷⁴ Johnson's 'uncritical idolisation' of communism, according to his biographer, meant that both Johnson and Nowell were able to ignore Russia's shortcomings, believing there was sufficient criticism of it and that there was need for one-sided advocacy.¹⁷⁵ This advocacy was to be tested during the escalation of the Cold War, when the dean became an eloquent and charismatic speaker extolling the peaceful motives of the Soviet Union through the Soviet-inspired World Peace movement.

On the whole the Anglican Communion worldwide followed the lead of their primate, Dr Fisher, the archbishop of Canterbury; it saw the dean as an embarrassment whose obsessions with Stalin, the Soviets and the communist system generally created problems both within and outside the church. However, when under attack Johnson also received much support from ordinary people. His private papers reveal the extent of enthusiasm 'ordinary' men and women felt towards him. According to Professor John Butler, these documents show that Johnson was

...not simply as an ecclesiastical irritant who used his high office as an international stage for promoting his political views but as one who was in touch and in touch with a wide swathe of popular opinion. He spoke for a large segment of the public and he stood up to wheedling politicians and bullying journalists. Half the population, it seems, loved him for it. The other, it has to be said, hated his guts.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 228-233. This meeting and that with Patriarch Alexei confirms that Stalin initiated a 'peace offensive' and that religion was used as a weapon in the Cold War. See LeRoy, 'Pyrrhic Victory?'. Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*, 170-3, records that eulogistic accounts of meetings with Stalin are not peculiar to Johnson, but that Johnson 'excelled...perhaps because of the occupational requirement of humility to the divine'.

¹⁷² 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson'.

¹⁷³ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 242.

¹⁷⁴ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 247-248.

¹⁷⁵ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 206-207.

¹⁷⁶ Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 4.

Such ambivalence was displayed in the years following the war. An invitation by the Friends of American Soviet Unity in 1945 to visit North America saw him speak at Madison Square Garden, and at Chicago, Boston, Toronto and Montreal. He met President Truman, Henry Wallace and New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia.¹⁷⁷ In 1948, Johnson again was invited to the US to speak, this time by the American-Soviet Friendship Society. However, his visa application was refused since the Society was now regarded as a communist 'front' organisation. For him to attend required a private invitation from prominent Harvard Professor Ralph Perry, and a petition by 93 eminent writers, churchmen and rabbis. The tour this time was even grander than in 1945, the climax being the Madison Square Garden rally, where Johnson's expertise in projecting a prophetic vision swept the crowd off their feet.¹⁷⁸ Between these two visits to North America Johnson had visited Hungary by invitation to observe the correct conduct of elections and, ignoring the advice of Archbishop Fisher, also visited Yugoslavia and met Tito. In addition he attended a Peace Conference in Poland in 1947 and received an Honorary Doctorate from Prague University, which resulted in Archbishop Fisher issuing a press statement disassociating himself from Johnson's political views.¹⁷⁹ 1948 saw Johnson at the World Congress of Intellectuals in Wroclaw, Poland, visiting Warsaw and Bucharest and returning via Prague. Most contentious was his visit to Paris in 1949. He appeared for the defence of the French Communist periodical, *Les Lettres Francaises*, which was being sued by Victor Kravchenko for libel after he was called a liar and Western spy in a review of his book, *I Chose Freedom*.¹⁸⁰ This action epitomised the unquestioning acceptance by the dean of the Soviet system. At 75 years of age, Johnson showed signs of the heavy physical and mental strains imposed by his incessant travelling and his numerous duties as dean of Canterbury. Although his doctors ordered him to take one month's sick leave, Johnson insisted on first attending the World Peace Conference in Rome.

Johnson received particular attention in the despatch regarding this conference sent by the British Embassy to Prime Minister Attlee in November 1949.¹⁸¹ The pattern of attendance of non-communists and the great publicity given to their attendance was

¹⁷⁷ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson'; Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 138.

¹⁷⁸ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 141-143.

¹⁷⁹ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson'.

¹⁸⁰ 'The Life and Times of Hewlett Johnson'.

¹⁸¹ J.G. Ward on behalf of the Ambassador to Rome, Despatch No. 349, 10 November 1949, Public Record Office, U.K., FO1110, 271. I am grateful to Phillip Deery for this source.

emphasised. The Embassy report particularly singled out the dean of Canterbury as 'the most publicised single figure' in the local press.¹⁸² This focus on clerical involvement was also noted in the Australian journalist Rupert Lockwood's account of the Paris World Peace Congress in April 1949.¹⁸³ Johnson's attendance in Rome had received critical attention from British authorities, but accolades from the crowd. The cries of 'Johnson for Pope' did not endear him to the church to which he claimed allegiance.¹⁸⁴ The dean seemed unperturbed that he was, in effect, using his position in the church to further a political agenda. He appeared not to disabuse those unfamiliar with the hierarchal structure of the church, and who misunderstood his position in the church. This misunderstanding of the profound difference between the leader of the Anglican Communion, Fisher, and the dean of his cathedral, Johnson—whose duties were to administer affairs only within that cathedral—added weight to the dean's pronouncements to the uninformed. It seemed inconceivable to those accustomed to the control exerted by the Pope that Johnson could act against the wishes of the leader of his church.¹⁸⁵ Small wonder he alienated Archbishop Fisher. Following the World Peace Council meeting in Rome the Johnsons enjoyed an idyllic holiday in Italy (in a villa lent by a communist member of the Italian Parliament) from which Johnson returned 'fully recovered and bursting with energy'.¹⁸⁶ The next venture for the dean was Australia.

Professor Joseph T. Fletcher

In addition to Dean Johnson, international Anglican Communion involvement in the Peace Congress in Melbourne came in the presence of American theologian Professor Joseph T. Fletcher, of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Harvard Divinity School. A very different Anglican from the dean, Professor Fletcher was not only an outstanding theologian; he was also a lifelong radical social activist who was later to attract the attention of Senator McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee in America.¹⁸⁷ It is astonishing, in retrospect, that Fletcher did not incur the displeasure of

¹⁸² Ward, Despatch No. 349.

¹⁸³ Rupert Lockwood, 'Powerful People's Peace Conference Countered a Definite Plan for War', *Guardian*, 28 October 1949, 5.

¹⁸⁴ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 147

¹⁸⁵ Ward, Despatch 349.

¹⁸⁶ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 147.

¹⁸⁷ Fletcher's problems with HUAC are outlined in an article cited in

<http://www.americanpresbyterianchurch.org/sex.htm>, 'Premarital Sex Upheld by Cleric', *Greensbro Daily News*,

the Menzies' Government when he visited Australia and spoke at the Peace Congress—had Menzies known his background, he surely would have regarded him as far more dangerous and subversive than Johnson. Fletcher claimed that the US State Department would refuse visas to people like himself, who were not members of the Communist Party, to attend overseas World Peace Council (WPC) events, while allowing members of the Communist Party to attend, in order to be able to brand the meetings as communist events. He was refused a visa to attend a WPC meeting in London, and blamed this policy.¹⁸⁸ Fletcher had to travel to Australia through England (as he did not receive transit visas for Egypt and Malaysia). By the measure of the government of the day, this was a dangerous man, who was capable of subversive thought as well as action.

It is feasible that neither the Australian public nor the Menzies' Government were aware of the extent of Fletcher's activities. The Australian Peace Council (APC) was happy to invite both Fletcher and Mr Fred Stover, co-chairman of the United States National Progressive Party and president of the Iowa Farmers' Union, and to pay their expenses—even though nothing was known of either when suggested as substitutes by the provisional American Peace Council when Paul Robeson was unable to attend.¹⁸⁹ The fledging Australia Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) was not yet trusted by the US authorities and was unlikely to have had prior knowledge of either person.¹⁹⁰ While ASIO was unprepared to deal with the scale of the Peace Congress, Johnson's reputation and security record was readily available to ASIO from M15, whose dossier on Johnson (as we saw earlier) was opened in 1917.¹⁹¹ What, then, was Fletcher's background?

Like Dr Johnson, Fletcher had come under the influence of the social justice theories of theologian William Temple, later archbishop of Canterbury. Fletcher visited Temple while studying in England before the Great Depression, when Temple was archbishop of York, and

16 April 1966. In this article details are given of the naming of Fletcher on 6 July 1953. Fletcher refers to HUAC as 'the Un-American Committee' in an extensive bibliography of his work, prepared by him. Missing is the article which attracted the opprobrium of HUAC, Fletcher could not locate it. See Joseph Fletcher, 'Bibliography of Joseph Fletcher', *Theology Today* vol. 33, no. 4 (1977), 409-422.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Francis Fletcher, in Kenneth Vaux (ed.), *Memoir of an Ex-Radical: Reminiscence and Reappraisal* (Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993, 1st ed.), 78. This autobiographical memoir, prepared from a family diary by Joe Fletcher himself, appeared as Part Two of a reappraisal of his work by colleagues.

¹⁸⁹ 'The Story of a Mighty Challenge Against War', 'Peace', no. 2, 7-8.

¹⁹⁰ See Phillip Deery, 'Communism. Security and the Cold War', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vols. 54-55 (1997), 162-175, regarding the involvement of M15 in the need for the establishment of ASIO.

¹⁹¹ Johnson's M15 file was released in March 2006.

afterwards wrote a book on him.¹⁹² Fletcher's background was very different to that of the 'Red' dean. He came from a broken family with a lapsed Roman Catholic father, whose family regarded his mother as a 'Protestant heretic'.¹⁹³ His was no sudden conversion to socialism and the trade union movement: his lived experience as a student working in his vacations led him to embrace 'a love affair with Marxism'.¹⁹⁴ He was a brilliant student—passing high school in three years instead of the usual four—and going on to West Virginia University (WVU). He had already joined a trade union, was jailed for speaking in public for the union, and worked part time on the union workers' education staff of District Seventeen, of the United Mine Workers of America. His refusal to undertake any further military training at university after first year on the grounds that he 'would not take part in fighting for the capitalist system' brought the decision from the university authorities that he could stay at university—but that he would not be granted a degree.¹⁹⁵ Religious conscientious objection was acceptable; political conscientious objection was not.¹⁹⁶ So Fletcher went to Berkeley Divinity School in Connecticut in 1922 without a degree, but with great commitment to his social ideals, which had led him to Christianity and to the Anglican church. But this was not a 'starry-eyed simplistic Marxism'. As a first-year seminarian Fletcher's activism led him to expose a blacklist he discovered while working in a Seminarians in Industry program in the Plymouth Cordage Company that aimed to keep out union sympathisers, one of whom was the famous anarchist Bartolomeo Vanzetti.¹⁹⁷ Fletcher's radicalism led him to be involved in the Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee in his second year as a seminarian, an experience which affected him deeply. In 1928 before his ordination as an Episcopalian priest, he was sent to the national headquarters of the church in New York to collaborate with the Deputy Warden of Sing Sing prison. This resulted in the co-authored book *The Church and Industry*, as well as revealing to Fletcher his desire to write.¹⁹⁸ His ability earned him a place at Yale Graduate School, then a John Henry Watson Fellowship which enabled him to study in

¹⁹² Joseph Fletcher, *William Temple: Twentieth Century Christian* (New York: Seabury Press, 1963). Fletcher claimed this book gave him more satisfaction to write than any other of the 225 listed in his Bibliography. See Fletcher, 'Bibliography of Joseph Fletcher'.

¹⁹³ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 58.

¹⁹⁴ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 59.

¹⁹⁵ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 61. Fletcher was (in 1984) granted an honorary degree of Doctor of Humanities at WVU.

¹⁹⁶ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 66.

¹⁹⁷ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 64.

¹⁹⁸ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 65. See also Joseph Fletcher and Spencer Miller, *The Church and Industry* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930).

London. For this he needed his degree, which WVU was by then prepared to grant since his theological identity was so strong, as long as he completed a summer Chemistry course!¹⁹⁹ His time in England greatly influenced Fletcher—he was able to work under R. H. Tawney, whose *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* he found a great stimulus.²⁰⁰ Fletcher also obtained a curacy at St Peter's, Regent Square, undertook research at the British Museum Library, and entered British politics by campaigning for Labour Party candidates in by-elections for London and the Midlands. It was then that he met William Temple.

Fletcher's commitment to social justice was beyond question. He and his wife returned to America in the Great Depression as they felt they should be at home suffering the deprivation of the Depression alongside other Americans instead of accepting the privileged church positions offered to them abroad. This return saw him continue his trade union activism and teaching, as well as having to accept, in order 'to buy the groceries', a teaching position at St Mary's junior college for southern young white ladies in North Carolina. His social activism outside the college saw him involved in the Burlington Defense Committee for unionists convicted wrongfully on charges of dynamiting the Burlington cotton mill—which he saw as 'a labor frame-up in classic form'.²⁰¹ The mill owner, who sat on the board of trustees of St Mary's, applied pressure on Fletcher through Bishop Penick of the diocese of North Carolina who asked him to resign, either from the school or from the defense committee. Fletcher countered by seeking advice from a Federal Court judge who also sat on the board, who advised him there was no conflict between his activities. The judge also brought pressure to bear on the bishop at the board meeting, ensuring Fletcher was not dismissed. But, after being told by the board to 'limit his activities of a controversial nature', Fletcher resigned.²⁰² He further showed his defiance by conducting the funeral service for a striker bayoneted to death by the National Guard as they moved into to break up a picket line. His position as dean of St Paul's Cathedral in Cincinnati in 1936 eventuated despite Bishop Hobson of Southern Ohio being warned by Bishop Penick that Fletcher was a 'troublemaker'. St Paul's had lost its moneyed worshippers, leaving it with a severe lack of funds. This cathedral was under Fletcher's guidance when a mural was painted on the wall behind the

¹⁹⁹ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 66

²⁰⁰ Tawney was a Christian and a socialist who taught at the London School of Economics for his entire professional life. His book was immensely influential. See Richard. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (London: Murray, 1926).

²⁰¹ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 70

²⁰² Fletcher, *Memoir*, 72.

Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, and one of the faces featured was that of Marx. His bishop supported him against those seeking to remove it. His ongoing involvement with social activist teachings was to see him being attacked and beaten unconscious twice by anti-unionist thugs while lecturing in the American South.²⁰³ His involvement in the Peace movement doubtless added to the FBI's scrutiny of him but the notoriety of the 'Red' dean diverted both the headlines and the attention of the church hierarchy away from him while in Australia for the congress.

In his *Memoirs*, written in 1983, Fletcher records that his Australian trip was his 'last fling as a genuine leftist'. Because he willingly participated in a congress organised by communists, the Sydney press corps subjected him to 'red-baiting' after his arrival in Sydney. He also recounts that neither he nor the dean could win any support for their efforts to further the cause of making peace at the rank-and-file level, except from left-wing unions and some clergy.²⁰⁴ Dr Fletcher records that most of the Melbourne clergy boycotted the Peace Congress but that he was invited to 'a closed door session at Cathedral House with a couple hundred of them, to explain my conception of peacemaking and its theology'.²⁰⁵ He claimed 'they re-enacted essentially the Sydney press corps confrontation all over again, only this time in clerical collars'.²⁰⁶ Further indication of the depth of anti-communist feeling in Melbourne came to Fletcher on a personal level when he visited Harry Bridges' mother on the outskirts of Melbourne, to be told she did not want to hear '...anything about him [Bridges] or from him. Go away'.²⁰⁷ Unlike the dean of Canterbury, Fletcher later developed a scepticism of communism and what it was doing in Russia: 'its Party activities were an offense'.²⁰⁸ Fletcher himself acknowledged he was a pragmatist; by the mid-1960s he had left both the church and his socialist connection behind him, first the socialist connections and then the church. Fletcher was to become a world authority on moral theory and applied ethics, and was acknowledged as the father of modern bioethics.

²⁰³ 'Joseph Francis Fletcher', Answers.com, <http://www.answers.com/topic/joseph-fletcher>. There is also extensive material available online, see, for example, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Fletcher.

²⁰⁴ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 78-79. This meeting could have been prompted by the growing awareness of the American branch of Anglicanism awakened in Australia during the 1950s. Australian clerics began going there for postgraduate study.

²⁰⁵ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 79.

²⁰⁶ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 79.

²⁰⁷ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 79. Bridges, a long-time friend of Fletcher, was the Australian who famously led the longshoreman's union on the West Coast of the USA. His mother was a staunch Roman Catholic.

²⁰⁸ Fletcher, *Memoir*, 80.

Conservative theologian Richard Neuhaus, a Roman Catholic convert from Lutheranism, observed on Fletcher's death in 1991 that 'He never did resign his ministry, nor was he asked to', despite declaring himself to be a secular humanist.²⁰⁹ Fletcher maintained many of his ties to religious groups and members of the clergy. James Childress, a professor of religious studies at the University of Virginia, observed 'Joseph Fletcher was a true pioneer in modern biomedical ethics...he challenged all of us through his writings and conversations to think more clearly and deeply about the important ethical issues of our times'.²¹⁰ Fletcher seems to have found accommodation, even with his humanist views, within the Episcopal Church. The same accommodation by the church in England was not made for Johnson with his pro-communist views; indeed Johnson faced increasing opposition to his religio-political endeavours, especially since he retained his high position within the Anglican church.

The papers of both Dr Johnson and Dr Fletcher reveal their early involvement with the World Peace movement.²¹¹ They also reveal contact between them regarding the 1950 Peace Congress, and continuing links with Jessie Street and Kurt Mertz, and with Canon Maynard. Recent work on the papers of Dr Johnson may give some clue to the baffling devotion of Johnson to the communist cause.²¹² In his Open Lecture to mark the exhibition on the life of Hewlett Johnson by the University of Kent in Canterbury, Professor John Butler has referred to the work of Ludmila Stern, she identified the key role played by the Soviet organisation, The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), a government-funded organisation formed in Russia to target Western intellectuals in order to use them to spread propaganda favourable to the communist cause.²¹³ Professor Butler has located in Johnson's autobiography²¹⁴ reference to VOKS, but more importantly Johnson's

²⁰⁹ Richard Neuhaus, 'All Too Human - Tribute to Joseph F. Fletcher', *National Review*, 2 December 1991.

²¹⁰ Peter Steinfels, 'Dr. Joseph F. Fletcher, 86, Dies; Pioneer in Field of Medical Ethics', *New York Times*, 30 October 1991, D25, available online at <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/30/us/dr-joseph-f-fletcher-86-dies-pioneer-in-field-of-medical-ethics.html?pagewanted=1>, accessed 12 November 2009. '

²¹¹ Dr Johnson's papers are held at the University of Kent at Canterbury; Johnson, 1932-1966, available online at <http://library.kent.ac.uk/library/special/html/specoll/reddean.htm> accessed 1 March 2008. Dr Fletcher's papers are held at the University of Virginia, Washington; see *A guide to the Joseph Fletcher Papers, 1931-1991*, available online: <http://vip.lib.virginia.edu:8080/cocoon/vivaead/published/uva-hs/viuh00030.component> accessed 9 March 2008.

²¹² Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 8-11.

²¹³ Stern, *Western Intellectuals*. Stern's book certainly does suggest possibilities for further study of personalities like Jessie Street and Professor Fletcher.

²¹⁴ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 245.

archives show that Johnson did have extensive contacts with VOKS.²¹⁵ Therefore it is highly plausible that the dean would be targeted by this organisation, and could explain the undying devotion of Johnson to the communist cause. Butler also suggests that the statistical data in the dean's much-read book (*The Socialist Sixth of the World*) could well have been supplied to him by the same organisation. The same attention Professor Butler has paid to Johnson's papers has not, as yet, been applied to Fletcher's papers. Perhaps they will, in the future, provide an understanding as to why Australia was Fletcher's last real 'leftist' endeavour.

Jessie Street

While not an international guest, Jessie Street was a very important figure to the Peace Council in Australia. A most energetic worker for feminism all of her life, Jessie also embraced the communist-inspired World Peace movement after its formation. It became a focus for her endeavours, especially after she was elected to the executive of the World Peace Council executive in 1950.²¹⁶ Her frequent overseas travel provided her with an international outlook. She was very much a product of an establishment Anglican upbringing. Like Dean Hewlett Johnson, she became enamoured with the Soviets. Also like Johnson she attempted to walk the ideological tightrope created by this fascination for the Soviets.

Jessie had always rebelled against the expected role of women in society.²¹⁷ While born in India on 18 April 1898 to an English father, Charles Lillingston and an Australian mother, Mabel Ogilvie, she came to Australia at an early age.²¹⁸ Her extended family was part of the Establishment, which gave her privileges not enjoyed by the majority of Australians. It also ensured—like it or not—that Jessie was expected to follow 'normal' patterns for a woman of her class. Her parents were prepared to make some exceptions for her to have freedom while on the family property Yulgilbar in New South Wales, which her

²¹⁵ Butler, 'The 'Red' Dean of Canterbury', 8-10.

²¹⁶ 'Mrs Street on World Peace Executive', *Guardian*, 2 December 1950, 2. Professor Fletcher was vice Chairman.

²¹⁷ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 15. See also Sekules, *Jessie Street*; Radi, *Jessie Street*; Coltheart, *Jessie Street*; Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union'. These volumes record the life of Jessie Street faithfully, however the language used by Street in her autobiography revealed a religious dimension to Jessie largely ignored by later writers. Additionally the writers' emphasis is on differing areas of Jessie's activities. A family perspective on Jessie and Kenneth is found in Laurie Critchley, 'The Street Family', *Dynasties* (Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2005), DVD, 26 min running time, colour. viewed 18 July 2008. NB In this thesis the first name of the woman will be used to differentiate in the case of married couples.

²¹⁸ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 2.

mother had inherited. This freedom came to an end when despatched 'home' to England to obtain a suitable education for a young lady, a decision Jessie abhorred.²¹⁹ Jessie was fortunate in that her parents selected a school capable of coping with her independent nature. Despite her sense of the inequalities of society, social connections were important to Jessie. While at school in England, she was proud that her uncle was Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary.²²⁰ Her father stressed that his lineage could be traced back to King Alfred the Great.²²¹ While the education process was not as painful as Jessie expected, it was with relief she returned to Australia.²²² She had decided that the accepted path for women of her status at that time—marriage and a secondary role to a husband in family life—was not for her.²²³ She wanted to go to university, again causing conflict with her father.

Concessions were made both by Jessie and her father; eventually she was permitted to commence at University of Sydney as long as she 'came out' first.²²⁴ Her enjoyment of the social scene available to her as an Establishment figure very nearly brought her undone at university. Her examination marks were poor and much application during the end of year holidays was needed to scrape passes to proceed on to Second Year.²²⁵ One important contact, who assisted to extricate Jessie from a debacle caused by her ineptness as treasurer to the Sydney University Dramatic Society, was Kenneth Street, later to become her husband.²²⁶ Her travails to obtain an education and attend Sydney University are recorded in her autobiography. Also recorded is the apparent capitulation to the mores of the times by her marriage to Kenneth Street, a member of an influential legal family in Sydney society. Jessie had been involved in the struggle to achieve equal rights for women. While marriage could have seen Jessie settle for the life of a well-to-do wife and mother, that did not happen. However she most certainly did enjoy the benefits of her class. Employment of domestic staff enabled her participation in social activities normal in her strata of society. Possession of an independent income gave her freedom to pursue her interests outside of family life.

²¹⁹ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, . 9.

²²⁰ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 12.

²²¹ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 23.

²²² Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 15.

²²³ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 23.

²²⁴ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 20.

²²⁵ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 26.

²²⁶ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 22-23.

These interests were to lead her on a very different path from that of the women with whom she shared her social life.

There was never a question of Jessie shirking the prescribed maternal or domestic duties for those of her class. Her lived experience enabled her to develop a greater understanding of the inequalities of Australian society. Her independence, both of spirit and income, led her down a path requiring sacrifice, both for her and her family. Kenneth and Jessie's four children enjoyed an upbringing suitable for the grandchildren of the Lord Chief Justice of the NSW judiciary. They attended the 'right' schools, their mother took them to Children's church at the nearby St Mark's Anglican Church.²²⁷ Where they differed from their compatriots was that their mother was developing social convictions which were to isolate her markedly in the 1950s.

The Anglican religion was an accepted, if largely unacknowledged, influence, in both Jessie and Kenneth's families. Jessie's Ogilvie grandmother was the daughter of an Anglican priest.²²⁸ Both Jessie and Kenneth had attended church schools; they were married in St John's Anglican Church, Darlinghurst. Jessie's autobiography recounts the religious influence of both her governesses²²⁹ and her schools.²³⁰ It also records her reliance on reading the Gospels and her belief in prayer.²³¹ Jessie claims her revolutionary instincts were sharpened by her work in a Church of England Settlement in England, early in the Great War, prior to her marriage, while her family was living there. She questioned if the Church of England would not benefit from women in positions of authority, an unpopular attitude for the times.²³² Leaving England to travel to New York in 1915 as a second class passenger was for Jessie a testing experience: she admits to 'being a terrible snob'.²³³ Her discovery of a Church of England priest 'who had recently written a book which had caused a lot of controversy' enabled her intellectual discussion in second class, and to ignore her travelling companions.²³⁴ Her stay in a women's-only hotel in New York bought her more shocks: one

²²⁷ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 16.

²²⁸ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 7. Edward Ogilvie (Jessie's forty year old grandfather) married the eighteen year old Theodosia de Burgh in Dublin while 'home' on a visit.

²²⁹ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 14.

²³⁰ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 18.

²³¹ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 15.

²³² Street, *Truth or Repose*, 69.

²³³ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 61.

²³⁴ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 61.

did not put one's shoes outside to be cleaned!²³⁵ While in New York she formed a friendship with Kenneth's uncle. The prayer she wrote at that time and submitted for Uncle Leslie to read illustrated that for Jessie there would always be a God.²³⁶ She continued writing her poetry, often penning verses to be read at conferences. Her work among wayward girls in New York brought an offer for her to open a new branch in Vancouver. This caused her to consult with her fiancé, who promptly told her to return to Australia. They could now be married. This marriage was to last from 10 February 1916 until Jessie's death on 2 July 1970.

It was, in some respects, an unusual marriage. Jessie was able to pursue her interests, since she had her own personal income. Her high regard for her husband's career and station in society ensured Jessie was most careful not to impede his rise to be the Chief Justice of New South Wales, a position his father and grandfather had held.²³⁷ The interests that Jessie pursued were not those commensurate with the expectations held of the behaviour of the wife of the Chief Justice of New South Wales. Her ultimate adoption of an extreme socialist stance was particularly unacceptable for one of her class. In addition to her being subject to security surveillance from 1938, her peace work was to cause her separation from her family and Australia for six years in the 1950s. Her enrapture with the USSR commenced from when Jessie conducted her second daughter Philippa in 1938 on the overseas 'Grand Tour', normal enough for young people who had just completed their schooling; if their family was rich enough to afford it. The difference in Philippa's tour was that it included a side trip to Moscow, at a time when this most certainly was not the accepted norm. Jessie had been approached to visit the USSR before she and her daughter left Sydney by the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR (SCRUSSR).²³⁸ This was the period the USSR was anxious to establish friendly contacts with influential persons in the capitalist countries. Jessie was given introductions to use once she got to Moscow. She was surprised to find no problem in booking their trip from London, and at the attention they received in the USSR. It seems possible that she was not aware of just how much attention they received: Philippa was

²³⁵ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 62. This can be seen as an example of Jessie's unrealistic grasp of societal gulfs; and the similarity between her and the Dean. The first time Johnson visited New York he found this lack of a valet service remarkable, see Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 270.

²³⁶ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 64-65; Radi, *Jessie Street*, 52.

²³⁷ This attitude was common, especially in times when women's social position was dependant on their husband's stature in society.

²³⁸ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 278.

rescued when lost in Moscow by a man who was obviously assigned to follow her.²³⁹ This trip to the USSR saw Jessie become an advocate of the Soviet system, as had Dean Johnson and indeed his wife Nowell, who had been a very early visitor to Russia in 1937. The initial attraction for Jessie was the emancipation of women, as it had been for Nowell Johnson. As Lenore Coltheart has identified, Jessie arrived there as 'a tourist' in 1938²⁴⁰ with no previous interest or knowledge of Marxist or Leninist theory.²⁴¹ In fact she did not join the Australian Labor Party (ALP) until 1939, despite citing the Depression as the source of her conversion to socialism.²⁴²

Jessie was taken aback that the major newspapers were disinterested in her experiences in Russia when she offered them on her return to Australia in 1938. This resulted in Jessie joining SCRUSSR, where she spoke to packed audiences. She was 'exhilarated' by this experience'.²⁴³ The non-aggression treaty agreed between Germany and the USSR and the outbreak of war in 3 September 1939 ensured a harsh public reaction to any praising of the Soviets. Jessie stepped into the SCRUSSR chair 'prudently' vacated by Professor Francis Anderson; he was one of the many who resigned from the organisation.²⁴⁴ Anderson had been a person of great influence in Jessie's life. It was only after Germany invaded the USSR on 27 June 1941 that public sentiment changed, and Jessie came into her own. SCRUSSR was transformed into the Russian Medical Aid Committee, with Jessie as its president.²⁴⁵ Leading Anglicans were included in the support group Jessie mustered, including the primate, Dr Mowll.²⁴⁶ In this similarities existed between her and the dean. He was busy in the UK raising money to buy desperately needed medicines to send to Russia and receiving assistance from churchmen and conservatives such as Lady Churchill, the wife of

²³⁹ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 163.

²⁴⁰ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 278.

²⁴¹ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 279.

²⁴² Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 280.

²⁴³ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 179.

²⁴⁴ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 288. It was from Anderson that Jessie sought advice on reading sources regarding communist ideology when she returned to Australia in 1938. Anderson was also an Anglican, and should be distinguished from Professor John Anderson, a rationalist who assumed the chair from Francis.

²⁴⁵ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 289.

²⁴⁶ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 289. Even the anti-communist Anglican cleric Archbishop Halse of Brisbane became involved in this war effort.

the British Prime Minister. Jessie was campaigning in Australia for sheepskins, vital for survival in the harsh conditions the people in the USSR were being forced to endure.

Jessie had joined the ALP (Darlinghurst branch) in 1939²⁴⁷ but it was only after 1941 that her advice was sought on the Soviets. Socialism was not an accepted stance for one of her station in life, and she was a woman to boot! She was able to negotiate passage for supplies to Russia through her contacts with VOKS, the British Embassy and Soviet Ambassador in Britain, Ivan Maisky.²⁴⁸ Jessie was proud to be involved in the rally in the Sydney Domain to celebrate the first anniversary of the Anglo-Soviet pact in 1942. She also chaired the 'huge assembly' which commemorated the twenty fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in the Sydney Town Hall on 7 November 1942.²⁴⁹ She canvassed H. V. Evatt, Curtin's Minister for External Affairs, to be appointed as Australian representative in Russia, and was very disappointed when William Slater was appointed.²⁵⁰ Her ongoing success in championing the communist cause ensured her credentials with VOKS. But it also meant that she acquired a national profile as 'Red' Jessie, which was to cause longstanding rifts between her and some of her feminist colleagues who were members of trade unions and the Labor Party.²⁵¹

The obvious conflict between the demands of her domestic duties and her activist career was becoming more difficult to manage. Kenneth Street was steadily reaching the pinnacle of his profession, as his father had before him. Typically Jessie threw herself into her involvement in the ALP. After some experience in the 1941 State campaign she attempted to become the endorsed candidate for Eden-Monaro in the 1943 Federal election, an endeavour which failed. She then seized an unusual opportunity to nominate for the blue ribbon conservative seat of Wentworth against the incumbent Eric Harrison of the United Australia Party (UAP). It was her ability to step into the breach—when Norman Smith, the lacklustre officially endorsed ALP candidate, was obviously headed for failure—that secured her chance to run. She pledged one thousand pounds of her own money to run her campaign. Her promise to reimburse Smith for the expenses he had incurred to date convinced Smith to

²⁴⁷ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 85.

²⁴⁸ See National Archives of Australia (hereafter NAA): A6119/22, 360, f. 62, 99. Cable from Maisky, Soviet Ambassador, London, to Jessie Street, 18 June 1943.

²⁴⁹ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 290.

²⁵⁰ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 289-290.

²⁵¹ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 291.

tender his resignation and the selection committee to choose her in his stead.²⁵² She flung herself into the cause, and most likely would have achieved success, had not W. C. Wentworth, fellow Anglican and a member of the Establishment like herself, chosen to contest the seat which bore his name as an independent. As with Jessie, the circumstances surrounding Wentworth's involvement were unusual. He stood since he was not permitted to address the meeting which eventually selected Harrison to stand for the UAP. Wentworth's well known animosity to Robert Menzies could well have influenced his decision, since he decided to stand as a National Government candidate, an outcome he believed would not be possible because of the inevitable failure of Menzies.²⁵³ Wentworth was an avid anti-communist. Jessie endeavoured to arrange exchange of preferences with him, despite this being contrary to the ALP stance. Wentworth recorded his recollection to Peter Sekules on 22 June 1976:

I had, of course, known Jessie all my life. She asked me to come and see her early on the campaign. She requested me to exchange preferences with her, which, of course, I very definitely refused to do and, subject to a faulty recollection, I think her abandonment of the ALP list of preferences followed this conversation.²⁵⁴

Jessie was placed last on all other candidates' how-to-vote cards. She had run a very enthusiastic campaign, and had involved her friends and Anglican connections such as Canon Garnsey.²⁵⁵ Some family members had also been involved, her son Laurence helping to hand out how to vote cards.²⁵⁶ Nephew Phillip Street recalled helping deliver pamphlets, but being sent by his father, Ernest, Jessie's brother-in law, to reclaim them all from the letterboxes so that they could be destroyed. While immensely popular for her various endeavours, Jessie did not achieve electoral success, but did receive the majority of the votes. Had W. C. Wentworth entered into a preference agreement, she would have defeated Harrison.²⁵⁷ The

²⁵² Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 87-102. Sekules quotes from letters he had from Joe (later Senator) Fitzgerald, W. C. Wentworth IV, and Jessie's 1943 diaries in a fascinating account of a most unusual election.

²⁵³ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 90.

²⁵⁴ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 93, letter from W. C. Wentworth to Peter Sekules. Sekules wrote his MA thesis on this contest.

²⁵⁵ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 256.

²⁵⁶ Critchley, 'The Street Family'.

²⁵⁷ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 99.

net result for Jessie was that she established her credentials with the Federal Labor Government which led to her greatest rewards, notably her United Nations' appointments.²⁵⁸

In April 1945 Jessie was invited, by Prime Minister Curtin, to travel to San Francisco as the only woman in a twelve member delegation from Australia to attend the meeting of the United Nations (UN) Conference of International Organisations. Frank Forde, the Deputy Prime Minister, and Dr H. V. Evatt, the Minister for External Affairs and Attorney General, were leader and deputy leader of the delegation.²⁵⁹ She was officially chosen as a representative of women's interests, but also, since her name was synonymous throughout Australia and Russia with the 'Sheepskins for Russia Campaign', Street was acceptable to the Russians. According to Meredith Burgmann, Street's recognition was comparable to that of Bishop Burgmann when he was asked to the United Nations conference in Paris by Dr Evatt in 1948, and that this acceptability to the Russians might have outweighed other factors in their selection by Evatt.²⁶⁰ While at the conference, Jessie was invited to meet Molotov, Gromyko and other members of the Soviet Delegation.²⁶¹ She was asked to Moscow for the anniversary of the Revolution at a 7 November troop parade in Red Square. She also was invited to visit Yugoslavia, as many Yugoslavian émigrés in Australia had contributed to the Sheepskin campaign.²⁶² Jessie journeyed to the USSR in November 1945, receiving acclaim for her efforts during the war, a very different situation from her first visit in 1938.²⁶³

When the war ended, the sympathy the USSR had enjoyed with the Allies dried up very quickly indeed. Jessie's autobiography ends at this stage, but the work of Sekules, Radi and Coltheart, together with the copious archives available, makes possible further examination of her life. Jessie's sympathy with the USSR was now to become an impediment in most areas of her endeavours. The ALP selected her to contest the seat of Wentworth in the 1946

²⁵⁸ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 102. Jessie had also had a spell at working in an ammunition factory in 1942, and joined a union. See Elaine Brown, 'Francis Michael Forde', in Michelle Grattan (ed.), *Australian Prime Ministers* (Sydney: New Holland Publishers (Australia), 2008), 241, on the importance of membership of a trade union in Labor politics. Jessie needed to establish her credentials, acknowledgement is made that there was antagonism from some in the ALP toward those who did not come from a trade union background.

²⁵⁹ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 265-266.

²⁶⁰ Meredith Burgmann, 'Hot and Cold: Dr. Evatt and the Russians: 1945-1949', in Ann Curthoys & John Merritt (eds), *Australia's First Cold War: Vol. 1. Society, Communism and Culture* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 82.

²⁶¹ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 269.

²⁶² Street, *Truth or Repose*, 269.

²⁶³ Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union', 296-297.

election. For convenience Jessie shifted in with a friend for the duration of the election campaign. This avoided conflict in her home, where Kenneth Street forbade political discussion and demanded promptness at dinner.²⁶⁴ This aided those seeking to denigrate her as 'being a communist and spread the word that she had deserted her home and family'.²⁶⁵ She lost the election in the unwinnable seat, never to stand again for the ALP. She was attacked in the conservative press and by the Roman Catholic Church. Her daughter Philippa had converted to the Roman Catholic faith in 1942 in order to marry cricketer Jack Fingleton, whom she had met on board the boat taking her and her mother overseas in 1938.²⁶⁶ She sprang to Jessie's defence when the Roman Catholic Dr Paddy Ryan of Catholic Action targeted her, claiming 'she is a communist, and therefore without faith in God and disloyal to Australia'.²⁶⁷ Philippa upbraided Dr Ryan for his identification of the United Associations of Women as having communist leanings. She identified her mother as:

... first and foremost a feminist...possessing as great a faith as I could wish to have [as a member of Dr Ryan's church], a mother who educated her four children at church schools. Her admiration of Russia is because of their health schemes, education and recreational schemes and mainly to the fact that in that country women enjoy complete equality to men. "Equal pay for equal work" has been her life-long slogan. Her admiring certain [aspects] of the Russian ways of life does not mean that she prefers Russia to Australia. Many of us who admire the American way of life are yet appalled by negro lynching and the Ku Klux Klan Society.²⁶⁸

The requirement by the Party that Jessie relinquish her membership of the Australian Russian Society led to her splitting from the ALP in 1948. She did contest the newly formed seat of Phillip as an Independent Labor candidate in the 1949 Federal election. As an ALP candidate she would have had an easy victory, which then went to ALP's Jack Fitzgerald, her former campaign manager. Meanwhile Jessie lost her deposit. In 1949 Jessie also experienced ugly antagonism toward her. For example, she was physically set upon at a meeting organised by the conservative Australian Women's Movement against Socialisation—a group closely aligned with the Liberal Party which was protesting against the coal strike then in progress.

²⁶⁴ Critchley, 'The Street Family'.

²⁶⁵ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 17.

²⁶⁶ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 132.

²⁶⁷ Letter from Philippa Fingleton (nee Street), to the *Canberra Times*, 5 March 1948, NAA: A6119/22, 360, f. 144, 16. Dr Ryan's role in Catholic Action and his anti-communist campaigns is discussed by James Franklin, *Catholic Values and Australian Realities* (Ballan: Connor Court Publishing., 2006), Chp. 2, 23-49. Particular note is made of Dean Johnson's *Socialist Sixth of the World*, and Ryan's answer to it (29).

²⁶⁸ Letter from Philippa Fingleton.

While Jessie wanted to speak to urge the government to take conciliatory action to end the strike, her New Housewives' Association compatriots had kept the meeting in uproar.²⁶⁹ The subsequent election of Menzies' Liberal Party to power on 10 December 1949 heralded very uncomfortable times ahead for those with communist sympathies.

Jessie's deep involvement with the Peace movement inexorably took her to the April Peace Congress in Melbourne. Her motivation has been oversimplified by later critics. The religious base displayed by many in the Peace movement, both in Australia and elsewhere, is ignored in many studies of the movement. On the other hand, the exploitation of their gullibility by the Communist Party has received much attention. Jessie also had a reliance on prayer and reading the Gospels, and displayed a sophisticated if unusual attitude to both throughout her life.²⁷⁰ This unacknowledged spiritual dimension to Jessie should be considered when examining her lifetime commitment to the Peace movement.

The Australian Peace Congress

The Australian Peace Congress, the focus of the dean's visit to Melbourne in April 1950, was organised by the APC. While there is some debate regarding the origins of the Victorian branch of the Council, it was certainly dependent on communist support.²⁷¹ This support, and the widespread reputation of the dean of Canterbury as not only a communist sympathiser but one who openly endorsed communism, helped to label the Congress as a communist

²⁶⁹ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 148. The report Sekules uses is from the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* of 21 July 1949, which made an error in naming the organisation.

²⁷⁰ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 15.

²⁷¹ For a discussion on communist involvement see LeRoy, 'Pyrrhic Victory?'. 25-27. Anglican Heather Murray (nee Wakefield) claimed that the Congress would not have happened without the input of the CPA. Telephone conversation with Murray and the author, 30 July 2006. Wakefield was listed on the National Executive of the Australian Peace Council in a list of APC members in an undated document; see New South Wales Division of the Australian Peace Council, ASIO File, 'Reverend. Francis John Hartley', NAA: A6119/1101, f. 175. The origin of this list is uncertain, however Heather Murray claimed it was inaccurate in that she represented the ALP Club at the Melbourne University, and Judith Lyell was the Student Christian Movement (SCM) representative. This seems possible, since the SCM ceased supporting the APC after the Congress while Wakefield remained involved. See also Phillip Deery's account of the first meeting of the Victorian Peace Council at Rev. Victor James' home, the manse of the Unitarian Church. Phillip Deery, 'War on Peace: Menzies, the Cold War and the 1953 Convention on Peace and War', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 34, no. 122 (October 2003), 248-269: 248. This version does fit with Wakefield's assertion that meetings were held at James' house as it was central. She recalls Ian Turner transported her from the university, as she did not have alternative means.

endeavour. Communist Party member John Rodgers was closely identified with both the Australian Soviet Friendship League and the initial phases of the APC.²⁷² Historian Ian Turner made no pretence that the Communist Party (CPA) was not involved in the APC from the time of his appointment as organising secretary.²⁷³ He claimed 'a top-secret meeting of party members and close sympathisers' was the impetus for the APC in Melbourne in early 1949.²⁷⁴ The APC headquarters were in the old Australian-Soviet House and Turner stated that local communist organisations and communist-led unions provided most of the movement's muscle.²⁷⁵ Rev. F. J. Hartley's claim was that the APC grew from a small protest group called the Democratic Rights Committee. This committee was formed in early 1949 when John Rodgers, in his role as the Director of Australia-Soviet House, was denied the use of the Melbourne Town Hall, among other halls, in early 1949 to lecture on his visit to USSR.²⁷⁶ From this small group the Peace Council evolved; however there was also participation from the CPA, and APC groups were formed in other states with input from the CPA.²⁷⁷ It seems impossible that the April congress would have eventuated without communist input. The sheer cost and organisation of the venture was far beyond the capabilities of the nascent APC. While communist involvement would have deterred neither the dean nor Professor Fletcher from attending, the Lambeth 48 resolutions condemning communism, referred to previously, and publicised in Australia to the Anglican Communion, most certainly would have caused most Australian Anglicans to avoid the Congress.

²⁷² Phillip Deery, 'Communism, Security and the Cold War', 166, raises the possibility that Rodgers worked for the security services. This would have given much valuable knowledge to the security services and confirmed the labelling of the APC as a 'communist front'.

²⁷³ The Communist Party in Australia is known as the CPA. While there was a name change to Australian Communist Party in 1944 to foster a sense of an Australian party, the name of the party reverted to Communist Party Australia in 1951. See Alastair Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia: A Short History* (Hoover Institution Press: Stanford University, Stanford, California 1969), 98, 112.

²⁷⁴ Ian Turner, 'My Long March, with a Discussion of Mr David Caute's Fellow Travellers', *Overland*, no. 59, Winter-Autumn (1974), 34-35.

²⁷⁵ Turner, 'My Long March', 34-35.

²⁷⁶ 'Clergymen in Conference', *Age*, 22 February 1949, 3; 'Free speech bans to be probed', *Age*, 2 April 1949, 2. The Democratic Rights group continued to operate, with both Rev. Dickie and Rev. Hartley taking the position of Chairman at various times.

²⁷⁷ See 'Report of Meeting of the Australian Peace Council', ASIO File, Reverend Francis John Hartley, NAA: A6119/1101, ff. 178-179. Dorothy Gibson, wife of Ralph Gibson and a member of the ACP was involved from the outset. See Ralph Gibson, *One Woman's Life: A Memoir of Dorothy Gibson* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1980), 66.

The involvement of local Anglicans was canvassed when initial plans for the event were being put in place. As discussed earlier, great emphasis was placed on clerical support for the World Peace Council. The list of the National Executive of the Australian Peace Council circulated in the security files shows that the 'Peace Parsons'—as Rev. Alfred Dickie (Presbyterian), Rev. Frank Hartley (Methodist) and Rev. Victor James (Unitarian) became known—held the posts of Chairman, and joint Secretaries respectively.²⁷⁸ However, Ian Turner, who had served the CPA well in the Eureka Youth League, and in the Australian Student Labour Federation, was allotted the task of organising secretary. The two Anglicans on the executive were Canon W. G. Thomas, a retired Anglican clergyman, who had been active in the Australian Board of Missions, and Heather Wakefield, a parishioner at St Peter's Church, East Melbourne. Hartley and Rodgers visited Sydney on 19 October 1949 to address a meeting of the NSW branch of the APC to seek support for the provisional APC's endeavours to organise a peace congress in 1950 and to set up a permanent peace committee. At this meeting Rodgers criticised the Anglican co-adjutor bishop of Sydney, C. V. Pilcher. Bishop Pilcher had refused an invitation to attend on the grounds that 'your organisation is unnecessary. All Australians want peace'.²⁷⁹ Hartley openly berated the Australian Labor Party 'for failing to give a lead in the "peace offensive".' He stated his willingness to 'work with Communists or anybody willing to make sacrifices for peace' and exhorted the audience to do likewise, and 'to resist the money power'.²⁸⁰ Alec Robertson, then a member of the CPA and listed as a journalist on the National Executive of the APC, acknowledged that the main task for the CPA in the first six months, from October 1949 until the 1950 Peace Congress, was to convince and mobilise the communists themselves and large numbers of ex-communists and close supporters. He maintained that 'the main activists, including some of the numerous communist trade union officials, threw themselves into the task with vigour and effect'.²⁸¹ Three reasons were given for this activism: the memory of the difficult times in the 1930s and 'an almost automatic reflex' to respond to war threats to the USSR, the first land of socialism; the confidence throughout the world communist movement that the Chinese

²⁷⁸ For a detailed study of the 'Peace Parsons' see Robert Iain McArthur, 'Christ and the Cold War; an Exploration of the Political Activism of the Reverends Frank Hartley, Alfred Dickie and Victor James, 1942-1972' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2008).

²⁷⁹ 'Report of Meeting of the Australian Peace Council'.

²⁸⁰ 'Report of Meeting of the Australian Peace Council'.

²⁸¹ Alec Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', *Australian Left Review* (October - November 1970), 29-49, 40.

revolution had created; and the sense of crisis Australian communists felt at the election of the Menzies' Government on an anti-communist platform.²⁸² The conservative middle class, where Anglicans were highly represented, adopted a condemnatory hard line on the APC, which was reflected in the press reports of the Congress, and especially of the dean's participation.

Several Anglicans were involved in the organisation of the 1950 Congress (as well as exploring socialist ideals). Heather Wakefield was a young university student and a parishioner at St Peter's where Canon Farnham Maynard had been vicar since 1926.²⁸³ Wakefield was involved with arrangements for the congress and the associated program. She, along with many who were not Anglicans, had attended Canon Maynard's lectures at St Peter's. In a long running exchange of letters in *Farrago*, the magazine of the students at University of Melbourne, with Roman Catholics Vincent Buckley and Max Charlesworth of the Newman Society, readers were left in no doubt that Wakefield shared similar views on communism as Hewlett Johnson. Her address to the Labour Club at the University, on 'Christianity and Socialism', quoted Dr Johnson as an eye witness to 'a new respect for personality [in the USSR] as well as a tremendous improvement in the material standard of living'.²⁸⁴ Maynard, whose socialist tendencies were proven, was known for his 'espousal of philosophic Marxism as a way of life'.²⁸⁵ His lectures were credited with making 'people develop an interest in politics'.²⁸⁶ Les Dalton, who was at the Peace Congress but was not a parishioner of St Peter's, nonetheless attended St Peter's for meetings.²⁸⁷ The ideas explored in Maynard's lectures became politically sensitive once Cold War hysteria blossomed. Maynard also had a role of influence in the SCM; the SCM was initially involved in the Peace Council, but withdrew after the Congress.²⁸⁸ Maynard had an affinity with Johnson, evidenced by the dean staying at the St Peter's vicarage while in Melbourne.²⁸⁹

²⁸² Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', 41.

²⁸³ Colin Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St Peter's, Eastern Hill, Melbourne 1846-1990*, (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1996), Chapters 15 and 16.

²⁸⁴ 'Christianity and Socialism', *Farrago*, 12 October 1949, 3.

²⁸⁵ 'G. J. T. Remembers', *St Peter's Church Archives*. Probably this person is the Rev. Geoffrey Taylor, the Vicar of St. Peter's in 1973.

²⁸⁶ Geoffrey Taylor, 'Panegyric Preached on the Occasion of the Deposition of the Ashes of the Late Canon F. E. Maynard, Low Sunday', *St Peter's Church, Archives*, Melbourne: 1973.

²⁸⁷ Telephone conversation with Les Dalton and the writer, 10 August 2006.

²⁸⁸ See 'The Scope of Our Work', *The Australian Intercollegian*, 1 August 1950, 96, for a letter objecting to the reasons for the withdrawal, among which was 'Embarrassment at association with communists', and 'the

Another Melbourne link to Johnson was Kurt Mertz, who arrived in Melbourne in 1939, recommended to Maynard by Bishop Burgmann.²⁹⁰ Maynard had been a long-time supporter of Burgmann.²⁹¹ Mertz had supposedly been a refugee from fascism in his native Austria, arrived in England (according to Johnson) still wearing 'his picturesque Tyrolese clothes'.²⁹² After his arrival in Australia, he was accepted as a candidate for Ordination by Bishop Burgmann and lived with Maynard in the vicarage at St Peter's, where he, 'more than any other, was to share in his [Maynard's] subsequent exploration of socialism'.²⁹³ Mertz then reappeared back in England in 1949, coming into contact with Johnson through the socialist movement, which Mertz then embraced. Most certainly Mertz was one in whom Maynard succeeded in 'developing an interest in politics'. Mertz was a secretary and companion to Johnson at the time of the Congress, and featured in Johnson's memoirs as having been married by Johnson—'the first Communist wedding in the Cathedral'.²⁹⁴ Maynard knew of Johnson's visit to Australia from Mertz.²⁹⁵ Maynard was tentative in becoming active in the peace movement, but when he did, it was with the APC, that was more critical of the policies of the American government than other organisations working for peace, even though Maynard himself was not against the USA.²⁹⁶ This involvement 'marked him as being firmly out of step with Melbourne's ecclesiastical hierarchy and with the attitude of the Liberal Party'.²⁹⁷ The affinity existing between Canon Maynard and Johnson is referred to in the manuscript, 'G. J. T. Remembers', stored in the St Peter's Church

inability of our representatives to make any impression on the APC 'line', since the communist elements are so strong'.

²⁸⁹ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 224. Holden refers to Booth as describing Maynard's 'theoretical idealism' of communism and claims pressure was clearly applied to Maynard to disassociate himself from the Congress and the dean.

²⁹⁰ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 210.

²⁹¹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 151.

²⁹² Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 253

²⁹³ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 210.

²⁹⁴ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 253-254. Holden claims Johnson is 'wistful but inaccurate' in his assumptions regarding Mertz. See Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 222.

²⁹⁵ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 222. Holden claims Maynard knew of Johnson's visit from Mertz before Booth was aware of it.

²⁹⁶ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 221. Maynard could have joined other pacifist clergy in organisations such as the Federal Pacifist Council, or the Australian Peace Pledge Union. He did travel to Peking Peace conference as a representative of the Peace Quest Forum—a group of clergy working for peace.

²⁹⁷ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 222.

archives.²⁹⁸ Maynard regarded Johnson's stay at the St Peter's vicarage and preaching whilst there, together with the archbishop of Sydney's invitation to Johnson preach at St Andrew's Cathedral while in Sydney, as 'spiking the guns of the opposition'.²⁹⁹ However, St Peter's was subject to anti-communist graffiti scribbled in chalk on the footpath outside the church and to abusive phone calls while the dean was there.³⁰⁰ The panegyric preached at the deposition of Maynard's ashes on Low Sunday, 1973, described not only Maynard's problems with 'certain editorials he wrote in the *Australian Church Quarterly*', which caused him to be named in Parliament, but also emphasised that his enduring legacy was famously to have made people develop an interest in politics.³⁰¹

Even before the dean arrived in Australia, adverse publicity preceded him. The disapproving views of Anglican clergy were highlighted in the press. In addition to the archbishop of Melbourne, both the dean of St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, and the dean of St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, emphasised that Johnson did not reflect the views of the Church of England.³⁰² The rector of the St James Church in central Sydney, E. J. Davidson, was chairman of the Australian Russian Society in Sydney until August 1948, when he resigned. He alleged that a Society pamphlet was associated with a Communist Party pamphlet. Davidson roundly condemned the World Peace movement when interviewed while passing through Melbourne on the liner *Orcades* on his return to Sydney from a ten-month tour of England and Germany prior to the Peace Congress. He advised that 'the present peace campaign was suspect all over Europe'.³⁰³ He would not be drawn to comment on the visit of the dean. By the time the rector reached Sydney he was ready to label 'the 'so called' Peace Congress as 'phoney', and 'trying to undermine the Atlantic Pact'.³⁰⁴ The mainstream conservative press ensured the dean received negative publicity while on his five-day journey from England. Even before he left London the banning of use of halls in Australia was

²⁹⁸ 'G.J.T. Remembers'.

²⁹⁹ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 222.

³⁰⁰ Taylor, 'Panegyric Preached'. Murray (Wakefield) remembers her boyfriend of the time, fellow parishioner Bill Robbins, was entrusted to take the dean away from St Peter's on the Sunday morning before the Congress to avoid harassment, Holden verifies this. Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 224.

³⁰¹ Taylor, 'Panegyric Preached'.

³⁰² 'Churchmen Cool on "Red" Dean's Visit', *Herald*, 1 April 1950, 5.

³⁰³ 'Don't be hoodwinked by peace drive', *Sun*, 14 April 1950, 10.

³⁰⁴ 'Rector Says Peace Council is Hypocritical', *Herald*, 17 April 1950, 8.

highlighted.³⁰⁵ His progress toward Melbourne saw him interviewed and condemnatory reports appear in the 'millionaire press', as the dean termed it.³⁰⁶ From Singapore came the advice from the dean that 'Australia is the most vulnerable nation in the world...Only Russian material and technical aid...could solve Asian economic problems'.³⁰⁷ In Darwin the interviewer ascertained that the dean was 'absolutely certain that China was better off under Communist control than under Chiang Kai-shek'.³⁰⁸ The stop-over in Sydney was duly reported, and highlighted that the dean:

... was met by Mrs Jessie Street and a bunch of communists and fellow-travellers who hailed him as an apostle of peace or something. The cleric was photographed beaming on his mixed reception committee, and was quoted as saying something about how misjudged Communism was. Behind him on a stretcher was one who had sampled Communist benevolence. He is C. B. Folliot, from Malaya, whose face had been shattered when he and three others had been ambushed by Malayan Communists. ... According to Dean Johnson Russia seeks peace at home and abroad. Mr Girdler [a planter] found peace in the hands of Russian inspired murderers.³⁰⁹

Also in Sydney, a reporter from the Melbourne *Truth* presented the dean with a list of aggressive questions, calculated to depict him as a communist who should resign his Church appointment; he also attempted to obtain explanations on his stance on Christianity and Communism. The dean pleaded tiredness—as a 76-year-old might after travelling from England. The same questions were also put in Melbourne. When the replies were not forthcoming, a negative report was printed in a paper which had a circulation of 800,000 across Australia.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ "I'll speak in open: It is a big country", *Sun*, 12 April 1950, 2. 'Ban not feared by 'Red Dean', *Age*, 12 April 1950; 'Red Dean Would Use Open Air', *Hobart Mercury*, 12 April 1950, 1.

³⁰⁶ "'Red Dean' Packs Exhibition Hall', *Sun*, 17 April 1950, 3.

³⁰⁷ "'We must follow Russia' is 'Red Dean's' advice', A.A.P.-Reuter, *Sun*, 14 April 1950, 4, ' "Red Dean" Gives Opinion', *Examiner*, Launceston, 14 April 1950, 5.

³⁰⁸ 'Greatest Menace to World Peace, China better off', *Age*, 15 April 1950, 3.

³⁰⁹ 'Political Points', *Bulletin*, 19 April 1950, 29. Similar antagonistic articles were published in the leading papers that had large circulations. The daily Melbourne *Sun* had sales figures 422,486, while the Melbourne *Herald* sold 408,912 copies. These papers were among those that reported negatively regarding the congress and the dean; there can be no doubt of the power of these papers to influence. On the other hand, the communist *Guardian* had to resort to appeal for funds on 6 April 1950 to ensure it did not close.

³¹⁰ 'Talkative Dean Strangely Mute', *Truth*, 22 April 1950, 4. For sales figures see Letter from K. Murphy, Advertising Manager, *Truth and Sportsman.*, to J. V. Stout, 29 September 1949, Victorian Trades Hall Council (hereafter VTHC) Correspondence A, Australian Peace Council, Box 102, UMA, 7/1/50.

The Anglican press, in the main, heeded Fisher's dictum to ignore his dean, although the *Church Standard* was critical of Johnson.³¹¹ Also an exception was the *ACR*, a fortnightly paper which promoted a strongly evangelical viewpoint and was distributed from the Sydney Diocese. The visit of the dean posed a 'disconcerting dilemma for loyal church folk',³¹² not only because of the regard in which the archbishop of Canterbury was held by the Anglican Communion, but because Canterbury 'enshrines the grave and monument of Bishop Broughton, the first and only Bishop of Australia'. This had been demonstrated by the donations made by Australian churchmen to restore the cathedral after severe bombing in World War II. The importance of the cathedral in Anglican Communion was noted: 'A long line of great Churchmen, archbishops and deans, enhances its history and stirs our grateful pride and affection', and that later in the year the archbishop of Canterbury will be 'made conscious of an enthusiastic welcome'. The dilemma was the visit of the dean:

The Dean of Canterbury comes, invited, not by the leaders of our Church, but by a disloyal group, disloyal to our Empire and disloyal to God, to encourage by his presence and utterance a movement, subtle and relentless, for the destruction of our way of life, those ideals of life built upon the revelation of God's love in Christ Jesus. Dean Johnson's public utterances in the place of his ministry have been such that his Diocesan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has on two recent occasions, felt impelled to the most emphatic and public disassociation of himself from the statements of the Dean. This indicates fairly clearly the gravity of the whole position and shows the kind of dilemma in which our leaders are placed. If things were in their usual setting, there could only have been enthusiastic welcome to a Dean of Canterbury. But when his own public utterances are of such a character and he stands forth as a protagonist for the ideals of Soviet Russia, and, in addition, associates himself heartily and uncompromisingly, with these notorious and mischievous, if not criminal disloyalists, we cannot extend to him that welcome which his office would nominally enthruse.³¹³

By co-incidence the same issue of the *ACR* carried news of the appointment of a sub-committee to plan for the visit of the archbishop of Canterbury in October, as well as an article by Bishop Hugh Gough of Barking, England, on the attributes of the evangelical party within the Anglican Church. Bishop Gough will feature later for his association with Dr Billy Graham, his views on communism and assumption of the archbishopric of Sydney.³¹⁴

In a letter to Archbishop Booth of Melbourne, Fisher stressed that the dean's views in no way reflected the position of the church on communism. The dean's appointment was by

³¹¹ "'Red" Dean arrives to attack by church newspaper', *Sun*, 15 April 1950, 3.

³¹² "An Uncomfortable Dilemma", *Australian Church Record*, 20 April 1950, 3

³¹³ "An Uncomfortable Dilemma".

³¹⁴ *Australian Church Record*, 20 April 1950, 9.

Royal prerogative on the advice of the Prime Minister; he could not be removed from office as he had not 'rendered himself liable' to removal from office as 'for that the law requires trial and conviction in some civil or ecclesiastic court'.³¹⁵ There was little Fisher could do to circumscribe the dean, except to use his power and influence to neutralise the effects of the dean's involvement in the congress. The hierarchal power structure of the Anglican church was useful for this purpose, as can be seen by Booth's letter in the *Messenger* and Fisher's in the *Standard*.³¹⁶ A similar situation existed between Booth and Maynard, and any Anglican clergy who became involved in the Peace Council. These politically active clergy could not be dismissed from their posts for their activism, but pressure could be applied to isolate them within the church. Subsequent visits by the primate of All England, Fisher, and the primate of England, the archbishop of York, Cyril Garbett, to Australia will be examined separately. These visits clearly illustrated the contrast between the reception given by the Australian church to the dean and those given to his two superiors.

The dean claimed that the ground had been prepared for his 'campaign' by the fact that 200,000 copies of his book had been sold in Australia.³¹⁷ Nonetheless, the Peace Council certainly ensured his arrival in Sydney on 15 April 1950 (for a brief stopover before flying on to Melbourne), was met by crowds waving banners of welcome. As mentioned previously Johnson's arrival on the same plane as a wounded Malaysian planter was cited by the press, with deliberate irony, as a sample of communist benevolence.³¹⁸ Despite a transport strike, Melbourne was equally impressive in its welcome.³¹⁹ The *Age* photograph of Johnson's arrival at Essendon revealed the dean surrounded by well wishers, one of whom was Jessie

³¹⁵ 'Controversial Cleric is expert on washing-up', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 29 April 1950, 33.

³¹⁶ Booth, 'A Letter from the Archbishop'. See also 'Views of Dean of Canterbury - Archbishop's Disclaimer'. The Anglican *Messenger* was a Melbourne Diocesan paper. The *Church Standard* was a national paper, circulated from Sydney. Another influential Church paper was the *Australian Church Record*, emanating from Sydney, evangelical in nature and Sydneycentric. In addition most parishes and dioceses had their own magazines. It would be impossible to estimate the readership (or the coverage) of Anglican papers. Items such as the letters from Booth and Fisher were also placed directly into the mainstream press, those papers, in the main, had a section each week reporting matters of interest from the churches.

³¹⁷ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 277.

³¹⁸ See 'Political Points', *Bulletin*, 19 April 1950, 29.

³¹⁹ See Hewlett Johnson papers, <http://library.kent.ac.uk/library/special/html/specoll/AUSTRAL.HTM>. Some of these photographs are available in Australia, the 'welcome' at Essendon, and interior shots at the Exhibition Buildings are from the *Age* newspaper and are used and acknowledged in the official *Peace* magazines issued before and after the conference.

Street, in her capacity as President of the NSW branch of the Peace Council. Mrs Street was to be a tower of strength to the dean during his visit around Australia, and she formed a lifelong friendship with him and his family.³²⁰ Publicity was given to the presence of nine churchmen in the welcoming committee by joint-secretaries Hartley and James. Listed were three Anglicans, Dean H. T. Langley, Canon Maynard and Canon Thomas; one Methodist, Rev. F. J. Hartley; two Presbyterians, Rev. Gwen Miller and Rev. A. M. Dickie; one Baptist, Rev. H. A. Horsfall, one Church of Christ, Rev. E. Lyall Williams; and one Unitarian, Rev. Victor James.

ASIO also welcomed the dean, doubtless impressed to have so many of their subjects in the one place at the one time. A report in Katherine Susannah Prichard's file revealed that the dean was conveyed from the airport by Itzhak Gust, Ian Turner's father-in-law (presumably John Rodgers' white 'bus' and the van of Dave Stephens listed in the report were deemed inappropriate transport). Amongst long lists of car registration numbers was sandwiched the report that the Peace Congress was 'very orderly without a single interjection'.³²¹ Prichard's attendance at various venues of the congress was also noted, along with the activities of NSW delegates as well as Victorian delegates of interest. There was probably no need for such assiduous attention to the main speakers. The volumes of *Peace* issued before and after the Congress gave full reports of what was, from the organisers' point of view, a most successful event.³²² The claim was made that '549,000 Australians were represented, through their delegates of their organisations, at the Congress'.³²³ The communist *Guardian* also was predictably laudatory of what was, in actuality, a communist backed endeavour.

Another fulsome account was given in the tabloid *Smith's Weekly*. The predominance of Party members was highlighted and claims were made that 'the Communist Party members who had been lurking behind the APC's cloak of respectability came out into the open'.³²⁴ A legitimate matter broached by *Smith's* in this article concerned finances. While it is true that

³²⁰ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 277-279. Lady Street attended Johnson's 90th birthday in January, 1964.

³²¹ Katherine Susannah Throssell (nee Prichard), NAA: A6119/208 (ASIO file), 'Feodor Nosov - Observations Made in Melbourne Commencing Saturday 15th April, 1950', ff. 103-110. Apparently Nosov was a person of interest to the security services; those persons he contacted were also observed and copies of the report also circulated to be included in their relevant files.

³²² 'Peace', *Journal of the Australian Peace Council* vol.1, no. 1 (April 1950); 'Peace', vol. 1, no. 2. (June 1950).

³²³ 'How strong was This Congress?', *Peace*, vol. 1, no. 2, June 1950, 6.

³²⁴ 'Behind the Scenes, "Praise Uncle Joe", They Chorused', *Smith's Weekly*, 29 April 1950, 3.

collections were made, the cost of transporting the overseas guests alone appears well beyond the scope of the APC. *Smith's Weekly* was by far the most outspoken paper against the Congress, quizzing Frank Hartley regarding the £4,000 estimated cost to run the congress, which Hartley admitted, as well as conceding the cost of £40 a week to run the Melbourne office.³²⁵ In another well informed article *Smith's* not only traced the genesis of the Australian Peace Council from the first meeting in July 1949, but gave a list of the formation members. It also claimed there was a secret session of Cominform delegates held in Budapest shortly after the first Australian Peace Council rally in 1949. It emphasised that the delegates were to 'back the World Peace movement' by 'drawing in trade unions, women's movements, youth and co-operative organisations, sporting, cultural, educational, religious and other bodies'. The article then listed all the international trouble spots where communism 'had made a bloody peace', claiming that Russia wanted to 'soften up the non-communist world for communism'. It questioned where the APC received the funds for its 'propaganda drive, particularly through the militant trade unions'. The paper pointed out the dean had been greatly honoured by the World Peace Council; that his pro-Russian activities have long embarrassed the Anglican church; and that the dean had been refused access as a 'peace delegate' to the US and was now denied access to Anglican pulpits in Brisbane by Archbishop Halse and in Melbourne by Archbishop Booth.³²⁶ These two articles, while basically factual, were clearly biased, and gave, for example, no acknowledgement of those persons of good faith connected with the congress who genuinely wanted to work for peace. The *Guardian* displayed the other side of the coin. Before the congress the paper highlighted the denial by the United States government of visas for a peace delegation of which Johnson was a member.³²⁷ Plans by the APC to deny it was a communist front by distributing 250,000 leaflets to ALP supporters was highlighted by the paper.³²⁸ Attendance expectations at the opening rally were given ten days before the congress was held.³²⁹ The proceedings and decisions of the congress received publicity in issues following the congress.³³⁰ The *Melbourne Age* gave an extensive and fair coverage of the congress, giving some balance to reporting of the event.

³²⁵ 'Behind the Scenes', 3.

³²⁶ 'Deluded Dean', *Smiths Weekly*, 15 April 1950, 8-9.

³²⁷ 'U.S Ban on Peace Speakers', *The Guardian*, 17 March 1950, 6.

³²⁸ 'Peace Council Reply to ALP'. *The Guardian*, 31 March 1950, 7.

³²⁹ 'Thousands Will Hear Dean as Peace Congress Opens Here on April 16'. *The Guardian*, 6 April 1950, 3.

³³⁰ *Guardian*, 21 April 1950, 4-6 & 28 April 1950, 5-7.

Outside the safety of the Exhibition Buildings greater opposition was encountered. Heather Wakefield made contact with the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Sir John Medley, at a chance meeting at an ABC Orchestral Concert, to secure Wilson Hall at the university for the dean to address a public meeting on peace. Previous attempts through correct channels at the university had been thwarted.³³¹ On the day scheduled for the meeting, Professor Fletcher and Mr Fred Stover addressed the meeting, but Johnson did not attend as 'the engineering students' had threatened to disrupt the meeting.³³² Next door at the Melbourne Teachers' College permission was refused for the congress speakers to address the students. Fletcher stood outside the grounds and used a megaphone to deliver his address.³³³ This set the pattern for the rest of Johnson's visit to the other states, as we will see.

The major result from the congress was, for the World Peace Council, that their Stockholm Peace Petition now received the support of the APC. This meant the APC had to jettison its own Peace Ballot, into which had gone innumerable hours collecting signatures.³³⁴ The dean was the first person at the congress to sign the Stockholm Peace Petition. Anglicans were advised not to sign the Petition by both of the English archbishops, Fisher and Garbett. Some English priests, who had already signed, requested that their names be erased.³³⁵ The Communist Party was heavily involved in this effort, which continued for months following the congress. Activist Keith McEwan recounted that every party branch was involved, but that some persons approached would not sign as they suspected their signatures would be misused.³³⁶ Another consequence, of course, of the support by the APC for the Petition, was further identification of the APC with the Communist Party.

³³¹ Heather Murray, telephone conversation with the author, 1 October 2006.

³³² This recollection was substantiated by Bishop James Grant in e-mail correspondence with the author, 9 May 2006.

³³³ *Herald*, 20 April 1950, 8.

³³⁴ Lawrence S. Witner, *One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement through 1953, Vol 1, The Struggle against the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 181. The Stockholm Petition was a major thrust of the World Peace Council, purportedly the brain child of the French communist physicist Frédéric Joliot-Curie. See Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate' for the official Anglican attitude on the Petition.

³³⁵ Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate', 269.

³³⁶ Keith McEwan, *Once a Jolly Comrade* (Sydney: Jacarandah Press 1966), 21. Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate', 269-271 explored the reaction of English Anglican clergy regarding the Petition, 'the lower clergy took the 'advice' of the Archbishops, which was deemed an instruction'.

The dean's own record of his Australian visit glossed over some very major problems encountered. Halls were refused in Sydney; an open-air meeting was permitted but without sound equipment. Jessie Street won Johnson's admiration by arranging for sound speakers to be smuggled in; these can be clearly seen in some of the photographs in the Johnson papers at the University of Kent.³³⁷ In Adelaide Johnson was the subject of an editorial which pointed to the involvement of VOKS in his eulogistic revelations regarding the Soviet Union.³³⁸ The editorial spoke for many conservatives when it accused him of fanaticism, and combining perverted politics with his clerical eminence. The conclusion drawn—that 'it is impossible to believe he is consciously and deliberately the instrument of the Kremlin, [since] his case involves an almost incredible triumph of mingled naivety and self hypnotism'—was (possibly) widely held.³³⁹ This truculent editorial therefore encapsulated the attitude of many to Johnson. His visit to Adelaide was not one of his successes, and indeed the rest of the Australian visit can hardly be regarded as a triumph. Grudging hospitality was given by some Anglican clerics. In particular, he was permitted to address an Anglican congregation in the Cathedral in Sydney, but asked to restrict his comments to the restoration work in Canterbury, a request the dean chose to ignore.³⁴⁰ The bishop of Newcastle, Francis de Witt Batty, did invite him to stay, but added:

I think it only honest to tell you that I am personally not satisfied as to the bona fides of the movement represented by the Australian Peace Council and Congress, and shall therefore be unable to attend the meeting which you are to address. But please believe that this difference of opinion will not make the slightest difference to the welcome we wish to offer you.³⁴¹

Nor was Brisbane welcoming. Archbishop Halse had signalled his disapproval, and Johnson encountered heckling in his public meetings, such as at the University campus at St. Lucia.³⁴²

³³⁷ See Hewlett Johnson papers, <http://library.kent.ac.uk/library/special/html/specoll/AUSTRAL.HTM>.

³³⁸ Further reference was made to VOKS, when discussing Butler's Open Lecture at Canterbury previously in this thesis.

³³⁹ 'The Red Dean', *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 18 April 1950, 2.

³⁴⁰ See also Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 278. The Dean, however, did thank the overflow congregation for the £10,000 raised for the Canterbury Cathedral restoration appeal, as well as the £1,000 donated by the NSW government. Babbage in his *Memoirs* commented that the archbishop (Mowl) was absent that evening. As dean, Babbage was in control of the day to day running of the Cathedral.

³⁴¹ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 147.

³⁴² Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 278-279. Archbishop Rayner was present at the 'rowdy' meeting at the university in Brisbane and vouched for Johnson's assertion that he quietened the students. 'He was most

There were doubtless many other Australian Anglicans who respected the office of the dean, but not the incumbent of that office. The Australian government entertained no such respect, but the dean had been permitted entry and free movement around the country as his possession of a valid British passport ensured his admittance.³⁴³ In reply to a question from the Hon. Mr Gullett, Harold Holt, the Minister for Immigration, advised the House of Representatives that the security services had no security objection to the dean's 'mission in Australia' and, in fact, considered 'his pro-Soviet views' revealed the 'true real character of the congress which he is attending'.³⁴⁴ Undoubtedly the British Government advised the Australian Government and ASIO of the activities of the World Peace Council. Question time in the Parliament certainly ensured the Australian public was aware that the dean had advocated giving away the northern portion of Australia to the Japanese to allow the settling of 250,000 Japanese. The request of Country Party Senator, George Rankin, for the deportation of 'this sanctimonious hypocrite before he had further opportunity to preach his Communist and traitorous doctrine' met the reply from the Minister for Trade and Customs, Senator O'Sullivan, that the sponsorship of the invitation to the dean was clearly indicated and the Government did not intend to take action on the matter at the moment.³⁴⁵ The US government had no such intent.

The dean was to travel to New Zealand following the congress once the tour of Australia was completed and then onto Canada. As *Smith's Weekly* reminded its readers, he was no longer welcome in the USA.³⁴⁶ Unfortunately for the dean his flight to Canada involved a refuelling stop in Honolulu, for which the US government refused him a transit visa.³⁴⁷ Despite all efforts, including those of Lord Beaverbrook who tried to assist on the grounds that a British subject should not be so treated, the USA would not budge. Johnson was forced to cancel his visit to New Zealand and to fly all the way back to England, then across the Atlantic to Canada. His visit to Canada was extremely troubled. Even in Johnson's autobiography, where, it must be said, he generally understated any opposition he

impressive in the way he stilled an antagonistic and heckling crowd'. E-mail correspondence with the writer, 27 September 2007.

³⁴³ *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives* [hereafter CPD], 19 April 1950, vol. 207, 1570.

³⁴⁴ CPD, *Representatives*, 1570.

³⁴⁵ CPD, *Senate*, 19 April 1950, vol. 207, 1505-6.

³⁴⁶ 'Deluded Dean', *Smiths Weekly*, 15 April 1950, 9.

³⁴⁷ 'No Visa for The Red Dean', *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 22 April 1950, 3.

encountered, he conceded 'it had been a stormy visit'.³⁴⁸ The resultant fuss from the churches in both England and Canada; together with Press activity, prompted yet another push to relieve Johnson of his post.³⁴⁹ Johnson certainly set the leaders of the Anglican church a difficult task, given the pressures being placed on them to establish power and control when their hands were tied by ecclesiastic law. Archbishop Fisher had sent a letter to the Mayor of Auckland, New Zealand, in which he described the dean as 'completely unrepresentative of the Church of England'; adding 'My advice to overseas Anglican Churches is completely to ignore the Dean's visits'.³⁵⁰ There can be no doubt that this stance by the leader of the Anglican Communion, even given the differing authority of the Anglican primate compared to the Roman Catholic leader, encouraged isolation of the dean. It is indeed difficult to understand how churchmen such as Johnson and Maynard could remain so committed to a cause that appeared so contradictory to the official attitudes of the church to which they owed allegiance.

The congress reveals the differing reactions among Anglicans to communism and communist involvement in an important facet of the Cold War, the Peace movement. It also highlighted the fact that Anglicans joined the movement for diverse reasons, backgrounds and aims. For the dean, as well as for Jessie Street, it meant 'leading' others to the realisation that the 'socialist-communist' position was indeed the answer to the world's problems. Their position in society ensured that they could use their influence and station in life and not necessarily suffer the problems of those lower down the social scale. They did not appear to appreciate this. Fletcher, on the other hand, had not come from a privileged—or indeed Anglican—background. He realised only too well the realities of life to those attempting, from a disadvantaged background, to achieve social equity. Fletcher became disenchanted with the idea that either socialism or Anglicanism would provide social equity for the underprivileged, and walked away from both. Canon Maynard, who had been committed to socialism all of his life—but from a position of the power of the clergy—had his own view of a new society which did not exactly fit the World Peace movement model. However, he did become an advocate of communism, doggedly adhering to the prescribed position for those in the Peace movement. Since he was prominent amongst Australian Anglicans who

³⁴⁸ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 280-281.

³⁴⁹ Anglican the Hon. W. C. Wentworth, MHR, was one who contacted Archbishop Fisher attempting to have action taken regarding the Dean. See Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 311. The leaders of the Anglican Church certainly did have a difficult balancing act.

³⁵⁰ Johnson, *Searching for Light*, 281.

had socialist leanings, his influence was important. His attitude cost him preferment in the church, as it had the dean. Jessie Street, while facing estrangement from her family, perhaps had the easiest road; being enabled to continue her work from a British base which afforded her greater freedom than from Australia, and still maintain family contacts.

The visit of the dean did force many Australian Anglicans to question their own attitudes. It is undeniable that some, like Jessie Street and W. C. Wentworth, already had adopted unwavering allegiances, albeit on opposing sides of the Cold War divide. Many did come to hear the dean speak, for a variety of reasons. St Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney had to accommodate an overflow congregation when he preached. It can be safely assumed that the congregation there was a different set of people to those listening on the Domain to Jessie Street's smuggled loudspeakers. Jessie and the dean remained convinced of the bona-fides of the World Peace movement, others in the church desired peace but were not prepared to trust an organisation dominated by the Soviets. Their involvement will be examined in due course. We can now turn to a consideration of the international status of the Anglican Church and the influence that the primate, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the archbishop of York, exerted during their visits to Australia, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Anglican Establishment reactions to communism in Australia

The Anglican Church and communism had in common an international reach. Both movements were well represented in Australia, and the Australian Anglican Establishment distrusted what they saw as the deference to Moscow paid by the CPA. This was particularly the case when they assessed the local adjuncts of the World Peace Council. The Australian Government led by Menzies paid similarly close attention to the Australian Anglicans on both sides of the politico-religious divide.

After the Congress

Australia entered a politically very difficult period following the Peace Congress. Seven days after the Congress finished in Melbourne, on 27 April 1950, the Menzies' Government presented to the House of Representatives the promised Communist Party Dissolution Bill to outlaw the Communist Party. During his speech Menzies claimed that 'We are not at peace today, except in a technical sense'. The Soviet Union was using peace demonstrations to prevent defence preparations in the democracies. It was the 'real' and active Communists who were the problem, not the woolly-headed dupes who were pushed to the front. He proceeded to offer a rebuttal to three arguments advanced against taking action.

First: impairment of liberty, this was rejected as that gave immunity to sedition in the mass. Second: suppression of ideas. 'Ideas may be the most powerful things in the world. But if ideas gave rise to overt action and that action was against the safety and defence of the realm, we are not only entitled but also bound to suppress it'. Particularly nauseous to Menzies was

... the skill with which these communists can put into their vanguard some deluded Minister of the Christian religion. I should like to say to them all that I have no hostility to minority movements. Christianity is the greatest minority movement of history, but they should remember the words of its Founder. Christianity from the beginning was never the enemy of law or order. 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's'.³⁵¹

Third: "You must not touch a Communist if he is a union official". This was rejected as an arrogant claim, because it sought to put the trade union above the law. He claimed most unionists would reject such a concept.³⁵²

³⁵¹ CPD, *House of Representatives*, 27 April 1950, vol. 207, 1995.

³⁵² CPD, *House of Representatives*, 1995-1996.

Menzies' speech then analysed communism in a democracy. If it was merely a 'peaceful political philosophy' then the 'Communist should go free' whether unionist or non-unionist'. If communism in action was just militant unionism, 'no punitive action is justified'. He advanced the chilling scenario of an international conspiracy with communism as a 'fifth column in advance of hostilities', and justification for removing those communists occupying key industrial positions. While numerically only a small fraction of electors 87,958 voted for communist candidates Menzies' claim was that the positions that CPA members held were of importance: from these positions the communist 'could do great damage to this great and beloved country of ours'.³⁵³ A list was read out of leading union officials. Purportedly those named were communists in key positions in crucial organisations in the industries on which this country would have to depend if tomorrow it were fighting for its life. His hope was that the 'taint of illegality' would deter 'well-meaning people into providing it with a respectable "front"'. Menzies' closing statement asked the House to make its choice, between his summation of the situation and the alternative that 'the Dean of Canterbury was right, the North Atlantic Pact is just hysteria and both British and American policy are wickedly wrong'.³⁵⁴ Some of those he named as communists were not, and Menzies was forced to make an embarrassing apology. The Bill proceeded to the Senate, where the Government did not have a majority and it was amended by the Labor Party. The amendments were rejected by the Government. At this stage the Korean War erupted. When the Bill was again re-introduced in its original form to the House of Representatives in September, Labor took fright, as the Catholic Action faction 'flexed its political muscles', and passed the Bill. Immediately after *The Communist Party Dissolution Act* was proclaimed in October 1950, the CPA and ten prominent unions challenged it in the High Court.³⁵⁵

These events caused immense turmoil within the Anglican Church as well as in other sections of society. Writing in the *Australian Church Quarterly (ACQ)*, Canon Maynard made oblique reference to Hewlett Johnson in an editorial which touched on 'Religion and Politics', shortly after Menzies' barbs against peace movements and Johnson in particular.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ CPD, *House of Representatives*, 1996.

³⁵⁴ CPD, *House of Representatives*, 2007.

³⁵⁵ Peter Love, 'Australia's Cold War', in Peter Love and Paul Strangio (eds), *Arguing the Cold War* (Carlton North: Red Rag Publications, 2001), 11-22: 17.

³⁵⁶ Maynard, F. E., Editorial, 'Religion and Politics', *Australian Church Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 2, 30 June 1950, 4-14. The ACQ was 'For the Maintenance of Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Character of the Church of England in Australia'.

Maynard made reference to past history—the Crimean War and the Bulgarian Atrocities, when war threatened between England and Russia following the victory of the Allies in that conflict and the Treaty of Paris (1856). Maynard summed up the Crimean War as 'being fought to keep Russia from Constantinople and access to the Mediterranean Sea, by bolstering up the effete Turkish Empire'. In this lengthy article he outlined the possibility that, twenty years later, the Allies would spring to the defence of peasants in revolt against massive taxes, against whom Turkey had committed atrocities. While Russia, France and Germany were prepared to take part in a joint conference of European Powers to solve the problem, England was not, since it wanted Turkey to remain in power to keep Russia out. Russia then declared war on Turkey, succeeded, but again gave way to English threats to result in a situation more to England's taste. Maynard's rather convoluted point was that sentiment in England was sharply divided, pro-Turk from the conservatives (including Prime Minister Disraeli and Queen Victoria), while the 'great majority of the working class, together with the majority of Non-Conformists and influential Anglo Catholic leaders..., together with most of the intellectuals...were friends of Russia and peace. Gladstone was the rallying point for all these elements hostile to war.'³⁵⁷ Now came Maynard's focus—that political forces were affected from a moral angle—when he referred to a 'Great Peace Congress' in St James Hall, London, which was held against war. The moving force behind this peace effort was a Russian (Madame Novinkoff) who lived mostly in England but had high connections in both Russia and England. War was averted then and Maynard drew comparison between those tense times and the ones existing in 1950. The church must be above the foreign policy of nations and work through their 'prophets'.³⁵⁸

The characteristics of Prophet and Priest, and of the Prophetic Message, were explained. The editorial then closed: 'In these days of perplexity and tension Christians have indeed heavy responsibilities. Not the least amongst them is the duty of discerning the prophets of God and giving heed to their message'.³⁵⁹ The pages before this message contained a full-page photograph of Christchurch gateway, at England's Canterbury Cathedral, with another entire page devoted to a photograph of the plaque of the head of the

³⁵⁷ Maynard, 'Religion and Politics', 11.

³⁵⁸ Maynard, 'Religion and Politics', 14.

³⁵⁹ Maynard, 'Religion and Politics', 19.

dean of Canterbury by sculptor Andrew Meszaros.³⁶⁰ While the Peace Congress, or the dean, was not mentioned, there can be no doubt that Maynard was attempting to reinforce the role of the dean and the work of the APC. Clergymen like Alf Dickie could proclaim Johnson to be a prophet when welcoming Johnson to the congress:

We welcome you among us, sir, because we seldom have in our land a prophet. How do we know you are a prophet? Because men have reviled you and persecuted you, and said all manner of evil against you falsely. How do we know you are a prophet? Because the common people will hear you gladly.³⁶¹

It is difficult in the extreme to credit that hard-bitten communists such as Jim Healy, general secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation, would entertain such convictions. The obvious credibility gap adds weight to the claims that the clergy was used by the CPA to bolster their 'peace offensive'. The clergy was also used by some migrants to Australia, not all of whom were anti-communist, as the Anglican Church and the government supposed. Maynard was actively involved in encouraging and assisting the 'white' Russians who came to Melbourne, with the blessing of his church.

Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia and Anglicans

The Anglican Church demonstrated its opposition to the Soviet regime by assisting the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) in its efforts to establish churches in Australia.³⁶²

The Anglicans have been very helpful to the Russian Orthodox ever since we arrived in Australia in the 1920's. In the early 1920's and throughout the 20th century many influential Anglican priests were strong anti-communists, so there was always common ground to be found between the ROCOR and the local Christian churches.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ Maynard, 'Religion and Politics', 17-18. This magazine also had a full-page photograph (39) of Fr Susemihl, of ROCOR, who will be discussed later.

³⁶¹ 'Peace', *Journal of the Australian Peace Council* vol. 1, no. 2 (1950), 10. This statement was also included in Dean Johnson's *Message to Australia*, offered for sale after the Congress by the APC.

³⁶² Michael Protopopov, *A Russian Presence: A History of the Russian Church in Australia* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2006), 93.

³⁶³ 'Orthodox Russians revere the Sanctity of God's Temples'. Interview with Mitred Protopriest Michael Protopopov, *The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia*, available online at http://www.russianorthodoxchurch.ws/synod/engdocuments/enart_protopopovdiscussion.html, accessed 20 November 2009.

The headquarters of ROCOR was moved to the USA in the 1950s. The church inside Russia was regarded by those of the diaspora outside Russia with great suspicion and as being controlled by the regime. Additionally the plight of the 'white' Russians, who were being forced out of China by the new communist regime in 1949, was recognised by the Anglican church which assisted with funding their resettlement in Australia. The surge of displaced persons after WW2 resulted in the migration of priests, who were sent to migrant centres and then relocated out to establish worship centres for the Russian Diaspora. In Melbourne St Peter's Eastern Hill loaned the St Mary's Mission buildings in Fitzroy to ROCOR while its own centre was being built. Maynard was critical of the treatment of Russian Orthodoxy under the Soviet communist rule.³⁶⁴ The gratitude of ROCOR to Maynard was recorded at the opening of their new worship centre at Toorak, when Maynard was presented with an icon.³⁶⁵ The priest with whom Maynard had considerable contact was Fr Igor Susemihl.³⁶⁶ Susemihl, who had been praised by the ROCOR hierarchy for his work in establishing the church, was awarded by the archbishop the right to wear a gold pectoral cross at the church opening, even though he was not of the clerical rank entitled to wear one.³⁶⁷ Also established, with ROCOR blessing and connections, were émigré associations. These reflected 'the true nature of the Russian diaspora', showing it to be 'a political rather than an economic migration'. Both ROCOR and the groups were encouraged and 'openly courted' by the Menzies' Government.³⁶⁸ The Anglican Church maintained its support of ROCOR, attending the blessing of the foundations of their Cathedral church in Sydney. Also in attendance was Labor's Dr Evatt, who nonetheless gave a speech on behalf of the Menzies' Government, and Fr Susemihl who had travelled from Melbourne.³⁶⁹ Susemihl became involved in disputes involving him and his Fitzroy parishioners; he claimed these were in fact caused by the Solidarist Party, an anti-communist group. This claim was reported to the

³⁶⁴ See Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 227. Maynard's conviction that a synthesis of Christianity and Communism was necessary, where communists would be converted to Christianity is discussed by Holden on 229-231.

³⁶⁵ Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 133.

³⁶⁶ Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 105. See also *ACQ*, vol. 15, no. 2, 39, for a photograph of Susemihl.

³⁶⁷ Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 133.

³⁶⁸ Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 137, 147.

³⁶⁹ Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 138-139.

Synod in New York.³⁷⁰ Continuing strife resulted in Susemihl leaving ROCOR, together with many of his parishioners. He eventually became a priest in the Greek Orthodox Church—maintaining his ministry in St Mary's Anglican Missions church, which was under the jurisdiction of Canon Maynard. He later relocated to South Yarra. He left Australia for Europe in 1957; finally reappearing as a priest of the Moscow Patriarchate, which had proven links to the KGB.³⁷¹ He made many trips as a 'diplomat' for the Moscow Patriarchate. This work involved him attending 'various sessions of the World Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches'.³⁷² The irony of the foregoing is that Susemihl was indeed a KGB agent.

In 1994 the German government arrested him for espionage. Along with his childhood friend, George Trofimoff, chief of the Joint Interrogation Center in Nuremberg, Germany, from 1969 to 1994, They were released as the statutes of limitation for espionage had expired in Germany. Susemihl was by now Metropolitan Iriney of Vienna, where he died in 1999. Trofimoff returned to the US and was living in a military retirement village when arrested and convicted. Prosecutors claimed Susemihl 'recruited and assisted' Trofimoff in his association with the KGB.³⁷³ Both the Anglican Church in Australia and the Menzies' Government were unwise to have so wholeheartedly accepted ROCOR and the émigré organisations as allies in their fight against communism.

³⁷⁰ Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 161-162. See Yarra Bank Rally, *Canberra Times*, 4 May 1953, 4, for an example of the activities of the Solidarist party.

³⁷¹ See, for example, 'By the Church Gates', Folder 1, The Checklist Anthology.

'The Mitrokhin Archive': Cold War International History Project, Virtual Archive 2.0, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, available online at http://wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.browse&sort=Collection&item=The%20Mitrokhin%20Archive, accessed 29 November 2009. The verification of these links validates the concern felt by the US government in 1954 regarding the Orthodox delegates to the WCC Evanston meeting; see Helm, 'Evanston after 50 Years', note 762.

³⁷² Protopopov, *A Russian Presence*, 229, note 78.

³⁷³ 'Jury Convicts Army Officer Of Espionage For Soviets' *Washington Post*, 27 June 2009, 9. For validation of the claims that there were KGB agents in the Churches inside Russia see a Catholic World News story 'Confirmed: Russian Patriarch Worked with KGB', 22 September 2000, available online at <http://www.catholicculture.org/news/features/index.cfm?recnum=13868>, accessed 20 November 2009.

Jessie Street after the Peace Congress

Jessie chose virtual exile from Australia from mid-1950 until December 1956. This decision 'to save her husband intolerable embarrassment' was taken, with her family, after she consulted the dean of Canterbury, her trusted and admired mentor.³⁷⁴ Biographer Heather Radi dismissed this claim by Sekules,³⁷⁵ but it is not surprising Street might consult the dean. Street was greatly influenced by the dean, whom she first heard speak just after the war.³⁷⁶ She had already encountered isolation from the ALP because of her stance, but given the Menzies' Government's pledge to purge the country of communists and those that supported them, there would be worse to come. Jessie undoubtedly appreciated her social standing, which would inevitably suffer. She was also aware some of the Street family, including some of her own children,³⁷⁷ were definitely embarrassed and not supportive of her stance. Kenneth Street was well aware of his wife's energy and need to pursue her interests. Their son, Laurence, recalls his father whimsically replied, when asked what he prayed for when he knelt at church, 'For Jessie to be tired'.³⁷⁸ While some feminists, like Radi, refuse to accept that Jessie's action in leaving Australia could possibly have been motivated by Jessie's wish to further her husband's career—and enable her to continue her own interests unimpeded—they discount her Anglican upbringing which stressed the sanctity of marriage and high devotion to family. Additionally, the Anglican Church at that time looked on divorce as severely as the Roman Catholic Church; this was not an option for Anglicans such as the Streets. Most important of all, the Streets appear to have been a loving couple, within a family relationship. Examination of the 1950s therefore requires appreciation of the values prevailing at the time.

The departure of Jessie overseas—purportedly for six months to assist the British Peace Committee organise the ill-fated Sheffield World Peace Congress—was to lead to an absence of six years. Her input to family matters was conducted from afar, but nevertheless still apparent. Laurence received a letter from her while she was en route to England, wishing him best wishes for his twenty fifth birthday and hoping that he and his brother would

³⁷⁴ Sekules, *Jessie Street*, 20.

³⁷⁵ Radi, *Jessie Street*, 13-14.

³⁷⁶ Street, *Truth or Repose*, 307; Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 196.

³⁷⁷ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 227. Private letter to her daughter Belinda, 8 July 1955.

³⁷⁸ Critchley, 'The Street Family'.

become conscientious objectors if called up for the Korean War.³⁷⁹ Their reaction is not known. Jessie's letter to her daughter Belinda in 1955 defended her views to her daughter and revealed she did wish to come home.³⁸⁰ Her eventual return in December 1956, after Sir Kenneth's knighthood; saw her feted by her family and friends on her arrival, but also saw Sir Kenneth whisk her away from the limelight as soon as possible. Jessie had also maintained her links with the Australian organisations with whom she worked prior to her departure; she embraced the opportunity to be a player on the world stage. This was significant for the APC. Street became a vice-president of the World Peace Council, and was active in its affairs. The APC was not entirely happy with her efforts, 'they were insufficiently consulted about World Peace Council activities, [and] Stephen Murray-Smith, then an official of the Australian Peace Council, wrote to Jessie to complain of a lack of liaison'.³⁸¹

The Labour Attlee Government took action against the Sheffield World Peace Congress Jessie had come to help organise. Historian Phillip Deery has documented the measures taken by the UK to prevent the entry of 'all aliens wishing to attend a Congress 'subversive in character' and intent on 'sabotaging the country's defence plans',³⁸² by the refusal of entry visas using the recently stiffened *persona non grata* provision.³⁸³ The World Peace Congress had to be relocated to Warsaw at very short notice. The immensity of the operation bore testament to the number of delegates who were to be involved—2,500 in all, amongst them were 25 Australians. The hapless Australians had become involved since their passports 'carried that Cold War signature, 'Not Valid for Iron Curtain Countries'.³⁸⁴ Their return to Australia was complicated by Australian Government intervention.³⁸⁵ There can be no doubt that the relocation of this Congress was seen as vital in the identification by Britain and the USA of the WPC as a communist instrument in the growing Cold War. Archbishops Fisher and Garbett, as 'active counters to the peace movement, both within and outside the United

³⁷⁹ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 221, 'Letter to Lon from his affectionate Mother BOAC between Darwin and Djakarta', 1 July 1950.

³⁸⁰ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 221, 'A private letter to Mrs Belinda Mackay', 227.

³⁸¹ NLA: MS2683/4/220, 'Letter from Stephen Murray-Smith' 8 April 1954, cited in Radi, *Jessie Street*, 235-236.

³⁸² Phillip Deery, 'The Dove Flies East: Whitehall, Warsaw and the 1950 World Peace Congress', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2002), 449-468.

³⁸³ Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', 457.

³⁸⁴ Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', 464.

³⁸⁵ Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', 465, note 97.

Kingdom',³⁸⁶ especially in view of their impending visits to Australia, set an example to those in Australia seeking to combat communism by religious means. While this example was disregarded by Anglicans committed to the WPC, the archbishops' stated aim was to counter the impact of Dean Johnson's 'campaign'.³⁸⁷ There is no evidence that the archbishops had any effect on Jessie Street.

The Menzies' Government had no intention of permitting Jessie free rein from her English base. The Minister for Immigration (as well as Labour and National Service), Harold Holt, was a long-time anti-communist who was also committed to preserving 'the predominately British character of our population'.³⁸⁸ He supported Australian participation in the Korean War, instituting national service training in 1951, although no conscripts served in Korea. He was later to use the confiscation of passports as a weapon against Australians wishing to travel abroad to attend World Peace conferences. Jessie Street was able to circumvent Holt in this matter, since she held both a British and an Australian passport, and so was able to travel freely to report back to the APC. Other APC identities who held British passports, such as Canon Maynard, were also able to use this loophole.³⁸⁹ This restriction by the Government on alleged 'Reds' to attend 'so-called Peace conferences' was not rescinded until 1955.³⁹⁰ A major confrontation at a French checkpoint, when Jessie was refused entry and listed as 'undesirable' shortly after the Warsaw Peace Congress resulted when Holt claimed under parliamentary privilege that her British passport was bogus. Jessie's angry response was published in the *Canberra Times*, claiming 'it is out of place for a supposedly responsible Australian Minister to blacken the reputation of a reputable Australian whose only crime is a different political point of view'.³⁹¹ The confidential report from the High Commission in London claimed that the French considered Street 'was not *persona grata* because of certain speeches she made here on her last visit', but emphasised that the reason for being refused entry was on account of her passport.³⁹² Since Jessie was wont to claim that

³⁸⁶ Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate', 271.

³⁸⁷ Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate', 272.

³⁸⁸ Tom Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2002), 65.

³⁸⁹ Maynard represented the Peace Quest Forum at Peking—Victor James, who also held a British passport was the APC delegate.

³⁹⁰ Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt*, 50. The case of Anglican Rev. Neil Glover will be discussed later in this thesis.

³⁹¹ Coltheart, *Jessie Street*, 223; NAA: A6119, 362. f. 103, 55, 15 January 1952.

³⁹² NAA: A6119/22, 362, f. 103, 61, Restricted report, 1 December 1951.

'the armed forces who were today fighting in Korea under the UN flag had been enlisted and controlled not under the UN charter but under the provisions of the Atlantic Pact',³⁹³ it is not surprising that she incurred the wrath of the West.

Jessie Street's continued involvement and support for Dr Evatt's efforts to fight the Menzies' Government's measures against the CPA, are recorded in her letter to him of 10 April 1951. In this letter she congratulated him on his 'courage to appear in the Appeal against the Communist Party Dissolution Act; and also your success in winning this Appeal'. Street commiserated with Evatt on the 'vile campaign and sabotage of your campaign by the great enemies of progress', she revealed she knew 'from bitter experience how insidious their attacks are'. Street indicated her desire to remain involved in Australian affairs from afar; she wanted Evatt to embrace her suggestions regarding the way forward for the Labor Party, and in particular how to restrict the power of the 'Capitalist Press'.³⁹⁴ Street's Anglican and Establishment connections, already outlined, were especially reinforced by her marriage to the Chief Justice of NSW, who acted as Lieutenant Governor to represent the British monarch when required. Like her associate and friend, Hewlett Johnson, she had become one of the international influences felt in Australia.

Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Australia

On 30 June 1950 a photograph of the austere primate of All-England and spiritual head of Anglican Church worldwide, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Fisher, appeared in the personal column of the *ACR*, together with a brief comment that he hoped to visit Australia in 1950.³⁹⁵ The *ACR* was regarded as the voice of the evangelical Sydney diocese, but also circulated widely across Australia. Its tone was stridently anti-communist.

The *ACR* was a very real influence on the Anglican Church in Australia from its establishment in Sydney in 1880. In the interwoven fabric of the Sydney diocese in the 1950s the family ties which existed in the clergy worked to strengthen the influence of the

³⁹³ NAA: A6119/22, 362., f. 108, 57, 'Speech by Jessie Street' n.d.

³⁹⁴ NLA: MS2683/7/77-8, 10 April 1951 Cited in Radi, *Jessie Street*, 163-165.

³⁹⁵ 'The Archbishop of Canterbury hopes to visit Australia in 1950', *Australian Church Record* (hereafter *ACR*), 30 June 1950. This visit should be viewed in light of his intention to be 'an active counter' to the dean of Canterbury. In fact Fisher had already advised the King of his intended absence, and planning was well underway. Fisher could present a forbidding countenance, journalist Douglas Wilkie referred to Fisher's 'magisterial mouth' in his report of an interview with Fisher. See Douglas Wilkie, 'the Mind and Manner of a Man of God', *Sun*, 2 November 1950, 9.

paper. Canon D. J. Knox and Archdeacon Richard Robinson were long time members of the board. Their sons, (David) Broughton Knox and Donald Robinson, both members of the evangelical clergy in Sydney, became closely involved in the paper. Broughton Knox contributed articles while studying overseas, and stressed it was the articles 'which did the permanent good' but that church news was important as people bought it for its news content. He requested his father to 'get some of the younger clergy emerging from Moore College involved' in the paper.³⁹⁶

On his return from England Broughton Knox taught at Moore College under the Principal, T. C. Hammond, with the aim of turning the evangelical Moore College into 'a powerhouse for the Diocese of Sydney'.³⁹⁷ Marcus Loane, Knox's brother-in-law, was Vice Principal. Knox joined forces with Donald Robinson (later to be archbishop of Sydney) after Robinson joined Moore College as a senior lecturer in 1952 to become 'most involved in Diocesan affairs and the *ACR*'.³⁹⁸ Both their fathers, Canon D. J. Knox and Archdeacon Richard Robinson, also contributed articles to *ACR*. The lack of by-lines makes attribution of the articles difficult. However, there certainly was no doubt about the orientation of the paper and its anti-communist stance.

Indicative of this was its labelling of the 1949 coal strike as 'The Communistic Strike'. It rejoiced that:

...the revelations being made by an erstwhile Communist leader in Melbourne and the deliberate statements by government leaders have more or less pulled aside the veil and enabled the industrial workers to recognise the cloven hoof of Communism muddying the otherwise quiet waters of our common life. The brazen outspokenness of these inside foes have added to the disillusionment of the people they have been trying to embroil in this civil conflict. More and more we hope the eyes of the people have been opened generally to realise the real aims of these men whose secret plannings have placed them in a position of power to affect for ill the social structure against which all their ill deeds are aimed. Communism is a godless creed, and can only appeal in its entirety to men and women whose hearts are hardened against the truth and are set against any peace that social righteousness can bring about. 'There is no peace, said my God to the wicked'. And their one aim seems to be to make peace impossible for anyone else. A devilish philosophy!³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Marcia Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life: David Broughton Knox: Father of Contemporary Sydney Anglicanism* (Brunswick East: Acorn Press, 2006), 119-120.

³⁹⁷ Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life*, 134. Broughton Knox became Principal of Moore College in 1958. He is credited with introducing Calvinism to Moore, as well as making it Protestant rather than Anglican.

³⁹⁸ Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life*, 127-129.

³⁹⁹ 'The Communistic Strike', *ACR*, 14 July 1949, 3.

The paper maintained this extreme attitude during the 1950s, and was especially assiduous in bringing forward any material supportive of its position to influence Australian Anglicans. Archbishop Fisher's visit would have been especially welcomed, given his anti-communist credentials. In fact, plans were already being formulated. As early as 22 July 1949 Dr Fisher had indicated he would accept an invitation to visit Australia, and tentative arrangements were discussed.⁴⁰⁰ Fisher asked the primate of Australia (Dr Mowll) if he should bring his primatial cross since 'I ought to make as good a show of myself as I can'.⁴⁰¹ The primate of New Zealand, Archbishop Campbell West-Watson, advised him to bring his train as well.⁴⁰² The 'draft programme' for the archbishop's visit was approved at the Standing Committee of General Synod's Meeting on 10th February 1950.⁴⁰³ It revealed Mrs Fisher did not wish to travel by air. She preferred to accompany her husband to all his engagements if possible but that she was prepared to address women's meetings, especially those of the Mothers' Union, if the archbishop was engaged with bishop or clergy meetings. The itinerary was fashioned to accommodate these preferences.

Mowll explained that the 'visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Australia and New Zealand is an event of unusual interest and importance'.⁴⁰⁴ It was the first time a primate of All England had ever visited the Southern Hemisphere. Mowll's announcement was also made in the *Church Standard*, as well as in the *ACR*. The *Church Standard* was also based in Sydney but regarded as a more moderate paper and it enjoyed a wider circulation.

The Archbishop's visit is of wider significance than for the Church of England alone. An Archbishop of Canterbury holds a very important position in the national life of Great Britain, ranking next to Royalty. He is a leader in the House of Lords, and his coming among us emphasises the fact the importance of religion in our national life. He is also one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches, and the fact reminds us of the contribution which the Christian Church has to make to the solution of world problems.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁰ See Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee of the General Synod, 22 July 1949.

⁴⁰¹ 'Fisher to Mowll', Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 16 June 1950, 289.

⁴⁰² Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 16 June 1950, 289.

⁴⁰³ 'Draft Programme as approved at the Standing Committee of General Synod's meeting' 10 February 1950. I am grateful to the General Synod archivist, Anglican Church of Australia for receipt of this and other relevant material.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Archbishop of Canterbury's visit', *ACR*, 7 September 1950, 15. See also 'Fisher's Visit to Aust and NZ, 1949-1950', Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 287-292.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Archbishop of Canterbury's visit', *ACR*, 7 September 1950, 15. See also *the Church Standard*, 1 Sept. 1950, vol. XXXVIII no. 1964, 5. There was intense rivalry between the *ACR* and the *Standard*. Neither was ever the official paper of the Anglican Church in Australia. The rivalry became more intense when the *Standard* was

The archbishop was to travel by the *'Dominion Monarch'* to reach Fremantle on 16 October 1950. He would be accompanied by Mrs Fisher and a chaplain. An exhaustive schedule was outlined, which saw him travelling across Australia and concluding his tour in Sydney on 24 November, from where he would embark for New Zealand.⁴⁰⁶ Following extensive visits to country centres in NSW he was due to arrive in Sydney from Canberra—where the party would stay with the Governor General, Sir William and Lady McKell—in the latter part of the afternoon of Friday 17 November. Archbishop Fisher was to be officially welcomed at St Andrew's Cathedral, call on the Governor of NSW, have dinner with the Premier and Cabinet, and attend a reception in the Town Hall in the evening. Saturday was to be a day free of engagements, Sunday would see him preach at the cathedral and then travel to Wollongong to speak at a united service. Monday saw him at a civic reception given for him by the Lord Mayor, consecrate a chapel at Moore College in the afternoon and then speak in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches (of which he was one of the World Presidents). The following day, a talk was scheduled to the Schools' Service at the Cathedral at 2.30 p.m., followed by a meeting with Old Reptonians (the school at which Fisher was headmaster in England prior to becoming a bishop). In the evening he was to be honoured with a State Dinner. The Fishers were to be the guests of the Governor, Lord and Lady Northcott, for the remainder of their stay in Sydney, relocating from Bishopcourt. On 21 November, the archbishop would meet with archbishops and bishops of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania, while Mrs Fisher addressed a Women's Rally in the Town Hall, organised by the Church of England Mothers' Union. The Governor would entertain at Government House in the evening so that others could meet the archbishop and Mrs Fisher. At the commencement of the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia on Thursday 13 November the archbishop would deliver the opening sermon to the assembled bishops in the Cathedral. The formal opening was in the afternoon; the day would finish with the archbishop preaching at the Australian Board of Missions Centenary service, again in the Cathedral. The Cathedral would also be the venue for a farewell to the Fishers on 24 November 1950, before the

incorporated into the *Anglican*, in August 1952, under the editorship of Mrs Joyce James, with her husband, Francis James, the Managing Director of a company with an advisory board which included bishops who had responded to Francis James' approaches to form a church newspaper which stood for 'Anglicanism in general... not any particular standpoint', *Anglican*, 15 August 1952, 1-2.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Archbishop of Canterbury's visit', *ACR*, 7 September 1950, 15.

archbishop and Mrs Fisher left for New Zealand on the *Monowai* for New Zealand.⁴⁰⁷ The demanding nature of his visit was obvious in this schedule, especially since he was to travel across Australia after his arrival on 16 October; each place visited vied to extract the utmost from the visit of their primate. The trip also emphasised the close relationship of the Church of England with the State.

The latter part of Archbishop Fisher's visit, in particular the last few days in Sydney when he attended General Synod, was of great importance to the Australian church. Fisher wanted the Church of England in Australia to adopt a constitution. His project was an effort to create a new national church, in place of the various dioceses that held differing theological and liturgical stances, dependant on churchmanship.⁴⁰⁸ Attempts to achieve this unity in Australia had previously proved fruitless. That Fisher was eventually able to influence the Australians to adopt a constitution bore testament to his hands-on involvement, and was a significant indicator of his power and control. He used his sermons to advantage to expound his views; these were duly reported, not only in the church papers but in the secular press. Fisher's sermon on 19 November in St Andrew's Cathedral stressed 'the idolatry of Soviet Russia where Communist creed is enforced by every possible means on its citizens'.⁴⁰⁹ Fisher made specific reference to the rifts between Anglo-catholics and evangelicals in his address to the House of the Bishops on 22 November. He felt this speech, which covered diverse subjects, 'blows straight from the shoulder....the best thing I did in the Antipodes'.⁴¹⁰

While the program Fisher had undertaken in Melbourne prior to the Sydney visit lacked the pomp, ceremony and importance of a General Synod gathering—not to mention the attendance of the archbishop of New Zealand and the bishops of Singapore and Borneo—there was the chance to combat any lingering vestiges of the visit in April of dean Johnson. Victoria was again suffering from industrial strife as it was during the dean's visit. The

⁴⁰⁷ 'Special notice of the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury', Diocesan News, *ACR*, 2 November 1950, 19.

⁴⁰⁸ See 'Constitution' Anglican Church of Australia, available online

<http://www.anglican.org.au/index.cfm?SID=2&SSID=6> accessed 6 August 2008. This document has the incorrect date for Dr Fisher's return to England – it should read 1950 (not 1955). See also Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 297; Keith Rayner, 'The Idea of a National Church in Australian Anglicanism', in Tom Frame and Geoffrey Treloar (eds), *Agendas for Australian Anglicanism: Essays in Honour of Bruce Kaye* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2006), 29-56; Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 186-190.

⁴⁰⁹ The scope and depth of the reports on the archbishop's tour was encompassing; particularly since the archbishop also made many broadcast addresses. Each diocese at that time had its own paper, and often each church its own paper. The visit seems to have been entirely disregarded in the 'left' press, such as the *Guardian*.

⁴¹⁰ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 296.

archbishop drew attention to this, as he wryly thanked railways union leader Mr J. J. Brown for the opportunity to travel from Adelaide to Melbourne by car, and thus see more of the countryside.⁴¹¹ In stark contrast to the hostility and boycott suffered by Johnson, the diocese of Melbourne fêted the Fishers. Archbishop Booth enthused that 'no event comparable with the visit of the Archbishop had taken place within the Diocese in its history'.⁴¹² Fisher referred to his visit as a 'non-stop talking tour'.⁴¹³ The 'talking' contained frequent references to 'the common bond of our citizenship in the British Commonwealth'.

Additional emphasis was given to the values of Anglicanism and the British way of life by the addresses Mrs Fisher gave across the country. She was Central President of the Mothers' Union (MU) of the Church of England, a body which embraced all dioceses of the communion worldwide. Membership was reserved for Anglican mothers committed to the sanctity of marriage and the Christian way of life.⁴¹⁴ In 1917 Geoffrey Fisher had married Rosamond Forman, the daughter of Anglican clergyman; she was 'a prop and mainstay' to Fisher throughout his life. They had six sons and a happy close-knit family life.⁴¹⁵ The large welcome given to Mrs Fisher in the Melbourne Town Hall by the MU was presided over by the wife of the archbishop of Melbourne, Mrs Booth. Three thousand five hundred women attended, amongst whom were Lady Brooks, Mrs McDonald, (the wife of the Premier), Mrs Disney, (the Lady Mayoress), Bishop Johnson's wife, other luminaries of the MU from Central Travancore (India), some from Scotland, the ACC President of the MU, as well as the President of the National Council of Women. They were exhorted by Mrs Fisher to 'deepen their own faith in prayer'.⁴¹⁶ MU workers were being sent out to all parts where missionary work was being undertaken and members should 'encourage and help this work'. Mrs Fisher believed that women were to blame for 'allowing men, from the beginning, to assume the whole responsibility of government'.⁴¹⁷ While the MU was a very influential body in the

⁴¹¹ *Church Standard*, vol. XXXV111, no. 1957, 17 November 1950, 6.

⁴¹² 'A Letter from the Archbishop', *The Church of England Messenger*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 1978, 17 November 1950, front page.

⁴¹³ 'The Exhibition Meeting', *The Church of England Messenger*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 1978, 392. Presumably Fisher was referring to the many addresses he gave.

⁴¹⁴ 'The Mothers' Union Welcome to Mrs Fisher', *The Church of England Messenger*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 1978, 389-390.

⁴¹⁵ Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 13.

⁴¹⁶ 'The Mothers' Union Welcome to Mrs Fisher', *The Church of England Messenger*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 1978, 17 November 1950, 390.

⁴¹⁷ 'The Mothers' Union Welcome to Mrs Fisher'.

Church of England, there is no evidence that better representation for women in the governance of the church resulted from these words. The Anglican church remained a patriarchal, hierarchical structure, and the MU a compliant part of the institution.

While many of the events on the Melbourne program were similar to those to be held in Sydney, or the same as those held in the many places the archbishop had already visited, a People's Welcome on 2 November 1950 was noteworthy. It was held in the Exhibition Building, which had been the scene of Dean Johnson's triumph. Although there were some similarities—a train strike making it difficult for those who attended—there could not have been greater contrast between the official parties for the two events. The Exhibition buildings were 'flag bedecked and floodlit'. Again clerical garb graced the platform, but not the sombre black of the dean and the 'Peace Parsons'. Archbishops Fisher and Booth as well as Bishop Johnson were described by the *Sun* newspaper as wearing 'red and white ceremonial robes'.⁴¹⁸ The Chancellor of the Diocese, Sir Edmund Herring, wore 'the black and ermine robes of the Chancellor's office', the archbishop's chaplain, Rev. Clive Pare, was resplendent in a purple cloak, and carried the magnificent jewelled Canterbury Cross.⁴¹⁹ Much was made of the presence of the six foot high Cross—it was normally only used at the coronation or special state occasions. Made of silver gilt, it was studded with diamonds, rubies, sapphires and pearls. Its hexagonal double-tired base bore the figures of six saints important to the see of Canterbury, while above was the Agnus Dei on one side and 'the pelican in her piety' on the other;⁴²⁰ at the top was the modified Maltese Cross that the archbishops of Canterbury had adopted as their own.⁴²¹ In attendance were the Vice Regal representatives, Sir Dallas and Lady Brooks, and their daughter Miss Jean Brooks, along with 200 clergy and eight bishops, a contrast to the communist hierarchy assembled for the Peace Congress. Replacing the Congress banners which had proclaimed 'Courage Patriots we can stop the war' and the Peace Dove, were the flags of England and the Anglican Church. While

⁴¹⁸ *The Sun Newspaper*, 3 November 1950, 6. The dress adopted by the archbishops and bishop was a white rochet under either red or black chimera.

⁴¹⁹ *The Sun Newspaper*, 3 November 1950, 6. Sir Edmund Herring, in fact, probably wore judges' robes, he was Chief High Justice of Victoria at the time. Rev. Pare was headmaster of the King's School at Canterbury. Fisher paid Pare's fare and an allowance while he was his chaplain on the visit. See Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 289.

⁴²⁰ This representation of a pelican wounding her breast to feed her young blood was used in heraldry as a symbol of the Passion of Christ and of charity from medieval times.

⁴²¹ 'The Canterbury Cross', *The Church of England Messenger*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 1978, 17 November 1950, 396.

there may have been some who attended both events, such as Canons W. A. G. Thomas and F. E. Maynard, there was no multi-cultural 'guard' of children here,⁴²² those attending were members of the Church of England whose tickets were distributed by their Parishes. 12,000 people attended; some 2,000 more than the Congress had attracted. A discordant note was struck when the APC pamphlet, 'The Dean of Canterbury's Message to Australia', was distributed amongst the faithful. The *Argus* newspaper claimed it had been folded so that the word Canterbury stood out, but claimed there had been warnings to those attending to disregard the pamphlet.⁴²³

The speeches given that evening contrasted starkly to the 'prophetic voice' of the 'Red' dean. Sir Edmund Herring, well-known as an anti-communist, told the archbishop and Mrs Fisher:

They had come at a moment in the history of Australia and of the world when mankind stood at the crossroads trying to make up its mind whether it was going the Christian way or some other way.⁴²⁴

Archbishop Booth kept his address short, so that Mrs Fisher could tell the meeting of 'women's work' in the church at 'home'.⁴²⁵ Archbishop Fisher's address emphasised the worldwide fellowship of the Anglican Communion, how he had been shown that the Anglican tradition existed in Australia as in England, and that it would be strengthened as all in the Communion had faith.⁴²⁶ There is no doubt Fisher found the Melbourne diocese a reassuring place, regarding it as 'a bridge between Sydney's distinctive style of Protestantism' and what Fisher considered to be the 'extreme Anglo-Catholicism of Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth'.⁴²⁷

⁴²² 'Peace', *Journal of the Australian Peace Council*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1950), 2.

⁴²³ 'Red Dean' Pamphlet Distributed', *Argus*, 3 November 1950, 3.

⁴²⁴ 'People's Welcome', *The Church of England Messenger*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 1978, 17 November 1950, 393. In addition to being Chancellor of the Diocese (the highest position available to a layman), Sir Edmund Herring was also a distinguished soldier in both World Wars, who was put in charge of recruiting for the Korean War in August 1950.

⁴²⁵ 'People's Welcome'.

⁴²⁶ 'People's Welcome', 394-395.

⁴²⁷ Paul Nicholls, 'Barchester in Australia? Elections to the See of Melbourne, 1847-1990', in Colin Holden (ed.), *People of the Past: The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture* (Carlton: The History Department, University of Melbourne, 2000), 107-120: 112.

In addition to his demanding official schedule, Fisher also ensured the maintenance of influential connections. He visited his ex-pupil, Sir James Darling,⁴²⁸ headmaster of Geelong Grammar School, and sought out the Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University, Sir John Medley. In Sydney he celebrated 8 a.m. Communion at the society church of St Mark's, Darling Point. The importance of Anglican schools to the Communion was reflected by the number of schools Fisher visited. These church schools were integral to the perpetuation of Anglicanism. The 'old school tie' represented not only wealth and power, but standards of behaviour and imbued morals and values expected to be followed for life. Commenting on education, he said someone had told him 'that Russia had progressed rapidly in education. It now had 100,000 schools going'. He said that 'The question was: What were the children being taught?' 'I know what goes on in Russia. It might be better if they only had one school going.'⁴²⁹ This comment was made at the luncheon given him by the Victorian Government, in which he stressed the 'vital role' the church must play 'with its Christian motive' in the welfare of the State. He gave numerous press interviews on all manner of matters across Australia, which received widespread publication in both secular and church newspapers. The visit, by any measure, was an outstanding success.

The Fishers departed Sydney for New Zealand on schedule on Friday 24 November. The boat trip home to England from New Zealand allowed the archbishop to hone his acknowledged administrative and legal skills by rewriting an Anglican Constitution for Australia.⁴³⁰ A formal welcome home to Britain was given on 30 January 1951. Fisher recounted his tour on the BBC Home Service World Today program on 6 February 1951, and kept receiving memorabilia from across Australia for some time to come. The tour to Australia was paid for by the British Council, while the governments of Australia and New Zealand 'offered hospitality'.⁴³¹ The WA state government provided a special coach on the train to Kalgoorlie, while the Commonwealth government attached one to the

⁴²⁸ Darling had been a student editor of the controversial *A Public School Looks at the World* while at Repton. This magazine developed from a civics class during WW1 initiated by Victor Gollancz (a teacher at the school during the Great War) in combination with the senior history master, David Somervell. The civics class discussed socialism and other social issues. The *Pubber*, as it was known by the boys, was shut down by Fisher after five issues and Gollancz dismissed. The incident caused some to accuse the school of pacifism at a time when old boys were being killed on the 'front'. See Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 10-13.

⁴²⁹ 'Church Role Vital in the Welfare of the State', *Sun*, Tuesday 31 October 1950, 18.

⁴³⁰ See Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 186-187, for comment on adoption of the constitution.

⁴³¹ Fisher to Mowll, Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 23 February 1951, 291.

Transcontinental train for the party to cross the Nullarbor.⁴³² Fisher indicated that he did not intend to allow his English clergy to emulate his triumphant tour down under. Up until the adoption of the Constitution, the civil and ecclesiastical government in Britain was legally entitled to 'interfere' with the church in Australia.⁴³³ Fisher had the reputation as an interventionist.⁴³⁴ He used his power to the full, and denied permission for the bishop of Bath and Wells to visit when he was invited to tour Australia in April-July 1951. The bishop was summarily told not to go: 'his duties will keep him too busy, it is the prerogative of the Abp. of Canterbury to invite Engl [sic.] diocesan to tour abroad'.⁴³⁵ The bishop meekly agreed. Even the trusted archbishop of York, Dr Garbett, was told not to accept an invitation to travel to Australia in May 1950, but to go in April 1951, depending on when King George might go. Fisher advised that Australia will 'do "pretty well" to get George Bell [bishop of Chichester] one year, himself the next, and Garbett the next after that'. Garbett also agreed.⁴³⁶ Garbett's visit to Australia was announced by Mowll in the same *ACR* that gave details of the farewell given to the Fishers.⁴³⁷

Fisher's domination of the church, and his anti-communism, most certainly affected Australia. Especially following his visit to Australia and New Zealand 'he claimed to understand personally the problems of the church in these dominions'.⁴³⁸ He had sent several 'episcopal forerunners' in 1947-1949, including Bishops E. S. Woods of Litchfield⁴³⁹ and G. K. A. Bell of Chichester,⁴⁴⁰ who supplied him with written reports.⁴⁴¹ The appointment of bishops to Australia was strictly monitored by Fisher and his blunt comments on those put forward for appointment were sufficient to quash the chance of any he felt not suitable. One person who appeared to have his measure was Hewlett Johnson, who had no need of Fisher's approval in his position at Canterbury. It was also obvious that the dean need not expect to advance further. Fisher was known to content himself with humour in dealing with the dean, 'Dare I say that when he is home I wish he were overseas? And still more profoundly, when

⁴³² Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 289.

⁴³³ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, Series Foreword

⁴³⁴ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, Introduction, 8.

⁴³⁵ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 'Proposed visit of bp. of Bath and Wells to the Antipodes, 1950', 296.

⁴³⁶ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 288.

⁴³⁷ 'The Archbishop of York' *ACR*, 30 November 1950, 9.

⁴³⁸ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, Introduction, 6.

⁴³⁹ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 273.

⁴⁴⁰ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 294.

⁴⁴¹ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 294.

he is overseas, I wish he were home'.⁴⁴² His position was clear, 'There are only two kinds of people in the world who know what they are after. One, quite frankly, is the Communist. The other, equally frankly, is the convinced Christian...The rest of the world are amiable non entities...'.⁴⁴³ This remark pithily defined Archbishop Fisher's view of the place of the Anglican Church in the Cold War struggle.

The attempt to ban the Communist Party

The archbishop's visit to Australia came at a time of immense political turmoil in the political scene in Australia. The proclamation of the Menzies' Government's *Communist Party Dissolution Act* (1950) was immediately challenged in the High Court by the CPA and ten prominent unions.⁴⁴⁴ Dr H. V. Evatt 'argued persuasively against the *Act*, to the political discomfort of many of his ALP colleagues'.⁴⁴⁵ As previously mentioned Dr Evatt, an Anglican, had connections both to Bishop Burgmann and to Jessie Street. Bishop Burgmann of Goulburn was a rarity, an Australian Anglican bishop, who held socialist convictions and who was a supporter of the ALP.⁴⁴⁶ Burgmann had relinquished involvement with the Australia-Soviet Friendship League, which the ALP had proscribed in 1950.⁴⁴⁷ He had 'picked his way carefully among the protagonists' in the 1949 Coal Strike. He condemned the communist leaders in the strike for their 'gross lack of any sense of national responsibility, or any real concern for the welfare of the workers of Australia, including the miners'. He dismissed the leaders of the CPA, 'not a very desirable lot out here', where 'they were able to escape the responsibility of making a government work, unlike their Russian colleagues'.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴² Sam Welles, 'Religion-The Christian Hope', *Time*, 6 September 1954, available online <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,820100-4,00.html> accessed 6 December 09.

⁴⁴³ Welles, 'Religion...'

⁴⁴⁴ Love, 'Australia's Cold War', 11-22: 17.

⁴⁴⁵ Love, 'Australia's Cold War', 17

⁴⁴⁶ Burgmann's appointment was 'unexpected'. The bishop of Goulburn, Lewis Radford, requested the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Lang (by cable 17 April 1933) to relieve him of his duties due to ill-health. See Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 253. No reference is made in Frappell's Calendar relating to Burgmann's appointment, but he had been passed over for appointment to Newcastle in 1930 and it was considered he would be offered a bishopric soon. Archbishop Cosmo Lang was not of Fisher's ilk, Lang 'advised, exhorted, encouraged but never commanded' as also had his predecessor Archbishop Davidson (see Frappell, *Anglican in the Antipodes*, 6).

⁴⁴⁷ Hempenstall, 'Burgmann, Ernest Henry (1885-1967)', 300-301.

⁴⁴⁸ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 290.

His pre-occupation in the 1950s was with his own growing diocese, which contained the national capital Canberra.⁴⁴⁹ The diocese was renamed to reflect this; it became the diocese of Canberra and Goulburn.⁴⁵⁰ Burgmann was ambitious for the diocese, a late advocate that it should have a cathedral in keeping with its higher status now that it was a busy capital, a vision he had previously rejected.⁴⁵¹ St Mark's Library was also his pet project. However he became involved in 'affairs of state... highlighting the fact that the relations between church and state could still create problems'.⁴⁵²

Burgmann, like others in the church, had qualms regarding Menzies' legislation to ban the communists. Writing in the *ACR* he advised caution; pointing out that 'Great Britain, in spite of intense strain, has found her political and economic structure strong enough to allow very large measures of traditional freedom and toleration'. Burgmann considered such legislation could give a false sense of security. There was need develop 'our own social conditions', and 'retain our personal freedoms as well'. The message was that 'the challenge of the Communist can be turned to good account', and that what was needed was 'cultural and moral strength and conviction that confidentially seeks to convert him from the error of his ways'.⁴⁵³ There were other Anglican Communion voices willing to become involved in this debate, despite the known views on communism of the archbishop of Canterbury. Later in 1950 the more measured *Church Standard* gave front page position to a sermon given by the bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, in South Africa on 11 June 1950. Reeves was one who considered the South African Government's move to 'eradicate Communism from the Union' would only drive it underground.⁴⁵⁴ Reeves also called attention to the need to fight communism by '... justice and equity within the State. Every Christian should support the State in this endeavour'.⁴⁵⁵

The same disquiet was not voiced in the *ACR*. Under the heading of 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing', and addressed to 'All true citizens of the Empire' came a report of 'the

⁴⁴⁹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 290, 291

⁴⁵⁰ 'Goulburn Diocese re-named', *ACR*, 4 May 1950, Vol 14, 9. The equivalent Roman Catholic diocese had been similarly renamed in 1948.

⁴⁵¹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 265. Burgmann was at first dismissive of the importance of Canberra, but became convinced later in his term of office.

⁴⁵² Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 291.

⁴⁵³ 'Bishop on Banning Communists', *ACR*, 1 June 1950, 2.

⁴⁵⁴ Bp Rt Rev'd Reeves, 'Can Communism Be Banished by Legislation', *Church Standard* 1950, vol XXXVIII, no 1961, 18 August 1950, 1.

⁴⁵⁵ Reeves, 'Can Communism Be Banished by Legislation'.

outspoken warning' by the State Governor of NSW, Sir John Northcott, of 'a subversive and traitorous element... infiltrating into everything worthwhile... going under various guises and various names'.⁴⁵⁶ The *ACR* article considered the 'opportunists' who urged it would be a mistake to 'drive the Communists underground' should accept from Sir John's warning that the communists were already underground. Additionally, the 'insidious petition for peace' going round the country, was 'evilily designed by its promoters to hinder the government in its support of the UN policy and fight for Korea'.⁴⁵⁷ The article drew attention to 'the pity' that 'people are so gullible... some of our church leaders or would-be leaders are not exempt from blame'.⁴⁵⁸ Reinforcement of the sentiments expressed came in the form of an extract from the *Church of England Newspaper* tying the peace petition to the Korean War. 'Simple-minded people (who exist even among Christians!) are taken in'.⁴⁵⁹ The outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950 isolated those churchmen like Burgmann who wanted greater consideration of such a momentous step as *The Communist Dissolution Act*.

The declaration that the *Act* was invalid, and the subsequent referendum by the Menzies' Government to acquire 'constitutional power to outlaw the Communist Party and hunt down Communists around the country', saw Burgmann again in the political limelight. Other Anglican leaders also involved themselves in affairs of state. The population was divided, literally, on the Yes or No question to be answered in the Referendum. Some Anglican clergy unexpectedly supported the No camp. Bishop Moyes of Armidale and the dean of Sydney, S. Barton Babbage were part of a group of clergymen who crossed denominational and state lines to publish a statement in *Sydney Morning Herald*.⁴⁶⁰ The *Guardian* also listed those who supported the No case, including the dean of Sydney, Dr Barton Babbage, the bishop of Goulburn, Dr E. Burgmann; the bishop of Armidale, Dr Moyes; Canon Maynard; and Canon Davidson of St James Sydney.⁴⁶¹ While Burgmann was to draw the venom, one of his priests summed up the feelings of disquiet many had with the proposed referendum.

I, with many Australians, will vote 'No', not because we under-estimate the communist menace, nor because we have any sympathy with Communism, but

⁴⁵⁶ 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing', *ACR*, 24 August 1950, 5

⁴⁵⁷ 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing'. The petition was the Stockholm Peace Appeal

⁴⁵⁸ 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing' The *Church of England News* was a widely quoted English church newspaper.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing'.

⁴⁶⁰ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 291.

⁴⁶¹ See the *Guardian*, 20 September 1951, 3.

because we will not tolerate this Australian Constitution becoming a modern form of the Inquisition—still dear, in however a refined a form, to the totalitarian heart.⁴⁶²

Burgmann's assertion in the *Southern Churchman*, the voice of his diocese, in early September that 'the Roman Catholics are behind the present Government in this proposed legislation, and are no doubt supporting the Government vigorously'⁴⁶³ saw the battle lines drawn. The *ACR* thundered that Burgmann was attempting to 'frighten men and women into a negative vote... following the woeful example of the Leader of the Opposition [Dr Evatt]'. Burgmann's past connections to organisations with communist influences were used to decry 'a bishop of our church' trying to influence men and women who believe in the British way of life. His use of the Roman Catholics was dismissed as 'but a red, and a very red, herring, to divert ou[r] attention from the main and important issues'.⁴⁶⁴ The *ACR* issue of 20 September did contain two letters of support for Burgmann: one was critical of his use of his position to try to influence Anglicans, but nevertheless applauding him for his stand against the Roman Catholics; the other thankful for the guidance and advice from bishops of the church, but stating he 'still will vote as a free man'.⁴⁶⁵ Burgmann even drew mild criticism from the *Church Standard*, a paper normally supportive of him. The high profile of Burgmann ensured that his views were widely circulated; it also ensured he received vitriolic attention from—among others—the very political Roman Catholic Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, who accused him of 'sectarianism', an ironic claim indeed from Archbishop Mannix.

The Menzies' Government, piqued at not achieving its aim when the referendum was narrowly defeated, targeted Burgmann under parliamentary privilege. Bishop Moyes suffered more than Burgmann for his stance, particularly from his own diocesan council.⁴⁶⁶ Use of a statement by Moyes supporting a No vote on the Commonwealth Electoral Office pamphlet delivered to all electors prior to the vote on 17 September 1951 could well have contributed to Menzies' disquiet at 'the attitude of some who normally regarded themselves as Liberals'.⁴⁶⁷ A subsequent detailed analysis of the results concluded that the stand of

⁴⁶² Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 291.

⁴⁶³ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 291.

⁴⁶⁴ 'The Bishop of Goulburn's Explosion', *ACR*, 6 September 1951, 4-5.

⁴⁶⁵ 'The Referendum Issue, Bishop Burgmann and the Referendum', *ACR*, 20 September 1951, 8.

⁴⁶⁶ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 292.

⁴⁶⁷ Frank Cain and Frank Farrell, 'Menzies' War on the Communist Party, 1949-1951', in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Australia's First Cold War 1945-1953: Vol 1: Society, Communism and Culture* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1984), 109-134 especially 129-133. See also Leicester Webb, *Communism and*

individual priests and clergymen of all denominations did little to influence active church members.⁴⁶⁸ The influence was on 'those in the vague middle ground, who carried with them a residual respect for Christian ideals'.⁴⁶⁹ The 'vague middle ground' could well characterise many who claimed to be Anglican. Respected analyses of religion in Australia stress this trait of the Anglican Communion.⁴⁷⁰ Archbishop Fisher had set his sights on those nominal Anglicans while in Australia, asking them to come to church.⁴⁷¹ His address to the 12,000 Anglicans who attended the Exhibition building in Melbourne on 2 November made reference to the need for Anglicans to 'Stand absolutely firm to your Church duties'. He referred to the 'stout hearted Church people' who 'find it is rather necessary to dig their garden or whatever else you do here on Sundays, instead of going to Church'. He also described the influence of bishops. They were 'very fortunate' in that when they visit a parish 'every four or five years' they find a full church, whereas 'the next Sunday there are only the faithful few present'.⁴⁷² This predilection of Anglicans to be non-attenders, but still regard themselves as Anglican and bring their children up to be Anglican has been noted elsewhere. Recently consecrated (2008) Bishop Barbara Darling recalled her childhood in the 1950s: when 'like many parents in the 1950s, the Darlings sent their three children to Sunday School and kept their own church-going mainly for Christmas and Easter'.⁴⁷³ The influence of the church

Democracy in Australia: A Survey of the 1951 Referendum (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1954). This work is used extensively by those seeking to explore the referendum. Leicester Webb was an Anglican, the son-in-law of Archbishop West Watson [of NZ], and had corresponded with Archbishop Mowll regarding Church/State relations and the Book of Common Prayer, which correspondence Mowll forwarded onto Fisher. See Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 304.

⁴⁶⁸ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*. Hempenstall also quotes from Webb, *Communism and Democracy in Australia*, Chapter 7.

⁴⁶⁹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 292. The Book of Common Prayer, in use at that time, stated that 'And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter shall be one'. Many Anglicans considered this was adequate church attendance.

⁴⁷⁰ See Bouma and Dixon, *The Religious Factor in Australian Life*, 7. In a very detailed study Bouma and Dixon analysed attitudes to religion in Australia. 72.1 per cent of those who considered themselves Anglican rarely or never attended, (9). In regular attendance Anglicans rated 16 per cent as against the Roman Catholic statistic of 45.5 per cent, (8).

⁴⁷¹ 'The Archbishop's Address', *Church of England Messenger*, 17 November 1950, vol. LXXXIV, no.1978, 17 November 1950, 393-396.

⁴⁷² 'The Archbishop's Address', 396.

⁴⁷³ Beryl Rule, 'Barbara Darling takes the plunge, trusting in God's call', *The Melbourne Anglican (TMA)*, no. 460, June 2008, 3. This is not the family of the Geelong Grammar headmaster.

papers on Anglicans such as these cannot be discounted, many families subscribed to both the *ACR* and the *Anglican*, in addition to receiving their own parish paper and listening to the many religious broadcasts available at that time.⁴⁷⁴

The very nature of the proposed change to the Australian Constitution was the focus of the disquiet felt by the bishops and others in the church who opposed the anti-communist Bill. The Menzies' Government could have drafted a new Bill in accordance with the High Court ruling⁴⁷⁵ and changed its legislation to accommodate the 'express command from the Court that judicial review of government actions in this matter be maintained'. The final decision as to 'who and what would be within the Act's fluid determinations of "affiliated organisations" would have to be reviewable by a court' was totally unacceptable to Menzies. His attempt to convince 'the States to cede to the federal jurisdiction their powers to deal with communism' failed at a special Premiers' conference on 18 June 1951. Menzies then turned to the only other avenue available to him when the Labor States of Queensland and New South Wales refused.⁴⁷⁶ Evatt was well aware of the likely repercussions of the referendum, which went even further than the *Act*. The absence of traditional judicial review allowed Evatt and others to 'raise the spectre of authoritarianism during the Referendum campaign'.⁴⁷⁷ The fact that some Anglican bishops assisted in reducing the initial 73 percent support for the proposal to its narrow defeat reflects their willingness to challenge the leaders of their church and accept the condemnation their stance brought. It was during this very involved political milieu that the militant archbishop of York visited Australia in October 1951.

The visit of Archbishop of York to Australia

On 2 December 1948 the *ACR* gave prominence to the statements from England of the archbishop of York, Dr Garbett, and identified Garbett as 'very outspoken in the region of politics and the dangers that threaten the Empire and indeed the world'.⁴⁷⁸ Garbett warned that the nation must be united, regretting 'the domestic controversies in the homeland between the House of Lords and the steel industry'. Garbett felt such controversies, 'in the

⁴⁷⁴ Anglican Rev. Greg Magee recalls the *ACR* and the *Anglican* being read side by side in his home, private conversation with the writer on 18 August 2007.

⁴⁷⁵ Jenny Hocking, 'Robert Menzies' "Fundamental Authoritarianism": The 1951 Referendum', in Love and Strangio (eds), *Arguing the Cold War*, 47-59, 55.

⁴⁷⁶ Hocking, 'Robert Menzies', 55.

⁴⁷⁷ Hocking, 'Robert Menzies', 36.

⁴⁷⁸ 'The Church and Politics', *ACR*, 2 December 1948, 1.

face of the possible breaking out of another world war', might encourage 'a possible aggressor and dishearten our friends and allies'. *ACR* then projected Garbett's warning onto the Australian scene. *ACR* warned that the disunity was not confined to 'the heart of the Empire'. Australian domestic life was being disrupted by 'recognised disintegrating forces'.⁴⁷⁹ The 'Communitic renegades' were permitted freedoms they would not enjoy in 'Russia, the land of their allegiance'. These freedoms allowed them to further 'the interests of the Russian gospel and power'. The *ACR* alluded to communist control in the trade unions by warning of 'irresponsible gangsters' who were 'fomenting a rebellion' against the Government.⁴⁸⁰ Not only did articles such as these reinforce British hegemony, they were specific intrusions by the church into State affairs. Neither the archbishop nor the *ACR* had mellowed in the intervening years when Garbett eventually arrived in Australia on Tuesday 16 October 1951.

Garbett was the elder statesman of the Church of England. Fisher had been appointed to the see of Canterbury after Archbishop Temple died on 26 October 1944; it was expected by some that Garbett should have been translated from York.⁴⁸¹ While Garbett had some ambivalent feelings regarding Fisher's appointment, he was, on the whole, realistic. Had he been made archbishop of Canterbury he would have been 70 years old the following year, and due for retirement at 75. There was a Lambeth Conference due in three or four years time and Garbett accepted that his age 'made it impossible for him to be appointed'. As it was, Garbett felt he 'should do far better for the church remaining here in a position of less responsibility and greater independence'. He felt he was 'not adequately equipped either intellectually, morally or spiritually' for the role of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁴⁸² He most certainly made the most of his independence; his extensive 'tour of duty' during 1943-1945 bolstering both the Church of England and the Allied cause has been well documented.⁴⁸³

Garbett had long been an advocate of social reform, recognising that 'no matter what spiritual aid the Church might give, nothing final could be done until the social evil of which they were products was tackled at its economic roots'. Having been part of a 'Church' family, whose father and grandfather were priests, and living the life of a vicarage child with four siblings 'raised on a meagre stipend',⁴⁸⁴ his life experience gave warrant to this observation.

⁴⁷⁹ 'National Unity', *ACR*, 2 December 1948, 1

⁴⁸⁰ 'National Unity', *ACR*, 2 December 1948, 2.

⁴⁸¹ 'Translate' is the term used to describe an archbishop being installed in another see.

⁴⁸² Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, 297.

⁴⁸³ Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, Ch. XII, 299-335. See also Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*.

⁴⁸⁴ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 5.

Garbett never married; his sister lived with him as a housekeeper.⁴⁸⁵ Garbett 'never abandoned his concern for society's poorest members', despite eventually being appointed to one of the highest and most prestigious offices in the Anglican Church.⁴⁸⁶ As archbishop of York, Garbett 'had the perfect platform from which to voice his concerns about society'.⁴⁸⁷

Garbett felt able to commit himself unreservedly to the war effort during WW2. At the commencement of the war Archbishop Cosmo Lang was archbishop of Canterbury, with the famed William Temple at York. Lang resigned for Temple to translate to Canterbury, and, of course, Garbett to York.⁴⁸⁸ Support from Canterbury for the war effort was restrained. Temple conveyed his 'doubts about praying for victory' to Garbett, and felt that 'maintenance of the spiritual fellowship of all Christians is for the Church a concern that takes precedence even [over?] the military defeat of Nazi-ism'.⁴⁸⁹ Garbett had no such qualms. His wholehearted support for the Government and its policies earned Garbett Winston Churchill's description as the 'Archiepiscopal Ulysses'. Additionally, Garbett argued that the relationship between Church and State should be a 'partnership equally beneficial to both'.⁴⁹⁰ This attitude enabled Garbett to be involved in 'ecclesiastical leadership in the political sphere of international affairs',⁴⁹¹ co-operating with the Foreign Office and Ministry of Information, and establishing his credentials to undertake a major role as 'an authoritative voice of the Anglican Church on international affairs'.⁴⁹²

Once the Cold War battle lines were drawn, Garbett could draw on his WW2 experiences, when he had become aware of the value of propaganda through his co-operation with the Ministry of Information's presentation of 'the Allied cause as a crusade in defence of Western Civilisation and Christianity'.⁴⁹³ His eventual embrace of 'the crusade theme' adopted against the Germans⁴⁹⁴ stood him in good stead in the Cold War, especially since the Ministry of Information had 'subtly maintained' the less palatable features of the Russian regime in the

⁴⁸⁵ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 99.

⁴⁸⁶ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 7.

⁴⁸⁷ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 5.

⁴⁸⁸ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 10. Garbett's translation to York was a pre-condition insisted upon by Winston Churchill before he would agree to Temple becoming archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴⁸⁹ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 10.

⁴⁹⁰ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 8.

⁴⁹¹ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 20.

⁴⁹² Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 99.

⁴⁹³ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 7.

⁴⁹⁴ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 73-75.

public mind.⁴⁹⁵ Another dimension of Garbett's attitudes to social and political issues was his insistence that such matters could not be separated from the church, but that its role was subordinate to that of the specialist authorities.⁴⁹⁶ His stance legitimised those in the church in Australia who took a hard line on communism, in apparent support of the Menzies' Government once it took power. Garbett's activities and views were reported in both secular and church press in Australia. Prior to the December 1949 election, the *Standard* had carried full text reports of Garbett's speech made in San Francisco to the Commonwealth Club in September 1949. He decried 'Marxian Communism', outlined how the communists knew no loyalty to the country in which they lived, and fulminated against the 'weapons of propaganda, diplomacy and the Fifth Column as intended to prepare the way for the fourth weapon—revolution in the country that had been marked for destruction'.⁴⁹⁷

The archbishop of Canterbury had specifically requested that Garbett's visit be kept low key; this may have been in deference to Garbett's advancing years. Although he was the same age, 76, as the dean of Canterbury when Johnson visited in 1950, Garbett's visit was longer and certainly covered more territory. Garbett's official brief was to lecture on the 'Relationship of Christianity to Modern Problems', which gave him ample scope to offer his opinions on communism. Garbett was not appreciative of Fisher's instruction; the account in the *ACR* of the public meeting Garbett addressed at the Assembly Hall in Sydney on Wednesday 24 October 1951 made this plain:

The Archbishop of Sydney said the welcome to the Archbishop of York would have been more widespread but he had received instructions from the Archbishop of Canterbury when he was here last year that he was not to be worked too hard – 'not more than one address a day, and only on five days in the week.' The Archbishop in his reply said 'There had been a long friendly rivalry between Canterbury and York' and he laughingly added: 'I refuse to be under the jurisdiction of Canterbury'. He thanked the Archbishop of Sydney for the manner in which he had arranged the details for his visit. Already he had been overwhelmed with much kindness and hospitality.⁴⁹⁸

At this meeting, which was attended by the Premier of NSW, James McGirr, and the Deputy Lord Mayor, Mr Byrne, Garbett claimed that Great Britain needed to re-arm, since she had been subjected to 'a series of humiliations in various parts of the world that would not have happened if we had not disarmed after the war'. He warned that another war would be 'total'

⁴⁹⁵ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 75.

⁴⁹⁶ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 113.

⁴⁹⁷ *The Church Standard*, Sydney, vol XXXVII, no. 1920, 21 October 1949, front page.

⁴⁹⁸ 'The Archbishop of York in the Assembly Hall, Sydney'. *ACR*, 1 November 1951, 3.

in two senses. It would draw in every country and every person in every country—including all civilians.⁴⁹⁹

He only spoke publicly twice in Sydney. The second address entitled 'Christianity and Communism' was held in the Sydney Town Hall on 1 December, with an overflow to St Andrew's Cathedral. The meeting was crowded, and chaired by the Hon. Eric Harrison, Minister for Defence Production, representing the Prime Minister. Harrison thanked Garbett for coming for the jubilee celebrations of the Commonwealth, stressing that 'In Australia, as in England, the laws of the land, the security of home life, and our social institutions, had their roots in the teaching of the Church...'⁵⁰⁰ Garbett received an address of thanks from the primate on behalf of the church in the diocese of Sydney, following which presentations were made to Garbett of personal gifts, food for Britain from various dioceses and parishes. There was a procession of diocesan groups bearing banners through the hall to the stage. After tendering his thanks, Garbett launched into a diatribe against 'Marxian Communism' which 'regards man as an instrument of the State... it may enslave him or liquidate him in the interests of the State'.⁵⁰¹ The *ACR* report of the same meeting also carried Garbett's warning.

He said his subject was burning and controversial. The world today was divided into two great camps. Communism threatened the peace of the world. He was opposed to it because of its teaching and its atheism and for the cruel methods it employs. He cited instances where there had been real persecution. Communism must be defeated by Truth.⁵⁰²

The chairman of the ABC, Mr Richard Boyer, moved a vote of thanks to the archbishop, which was seconded by Mr J. Shortell, President of the Labour Council of NSW. Garbett left for New Zealand the next evening by flying boat, to return 18 December to journey onto New Guinea.⁵⁰³

Garbett's visit to Australia was short—seven weeks in all—and could no way be compared in intensity or ceremonial pomp to the visit of Fisher in 1950. However, Garbett's views were widely publicised. The report of the reception on his arrival on 16 October, given to Garbett in Perth by the Lord Mayor, at which the Premier and Garbett also spoke, stressed the informality of the occasion. However a serious note was introduced by the archbishop when he described his visit as 'a token gesture of the unity which bound the

⁴⁹⁹ 'The Archbishop of York in the Assembly Hall, Sydney'.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Christianity and Communism', *Church Standard*, 2 December 1951, 5.

⁵⁰¹ 'Christianity and Communism'.

⁵⁰² 'The Archbishop of York's Visit', *ACR*, 13 December 1951, 12.

⁵⁰³ 'The Archbishop of York's Visit'.

British Commonwealth of Nations into one entity. Although the Old Country is passing through difficult and anxious times,' he said, 'I have the utmost confidence in Britain's great reserve of strength'. A list of 'Australian Broadcasts by the Archbishop of York' was given in the *Church Standard* alongside the reports of his first day in Australia. His sermons in Brisbane, Townsville, Lismore, Armidale, Cessnock, Dubbo, Canberra, Sale, Hobart and Sydney were to be transmitted around Australia.⁵⁰⁴ As well, addresses such as the World Council of Churches Jubilee thanksgiving service at St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, were to be made available.⁵⁰⁵ Garbett told the World Council of Churches meeting in Perth on the evening of his arrival that 'Rearmament should not be substituted for negotiation—it should be used to support negotiation.'⁵⁰⁶

Emphasis was given to Garbett's claims regarding the problems Britain was experiencing around the world by the article on the same page as the *ACR* report of his Assembly Hall meeting of events in Egypt, where British church schools, personnel and property had been attacked. The Egyptian staff had saved the eleven women missionaries by hiding them in a back room and by claiming there were only Egyptians in the building.⁵⁰⁷ The forced evacuation of the British was seen as a great disgrace. Other accounts of events in Korea, where again the Koreans had to salvage the situation for the British missionaries, sent a stark message.

Garbett's visit was extremely strenuous, but Garbett ensured that full value was made of it. Before he departed from England he released to the British press typed copies of the principal addresses he was to make. This ensured 'a degree of publicity in the English papers, which would have otherwise been unthinkable, and which was very gratifying for the Australian church'.⁵⁰⁸ The Australian archbishops and bishops who had invited him had most certainly chosen a very practised exponent of the uses of publicity—a veritable Cold War warrior. Garbett also displayed his refusal to have his affairs organised by Archbishop Fisher. The bishop of Bendigo told Garbett he had received a 'most emphatic instruction' that Garbett 'was only to have one engagement a day'. When Garbett enquired if 'Cantuar' had issued the instruction the bishop reluctantly confirmed that it was indeed the archbishop of Canterbury. Garbett was most incensed that 'Cantuar' [Fisher] would 'impose these

⁵⁰⁴ 'The Archbishop of York's Visit'.

⁵⁰⁵ 'The Archbishop of York's Visit'.

⁵⁰⁶ 'The Archbishop of York's Visit'.

⁵⁰⁷ 'The Archbishop of York's Visit'.

⁵⁰⁸ Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, 484.

restrictions on my movements'. The bishop was told to make some arrangement for the following morning; Garbett considered it 'a sheer waste of time to come all this distance... to sit indoors doing nothing'. The bishop of Wangaratta advised that 'they had been told that great caution was to be shown in accepting any suggestions Garbett might make in suggesting extra engagements'.⁵⁰⁹ Garbett's final visit on this tour was to Malaysia, following visits around the Pacific to Fiji, New Guinea, Borneo and also Singapore. In Malaysia his involvement as an 'Archiepiscopal Ulysses' was most evident; his priority for visiting the troops over 'minor diocesan and ecclesiastical, and even parochial, engagements' was questioned by the resident bishop. Even the vicar in Kuala Lumpur whispered to the archbishop's chaplain 'The Archbishop must remember the Church is more important than the army'.⁵¹⁰ Garbett regarded this as an impertinence. Garbett's book, *In an Age of Revolution*, released in 1952, sums up the archbishop's stance. Garbett held fast to his view that 'Korea was a part of world-wide conspiracy by the Kremlin against Western Civilisation'.⁵¹¹ His report of his visit was published in the *Church News* in England, and subsequently in the church papers in Australia. Garbett's visit most certainly helped emphasise the British influence in Australia, as well as support those in the church who were charged with supporting the Menzies government's efforts to strengthen Australia's defences.

The Korean War

The escalating crisis of the Korean War saw the Menzies' Government commit 1,000 infantry men to join the United Nations force in Korea. The recruitment for this force, in addition to recruitment for the 'need for adequate national preparedness' Menzies had spoken of in his policy speech for the 1949 election, became the responsibility of Lieutenant-General, Sir Edmund Herring, on 17 August 1950.⁵¹² An Anglican who left no doubt of his aversion to communism, he was a much decorated soldier who had served in both World Wars. His military career had seen him involved in controversy on more than one occasion.⁵¹³ His rigid

⁵⁰⁹ Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, 485.

⁵¹⁰ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 183.

⁵¹¹ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 187.

⁵¹² Stuart Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 304.

⁵¹³ See Australian War Memorial/Australians at War/Who's Who/Senior Officers/Lieutenant General Edmund Francis (Ned) Herring for a resume of Herring's service, available on line at <http://www.awm.gov.au> accessed on 25 August 2008; see also Peter Brune, *A Bastard of a Place: The Australians in Papua* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2003, 2004 ed.).

adherence to the sentence of hanging passed on Papuan natives who became the spies and facilitators of the Japanese, and who were complicit in the torture and murder of Australian, English and Papuan Anglican missionaries is still controversial.⁵¹⁴ These murders had a deep impact on the Anglican Church in Australia.⁵¹⁵ Pleas for clemency for the Papuans from local government officers to General Command resulted in a recommendation of commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment. In his capacity as Commanding Officer Herring rejected this recommendation, and ordered the executions to be carried out immediately. The harrowing emotional effect of this ruling on both Australians and Papuans was graphically recorded by John Fowke, when he rebutted a claim that the hangings were kept a secret.⁵¹⁶ While the part Herring played in this event caused 'disquiet' when publicly revealed in 1978,⁵¹⁷ Herring himself said 'the men were charged with offences including murder and treason, and were treated fairly according to the conventions and circumstances of war. I have a clear conscience about it'.⁵¹⁸

Herring had been made Chancellor of the Diocese of Melbourne in 1942, and was released from active service to become Chief Justice of Victoria in 1944. He was Lieutenant Governor of Victoria for 20 years, as well as being active in the Boy Scouts movement for 23 years. His commitment to right-wing conservative groups saw his association with fellow Anglicans; he was a close friend of Charles Spry and it was on his recommendation that Michael Thwaites was approached by Spry to join ASIO.⁵¹⁹ Thwaites was to be remembered

⁵¹⁴ See John Fowke, 'The War in Papua - the Executions at Higaturu', available online at http://asopa.typepad.com/asopa_people/files/the_higaturu_hangings.pdf Australian School of Pacific Administration Army Education Service formed during WW2. It specialised in training leaders for PNG in later years.

⁵¹⁵ See 'Project Canterbury' for a detailed account of events in the Anglican Church in Papua during the war, available online at <http://anglicanhistory.org/aus/png/index.html> accessed 4 July 2008. The murdered missionaries have been declared martyrs, and are remembered in the church on 2 September each year. Project Canterbury is a free online archive of out-of-print Anglican texts and related modern documents. It was founded in 1999 and is an all-volunteer effort, available online at <http://anglicanhistory.org/about.html> accessed 4 July 2008.

⁵¹⁶ Fowke, 'The War in Papua'.

⁵¹⁷ See Australian War Memorial: (Ned) Herring.

⁵¹⁸ Prue Innes, 'A Full Life of Service in Khaki and Silk', *Age*, 6 January 1982, 5.

⁵¹⁹ Michael Smith, 'Michael Thwaites: Poet and Spymaster', *Independent*, 15 November 2005, available online <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/michael-thwaites-515395.html>. See also Michael Thwaites, *Truth Will Out: ASIO and the Petrov* (Sydney: William Collins, 1980), 17. In 1991 Thwaites became a Hon. Lay Canon of St Saviour's Cathedral, Goulburn. See Wesley Milgate and D'Arcy Wood, *A Companion to*

for his prominent role in the Petrov affair prior to the 1954 federal election. Herring also maintained his association with General Blamey. He and Blamey had similar political views, both maintained their interest in the militia between the two World Wars, and both belonged to the 'White Army', of which Herring maintained a cell on the Mornington Peninsula.⁵²⁰ Herring had followed the path of many Anglican conservatives, schooling at Melbourne Grammar, and attending the University of Melbourne while resident at Trinity College. He also joined the Melbourne Club, and had political affiliations with Robert Menzies and Wilfred Kent-Hughes in the Young Nationalists. In short, Herring was deeply committed to the task Menzies asked of him, to quickly build up both the permanent and citizens' forces of the three services, and to find the additional 1,000 volunteers to send to Korea.⁵²¹

Menzies himself realised the enormity of the task for Herring. He addressed the nation on 20 September 1950 with the first of three talks to inspire nationalistic fervour. Menzies cited the example of Korea as 'a pattern and a scheme of Communist aggression which, if allowed to continue, must reduce Western democracies to impotence and put our national and individual lives and freedoms in jeopardy'. The organising secretary of the Recruitment Secretariat, Garry Armstrong, who had been seconded from Army headquarters, claimed Herring 'bullied' Menzies into making these national broadcasts entitled 'The Defence Call of the Nation'—which outlined the government's plans for each service, commencing with the Navy. Australia's defence policy 'must be part of a world policy in which the safety of the country would not be protected at home' but, as the Prime Minister declared 'in some other area where, in the opinion of the Western democracies, Australian participation is necessary for victory'. In the second of these broadcasts, which addressed the Army, Menzies announced that the time-honoured custom of raising and maintaining the Army for home service only would be changed, and those enlisting could be sent for service anywhere. The justification for this change was that 'The Imperialist Communist has no sea power or supply of ships, other than submarines which can harry shipping but cannot stage an invasion'. Menzies considered the Army's function was not to repel a land invasion, but to

Together in Song: Australian Hymn Book 2 (Sydney: Australian Hymn Book 2006), 796-797. Both Michael and Honor, Michael's wife, wrote and published hymns. Thwaites also associated with the anti-communist Methodist Rev. Irving Benson; see Michael Thwaites letter to Benson, 6 February, in SLV: MS 11616 Box 1833/3 Benson Collection at the State Library of Victoria

⁵²⁰ Brune, *A Bastard of a Place*, 37. Herring was a leader of the right wing League of National Security in the 1930s.

⁵²¹ Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 304.

'co-operate with other democratic forces in those theatres of war in which the fate of mankind may be fought out'. The immediate result of this fundamental change in the obligation of Army personnel to serve wherever the Government decreed saw the withdrawal of Labor's support for the recruitment campaign. Despite the pay increase offered, enlistment for both permanent and citizen forces was disappointing. Herring's task had undoubtedly been made more difficult by the obligation for Army personnel to serve overseas, and Labor's opposition to this change.

Herring worked tirelessly to achieve his task; he, like the archbishop of York, Dr Garbett, stressed that the way to peace was through active opposition to aggression. He warned that 'international communism is on the march and it is determined to hurt us'.⁵²² Herring was responsible to a Cabinet sub-committee which included other like-minded people. He could rely on the support of Thomas White, Minister for Air, and Harold Holt, Minister for Labour and National Service, two former colleagues in the Young Nationals.⁵²³ He garnered support from the State Governors, and his fellow Chief Justices. One other active Anglican, as distinct from those of a more nominal faith, was Commodore R. R. Dowling, the Second Naval Member, who was part of the recruiting directorate as Service Head of Personnel for the Navy. Dowling was a member of the vestry at St John's Toorak as well as a member of the synod of the Melbourne Anglican diocese. Dowling was regarded by those who served under him as a paternalistic figure committed to the welfare of his men, and his nickname of 'Dad' attested to his concern for his men.⁵²⁴ Dowling was a committed anti-communist, who regarded 'Christianity the Enemy Number One' of 'the Marxist creed' where 'love, honesty, morality, kindness, tolerance and freedom of the individual have no place'.⁵²⁵

Herring's task proved difficult. He pondered why 'there should be need for so large an effort to revive patriotism and persuade young men to prepare to defend their country'.⁵²⁶ He concluded that 'a kind of moral dry rot had taken hold'; he also felt that:

⁵²² The above is drawn primarily from Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 304-307.

⁵²³ Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 305. Labor parliamentarians used the expression 'further right than Tommy White' to characterise conservative policies.

⁵²⁴ J. V. P. Goldrick, 'Dowling, Sir Roy Russell (1901 - 1969)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 24-27.

⁵²⁵ Roy R. Dowling, 'A Faith to Live By', *The Church of England Messenger*, 16 August 1957, 122

⁵²⁶ Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 309.

The Communists, profiting from the national apathy and lack of purpose, were sabotaging the economy, creating confusion by persistent, insidious propaganda against the ideals of liberty, patriotism and freedom, and by attacking religious beliefs. Hatred, suspicion and bitterness were rife. The whole fabric of Western civilisation was in serious danger; the time left for action was desperately short.⁵²⁷

He shared these sentiments with the leaders of the Anglican Communion, especially Archbishop Garbett. Herring's attempt at a solution was *A Call to the People of Australia*, released on Remembrance Day, 11 November 1951. This *Call* was a result of a liaison between Herring and a Roman Catholic, Paul McGuire, who was as staunchly anti-communist as Herring.⁵²⁸ The *Guardian* labelled the *Call* 'a sinister scheme... , a fascist plot'.⁵²⁹ Interestingly Fisher was approached for a similar movement to be formed in the UK. He advised that 'it was all right to proceed, but it must be a secular initiative; the *Call* has not had much effect in Australia'.⁵³⁰ It seems ironic that Herring is remembered best for two events in his life; the hanging of the Papuans, and the moralistic *Call*. There is no doubt as to Herring's anti-communist stance and his influence in the Anglican Church.

More controversy in the church involving the dean of Canterbury came as a result of the Korean War. The dean made one of his three visits to China during 1952, accompanied by his wife Nowell and Alfred D'Eye. While he was there claims were made by the Koreans and the Chinese that the US forces were using germ warfare. The dean and his party were 'rushed to Mukden, where some of the attacks were supposed to have taken place'.⁵³¹ The dean and D'Eye were convinced of the sincerity of the eyewitnesses, and brought back with them three formal documents to support their argument that the USA had used germ warfare, given to them by Chinese Christian churches.⁵³² News of the petition Johnson carried had become known to the British press; his plane was besieged when it arrived in England, his home likewise. Johnson was 'deeply shocked' by the reaction of the British press.⁵³³ Garbett was predictably cynical of the 'evidence' presented; while condemning bacteriological

⁵²⁷ Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 309.

⁵²⁸ Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 203. See also Andrew Moore, *The Right Road: A History of Right-Wing Politics in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 60-61.

⁵²⁹ 'Call to the People', *Guardian*, 15 November 1951, 3.

⁵³⁰ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 309.

⁵³¹ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 157.

⁵³² Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 158.

⁵³³ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 158.

warfare, he said '...the printed evidence sent to me would not convince an intelligent child'.⁵³⁴ Fisher put his name to a motion in the House of Lords to dismiss the dean, but the dean counter-attacked by distributing a leaflet to every member of Lords.⁵³⁵

The issue had become controversial worldwide. Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett was a highly contentious supporter of communist regimes, who had shifted to Communist China before Menzies' referendum was held. He went with the Chinese to the peace talks at Kaesong on 13 July 1951, and 'worked in tandem with the British communist Alan Winnington'. Their reports were broadcast over the New China News Agency and they also published three books together. Burchett had interviewed and lectured some of the several hundred prisoners of war held in communist-run camps. Burchett supported the germ warfare allegations, and reported 'eye-witness accounts'. He also became involved in preparing the texts of the 'germ warfare confessions' of captured American pilots.⁵³⁶ The APC were actively working against Australian involvement in the war, and, according to Trembath, they relied to a great extent on what Burchett told them of the war.⁵³⁷ The communist papers in Australia also relied on Burchett and, of course, also relayed Winnington's reports in his paper *The Daily Worker*: Johnson's association with the *Daily Worker* was discussed earlier.⁵³⁸ The enthusiastic willingness of Johnson and D'Eye to believe these germ warfare allegations put the Anglican Communion into disarray.⁵³⁹ This was especially the case after the dean proclaimed the 'incontrovertible evidence' from the pulpit of Canterbury Cathedral, causing Johnson to be labelled 'the aged cockatoo of Communism' by John Junor in the *Sunday Express*.⁵⁴⁰

The *bona fides* of Burchett and many others on the communist side were disproved later. Recent releases from Soviet archives prove that the 'germ warfare' claims were a

⁵³⁴ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 168.

⁵³⁵ Hughes, *The Red Dean*, 159.

⁵³⁶ Robert Manne, 'Agent of Influence, Reassessing Wilfred Burchett', *The Monthly*, June 2008, 22-32.

⁵³⁷ Richard Trembath, 'Peace Parsons and Australian Opposition to the Korean War (1950-1953)', in Ellen Warne and Charles Zika (eds.), *God, the Devil, and a Millennium of Christian Culture, Melbourne University Conference Series No. 13* (Melbourne: History Department University of Melbourne, 2005), 169-181: 176.

⁵³⁸ *The Tribune* carried Winnington's 'eye witness' report on 16 April 1952.

⁵³⁹ For a discussion of the 'Germ Warfare' furore see Richard Trembath, 'A Lie Based on a Delusion: Australia's Role in the Korean War Germ Warfare Controversy', *Social Alternatives* 23, no. 3 (2004), 6-10, 6.

⁵⁴⁰ Butler, 'The "Red" Dean', 3

propaganda initiative by the Chinese and the Koreans,⁵⁴¹ and that Russians were complicit in manufacturing 'evidence'.⁵⁴² Specific reference is made to 'a delegation of specialists in bacteriology from the World Peace Council' in June and July of 1952.⁵⁴³ The Russian advisers assisted by creating an 'unworkable situation' for them in Korea.⁵⁴⁴ The delegation to Mukden, to where the dean and his party were taken, was specifically referred to in 'Explanatory Note from Lt. Gen. V.N. Razuvaev, Ambassador of the USSR to the DPRK and Chief Military Adviser to the KPA, to L. P. Beria 18 April 1953'.⁵⁴⁵ This Note also referred to the 'information from American prisoners of war about their participation in spreading bacteriological means of warfare' received by the Chinese.⁵⁴⁶ Ultimately, by May 1953, the Russians distanced themselves from the same germ warfare allegations Johnson and D'Eye had helped to publicise.

In the words of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU were misled. The spread in the press of information about the use by the Americans of bacteriological weapons in

⁵⁴¹ 'Telegram from Mao Zedong to I. V. Stalin (Excerpt)' Cold War International History Project Virtual Archive (hereafter CWIHP); Korean War, available online

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=5034BDB0-96B6-175C-9B7FA65952C9F0CC&sort=Collection&item=The%20Korean%20War

accessed 25 September 2008. Used with permission "Cold War International History Project (CWIHP), www.CWIHP.org, by permission of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

⁵⁴² 'Explanatory Note from Lieutenant of the Medical Service Selivanov, student at the S. M. Kirov Military-Medical Academy and former adviser to the Military-Medical Department of the KPA, to L. P. Beria 14 April 1953', CWIHP, available online

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=DCF53864-0AAF-3598-1F7BAD503E60798F&sort=Collection&item=The%20Korean%20War, accessed 25 September 2008.

⁵⁴³ 'Explanatory note from Glukhov to the ministry of Public Security of the DPRK', CWIHP, available online http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=5034BE5C-96B6-175C-99FCB28B8AF5FDA2&sort=Collection&item=The%20Korean%20War, accessed 25 September 2008.

⁵⁴⁴ 'Explanatory note from Glukhov...'

⁵⁴⁵ 'Explanatory Note from Lt. Gen. V. N. Razuvaev, Ambassador of the USSR to the DPRK and Chief Military Adviser to the KPA, to L. P. Beria' 18 April 1953, CWIHP, available online

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=DCFA5DB6-FF0F-87EE-CF8AF75D75D7D6EB&sort=Collection&item=The%20Korean%20War, accessed 25 September 2008.

⁵⁴⁶ 'Explanatory Note from Lt. Gen. V. N. Razuvaev...'

Korea was based on false information. The accusations against the Americans were fictitious.

Furthermore it resolved:

To cease publication in the press of materials accusing the Americans of using bacteriological weapons in Korea and China. To consider it desirable that the Government of the PRC (DPRK) declare in the UN that the resolution of the General Assembly of 23 April about investigating the facts of the use by the Americans of bacteriological weapons on the territory of China (Korea) cannot be legal, since it was made without the participation of representatives of the PRC (DPRK). Since there is no use of bacteriological weapons, there is no reason to conduct an investigation. In a tactical way to recommend that the question of bacteriological warfare in China (Korea) be removed from discussion in international organizations and organs of the UN.

Soviet workers responsible for participation in the fabrication of the so-called "proof" of the use of bacteriological weapons will receive severe punishment.⁵⁴⁷

Johnson's unquestioning participation in supporting the claims against the Americans undoubtedly influenced many to question the tactics of the United Nations. In the House of Lords the motion that 'the Crown should withdraw Johnson's Charter as Dean of Canterbury' failed after Fisher sought the advice of Prime Minister Churchill. According to Butler,

Churchill – whom one suspects may have admired the Dean's spirit if not his cause - mischievously drew a lot of the venom from the situation by pointing out that there was not much that could be done... In framing the 39 Articles of Religion of the Church of England in the 16th century, the Elizabethans had inadvertently forgotten to make any mention of germ warfare.⁵⁴⁸

Not so realistic was Australian Anglican W. C. Wentworth, who lobbied Fisher on 9 January 1953 calling for Johnson's dismissal.⁵⁴⁹ Wentworth included with his letter and memorandum on the dean to Fisher newspaper cuttings of Johnson's visit to Australia in 1950 and later visit to Canada. Fisher's reply indicated he had adopted a philosophical attitude:

...there is good reason in fact that both the Prime Minister and I are in agreement that the Dean should be left alone. ...I always distrust analysis of complex people and complex problems into an over simple either or... Difficult though it may be for us to

⁵⁴⁷ 'Resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers about Letters to the Ambassador of the USSR in the PRC, V. V. Kuznetsov and to the Charge d' Affaires for the USSR in the DPRK, S. P. Suzdalev', CWIHP, 2 May 1953, available online

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=5034BE1E-96B6-175C-95A1BB5C90D199C7&sort=Collection&item=The%20Korean%20War, accessed 25 September 2008.

⁵⁴⁸ 'Resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers'.

⁵⁴⁹ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 311.

understand he does sincerely and genuinely believe the Christian Gospel... From earnest and sincere motives men are capable of grievous error in their thinking and great damage in their actions.⁵⁵⁰

In the 'profound theological debate' Christian peace campaigners like Johnson continued to warn that, in the paraphrase of historian Dianne Kirby:

...it was on the earth that the Kingdom of God was to be established as a way of emphasising the inadvisability of destroying it with nuclear weapons or of contaminating it with the bacteriological variety the Americans were then alleged to be using against China and North Korea. Garbett countered such arguments, stating that 'The great majority of Christians on both sides of the Atlantic look upon the Korean War as necessary to check aggression on the part of militant communism which aims at the destruction of Western civilisation and at extinguishing the light of liberty throughout the world'.⁵⁵¹

While Garbett continued to occupy the see at York, his Australian visit was effectively his last foray as a Cold War warrior. Ill-health marred Garbett's visit to all the West Indian dioceses in 1953-1954, but he still was able to address a meeting of 2,000 people, many of whom were communists, on 'Christianity and Communism'. 'I did not mince my words, for I felt I was up against real evil', Garbett wrote in his *Diocesan Leaflet* on his return. He stated that 'Communism has been working here [in the West Indies] in its most dangerous and insidious forms, blocking reform and stirring up strife: its hatred of religion here is open and undisguised...'⁵⁵² He made one last 'pilgrimage' to the Middle East in 1955, after delivering a speech on the hydrogen bomb to the House of Lords on 16 March. He received a stream of abusive letters from indignant pacifists, which evoked his response: 'they are, as a class, easily the most arrogant and bitter of controversialists, they claim a monopoly of conscience, and anyone who disagrees with them is unfaithful to Christ'.⁵⁵³ Cyril Foster Garbett resigned aged 80 when he was 'old, and ill, and lonely', but died on 31 December 1955 before his resignation came into effect.⁵⁵⁴ There is no question that he was the Anglican Communion's most effective opponent against communism in the early Cold War, whose influence permeated the church in Australia.

⁵⁵⁰ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 311. I am grateful to Lambeth Palace archives for furnishing the full text of the folio.

⁵⁵¹ Kirby, *Church, State and Propaganda*, 239. Garbett's statement was in May 1952 in the York *Diocesan Leaflet*, a favoured source for ACR.

⁵⁵² Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, 486-487.

⁵⁵³ Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, 495.

⁵⁵⁴ Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett*, 520.

While the Australian Anglican church followed its British roots, growing influence from the USA throughout the 1950s can be observed, both in Australia and Britain. The visits of the archbishops of Canterbury and York sought to re-establish British hegemony in Australia and received great support from the State.⁵⁵⁵ It was evident that Fisher saw the need for change in the Australian church; the church must become self-governing while remaining part of the Communion. The numerous international connections both archbishops created inevitably widened the horizons of the worldwide church. The belief of the archbishops that the church must fight communism through reinforcement of the faith of the Communion and evangelism to build a stronger church was stressed during their visits. The co-operation of the Anglican Church with the State—'in an era when religious faith still mattered'—to combat the communist 'faith' by highlighting 'Marxist atheism' ⁵⁵⁶ will be subsequently discussed

The influence of the Korean War conflict on the Menzies' Government, the Anglican Communion and the CPA provide useful insights to Cold War attitudes in Australia. Menzies' largely successful efforts to connect the CPA to Moscow while supporting political links to Britain and the USA were a defining feature of this era. These efforts were to receive a boost when Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip accepted his inspired invitation to visit Australia in 1954.

⁵⁵⁵ See Fletcher. 'Preserving the British Heritage', *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*,. 173-176, for a succinct summation of stance of the Anglican Church toward their British heritage.

⁵⁵⁶ Kirby, *Religion and the Cold War*, 2.

Chapter 4 Reinforcing British hegemony in Australia: The Royal Visit of 1954

In considering the connection between the Church and State in Australia in the 1950s, two events that greatly influenced all Australians were the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II and her visit to Australia the following year. Prime Minister Menzies was cognisant of the propaganda value of these events in his fight against communism. The monarch was titular head of the church, at a time when religion was embedded into the social structure. The 1954 re-election of the Menzies' Government saw British hegemony reinforced, with help of the Established Church of England in England. The influence of the Anglicans extended to those who had attended the influential Anglican Church schools, and those who associated with them. Most of these lifelong associations served to bolster conservative attitudes in the Australian Establishment.

The Royal Accession

The British Commonwealth, and especially the Anglican Communion across the world, was stunned when King George VI died in his sleep on 6 February 1952. The Princess Elizabeth and her husband, Prince Phillip, the Duke of Edinburgh, were visiting Kenya. The Kenyan Government had given the lease for a Royal Residence, Sagana Lodge, as a wedding present to the royal couple, among some of the 2,500 gifts received from around the world from an enthusiastic populace. The news of her father's death was given to her after they had returned to the Lodge from staying overnight at the famous Tree Tops Hotel. The telegram intended to advise Elizabeth of the King's death was never received; the remoteness of their location meant that the news came via the BBC overseas broadcasts.⁵⁵⁷ The tour which would have brought them to Australia and New Zealand was promptly cancelled. The immediate accession of Queen Elizabeth II to the throne also made her temporal head of the Established Church of England, with Archbishop Fisher as the spiritual head. It also ensured her exposure to advisers with impeccable anti-communist credentials.

Elizabeth had been trained for her role from an early age; her private schooling included constitutional history as well as religious instruction from the archbishop of Canterbury. Her father, King George VI had acceded to the throne on the abdication of his brother King Edward VIII, who had never been crowned. Edward's abdication followed

⁵⁵⁷ Gyles Brandreth, *Philip and Elizabeth* (London: Century Random House, 2004), 246-247: See also Marcus Riggell and Denys Blakeway, *The Queen's Story* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002), 72-74.

months of acrimonious interchange between Church, State and Edward himself, who wished to marry American divorcee Wallis Simpson. Edward was temporal head of a church that opposed the remarriage of divorced persons. The archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Lang, was strongly against any State legislation which would allow Edward to remain on the throne. The Commonwealth of Nations as a whole was opposed to any concession to Edward, despite his very successful visits to various Commonwealth countries. Australia, and in particular the Anglican Church, supported the Baldwin Government's stand that Edward should abdicate if he was not prepared to abandon his plans to marry Simpson. Edward's niece Elizabeth was ten years old when Edward abdicated on 11 December 1936. Her father, King George, had a difficult task to rebuild the esteem of the monarchy, while at the same time placating those who considered the affair was badly handled.⁵⁵⁸ Further tensions resulted from the perception that George was sympathetic to the German Nazi regime, the German lineage of the Royal family making it difficult for some to accept his wholehearted support of the British Empire. However, by the end of WW2 the Royal family had endeared themselves to both the British nation and the Commonwealth. Additionally, their example of leadership was greatly admired by the American allies.

George provided Elizabeth with an admirable role model to govern for all subjects regardless of differing political and religious affiliation and despite a monarch's personal preferences. The proclamation of Elizabeth as Queen of her various realms on her accession to the throne meant she had to forge separate relationships with each country. Australia in the 1950s where the Anglophile conservative Menzies was Prime Minister presented no problem, but George had given Elizabeth grounding in how to cope when political situations were not to his liking. Predictably, George had conservative leanings, and was dedicated to a 'vision of the new Commonwealth',⁵⁵⁹ even though this meant he had to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.⁵⁶⁰ He was able to work with Prime Minister Attlee, and had personal relationships with Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. While supportive of United Nations' action in Korea he tried to convince Truman to evacuate Korea and not to consider using atomic weapons. Truman agreed, but Acheson intervened. The King sent personal letters to both Truman and Eisenhower at Christmas 1951, on the eve of

⁵⁵⁸ Both Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook believed greater effort should have been made to resolve the crisis.

⁵⁵⁹ Robert Rhodes James, *A Spirit Undaunted: The Political Role of George VI* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1998), 296.

⁵⁶⁰ James, *A Spirit Undaunted*, 307.

Eisenhower's inauguration. George's relationship with Winston Churchill meant that he maintained some political influence. Although he disliked the domestic policies of the Labour Government, he approved of its Cold War foreign policy.⁵⁶¹

We have seen the intensity of the liaison and continued co-operation between the Anglican Church and the US allies during the war years at a government level. In Australia the predominance of British connections ensured the nation remained aligned with British sentiments, despite the close ties that had developed with the USA during the war. Nowhere was this more obvious than within the Anglican Church. The authority of both the King and the archbishop of Canterbury's authority was respected by the church in Australia. The importance of the monarchy in the Established Church in Britain was reflected in the Australian church, at that time constitutionally bound to obey the dictates from Britain. Additionally the Royal family was as revered in Australia as in Britain, and prayers were said at each Anglican service for their wellbeing. The news of the engagement of Princess Elizabeth to HRH Prince Phillip of Greece on 9 July 1947 was received with great joy. Unlike the unfortunate King Edward, this union was acceptable to the archbishop of Canterbury, and their marriage in Westminster Abbey was a cause for great celebration in a nation that was still scarred by WW2.

Princess Elizabeth's Wedding

Both Elizabeth and Phillip had undertaken military service. Phillip was a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy in WW2; Elizabeth served in the Women's Auxiliary Territorial Service in 1945. Phillip's credentials were not uncontroversial: his three sisters had married Germans but he was the nephew of Lord Mountbatten and so had the right connections. He renounced his Greek citizenship and title, becoming a naturalised British citizen. On the eve of the wedding King George anointed him Duke of Edinburgh. Despite the post-war austerity, the wedding was celebrated with unprecedented pomp and ceremony, appropriate for the very first time an Heiress Presumptive to the Throne was being married. The aura of the wedding lasted well after the event.⁵⁶² It was not quite, as claimed by Archbishop Garbett of York, 'in all essentials exactly the same as it would have been for any cottager who might be married this

⁵⁶¹ James, *A Spirit Undaunted: The Political Role of George VI*, various

⁵⁶² Elizabeth Grice, 'Princess Elizabeth's Fairytale Wedding', *Telegraph*, 20 July 2007, available online at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/features/3633453/Princess-Elizabeths-fairytale-wedding.html>, accessed 10 June 2008.

afternoon in some small country church in a remote village in the Dales'.⁵⁶³ But of course Garbett was referring to the actual marriage service, illustrating the same determination by the clergy that in the Princess' case, as had been applied in King Edward's; the monarchy lived by the rules of the institution they headed. The ceremony attracted huge attention from the British populace, and was broadcast by radio from the Abbey around the world. Australian interest was recalled by Peter Spearritt:

The Melbourne *Age* reported that the largest radio audience in Australian history listened to the wedding at Westminster Abbey on 20 November 1947. By 9 p.m. the city was deserted, and teachers the following morning received a record number of 'please excuse' notes from parents of children who had been allowed to stay up late 'to hear the solemn ceremony broadcast from the Abbey'.⁵⁶⁴

The bishop of Lichfield, E. S. Woods, who was visiting Australia and New Zealand at the time of the Royal wedding, reported to Archbishop Fisher on 'the great mission' on which he had been sent by Fisher, and hoped that it had strengthened both 'religious and political bonds'. Woods also commented on the 'ardent loyalty' to throne and the 'motherland' and great interest in the royal wedding of Princess Elizabeth.⁵⁶⁵ The royal couple had two children, Charles in 1948, and Anne in 1950 before Elizabeth became Queen. The Princess was called on to deputise for her father during his illness prior to his death, and proved herself a willing and able alternate.

The Coronation and its Australian Attendees

The coronation of Queen Elizabeth II on 2 June 1953 was a momentous occasion, broadcast across the world by radio and television. It was the biggest outside broadcast the BBC had attempted, delivered in 44 different languages.⁵⁶⁶ Elizabeth assumed the title of Head of the Commonwealth, and her far-flung subjects were anxious to share in the ceremony. Westminster Abbey was closed for nine months, with worship being celebrated in St Faith's Chapel.⁵⁶⁷ This was necessary to allow preparation for the ritual and accommodation for the

⁵⁶³ Grice, 'Princess Elizabeth's Fairytale Wedding'.

⁵⁶⁴ Spearritt, 'Royal Progress', 77.

⁵⁶⁵ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 273.

⁵⁶⁶ 'Queen Elizabeth takes Coronation Oath'. *BBC On this day*, 2 June 1953, available on line http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/june/2/newsid_2654000/2654501.stm, accessed 28 October 2008. The attempted 'live cross' did not work; the tape was flown by RAF Vulcan bomber to be seen across the USA.

⁵⁶⁷ 'Ecumenical Service at Exhibition', *Messenger*, no. 2036.15 May 1953, 67.

8000 guests who attended.⁵⁶⁸ Again no expense was spared to ensure the ceremony received the ultimate coverage. The Coronation gown was created by Norman Hartnell, and was hand embroidered with the motifs of all the Commonwealth nations in gold and silver thread and precious and semi-precious jewels. The ermine Imperial Robe of State was equally sumptuous, with its purple velvet train decorated with gold lace and filigree gold.⁵⁶⁹ Queen Elizabeth vowed 'to serve her people and to maintain the laws of God'. The archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, was insistent that acknowledgment be made that this was an Anglican occasion, when the Head of State assumed her position using the rites of the Established Church. Prior to the day Fisher 'gave a series of sermons exploring and explaining the Coronation liturgy'. He 'viewed the coronation service as a quintessentially religious ceremony'.⁵⁷⁰ Hein claims:

The young Queen largely shared her archbishop's view of the sacred character of the event. Fisher put together for her use, *A Little Book of Private Devotions*. A historian of the monarchy has said of Elizabeth: 'Both the oath and the anointing were viewed by her as pivotal events in her life, seen as acts of personal dedication to the service of the nation.'⁵⁷¹ The anointing was the most solemn and sacred part of the coronation ritual. It took place out of view of both the cameras and the congregation. Divested of royal robes and adornments and wearing a simple white dress, the Queen moved to St Edward's chair. With the oil of chrism the archbishop anointed her by making a sign of the cross on her palms, on her chest, and on her head, saying 'By thy Head anointed with holy Oil: as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed. And as Solomon was anointed King by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, so be thou anointed, blessed and consecrated Queen over the Peoples, whom the Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and govern...'.⁵⁷²

The archbishop felt:

'The wonder of it all, the unforgettable bearing of the Queen, the overwhelming sense of dedication to God, of worship of God, consecration by God and communion with God, embracing everyone in the Abbey.' And beyond. In 1953 the Anglican faith was alive, and well—and popular. In London in the early 1950s more than 40 per cent of all adults regularly attended church.⁵⁷³

It can be safely assumed that this sentiment was echoed within the Australian church.

⁵⁶⁸ 'Queen Elizabeth takes Coronation Oath', *BBC On this day*.

⁵⁶⁹ John Julius Norwich, *Sovereign*, (London: Collins & Brown Limited, 1992), 30-31.

⁵⁷⁰ Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 94.

⁵⁷¹ Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: Harper Collins, 2005), 431, cited in Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 95.

⁵⁷² Strong, *Coronation*, 488; Ben Pimlott, *The Queen: A Biography of Queen Elizabeth II* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), 213, cited in Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 95; Riggell and Blakeway, *The Queen's Story*, 92.

⁵⁷³ Brandreth, *Philip and Elizabeth*, 261.

Among the pictures released of the coronation was of the Queen flanked on one side by the archbishop of Canterbury and on the other by the archbishop of York.⁵⁷⁴ The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury paid homage to the Queen after he had placed the crown of St Edward on her head, once she had accepted before her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, the four symbols of authority—the orb, the sceptre, the rod of mercy and the royal ring of sapphire and rubies. It was estimated that three million people lined the route to and from Buckingham Palace to the Abbey. Street parties were held across the country, while the coronation itself was watched on television sets. Following the ceremony the public was permitted to view the building for four weeks before the infrastructure necessary to stage such a ceremony was removed, for which they made a donation to help defray the enormous cost. Some of the memories generated that day are recorded on *BBC On This Day—Witness*, and include one from a small boy from an anti-royalist family, which still could not escape the euphoria of the day, despite decamping to Derbyshire to avoid it.⁵⁷⁵ According to E. C. Ratcliffe, the Ely Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University, the larger meaning of the ceremony

reflects the persistent intertwining of sacred and secular, of civil and ecclesiastical. It reflects particularly the historic English conception of the mutual relations of Sovereign, Church and People, and of all three to God...[It] symbolises national continuity...*sub specie Christianitatis*.⁵⁷⁶

These sentiments were also reflected in the Australian Anglican community.

At Christ Church Brunswick, the Rev. Thomas Russell Hope Clark—the brother of historian Manning Clark, whose 'almost obsessive anti-Britishness', as chronicler Paul Nicholls put it, was 'especially evident in the last two volumes of his *History of Australia*⁵⁷⁷—became its incumbent in 1948. His 'Anglophilism' appeared to be 'incidental and instinctive'.⁵⁷⁸ His pastoral skills resulted in a resurgence of Christ Church's clubs and societies. More importantly his incumbency saw the return of 'the rites, ceremonies, usages

⁵⁷⁴ '1953: Queen Elizabeth takes Coronation Oath', *BBC On this day*.

⁵⁷⁵ Michael, US, 'Crowning the Queen' *BBC On this Day—Witness*, 2 June 1953, available online http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/witness/june/2/newsid_2947000/2947912.stm, accessed 28 October 2008.

⁵⁷⁶ Edward C. Ratcliffe, *The Coronation Service of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 23, cited in Hein, *Geoffrey Fisher*, 94.

⁵⁷⁷ Paul Nicholls, *Highs and Lows: The Anglican Parish of Christ Church Brunswick* (Brunswick: Christ Church Press, 2007), 138.

⁵⁷⁸ Nicholls, *Highs and Lows*, 138.

and doctrines' and return of 'the Catholic nature' of Christ Church.⁵⁷⁹ Clark had a year's leave in 1951 to visit, in his own words, 'the Homeland'.⁵⁸⁰

Anglophilism found 'stronger expression' in his successor at Christ Church in 1953: Rev. Wenman Bowak had an 'exotic background' with service abroad as a military chaplain, including an extended time in India. The parish celebrated 'the traditional loyalty to the monarch who—happily for Antipodean Anglicans—happened also to be the Supreme Governor of their mother church'.⁵⁸¹ Three services were held in the parish to commemorate the Queen's coronation. Bowak had devoted all of the Vicar's Notes in the parish June newsletter to the coronation. To coincide with the actual ceremony in the Abbey the Christ Church parishioners gathered for a short service. A film strip was shown in which Archbishop Fisher had a prominent part, and the new Queen herself made a short speech. The parishioners then listened to the broadcast of the coronation, and the 'solemn ceremonies were heard quite clearly'. Nicholls vividly describes the supper and dancing which followed. Parishioners had created displays 'of pictures, books with coloured plates bearing upon the Coronation'. A large picture of the Queen was the centrepiece, a silver crown hanging above it. Admiration was expressed for cut-out models of the Coronation coach, complete with its eight greys and mounted escort. The parishioners joined with the Abbey congregation in the singing of the National Anthem.⁵⁸² The Church of England Fellowship (an organisation for young parishioners) performed 'two sketches... of a humorous nature' which were 'quite amusing' according to the parish newspaper. Even if perhaps tactless on this occasion the young people were to prove their commitment to their anointed Queen by travelling to line the road at Essendon to see her progress when she visited Australia in 1954.⁵⁸³

Christ Church was not alone in its celebrations. The *ACR*, although the mouthpiece for a differing Anglican churchmanship to the Anglo-Catholic Christ Church, took the opportunity to observe that 'The Coronation of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, gives all Ministers of God's word a wonderful opportunity of stressing an urgent need of a return to God'.⁵⁸⁴ In the same *ACR* a report was filed of the 'Women's Coronation Service' held in Sydney's St Andrew's Cathedral. The Cathedral was packed with 1,000 women from all

⁵⁷⁹ Nicholls, *Highs and Lows*, 136-137.

⁵⁸⁰ Nicholls, *Highs and Lows*, 136-137.

⁵⁸¹ Nicholls, *Highs and Lows*, 136-137.

⁵⁸² Nicholls, *Highs and Lows*, 139.

⁵⁸³ Nicholls, *Highs and Lows*, 140.

⁵⁸⁴ *ACR*, vol. 18, no. 11, 11 June 1953, 8.

denominations and community interests. The Mothers' Union, of which Queen Elizabeth was World Patron, organised the service so that all women could 'pay homage to their Queen, and pledge loyalty and allegiance to her'. The service address, by the dean, stressed the symbolism inherent in the coronation ceremony of the union of the Queen with her people in the defence of the Christian faith.⁵⁸⁵ The Queen had issued an Order of Divine Service "recommended for use in all Churches of the Church of England" by her command on 31 May 1953, Trinity Sunday. The rivalry of the *ACR* and the *Anglican* is evident in the treatise offered by 'the Rev. J. R. L. Johnstone, L.L.B. Th.L.', critical of the *Anglican's* assumption that bishops could intrude on Her Majesty's power to order such services to be used. Johnstone emphasised that the Declaration of Assent, which all clergy undertook on ordination, clearly set out the Royal Supremacy of the Queen.⁵⁸⁶

Notwithstanding such typical sectarian division on churchmanship within the Australian Anglican church,⁵⁸⁷ the religious nature of the ceremony was recognised, indeed stressed. *ACR* published the clarification by the dean of Westminster, Alan Don, that the ceremony took place 'within the framework of the Holy Communion Service and partakes of its sacramental character'.⁵⁸⁸ The *Anglican* carried similar items, including a report of the address given on the significance of the coronation to the British people by the bishop of Chichester, George Bell, at the Sorbonne.⁵⁸⁹ The secular press reinforced these religious views. The front cover of the widely read *Australian Women's Weekly* showed a coloured depiction of Elizabeth at the moment of crowning, the hands of the primate of All England towering above her, holding the crown of St Edward about to be lowered onto her head.⁵⁹⁰ The coronation was attended by the primate of Australia, Archbishop Mowll, and his wife, at the specific invitation of Archbishop Fisher.⁵⁹¹ This significance of this opportunity to re-

⁵⁸⁵ *ACR*, vol. 18, no. 11, 11 June 1953, 15.

⁵⁸⁶ "'Pre-Coronation' Service', *ACR*, vol. 18, no. 4, 5 March 1953, 6.

⁵⁸⁷ See Benjamin Edwards, *Wasps, Tykes and Ecumaniacs* (Brunswick East: Acorn Press., 2008), 84. Archbishop Fisher was well aware of these sectarian divides in Anglicanism, especially within the Sydney diocese.

⁵⁸⁸ 'Coronation Symbolism', *ACR*, vol.18, no. 3, 5 February 1953, 2.

⁵⁸⁹ *The Anglican*, no. 36, 10 April 1953, 16.

⁵⁹⁰ Cover, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 10 June 1953. The magazine had a readership of 750,000 at that time. During the 1950s many front covers were devoted to the Royals. See, for a retrospective of these covers, *Australian Women's Weekly*, October 2008, 13. The daily papers, such as *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 1953, also reminded readers that 'the Coronation was a solemn religious occasion'.

⁵⁹¹ 'St Andrew's Cathedral Festival Day', *Anglican*, no. 35, 3 April 1953, 3.

establish and reinforce the 'imagined community' of Anglicanism within the British diaspora was not lost on observers. Gary Bouma claims, correctly, that in Australia in 1947 'economic, education, cultural, and major political links with the rest of the world were all through Great Britain', and that '... most of the elites and much of the middle class referred to England as 'home'.⁵⁹² Influential newspapers and magazines catered for those who regarded the monarchy as essential to Australian values. The *Australian Women's Weekly* was not party political; the same could not be said of papers such as the *Weekly Times*, read widely across country Victoria. In that weekly reports of rural affairs, and pages which included church business and photographs of the Royal family, were interspersed with diatribes against the Communist Party.⁵⁹³ Full coverage was given to Tasmanian Premier Robert Cosgrove, who blamed the high cost of living in Australia on Stalin by 'forcing' the nation to arm in defence; the same issue also carried airmail pictures of the Queen Mother leaving for her newly acquired Castle of May as well as of girls embroidering regalia for the coronation.⁵⁹⁴ The account of the death of Queen Mary informed readers that there would be no alteration to the coronation program.⁵⁹⁵ Subsequent issues highlighted the funeral procession of Queen Mary, which an estimated 90,000 people watched from London streets, while still giving details of the forthcoming coronation.⁵⁹⁶ The paper was a significant aid to promulgating and reinforcing conservative opinion and was extremely popular with Country Party supporters.

While laying no claim to being the Established Church in Australia, the Anglican Church undeniably held a privileged position in Australian society. Historian Tom Frame emphasises this privileged position and reminds us that the Australian Constitution does not formally separate church and state. He cites Justice Dixon's 1949 assertion from the bench of

⁵⁹² G. Bouma, 'The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia: A Multicultural Society', *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 56, no. 3 (1995), 285-302, note. 1, 285.

⁵⁹³ For instance the *Weekly Times*, 13 February 1952, 3-4, showed the three generations of mourning Royal women (mother, wife and daughters) heavily swathed in black clothing, and a report that the 'Death of King George VI mourned by all Nations' while 6 carried an article regarding the fight against communism, then 12 and 35 carrying more pictures of the Royal family, and noting that the daughter of the Governor [of Victoria] had a quiet wedding because the State was in mourning.

⁵⁹⁴ *Weekly Times*, 18 March 1953, 4,19. The gown was specially flown to Australia for the Royal visit. The British Communist Party paper, *Daily Worker* criticised the amount of work entailed, and claimed a woman nearly went blind sewing jewels on coronation medals. See also Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 105.

⁵⁹⁵ *Weekly Times*, 25 March 1953.

⁵⁹⁶ *Weekly Times*, 1 April 1953.

the High Court: 'notwithstanding judicial statements of a contrary tendency, the better opinion appears to be that the Church of England came to New South Wales as the Established Church and that it possessed that status in the colony for some time'.⁵⁹⁷ Dixon's view is significant because he represented the Australian Establishment, which required a compliance with societal standards. Additionally his social standing enabled him access through his judicial position to matters which would prove of great importance in Australia in the 1950s.

Although married in St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, Dixon 'had a strong aversion to organised religion, verging on prejudice and intolerance'.⁵⁹⁸ His biographer, Philip Ayres, claims he was agnostic.⁵⁹⁹ However, Dixon 'was not one of those who wished not to believe in God. He was perfectly happy for his wife to maintain her religious views'.⁶⁰⁰ His stance did not prevent him attending Anglican Church services when necessary.⁶⁰¹ He also was stridently anti-communist.⁶⁰² Dixon's legal attitude was one of 'strict and complete legalism'.⁶⁰³ He gave an opinion in a case regarding Australian liturgy used in the Anglican church.⁶⁰⁴ Dixon explained that 'with time it [the Church of England] was regarded as no longer being established although the progressive steps in its change of status were neither clear nor obvious'. The ethnic composition in the colony certainly played an important part.⁶⁰⁵ It is clear, then, that Dixon had conservative connections and close links to the Anglican Church.

⁵⁹⁷ Frame, *Church and State*, 48.

⁵⁹⁸ Frank Brennan, 'Tales from the Bench: A Review of Philip Ayres (2003) *Owen Dixon*, Miegunyah', *Uniya*, Jesuit Social Justice Centre, 3, available online at http://www.uniya.org/pdf/brennan_dixon.pdf, accessed 3 November 2008; published in *Eureka Street*, July-August 2003, 37-39

⁵⁹⁹ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 37.

⁶⁰⁰ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 55.

⁶⁰¹ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 43. Despite his agnostic protestations Dixon did attend church. See diary report of his visit to Oxfordshire in 1924, where he attended worship with the rest of the house party. His official capacities very often called on him to join in Anglican forms of service, such as the opening of the legal year. He also attended on important occasions, for instance, when the Queen Mother visited Australia in 1958, Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 267. On his death Anglican Canon Reverend W Holt conducted the funeral service.

⁶⁰² Daryl Dawson and Grant Anderson, 'Dixon, Sir Owen (1886 - 1972)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 7-10.

⁶⁰³ Brennan, 'Tales from the Bench'.

⁶⁰⁴ This was the 'Red Book' case of 1945, where an Australian bishop had attempted to use a form of liturgy not condoned by the church. See Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 188-271, 311, 314-317, 345-408.

⁶⁰⁵ Frame, *Church and State*, especially 48-49.

In 1919, when he joined the tennis club at his local church, Dixon met his wife, Alice Brooksbank, the daughter of the Anglican vicar of St Mark's Church of England, Camberwell. The Rev. Hubert Alan Brooksbank was an Englishman who had attended Cambridge University. He came to Australia and had been incumbent at Lyndoch in the Barossa Valley from 1891 to 1900, where Alice was born in 1893. She was the eldest of the vicarage family, the only daughter, with four brothers. The family shifted to Melbourne when Brooksbank became headmaster of Christ Church Grammar School in South Yarra in about 1903. He later became vicar at Williamstown, and then of St Mark's.⁶⁰⁶ Dixon and Alice were married in a private ceremony at St Paul's Cathedral on 8 January 1920 by the dean himself.⁶⁰⁷ The subconscious influences of such a union on Dixon cannot be discounted when considering his attitudes. Dixon was known for his covert actions, unbefitting a judge, when he proffered advice to all manner of conservatives, including politicians.⁶⁰⁸ Overtly Dixon was a stickler for legal propriety: he found for the Anglican Church against Bishop Arnold Wilde in the 'Red Book' case, but against the Commonwealth and for the ten unions in the CPA Dissolution Bill. But he certainly associated with conservative political leaders and was a member of many clubs with links to Establishment figures.⁶⁰⁹ These early associations can be discerned when he returned from Washington after WW2. His biographer notes 'how his social connections ramify at this stage'. Sir Keith Murdoch introduced him to the conservative Melbourne Establishment, which was to open doors for Dixon.⁶¹⁰ His Anglican connections were apparent when invited to speak at a luncheon to farewell Dean Stuart Barton Babbage from Sydney's St Andrew's Cathedral.⁶¹¹ Babbage had established the Cathedral Luncheon Group for business men to hear addresses on Christian subjects. Babbage appeared, like Dixon, to espouse adherence to the letter of the law, but at the same time felt free to voice his own personal opinion. Babbage was critical of the dean of

⁶⁰⁶ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 30.

⁶⁰⁷ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 30-31.

⁶⁰⁸ Lawrence Maher, 'Owen Dixon: Concerning His Political Method.', *Constitutional Law and Policy Review* 6, no. 2 (2005), 33-48. While Ayres' biography is a hagiographic account of Dixon, he does make the same concession. For example see Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 52-60, 63. Dixon's early involvement with Menzies, Herring and Blamey is documented on 120. Ayres remarks that Dixon's discussions with Menzies regarding Petrov on 17 April 1954 are not mentioned in his diary, a most unusual circumstance for Dixon. His further discussions in the matter are outlined on 244. He claimed to have a civic duty to remain informed.

⁶⁰⁹ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 54.

⁶¹⁰ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 176.

⁶¹¹ *Anglican*, no. 25, 23 January 1953.

Canterbury, but maintained that 'the freedom of the pulpit must be respected', despite deploring Hewlett Johnson's 'utterances':

Freedom of speech is a right jealously guarded by the Church – the freedom of the pulpit should not be limited. Utterances of the Dean are irresponsible, ill informed and thoroughly mischievous. The Dean's sincerity must be recognised, however, his gullibility, his lack of judgement, his perversity, and moral myopia must be deplored. The freedom of the pulpit must be respected, it would be a retrograde step if the freedom of the pulpit were to be restricted or infringed. It would mean that many earnest men were being penalised for the criminal folly of one foolish man.⁶¹²

Babbage transferred to Melbourne to take up the leadership of the evangelical Ridley College, where he could continue to associate with like-minded clerics, as well as members of the Melbourne establishment.

Dixon and his wife attended the Coronation ceremony in Westminster Abbey along with Prime Minister Menzies, his wife and members of his Government. Menzies had been Dixon's pupil, and held him in high regard. Menzies invited Dixon and his wife to attend the coronation, with the government paying their airfares to England. Dixon regarded Great Britain as the 'cultural homeland'. He considered that 'the noblest and best' of British tradition was of value to Australia.⁶¹³ These hegemonic influences included the British established church.⁶¹⁴ Dixon was President of the English Speaking Union until 1961, as well as serving on the Council of the Royal Empire Society, of which his wife was Vice-President. These organisations were committed to promoting Anglo-Australian unity.⁶¹⁵ The Dixons, as a couple, closely mirrored many of the era. Dixon's position gave his wife a status which enabled her precedence on the social scale. Alice Dixon typified 'middle class women socialised in Victorian notions of service, 'ideals of dependence', a 'separatedness of spheres', patriarchy, the status quo'.⁶¹⁶ The women were committed to creating a family home and supporting their husband's career.

⁶¹² *Anglican*, 3 August 1952, 5.

⁶¹³ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 101.

⁶¹⁴ Bouma, 'The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia', 281-302. Bouma's study reinforces the view of Anglicans as 'an imagined community' with a tendency to not attend church regularly. Ben Edwards, *Wasps, Tykes and Ecumaniacs* refers to these Anglicans as 'nominal'.

⁶¹⁵ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 181.

⁶¹⁶ Ian Colin Willis, *The Women's Voluntary Services, a Study of War and Volunteering in Camden, 1939-1945*, (PhD thesis, University of Wollongong, 2004), especially Chapter 3, 75-76, available online at <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/168/> accessed 17 September 2009. While this thesis specifically addresses Camden, NSW, and volunteering in WW2, it also discusses noblesse oblige, and the 'class, gender expectations,

Another key member of the Establishment network was Holt. Harold Holt, Minister for Labour and National Service, also held the portfolio of Minister for Immigration, and was well-known for his preference for British immigrants to Australia. He also was an avid anti-communist. He was 'Chief Host at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association's luncheon for Queen Elizabeth six days before her coronation' and sat on her right'.⁶¹⁷ Holt 'appeared to believe that the British Commonwealth had a form of sacred destiny':

The next century could see our British Commonwealth and our English speaking ally the United States advance to a situation of strength unparalleled in world history. Together we could guarantee democratic freedom and produce a more widely shared prosperity. Together we could assure the peace of the world. War, in our time, would smash these hopes. It is one war which must not be allowed to happen.⁶¹⁸

Holt proposed the formal toast to the Queen. He preceded the toast with his observation that 'The world has had a weary surfeit of bitterness and strife. As your Majesty stands on the threshold of your reign, so rich in promise, you embody the hope of mankind for another great era of peaceful development'.⁶¹⁹ In his 'Coronation Odyssey' diary Holt described the dinner:

...where, after gulping 'a couple of quickies', he sat between the Queen and Lady Churchill, listened in admiration to Sir Winston and enjoyed 'an unforgettable experience', not least for finding the Queen 'very easy to talk to, completely natural, charming'. The diarist had an eye for the comic, telling friends back home about the complicated toilet arrangements inside Westminster Abbey to assist elderly peers and their grand wives during a long day.⁶²⁰

Holt also was accompanied by his wife on his coronation visit.⁶²¹ Holt was congratulated by Menzies in Cabinet for his speech to the Queen on his return to Australia.⁶²² The

intimacy, conservatism, patriarchy, parochialism' which affected British society and was endemic, through hegemony, within Australia, as it affected women of the time. The specific example of Englishwoman Lady Stella Reading, founder of the WVS, gives insight into the dedication of a woman of the era to her husband's needs—through which she gained her position in society from where she was able to exert influence. See also BBC – Radio 4 Woman's Hour – Women's History Timeline - Lady Stella Reading, 1930-1939, available online at http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/womanshour/timeline/stella_reading.shtml, accessed 18 December 2009.

⁶¹⁷ Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt*, 73.

⁶¹⁸ Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt*, 65.

⁶¹⁹ Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt*, 73.

⁶²⁰ Ian Hancock, 'Holt, Harold Edward (1908 - 1967)', vol. 14, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 474-480.

⁶²¹ See Diane Langmore, *Prime Ministers Wives* (Ringwood: McPhee Gribble, 1992); see also Susan Mitchell, *Stand by Your Man: Sonia, Tamie & Janette* (Sydney: Random House Australia., 2007). The influential roles of

reinforcement of British hegemony, which included the influence of the Established Church in England, with its anti-communist leadership, in the Australian Establishment affairs was thus acknowledged.

Opposition to the Role of the Monarchy

Not all Australians supported the role of the monarchy in Australian affairs. There was opposition from those on extreme ends of the political spectrum. The opposition of Archbishop Mannix, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Melbourne, sprang from his Irish and Roman Catholic background. Given the sectarian nature of Australian society at that time, the attitude of the Anglicans toward the Queen as their own was not likely to help Mannix's stance. Members of the CPA also had found it unwise to voice opinions which could be construed as seditious. Those who spoke out could expect harsher treatment in Australia than in Britain itself. Historian Laurence Maher has outlined the events that resulted from an article in the *Communist Review* of June 1953.⁶²³ This article specifically targeted 'the use of public money to send an Australian contingent to London for the Coronation'. While not criticising the Queen in particular, the article did describe 'the Royal circle as made up of people whose background, origins, birth and connections are big business and profits, opposition to social change and anti-working class. The Coronation will be their parade'.⁶²⁴

In the prevailing political climate this article created an opportunity for the Government to launch a sedition prosecution against the persons involved in its publication. Since there had been widespread acknowledgement that the coronation was a solemn religious ceremony, the publication was not only regarded as seditious, but also sacrilegious. Maher drew attention to previous sedition prosecutions and investigations against the CPA by the government.⁶²⁵ The most notable of these was the imprisonment of Lance Sharkey, the

the wives of men such as Holt, Dixon and Menzies, or indeed Mowll, Fisher and Churchill should not be ignored when considering the 1950s.

⁶²² 'Cabinet Note book, Tuesday 4th August, 1953', available online at

<http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/Imagine.asp> accessed 27 November 2008.

⁶²³ Maher, 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Disaffection', 1-17.

⁶²⁴ Maher, 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Disaffection', 2.

⁶²⁵ Maher, 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Disaffection', 4:14. See also Lawrence Maher, 'The Use and Abuse of Sedition', *Sydney Law Review*, no. 14, 1992, 295-305, 287. As well, mention is made on page 15 of William Charles Wentworth IV, whose zealous anti-communism was well known. Wentworth routinely scoured the media to compile a collection of press clippings used to campaign against those he considered communist or linked to communists.

General Secretary of the CPA, for his comment that the workers in Australia would not oppose the Red Army if it chose to invade Australia. His imprisonment and sentence of hard labour signalled the intent of the Establishment in Australia to deal harshly with those offering resistance to the established order. When the 'Red' dean, Hewlett Johnson was in Australia in 1950 he was refused permission to visit Sharkey at Long Bay. As he boarded the plane to leave Australia at the end of his 1950 visit, Johnson said that not being permitted by the authorities to visit Sharkey in Long Bay Gaol was one of three regrets he had as he left Australia. The other two were that he could not stay longer and that 'such a fair land, with such virile, independent people, should be one of the first in the English speaking world to forsake some of our cherished British freedoms'.⁶²⁶ This was indeed a challenging statement to be printed in the press on Mayday.

The case against the *Communist Review* was part of a prolonged campaign to use the judiciary in actions against the CPA. Maher has documented the involvement of Colonel Spry, director-general of ASIO, in 'The 'Democratic' Monarchy' affair, once Spry was aware of the article. According to Maher, Spry 'was part of a closely knit defence establishment elite in Melbourne which was notable for its vehement anti-communism and its informal links with the Liberal Party'.⁶²⁷ Spry was able to use information gained during ASIO/CIS searches on warrant to supplement files that had no relevance to the *Monarchy* case. Johnson's claim to loss of freedoms for Australians seemed relevant, the crime of sedition had become obsolescent in the United Kingdom, but the sedition case proceeded in Australia.⁶²⁸ The defendants in this case agreed to a summary hearing. Wire taps by ASIO revealed that 'the [CPA] leadership was intent "at all costs" on avoiding having the Chandler, Ogston and Bone cases tried in the Supreme Court'.⁶²⁹ The three defendants were cleared of the charges against them. These cases, ostensibly in defence of the monarchy and Australia against scurrilous attacks, revealed how Spry used information gained during the raids in later

⁶²⁶ 'Crowd at Airport: "Red" Dean Cheered', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1950, 3

⁶²⁷ Maher, 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Disaffection', 9. Lawrence Maher, 'Tales of the Overt and the Covert: Judges and Politics in Early Cold War Australia.', *Federal Law Review* 169, no. 1992-1993 (1992), 151-201. also explores the connections between the judiciary and Spry, and highlights to involvement of both Dixon and Herring 'in a variety of political roles', see 152. The connections of Herring, Dixon and Spry in the Melbourne establishment were certainly known.

⁶²⁸ Maher, 'Tales of the Overt and the Covert', 39.

⁶²⁹ These were the three defendants in the '*Democratic*' *Monarchy* case, there being 3 separate cases involved: Herbert Bovyll Chandler, Adam Ogston and James Bone, all communists.

prosecutions. The particular involvement of Menzies and Dixon, in discussing with Spry a legal action taken by Mrs Chandler, whose home had been raided in the '*Democratic Monarch*' affair, is mooted by Maher.⁶³⁰ He implies that Dixon's connection in the 'same Melbourne social circles' as Spry and Menzies was a source of contact outside the correct procedures. This view is certainly supported by Dixon's biographer.⁶³¹ Dixon's later appointment, as his associate, of Spry's son, Ian, accentuates this relationship.⁶³² Certainly the connection of the raids in regard to the sedition case and use of evidence gathered in them for use in the Petrov Affair signalled the intent of the Menzies' Government to use whatever means were available to them to prosecute those they regarded as communist.

The Royal Visit

From November 1953 to May 1954 the Royal couple embarked on the tour which had been interrupted when King George died. Although this tour was extensive covering 56,000 miles, and fourteen Commonwealth countries, the Queen never 'set foot on ground that was not governed in her name'.⁶³³ Prime Minister Menzies was pleased to be able to announce that Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip would visit Australia in February and March 1954. This would be the first visit to Australia by a reigning monarch. The timing of the visit has been questioned in regard to the election to be held in May.⁶³⁴ Since the *Britannia* would not be available until later in the year, the *Gothic* had to be leased, toward which cost the

⁶³⁰ Maher, 'Dissent, Disloyalty and Disaffection', 62-63.

⁶³¹ Ayres, *Owen Dixon*. See also Brennan, 'Tales from the Bench', especially 4-5.

⁶³² See Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 224, 283, 287-288, 305, 318. Dixon proof read I. C. F. Spry's book *Equitable Remedies*, the only legal work Dixon read after retirement. Spry was editor of the right-wing *National Observer* for some years, and was noted for his conservative views, especially as a member of the Anglican Church. He was also chairman of *the Association for the Apostolic Ministry of the Anglican Church*. He made very negative comments on the appointment of Archbishop Peter Carnley to the Perth Diocese, since Carnley was an advocate of women's ordination. See Ian Charles Fowler Spry, 'Archbishop Carnley, Controversial Priest', *AD2000*, vol. 14, no. 6 (July 2001), 9. *AD2000* is a Roman Catholic journal of religious opinion published by the Thomas More Centre in North Melbourne.

⁶³³ Riggell and Blakeway, *The Queen's Story*, 97.

⁶³⁴ Lowe, *Menzies and the 'Great World Struggle'*, 170. See also page 3 of the report by Sir Frank Berryman, Director-General of the 1954 tour: NAA: A462, 825/14/49. Menzies did win the election in May 1954. Even with the Royal Tour and the Petrov defection, the Government's majority was greatly reduced, with Labor receiving 250,000 more total votes than the combined Liberal and Country Parties.

Government of Australia contributed £A200,000.⁶³⁵ The wave of euphoria generated by Elizabeth's coronation had not yet subsided. Menzies appointed Eric Harrison as minister-in-charge of the Royal visit. Harrison, a 'constant, admiring and vigorous ally' of Menzies, was an Anglican who had impeccable anti-communist credentials.⁶³⁶ He was the Minister for the Interior who issued the order to prohibit the entry into Australia of the Czech anti-war publicist Egon Kisch in 1934. It was he who narrowly defeated Jessie Street when she stood as ALP candidate for the seat of Wentworth in 1943, an outcome many attributed to W. C. Wentworth's refusal to allocate his preferences to Street. Harrison was described as

... a man of strong views warmly expressed, shrewd—except on any matter that might be construed as communist subversion—a formidable opponent and a loyal friend, his tendency to pompousness offset by masculine humour.⁶³⁷

He and his second wife had close contact with Queen Elizabeth during the tour. Harrison was 'an active promoter of Commonwealth ties', which would have pleased the Queen. However, his advocacy of a 'White' Commonwealth would not have met with her approval. Since travelling to Africa with her parents and her sister Margaret in 1947, she was critical of white supremacy.⁶³⁸ As titular head of the Anglican Communion, she was well aware of Archbishop Fisher's efforts to increase African participation in the Anglican Church. (Harrison's wife 'became his political confidant and softened his abrasiveness',⁶³⁹ another example of the often unacknowledged influence of both wives and mothers on those in the public sphere.) The Australian nation was prepared to embrace the Royal couple with remarkable enthusiasm, especially the Anglican Church, which was welcoming its titular head. This visit, following on those of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, was of great importance in bolstering the Anglican Communion in Australia.

As well as being Supreme Governor of the Church of England, Elizabeth was titled Defender of the Faith. Menzies was strongly criticised after Elizabeth's accession for the sudden omission of the FD normally inscribed on Australian coins. To Anglicans this was an affront to Her Majesty and their church, and demonstrated a desire by Prime Minister Menzies to curry favour with Roman Catholics in order to receive their votes. The archbishop

⁶³⁵ See Royal Tour – Minister and Director-General's Report 1954-1956, NAA: A462. 825/14/49.

⁶³⁶ Stuart Macintyre, 'Harrison, Sir Eric John (1892 - 1974)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 398-399.

⁶³⁷ Macintyre, 'Harrison'.

⁶³⁸ Brandreth, *Philip and Elizabeth*, 185-187.

⁶³⁹ Macintyre, 'Harrison'.

of Perth, R. W. H. Moline, in his Charge to Synod, declared it was 'absurd to dismiss omission of Defender of the Faith on Australian coinage as caused by accident or lack of space. The Queen undertook to 'maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government thereof....' By this she affirmed her right to the title of 'Defender of the Faith' conferred by Parliament on all British sovereigns since the reign of Henry VIII.⁶⁴⁰ 'Our Own Correspondent' reported that Bishop William Herbert Johnson of Ballarat condemned the omission in Ballarat on 14 September 1953.⁶⁴¹ 'Our Political Correspondent' in the *Anglican* claimed that the Prime Minister took the decision on his own and that it came on top of a series of actions presumably designed to win Roman Catholic support.⁶⁴² By 9 October the *Anglican* ran banner headlines 'THE QUEEN IS DEFENDER OF THE FAITH—BUT NOT ON OUR COINS'. It claimed 'the Prime Minister prevaricates on gratuitous affront to Australian Christians'. Correspondence with Acting Prime Minister, Sir Arthur Fadden, was published, then continuing correspondence with the Prime Minister. The *Anglican* claimed the omission was hailed with joy by the Roman Catholics.⁶⁴³ The primate of Australia, Mowll, in his Charge to Synod that year, advised that he had received requests from several dioceses to transmit protests to Federal Government as primate of Australia.⁶⁴⁴ Further pressure was applied in a letter issued from the bishops' annual meeting in Cheltenham, Victoria, which drew attention to the place the Church of England has held in national life, and the place the church has had as the nation has grown up for many centuries round the religious health and life of the Church of England. The bishops and archbishops regretted the omission of the "Fidei Defensor" from the coinage and called for it to be restored in future. After a furore which involved, according to numismatist Stephen Appleton, 'Questions in federal parliament, letters and editorials in the papers, denouncements from high-ranking Anglican clergy...Menzies personally intervened to ensure that the "Faithful" florin dies were procured in time for the 1954 Royal Visit commemorative!'. This was necessary to refute the accusations of 'Communist Anti-British Conspiracy' and 'Blatant Catholic Vote-buying'

⁶⁴⁰ *Anglican*, vol. 58, 11 September 1953, front page.

⁶⁴¹ *Anglican*, vol. 59, 18 September 1953.

⁶⁴² 'The Graceless Florin Case', the *Anglican*, vol. 64, 23 October 1953, front page.

⁶⁴³ *Anglican*, vol. 62, 9 October 1953, front page.

⁶⁴⁴ *Anglican*, vol. 63, 16 October 1953.

which had been levelled at the government.⁶⁴⁵ The editorial in the *Anglican* of 4 January 1954 entitled 'Fidei Defendor' highlighted that the Federal government officially announced F. D. will reappear, with the admonition that the government should not forget that leaving it off lost votes, while replacing it will probably gain them.⁶⁴⁶

Some Anglican bishops in Australia showed their concern that the Queen should be seen to be an Anglican by proposing to protest if the Queen worshipped at a Presbyterian Church while in Australia. Archbishop Cyril Garbett felt that since the Queen was also a member of the Church of Scotland, such a protest would be disastrous.⁶⁴⁷ He, however, contacted Fisher, who in turn contacted Her Majesty's private secretary, Sir Allen Lascelles. The reply that the Queen could well worship in Presbyterian churches if convenient did not please Archbishop Fisher, who thought that to worship in Presbyterian churches more than occasionally could cause 'problems to arise', and especially that she should not make her principal act of worship 'in a hotbed of Presbyterianism' like Dunedin in New Zealand at a Presbyterian church, even though she might visit it. Lascelles was able to reassure Fisher, and asked him to reassure the Australian bishops, that the Queen would go only occasionally to Presbyterian churches, and that she would not be in Dunedin on a Sunday.⁶⁴⁸ She did attend the small Presbyterian church in Rotarua when in New Zealand, and also in Warrandyte near Melbourne. Her attendances at services in the Anglican Cathedrals received major publicity.

The determination of the Anglican Church that their Queen should be acknowledged to be an Anglican resulted in another matter which weighed on Fisher: the provision of an Anglican chaplain to the Queen on the *Gothic* for her trip. The lack of a chaplain on the vessel which would transport the Queen worried the Chaplain of the Fleet, F. N. Chamberlain. Chamberlain advised Fisher that the commanding officer of the *Gothic* said Divine Service; there would be no provision of Holy Communion. Despite Fisher's representation to the First Lord of the Admiralty, the *Gothic* remained without a chaplain.

⁶⁴⁵ See Stephen Appleton, 'Agnostic Coinage', Queensland Numismatic Society Inc., September 2001, available online at http://www.qns.org.au/Articles/SWA_Agnostic/SWA_Agnostic.htm, accessed 19 January 2009.

⁶⁴⁶ The *Anglican*, vol. 74, 8 January 1954, 4. See also Fletcher, *The Place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 175-176.

⁶⁴⁷ The Queen is not the head of the Church of Scotland, although she is a member. See 'Organisation: The History and Structure of the Church', *Church of Scotland online*, available online at <http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/organisation/orgqueen.htm> accessed 15 October 2009.

⁶⁴⁸ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 310.

The *Gothic* was not a naval ship; the naval chaplain would sleep on his accompanying cruiser. The Palace was not about to include a chaplain on the *Gothic* since it would mean replacing one of the accompanying household. Fisher was able to reassure Chamberlain that the naval chaplain would be listed as accompanying the Queen.⁶⁴⁹

These incidents displayed the determination of the Church of England to ensure that the Queen was viewed as an Anglican by the populace. That there was mainly enthusiastic, and overwhelming, reaction by the nation to the Royal visit is a matter of record. There exists a vast literature pointing to the astonishing participation of the Australian nation in the Royal Tour. As historian Judith Smart has pointed out, 'there has, however, been no historical analysis of this moment of consensus in our history'.⁶⁵⁰ Beneath this taken-for-granted event is the unexamined role of the Anglican Church in the visit. Jane Connors' detailed thesis on the visit provides a valuable record of the attitude of the general public to the visit, but lumps Anglicans into a Protestant category that she found useful to contrast to Roman Catholics.⁶⁵¹ The successful visit bolstered the authority of the Government, and by implication its condemnatory attitude towards communism and Her Majesty's headship of the Anglican Church arguably played its part in this success.

Queen Elizabeth certainly fulfilled her role as head of the Anglican church while in Australia. The Anglican bishops and archbishops ensured due deference was paid to her. The first service she attended in Australia was at St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, on 7 February 1954, where the primate preached. Mowll noted that 166 years, almost to the day, had elapsed since the evangelical Chaplain of the First Fleet, Richard Johnson, conducted the first service in Australia at Farm Cove. The same Book of Common Prayer and the Bible used at that service were used again. Mowll paid tribute to the early settlers, making no mention of the aboriginal people they supplanted; presumably the aboriginals provided some of the 'dangers and privations which were experienced'. This service was attended by the Governor of the State, as well as the Chief Justice, Kenneth Street, without of course his wife, Jessie who was still living overseas in her self-imposed exile. There were some similarities to the occasion when the 'Red' dean was invited to deliver a sermon in the 1950s; again an overflow congregation had to be accommodated outside. There similarities ended, for this

⁶⁴⁹ Frappell, *Anglicans in the Antipodes*, 310-311.

⁶⁵⁰ Judith Smart, 'The People's Queen: Populism and the Royal Tour of 1954 in Victoria' Royal Historical Society, Melbourne, March 2004.

⁶⁵¹ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread'.

service was in the presence of the Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of the Anglican church. The *Anglican* listed what it called 'prominent lay Anglicans' who attended:

Dr H. V. Evatt, Hon. K. W. Street, Mr R. F. Heffron, Deputy Premier, Mr Clive Evatt, Chief Judge in Equity, Mr Justice Roper, Gen. Sir Ivan Mackay the Minister of the Navy and Air, Mr McMahon, Chancellor of University of Sydney, Sir Charles Blackburn, Vice Chancellor, Dr S. H. Roberts, director of the N.S.W. University of Technology, Professor J. P. Baxter, Sir William McKell, Mr Vernon G. Treatt, Mr Eric Harrison, and Mr Roy Hendy, and also made the claim that the Queen would attend an Anglican church each Sunday.⁶⁵²

The Cathedral had been cleaned, marble had been installed in the Choir and Sanctuary, and alabaster features redone. £3000 alone was spent on cleaning, postage, special seating both for the Queen and for those outside the Cathedral aside from the marble installation. The archbishop had invited representatives from other denominations. Cardinal Gilroy of the Roman Catholic Church had been invited to send 'a representative who would be suitably seated in the Cathedral, but it had not been found convenient to send a representative'.⁶⁵³ Gilroy had given early notice that the Roman Catholic Church would challenge the religious dominance of the Anglicans and the close liaison that existed between Church and State while the Queen was in Australia. He pleaded ill-health to avoid having the Anglican primate, Mowll, take precedence over him at the official welcome to the Queen on 4 February 1954.⁶⁵⁴ *ACR* called notice to such perceived slights, and jealously guarded the special position the Queen had in the Anglican Church.

Archbishop Booth of Melbourne used the occasion of her attendance at St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne on Sunday 28 February 1954 to refer to the moralistic 'Call' that the Chancellor of the diocese of Melbourne, Sir Edmund Herring, had played such a large part in circulating.⁶⁵⁵ Booth was a firm supporter of conservative government, his sermon on that

⁶⁵² 'The Queen worships at St Andrew's', *Anglican*, 5 February 1954, front page. The statement about worship only at Anglican churches was not entirely correct, but indicative of the importance Anglicans placed on the matter.

⁶⁵³ 'The Queen's First Service'; *ACR*, vol. 19, no. 2, 4 February 1954.

⁶⁵⁴ 'A Vacant Place', *ACR*, vol. 19, no. 3, 18 February 1954, 4.

⁶⁵⁵ See Chapter Three of this thesis, notes 527, 528. Archbishop Booth was incorrect in his claim that all the Chief Justices had signed the 'Call'. Jessie Street's husband, Kenneth Street, Chief Justice of NSW, was in fact acting NSW Governor at the time; it was signed by the senior judge of NSW. Herring's biographer, Sayers, claimed that Street would probably never have signed it, since he had 'a strong personal reluctance to stand forward as a guide to his fellows on moral issues': Sayers, *Ned Herring*, 313. As well, Sir John Latham, Chief

day reinforcing 'the British way of life' which he claimed was 'written in stone all over the Motherland'.⁶⁵⁶ In the same church paper which printed Booth's sermon in full was an account of 'The Royal Visit to the Cathedral'. The account claimed that 'somehow it didn't seem to matter' that 'only a few could see the Queen as she came along the red carpet, and fewer still could see the royal pair as they took their places in the red velvet chairs placed in front of the Governor-General's pew'. Her presence gave the worshippers 'the sense that they were really worshipping with their Queen... , an example of reverent devotion which could be felt if not seen'.⁶⁵⁷ This church service was typical of those conducted around the nation.

Later in the day the Queen dedicated the forecourt at Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance, lighting the Eternal Flame. An emphasis of the tour had been gatherings of returned soldiers, which both the Queen and Phillip attended. This ceremony was attended not only by official dignitaries, but by any who wished to attend. By this time the press was not above being critical of the Royal visitors, Elizabeth's dress was deemed by some as being too informal for such a solemn occasion.⁶⁵⁸ She also was criticised for not mixing enough with the 'common' folk. Prime Minister Menzies' home movies are a fascinating documentation of this and other events that affected him. He recorded this momentous occasion among others of the tour.⁶⁵⁹ A more formal photographic record of the entire visit was compiled. This record was the first colour feature documentary ever made in Australia. The Australian National Film Board Production was produced by the Film Division of the News and Information Bureau of the Department of the Interior in association with Film Centre London. It certainly emphasised the determination of both the Australian Government and the British Government to extract the maximum publicity from the visit. Produced and scripted by Stanley Hawes, the film required lengthy advance preparation. Scripting and shot planning was done well in advance, with the footage taken being flown to England to be processed, since Australia did not have the facilities for such production. The logistics of

Justice of the Supreme Court, would not sign it, as he was a humanist and considered the 'Call' to be 'too religious'.

⁶⁵⁶ 'Sermon delivered by the Archbishop of Melbourne, in the presence of Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh', *The Church of England Messenger*, Diocese of Melbourne, 19 March 1954, 40-41.

⁶⁵⁷ 'The Royal Visit to the Cathedral', *The Church of England Messenger*, 19 March 1954, 41.

⁶⁵⁸ See Ayres, *Owen Dixon*, 243, for Dixon's negative comments on the Shrine ceremony.

⁶⁵⁹ R. G. Menzies, 'Our Royal Visitors: Home Movies: Clip 4: Dedication of the Shrine of Remembrance', Australian Screen, National Film and Sound Archive, available online at <http://australianscreen.com.au/titles/our-royal-visitors/clip4/>, accessed 1 January 2009.

following the Queen around Australia was exacerbated by the fact that some of the film crew were excluded from the shoot for security reasons. Attempts were made to ensure all parts of the country were covered. A section of the film was reserved to show the Queen and Prince Phillip at worship; 'the reverence which maintains the Queen in her high office... was shared by her Australian people... and she and her husband prayed in churches great and small throughout the Australian Commonwealth'.⁶⁶⁰ The script called for shots of the Queen attending a smaller church, perhaps St John the Baptist Canberra, as well as the larger cathedrals. At St John's, Morning Prayer was conducted by the rector, R. G. Arthur. No special arrangement was made for visitors, and the usual congregation of 200 people worshipped alongside the Royal couple. St John's was the parish church of the Governor-General, who read the lesson. Bishop Burgmann preached; his enthusiasm for the monarchy was well known. His sermon, unlike that of Archbishop Booth, was judged to be too political by many. It of course did not follow the conservative line. Burgmann preached 'a hard hitting sermon about Australia overcoming her fetish with skin colour and finding her destiny'.⁶⁶¹

These highly publicised occasions contrasted with the Queen's worship on Sunday 7 March 1954 at the tiny St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Warburton, during her 'days off'. These were spent at the O'Shannassy quarters of the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW), which is located in a closed off water catchment area between East Warburton and McMahon's Creek. Archbishop Fisher's concerns about the Queen showing greater allegiance to the Church of Scotland over her duties as head of the Anglican Church appeared unfounded. Even though the Royal couple were supposedly having time to relax, 'twenty thousand people from all over the Yarra Valley region invaded Warburton to celebrate the Queens visit'.⁶⁶² The Rose Stereograph Company produced a postcard of her

⁶⁶⁰ Script, 'The Queen in Australia', 22; Australian National Film Board Production, produced by the Film Division of the News and Information Bureau of the Department of the Interior in association with Film Centre London. The script was written as a shooting script for Frank Bagnall's camera teams and was written before the Queen ever set foot in Australia, available online at http://www.abc.net.au/aplacetothink/#watch/mh_1950/queen/watchVideo accessed 2 January 2009.

⁶⁶¹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 327-328.

⁶⁶² See 'Queens Visit', Upper Yarra Valley Digital Media, available online at <http://www.upperyarra.com.au/2008/09/15/warburton-in-the-age/> accessed 19 September 2008.

visit to the church.⁶⁶³ What was not shown was perhaps an example of friction between the Royal couple. Jane Connors' later interviews revealed that the film crew for *The Queen in Australia* were witness to some domestic disharmony when they arrived to photograph the Queen with some kangaroos and koalas. Philip hurriedly left the Lodge followed closely by his tennis racket and shoes hurled after him. The Queen then appeared and dragged him back into the chalet. The film of the incident was exposed and handed to Commander Richard Colville, the Queen's Press Secretary. The Queen thanked the crew, remarking that she 'was sorry for that interlude, but as you know it happens in every marriage'. This occurrence also suggests the close ties established during the two months that the film crew, and other journalists, accompanied the tour party.⁶⁶⁴

Every effort was made in the film to encompass all aspects of the tour. Small hamlets had their moment of fame alongside the larger cities. Country towns and cities were given their opportunity to bolster the sense of belonging to the British Commonwealth of which the Queen was head. The Royal couple were willing participants in this aim. Small instances illustrated their co-operation with the accompanying press corps. In Ballarat one commentator, the well known radio personality Norman Banks, was assigned a position on the top of the belltower of St Peter's Church of England. As the Royal car approached Banks described the scene, saying he was sure the Prince would wave if he knew there were people watching from the tower. Obviously listening by radio, the Duke obediently looked up and waved.⁶⁶⁵ Despite the film crew working under great hardship, Menzies was critical of the film, claiming it did not show enough shots of him.⁶⁶⁶ It did show the Queen being greeted by dignitaries wherever she went, emphasising and reinforcing the existing social order, and constitutional monarchy. The co-operation between Church and State was affirmed, both with the church services attended by the Queen's representatives in Australia, and the presence of chaplains when the Queen acted on ceremonial occasions such as the presentation

⁶⁶³ 'Queen Elizabeth II leaving St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Warburton, 7 March 1954', postcard, Rose Stereograph Company, SLV, picture catalogue, Accession no. H96.185/6.

⁶⁶⁴ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 249-250. Colville was nicknamed the Minister for Untruth by the Australian media.

⁶⁶⁵ The writer was present on the tower, so can authenticate this. See Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', Chp. 5, 222, which illustrates that Phillip did listen to the radio broadcasts. Many such remembrances remained with the younger members of the community, such as Judith Smart's recollection of being taken to see the Queen pass by, Smart, 'The People's Queen.'

⁶⁶⁶ Albert Moran, *Projecting Australia Government Film since 1945* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1991), 56.

of the Queen's colours and the dedication of the Eternal Flame. The film was shown as soon as practical in the cinemas. What the film did, and the written material could not, was to show the scenes of the adulation of the people of Australia to the Royal couple. Connors recognised 'the potential of the monarchy to serve as a symbol of Western political freedom...and could therefore be sent heavenward into the highest ranks of the holy war against the Reds'.⁶⁶⁷ This symbolic reinforcement of constitutional monarchy served to enhance the election chances of the anti-communist Menzies' government in the election to be held on 29 May 1954.

On the whole, the sedition cases brought against those critical of the monarchy and the participation of the Australian Establishment and Government in upholding the status quo was effective in stifling Communist Party criticism of the tour. Connors has examined how 'the State...was able to secure the willing co-operation of the overwhelming majority of the population'.⁶⁶⁸ However she concedes there was some opposition along sectarian lines, in particular from the Roman Catholics.⁶⁶⁹

There were small instances that upset the smooth running of the carefully arranged tour. Among these was the controversy regarding the presentation of new Colours by the Queen at a parade at Duntroon on 17 February 1954. There had been previous problems in 1952, when new Colours were presented to the RAAF at Point Cook/Laverton. It was little known that Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne had held a commission in the Army for forty-six years as the Roman Catholic Chaplain-General. He was elected to the position by the Australian Roman Catholic archbishops and accepted it on 21 July 1917. This entitled him to wear the uniform of a major-general—the Army gave him a final salute of 13 guns fired at one-minute intervals as his body was being laid to rest in a vault in Melbourne's St Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday 10 November 1963.⁶⁷⁰ Mannix never wore military garb, or entered a military establishment and was so well known for his opposition to the British and conscription in the Great War that he was prevented from landing when travelling home to Ireland in 1920. He was instead deposited by the Royal Navy at Penzance and remarked:

Since the Battle of Jutland the British Navy has not scored any success comparable to the chasing of the *Baltic* from the Irish shores and the capture without the loss of a

⁶⁶⁷ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 87.

⁶⁶⁸ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', abstract, iv.

⁶⁶⁹ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 205-209.

⁶⁷⁰ John Steinback, 'Sectarianism's Last Stand? Mannix, Menzies and the 1954 Duntroon Colours Controversy', *Australian Defence Forces Journal*, no. 146, January February (2001), 19-26.

single British sailor, of the Archbishop of Melbourne. Further, he quipped, the Royal Navy has taken into custody the Chaplain-General of his Majesty's Forces in Australia.⁶⁷¹

Mannix was a strenuous opponent of what he saw as sectarianism in the forces, particularly since it supported the long-standing practice of Colours being presented using the essentially Anglican service of the consecrating of the Colours. Roman Catholics were not permitted to join in ecumenical services, but in the forces they had to attend the presentation of the Queen's Colours on the threat of disciplinary action. A compromise to allow Roman Catholics to join in joint services was made for a civic service at the Exhibition Building on 31 May 1953 to celebrate the Coronation, by having it conducted by lay people. Mannix saw the Duntroon ceremony as an opportunity to address what he regarded as the constitutionally incorrect situation of a religious service being imposed on all servicemen. While he had crossed swords on this matter previously, there had been no real solution. The opportunity to achieve change appeared attractive. Mannix was a skilled adversary when it came to dealing with Prime Ministers; he had bested William Hughes on conscription during the Great War. Menzies was cleverly outmanoeuvred by Mannix, who realised that to create problems at Duntroon when the Queen was there would not be a popular move. The anti-communist stance of the Roman Catholic Church appeared as another factor to be considered. Menzies would not wish to alienate such a useful ally. Ultimately after much politicking, including Mannix releasing letters to the press, a compromise was reached. Mannix would give a dispensation to the Roman Catholic troops to join in the ceremony, on the assurance from Menzies that change would come. As it was there was outcry from, among others the Anglican bishop of Tasmania, G. F. Cranswick, with support after the event from Howard Mowll, the primate of the Anglican Church. Mowll wrote to Menzies predicting that 'if the Government surrendered to the arrogant attitude of a minority section of the community, the practical effects would be to paganise important national functions in a professedly Christian country'.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷¹ Steinback, 'Sectarianism's Last Stand?', 19.

⁶⁷² Steinback, 'Sectarianism's Last Stand?', 23. Steinback used various sources, citing some differences in accounts of the incident. He recognised that most literature relating to Archbishop Mannix was hagiographic, and also used independent authorities such as newspaper reports and Menzies' own papers. The Roman Catholic Deputy Chaplain-General to Mannix in 1954, Bishop John Morgan was able to give Steinback valuable insights.

Mannix emphasised his determination to achieve change when Prince Phillip was presenting Queen's Colours at the Flinders Naval Depot on 2 March 1954. No dispensation was given to the Roman Catholics for this service; the order to fall out was given before the Anglican chaplain consecrated the Colours. Consequently, 'More than four hundred Roman Catholics left the parade ground. They formed up and prayed for the Queen with their own chaplain and then doubled back to original positions'.⁶⁷³ This acrimonious situation was eventually resolved when the format of the Colours ceremony was restructured, with the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Protestant denomination Chaplains General or their representatives, in that order, occupying the same relative positions on the parade ground. Each would in turn lay their hands on the Colour; and in order, consecrate, bless and dedicate it. The first use of this procedure was for a CMF unit, 2 Infantry Battalion, City of Newcastle Regiment on 15 April 1956. The new format was still being contested, as demonstrated by the Rev. Dr Malcolm Mackay, the general secretary of the Australian Council of Churches, when he wrote to Menzies that he wanted a ceremony that was 'more widely acceptable and departing less violently from long established custom'. Mackay challenged Menzies' assertion 'that the Chaplains-General had been unanimous in their acceptance of the new order of service'. He further claimed that Roman Catholics 'have received an undue measure of consideration to the detriment of the much larger Protestant community and the nation as a whole'.⁶⁷⁴ The Minister for the Army, J. O. Cramer, held firm. Mackay was later to become Liberal MHR for Evans (1963-72), and served under Prime Minister McMahon as Minister for the Navy (1971-1972). In 1956 he was the minister at the Presbyterian Scots Church, Sydney.⁶⁷⁵ Menzies proved himself adept at walking the sectarian tightrope between the Anglicans, the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. This was an invaluable skill for a Prime Minister to utilise in the fight against communism in 1950s Australia. The compromise reached clearly illustrated the nature of the sectarianism in Australia in that the Anglican church stood apart from both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants.

Meanwhile, the Queen's visit to Tasmania drew out the superlatives in describing 'Little England'. The Queen herself remarked how like Kent was some of the countryside in

⁶⁷³ Steinback, 'Sectarianism's Last Stand?'. See notes 38,39,40. Steinback claims the lengthy legal opinion Menzies obtained made Menzies realise he had no choice but to address the matter.

⁶⁷⁴ Steinback, 'Sectarianism's Last Stand?', 24.

⁶⁷⁵ Steinback, 'Sectarianism's Last Stand?', 26, note 44.

the north of the island.⁶⁷⁶ The Government made no apology in emphasising the likeness, with the press:

pleased to see that the Queen had found just one little corner of Australia that might remind her of 'home', before she was subjected again to the foreignness of the bush, the heat, and the curious tropical spectacles of far north Queensland.⁶⁷⁷

The connection to England and tradition was made when the 105-year anniversary of the first landing of the British in Tasmania was commemorated. No attempt was made to 'reconcile British and distinctly Australian cultural elements into the perilous hybrid forms seen elsewhere'.⁶⁷⁸ Presumably this also precluded reference to Tasmania's unfortunate history with both the convict era and the Aboriginal population. Another factor was the predominance of Anglicans; Tasmania was also the most Anglican of the States. The *Anglican* ran a heading 'AUSTRALIA'S MOST ANGLICAN STATE TO WELCOME THE QUEEN' on its front page, with details of the service conducted at St David's Cathedral.⁶⁷⁹

Effort was made later in the tour to present the Queen with a measure of exposure to Aboriginal culture. Spearritt referred to 'how often Aboriginal motifs dominated displays on this royal tour, almost as if such motifs were the only genuine Australian iconography Europeans could muster, along with native flora and fauna'.⁶⁸⁰ Live performances by Aboriginal dancers were interspersed with examples of European culture, such as a "'graceful maypole dance", presumably to reassure her Majesty'. This latter cultural experience was in Queensland, which had 'the most oppressive race legislation and administration of any of the states'.⁶⁸¹ The Anglican Church in Queensland was deeply implicit in the Aboriginal Missions, but change for the better was slowly being made. The state also had a right-wing Roman Catholic as Premier. The Roman Catholic archbishop, Dr James Duhig, was noted for his intolerance of communism, and advocated a Yes vote to ban the CPA in 1951. He had cordial relations with the Anglican archbishop of Brisbane, Reginald Halse, who was known for his 'tolerance and reconciliation'.⁶⁸² While Halse was also anti-communist, his anti-

⁶⁷⁶ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 223.

⁶⁷⁷ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 224.

⁶⁷⁸ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 224.

⁶⁷⁹ 'AUSTRALIA'S MOST ANGLICAN STATE TO WELCOME THE QUEEN', *Anglican*, vol. 80, 19 February 1954, front page.

⁶⁸⁰ Spearritt, 'Royal Progress', 88.

⁶⁸¹ Spearritt, 'Royal Progress', 87.

⁶⁸² Keith. Rayner, 'Halse, Sir Reginald Charles (1881 - 1962)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 14 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 362-364.

communism did not reach the same heights as that of Duhig or of Mannix let alone that of Melbourne's Santamaria.⁶⁸³ Halse had great delight in displaying the model of the yet to be completed St John's Cathedral to the Queen when she attended Divine Service at the cathedral. The 'emotional attraction gained by its association with the Queen's visit in 1954' is credited—in part—with an upsurge in donations to the St John's Completion Fund.⁶⁸⁴ Archbishop Rayner commented in 2006 that 'There was this imperial tradition, which meant that the Anglican Church was kind of regarded, although not an established church, as the official church of Australia, being still an imperial-minded country at that time'.⁶⁸⁵ This 'imperial' attitude was reflected in the stance that the Queen was meeting her 'subjects' who paid obeisance to her. While there was some realisation that the ethnic mix in Australia was changing due to immigration, no effort was made to accommodate difference. The expectation was that the status quo would be maintained. The obvious exception was the migrant from Europe, most likely to be Roman Catholic. This input ultimately removed the dominant position the Anglicans held in Australian society; but in 1954 the visit of the Queen emphasised a monarchy symbolic of British origins which was intertwined with the Anglican church.

American Influences

The close connections developed between Australia and the United States during WW2 were commemorated with the National Memorial to the United States of America in Canberra. The Queen was asked to dedicate this memorial on 16 February 1954. Her speech was telling and revealed current British thinking on the status of Australia. She referred to the bond between the Americans and the 'British'. Menzies spoke of Americans buried in Australian soil, creating a bond between the Australian and American peoples. The American Ambassador diplomatically acknowledged the common source (Britain) from which both Americans and Australians drew their traditions, literature, law and above all, love of

⁶⁸³ Rayner considered Halse less condemnatory of communism when compared to 'some Roman Catholics such as Archbishop Duhig in Brisbane and Mannix (and Santamaria) in Melbourne', personal correspondence with the writer, 25 September 2007. I am grateful to Archbishop Rayner for his comments.

⁶⁸⁴ Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland' (Queensland, 1962), 260 in the online version. The pagination may differ in the original. The cathedral was finally finished in 2009.

⁶⁸⁵ 'Faith in the Fifties', *The Spirit of Things*, ABC National Radio, presenter Rachel Kohn, producers Geoff Wood and Rachael Kohn (Australia: ABC, 2006), 24 September 2006, available online at <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/spiritofthings/stories/2006/1744520.htm> accessed 10 September 2009.

liberty.⁶⁸⁶ This ceremony could not have comforted those Australians anxiously watching the growing influence of the USA in Australian affairs. This included some Anglicans, who were uneasy that there was developing a closer liaison between the Australian and American branches of the Anglican Communion.

More reassuring to those anxious to maintain the 'imperial' model was the opening of Parliament by the Queen on Monday 15 February. The 'Commonwealth' gown she wore to her coronation was given another airing. The gown was transported especially so that the Queen could wear it in both the New Zealand and Australian Parliaments. In Australia the address by the Queen emphasised the unity of the Commonwealth, under the aegis of the Crown. For the Queen, it was meaningful to follow in her father's footsteps, who had officiated in Canberra in 1927. However circumstances had changed since 1927 and the Commonwealth of Nations was markedly different from the British Empire. Connors claims the Queen and Evatt were truer internationalists than Menzies.⁶⁸⁷ It is also true that Archbishop Fisher seemed committed to an evolving model for the Anglican Communion worldwide.

Gendered roles for Phillip and Elizabeth were emphasised when Phillip visited the Woomera Rocket Range on Monday 22 March, while Elizabeth rested. The project was a joint venture of the British and the Australian governments for testing long-range missiles and atomic weaponry; in the Cold War such establishments were hailed as essential bulwarks against communist aggression. Historian Peter Spearritt considered 'the British Defence Establishment used the Duke to court Australian defence connections'. The Duke also visited Australia's atomic arsenal at Salisbury, South Australia, officially opening RAAF Edinburgh Air Force base, named after him. Aborigines featured in entertainments for the tour. The Queen, 'a living symbol', was venerated as 'Wallaba' by the Pitjantjaras who not only travelled 300 miles to Whyalla in South Australia to perform a 'Royal Command' sacred corroboree, but revealed to her the story of it, not to be revealed to any other woman.⁶⁸⁸ This special category for the Queen, 'leader of the "race"', was emphasised by Australian officialdom—in its parliamentary, public service, military, religious and voluntary-organisation forms.⁶⁸⁹ Most certainly this how the Anglican Church regarded her.

⁶⁸⁶ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 203-204.

⁶⁸⁷ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 216.

⁶⁸⁸ Spearritt, 'Royal Progress', 86-87.

⁶⁸⁹ Spearritt, 'Royal Progress', 88.

The role of Australian children was an accepted and vital part in the emphasis on British monarchical symbolism. Apart from those attending some Roman Catholic schools, school children participated in official welcomes, as well as attending privately with their families. The structure of the public schools demanded public loyalty ceremonies to the sovereign each week. Pictures of the monarch adorned the walls. Historian Ewan Morris identified the school system as one 'which stressed Britishness and loyalty to the Crown'.⁶⁹⁰ In the private system, and most particularly in the Anglican schools, similar ceremonies were held. The Anglican schools, of course, followed Anglican forms of worship. Particularly in the boarding schools, where chaplains were Anglican priests who conducted confirmation services, and Sunday worship; the Queen was their titular head and venerated as such. Those non-Anglicans who attended such schools were required to attend worship; these schools were essential in establishing Anglican hegemony among the Establishment. The Queen herself had been schooled for her confirmation by the archbishop of Canterbury. All Royal family ceremonies, weddings, baptisms, funerals, were conducted using Anglican forms. The Royal family was Anglican, despite the Queen also being a member of the Presbyterian Church. However, all children were welcome to pay loyalty to the Queen during the tour, and the range of their involvement testified to the determination of the authorities to present a united, loyal front. Even the children of well-known communists were involved.⁶⁹¹ As for the parents of the children from communist households, the system swamped any inclination to make a stand against the symbolic 'class' divisions. Morris comments on the concessions made by communist aldermen on the Sydney council in order to attend events organised, overcome by 'innate and instinctive loyalty'.⁶⁹² The migrant section of the Australian community was somewhat bemused by proceedings. They certainly joined in the bacchanalia, quite amazed at the fervour generated by the tour. Its historian, appropriately, described the tour as the 'last gasp of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony'.⁶⁹³ Most certainly, the displays by the children served to emphasise British hegemony, in contrast to the displays by aboriginals and migrants who were portrayed as 'others'. The expectation was that the 'others' would be absorbed into the family of the Commonwealth of Australia.

⁶⁹⁰ Ewan Morris, 'Forty Years On: Australia and the Queen, 1954', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 40, March (1994), 1-13, 11.

⁶⁹¹ See Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 231, for Ann Curthoys' remembrances. See also page 234 for the recollection of 'Helen', a teacher who was a communist.

⁶⁹² Morris, 'Forty Years', 5.

⁶⁹³ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 343.

The end of the tour

By the time the Queen and party reached Western Australia, their last Australian destination, a poliomyelitis epidemic was enveloping the State. The Royal party was quarantined from official parties welcoming them by the official distance of six feet. Bouquets were laid on tables, handshaking was not permitted. Food restrictions imposed meant the food for the Royal party was prepared on the *Gothic* and ferried about in a refrigerated van, curtailing the State Parliamentary dinner. Instead an outdoor reception was held. While dining at Government House the Queen and the Duke ate separately from the Governor and his wife; the food they ate was washed in special antiseptic (and tasteless) solutions. They slept on the *Gothic* in lieu of Government House. The obligatory ball became an outdoor event held at the University of Western Australia. Still, the children saw the Queen, in truth probably at no greater distance than in other States. The Royal party took their scheduled flights to Busselton and Albany, and motored to Northam and York.⁶⁹⁴ St George's Cathedral was unable to have the Queen attend service there; divine service was performed on the *Gothic*.⁶⁹⁵

On 1 April 1954 the *Gothic* slipped its moorings at Fremantle Harbour, after one of the most extensive and concentrated tours ever made to Australia by any member of the Royal Family. The tour appeared to achieve the aim of re-establishing the monarch as a symbol of conservative values. It received an enormous amount of publicity, and is credited with increasing migration to Australia from the UK, an aim the Anglican Church in Australia was anxious to encourage. Her Majesty left after her two-month visit with a parting message for the nation:

We take back with us an abiding admiration for Australia and her people. We shall always remember the loyalty of your welcome and the joy of your children. I hope this visit has served to remind you of the wonderful heritage we share.

I hope it has also demonstrated that the Crown is a human link between all the peoples who owe allegiance to me, an allegiance of mutual love and respect and never of compulsion.

And now I say goodbye. God be with you until the next time I can visit Australia.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁴ Philip W Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia: The Official Royal Tours of Australia from 1867 to 1986* (Adelaide: Royalty Publishing, 1986), 73-76.

⁶⁹⁵ 'Queen not to attend St George's', *Anglican*, no. 85, 26 March 1954, front page. This article gave details of the service she attended at St David's Anglican Cathedral, Adelaide on 21 March, where over 10,000 people listened outside.

⁶⁹⁶ Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia*, 76.

The visit spawned a vast amount of literature and film footage. One lasting iconic image was the painting Sir William Dargie was commissioned to paint of the Queen in her 'wattle' dress, an evocative remembrance to hang in Parliament House. Reproductions were widely displayed in school principals' offices and official places to reinforce the position of the Crown in constitutional monarchy. The *Herald and Weekly Times* produced *The Royal Tour of Australia and New Zealand in Pictures*, as a lasting record of the impressive events from Fiji, through New Zealand and Australia until the *Gothic* sailed from Fremantle.⁶⁹⁷ This book refers to 'the glittering thread of an unforgettable Royal Progress', a term effectively used by Connors in her thesis 42 years later. The tour had been an expensive exercise in logistics. It is impossible to calculate the cost overall, but the Australian Government's known costs were £A606,475.⁶⁹⁸ Menzies was very complimentary to those who organised the tour; it was most certainly a success if reinforcing the role of the conservative monarchy in Australian affairs was the aim. The Anglican Church unquestionably basked in the reflected glory of the visit. Fletcher claims 'Church, nation and monarchy were brought closely together and caught up in the highly-charged emotion of the tour.'⁶⁹⁹ Prime Minister Menzies made the most of the association with the Royal couple, jealously guarding his right to squire the monarch on the important occasions. He was conscious that he was the first Prime Minister to welcome the reigning monarch to Australia, and has been described as beaming in 'avuncular delight' in his 'finest hour'.⁷⁰⁰

The nation scarcely had time to draw breath before the Petrov affair became as big a news item as the Royal tour had been. Petrov's defection on 3 April took over the public imagination so recently vacated by the Queen. This was convenient for the Menzies' Government in view of the upcoming election, for the defection emphasised the role of the Cold War in Australian politics, justifying those doomsayers who had been warning of the vulnerability of the nation to communist infiltration.

⁶⁹⁷ William Jordan, in Kenneth Bourne (ed), *The Royal Tour of Australia and New Zealand in Pictures* (Melbourne: Colorgrature Publications (Herald and Weekly Times) 1954).

⁶⁹⁸ For statistics on the tour see

http://www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/guides/royalty/pages/chapter08/b.htm

⁶⁹⁹ Fletcher, *The place of Anglicanism in Australia*, 176.

⁷⁰⁰ Connors, 'The Glittering Thread', 215.

Chapter 5 The Church negotiates a heightened Cold War, 1954 - 1959

After the intensely emotionally uplifting Royal Tour harsher realities began to strike home, both to the nation and to the Anglican Church. For the nation there was the furore caused by the defection of the Petrovs. Changed circumstances began to show themselves in the Church's internal workings, such as greater involvement with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (PECUSA). Additionally pressure mounted for relations to be established with the Anglican Church in China, now existing under the control of a communist regime. Both the *ACR* and the *Anglican* commented widely on the affairs of the nation as well as those of the church. The *Anglican* published a wider range of opinions from the Anglican Communion than the *ACR*, which adopted and promoted an evangelical stance reflecting the bias of most of the Sydney diocese.

Additional attention was paid to evangelism in the church, a step adopted to fight communism. Youth ministry was a major focus. It was realised church and state schools should receive special attention. Sectarian divides were exacerbated by migration from mainly Roman Catholic countries; a trend deplored by the Anglicans. These matters directly affected Anglican attitudes to communism.

Ernest Burgmann in the Age of Petrov

The Petrov Affair

The startling news that Vladimir Petrov had defected from the Russian Embassy in Canberra on 5 April 1954 electrified the nation. Prime Minister Menzies chose to reveal the news to the Parliament on 13 April 1954 while Dr Evatt was absent, just as the House was rising in advance of the election campaign. Third Secretary Petrov was in fact a KGB Colonel, his wife a KGB Captain with a speciality in codes. Petrov had been targeted by Dr Michael Bialoguski, 'a doctor, musician, womaniser, and part-time spy with the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation'.⁷⁰¹ The populace saw the Petrov affair as a contest between Good and Evil. The good, of course, was represented by the West and the evil by the Soviets. Mrs Petrov, who had been isolated in the Embassy when her husband defected, was to be taken back to Russia. The Russians suspected Petrov and his wife of being supporters of Lavrenti Beria, the head of the Russian secret service, who had been discredited in Russia the year before. Defection by Petrov saved him from an uncertain future on his return to Russia. Petrov chose to defect when his replacement arrived, leaving his wife unaware of his actions.

⁷⁰¹ Robert Manne, 'Mrs Petrov's Death Brings Bizarre Spy Affair to End', *Age*, 27 July 2002, 1, 14.

Public reaction was immediate, a large crowd of mainly Eastern European migrants appeared at Sydney Airport as Mrs Petrov was escorted to the plane to return to Russia, trying to rescue her. At Darwin Edvokia was eventually plucked from the arms of the KGB couriers who had been sent out from Russia to take her back. Menzies had decided the plan to offer Mrs Petrov asylum in Singapore—if that was what she wanted—would enable the Opposition to accuse Menzies of deserting her.⁷⁰² Brigadier Spry's efforts to use the aeroplane's crew and the Acting Administrator in Darwin to convince Edvokia to stay came to naught until her husband spoke with her by phone. She then decided to stay despite her concern for her family in Russia.⁷⁰³ The reaction of Australians of the time was predictable. Those who were convinced of the evil intentions of the Soviets felt justified; while those who were supporters of the communist system cried foul. The suspicion was that Menzies timed this defection to better his chances in the upcoming election.⁷⁰⁴ Evatt became involved in the Royal Commission Menzies called to investigate the affair; the documents Petrov supplied held information regarding two of Dr Evatt's staff colluding with the Soviets. The Commission was called in the second last week of the election campaign.⁷⁰⁵ Evatt was convinced that the main intent of Menzies was to discredit him and the ALP. As we saw, Owen Dixon was involved in advising Menzies regarding the conduct of the Commission. The Commissioners were hostile to Evatt: 'his conduct was sufficiently unguarded to give the commissioners a pretext in September for prohibiting his further appearance before them'.⁷⁰⁶ Evatt's actions placed the Labor Party in an invidious situation.

Michael Thwaites, who had been recruited to ASIO by Spry on the recommendation of the Chancellor of the Anglican Melbourne diocese, Sir Edmund Herring, was convinced of the evil of the Soviet system. His involvement in the Petrov defection resulted in him spending much time with the Petrovs. An Anglican, as well as being a member of the old unreformed Moral Rearmament, Thwaites had no qualms that his role in counter-intelligence

⁷⁰² Manne, 'Mrs Petrov's Death.'

⁷⁰³ Thwaites, *Truth Will Out*. ASIO continued an association with the both of the Petrovs until they died. Curiously Vladimir was accommodated in the Mount Royal hospital in Parkville, Melbourne as was Menzies when they both suffered strokes in later life. See Jean Uhl, *Mount Royal Hospital: A Social History* (Parkville: Mount Royal Hospital, 1981).

⁷⁰⁴ R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History: Poverty and Progress* (Longman Cheshire: Melbourne 1980) 193. Menzies' use of 'religious hegemony' to defeat communism is also raised.

⁷⁰⁵ Lowe, *Menzies*, 123.

⁷⁰⁶ G. Bolton, 'Evatt, Herbert Vere (Bert) (1894 - 1965)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 15 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 108-114.

was essential in the Cold War. He was a brilliant scholar as well as a devout Christian and was resident at the Anglican Trinity College before leaving Melbourne University for Oxford.⁷⁰⁷ Thwaites was the ghostwriter of the Petrovs' memoirs as well as later writing his own version of events.⁷⁰⁸ The active ASIO agent in the affair, Michael Bialoguski, has also published his version of the event.⁷⁰⁹ Unfortunately for him so has his wife, Patricia, whose account described the agent as a 'clever, manipulative, self-absorbed and ambitious man, who could also be charming and entertaining'.⁷¹⁰ Bialoguski's credibility with ASIO was suspect. ASIO had approached Petrov through an eye surgeon, Dr H. C. Beckett, as they did not entirely trust Bialoguski. The Left in Australia also had their own versions of the Petrov Affair. To this day some are entirely unconvinced, as was Dr Evatt, that Menzies had not engineered the whole affair.⁷¹¹ The subsequent Royal Commission provided the spectacle of Evatt appearing before the commission, while other wiser legal identities, such as the anti-communists Dixon and Herring chose to remain at arms length, but give their advice covertly. Evatt's actions in contacting the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov to ask him if there were spies in Australia and expecting Molotov's denials to be 'convincing evidence' in a House of Representatives debate illustrated the extent of Evatt's desperation and naivete.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁷ Bishop James Grant, 'Community', *TRINITY Today*, December 2005, 53. Thwaites was made a Lay Canon of St Saviours Cathedral, Goulburn, in 1991. He and his wife Honor wrote and published hymns. See Milgate and Wood: *A Companion to Together in Song*, 796-797.

⁷⁰⁸ Vladimir Mikhaïlovich Petrov, *Empire of Fear* / by Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov (London: Deutsch, 1956).

⁷⁰⁹ Michael Bialoguski, *The Petrov Story / Michael Bialoguski* (Richmond: Mandarin Australia, 1989, c. 1955).

⁷¹⁰ David McKnight, 'Bialoguski, Michael (1917 - 1984)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 17 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press.), 97-98, available online at <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A170095b.htm> accessed 19 March 2009.

⁷¹¹ See Wilton John Brown, *The Petrov Conspiracy Unmasked* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1956). Many other claims of conspiracy circulated, see E. F. (Edward Fowler) Hill, *The Labor Party? Dr. Evatt - the Petrov Affair - the Whitlam Government* (Melbourne: Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). 1974) (Hill was a communist lawyer at the Royal Commission); L. L. (Lawrence Louis) Sharkey, Edward Fowler Hill, *Petrov's 25,000 Dollar Story Exploded : The Devastating Answer to Petrov's "Moscow Gold" Story as Presented to the Petrov Commission* (Newtown NSW: R.S. Thompson, 1955); E. F. (Edward Fowler) Hill, *E.F. Hill Sums up-- the Petrov Consiracy : Barrister E.F. Hill's Brilliant Address to the Petrov Commission* (Newtown: R.S. Thompson, 1955).

⁷¹² Thwaites, *Truth Will Out*, Foreword by Kim Beasley Senior, 7. Beasley was a committed Anglican and firm friend of Bishop Burgmann: see Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 295. ASIO remained involved in the Petrovs' lives, agents visited Petrov in the Mt Royal Hospital when he suffered a stroke in later life.

The Anglican bishop of Canberra-Goulburn, the self-confessed Labor sympathiser, Ernest Burgmann, became involved in controversy in the House on 8 April 1954,⁷¹³ the week prior to Menzies releasing the news of the Petrov defection in Parliament on 13 April 1954. Burgmann was a co-signatory to a letter in the *Canberra Times* critical of Australia assisting American 'aggression against nationalist movements in South East Asia' and was named along with C. P. Fitzgerald, the historian Manning Clark, and J. W. Davidson, from the Australian National University in Canberra, as 'crypto-communists', because of their stance.⁷¹⁴ A biographer has put this episode in context:

Cooperating with scholars from the University community in public affairs gave Burgmann a feeling of great personal satisfaction. He wanted to be recognised as part of the community of scholarship. His new location in Canberra gave his comments more national authority than if he were a metropolitan bishop; that too was what he wanted. But his intervention nonetheless was, as federal politicians saw it, the act of a maverick priest. And his fellow bishops certainly shared neither his analysis [n]or his commitment to some sort of protest.⁷¹⁵

Most of his anti-communist fellow Anglicans did not share his views. W. C. Wentworth was the Liberal member of Parliament who 'launched a withering attack on four Canberra citizens who had signed a letter published that day in the *Canberra Times* and the *Melbourne Age*'.⁷¹⁶ The letter challenged the statement made by R. G. Casey, Minister for External Affairs, which welcomed 'a recent intervention by John Foster Dulles, American Secretary of State, which implied that the United States was ready to participate in joint action to secure south-east Asia'.⁷¹⁷ Wentworth claimed the four

made the 'demonstrably false' statement that the Vietminh movement, locked in battle with the French for sovereignty over Vietnam, was not communist. By innuendo, Wentworth connected the four together as Communists, or crypto-communists, men, who like Burgmann and his Australia-Russia society, had done the work of Australia's enemies.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹³ See 'Morals in Politics', Editorial, the *Anglican*, no. 56, 28 August 1954, 4. Burgmann's pastoral letter was printed on page 6, calling attention to 'the blight that appears to have fallen on the Australian Labour Party, glaring exhibitions of a growing insensitiveness to moral standards [in politics]...special concern for the Australian Labour Party. I have inherited a loyalty to it from the beginning of its history'.

⁷¹⁴ Peter Hempenstall, 'Overcoming Separate Histories: Historians as 'Ideas Traders' in a Trans-Tasman World', *History Australia* 4, no. 1 (2007), 4.1-4-16. Fitzgerald had been born in England, Burgmann in Australia and Davidson in New Zealand.

⁷¹⁵ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 289.

⁷¹⁶ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 287.

⁷¹⁷ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 287; also Hill, *The Labor Party?*

⁷¹⁸ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*.

In the ensuing debate, Labor Party Victorian MHR Arthur Calwell, a Roman Catholic, presented a heated defence of 'the right of Australian citizens to disagree with government policy without having their characters assassinated in Parliament'. The Whip of the House, H. B. Gullett, spoke over the uproar to describe Burgmann as 'at least a most meddlesome priest', with obvious reference to Henry II's famous utterance against Thomas A'Beckett. A young reporter misheard, running with a headline 'Whip Calls Bishop Beast'. While the *Sydney Morning Herald's* sub-editor realized the reporter's mistake, other syndicated papers did not.⁷¹⁹ The distinction Gullett did not make was that Beckett was involved in 'a lethal struggle for pre-eminent authority' in a situation where church and state 'were interleaved'. Burgmann was expressing 'a secular opinion within a secular state where the functions of church and state were completely separated in all the areas that really mattered to most citizens'.⁷²⁰ Burgmann did have strong feelings regarding Asia and Australia's place in the area, sufficient to cause him, as we have seen, to make a strong sermon on the matter when the Queen attended St John's Church in Canberra. He also had misgivings regarding the role of the United States in the region. He mistrusted Dulles 'a dangerous man'. Like many in the church, Burgmann felt communism gained power because the West was not offering practical help to the 'poor and enslaved', but was 'propping up inefficient and outworn regimes'. He, again like many in the church, felt Communist China should be recognised by the Australian government, as indeed Great Britain had done.⁷²¹

Burgmann: For and Against / The Anglican and the ACR

Representations of the Anglican Communion in Australian Church papers

While Burgmann attempted to ignore the furore created by his incursion into secular affairs, other Anglicans did not. Letters to the *Anglican* recorded the disquiet felt by Calwell. After the Petrov Affair broke, on 16 April the *Anglican* contained a report that the *West Australian Record*, official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in that State, ran a lead article which 'praised the American Roman Catholic Red-baiter Senator McCarthy' and claimed he had 'an enormous and growing following in America'. This was refuted by American Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, R. L. Shand, critical of the 'ridiculous "goings on" of

⁷¹⁹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 288.

⁷²⁰ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 288. Gullett had been involved in 1950 in efforts in the House to prevent the 'Red' dean from coming to Australia.

⁷²¹ Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, 288-289.

Senator McCarthy'.⁷²² An *Anglican* 'Special Correspondent' observed this 'marks a cooling of the official attitude of the R. C. hierarchy, who have been increasingly embarrassed by being linked to the Senator in his latest charges'. The editorial in the same issue observed that:

...the *Record* obviously did not know of the 'switch' of R. C. hierarchy from support of McCarthy. However it was most unfortunate that Mr W. C. Wentworth, a practicing Anglican layman, used the McCarthy 'smear' technique in Canberra last week, when he mentioned *en passant* that the Bishop of Canberra and Goulburn had been connected with the Australian Russian Society.⁷²³

This brought a flurry of letters and comment, both for and against W. C. Wentworth and the bishop. First blow was struck by Mr K. Matthews in a letter which described Wentworth and Gullett's attack as 'A dastardly attack on Bishop Burgmann. Roman Catholics Calwell and Ward defended Burgmann, with Mr Whitlam [a faithful Anglican who attended St John's] vigorously defending the right of the Bishop to say what he thought needed saying. May the *Anglican* flay these miserable traducers'.⁷²⁴ W. C. Wentworth then wrote to the *Anglican* to defend himself, outlining that:

His remarks in the house were regarding a statement that had been issued the night previously under the signature of four prominent Canberra residents. I said specifically that I believed the statement gave aid and comfort to the communists, so therefore harmful. I did not believe Burgmann himself meant any harm. He was only one of four and may not have realised the full implications of what he was signing. It is true I pointed out that the Bishop has been exploited by communist influences in the past but that, however misguided he may be on occasions, I still regard him as innocent of evil intent, and I was careful to make this clear to the house.

Dr. John Burton was not one of the signatories but has been very active behind the scenes in regard to it. His statement on Indo-China has been made sufficiently clear by him being one of the signatories of the pro-communist declaration on these matters (June 6, 1952).

His [Wentworth's] remarks to the house centred mainly on the part of the statement claiming the communist nature of the Vietminh in Indo China. Evatt, Casey agree. Four signatories withdrew their stand on this point in the *Canberra Times* letter, thereby proving Wentworth's point. He has repeated his statement outside the house free of privilege.⁷²⁵

At the same time a letter condemnatory of Wentworth arrived from Mr F. G. Gladen:

⁷²² *Anglican*, no. 88, 16 April 1954, front page.

⁷²³ *Anglican*, no. 88, 16 April 1954, 4.

⁷²⁴ 'Letter to the Editor', *Anglican*, no. 89, 23 April 1954

⁷²⁵ Letters to the Editor, 'Smear Tactics', *Anglican*, no. 90, 30 April 1954, 5.

instead of seeing potential enemies of the State lurking behind every tree and stone Mr Wentworth should bend his legislative energies toward securing the goodwill of mankind toward a universal brotherhood of men, as Christ exhorted we should do.⁷²⁶

Obvious support for Burgmann came from the *Anglican*, the issue of 7 May featured Burgmann, '20 years a Bishop', on the front page. On the same page the 'Apprentice' [Francis James] advised he was going on holiday with the Editor [his wife].⁷²⁷ With regard to the Editorials in the *Anglican*, it is important to note that Mrs Joyce James was the Editor of the paper, her husband Francis was the Managing Director. Mrs James refused to identify the sources of material for the paper which did not have by-lines. It is known that editorials were written by a number of people, including Francis James, but Mrs James took sole responsibility for them.⁷²⁸ The editorial on 7 May argued that Australia should recognise China, 'stupid and cowardly not to'. The Letters page again referred to the Wentworth debate, one from Arthur V. Holland, defending Burgmann as President of '*New South Wales Aid to the Soviet Union*'—an organisation disbanded after the war, necessary to support Australia's Russian allies. Another from Mr C. R. R. Huxtable defended Wentworth. Huxtable's letter was also critical of a previous article denigrating the secular press for over sensationalising the Petrov case. He demanded to know who wrote it as he considered it showed communist influence on the paper's board. He threatened to introduce a motion to the Sydney Diocesan Synod to which he belonged to remove support for the *Anglican* unless his questions were answered in full. The Editor's note admitted that she was responsible: the editorial advisory board had known of these matters but that was not relevant.⁷²⁹

It is important to understand the extent of the area covered by the *Anglican*, revealed by the addresses of the correspondents, as well as recognising the range of the subjects covered. The status of the correspondents revealed that both laity and clergy were heard, and entered into debate, which sometimes became acrimonious. 'The *Anglican* provided a lively and often provocative commentary on the affairs of the church. Diocesan papers were much more domestic'.⁷³⁰ The Burgmann/Wentworth discussion did cause accusations to be flung

⁷²⁶ Letters to the Editor, 'Smear Tactics'.

⁷²⁷ *Anglican*, no 91, 7 May 1954, front page.

⁷²⁸ See the *Anglican*, no. 84, 19 Mar 1954. Mrs Joyce James was confirmed as Editor, after acting in the role since August, 1953. A full list of the 'Editorial Consultative Panel' was listed on the front page of the *Anglican*, no. 5, 5 September 1952, advising the Editor only was responsible for the *Anglican's* content and presentation.

⁷²⁹ *Anglican*, no 91, 7 May 1954, 4-5.

⁷³⁰ Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 139.

across Australia. A letter from Rev. Leo Ball of the vicarage, Greensborough, Victoria, suggested a measured approach should be adopted. This was sufficient for him to have to defend himself from accusations that he was a Marxist communist.⁷³¹ H. E. Elverson, Indooroopilly, contended that bishops and clergy have a perfect right, in fact a duty, to explain what should be a Christian attitude towards world affairs, as did Mr Wentworth consider he has a right and moral duty to say what he did in Parliament. He was right that communism is a cult that cannot be reconciled with the British way of life. At the same time, the antics of Senator McCarthy were also out of line with Australian concepts of justice and fair dealing. Burgmann continued to be the subject of accusations regarding his activities, claims were made that he cooperated with communists as far back as 1937 when he allowed his name to be used to sponsor the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. The same writer, Frank Coleman, had 'evidence to show pro-communist tendencies in the World Council of Churches'.⁷³² This latter claim appears curious, but it is true that there were some in the United States opposing visas for Iron Curtain participants wishing to participate in the WCC meeting at Evanston.

In the rival Anglican paper, the *Australian Church Record*, the Burgmann/Wentworth affair, and indeed the Petrov defection, received little attention. There was a reference to Mr W. C. Wentworth attending the Australian Council of Churches for a discussion on the hydrogen bomb.⁷³³ However, the activities of Dr Billy Graham seemed to engross the paper more, and there was always time to berate clergy who did not adhere to the evangelical line. Dress was a major problem, particularly during the Queen's visit. The *ACR* was particularly scathing of those archbishops who wore their mitres and copes:

... neither the Primate, nor the Bishop of Canberra-Goulburn, nor the Archbishop of Melbourne wore (at Morning Prayer) in their dioceses attended by the Queen this absurd and unauthorised headgear which the vanity of some modern bishops has dug up from the remote past.⁷³⁴

The matter of dress was a meaningful preoccupation to the Evangelical paper, since dress served to differentiate the Anglo-Catholics from the Evangelicals. At the conclusion of the Royal tour the paper was able to announce triumphantly that:

⁷³¹ Letters, *Anglican*, no. 91, 7 May 1954, 5: no 94, 28 May 1954, 5.

⁷³² *Anglican*, no. 94, 28 May 1954, 5.

⁷³³ 'The Church and the H-Bomb', *ACR*, vol 19, no. 8, 16.

⁷³⁴ 'Off The Record', *ACR*, vol. 19, no. 4, 1 April 1954, 2.

...the rochets, scarves and hoods have won the rubber from the copes, stoles and mitres. Adelaide lined up with Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne to defeat Tasmania and Brisbane by 4 to 2; Perth unfortunately having had to forfeit.

Indeed there was an article to *Australian Churchmen* entitled 'The Putting on of Apparel' alongside the jubilant announcement that Evangelical dress had won the day when the Queen was visiting.⁷³⁵ Such focus on apparent trivialities, however, masked a paper with a determined anti-communist bent.

The *ACR* was a fortnightly paper: there certainly was intense rivalry between it and the *Anglican*. The *ACR* operated from the Sydney diocesan buildings and reflected the churchmanship of the majority of the Sydney diocese, evangelical. Its stated aim was to produce a Protestant and Evangelical newspaper. The entire editorial staff was honorary, but it nonetheless was obliged to rely on donations and fund-raising efforts to stay in production.⁷³⁶ The *Anglican* was striving to establish itself as the major Anglican paper in the Asia-Pacific region, and had the support of a wider section of the Anglican Communion in Australia. It eventually was housed in the Christ Church St Lawrence complex, an Anglo Catholic church also in the heart of Sydney. It too sought support ceaselessly, and asked for Anglicans to buy stock in the company. The *Anglican* did appear to be more inclusive of differing views and was anxious to encourage debate. While there were many smaller diocesan and church papers published, the *ACR* and the *Anglican* represented a useful comparison to better understand Australian Anglicans of the time. The *Anglican* did incorporate some diocesan newspapers, and published their news on a regular basis. The competition between, and bias of the two papers, as well as the control exercised by the Australian primate, Dr Mowll, was shown in October 1955 at General Synod, the bi-yearly meeting of the whole of the Anglican church in Australia. Bishop J. S. Moyes of Armidale attempted to have the *Anglican* commended by the synod. The resulting undignified debate clearly showed both the demarcation between the churchmanship represented in the *Anglican*, and that of the *ACR*. An amendment was moved to water down the original motion, where the speaker, Rev. J. R. L. Johnstone, felt that:

The *Anglican* often fell far short of the highest standards of journalistic practice, he made reference to journalistic ethics—he would support an amended motion as it could be of use if the wrong headed people who produced it [the *Anglican*] could be made to see the light. It [the *Anglican*] was sometimes full of 'Franciscan fancies' a neat oblique reference to the Christian name of the Managing Director (lost on the

⁷³⁵ 'Off The Record', *ACR*, vol. 19, no. 4, 1 April 1954, 2.

⁷³⁶ 'News and Comments', *Ourselves*, *ACR*, 15 April 1954, 6.

House). Then after a momentary hush of embarrassment the Venerable R. B. Robinson leaped into the centre of the spotlight with a dramatic and highly emotional denunciation of the *Anglican*, based on the *Anglican* report of Sydney Synod with references to 'wild' men and wobblers. A remarkable speech which really brought the House to life. The remarks in the latter two speeches really did the Diocese of Sydney a disservice. Had they been kept on a high and objective plane they may have led to a reasoned debate. Six persons leapt to their feet—President [Mowll] declared it time for an adjournment. However all those who had had previous criticism from the *Anglican* did not add to the furore. Robinson is the proprietor of the organ of the controlling junta of the Diocese—a fortnightly party propaganda sheet [ACR]. The defacto Editor is Dr D. B. Knox who had proposed a longwinded motion congratulating his paper—intended to oppose that for the *Anglican*. The Primate returned after the break asking the Archbishop of Perth to speak, despite three others being on their feet—who proposed both motions be withdrawn. Dr Knox agreed—the Bishop of Armidale reluctantly so; the Primate acted quickly to forestall any further action.⁷³⁷

The report of this debate suggests that the gap between the two Anglican papers was unbridgeable.

The American Influence intensifies

Evanston and the Anglican Congress

While doubtless as engrossed as the rest of Australia in the Petrov defections, the attention of the Australian Anglican church was also focussed on events outside Australia. There was a growing interest in the US Anglican church, the Protestant Episcopal Church (PECUSA), often referred to as the Episcopal Church, both by clergy and laity. 'The 'drift toward America' and increasing ease of travel made it possible for American religions to have increased impact on Australia'.⁷³⁸ Additionally the primate of the Anglican Communion, Archbishop Fisher, was encouraging of PECUSA, having invited Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill to give an address at the Lambeth Conference in 1948.⁷³⁹ Archbishop Garbett had also visited the American church. *ACR* announced on 15 April that there were to be three important conferences to be held in August 1954, all in the United States. The first was to be in Minneapolis, Minnesota, only for members of the Anglican Communion worldwide (the Second Anglican World Congress). It was hoped that one bishop, one clergy and one layman

⁷³⁷ 'Report of General Synod', *Anglican*, no. 167, 21 October 1955, 9.

⁷³⁸ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), 153.

⁷³⁹ American Bishop Sherrill led the largest national block of 78 participating bishops to the 1948 conference and was invited to give the opening address. See 'Religion: Lambeth 1948' *Time*, 12 July 1948 available online at *Time Online* <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,804764,00.html>, accessed 14 April 2009.

from each diocese would attend. The object of the conference was to give 'witness to the common faith and to confer on matters of common interest'. The second was to be the second world assembly of the World Council of Churches, to be held at Evanston near Chicago. It 'will consist of accredited representatives from the member churches of the World Council, which embraced almost all of Christendom, with the notable exception of the Roman Catholic church. The theme of this conference would be "The Christian Hope".' The third conference was for theologians, continuing the work that had commenced at Lund, Sweden in 1952;⁷⁴⁰ this would also be held in Evanston. *ACR* drew attention to the burden this would place on the hierarchy of the church, and the cost for all the delegates. Prayer was requested that the gatherings would result in the furtherance of God's Kingdom. In fact, PECUSA pressed for the Anglican Congress and subsidised it to an overwhelming extent. Max Warren, general secretary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London, regarded PECUSA 'as the senior partner in the Communion at this time'.⁷⁴¹

On 2 April 1954, the day following the Queen's departure from Australia, the *Anglican* featured a story on its front page—that indicated the trouble ahead:

Another "Communist" Scare in the US. There had been urging from the County Cook (Chicago) council of the American Legion to refuse US visas to certain delegates ...on grounds that they are 'Communists' or 'are antagonistic to capitalism and to America'. People opposed are Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft of Geneva, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Professor Joseph L. Hromadka, of Prague, Czechoslovakia, a theologian of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, Bishop Albert Berezky, head of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and Bishop Theodore Arvidson, of Stockholm, Sweden, former head of the Methodist Church of Northern Europe. The clergy were defended by the General Secretary of the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches, Rev'd John Garrett, who claimed that men like Bishop Berezky and Hromadka, all of them radicals, have been forced into a position to support what they believe is better than the old regimes... and preach the Bible in the face of what they know to be both aesthetic and totalitarian. Neither is a communist⁷⁴².

The *Anglican* had been drawing attention to the Evanston gathering for some time. In July 1953 the front page featured the 'Meaning of the Evanston Assembly'; in this article Dr W. A. Visser 't Hooft, emphasised the need for ecumenism.⁷⁴³ This emphasis was a cause Mowll, as President of the Australian Council of Churches also supported, but this ecumenism did not

⁷⁴⁰ Maynard was sent to the 1952 Lund conference by Archbishop Booth, he then visited both Moscow and China on his way back to Australia.

⁷⁴¹ Bruce Kaye, *Introduction to Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 47.

⁷⁴² *Anglican*, no. 86, 2 April 1954, front page.

⁷⁴³ *Anglican*, no. 52, 31 July 1953.

include the Roman Catholic Church. Again the *Anglican* featured the meeting in September 1953, when comparisons of the American churches were made. Bishop Eivind Berggrav of Norway compared differences, 'one being that American Churches are "worldly" but also congregation-minded and created such close Christian fellowship'. Additionally 'numbers were increasing in the US, but declining in Europe'.⁷⁴⁴ At that time total church membership in America was at an all time high of 92,277,129. Compared to the Australian situation where the Anglicans outnumbered all other dominations, the Episcopal church only ranked seventh. Quoting from the US National Council of Churches the *Anglican* declared that the Roman Catholic Church occupied the first position with 30,253,427 adherents, followed by the Methodists 9,180,428, then the Southern Baptist Convention, Jewish Congregations, and the National Baptist Convention, USA. When all the Protestants (including Episcopalians) were added together they were the single largest group, 54,229,913, ahead of the Roman Catholics, the Jewish faith, 5,000,000, Eastern Orthodox, 2,353,783, Old Catholic and Polish Catholic Church, 366,956, and Buddhist 73,000. This obviously placed the Episcopal Church in an entirely different situation to that of the Church of England in Australia (and indeed in the UK). As well, reports were published of the preparatory commissions for the Assembly at Evanston. Sir Kenneth G. Grubb chaired the international affairs topic commission meeting, 'Christians in the Struggle for World Community'.⁷⁴⁵ The reports of the various commissions were to be given to delegates to study prior to Evanston.⁷⁴⁶

The *Living Church*, the principal paper of the Episcopal Church in the USA, published in Milwaukee, was the source for much of the *Anglican's* information on the American situation. The Episcopalians had been targeted by Senator McCarthy; the sympathies of the *Anglican* were entirely against McCarthy, whose Roman Catholic faith appeared as great a drawback to the paper as his dubious methods of fighting communism. McCarthy was described as an 'American Roman Catholic Red-baiter'. This gave added venom to the description of W. C. Wentworth as practising McCarthyism. As early as September 1952, under a heading 'Beware lest McCarthyism end Liberty', Rev. Canon E. J.

⁷⁴⁴ *Anglican*, 4 September 1953, front page.

⁷⁴⁵ See Howard Mifflin Company, 'Grubb, Sir Kenneth George', in Vali Tamm (ed.), *Howard Mifflin Dictionary of Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2003), 652. Sir Kenneth Grubb was an extremely influential British Anglican layman. He served with the Ministry of Information during WW2, becoming President of the Church Missionary Society in 1944, Chairman of the WCC Churches Committee on International Affairs (CCIA) in 1946 and Chairman of the House of Laity in the Church Assembly in 1959.

⁷⁴⁶ *Anglican*, 4 September 1953, 3.

Davidson warned that McCarthyism 'i.e. extreme 'witch-hunting' anti-Communism—can endanger our political liberties'. Davidson also warned that religious liberty was equally important, citing Germany as just released from bondage to the principle that religion must serve the interest of the State. Spain would allow no other public worship than Roman Catholicism; religious liberty in Russia does not extend beyond the limits defined by the State. Canon Davidson warned that if the spirit that animates McCarthyism was allowed to flourish in this country, limitations such as those described 'could well be imposed on us'.⁷⁴⁷ The *Anglican* certainly attempted to ensure that McCarthyism was decried by Anglicans in Australia.

By July 1953 the *Anglican* was pleased to be able to carry an article from 'Our US Correspondent, New York 19 July', entitled 'The Dean of New York exposes a lie'. Dean James A. Pike revealed that an article in *The American Mercury* by Senate Investigator J. B. Matthews led to his resignation. Matthews had claimed that 'at least 7,000 Protestant and Anglican clergymen in the United States had serviced the Kremlin Conspiracy'. President Eisenhower had said the attack portrayed 'contempt for the principles of freedom and democracy'. Senator McCarthy reluctantly accepted Mr Matthews' resignation.⁷⁴⁸ In January prominence was given again to another report from 'Our Correspondent' that the wrath of the *US Episcopal Church News* fell on McCarthy's head because of his endeavours to circumvent the use of the Fifth Amendment by those accused of being communists in the universities. 'The door is open to creeping totalitarianism, where McCarthy seeks to use the philanthropic organisations power in the Universities to circumvent the Fifth Amendment pleas'.⁷⁴⁹ The *Living Church*, Milwaukee, of 4 April 1953 was the source of another condemnation of McCarthy. The deans of the two leading cathedrals of the Episcopal communion in the USA were reported in April, under the heading, 'Uprooting the tables', an attempt to equate ridding the USA of McCarthy to that of Jesus ridding the temples of the moneylenders. The Anglican deans, James A. Pike of the Cathedral of St John the Divine in New York and Francis B. Sayre of Washington Cathedral, Washington, appealed to the American people to depend on democracy and the finger of God rather than Senator McCarthy to 'cast out the devils of society. Let us by all means pull out the communist weeds, by orderly congressional, executive and judicial action'. Sayre claimed 'Communism is obviously one

⁷⁴⁷ *Anglican*, vol. 8, 26 September 1952, 9. Since Davidson was a priest who had opposed the 'Red' dean visiting Australia, his remarks are the more telling.

⁷⁴⁸ *Anglican*, vol. 51, July 24 1953, front page.

⁷⁴⁹ *Anglican*, vol. 77, 29 Jan 1954, front page.

the devil's cloaks. A house divided against itself becomes a fertile field for communism to flourish'. The *Anglican* carried this item after reporting on progress made for the Anglican Congress in Minneapolis on 13 August of the Anglican Communion worldwide, where there would be more than 400 delegates, 200 of these would be from the USA. Evanston WCC also rated a mention, with the observation that there would be many different languages and that the Evanston Assembly publications were already published.⁷⁵⁰ The publication of the views of the deans highlighted a growing interest in the American church from Australia, as well as preoccupation with the US paranoia regarding the best way to fight communism. Religion was certainly one, the Episcopal Church joined in a seminar to study Religion and Politics in USA. The religiosity of the USA was reflected in a request from Congressmen that 'a religious theme be placed on stamps going behind the Iron Curtain, so 'In God we Trust' will appear on US postage stamps'.⁷⁵¹ A law was passed by the 84th Congress and approved by the President on July 30 1956; the President approved a Joint Resolution of the 84th Congress, declaring IN GOD WE TRUST the national motto of the United States.⁷⁵² The President had previously approved the addition of the words 'under God' to the Pledge of Allegiance on 14 June 1954.

Archbishop Mowll, since his elevation to Primate of the Anglican Church in 1947, had:

... a new interest in all parts of Australia and its work overseas. He knew he was now much more than a Diocesan Bishop, and he was eager to take full advantage of his new position for the benefit of the whole Church.⁷⁵³

Mowll broke down 'some of the barriers that other Australian bishops and dioceses had erected against Sydney, as well as modifying the siege mentality of Evangelicals'. Mowll also had contact with PECUSA, he and his wife attended the 'Jubilee Celebrations of the American Episcopal Church in Honolulu in 1952'. Mowll realised that the island was '...one of the most strategic centres in the Pacific'.⁷⁵⁴ He enabled a new attitude to ecumenism to develop through his work with the World Council of Churches, despite elements of distrust from some Anglo-Catholics 'like Bishop Ian Shevill' who dismissed the WCC meeting in

⁷⁵⁰ *Anglican*, vol. 87, 9 April 1954, 3.

⁷⁵¹ *Anglican*, vol. 86, 2 April 1954, 2.

⁷⁵² United States of America Department of the Treasury, 'Fact Sheets: Currency & Coins: History of 'In God We Trust'', available online <http://www.treas.gov/education/fact-sheets/currency/in-god-we-trust.shtml>, accessed 30 August 2009 The law was (P.L. 84-140), July 30 1956.

⁷⁵³ Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*, 169.

⁷⁵⁴ Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*, 187.

America in 1954, as a 'pan protestant jamboree', despite the involvement of the Orthodox church.⁷⁵⁵ Bishop Shevill himself was open to US influences; it was he who brought back the 'Wells Way' of fund raising to his diocese after his visit to America in 1954.⁷⁵⁶ The fund raising program was crucial to the Australian Anglican church's ability to grow, thereby supporting the push to fight communism by strengthening the faith of the church.

The Anglican Congress in Minneapolis released a message to all members of the Anglican Communion on 14 August 1954 that 'It is right to condemn the false ideology of the communists, which draws its strength from the misery of mankind'.⁷⁵⁷ The final finding of the Congress was that 'We affirm the statement of the Lambeth Conference of 1948 ... It is the special duty of the Church to oppose the challenge of the Marxist theory of Communism.'⁷⁵⁸ This conference was attended by laity who reported that the Congress was an 'example of interconnectedness of the Anglican Communion'.⁷⁵⁹ Mrs Fisher in her address to the women's function stressed the importance of 'The recent evangelistic Crusade of Dr Graham in London... , it provoked talk of religion and opened doors for witness in unexpected places'.⁷⁶⁰ This enthusiasm for Graham at such a gathering from the wife of the primate of the church fostered a sense that Graham had the endorsement of the church. Archbishop Fisher was photographed with the other Anglican archbishops and metropolitans wearing his Coronation cope, looking impressive amidst the plainer robes of the rest of the group.⁷⁶¹

The Second Assembly of the WCC at Evanston followed the first Assembly in Amsterdam in 1948. The USA had been involved in the WCC since the concept of a worldwide ecumenical was first mooted, as far back as 1933. The initial meeting of ten people was held in 1933 at the home of the then archbishop of York, William Temple, at the suggestion of William Adams Brown of the New York Union Seminary. The title World

⁷⁵⁵ Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 138.

⁷⁵⁶ Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, 136-137.

⁷⁵⁷ 'Congress Message to all members of the Anglican Communion all over the world', *Anglican*, vol.107, 27 August 1954, front page, 10.

⁷⁵⁸ 'Finding of the Anglican Congress', *Anglican*, vol. 109, 10 September 1954, 6-7.

⁷⁵⁹ *Anglican*, no.109, 10 September 1954, 7

⁷⁶⁰ *Anglican*, no.109, 10 September 1954, 10.

⁷⁶¹ 'Primates and Metropolitans at the close of the Anglican Congress at Mineapolis', photograph, *ACR*, 2 September 1954, front page.

Council of Churches was the suggestion of US Presbyterian Samuel McCrea Cavert.⁷⁶² The intervention of the Second World War meant that the New York office became vital in the survival of the organisation; many documents were stored in the New York office for safe keeping. After the war, the USA was in a strong position compared to other countries to carry on the work of the WCC in formation. Once the WCC was actually formed the US office remained important for the following reasons:

First, the 5,000 mile-distance between the WCC offices in Geneva and the USA was daunting in 1948 and only rarely traversed by airplane. Long-distance calls were expensive.

Second, the US churches were among the largest and richest churches in the world in 1948 and they were seen as an essential source of financial support. The US office was in a good position to be in regular contact with the US churches to interpret WCC programs.

Third, New York was still the virtual hub of US Protestantism and Christian activity in 1948 and a place of contact for extensive missionary and ecumenical interests. The US office was a convenient location for scheduling travel and meetings for Geneva staff and other persons visiting the US.⁷⁶³

The strength of the USA in the organisation was reflected in the very successful Assembly. The Congress was addressed by President Eisenhower, insisting he came in a private capacity as a Christian. While there had been opposition to members from communist countries attending, as far back as May 1954 Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the WCC felt 'there was little chance of being refused visas, the State Dept. would most certainly co-operate to let them in'. The influential *Chicago Tribune* editorial claimed that 'the danger to our security is far less than the benefits it may bring... , some of the visitors from Soviet-controlled countries may be heartened to carry on against the oppression of religion in their homelands. 't Hooft emphasised that 'the Evanston deliberations will be "a positive Christian testimony".....such testimony represented a challenge to "totalitarianism of any sort".'. ⁷⁶⁴ There were 11 visas were issued—little was known of the measures taken to permit the attendance of the suspect Iron Countries' churchmen.

Norman A. Hjelm was a Lutheran Youth delegate, a seminarian, who later became acting deputy general secretary of the Lutheran World Federation. His recollections provide a foil for the enthusiasm of the Americans, some of whom did not seem to appreciate the

⁷⁶² The United States office of the World Council of Churches, 'Our History', The United States office of the World Council of Churches, available online at <http://www.wcc-usa.org/about-us/our-history.html>, accessed 5 March 2009.

⁷⁶³ World Council of Churches, 'Our History'.

⁷⁶⁴ 'Iron curtain Visas Entries for Evanston', *Anglican*, vol. 94, 28 May 1954, 6.

conditions under which many of the delegates were forced to live. The first memory was the insensitivity of hymn selection at a youth service, attended by several hundred youth delegates from all over the world at one of the parish churches in Evanston.

The hymn, sung from an American Lutheran hymnal, was 'Glorious things of thee are spoken'. The words were fine, by John Newton, but it was the melody! It had been written in 1791 by Franz Joseph Haydn: 'Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser'. Not only was this melody subsequently used by Haydn in a string quartet, it later became the German national anthem, as it continued to be at the time of World War II, with the all too memorable opening line 'Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles'. To sing this melody seemed blasphemous to German participants. After all, the Evanston assembly was held only nine years after that war's end, and the wounds were not yet healed.⁷⁶⁵

The differing mindsets of the Europeans to the Americans was obvious to Hjelm:

The Assembly's theme, 'Christ - the hope of the world', set off theological fireworks not unrelated to the experiences of war. Europeans tended to view this theme in apocalyptic terms, a view dominated by the world's apparent hopelessness as demonstrated through the war. North Americans, on the other hand, tended to view Christian hope progressively, hailing present efforts towards building the kingdom of God in the midst of human society.

The undoubted emphasis on fighting communism at the Assembly made for an uncomfortable situation for some. Hjelm's 'second memory' was a private one.

The Evanston assembly was held in the United States of Dwight Eisenhower, but the ascendancy of Senator Joseph McCarthy was soon to achieve its zenith. There was hesitancy on the part of the American government to grant visas to many, particularly persons from Eastern Europe who might have presented what is now called "a security risk". Nevertheless, certain Eastern European church leaders were allowed to participate in the assembly, although most often they were not allowed to leave the quiet university town of Evanston. Someone asked me—I can't believe it was any kind of official request—to spend time with and keep my eye on László Dezséry, a Lutheran bishop from Hungary who, we later learned through bitter church experience, probably had a greater allegiance to his government than his church. This was a daunting assignment for a twenty-three-year-old seminary student. The bishop was allowed to go with me to the assembly service at Soldiers' Field in Chicago, a service attended by more than 100,000 persons. We marched together in the procession when suddenly we were each pointed in a different direction - and ended up on opposite sides of the enormous football stadium. I thought I was part of an international incident. Thus was it first demonstrated to me that not only were governments on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain, but churches themselves were separated from one another on political and ideological grounds. The World Council was just feeling its way out of the climate created by World War II, and feeling its

⁷⁶⁵ Helm, 'Evanston after 50 Years', 23-24

way into a new situation—East/West—that was to last for another thirty-five years. At Evanston, perhaps, we did not know quite what we were getting into.⁷⁶⁶

The trickle of reports about the Assembly reaching Australia was measured in tone. The *Anglican* reported:

... the 'Evanston assembly opens with pageant. Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington spoke... it is not enough for Christians to 'repudiate the atheism of orthodox communism.... they must also repudiate practical atheism of men that God is not relevant to all activities of men'.⁷⁶⁷

Evanston Reports are Encouraging...Views of W.C.C. Leaders. Many differing opinions were expressed...delegates from 163 Churches in 48 countries met. Archbishop Fisher hoped that the unity of the churches would not be challenged by the importance that Anglicans, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches placed on tradition. Although the Anglican Church valued tradition and 'apostolic order' he expressed the hope that this reverence did not tend toward idolatry.⁷⁶⁸

The pangs so obviously felt by Hjelm regarding incompatibility of East/West surfaced when:

The Australian Council of Churches chose not to issue an invitation to Dr Hromadka, the Czechoslovakian theologian to speak when he visits Australia next month. The general Secretary of the Council, Dr Malcolm Mackay reported that the special committee of Australians appointed to discuss Dr Hromadka's visit had decided it could do no more than welcome Dr Hromadka since it cannot align itself with the various 'peace' councils sponsoring his visit.⁷⁶⁹

ACR had already decided Dr Hromádka was unwelcome, and so gave him and his visit the unwelcome attention of a two-page spread.⁷⁷⁰ In the same paper a faintly disapproving report appeared on the 'Second Anglican World Congress' in Minneapolis giving details of the lavish hospitality afforded the delegates, in particular a water ballet display, 'a remarkable evening, especially to delegates from parts of the world not accustomed to these things, as Americans appear to be'. The actual business of the congress received short shrift, but concession was made that 'the greatest contribution that the congress made was the exchange of ideas between delegates and the cementing of friendships and fellowships'. The cost to the nine day congress to 'the Protestant Episcopal Church of America alone was one and a

⁷⁶⁶ Helm, 'Evanston after 50 Years', 23-24. It has been substantiated that the Soviets were using priests to further the Soviet cause. See Chapter 2 in this thesis, notes 359, 365, 368-372, which refer to Fr. Susemihl in Australia.

⁷⁶⁷ *Anglican*, no. 107, 27 August 1954.

⁷⁶⁸ *Anglican*, no. 109, 10 September 1954, 12.

⁷⁶⁹ *Anglican*, no. 108, 3 September 1954, 6.

⁷⁷⁰ Rev. D. W. B. Robinson, 'Josef Hromadka, What does he stand for?', 19 August 1954, 3,12. Dr Mowll was unmoved by this critique. NB The accent on Hromádka's name was not used in the cited material.

quarter million dollars (£A500,000)'. Everything was provided free of cost to the overseas delegates. The summation was that the congress was entirely acceptable to the Evangelicals. The report 'emphasises the supreme place of scripture and the pressing need for evangelism'.⁷⁷¹

Time Magazine and Archbishop Fisher

The WCC meeting and its theme of 'Christ - the Hope of the World' was covered as the lead article in the *Time* issue of 6 September 1954. Archbishop Fisher was portrayed on the front cover, pictured inside Canterbury Cathedral. Fisher received adulatory description as the primate of the worldwide Anglican Church, with its 40 million adherents. Anglicanism was described as standing 'on the Great Divide of Christianity, facing both directions... communicants run a gamut from High Church Anglo-Catholicism... to a Quaker-plain Low-Churchmanship that might make a Methodist uneasy'. Fisher also was depicted as reflecting this elasticity, a Freemason who kept 'a picture of himself with Pope Pius XII prominently in his palace'. His skill at defusing debate at Evanston was extolled. The article closed with a comparison of reports from Amsterdam in 1948 with Evanston in 1954. The most significant topic was felt to be 'The Responsible Society'. The report on this topic achieved a 'heartening about-face' from that critical of both communism and 'laissez-faire capitalism' in 1948, mainly the result of the work of Delegate Charles Taft to draft 'a more constructive message'. In this 1954 report communism alone was strongly condemned.⁷⁷² Henry Luce, *Time's* co-founder, son of a Presbyterian missionary, was strongly anti-communist and used his magazine very effectively to promulgate his views.

Views from McCarthyist America

Returnees from Minneapolis and Evanston

Some clergy and laity took the opportunity to travel on from America; Bishop Moyes of Armidale visited New York and London. On his eventual return from the well-attended meetings his comment was that 'it was advantageous to be both Anglican and Australian at the conferences—both started with A so you were first the in queue for everything'.⁷⁷³

⁷⁷¹ Rev. D. B. Knox, 'Impressions of Minneapolis: Entertainment and Discussion', *ACR*, 2 September 1954, 3.

⁷⁷² Welles, 'Religion - The Christian Hope'.

⁷⁷³ *Anglican*. vol 116, 29 October 1954, 3.

Archbishop Mowll came straight home from Evanston. He arrived in Sydney on 5 September 1954 and attended the Clergy School at Moss Vale the day after his return. He advised the school of the intended visit of Bishop Sherrill, accompanied by several bishops, following the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Honolulu in September 1955. Fellow speakers at the school were the very anti-communist Dr F. C. Schwartz, who spoke on Communist doctrine and organisation, as well as the Hon. W. C. Wentworth, who spoke on 'The Hydrogen Bomb and Christian Responsibility'.⁷⁷⁴ Mowll also advised that he would:

...act as host for Dr Josef Hromadka the distinguished Czech theologian and member of the World Council of Churches, who reached Australia yesterday at the invitation of the Peace Forum in Melbourne. Dr Mowll made it clear he was welcoming Dr Hromadka 'as a convinced fellow-Christian' and that he was not associated with the groups who invited Dr Hromadka, nor did he necessarily endorse their views.⁷⁷⁵

The *Anglican* ran an intemperate editorial that welcomed Dr Hromádka, referring to:

...ridiculous and arrogant claims of the communists to the whole truth. Also to 'political' Roman Catholics as arrogant as the communists. The attitude of the 'Black' absolutists of Rome, like that of the 'Red' absolutists of Moscow, makes it extraordinarily difficult for the sane, matter-of-fact Anglican to admit even a very fraction of their claims, since the tactics of Roman Catholics and Communists alike is to distort friendly and *qualified* recognition into something different. ...Almost alone in the Christian Church, the Anglican Communion has shewn itself actively capable of holding within itself men and women who do not merely hold varying opinions but who hold in minor matters views quite contradictory.

That Dr Mowll is himself to act as his host in Sydney constitutes good and sufficient grounds for us to extend a hearty welcome to him as a fellow Christian. Experience of communist techniques operating in Australia largely justifies caution concerning any 'peace' movement, for the work has been grossly abused by communists ever since the war. However there is not evidence that the Peace Quest Forum in Melbourne is anything but what it purports to be: a band of true Christians, mostly ministers of religion, and including Anglican clergy and Quakers, genuinely and constructively interested in peace. May no timorousness born of McCarthyism and smear campaigns deter any Anglicans from following these meetings closely and, if his judgement justifies the course, supporting or opposing them on the basis of his considered assessment.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁴ 'Bishop Sherrill to visit Australia', *ACR*, 16 September 1954, 2. Dr Schwartz was the founder of Christian Anti-Communist Crusade (CACC). He devoted his life to fighting communism, both here and overseas, and was particularly influential in America. *ACR* carried a series of articles by him in November 1954. Wentworth was known for his anti-communist activities, especially his membership of the Political Research Society group, which collected anti-communist newspaper cuttings and other information.

⁷⁷⁵ *Anglican*, vol. 109, 10 Sept 1954, front page. The accent in Hromádka's name was not cited.

⁷⁷⁶ *Anglican*, vol. 109, 10 Sept 1954, 4.

Unfortunately the lack of by-lines does not allow attribution for this editorial, but most certainly it ran contrary to the *ACR* assessment of Dr Hromádka's visit. The influence of Dr Mowll is reflected by his hosting of Dr Hromádka and chairing the meeting on 27 September 1954 in Sydney at which Dr. Hromádka was the main speaker before he left Australia. The meeting was under the aegis of the Australian Council of Churches in Sydney, when the ACC had previously decided to dissociate the organisation from his visit. The main aim of the meeting was for members to report back on Evanston. Hromádka challenged the meeting to consider what the motto of the Evanston conference meant to them. 'Is Jesus Christ really my hope or the Church's hope?' The Anglican Rev. Kenneth Henderson, director of Religious Broadcasting for the ABC, frankly admitted the 'disagreement was too deep for argument' on the main theme at the Assembly, the nature of Christian hope. He, and most American delegates, rejected the personal return of Christ as the hope, differing from most of the European delegates. Henderson's hope rested in the active layman 'the Christian who lives out his faith in politics or business or in other activities of life. "The layman is the Church"'.⁷⁷⁷ While it is possible to see Henderson's model feasible in the West, such an option was not possible to those behind the Iron Curtain. Other clergy joined in the defence of Dr Hromádka; Bishop J. S. Moyes of Armidale gave an interview to the *Anglican*: He stated that:

Dr Hromadka was a valued member of the WCC, a spiritual hero, a symbol of the hopeless division of the Christian world between East and West. He decided he had to co-operate with those who denied his Christian faith to take part in the reconstruction of his country, he was disappointed at the abandonment of Czechoslovakia by Western allies 1938. He fled on the advice of police. He taught in the US at Princeton—returned to Czechoslovakia, all along a convinced socialist. The men who rule Czechoslovakia are honest and hard workers. He could have joined the party years ago but not now, he is too well known. 'The Lord asks that I live among Communists, I love them; Christ died for them also'.⁷⁷⁸

Dr Hromádka had a very difficult time in Melbourne in 1954. When he spoke at the Assembly Hall in Melbourne 16 September 1954 he was met with an unruly mob. Earlier the same day he spoke to 800 students at University of Melbourne, where 'New Australians hissed and booed him and distributed pamphlets against him. They were sent away by the University authorities'. Hromádka claimed 'that Christians who had been persecuted in Communist countries had been persecuted for political rather than religious reasons'. He also claimed 'the Christian Church has been identified with the middle classes and is out of touch

⁷⁷⁷ 'Are we real Christians? Hromadka's question', *ACR*, 14 October 1954, vol. 19, 20.

⁷⁷⁸ 'An Interview with Dr J. S. Moyes. Bishop of Armidale', *Anglican*, vol. 110, 17 September 1954, 9.

with the workers'. The Rev. Don McCrae, who chaired the meeting, refused permission to 'a Roman Catholic clergyman 'the right to reply for just two minutes!'. The 'peace and goodwill rally' at the Collins St Assembly Hall in the evening met with even more violent confrontation. 'Crowds of New Australians bearing banners with anti-communist slogans milled about the Assembly Hall... Nearly five hundred people jammed the footpath... The police had to separate several groups when blows were exchanged'.⁷⁷⁹ Inside Anglican priest Rev. Norman Hill grabbed the microphone to criticise Hromádka, physically fending off Rev. Eric Owen.⁷⁸⁰ The *Anglican* decried this behaviour; it was 'unthinkable that an eminent Christian visitor be howled down. Were the mob new or old Australians?' and considered the conduct was 'harking back to the Petrov departure'.⁷⁸¹ Since the 'Red' dean had met similar behaviours in 1950, the likely cause was Hromadka's visit, and his connection with the Peace Quest Forum. Any organisation that claimed to be working for peace was suspect; so was any person advocating co-operation with communists. Hill was identified by Peace Quest officials as the 'ringleader' of the problems at the Assembly Hall. Objectors had entered the hall in the dark and were already seated before the meeting started. Rev. Owen appealed to Hill to 'behave'. Hill claimed it was he who brokered the agreement that 'Mr Vladimar Boran, leader of the Free Czechs' could answer Hromádka. It was only after this concession was made the meeting could continue.⁷⁸² Rev. Hill thus totally ignored the tolerant lead of his primate, Mowll, toward Hromádka. Hill's political activities contrasted markedly with another Anglican priest, Rev. Neil Glover, who also made headlines in 1954.

⁷⁷⁹ 'Hostile reception for Hromadka', *Canberra Times*, 17 September 1954, 1.

⁷⁸⁰ 'Wild crowd wrecks 'peace' talk', *Argus*, 17 September 1954, front page. Hill was a supporter of Eric Butler, an Anglican who formed the League of Rights, a racist, sectarian, anti-communist organisation. Hill issued a 'How to vote' pamphlet from St Mark's vicarage, identifying himself as a Church of England Vicar who advocated putting Dr Evatt's party and the communists last in the 1955 State election. See 'A Church of England's Vicar's view on the Victorian Elections: A warning on the Sectarian Question' issued by the Victorian League of Rights, authorised by Eric D. Butler. Butler met Spry of ASIO in Hill's vicarage. See Eric Butler's Lunch with Malcolm Fraser', ALOR, *The Australian League of Rights*, 7 October, 1994, available online at <http://www.alor.org/Volume30/Vol30No38.htm>, accessed 5 November 2009.

⁷⁸¹ Church and Nation – The Man in the Street, *Anglican*, vol 111, 24 September 1954, 4.

⁷⁸² 'Cleric "Tried to ensure a Fair Go", *Herald*, 17 September 1954, front page., 7.

The first Neil Glover case

The Passport Issue and the Anglican Church.

The ACC followed the lead of the WCC in its suspicion of the peace movement. That the WCC was highly reliant on the USA cannot be disputed, '...the political line of the World Council of Churches is the political line of the United States'.⁷⁸³ Sir Kenneth Grubb held the important position of Chairman of the WCC Churches Committee on International Affairs (CCIA), an organisation first set up under the chairmanship of John Foster Dulles. Grubb conceded 'The influence of the United States and of the American churches sets the nature and shapes the rules of international ecumenical discussion...at least seventy five per cent of the WCC budget came from the US'.⁷⁸⁴ Grubb had also been a missionary and worked with the British Ministry of Information as Controller of Overseas Publicity during WW2. He recognised that the World Peace Council was largely communist dominated, that the WPC recognised this and was trying to broaden its base, and that frequent reversals in Russian policy did embarrass the WPC. He also considered that 'official visits to Britain by Russian clergy was 'wholly correct', but the visits by some British delegations to Russia in the past have been unwise in some respects and they have been all unofficial as far as the Church is concerned'.⁷⁸⁵ Grubb later became involved in the Institute for Strategic Studies, an organisation which comprised 'a strange and little-known relationship between Church leaders and some of Britain's best-known military pundits'.⁷⁸⁶

In Australia, as mentioned previously, the Liberal Government, and in particular Harold Holt, had attempted to control 'unofficial' visits behind the Iron Curtain and to peace conferences. Since the British government was not prepared to place any restriction on the passports carried by their citizens, those holding British passports could travel unhindered. The Anglican Church did not condone such visits. The case of Melbourne Anglican priest

⁷⁸³ Yao-Tsung Wu, 'U.S. Imperialism's "New Strategy" In the "Missionary Movement"', *Peking Review* 5, no. 22, 1962, 12

⁷⁸⁴ Wu, 'U.S. Imperialism's ...'.

⁷⁸⁵ *Anglican*, vol. 159, 26 Aug 55, front page.

⁷⁸⁶ See Institute Press Release 1958, The Institute for Strategic Studies, available online at www.iiss.org.uk/about-us/history/press-release-1958, accessed 8 March 2009. Canon H. M. Waddams (Secretary, Foreign Relations Council of the Church of England) was also on the Council. Bishop Bell was credited with involving Anglicans in the organisation, he opposed the H bomb as an effective deterrent. See Kirby, 'The Church of England and the Cold War Nuclear Debate', 279.

Rev. Neil Glover hit the headlines when Holt refused him a passport.⁷⁸⁷ The archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Joseph Booth, was unwillingly involved in the matter, since he was not prepared to condone Glover's attendance at the Helsinki peace conference in 1955. Booth had returned from Evanston and the Anglican Congress very impressed with the US church. He considered PECUSA 'alert, generous, and active', there was 'no hysteria' and 'only once heard the name of Senator McCarthy'.⁷⁸⁸ The Melbourne diocese had previously had connections with PECUSA, Rev. Robert Dann had travelled to the USA in 1947 as a young priest who had been appointed Director of Youth and Religious Education for the Anglican diocese of Melbourne.⁷⁸⁹ Dann was impressed 'with the vitality of PECUSA'.⁷⁹⁰ Booth had been a forces chaplain in both the Great War and WW2, but otherwise was totally 'dedicated to his diocese'. While he left others to speak at General Synod on matters such as the Constitution, he administered the Melbourne diocese firmly but had 'identified the new generation of leaders (two of whom subsequently became archbishops) and given them scope to exercise their gifts'.⁷⁹¹ Booth was not in sympathy with those who did not support the edicts of the Anglican Communion, or the Government, on communism. The anti-communist views of Herring, the Chancellor, and other influential Anglicans such as Vice Admiral Sir Roy Dowling, who regarded communism as 'an evil atheistic ideology', were well known.⁷⁹² Glover's case created a dilemma for Australian Anglicans.

Glover became a person of interest to the security services when he attended the Convention on Peace and War in Sydney on 7 October 1953.⁷⁹³ He was vicar of St Matthias church, North Richmond at that stage. The security reports noted that he had 'expressed extreme anti-American views'.⁷⁹⁴ He and Rev. Leo Ball, another Anglican priest, shared a platform with ex-senator Morrow, who was involved in the 1950 Peace Congress, to canvass

⁷⁸⁷ See Frame, *The Life and Death of Harold Holt*, 50

⁷⁸⁸ *Anglican*, no. 110, 17 September 1954, front page.

⁷⁸⁹ See Muriel Porter, 'An Innovative Leader Who Empathised with the Poor', *TMA (The Melbourne Anglican)*, May 2008, 5.

⁷⁹⁰ PECUSA, Bishop James Grant, 6 March 2009, personal correspondence with the writer.

⁷⁹¹ K. A. R. Horn, 'Booth, Joseph John (1886 - 1965)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 13 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1993), 219-220. One of those to become an archbishop was Robert Dann.

⁷⁹² Roy R Dowling, 'A Faith to Live By', *Church of England Messenger*, no. 2087, 16 August 1957, 122.

⁷⁹³ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 128, 'Tape Recording on the Australian Convention on Peace and War.', 7 October 1953.

⁷⁹⁴ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 127, 'Report on Rev. Neil Glover', 26 October 1953.

the recognition of the People's Government of China.⁷⁹⁵ Glover then progressed to speaking at lunchtime meetings at workplaces, as did the 'Peace Parsons', Hartley, Dickie and James. His passport application was made on 6 May 1954; the summary on his application was that he was actively involved with the Peace Council, and that he would be visiting Iron Curtain countries while overseas. The academic Stephen Murray-Smit, representing the Victorian Peace Council, advised Glover how he should complete his forms, and what he should answer if questioned. Both Glover and Morrow were booked flights by the Australian Peace Council for their overseas travel. Glover's passport application was refused; Glover vowed to fight the refusal with everything at his disposal. At a meeting at the Assembly Hall in Melbourne organised by the Australian Peace Council he claimed his vestry and his archbishop had given him permission to travel overseas, but that the archbishop did not approve of the purpose of his visit, a committee meeting of the World Peace Council and a conference in Stockholm. He also claimed that Australian troops would not fight Chinese soldiers if they had their way, the Chinese only bombed Australian soldiers when they were with Americans, who 'used every 'dirty' method of warfare, including napalm' in Korea.⁷⁹⁶ Glover was recognised as being a poor speaker, and had suggested to the Peace Council that it might be better if another Anglican clergyman, Father Haley of Darwin, should be invited to fill the place the Australian Peace Council had offered to Glover. It would look better if someone who was a known anti-communist went. Glover contacted Father Haley, advising all expenses would be paid by the Peace Council, and that there would be opportunities for Haley to visit 'the so-called iron curtain countries'. Father Haley passed this information on to the security services in Darwin.⁷⁹⁷ Glover hoped to get his passport on 10 May 1954, Murray-Smith repeating his urging that Glover attempt to get it made valid for all countries. Minister Holt refused to issue passports for Glover, Haley and Morrow. Also affected was the communist Mr W. Gollan, who was headmaster of Parramatta Boys Junior High School, who had hoped to travel to 'an international meeting of people in science, arts and education'. On 15 May 1954 Glover contacted Dorothy Gibson to inform her he had received an invitation directly from the World Peace Council. He was unable to contact Murray-Smith. Gibson told Glover that the Victorian Peace council was considering 'a pretty wide

⁷⁹⁵ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 125, 'Letter from the Australian Peace Council', 17 November 1953. Leo Ball was later a mentor to Rev. Peter Thomson (Blair's spiritual adviser).

⁷⁹⁶ NAA: A6119/2173, f.116, 'Vicar to fight Passport Ban on Berlin Trip', newspaper cutting, no attribution, n.d.

⁷⁹⁷ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 113, 'Security Report to Department of Immigration, 18 May 1954.

representation' to Holt. A meeting was arranged for 17 May to discuss the matter. The Case Officer's comment was that this was probably the reason that Murray-Smith had become involved 'in the election programme of Mr Holt, which was reported in 'Q' 5312 of 14/5/54'.⁷⁹⁸

Glover did travel to Sydney to attend a protest meeting, where he claimed that Christians needed to get involved in politics, to try to bring peace to the world, otherwise they were '...betraying the principles of Christ. Christ was for peace'.⁷⁹⁹ There was to be no lessening in Glover's endeavours to publicise the refusal of his passport application, he challenged Holt at a Liberal Party election meeting when he was asked to speak by vote of the meeting. At this meeting Holt read out the letter of the archbishop of Melbourne, Booth, in which he approved Glover's leave, but not his mission. This was claimed by Holt as sufficient grounds to refuse Glover's passport. Unless the church approved him going as an observer he would not receive a passport.⁸⁰⁰

Morrow also addressed meetings, claiming Holt's methods were part of the technique of McCarthyism, and savoured of totalitarianism.⁸⁰¹ By this time the headings were blaming Menzies for the passport denials. By 25 May Glover was claimed by security agents to have been overheard to say he was considering becoming a communist.⁸⁰² The Peace Council had not given up the hope that Glover would travel, Rev. Dickie had telephoned Glover's home and told his wife that the Peace Council was very proud of the Glovers. There had been hate phone calls received, a solicitor had been engaged to give them advice and protection.⁸⁰³ A petition was mounted, the security services recording who would and would not sign.⁸⁰⁴ Glover tried again to obtain a passport, and received a reply from Minister Holt to Glover's letter of 5 October indicating that the original objection, i.e. that passports would not be issued to persons wishing to proceed to communist territory without good and sufficient

⁷⁹⁸ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 99, 'Victorian Peace Council', 15 May 1954,

⁷⁹⁹ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 108, 'Christian Duty to Help Bring Peace', *Tribune*, Sydney, n.d.

⁸⁰⁰ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 107. Holt Challenged at Election Meeting, *Guardian*, 27 May 1954. See also the *Age* 20 May 1954.

⁸⁰¹ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 106, 'Strong Protests on Menzies' Bans on Passports', newspaper cutting, no attribution, n.d.

⁸⁰² NAA: A6119/2173, f. 105, 'Report by Senior Field Officer on Glover, Neil (Rev.)', 25 May 1954.

⁸⁰³ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 103, 'Report on Victorian Peace Council' 14 May 1954.

⁸⁰⁴ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 102, 'Report on Victorian Peace Council' 17 May 1954.

reason and to intending delegates to communist-inspired conferences still applied.⁸⁰⁵ On 18 October Glover wrote again to the Department of Immigration, quoting the *Australian Churchman*; that they considered he should be allowed to go, so that he could report back to the Anglican Church.⁸⁰⁶ On November 1954 Colonel Spry, Director General of Security, officially replied to the Secretary of the Department of Immigration that Glover should be refused a passport, on the same grounds as in May.⁸⁰⁷ The World Peace Council was still regarded as a communist-inspired organisation. A letter of support from his parishioners resulted in a request on the security file 'Please Index Names'.⁸⁰⁸

Growing unease within the Anglican Communion, and the nation generally, with the Menzies government's passport policy resulted in many who could not be regarded as radical siding with Glover. The *Anglican* certainly did force the issue, but also the man in the street wrote condemnatory letters, most probably not realising their letters would be filed by the security services. J. B. Michaelson of Melbourne wrote to the *Age* on 10 February 1955. His letter recorded his disquiet that 'we are getting further away in Australia from what constitutes true liberty for the individual', and suggested the Foreign Affairs office should study John Stuart Mill. He also drew attention to the British Government 'not giving two hoots if the Dean of Canterbury wishes to travel backwards and forwards to Moscow'.⁸⁰⁹ Even the hierarchy of the church in Australia, who did give 'two hoots' about association with peace groups, came out to upbraid the government. The *Guardian* was delighted to be able to show pictures of four more Anglican bishops, including the Chaplain-General to the Armed Forces, the bishop of Bendigo, C. L. Riley, who had 'joined the nation-wide protest against the Government's refusal to issue a passport' to Glover. The *Tribune* featured a denial by Archbishop Booth that he had ever requested Holt not to issue a passport to Glover, along with an impressive list of supporters, including 'the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Melbourne Age*, the Archbishops of Brisbane and Perth, and the Bishops of Adelaide, Armidale, Bendigo

⁸⁰⁵ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 73, 'Letter from H. E Holt, Minister for Immigration to Rev. Neil Glover' n.d

⁸⁰⁶ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 74, Letter from Rev. Glover to the Commonwealth Migration Officer, 18 October 1954. The *Australian Churchman* was the official national paper of the influential Church of England Men's Society.

⁸⁰⁷ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 70. 'Memorandum for Department of Immigration from Director-General of Security, November 1954.

⁸⁰⁸ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 66, 'Parishioners support Vicar' *Age*, 9 February 1955.

⁸⁰⁹ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 65, 'Withholding of passports', *Age*, 10 February 1955.

and Rockhampton, the Bishop-elect of Gippsland and others.'⁸¹⁰ Glover by now had issued a writ against the Menzies' Government in the High Court. Despite having representation arranged by the Peace Council, this application was rejected by the court.

By 16 April 1955 the ban had been lifted. Holt claimed the ban had been necessary because of the Petrov affair. Glover officially advised the Department of Immigration that he would also be travelling 'to Peking via Moscow, and then on to Hong Kong'.⁸¹¹ The Victorian Peace Council organised a farewell for Glover and Sam Goldbloom on the Yarra Bank, soliciting for donations toward Glover's expenses. Glover was hailed as he 'played a significant part' in the lifting of the travel bans.⁸¹² This was most certainly true; however it was also true that the on-going affair did alienate him to some degree from the church of which he was a member. Support for civil liberties did not equate to support for peace organisations, which were still suspect in the eyes of the Anglican Church. The security services maintained their close interest in Glover's movements; recording that while in Sydney en route to Darwin he stayed at the Kingsford Cake Company; and while in Darwin he was with Fr Haley at the rectory, Darwin, and preached in Christ Church. They also had detailed information on the Helsinki Conference;⁸¹³ surveillance of members of the peace movement remained a priority of ASIO.

Individual Anglican efforts to influence views against Communism

The ACC remained vigilant regarding peace movements and congresses. In 1954 in Brisbane Anglican priest Keith Rayner was 'a member of an ecumenical 'Committee for International Affairs', which was largely Anglican' and which 'kept an eye on Communist-inspired peace movements'.⁸¹⁴ Another member was D. J. Killen, who later became Minister for Defence. He was a baptised, practising Anglican, with a mother hailing from a strong Anglican family, although 'some people viewed with disfavour the fact that Mother had married a Roman Catholic'.⁸¹⁵ Killen became foundation President of the Young Liberal Movement of Queensland and a member of the State Executive of the Liberal Party. Killen was actively connected with St Andrew's South Brisbane, and was honorary secretary of the Queensland

⁸¹⁰ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 25, 'More blows at passport ban', *Tribune*, Sydney, 5 April 1955.

⁸¹¹ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 17, 'Letter to Department of Immigration from Rev. Neil Glover', 19 April 1955.

⁸¹² NAA: A6119/2173, f. 16, 'Bank Send-off for Peace delegates', *Guardian*, 21 April 1955.

⁸¹³ NAA: A6119/2173, f. 5, 'World Assembly for Peace – Helsinki, 1955', 14 June 1955

⁸¹⁴ Private correspondence between Archbishop Rayner and the writer, 25 September 2007.

⁸¹⁵ D. J. Killen, *Killen: Inside Australian Politics* (North Ryde, Methuen Haynes, 1985), xi.

Committee on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches. He was endorsed for the Federal seat of Moreton in 1955 and was elected. Menzies welcomed him to the party room, 'Now here we have somebody with an interesting background and who knows a lot about communism', which Menzies knew as he 'was an avid reader of the *Bulletin* of old'. The *Bulletin* of those days was a white racist magazine, and had carried a short biographical entry on Killen when he entered Parliament.⁸¹⁶ The *Anglican* reported that Killen claimed:

...in his maiden speech last week that the policy of co-existence between Russia and the West seemed to him impossible on moral, political and strategic grounds. There were two problems, one being that Australia is NOT a Christian country, and that Christianity is not a code of ethics or morality, it is a system of belief. We must rekindle that system of belief before we can fight communism. The choice confronting any nation was between Christianity and communism. Many, if not most, Members would subscribe to this view.⁸¹⁷

Killen considered that the *Anglican* editorial was not as supportive of his view as he would have liked, he wrote to the *Anglican*:

Christianity and Communism. The editorial of March 23 draws some unjustifiable conclusions. Western countries cannot abide co-existence, since Communism cannot be consummated until Western countries are brought within Communist control. Communist tactics may be flexible, but Communist principles are inflexible. Christianity cannot accept co-existence with Communism. Communism rejects Christ and the whole Christian belief. Communist philosophy and policy do not encompass toleration of Christianity, but predicate its destruction. ...the Christian Church has for far too long been silent on the Communist issue. It should prepare for a spiritual war.⁸¹⁸

He also found support from an unusual source, the *ACR* inserted a note that the dean of Canterbury had been admonished by a Soviet citizen for his views that Christianity and Communism could co-exist 'we cannot but point out the inconsistency of the thesis he advances'.⁸¹⁹ Killen found another Anglican in Parliament, W. C. Wentworth, who held the same implacable views. Killen became the secretary of the 'informal Atomic Committee' formed by Wentworth, which usually met over dinner. After some months Killen discovered he had been paying for dinner for all the members.⁸²⁰ This experience did not prevent Killen remaining involved with the 'versatile' Bill Wentworth. He obviously admired Wentworth, despite his quirks, and was later to become a member of Wentworth's 'Government Members

⁸¹⁶ Killen, *Killen*, 7.

⁸¹⁷ 'Our Latent Secret Weapon' *Anglican*, vol.189, 23 March 1956, 4 (Editorial).

⁸¹⁸ Letters, D. J. Killen, *Anglican*, no. 193, 20 April 1956, 2.

⁸¹⁹ Notes and Comments, 'Sickle and Cross do not mix', *ACR* 14 October 1959, 4.

⁸²⁰ Killen, *Inside Australian Politics*, 20.

Against Communism'.⁸²¹ Wentworth formed around him a group of Liberals referred to as the 'Wentworth Liberals'.⁸²² and was a thorn in the side of ASIO. He constantly demanded details from ASIO, which Spry refused to furnish due to the volume requested. The well known conflict between Menzies and Wentworth saw Wentworth remain a back bencher for the period Menzies was the leader of the Liberal Party.⁸²³ Both Killen and Wentworth used the Anglican church to express their views.

The church was in a quandary when considering the peace movement.

It was widely suspected that under the guise of a disinterested quest for peace this movement was in fact an instrument of the policy of international communism, and that churchmen were being used as dupes to provide a front of respectability for the peace rallies.⁸²⁴

The experiences of a young Anglican layman, who had travelled as a trade union delegate to a Youth Peace Congress in Berlin supported the fears of the church. In a garbled account of the farewell to the delegation in the *Guardian*, emphasis was put on one member belonging to the Catholic Youth Movement, another to the Church of England Young Men's Society. No mention was made of trade union affiliations, or indeed CPA connections. In fact the account transposed the names of Tom Treherne and a Mr Issacson.⁸²⁵ Later reports identified Treherne as chairman of the delegation of ninety three people, one of whom was another Queenslander, John Malos, who intended to travel onto Finland to compete with a model plane in the International Wakefield Cup. The *Guardian* did not mention that Malos was a CPA member. An unfortunate drowning of a member of the delegation saw Treherne conduct an Anglican service aboard ship.⁸²⁶ A group of 18 Australian delegates, including Treherne, issued a joint statement when about to head back to Australia after a visit to Moscow following the Berlin conference; 'commenced training as an Anglican priest on his return.'⁸²⁷ This example of eagerness by the peace movement to use 'churchmen' to provide a

⁸²¹ See NAA: A6119, 4068, Spry to Snedden, 19 May 1965. I am grateful to Lachlan Clohesy for the information on this committee, part of research for his upcoming thesis on Wentworth.

⁸²² 'Mr Calwell Forecasts Depression in a Year', *Age*, 6 November 1958, 5.

⁸²³ Killen, *Inside Australian Politics*, 21.

⁸²⁴ Rayner, 'The History of the Church of England in Queensland', 252 (online pagination).

⁸²⁵ Youth Delegation to Berlin farewelled, *Guardian*, 7 June 1950, 8.

⁸²⁶ *Guardian*, 28 June 1950, 8.

⁸²⁷ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', 252, note 1555. In the online version this note is truncated and should read: 'This view was confirmed by the experience of a young Anglican layman, Thomas

front of respectability, created difficulties for 'Christians to escape the charge of insincerity in their desire for peace if they withheld their support from the peace movement'.⁸²⁸ The WCC 'Committee for International Affairs', of which Rayner and Killen were Anglican members '...made clear that pacificism was not to be regarded as the logical Christian policy in the face of the aggressive communist tactic of 'peace"'.⁸²⁹ Glover could not expect approval from the majority of the Anglican Communion in regard to his work in the peace movement, despite the support he garnered regarding the passport affair.

Overtures to Red China: The Red China Mission and developments in Eastern Europe

On his return to Australia from the Helsinki conference Glover's visit was featured in the *Anglican*. He visited several Russian cities on way home, including Moscow, and spent three weeks in China. Unsurprisingly he found The Holy Catholic Church in China—as the Anglican church was called—a live and flourishing body and he found no evidence that its members had been persecuted. The same was true of other denominations; including the Roman Catholic Church and they, the churches, were almost entirely led by indigenous clergy. They would like to exchange visits—there was genuine regret that there was not closer contact. The churches were playing a most important part in Chinese life although numbers were relatively low.⁸³⁰ The decision of the Australian Government not to recognise Communist China sat uneasily with many Anglicans, who cited the recognition of the British Government as a precedent to follow. The primate, Mowll, was to find opposition when an invitation was received to visit 'Red' China. The Presiding Bishop of the Church of China, Bishop Robert Chen of Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (The Holy Catholic Church) invited the Anglican church in Australia to send a representative delegation to visit the church in China in September 1956.⁸³¹ *The Anglican*

... welcomed an invitation from a sister Church of the Anglican Communion, the first to be able to extend such an invitation. Unfortunately the political overtones of the visit cannot be avoided. And political aspects may well be exploited by this side or

Treherne, who visited Europe in the early 1950s as a trade union delegate to a youth peace rally. He found that capital was being made of his known church affiliations. Later he was ordained to the priesthood'.

⁸²⁸ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', 252.

⁸²⁹ Rayner, 'History of the Church of England in Queensland', 253.

⁸³⁰ 'Return of Rev'd Neil Glover from peace conference in Helsinki', *Anglican*, no.159, 26 August 1955, front page.

⁸³¹ 'Primate Invited to China', *ACR*, 24 May 1956, front page; 'The Church in China invites Anglican Delegation', *Anglican*, vol 199, 1 June 1956, front page.

that. The delegation needs to be sober and cautious in composition and preferable conservatively-minded. It will certainly be thoroughly Anglican.⁸³²

By the end of July, the opposition the delegation had produced brought a more intemperate outburst from the *Anglican*. The Anglican bishop of Hong Kong had visited China and been favourably impressed. He was

... attacked in the *Hong Kong Standard*, with the Roman press taking up the criticism of the Bishop. The ridicule of an Anglican Bishop is to be expected. It is not be expected that the decaying relics among the old China hands, whose alcohol-eased days are spent in a nostalgic haze of recollection of the Kuomintang corruption as they look out over Kowloon, would treat anything he says with tenderness. The Primate of Australia should be prepared for such treatment by the Roman press. The Roman Church—in Australia and everywhere else—is opposed to the visit itself. There are small elements in our secular life, sometimes noisy, sometimes furtive, who align themselves with Rome in the matter. They will never be persuaded that an Australian delegation will not be hoodwinked by the Machiavellian Chinese and 'used' for nefarious purposes. There has been almost universal praise from the widely representative groups who have visited the country during the past year or so, from the large Mission headed by that great Anglican, the Right Honourable C. R. Attlee, to the smaller group of Quakers. Criticism there certainly has been, and the Chinese, while not always agreeing, have welcomed these with a courtesy unknown in Australia. These facts will strengthen our delegation in the fearless approach the Church expects of it.⁸³³

The *Anglican* announced the composition of the delegation, the archbishop and Mrs Mowll, the archbishop of Perth, the bishops of Rockhampton and Tasmania, Canons M. L. Loane and H. M. Arrowsmith, and two laymen. One of these was 'Francis James, who will be press representative for the *Canadian Churchman*, the *Episcopal Church News* (America), *Church and People* (New Zealand), and *Ecumenical and Anglican Service*, with whom special arrangements have been made by the *Anglican*. James is aged 38—the baby of the party'.⁸³⁴ As might be expected the *ACR* reacted unfavourably to the announcement by the primate that he was heading the delegation to China, and in particular the news that James was a member of the party. A private visit by the primate was acceptable to the *ACR*, for 'we can well understand the Archbishop of Sydney's wish to revisit the Church of which he was a bishop for ten years'. The delegation is 'to be surrounded by a blare of publicity. Arrangements have already been made with leading daily papers in London and New York as well as with church papers in those countries and elsewhere to publish despatches from the delegation.' The *ACR*

⁸³² *Anglican*, vol 199, 1 June 1954, Editorial

⁸³³ *ACR*, vol. 207, 27 July 1956, 3.

⁸³⁴ 'Delegation to visit China in November', vol. 211, 24 August 1956, front page.

decried the fact that the primate had been offered for his fare to be paid both ways by 'Communist Trade Unionists' on behalf of the 'Chinese People's Government' shortly after receiving Bishop Chen's invitation. The visit 'would be exploited by the Communist propaganda machine', as 'the visits of various groups of churchmen to Russia' have been, 'World Communism' was 'going "all out" to foster the myth that Christianity and Communism can co-exist'. Other consideration was the grave embarrassment the visit would give to 'Christians in China who have not come to terms with the Communist Regime. Bishop Kimber Den of Chekiang was still in prison'.⁸³⁵ The *ACR* felt the visit should be changed to a private visit by Archbishop Mowll and his wife. This view was one that found support. At Sydney synod Bishop Kerle moved a motion regarding the Chinese visit, which 'expressed pleasure at the acceptance of an invitation to the primate to lead what it called "a delegation of Australian churchmen"', but to achieve accord the bishop changed the wording to from 'delegation' to 'visit'. 'In this way an acrimonious debate was avoided, for many think it untimely to visit those Christians who have been able to approve of the Communist Government's policy when so many other Christians are suffering because they are unable to approve'.⁸³⁶ An article critical of the Three Self Patriotic Movement, which was a measure brought in by the Chinese Government to control churches was published by *ACR* on 25 October 1956. Those who resisted the measure were imprisoned, 'all (church) meetings not under the auspices of the Three Self Movement' were made illegal. Their positions were assumed by other clergy, this was the case with the 'Right Reverend Kimber Den, who was replaced by Bishop Ting Kwang-hsun. Bishop Den remained in prison, where he had been since 1951, while Bishop Kwang-hsun was free to travel, and had just visited England'.⁸³⁷ *ACR* certainly did wield some influence, Canon Arrowsmith was named as Public Relations Officer of the visiting party, who would, 'if possible, send to the Press brief communiqués of the party's movements which 'The Record' hopes to publish'. It was made very clear that 'Mr F. James, Managing Director of 'The Anglican', is travelling nominally as a member of the party, but will be acting as a journalist in a private commercial capacity, as he had arranged to do before he was invited by the Primate to be a member of the party'.⁸³⁸

The *Anglican* answered this slight on James with a stinging editorial. It claimed that

⁸³⁵ 'To Australian Churchmen: Re visit to China', *ACR*, 30 August 1956, 2.

⁸³⁶ 'Report on Sydney Synod', *ACR*, 11 October 1956, 13.

⁸³⁷ 'In China Now', *ACR*, 25 October 1956, 3-13.

⁸³⁸ 'Primate leaves for China', *ACR*, 25 October 1956, 16.

...a small section of mostly young men from the Primate's own diocese 'notorious for the vast range of experience—especially political wisdom—to which it lays claim'. They have done their best to cripple the mission. After trying to have the visit considered a 'private' visit, they then attempted to challenge the legality of it and then went so far as to make representations to the Minister of External affairs to have the members denied passports. The authority of the Primate and bishops can never be challenged by a committee of the kind so beloved of the 'theological Trotskyites'. The delegation has gone forth with the warmest support of all sections of the Australian Church, including those sections which, implacable in their opposition to political communism, yet believe this is no reason to frown upon friendly intercourse between communism and the world.⁸³⁹

A reasoned response to the 'In China Now' article appeared in *ACR* from Roderick W. Bowie, the Church Missionary Society for S. E. Asia. Bowie defended those co-operating with the Three Self Movement, 'they know where communism differs from, and indeed is opposed to, the Gospel'.⁸⁴⁰ The *ACR* also withdrew their note of Francis James' involvement with the party: 'We withdraw the sentence referring to Mr F. James, appearing on this page of our last issue, and apologise for any offence given'.⁸⁴¹ Further indication that the visit was timely came when Mowll was the first non-Chinese church dignitary to preach in the Shanghai Cathedral since the Revolution. While claiming 'Christianity is the only solution to international, national and personal wickedness' he also repeated Christ's teaching that the 'congregation should render unto Caesar the things which were Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's'. At that service Bishop Chen announced that Bishop Kimber had been released from prison to Hangchow last week.⁸⁴² Two more letters appeared debating the Three Self Movement. One was supportive; the other drew attention to the aim of the Movement 'isolating Chinese Christians from any "foreign" influence. The expulsion of six and half thousand missionaries, often after imprisonment, brainwashing and torture was followed by reducing the number of "authorised" Christians to a fraction of their former number'. The writer drew attention that 'Communist religious policy is as a rule motivated by ..."the political utility of state-administered obedient churches"'.⁸⁴³

Canon Marcus Loane furnished the *ACR* with regular reports of his and the group's activities. The *Anglican* readers did have ongoing reports from China and were promised 'a

⁸³⁹ Editorial, *Anglican*, no. 221, 2 November 1956, 4.

⁸⁴⁰ 'In China Now', *ACR*, 8 November 1956, 7.

⁸⁴¹ 'Editorial Note', *ACR*, 8 November 1956, 16.

⁸⁴² 'Primate preaches in Shanghai Cathedral', *Anglican*, no. 222, 9 November 1956, front page.

⁸⁴³ 'Religious Policy in China', *ACR*, 22 November 1956, 7.

series of brilliant articles by Francis James to appear early in 1957'.⁸⁴⁴ While international events in 1956 tended to overshadow the importance of the 'Red' China visit, it was significant, especially since it showed an acceptance by some in the Anglican church of the revolution in China, which was not reflected in the Menzies' Government, which banned the Chinese ballet from visiting Australia. There was acknowledgement that living conditions for many Chinese were improved from the 'old' days, even if freedom of religion was debateable. D. J. Killen was highly critical of the visit, 'Why the visit to the Chinese Church, why is it tolerated, why should the carnage of all those millions be ignored?'.⁸⁴⁵ Certainly Anglicans such as Canon Maynard were well aware that religion was controlled, when he visited in 1952 he was unable to converse directly with the bishop of North China (Pekin), Lin Hsien-yang (Timothy Lin), the young lady interpreter allocated to Maynard controlled the conversation.⁸⁴⁶

Anglicans were preoccupied with the Hungarian uprising in October 1956, and the Suez crisis in November. However, for most Australians front stage was taken by the Olympic Games, held in Melbourne, with the opening ceremony on 22 November 1956 presided over by HRH the Duke of Edinburgh. The introduction of television at that time opened avenues into uncharted territory which the church was anxious to explore.⁸⁴⁷ The USSR topped the medal tally with 98 medals. The *Anglican* claimed a spirit of goodwill permeated the Games with Olympic teams intermingling; Russians chatting with Englishmen and Americans with Italians, 'negroes' sitting with white Americans, South Africans with Ethiopians and Nigerians.⁸⁴⁸ Archbishop Booth dedicated the Games to peace and goodwill between the nations.⁸⁴⁹ This goodwill was not seen in the water polo match between Russia and Hungary on 7 December, played in a vengeful manner by both sides. It finally erupted into violence, when 'Valentine Prokopov, of Russia, swam up to Ervin Zador, of Hungary,

⁸⁴⁴ 'Church in China' *Anglican*, no. 230, 4 January 1957, front page.

⁸⁴⁵ Letters, *Anglican*, no.233, 25 January 1957, 5.

⁸⁴⁶ *Anglican*, no. 231, 11 January 1957.

⁸⁴⁷ See 'Church on TV', *ACR*, vol. 22, no. 9, 9 May 1957, front page, 7. The front page picture showed a televised discussion group on Communism.

⁸⁴⁸ *Anglican*, no. 224, 23 November 1956, 5, from a special correspondent, 19 November 1956.

⁸⁴⁹ *Anglican*, no. 225, 30 November 1956, front page.

and punched him in the eye while the ball was at the other end of the pool'.⁸⁵⁰ Further violence was averted when the police who had been on call calmed the protagonists; and the announcer declared the game over, with Hungary the winners by 4 goals to none. The sentiments of the crowd were certainly with the Hungarians. The Anglican Communion around the world agitated for the refugees from the Revolution to be taken in. Dr Fisher, in his diocesan letter wrote about the 'terrible fate of Hungary at the hands of Russian barbarism. It has disrupted Communism in the West, it may, perhaps, even be compelling Russia to pause'. He claimed 'the wholesale deportation of Hungarian Youth to an unknown fate in the Soviet Union in contravention of all standards of moral behaviour is perhaps the most deliberately evil'. He also referred to the Suez crisis, welcoming the formation of a United Nations' police force.⁸⁵¹

The *Anglican* certainly carried news of the Hungarian revolt, including the disfavour expressed against the 'Red' dean of Canterbury. 'Students at Durham University took his hat and used it as a prize for their Hungarian Relief fund. The Dean's defence of Russian intervention in Hungary has made him most unpopular even in communist circles.'⁸⁵² Hewlett Johnson also drew parallels between Hungary and Suez.

Two boys of the Upper Sixth form at Kings School Canterbury presented a petition to the Dean of Canterbury, the chairman of the board of governors of the school, protesting on his views of Russian action in Hungary. John Drew and Paul Niblock represented the boys, who had made a petition out of exercise paper in the form of a scroll, which was signed by 186 boys, among whom was the school captain and prefects. 'We heartily deplore your statements and question their wisdom and validity. We hope this appeal to your strong humanitarian sense will shatter your misconceived faith in the Soviet Union'.

They spent an hour with Dean, who told them all governments make mistakes, as the British Government had done causing the slaughter of hundreds at Port Said. He was very friendly but complained that an iron curtain existed between him and the boys. He wished he could speak to more of the boys.⁸⁵³

The nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Gamal Abel Nasser, a strong Arab nationalist, had seen the deportation of many Anglican missionaries from Egypt. Their plight was

⁸⁵⁰ 'Cold War violence erupts at Melbourne Olympics', *Sydney Morning Herald*, special 175 years collection, online edition, available at <http://www.smh.com.au/news/175-years/cold-war-violence-erupts-at-melbourne-olympics/2006/04/17/1145126047088.html>, accessed 23 March 2009.

⁸⁵¹ 'Dr Fisher on Russian crime against Hungary', *Anglican*, no. 226, 7 December 1956, 2.

⁸⁵² Fact and Fancy, *Anglican*, no. 225, 30 November 1956, front page.

⁸⁵³ 'Schoolboys call on Dean', no. 226, 7 December 1956, 10. The Dean was so unpopular with the school that no contact was permitted between him and the boys, although he retained his ex officio chairmanship of the Board of Governors.

highlighted in both the *ACR* and the *Anglican*. Menzies had been called in to lead a mission to Nasser try to negotiate a settlement where an international body under the control of the United Nations would operate the canal; the mission was unsuccessful. British and French forces which attempted to regain the canal by force had to withdraw, since America would not support them. Menzies maintained Australia's support of Britain and France in the United Nations when a censure motion was proposed.⁸⁵⁴ For Australian Anglicans, not only was the British Government made to appear ineffectual, but the church in Egypt, which had established clerical and missionary links, was now run by Egyptians, very much as the church in China. Australian missionaries who had worked in Egypt for many years were among those expelled. A very salutary lesson for those who sought to reinforce the British hegemony in Australia.

The Second Neil Glover case

The work of the Peace Movement still preoccupied the Rev. Neil Glover, who continued to confront the establishment. The *Anglican* did offer him an avenue to air his views. While these views were, to some extent, held by others in the church, his manner of publicising them was unique. Glover was charged with having, in Sydney in September last year [1956],

...worn a sandwich board displaying protest against atomic tests 'by way of advertisement' and was charged under a section of the Metropolitan Traffic Act. Mr Glover refused to pay the £2 court costs which would have released him and was removed to Long Bay Penitentiary—he went to gaol for matter of principle and was sentenced to 48 hours imprisonment with hard labour—the prison Chaplain paid the £2. Our Political Correspondent commented Mr. Glover wanted publicity and has got it. It is one of the silliest and most unnecessary prosecutions ever launched in Australia. The whole issues hang on interpretation of advertising and whether Mr. Glover's sandwich boards constituted 'announcements'. Despite the legal forms this is in fact a political prosecution. Melbourne police have ignored the technical illegalities of Mr Glover; Sergeant Duncan has unwisely given him publicity, making a martyr of him. But is Mr Glover correct, President Eisenhower has banned all tests for 1957 after the report of the American National Health and Medical Council.⁸⁵⁵

The next reference to Glover was far more serious. Glover was visited by the Special Branch in his vicarage at St Matthias, North Richmond at 3.15 p.m. on Thursday 28 February 1956 and questioned for nearly an hour on his political beliefs by Detective Sergeant Tozer.

The custom of Victorian police working in the Australian Secret Service had its beginnings during the Great War. First called the Counter Espionage Bureau (CEB), and

⁸⁵⁴ Martin, *Sir Robert Menzies*, 200.

⁸⁵⁵ 'Vicar goes to gaol for matter of principle', *Anglican*, no. 232, 18 January 1957, front page.

overseen by Major George Steward in 1916, the bureau reputedly operated from Government House, Melbourne. It was established at the request of the Imperial Government and co-operated with the British Counter Espionage Bureau. There was one agent and one incognito detective from Victoria, who garnered information from working police. In 1931 when Blamey was police commissioner in Victoria he formed the Special Branch to work against 'communism and working-class radicalism'. During WW2 the number of police involved grew to 21, with twelve public servants supporting them. 20,000 files a year were processed. In 1942 the branch became an adjunct of the Commonwealth Security Service. It continued its 'special' work of overseeing communists, political activists and civil libertarians until it was finally disbanded in 1983.⁸⁵⁶ A great deal of information was passed on by this service to ASIO when it was formed.

A voluntary parish worker, a trained stenographer, took notes during Toser's visit. Glover took the remainder of the interview down on a tape recorder—with the knowledge of the police—once the steno withdrew. Four hours later Glover contacted the *Anglican*, sending the paper the transcript and the tape the following morning. The *Anglican* featured a précis of the material, commencing on its front page.

A Mrs Wookey had made certain allegations. She had made several such allegations, portions of which she had changed, or withdrawn. A Roman Catholic Member of Victorian Parliament, Mr Sculley, read out her allegations in a statement to the House. Wookey apparently believed that subversive activities threatened to undermine the State of Victoria. Questions made by Toser to Glover were mainly those along the lines of the famous McCarthy ones: 'Are you a member of the Communist Party?' Glover answered that he would not reply, would have done the same if the question was 'Are you a member of the Liberal Party?' Then Glover was asked: 'Have you ever contemplated becoming a member of the party—do your thoughts run parallel?' He was told it was a well known fact that he had attended Peace Council meetings and had spoken on the Peace Council platform. Tozer said Mrs Wookey alleged Glover attended cadre meetings of the Communist Party held at the Savoy Theatre. Glover then asked Tozer who sent him here—he identified Mrs Wookey's allegations and a report tabled in the House by Mr Sculley about a fifth-column operating in the Croydon—Kilsyth area. Tozer said that as a policeman it was his duty to conduct an enquiry into the allegations made. Otherwise how could a person's name be cleared? Glover

⁸⁵⁶ Robert Haldane, *The People's Force: A History of the Victoria Police*, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1986, 2nd 1995 ed.), 148-149, 222-223.

considered an enquiry should be on proper judicial lines. Tozer replied that the allegation was a fifth column, which would in effect be treason. If the allegations were correct it would be a punishable offence. Glover asked if Mrs Wookey actually alleged treason. Tozer replied that Mr Scully alleges treason, the enquiry arises out of the allegations of Mrs Wookey and the statement of Mr. Scully. Tozer considered whether treason took place or not, that is not for him to say. Glover replied that as far as he was concerned he has nothing to fear. He is not a member of any political party. The whole thing is an insult to the ordinary citizen of our British Commonwealth; that a citizen should be subject to this sort of thing, questioned by a member of the Police Force. Tozer considered there was nothing more to say. 'We have given you the opportunity to confirm or deny that you are a member of the Communist Party and you refuse to answer'. The voluntary worker, who had come back into the room, pointed out that Glover had said he was a member of no party. Tozer 'That was later on. The first time he refused to answer'. Glover 'I refused because I consider it an infringement of my rights'. Tozer (interrupting) 'He refused to answer that question. That was the first answer to that question when I asked him'. Glover agreed but hoped that will be made clear to those who received the interview. Tozer (interrupting) then said a report would be submitted, it was his job.

The *Anglican* asked the Victorian Chief Secretary, the Hon. A. G. Rylah to comment on the incident. Mr Rylah declined to comment, except to say that investigations were going on regarding allegations made by Mr Scully in the House towards the end of last session. He claimed these investigations were not political enquiries as such. 'We are not concerned with any one's political views. They are not our business.' The Victorian Commissioner of Police, Major General Porter told the *Anglican* that he had only just returned from leave, and was not *au fait* with the details of the position. He also assured the *Anglican* that the Police Department are not interested in any citizen's politics as such.⁸⁵⁷

It was obviously ridiculous for the authorities to claim the Government was not interested in any citizen's politics, given the interest taken in members of the CPA. Glover was able to use the *Anglican* again to draw attention to the activities of the anti-communist forces. Support for Glover came from The *Anglican's* political correspondent, who did not know 'whether to laugh or groan—but the latter is the best reaction, perhaps for ponderous Authority should have learned by now that the gentle Mr Glover is adamant over any question of personal liberty'. Reference was made to his fight for a passport, which went to

⁸⁵⁷ 'Vicar of St Mathias, North Richmond', *Anglican*, no. 239, 8 March 1957, front page, 12.

the High Court and which he won from the Federal Government after the bishops made clear they supported his right, however little they supported his intentions. His campaign against nuclear tests on genetic grounds was at first airily dismissed by all politicians and physicists, but now confirmed by the AMA. Strange, but true, Mr Glover happened, almost alone, to be right. 'He is right in this matter, too, without a doubt'. The *Anglican* further claimed that Mrs Wookey and Mr Sculley:

...could have sold their story for a fortune on the other side of the Pacific. Mr Rylah and Commissioner Porter are in an unhappy position, fine records; we can accept their assurance Victoria has not created an OGPU. But that cuts both ways; since Victoria is a democratic state. They must accept reservations, for their Sergeant Tozer seems to have gone out of his way to waste time and the taxpayers' money last week, to ask a series of most improper questions, and far exceed his duty as a public servant.'

Claim was made that Glover was not and never has been, a member of the Communist Party—or any other conspiracy party; that the Commonwealth Security Services knew that; the Commonwealth Security Services were sufficiently convinced of Mr Glover's harmlessness as a security risk so to advise the Government during the famous passport case; and all that Sergeant Tozer needed to do was ask the Commonwealth about Mr. Glover on the phone to save wasting an afternoon. Far more important was that Sergeant. Tozer's visit and questions 'do in fact carry—despite what Mr Rylah and Mr Porter say—the nasty suggestion of a political inquiry. This sort of thing is all very well in some countries but not in Australia'. It will be interesting to see what form that public reaction takes. It only remains to add, as facts, that;

Mrs Wookey a former member of the Communist Party, signed her original declaration without reading it or checking the names

It was drafted by Mr Scully with the assistance of an officer of the security police named Rosengreen.

Several names were added to the list of "communists" originally supplied by Mrs Wookey. The first she knew of these additions was when she learned that Mr Scully had mentioned them in the Victorian Parliament on November 8 last year.

Among these additional names were the Vicar of S[t]. Peter's, Eastern Hill, Canon F. E. Maynard, Dr Peter Russo, a well-known foreign affairs writer, Mr Cedric Ralph, a well known Melbourne solicitor; and the Reverend N. R. Glover.

None of these is, or ever has been a member of the Communist Party. The Commonwealth Security is aware of this and would, your correspondent suggests, gladly assure the Victorian police—and perhaps even Mr Scully—that this is so.⁸⁵⁸

Letters to the Editor in the *Anglican* of 22 March gave opposing views on Glover's interrogation. Cedric Ralph wrote to congratulate the *Anglican* on 'an excellent article'.

⁸⁵⁸ 'Vicar of St Mathias, North Richmond'.

However, Ralph confirmed that he had been a member of the CPA for 16 years. 'The affidavit read by Mr Scully mention him in circumstances which are completely untrue, i.e. his attendance at a particular place'.⁸⁵⁹ Ralph had been part of the legal team which represented the Communist Party and various unions in the High Court challenge to the Communist Party Dissolution Act, and he was the solicitor for the Communist Party in the Petrov Royal Commission. He also was active in the Communist Party itself and in the broad anti-McCarthyite movement led by the party.⁸⁶⁰ He was obviously supportive of Glover. John E. Yewers felt that the *Anglican* article sought to impugn Mr Scully's public actions and the underlying motive behind his statement in the House on November 8 last—and demanded retraction and identification of our Political Correspondent. The editor of the *Anglican* commented that the paper 'stands by all said (apart from Ralph correction)—if the *Anglican* is wrong they have their remedy. The *Anglican* has never identified correspondents by name—the responsibility is the editor's'. Rev. L. Hill, a Melbourne Anglican priest, presumed 'The Man in the Street', an *Anglican* columnist who had commented supporting Glover, was Mr F. H. Gaunson, a Lay Canon of a Cathedral Church. Hill considered Mr Glover's rights have not been violated.⁸⁶¹ The reply from Mr F. H. Gaunson, who was a Lay Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, angrily answered Hill, asking

...as to why a lay Canon should not be allowed to express an opinion when he sees the beginning of a police state in the treatment given to the Reverend N. Glover. The Primate's delegation to China has confirmed what Glover has said about China...we must ever be on the alert to defend our British rights not sink to the low level of Communistic methods.⁸⁶²

It can be seen from this debate, which the *Anglican* covered in some depth, there was a marked difference in attitudes within the Anglican Communion in Australia to communism. However, there was universal understanding that the Anglican Church needed to grow; whatever strategies were adopted to prevent the spread of communism.

⁸⁵⁹ 'Politics and a Vicar', *Anglican*, no 241, 22 March 1957, 4.

⁸⁶⁰ 'In Tribute to Cedric Ralph', *Vanguard*, December 2007. 8, CPA (Marxist-Leninist) monthly magazine, available online at http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/pdf%20files/Van_3dec07_p08.pdf, accessed 29 March 2009.

⁸⁶¹ *Anglican*, no. 241, 22 March 1957, 4. Hill was the vicar of St Luke's Church, Nth Fitzroy.

⁸⁶² 'Politics and a Vicar', *Anglican*, no. 242, 28 March 1957, 4.

The Merton Hall Crisis of 1957/58

An example of the domestic repercussions of the Cold War in the Anglican church in Australia occurred in Melbourne at a leading Church of England school for girls. Dr Frank Woods was enthroned as archbishop of Melbourne on Tuesday 17 December 1957. His pedigree as a priest was impeccable, coming from a long line of English Anglican clergy, described as 'almost promiscuously episcopal'.⁸⁶³ Archbishop Fisher was instrumental in putting forward his name for election in Melbourne, after Woods' brother Robin, Archdeacon of Singapore, refused the position. Melbourne was being administered during the interregnum by the Co-adjutor-Bishop, J. D. McKie. McKie was an Australian, and despite being considered an able man, did not have the backing of the retiring Archbishop Booth for the position of archbishop. In any case Fisher was known to prefer an Englishman, Fisher advising Woods that he would be best to accept the Melbourne position, as it was unlikely that an English position would be available to him.⁸⁶⁴ Woods arrived in Melbourne with his wife and two daughters, Richenda and Clemence, on the liner *Strathmore* on 13 December 1957. The sons, Theodore and David, remained behind in England to continue their education. 1957 was a testing year for the diocese of Melbourne, and the newly enthroned archbishop was to be challenged almost immediately.

Dr J. R. Darling, an Englishman who had been headmaster of the Geelong Grammar School since 1930, was extremely influential in the Anglican Church in Victoria. Although not a member of the Board of Electors his friendship with Archbishop Fisher enabled him to sway opinions within the church. He had written to Fisher on 11 April 1957 citing the need for a 'really great man... a torchbearer... of the British tradition and the Christian religion... at this crisis'.⁸⁶⁵ Darling had delivered an address 'On Looking Beneath the Surface of Things' to the College of Radiologists of Australasia, in Melbourne on 17 November 1954 which revealed his disquiet regarding communism.⁸⁶⁶ While described as 'somewhat pink' in his

⁸⁶³ Brian Porter, *Frank Woods: Archbishop of Melbourne 1957-77* (Parkville: Trinity College, University of Melbourne, 2007), 31.

⁸⁶⁴ Porter, *Frank Woods*, 19-21.

⁸⁶⁵ Porter, *Frank Woods*, 20. Darling had attended the Repton school of which Fisher had been the headmaster. Fisher stopped by GGS to visit when in Australia in 1950.

⁸⁶⁶ James Ralph Darling, 'On Looking Beneath the Surface of Things', *The Röntgen oration to the College of Radiologists of Australasia*, Melbourne, 17 November 1954, in Michael Collins Persse (ed.), *The Education of a Civilized Man: A Selection of Speeches and Sermons* (Melbourne: F W Cheshire, 1962), available online at <http://www.humancondition.com/essays/DarlingAndTheGoldenThread.html>, accessed 15 April 2008.

political views when he arrived at the Grammar, he accepted the 'conventional overlay' and was 'an eloquent and cogent preacher, candid about his doubts, but clear and convincing about his moral and religious convictions'.⁸⁶⁷ He succeeded in introducing 'changes in curriculum and organisation without fatally offending traditionalists among the school supporters'.⁸⁶⁸ His choice of staff included the radical historians Russel Ward and Manning Clark, and many of the pupils became extremely influential citizens. It was to Darling that Woods turned when a furore developed in the heartland of the Anglican church education for girls in Melbourne, Merton Hall, the Melbourne Church of England Girls Grammar School (MCEGGS).

Merton Hall suffered a crisis after the appointment of an Englishwoman, Miss Edith Mountain, as headmistress in 1957. Dorothy Ross had been headmistress of the school since 1938, and was revered by some, but denigrated by others as her educational methods were 'modern'. Pupils were involved in the governance of the school, including the School Council. Ross invited Mrs Gwenda Lloyd to rejoin the staff in 1940. Lloyd was 'to the left' of Ross both academically and politically.⁸⁶⁹ Her husband, John Lloyd, had belonged to the CPA.⁸⁷⁰ Ross and Lloyd both belonged to the New Education Fellowship, Lloyd was passionate about Social Studies as a discipline; which did not comply with traditional thought. Ross backed Lloyd's 'innovations and defended her against attack by conservative parents and clergy'.⁸⁷¹ Ross was in a relationship with another headmistress in Melbourne [Mary Davis], unlikely to gain approval for her in the middle-class society which comprised most of the school's students.⁸⁷² Doubts grew among 'the Anglican hierarchy, some Old Girls and some parents that Ross, and the school, had 'gone too far forward to the 'left''.⁸⁷³ The political climate of the times saw letters arrive 'indicating an undercurrent of unhappiness among conservative Anglicans with the changes in post-war Melbourne which they found reflected in MCEGGS'. The archbishop [Booth] was remembered by one ex-student as referring, in Assembly, to rumours that 'the staff at the school being involved in communism

⁸⁶⁷ Collins Persse (ed.), *The Education of a Civilized Man*.

⁸⁶⁸ Falk, *D. J.*, 67.

⁸⁶⁹ Falk, *D. J.*, 100.

⁸⁷⁰ Falk, 'Lloyd, Gwendoline...'. Co-incidentally Lloyd was godmother to Communist lawyer Cedric Ralph's daughter, Penny.

⁸⁷¹ Falk, *D. J.*, 101

⁸⁷² Falk, *D. J.*, 144-146.

⁸⁷³ Falk, *D. J.*, 109.

and asking anyone who heard this to report to him or the School Council'.⁸⁷⁴ Ross felt that 'the time to leave was becoming closer', and in mid-year 1954 advised the School Council of her intention to retire. At the end of 1955, after being involved in the documentation of the school she built in a film, *Living and Learning Together*, she left MCEEGS. A brief note can be found in the reflections on 100 years by the Old Grammarians, immediately following a report by the President, Lady Dixon (nee Alice Brooksbank) on the Coronation, that 'In 1955, Miss Ross retired as Headmistress'. Alice Dixon was representative of the social strata from which the Grammar students came. Note was also made:

Miss Sylvia Martin became acting head in 1956 until the appointment of Miss Edith Mountain in 1957. Miss Mountain was welcomed to the School with a large garden party where she met Old Grammarians, parents and dignitaries.⁸⁷⁵

Ross was involved in the choice of the new headmistress. She interviewed Edith Mountain while in England on a round the world trip she and Mary Davis had taken. Before this trip she was dismayed to find she was to be excluded from entering America, a result of the ASIO files compiled on her. She was amazed at the detail the man in charge of issuing visas for America had on her.⁸⁷⁶ Mary Davis had no problem, but the files on Ross dated from 1926 and it was not until 1962 that surveillance on her ceased.⁸⁷⁷ She was granted a visa, after justifying her attendance at two meetings considered suspect by the security services. Ross had cause to regret her endorsement of Edith Mountain as a suitable replacement of her as headmistress. By the time Mountain assume her duties in the third term of 1957 the interregnum had been long, the changes Mountain wished to make unacceptable to those staff used to a more democratic style of leadership, as was the imposition of an autocratic style of English leadership. Barbara Falk, who had experience at Merton Hall as a member of staff and was now the head of Mercer House teacher training college knew of the problems besetting Merton Hall, and sought an interview with Dr Woods, the new archbishop of Melbourne. Falk hoped that she might have given 'a professional

⁸⁷⁴ Falk, *D. J.*, 110.

⁸⁷⁵ Lorna Mitchell and Venetia Patchett, 'A Century Celebrated: A Short History of the Old Grammarians Society - Celebrating 100 Years of the Old Grammarians Society - 1904-2004.', (Melbourne: Old Grammarians Society, 2004), available online

http://www.mggs.vic.edu.au/oldgrammarianssociety/OGS/A_Century_Celebrated.pdf, accessed 10 March 2008.

⁸⁷⁶ Epstein, *A Golden String*, 82.

⁸⁷⁷ See NAA: A6119/79, Dorothy Jean Ross, 1926-1962.

appraisal from a perspective to which he might not otherwise have access'.⁸⁷⁸ Woods received Falk in the company of Dr Darling of GGS. Falk labelled the meeting a 'courteous three-way discussion', which 'did not succeed as an attempt at mediation'.⁸⁷⁹

Ross became embroiled in the 'crisis', since her connections with the school were still strong. Mountain eventually issued an ultimatum, notices posted on 8 October 1958 on all Common Room Boards, and boards read by pupils, which demanded that staff sign a letter before 1.45 p.m. in the boardroom. This letter 'affirmed loyalty to Miss Mountain and the school and expressed complete confidence in Miss Mountain's administration'.⁸⁸⁰ This was an affront to fifteen senior mistresses who resigned. However these resignations were delayed until after Mountain delivered a policy speech on 15 October. Since this speech did not engender 'complete confidence in Miss Mountain's administration', the resignations were confirmed and additional names added. In a letter on 13 November to Valentine Leeper, a longtime supporter of Christian democracy as the basis for schooling at MCEGGS, Ross advised that she had attempted 'to keep out as well as I can' and that 'Gwenda [Lloyd] wrote a splendid letter to the Archbishop, but it only aroused ill-feelings unfortunately'.⁸⁸¹ Ross was approached by her ex-colleagues who had resigned; Ross apportioned the blame for the situation on the church for mismanaging the situation. She felt the weighting of clergy on the Council led to the matter being considered in the light of rumours, instead as 'the purely educational matter' it was.⁸⁸² This view appears justified when considering the mores of the time and the conservative attitude to anyone who might be suspect of overly liberal attitudes towards communism, especially in the heartland of conservative Melbourne. Woods came down strongly on the side of the new English headmistress. The resultant problems for MCEGGS, pupils withdrawn, staff resignations, indicate that a more conciliatory attitude would have achieved a better result. The matter is glossed over in accounts of Wood's

⁸⁷⁸ Falk, *D. J.*, 121.

⁸⁷⁹ Falk, *D. J.*, 121.

⁸⁸⁰ Falk, *D. J.*, 122.

⁸⁸¹ Falk, *D. J.*, 124. Valentine Leeper was the daughter of Dr Alexander Leeper, Warden of Trinity College, well known for her letter writing. See Marion Poynter, *Nobody's Valentine: Letters in the Life of Valentine Alexa Leeper, 1900-2001* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2008). An Old Grammarian, Leeper's life has been the subject of much academic study.

⁸⁸² Falk, *D. J.*, 124-125.

episcopate, but remains a contentious issue in an otherwise laudatory occupation of Bishopcourt in the see of Melbourne.⁸⁸³

Developments in the Roman Catholic camp

Ballarat, a bastion of Labor politics, was the electorate represented by Robert Joshua, and was involved in the debacle for the ALP in 1955, the much discussed 'Split' of the anti-communist Labor members. Joshua had been an ALP MHR, President of the local branch of the ALP in Ballarat, as well as a lay reader and vestryman in the Ballarat Diocese, where he had lived since 1946. His religious experience was varied, he married his Roman Catholic wife in 1929, but eventually became a devout Anglican as he could not accept 'some key elements' of his wife's faith. His political persuasions also changed after returning from WW2, he became a member of the ALP after previously holding conservative views. However, he also became a firm anti-communist, a commitment which led him to be one of the six ALP members expelled from the party in April 1955. Joshua spurned any assistance from the communists in the 1951 election. In 1955 he also rejected Menzies' offer to not field a Liberal candidate in Ballarat, acceptance of which would have most likely assured him of re-election.⁸⁸⁴

Joshua assumed the leadership of the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) from its inception. While suspicions were held that the appointment of one so committed to the Anglican Church was to camouflage the Roman Catholic base of the Anti-Communist Labor Party, and the DLP which developed from it,⁸⁸⁵ Joshua was a person of firm principle. E. G. Whitlam has remarked that Joshua managed to 'hold himself aloof from the extremes of bitterness and vituperation which characterised these tempestuous times'.⁸⁸⁶ For others, 'Robert Joshua was an Anglican whose wife and six children were Catholic and who was a convenient token Protestant for the new Australian Labor Party (Anti-Communist), soon

⁸⁸³ For example: Brian Porter, *Frank Woods: Archbishop of Melbourne 1957-77* (Parkville: Trinity College, University of Melbourne, 2007), see also review of Porter's book by Peter Sherlock, available online http://www.melbourne.anglican.com.au/main.php?pg=news&news_id=7628&s=6071 accessed 20 August 2010.

⁸⁸⁴ Geoff Browne, 'Joshua, Robert (1906-1970)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 14 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 589-590.

⁸⁸⁵ See Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 243-249, for a summary of Catholic involvement in the formation of the DLP.

⁸⁸⁶ Browne, 'Joshua, Robert (1906-1970)'.

renamed the Democratic Labor Party (DLP).⁸⁸⁷ His aversion to Evatt is a matter of record; Joshua considered Evatt 'not fit to lead' the ALP and said that the 'hallmark' of Evatt's activities was 'assistance for and sympathy with Communist ideas...That is why I thoroughly distrust him'.⁸⁸⁸ Certainly this was most evident in Parliament, but carried over to the pages of the church papers.

The *Anglican* carried many references to the Joshua/Evatt bitterness, although Evatt did not engage Joshua in the pages of the *Anglican*. The *Anglican* also carried many references to the Roman Catholic opposition to communism, and the perception that the Roman Catholic Church was attempting to occupy the moral high ground in the fight against communism. The editorial written regarding 'Rome and Communism' on 6 May 1955 claimed that Roman Catholicism was:

... as bad as that it would replace. The present situation in the Labour party is because of RC involvement in the first place. Its only strategy to defeat communism is to offer itself as a substitute candidate. Freedom is the answer to communism. We are not content for a minority to take control of national life. The Church of Rome is not the only group fighting communism. There are many of us outside their ranks fighting it just as earnestly but with British weapons instead of a stiletto.⁸⁸⁹

The Church and Nation column featured a 'Statement issued by RC bishops. The Church is not concerned with party politics as such'. The writer of the column considered 'Actions in giving Episcopal blessing on the Industrial Groups fighting communist have enmeshed the Church into party politics in Australia'.⁸⁹⁰ However under the heading of Evatt and Joshua, Dr Evatt came in for criticism. '2 labour members from each camp were suspended last week in Parliament. Joshua spoke on Foreign policy; he is now the leader of the anti-labour party. Evatt should control his members who sniped at Joshua'.⁸⁹¹ The disapproval of the Church and Nation column for both sides in the blood-letting showed with reference to: 'Venomous speeches and conflict between the two sides of the Labour party'. The main cause was identified as the schism, but the columnist was critical of attacks on people outside of the Parliament by one or two opportunists. One remark was made inside the House last week,

⁸⁸⁷ Roger C. Thompson, *Religion in Australia: A History: Australian Retrospectives* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 105.

⁸⁸⁸ Browne, 'Joshua, Robert (1906-1970)'.

⁸⁸⁹ 'Rome and communism', *Anglican*, no. 143, 6 May 1955, editorial, 4. This quote is an example of the well-recorded bias of Anglicans toward immigrants from Roman Catholic countries such as Italy.

⁸⁹⁰ 'Church and Nation', *Anglican*, no. 143, 6 May 1955.

⁸⁹¹ 'Church and Nation'.

while debating a Housing bill, which quite scurrilously identified a Melbourne newspaper commentator on foreign affairs, as 'being a communist agent'. A Point of Order brought the ruling that that was up the members' taste on making remarks on 'outsiders'⁸⁹²

There had been some who wished the Anglican church to be openly active in politics. The *Anglican* advocated avoidance of the problems it saw with the overt identification of the church with politics. It identified the 1955 Victorian Election result (favourable to the Liberal Party) as

...a warning to those hot heads who have advocated the formation of a "Protestant" political party in which the Church of England was to be involved. There is no toleration of the view by the *Anglican*. The Prime Minister has received the benefit of the preference votes—for which he has worked hard for some time past, under the influence of secret and alien forces outside the Liberal party. There is need for parties to present policies which show no suspicion of sectarian influence'.⁸⁹³

In September Church and Nation was again critical of both the 'Evatt and Joshua labour contingents feuding on air via Parliament. They were raising urgency motions designed only for propaganda effect'.⁸⁹⁴ While Joshua lost the 1955 election, which removed him from Parliament, the bickering which continued displayed the ambivalence Anglicans held toward one of their own who openly supported the Roman Catholic dominated Democratic Labor Party. Francis James, whose Anglican partisanship was well known, had been acting as editor of the *Anglican* during 1958 while his wife, Joyce, was on sick leave.⁸⁹⁵ In May 1958 J. A. Stanforth, of Portland, who described himself as an active layman in the church wrote:

...objects to Joshua's references to Dr Evatt MP and the ALP, as reported in the Melbourne Press, that "the ALP policies were traitorous, treacherous and despicable and against the interests of Australia". Mr. Joshua is a churchwarden in one of the Anglican Churches in Ballarat. We would not want the Anglican Church to be like the Roman Catholic Church but we should be pleased that Dr Evatt is a God-fearing, active Anglican layman'. Stanforth referred to Cessnock last year [when Evatt supported a Church pledge campaign]. Many thousands of Christians have supported the ALP policy solely because of its direct affinity to the teachings of Christ.⁸⁹⁶

This letter brought a salvo from Joshua, which left no doubt of his feelings:

⁸⁹² *Anglican*, no. 146, 27 May 1955, 4.

⁸⁹³ 'Sectarianism in Politics', *Anglican*, no.146, 27 May 1955. Some Anglican priests did get involved in politics, for example Rev. N. Hill's pamphlet issued by the League of Rights, see note 777.

⁸⁹⁴ *Anglican*, no. 162, 16 September 1955, 4.

⁸⁹⁵ *Anglican*, no. 339, 6 February 1959.

⁸⁹⁶ 'Letters', *Anglican*, no. 301, 16 May 1958, 5.

The Evatt party has helped the communists. Policies such as withholding aid to the Malaysians to fight terrorists, repeated hate and discouragement to our friends of the USA, recognition of Red China, discouragement of trade with Japan as it was likely to react against communist plans in Asia, a 'smokescreen' for the rape of Hungary, opposition to alliances which strengthen our independence as a nation, such as SEATO. At home, the Hurseys, proposals made that weaken our internal defence preparedness, court-controlled ballots opposed, as they are democratically held and react against communist ballot rigging, unity tickets to help communists to get elected to trade-unions executives have consistently been arranged and condoned by the Evatt Party, three years from 1955—consistent refusal by the Evatt party to introduce any practical method of dealing with communists in trade unions. ... the policies of the Evatt Party are traitorous, treacherous, despicable, pro-communist and against the people of Australia. Evatt being photographed with the Bishop of Newcastle irrelevant, he also has been photographed with the Pope, the Evatt Party use any and every Church activity if some political capital can be made from it. ... it is nothing less than my Christian duty to say so... Christians will be warned against unwittingly supporting satanic, godless communism.⁸⁹⁷

The *Anglican* letter page received yet more defence of Evatt, from Rev. William Childs, who held:

... strong objection to Joshua's inference. Evatt has attended before, was brought up in the parish of St Peter's East Maitland, where mother and boys sang in the choir. He received his religious training in the faith of the Church of England with its wide conception of tolerance, freedom and sense of fair play.⁸⁹⁸

This correspondence preceded the Federal Election held 22 November 1958. The Church and Nation columnist predicted, correctly, that 'Dr Evatt will not be returned November 22 due to the widespread nomination of DLP candidates'.⁸⁹⁹ Archbishop Mowll died on 24 October. The leader in the *Anglican* extolled Mowll and recorded Mowll's support for the *Anglican*, claiming Mowll approved of news being the focus of the paper, but did not want 'official' control as that would kill the paper.⁹⁰⁰ The dominance of Mowll was recognised, as was his 'wise and kindly leadership'. Work 'must go on so Synod will be held next week'. Evatt again came in for criticism; he had 'put his head on a platter' for the DLP

⁸⁹⁷ 'Letters', Robert Joshua, *Anglican*, no. 304, 6 June 1958, 5. The Hurseys were a father and son who refused to pay a Waterside Workers Union levy. The ensuing battle continued until 1959 when the High Court eventually found in favour of the unions. See Peter Jones, Cold War Period, *The companion to Tasmanian History*, available online http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/C/Cold%20War%20period.htm accessed 20 April 2009.

⁸⁹⁸ 'Letters', *Anglican*, no. 305, 13 June 1958, 5.

⁸⁹⁹ Church and Nation, *Anglican*, no. 324, 24 October 1958, 4.

⁹⁰⁰ 'Death of Primate', *Anglican*, no. 325, 31 October 1958, front page.

in return for second preferences, together with his determination 'not to meet with Senator Cole'.⁹⁰¹ Evatt paid his own tribute to Dr Mowll, despite his preoccupation with the election. Evatt recalled an occasion he had tea with Mowll at a church opening; when Mowll said he left 'all the politics to Armidale [Bishop Moyes] and Canberra/Goulburn [Bishop Burgmann]'.⁹⁰² Dr Woods, the archbishop of Melbourne, preached at the Sydney synod sermon the following week, as he had been previously requested to do by the late primate. In this sermon he noted that 'Melbourne was not quite happy about its Archbishop [himself] for one reason or another [the Merton Hall dispute], and that Sir Arthur Fadden claimed 'that Menzies has God on his side', inferring that Evatt did not.⁹⁰³

Both Labor and the DLP paid the *Anglican* to carry large advertisements for the election—Labor was the 'the real enemy of communism'⁹⁰⁴—while the DLP claimed 'Evatt Labor Hypocrisy: ALP men with communists on unity tickets today'.⁹⁰⁵ Bishop Moyes was acting as Metropolitan until Mowll's successor was named. Attention was drawn to Dr Evatt on television 'showing the strain of illness'.⁹⁰⁶ When Evatt did lose the election it was bluntly claimed that Evatt should step down.⁹⁰⁷ Such incursions into political comment in a church paper sat uneasily with some Anglicans, both clerical and laity. Canon R. Border of Canberra wrote to the *Anglican* to point out:

... the splits in the Roman Catholic Church through the political partisanship of some of its bishops. So far Australia has escaped anti-clericalism. It is to be hoped that the leaders of the Roman Church will so conduct themselves as to ensure the absence of this menace to both Church and State.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰¹ Senator Cole was a Tasmania senator who joined the Anti-Communist Labor and DLP. He was a member of the controversial Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs formed by the Menzies' Government: see Derek Drinkwater, 'Membership of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1952-1967', in *Papers on Parliament No. 23: September 1994: Parliaments and Constitutions under scrutiny* (Canberra: Government of Australia, 1994), available online at <http://www.aph.gov.au/SENATE/pubs/pops/pop23/c01.pdf> accessed 20 April 2009.

⁹⁰² 'Tribute from Dr Evatt', *Anglican*, no. 327, 14 November 1958, 9

⁹⁰³ 'Church and Nation', *Anglican*, no. 326, 7 November 1958, 4. Archbishop Woods had been involved in the unfortunate dispute at Merton Hall—as MCEGGS was called.

⁹⁰⁴ 'Church and Nation', *Anglican*, no. 326, 7 November 1958, 11.

⁹⁰⁵ *Anglican*, no. 328, 21 November 1958, 11.

⁹⁰⁶ Church and Nation, *Anglican*, no. 328, 21 November 1958, 4.

⁹⁰⁷ *Anglican*, no. 329, 28 November 1958, 4.

⁹⁰⁸ *Anglican*, no. 333, 25 December 1958, 5.

The 'Brave Roman Catholic Coadjutor Simmonds' (of Melbourne) was praised for stating that he was unconnected with the incursions of the Roman Catholic church—the involvement of Dr Mannix into Federal politics the previous November. The Anglican church is here perceived as the conscience of the nation in politics.⁹⁰⁹ It was at this stage Joyce James resumed editorship of the paper, after an illness which had lasted from August 1957.⁹¹⁰ The *Anglican* continued to insist that Dr Evatt was unsuitable as a leader of the ALP, even after his election victory for leader of the party over Eddie Ward.⁹¹¹

The attention paid by the church papers to Billy Graham's Crusade will be shown to be significant. Additionally the Anglican Communion did have its own 'missioners' who were influential and whose visits received publicity. Church leaders saw the value of the *Anglican*, Bishop Johnson of Ballarat warned against 'thinking of the Church as a business venture'. He also recognised:

... the need for Church papers. The *Anglican* endeavours to present both sides of a problem, to comment from a Christian point of view, and admit when it is wrong. The world is in a bad way—the Church can only proclaim the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments. There are signs that men are turning back to God for redemption. How else to explain the success of Billy Graham's the Gospel of Redemption?⁹¹²

There was no compromise from the Menzies' Government regarding recognition of Red China, regardless of the visit of the Mowll delegation. The Minister for External Affairs, the Hon. R. G. Casey, found disfavour with the *Anglican* when he expressly excluded Red China from the recently established Australia-Asia Council. The *Anglican* asked 'Why, when relations with Russia are slowly being re-established after the Petrov Affair? Archbishop Fisher was quoted. 'Everything which touches the life of the nation is the concern of the Christian' as if to justify the avid interest the *Anglican* held in the affairs of the nation. The Prime Minister received criticism for being out of Australia for two months. Evatt was again mentioned, 'Nothing heard from Dr Evatt who has not regained his health after his illness during the election'.⁹¹³ Evatt 'seems still unwell' on 7 August, but his hour-long visit to the Anglican offices in Sydney to meet with the bishop of Coventry, Dr Cuthbert Bardsley, English President of the Church of England Men's Society (CEMS), received publicity on 14 August.

⁹⁰⁹ *Anglican*, no. 334 2 January 1959, 4.

⁹¹⁰ *Anglican*, no. 339, 6 February 1959, front page.

⁹¹¹ Church and Nation, *Anglican*, no. 341, 20 February 1959, 4.

⁹¹² *Anglican*, no. 349, 17 Apr 1959, 10.

⁹¹³ *Anglican*, no. 360, 3 July 1959, 4.

Bardsley was conducting a CEMS mission in Australia. Melbourne was 'viewed as the live centre of the movement in Australia'. His mission drew a crowd of 5,000 men to the West Melbourne stadium, where the 'intense appeal of committed lives as against nominal Christianity caused some 300 men to remain behind for an act of dedication'. The bishop of Armidale [Moyes], and the archbishop of Melbourne [Woods] supported Bardsley. 800 men attended the Ararat rally for the Ballarat Diocese on July 31. 1,000 men attended Bendigo's City Hall, where the bishop of Bendigo chaired the meeting with the bishop of Armidale who again attended with Bardsley. Bardsley's message 'Tanks could not fight communism, which was like a London fog seeping unobtrusively. The only thing was a strong faith—the Christian religion', caused several hundred men to stay behind and receive a card to rededicate themselves to Christ and to work for his church.⁹¹⁴ This mission reinforced the emphasis of the Anglican Communion—faith was the weapon which would defeat communism. The *Anglican* chose Bardsley as the 'Anglican of the Week' with the comment that he had the right legs for gaiters.⁹¹⁵

The very great difference between the two premier Anglican church papers was displayed with the emphasis placed on national politics by the *Anglican*—which did endeavour to publish opinions from readers with varying stances—but had obvious sympathies as displayed, in just one instance, by the importance the paper placed on the recognition of Red China. There was intense and undignified antagonism between the two papers—and certainly bishops, depending on their churchmanship, favoured one publication over the other. The *ACR* was avidly anti-communist—the publication of the Dr Schwartz material, and in particular the booklet condensing those articles the *ACR* offered for sale revealed this.⁹¹⁶ While Mowll was alive there was a measure of control over this stance, the appointment of Dr Gough as archbishop of Sydney and election as primate allowed his anti-communism to hold sway.⁹¹⁷ The Anglican Communion in Australia went into the 1960s with a decided swing toward support for anti-communism from its primate.

⁹¹⁴ *Anglican*, no. 366, 14 August 1959, 4.

⁹¹⁵ *Anglican*, no. 366, 14 August 1959, 6. Each week an Anglican was selected for this page, previous recipients included Rev. Doug Dargaville and Dr Darling. Gaiters were not common dress for Australian bishops.

⁹¹⁶ 'The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism', *ACR*, 9 June 1955, 13. This collection contained a foreword by Archbishop Mowll, 'it underlines the menace'.

⁹¹⁷ 'The State of the Church in China', *ACR*, 9 December 1959, 3.

An International Church: Dargaville's World Tour of 1958

The American influence on the Anglican Church in Australia increased, mirroring other areas of Australian life. As the decade slipped by, more contact was made with the Episcopal church. Archbishop's Booth description of PECUSA after Evanston and Minnesota revealed that the American church was regarded by some members of the Anglican Communion as a source of new life. The US clergy that had visited Australia included Kenneth Street's cousin, Bishop Charles Street of Chicago, from 11 August to 1 September 1955.⁹¹⁸ Another bishop, W. H. Gray also made an 'encompassing visit' to West Australia in 1955.⁹¹⁹ The success that PECUSA appeared to achieve with Youth Ministry particularly interested Rev. Bob Dann, appointed Director of Youth and Religious Education for the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne in 1946.⁹²⁰ He had visited the USA in 1947 and was impressed with the American church. His appointment to St Matthew's Cheltenham as vicar in 1951 saw a resurgence in parish life there. This resurgence was assisted by the adoption of the Well's campaign methods which assisted in his efforts to revitalise his parish.

...the decision was made for a Wells every-member canvass. ... It was the American way with its theology of Christian stewardship that lay behind the extraordinary revolution that demolished our miserly habits of giving in 1954. The financial situation at St Matthew's was transformed⁹²¹

Dann vacated St Matthews on 11 November 1956 for appointments to other parishes in Melbourne. He was appointed Director of Evangelism and Extension in 1963 which ensured the continuance of the US methods in Melbourne, particularly use of the material published by the US General Board of Religious Education (GBRE). The Rev. Douglas Dargaville was despatched on a study tour in 1958 by Dann, who was then Deputy Chairman of the Department of Youth and Religious Education. This round the world working tour included North America, Europe and the Middle East and India, in order that the diocese could

⁹¹⁸ 'Another US clergy to visit', *Anglican*, no. 156, 5 August 1955, 6.

⁹¹⁹ 'More US Clergy to visit', *Anglican*, no.155, 25 July 1955, 1.

⁹²⁰ Other Melbourne clergy had travelled previously overseas seeking answers to problems in 'industrial parishes', see John Rickards, *An Assemblage of Decent Men and Women: A History of the Anglican Parish of St Mary's North Melbourne* (St Mary's Anglican Church; North Melbourne 2008), 96-97.

⁹²¹ 'Robert William Dann, Vicar', *City of Kingston*, Kingston historical website, available online <http://localhistory.kingston.vic.gov.au/html/article/77.htm> accessed 15 February 2009.

incorporate into their programs the latest developments overseas.⁹²² The tour is important for the impressions Dargaville was able to form of attitudes among the world-wide Anglican Communion towards communism as well as the importance of changes which affected the functioning of ministry within the church. Dargaville departed from Melbourne on 16 June 1958, and was away until 4 February 1959. The comments of an Australian Anglican travelling abroad at that time in an official capacity are important particularly since he was able to meet with other denominations as well as those in the Anglican Communion, and his impressions of well-known religious identities are invaluable.⁹²³ It is also apt that his tour finished just prior to Billy Graham's Crusade in Australia. Dargaville's trip diary shows that there was some disquiet among those he met regarding both Graham's activities as well as those of the communist movement.

Dargaville had been a Youth delegate to the WCC Executive Consultation in Sydney from Wednesday 1 February to Saturday 4 February in 1956. His notes of that event show him to be a discerning Anglican who held sympathetic views of the aims of the WCC, as well as being capable of pragmatic analysis. As we know, both the archbishop of Canterbury and Mowll, the primate of Australia, were supportive of the aims of the WCC. The Sydney Consultation was attended by the Central Executive of the WCC as well as 100 Australian church leaders. At the end of the four days consultation a Festival of Faith evening was held at the Sydney Showgrounds. The Festival was attended by twenty five thousand people, with the official party including such luminaries as Prime Minister Menzies, Dr Evatt, Leader of the Opposition, Queen Salote of Tonga, the Lord Mayor of Sydney, the Governor of New South Wales, the Premier of New South Wales and fifteen members of the WCC Central Executive.⁹²⁴ The format of the meetings was WCC consultations during the day with public meetings in the evening. Dr Hromádka and Bishop Diebelius both spoke regarding differences between the nations, and projected that national differences should be disregarded so that individual Christians were be able to work towards the establishment of the union of churches across national borders.⁹²⁵ Dargaville observed that the press concentrated on these two churchmen, who were attempting to cope with church life within communist jurisdiction.

⁹²² Rev. Dann was an outstanding priest, from very humble beginnings, who rose through the hierarchy to become archbishop of Melbourne in 1977. See Rev. Michael Jobling, 'Robert Dann – the compassionate outsider', Eulogy, *TMA* (The Melbourne Anglican), 16 April 2008, 5.

⁹²³ Bennett had been a critic of communism, some changes in his position were reported by Dargaville.

⁹²⁴ 'Record Crowds hears World Church Leaders', *ACR*, vol 21, no. 3, 16 February 1956, front page.

⁹²⁵ 'Voices from Europe', *ACR*, vol 21, no. 3, 16 February 1956, 4.

Hromádka shunned publicity. Dargaville felt 'this was understandable since the press treated him as a plaything, prying into every detail of his life to see how far he is a communist'. Rev. Eric Owen, who had had previous contact with Hromádka on his visit in 1954, tried to protect him 'from this embarrassment'.⁹²⁶ The Consultation emphasised Australia's position in the region. The Chinese church was discussed; WCC General Secretary Visser 't Hooft commented that it was introverted, and neglected what was happening in the rest of the world. The Chinese situation was not the same as in Europe, the revolution had led to nationalisation of the church. The Chinese government was trying to limit the activity of the church. Further examination of the Churches and Nations by Dr Liston Pope, Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at Yale University,⁹²⁷ blamed nationalism for the rise of both communism and McCarthyism. 'Every nation says peace, peace, when it means to say let me have my way.' He felt the churches were failing in the task of reconciliation. Dr Nolde, who was the first permanent Director of Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA), a body very involved with the United Nations,⁹²⁸ spoke pessimistically regarding progress in resolving ideological conflicts. He advocated a new peace movement 'which must work right down to Parish level, operating on the principle of responsibility, not on unhealthy individuality or blind partisanship'.⁹²⁹

Dargaville kept meticulous notes of his fact finding tour in 1958. The notes reveal attitudes to the USA as well as communism across the world. As discussed previously, stress was placed by Anglican churchmen on the necessity of fighting communism by growth and

⁹²⁶ Douglas Dargaville, 'WCC Executive Consultation, 1956', unpublished notes. I thank Rev. Dargaville for allowing me access to this material.

⁹²⁷ Samuel S. Hill et alia, *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South* (Macon GA USA: Mercer University Press, 1984, 3rd edition 1997), 598.

⁹²⁸ World Council of Churches, 'History and Overview of WCC Relations with the UN.' (2004), available online at <http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/international/un-hist.html>, accessed 12 April 2009. Professor Nolde was part of the non-governmental observer component the USA decided to include in its delegation to the San Francisco Conference in which religious groups and labor unions were well represented. At a crucial point, Prof. O. Fredrick Nolde, speaking on behalf of this group, argued successfully for adjustments. The CCIA was set up under the joint sponsorship of the WCC and the International Missionary Council to ensure an effective relationship between the churches and the leadership of the United Nations. In the same year, the CCIA was recognized as one of the first non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to be granted status with the United Nations organisation. This status is still maintained.

⁹²⁹ Dargaville, 'WCC Executive Consultation'.

reinforcement of faith among the Anglican Communion.⁹³⁰ The priority that the recently enthroned archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Frank Woods, gave to education could be viewed in this light; 'Education of the laity in the faith, Christian education of the young and theological education particularly in the preparation of candidates for ordination'.⁹³¹ Wood's 1958 Synod charge, in March 1958, 'gave space to the new movement of Parish Life Conferences, to the Young Anglican Fellowship and to the importance of the General Board of Religious Education set up by General Synod'.⁹³² While fighting communism was not in Dargaville's brief, his comments as he travelled reveal that the subject of communism was never far from the minds of those with whom he spoke. Dargaville attended the annual summer meeting sponsored by Christian Social Action in New York on 10 July 1958. The theme for this meeting was *WAR ON PEACE IN A NUCLEAR AGE: A CHRISTIAN APPRAISAL*. The panellists were John C. Bennett,⁹³³ Kenneth Thompson, and William Kirkland. Dargaville noted that 'they gave some interesting sidelights on American politics, and enlightened Christian thinking here'.⁹³⁴ He highlights that 'they did stress, without much pride' the censoring of information to the press. The achievements of the USSR were ignored, while those of the USA were exaggerated. Dargaville also commented that Eisenhower's personal assistant was being investigated at that time, casting doubt on the Christian qualities 'the press would have us believe' Eisenhower possessed. The panellists considered the United Nations unsuitable to deal with the Cold War. A surprise for Dargaville was John Bennett's doubt of the 'efficacy of rearmament' as a measure to contain communism.⁹³⁵ Dargaville's overall impression was that 'there was more misunderstanding of communist countries through fear here than in Australia. He also found an interest from some other churchmen regarding Australia, its churches and political attitudes. In turn, he was also asked regarding subjects pertinent to Australia. A conversation with Byron Jay, a 'Southern Baptist with Anglican

⁹³⁰ Even 'socialist' churchman Bishop Burgmann offered the view that 'Communism is the judgement of God on the sins of us Christians who have left undone those things we ought to have done', according to *The Church Standard* review of his book, *Christianity and Communism (The communist way of life and the Christians Answer)*, Angus & Robertson Syd. 11/6d, in the second last edition ever printed of *The Church Standard*, vol. XL, no. 2060, 25 July 1952.

⁹³¹ Porter, *Frank Woods*, 79.

⁹³² Porter, *Frank Woods*, 80.

⁹³³ See Bennett, *Christianity and Communism Today*. Bennett updated his original 1948 book in 1960.

⁹³⁴ Douglas Dargaville, 'Travel Diary - A. D. Dargaville - 1958-9'. I am grateful to Rev. Dargaville for allowing me access to his unpublished diary.

⁹³⁵ See Bennett, *Christianity and Communism Today*.

leanings', revealed that the Southern Baptist church as a whole is completely anti-World Council of Churches, while local congregations support it. The church also gives 'a very cool reception' to Billy Graham. Jay claimed Graham's conversion from Presbyterianism was strategic, as was his attachment to the Dallas, Texas, congregation, hundreds of miles from his home, and quite a distance from his headquarters in Washington.⁹³⁶

Dargaville was very immersed in the task he came to America to do, which necessitated ecumenical contacts in addition to those with the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was a member of the Anglican Communion.⁹³⁷ He was enrolled for a live-in summer school at the Union Theological Seminary, an ecumenical graduate college attached to Columbia University in New York. His observations of Professor John Bennett's comments are insightful. Bennett is described as an astute thinker who presented a clear analysis of the present international situation. The 'tremendous blow' to the pride of the American people caused by the Russian Sputnik launch was apparent to Dargaville. Bennett is quoted as claiming the process of communism is 'manageable' and that most US politicians did not believe this.⁹³⁸ Dargaville also identified a differing factor in church life in Australia to that in the USA after attending a lecture on 'The future prospects of American Protestantism'. In the USA the Anglicans, a small group, were 'lumped into this category'. There was a general air of 'congregationalism' but no 'heart-searching over the disunity of the Church'.⁹³⁹ Indeed a difference to Australia, where Anglicans predominated.

Dargaville also did take opportunity where he could to meet those outside the churches. He also commented on those matters occupying the attention of the press. He rated the *New York Times* as revealing American interests as:

International affairs	(if they affect the Cold War)	1
Baseball		2

⁹³⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 18.

⁹³⁷ The Episcopal Church eventually officially dropped 'Protestant' in common usage in 1979, as that bore connotations of anti-catholicism rather than anti-papist. The prayer book (Book of Common Prayer) in 1927 uses 'Protestant', see the BCP of 1979 'Episcopal Church'. The American Revolution forced the formation of the church, as the priests could not swear fealty to the monarch. The church considers itself *via media* between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as does the rest of the Anglican Communion. For further information on the Episcopal Church see <http://www.episcopalchurch.org>. Dargaville comments that the Church developed from the Scottish Episcopal Church, with whom the Church maintained close relations after the revolution. See Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 41.

⁹³⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 23. (underline in original).

⁹³⁹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 24.

Internal Politics	3
"Going one better than the Russians" whether it be in technology or art or sport	4
Communication (turnpikes, subways, airways)	5
Racketeering	6

Little interest was shown in Asian affairs, and 'no interest in Australia (save for its runners, tennis players and the platypuses recently acquired for the Bronx Zoo).⁹⁴⁰

Dargaville was able to present a picture of Australia and the Australian church in a talk entitled 'Australian Church—Western Past, Asian Destiny' to the New York University Canterbury Club on 15 August, the last day of the summer school. Surprise was expressed that Sydney diocese was the largest outside Britain, with about a million Anglicans. New York had 120,000 communicants. Other differences were noted, particularly that in America 'it is the 'done thing' to attend Church'.⁹⁴¹ It was not until he was attending an Episcopal conference in Oberlin, Ohio, on 23 August he heard any real news of Australia, from a fellow conference member, that Australia was to admit a quota of Asian immigrants. He and Celestine Fernando of Ceylon arrived at the conclusion that Australia could play a significant role in Asia, as it was 'not suspect of imperialistic trends in the same way as UK and USA are suspect'.⁹⁴²

Comment is made throughout the diary regarding the lack of knowledge of Americans had of Australia. As well, Dargaville was often asked for his opinion of America. He recounts being 'collared' by Bishop Huggins of Rhode Island to give a 'thumbnail sketch of the Australian Church'. The bishop had noted the way the Australian bishops 'gravitated towards the Americans' while at Lambeth. This led Huggins to conclude there was a 'close similarity' between the two branches of the Anglican Communion, with which Dargaville concurred.⁹⁴³ The growing liaison between the branches has been noted earlier in this thesis. As Dargaville moved from centre to centre his impressions of the religiosity of Americans is faithfully recorded. He was able to establish for the groups he addressed a sense of Australia's position in Asia. A common question to him was if Australia's position affected its attitude to communism. For Dargaville this underscored the 'general fear of communism'.⁹⁴⁴ Dargaville described the way this fear manifested itself. CBS Television

⁹⁴⁰ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 38.

⁹⁴¹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 40.

⁹⁴² Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 48.

⁹⁴³ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 83.

⁹⁴⁴ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 87.

thought it prudent to warn its audience that 'Soviet propaganda' was about to be shown in a documentary of American students visiting Russia. Other biased reporting resulted in the CBS newsagency in Moscow having its licence cancelled. The *New York Times* was cited by Dargaville as accusing the USA of 'falling into the habit of which she accuses the Communists – of distorting and preventing the truth'.⁹⁴⁵

In Chicago for an Episcopal Provincial conference at Brent House on 24 October Dargaville was informed of the death of Archbishop Mowll, whom he considered 'one of the great men' of the Australian church.⁹⁴⁶ The influence of Mowll can perhaps be reflected in the empathy Dargaville felt for Asian Phillip Shen, from the Phillipines and Rev. Andrew Kurien from South India. It did seem rather ironic that in this Chicago province, due to 'quite widely separated traditions', churchmanship was a problem. This was revealed to Dargaville in a post-mortem on the conference with two other students.⁹⁴⁷ The death of Mowll surely would have prompted thoughts of a similar situation in Australia.

The prevailing preoccupation with religious attitudes to nuclear research keeps recurring in the *Travel Diary*. An address by 'a very humble Anglican' Dr Robert Moon, director of Nuclear Research at the University of Chicago at Brent House prompted a musing by Dargaville that projection of what progress man might make in the next fifty years. Dr Moon had worked on the Manhattan project, the first self-sustaining nuclear reactor was built on the campus football field at Chicago. Controlled fusion was emphasised as 'the most significant fact of age',⁹⁴⁸ which 'big nations have realised'.⁹⁴⁹ However a cautionary note was introduced: Moon claimed that those who worked on the Manhattan Project 'rather wished it were tried out on some deserted place rather than on Hiroshima or Nagasaki, but the USA Government ruled otherwise'.⁹⁵⁰

Wry comment is made by Dargaville that 'newspapers and TV men' regard the election of Nelson Rockefeller as Governor of New York, as well as landslide victories to the Democrats in the congressional elections show a 'move here toward the left'. The Republican claim that the Democrats were 'providing a climate for "creeping socialism"' cause Dargaville

⁹⁴⁵ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 93.

⁹⁴⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 103.

⁹⁴⁷ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 105.

⁹⁴⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 104

⁹⁴⁹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 105.

⁹⁵⁰ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 105.

to question if anything is 'left' in the USA.⁹⁵¹ The Sunday paper on 9 November in Cincinnati, Ohio, provided more 'garbled thinking' by US officials when confronted with communism. Relaxed visa restrictions for entry into the USA bought the following comment from the State Department's Security Chief, Roderic O'Connor, which Dargaville thought worth of recording in full.

They (596 persons with a record of Communist affiliations seeking admission) have one thing in common. Most of them are disciplined and obedient to the policies and directives of international communism. Many of them perform the most humble tasks of party organisation.⁹⁵²

The nationalistic patriotic bent of the Americans was displayed to Dargaville in the Cathedral in New York on 23 November. Instead of the Evensong service there was a service held annually for local patriotic societies 'of which New York has legion'. After a 'thunderous' entry of a 'band of fifedrums' 50 flag-carriers followed the band up the aisle. Aside from incredulity at the names of some of the groups

National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York;
Descendants of Signers of the Declaration of Independence Inc.;
The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (strongly represented by many chapters);
National Society Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company New York State Court of Assistants (I would hate to be their secretary for incoming phone calls).⁹⁵³

Dargaville found solace that the bishop of New York tried to present the more worthwhile motives for patriotism in his sermon to the patriots.⁹⁵⁴

On 1 December Dargaville flew onto Canada. At that stage the Anglican church in Canada had fewer members than that of the Australian church, the Roman Catholic and the New United Church having far greater numbers. Dargaville also noted that there was much more formality in Canada than in America within the church, indicating closer ties with the 'mother country'. In turn the Canadians told Dargaville they considered Australians had a far more nationalistic spirit.⁹⁵⁵ There was opportunity to examine the differences between the American, Canadian and English church once the UK stage of the trip commenced on 7 December. This required adjustment to the more traditional and intellectual church, after the

⁹⁵¹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 111.

⁹⁵² Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 114.

⁹⁵³ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 125 (underline in the original).

⁹⁵⁴ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 125.

⁹⁵⁵ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 131-133.

informality of the Americans, with a greater distance maintained between the clergy and laity in the UK.⁹⁵⁶ He was somewhat taken aback to hear, when attending a session at William Temple College, a clergyman claim that role of the clergy was to 'discipline' the laity. Luckily Dargaville was able to stifle his instinct to ask if the clergyman was achieving his ambition.⁹⁵⁷

The news that the bishop of Barking, Hugh Gough, was archbishop-elect of Sydney came to Dargaville from week old Australian papers.⁹⁵⁸ Later in his visit Dargaville met with a young married couple, who considered Gough would be 'a very suitable choice' for Sydney, and ventured they considered him 'a quiet man, almost shy'.⁹⁵⁹ Gough had been the Chairman of Billy Graham's Greater London Crusade. One other who had worked with Billy Graham was the vicar of the Queensbury church, which Dargaville visited to inspect their programs, which did not excite him. Sunday school teaching was carried out under the worst possible conditions, with the children sitting in pews.⁹⁶⁰ The vicar, Rev. Dennis Fennell, who had worked with Billy Graham during the Greater London Crusade, 'had profound admiration for him and his work, although he [Fennell] in no way 'holds to his [Graham's] fundamentalist position'.⁹⁶¹ In London diocese there were 550 parishes with a population of 3 million Anglicans. Of these only 70,000 children received Sunday School teaching, a worse statistic than in Melbourne. Additionally only 5 per cent of all Anglicans are on the electoral rolls of the parishes

A journey to Sheffield was to prove a fillip, as Dargaville met Canon Ted Wickham, who headed the Sheffield Industrial Mission. The integration of mission within industry was an exciting concept, and he was taken by Wickham to visit factories where the program was operating. At British Steel they engaged with a group of twelve apprentices Wickham had been working with as a regular part of their training. Dargaville was plied with questions about Australia once the discussion on Christmas finished. The next group was quite different, a new agreement with the British Railway workshop, for an inaugural meeting which was to be held partly in the works' time and partly in the employees' time. The discussion was quite 'breezy', giving an explanation of why the church is working in that

⁹⁵⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 140.

⁹⁵⁷ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 141.

⁹⁵⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 139.

⁹⁵⁹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 164.

⁹⁶⁰ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 144

⁹⁶¹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 145.

setting. The session revealed that the men wanted to explore the church's attitude in politics; the existence of God, as one member knew there were several agnostics and some communists in the group; and another asked why the church was working in that field. The latter question, from a clergyman antagonistic to trade unions, sprung from opposition to Wickham's work featured in the press.⁹⁶² Wickham's concept of 'existential Christian Education' was one Dargaville thought might work in Australia and he intended to read Wickham's book, *Church and People in an Industrial City*.⁹⁶³ Further work was being carried out in other factories. When Dargaville visited these and joined in groups the discussion came back again to politics and 'race' problems. He was asked about church attitudes in America to atomic bombs and racial segregation. Australian unionism was another question raised with him, specifically in regard to the split in the trade union movement.⁹⁶⁴

The encompassing nature of the Anglican Communion was borne out when a trip to Leeds saw Dargaville asked to convey greetings to Archbishop Woods from Canon Ernie Southcott, as Woods had been bishop in the area before going to Melbourne. These greetings were added to those of Archbishop Woods' brother, the archdeacon of Sheffield. Yet again, when Dargaville attended a Consultative Youth Assembly on 2 January, 1959, one delegate was to go to Australia later in the year for the World Girls Friendly Society (GFS) Conference, another to Canada for the GFS Auxiliary Conference there.

From London Dargaville travelled to Driebergen in Holland, to the Instituut Kerk en Wereld (The Church in the World Institute) of the Reformed Church. Here Dargaville met Martin L. Montelalu, an Indonesian who had gained an ecumenical scholarship to the Institute. Montelalu had problems getting a visa to Holland; but although 'political debates with fellow students got rather vigorous 'held no grudge''.⁹⁶⁵ The next visit was to an Evangelical Academy in Loccum, Germany. This Academy ran adult conferences, among others for young workers who had no previous contact with the church. Political questions often came to the fore in these conferences.⁹⁶⁶ His trip to Bad Boll, also in Germany, involved him returning to Amsterdam by train following the Bad Boll trip. En route he was

⁹⁶² Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 150.

⁹⁶³ E. R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth, 1957). This book is still being used as a text in theological colleges.

⁹⁶⁴ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 152

⁹⁶⁵ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 168.

⁹⁶⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 170.

assisted by two English-speaking Germans, and shared an apartment with them for several hours. One had been a prisoner of war in Egypt and Canada after being captured in the Western Desert. No animosity was apparent, but both men had to travel long distances to find work. This was because they had worked for the British Occupation Forces, and there was distrust of those that had. He also spoke with a sailor of mixed Dutch and Indonesian origin, who suffered racial discrimination. Such people often tried to emigrate.⁹⁶⁷

Bad Bol was a lay institute of the Lutheran Church. Dargaville discussed religiosity in the USA with Horst Bick, the secretary for laymen's institutes in Europe, who wondered if the Americans really understood 'their real reason d'etre'.⁹⁶⁸ Horst Bick also told Dargaville that the German churches 'were attaching great significance to the recent Lambeth report'.⁹⁶⁹ From Bad Bol Dargaville travelled, via Zurich, to a smaller Evangelical Academy in Mannedorf in Switzerland. Dr Rinderknecht, the Director of the Academy, explained that the Academy commenced with a small group of professional people. Only modest funding came from the church, which gave the Academy the freedom it needed. They saw their task as assisting professionals to conduct their day to day operations in a Christian manner. After Mannedorf the Eucumenical Institute at the Chateau de Bossey was Dargaville's next stopping point. The World Council of Churches held a regular yearly course on Eucumenical studies, 23 nations were represented in the 40 participants Dargaville found there. Two of these participants were Roman Catholics.⁹⁷⁰ The opportunity to talk to people from differing countries gave scope for comparison. In discussion with Phillip Potter of the World Council of Churches the USA came in for criticism;⁹⁷¹ that their Christian Education work is inwardly looking. Dargaville was told that Africa was 'somewhat different' to Asia in regards to church life, which require new thinking.⁹⁷² Discussion on his last morning in Bossey with the WCC Youth Department regarding more Australians attending work camps in Asia resulted in the difficulty of travel being raised. The fact that 3,000 Asian students were in Australia

⁹⁶⁷ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 172.

⁹⁶⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 173.

⁹⁶⁹ See Lambeth Conference 1958, *The Lambeth Conference 1958 : The Encyclical Letter from the Bishops Together with the Resolutions and Reports* (London: S.P.C.K.; Seabury Press, 1958). The bishops had, among other things, decried use of atomic warfare. The Resolutions are also available online, this thesis has used both sources, since the Encyclical letter is not available online.

⁹⁷⁰ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 177

⁹⁷¹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 179.

⁹⁷² Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 181.

was a surprise to the Youth department. Dargaville suggested the matter of work camps should be raised after the third Australian Conference of Christian Youth. From Geneva Dargaville went to Rome, a brief overnight visit, but was still able to visit the pastor in charge of the WCC Churches Resettlement Commission in Rome.

The need for this work was emphasised when a refugee camp in Beirut was visited after he arrived from Rome, the plight of the residents shocked Dargaville.⁹⁷³ The Middle Eastern conflict was underlined by a visit to Jerusalem; which reminded Dargaville that Christ wept over Jerusalem. He took opportunity to visit all the sacred sites, and found reason to ponder on the position of the Christian in the Middle East.⁹⁷⁴ Another message of greeting for Archbishop Woods was added; Archbishop McInnes of Jerusalem was a relation of Woods. There were two archbishops, one of whom was an Arab who looked after Jordan. The very obvious problems of the Christian church in an Arab land were outlined in Lebanon by Rev. Bill Hadad, who acted as the General Secretary of the Bible Lands Union for Christian Education. Bill said that the Christian churches were despised by Arabs, seen as tools of western imperialism. Despite this some Moslems had converted, and still more were anxious to attend Christian leadership training conferences.

The return home to Australia was by way of Karachi, where the problems of partition were apparent. However Dargaville saw signs of rapid social change, buildings being erected and gradual material advancement. Again more refugee camps; closely settled and quickly erected. The homogeneity of the British diaspora was re-inforced by the connections and messages Dargaville received to convey to Melbourne. His contact in Karachi informed him that Americans 'were distrusted, as they had too much money. British people were treated with great respect'. She considered martial law had had a stabilising effect on the Pakistan economy. Dargaville was taken to a large refugee camp, which he considered superior to the one he saw in Beirut. The residents were supportive of the regime, which had improved their conditions markedly. He saw where the Bagdad Pact meeting was to be held, before visiting Anglican Bishop Chandu Ray at his home. The bishop was 'most anxious to learn of the Evangelical academies Dargaville had visited, as he saw a need for something similar in Pakistan'. There was need to reach out to the Moslem intellectuals, present contact was mainly with the poor. Most of the Anglican work is further north than Karachi. A problem was literacy; despite the work of the Christian missionaries the Christians have a 10 per cent

⁹⁷³ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 184.

⁹⁷⁴ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 185-189.

literacy rate, only slightly above that of the rest of the population. The bishop realised better literacy would 'give an avenue for the flood of Communist literature, as it had done in South India', but felt the Christian should also 'be seizing this opportunity'.⁹⁷⁵ Yet more greetings were added for Dargaville to pass onto to those contacts made by the bishop during his recent visit to Australia. Canon Spence had organised an afternoon tea party for Dargaville to share with his staff and some teachers from a church school his impressions of his study tour. Scepticism was expressed regarding American Christian Education. Dargaville felt this might stem from the Australian and New Zealanders present, who realised the apathy of Australian and New Zealand churchgoers.⁹⁷⁶

Dargaville's impressions of Bombay, where he arrived on 22 January, 1959, was of a major city which showed the same degree of rapid social change that he had seen elsewhere in other Middle Eastern and Asian cities. The hardship experienced by Anglo-Indians since the withdrawal of the British was apparent; they were regarded as 'tools of imperialism' who suffered 'much discrimination in the matter of employment'. A visit to the 300-year-old cathedral resulted in contact with one of the clergy, Rev. Bob McFarlane, an American who acted as 'a kind of liaison with the Episcopal Church back home'. McFarlane had an interest in Christian Education, but said there was 'little emphasis on it here'.⁹⁷⁷ He attended a World Congress of Christian Youth recently at Madras, sponsored by Youth for Christ, which was avowedly evangelistic and used the traditional method of mission rallies.⁹⁷⁸ Despite this, only one 'rather emotionally sensitive Indian' came forward. For McFarlane this indicated a need to explore other avenues of evangelism; he also advised American missionaries had great difficulty in getting visas.⁹⁷⁹

It was with pleasure that Dargaville arrived at Nagpur on 23 January, the next stage in his journey. Here he met up with K. M. George (KM), an Australian working as Youth secretary for the church in the Indian province of the church in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. The National Council of Churches (NCC) operates from Nagpur; Dargaville was accommodated in a Lodge in the grounds of the big home occupied by the NCC, and could unwind a little in the hills around the Lodge.⁹⁸⁰ KM and Dargaville planned his further

⁹⁷⁵ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 193.

⁹⁷⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 194.

⁹⁷⁷ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 195.

⁹⁷⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 195-196.

⁹⁷⁹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 196.

⁹⁸⁰ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 196.

itinerary in India, KM advising that both politics and religion were common talking points in India. KM was enthusiastic about his future work, voicing the opinion that the churches would combine and work together. A case which emphasised the need for this co-operation was the ongoing litigation between two Orthodox churches over administrative matters. Mr Frederick, a school teacher, and one of the NCC secretaries, told Dargaville the Indian High Court had told the two churches it would not adjudicate in the matter, the churches must make their own decisions. This after eight million pounds was spent on litigation!⁹⁸¹ A happier note for the NCC was that literacy levels for the Christians in South India was 40 per cent, against 16.6 per cent for the whole population of the area.

Saturday 24 January saw a meeting with Archdeacon Wells regarding Dargaville's sermon at the cathedral next day. Again more greetings were delivered by Dargaville to Bishop John Sadiq, the bishop of Nagpur, from the Youth Department at the WCC in Geneva. Dargaville already knew the bishop from a previous conference. The bishop was concerned with Indian church unity, at that time a contentious matter which had been the subject of debate at the Lambeth Conference. He was most anxious that Dargaville see as much as possible of the Indian church in his short stay. Further discussions with KM convinced Dargaville that the Indian churches 'preferred' to work together'.⁹⁸² An interesting point for Dargaville next day, at the 8am service at which he preached, was the use of the adapted (English) rite of the Anglican Church, which had been compiled in 1951. This reminded him of adapted forms used by Canon Southcott in Leeds, another example of the breadth of the Anglican Communion. Breakfast after the service with Archdeacon and Mrs Wells produced comparison of attitudes toward communism in America to that in India.⁹⁸³ A meeting later in the day with young Indians convinced Dargaville that young Indians appear to have a better knowledge of Australia than young Australians have of India.⁹⁸⁴ Discussion regarding visas for missionaries revealed that the Indian Government had a cautious approach regarding issue of these. They tended to refer to the NCC or the Roman Catholics if in doubt, and were especially wary of some American splinter groups. There was a continual stream of these people, who were replaced as quickly as they are sent home. The Roman Catholics required their people to take out Indian citizenship and remain in India the rest of their

⁹⁸¹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 197.

⁹⁸² Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 198. (Underline in original.)

⁹⁸³ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 199.

⁹⁸⁴ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 200. In India communists were part of the government

lives.⁹⁸⁵ This stratagem gave them a great advantage. Other specifically Hindi/Christian problems were discussed with Mr Fredericks. The major problem for the Indian churches was to be self-supporting, as subsidies from missionary societies had been cut. The Anglican Church Missionary Society was cut by 10 per cent each year.

KM and Dargaville set off for Jubalpur on 28 January by bus. An eight hour, rather torturous journey, saw them arrive unannounced at the home of the local Anglo-Indian priest, Rev. Ince, who was accommodating despite the non-arrival of KM's letter advising of the visit. The next morning the scheduled visit was to Leonard College, largely financed by the American Methodist Episcopal Church. This necessitated passing the extensive military establishment, with the housing provided to the military people, which was far superior to that of the ordinary populace. KM imagined the size of the Indian Army would run into hundreds of thousands. The principal of Leonard was soon to hand over to an Indian colleague. A reception later in the evening at Leonard for Bishop Hemsley, a Methodist Episcopal bishop, was for a very mixed group. Here again Dargaville met acquaintances from previous conferences, and had news of others who were also investigating the same areas as he.⁹⁸⁶ His conversation that evening with his host, Mr Ince, revealed the concern felt over the plight of the Anglo-Indians. As well Ince had, in the past, interviewed Gandhi. Gandhi had told Ince that when asked to give a lecture on the greatest man who ever lived he [Gandhi] chose Christ. He had read the Bible many times, and felt he owed a great deal to Christianity. However he also had three pictures in the room where Ince met him, Siva, Buddha, and Christ. Gandhi's opinion was that if only a handful of Christians had lived according to Christian precepts, India would have been Christian long ago.⁹⁸⁷ Ince's sons were also in the ministry, but lived in England with their mother. Ince considered Nehru was trying to follow Gandhi's efforts to emphasise old Hindu customs of dress and traditions, which showed 'a strange mixture of East and West'.⁹⁸⁸ KM and Dargaville left Jubalpur next morning, encountering the principal of Leonard farewelling a visitor from Ceylon, a Dutch clergyman, Rev. Gramberg of the Presbyterian Church. Dargaville had met Gramberg before on a visit to Kandy, and was able to enquire regarding other Kandy associates. Gramberg asked after Archbishop Woods, whom had met in Java, recalling Woods had taught him and

⁹⁸⁵ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 200-201.

⁹⁸⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 202.

⁹⁸⁷ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 204. This attitude seems to vindicate Dean Johnson's invitation for Gandhi to attend Evensong at Canterbury in 1932.

⁹⁸⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 204. .

his wife an Irish ditty they still sang! He also remembered Archbishop Woods' father with high regard.

This facet of constant interconnection of clerical exchanges was made very evident by Dargaville's diary. It was not often that Dargaville travelled without finding some point of contact with other clergy; this feature of clerical life enabled a more encompassing worldview that would not have been possible otherwise. Gramberg, for instance, was staying with Mr Scopes, the NCC Secretary for Theological colleges and Literature, who visited the Lodge where Dargaville was staying later in the day on 28 January. Gramberg was able to share some of his first hand observations of the disturbances in Ceylon, which had not been widely circulated. The militant Buddhists had targeted the Tamils, mainly Hindu. The Christian community had also come under attack, death threatened to those not quitting Ceylon. The Government was caught between these factors and 'the Communists, and generally adopts the attitude of giving in'. Later Dargaville noticed a photo in the Cairo paper he was reading, a photo of a group of young people at a 'leftish' "Afro-Asian Youth Congress" with a slogan of "Evacuate Africa".

The visit of Dargaville to Nagpur highlighted particular problems for the Anglican Communion. They had 'in house' problems with the Anglican Church in India, but still had to decide their attitude to ecumenicalism, and to communism. Additionally there was the lingering problem of imperialism, which affected those of Anglo-Indian birth, who composed a significant constituent of the church in India. A local Christian bookshop in Kerala provided ample material from a Christian viewpoint for studies of all matters including politics.⁹⁸⁹ There was opportunity for a final talk with the bishop, who recognised the need for liaison with the Australian church. The bishop realised the part the Australian church must play in the Asian area, and was hopeful that the conference centre he hoped to establish in his diocese could be helpful in this regard.⁹⁹⁰ He also stressed the need for Australians to come to work under the Indian church, and not through a missionary society. Visas would be available for those in the British Commonwealth. Short term appointments were desirable at this stage until the question of re-union with the Anglican Communion was decided. Dargaville left the beauty and serenity of Nagpur convinced that this stopover was most important for him. KM hoped that more Australians would make the stopover. The closer contact with Asian churches from Australia in recent years justified this aim to Dargaville.

⁹⁸⁹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 205.

⁹⁹⁰ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 206.

The vicarage of the Church of St John the Baptist in Calcutta was Dargaville's next port of call, on 1 February. The vicar, Rev. John Pothen, was Indian, from Kerala, while his wife was English. Dargaville delivered the sermon at Evensong in the church, which was dedicated in 1787. When the church served as a cathedral, between 1814 to 1847, Australia was part of its Diocese. A cross made of Burmese teak from the original roof of the church was given Dargaville as a memento of this early connection. The link was also emphasised when several members of the congregation asked after an archdeacon who served there and who has retired to Australia.⁹⁹¹ Pothen also asked after three Australians he had met at Bossey, whom Dargaville knew from eucemenical meetings in Australia. The use of the proposed North Indian prayer book reminded Dargaville of the connection back to Leeds and Canon Southcott. Wandering around Calcutta, Dargaville saw a woman laying out cakes of cow-dung, and Dargaville was reminded that a communist-sponsored newspaper recently mentioned that cow-dung still supplied a large proportion of India's fuel needs.⁹⁹² On his wandering about Calcutta Dargaville visited the diocesan bookshop, purchasing the controversial Government report on Christian missionary activities.⁹⁹³ A visit to the college established 'at the turn of the 19th century' by William Carey, who had translated the Bible into many different dialects, allowed Dargaville to see the original building, and also its impressive library.⁹⁹⁴ The theology section is such that scholars come from abroad to consult it.⁹⁹⁵ He had an interesting discussion with Dr C. E. Abraham, the principal. Abraham had just returned from the Tokyo convention, and sent greetings to four Australians he met there. Dargaville recorded that he had '...met so many now in various parts of the world who were at this convention, I am beginning to feel that I had also been there!'.⁹⁹⁶

Dargaville's plane to Singapore on 3 February was leaving an hour earlier than scheduled. Dargaville fitted in a meeting with the metropolitan, Archbishop Murkejee; who confirmed his lack of enthusiasm for a National Youth Department.⁹⁹⁷ Pothen had warned Dargaville that the concept was not attractive to the archbishop. The Indian church's greatest concern at the moment was to be self-supporting, and in any case 'KM's job was far too

⁹⁹¹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 207.

⁹⁹² Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 208.

⁹⁹³ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 207. This report was critical of missionaries and their societies.

⁹⁹⁴ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 207.

⁹⁹⁵ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 209.

⁹⁹⁶ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 209.

⁹⁹⁷ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 209-210.

impracticable because of language difficulties'. Dargaville had been invited to address the students, which he did with a 20-minute resume of his study tour. He found the students did not question him, a fact he observed in Jabulpur as well. This he attributed to an 'attitude engendered in the college of little participation in discussion' rather than 'lack of understanding of what I was saying'. He based this assumption on the fact that some students came to him privately afterwards and asked questions. 'One student had procured some American Christian Education material, and wanted a comment on it.' He considered the discipline at the college strict, wearing of cassocks at all times was enforced, and there was a 'much more rigorous training in hours of prayer than I have seen elsewhere'.⁹⁹⁸

Dargaville left Calcutta on 3 February, flying to Singapore, then Djakarta, and Darwin to Melbourne. He regretted there was not time to stop at these interesting places, but the necessity of being home 'in good time for his ordination' had to take precedence. For Dargaville this was the end of a very busy trip, he was to travel to Sydney that evening for a week's rest. It was 'far too early' to sum up what this diary has said'.⁹⁹⁹ This diary is an important record of the influences being felt in Australia in a time of great change, not only in the church but in the nation. Summing up through Dargaville an Anglican view of the world in the late 1950s revealed an America that was paranoid regarding communism, but had forward looking church programs which were adopted in the Australian church. Dargaville found the Canadian Anglican church to be more Anglicised and formal than the USA, but also as in the USA, outnumbered by the Roman Catholic and Protestant persuasions. The 'mother' Established Church in England was more traditional and intellectual, but lacked participation in worship by its numerical superior adherents, and also experienced stifling forms of Sunday school worship. The industrial chaplaincy being pioneered gave opportunity for dialogue with British communist workers. Division in attitudes to religion between Americans and others became more apparent as Dargaville travelled across Europe, the Middle East and India. In India, with communist involvement in its government, negative attitudes to Americans resulted in exclusion of its missionaries. Given the dominance of American attitudes in the WCC this surely created a problem for church workers in many countries.

Some overseas initiatives Dargaville had studied were adopted by the Australian church, which had finally adopted a constitution. Although the primate and the monarch were

⁹⁹⁸ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 210.

⁹⁹⁹ Dargaville, 'Travel Diary', 211.

still the spiritual and temporal authorities within the Anglican Communion, the legal nexus with Canterbury was severed. While influences from England were still felt, the very anti-communist archbishop of York, Cyril Garbett, had died, and was replaced by the more conciliatory Michael Ramsay. Realisation was dawning that nuclear weaponry was not the simple solution to the Cold War problems. Lambeth 58, the gathering of bishops of the world-wide Anglican Communion which commenced on 6 July 1958, showed by its resolutions the Anglican Communion strongly endorsed the United Nations and worked through the CCIA as part of the WCC.¹⁰⁰⁰ For the first time '...a Lambeth Conference considered peace and war, without, somewhere, suggesting war might be a good thing'.¹⁰⁰¹ Also for the first time the wives of the bishops were included in the Lambeth program; and the role of women in the church was to be examined. However, there were still those, both clerics and laity, who held strong opinions regarding communism and how best to combat it. For the Anglican Church in Australia the death of Dr Mowll saw the appointment of a known anti-communist and evangelical, another Englishman, Bishop Hugh Gough, as archbishop of Sydney. Gough also had long standing connections to Billy Graham, whose arrival in Australia on 12 February 1959 was to prove a seminal event for the churches of the nation. As we will see, 'The press called him God's super-salesman and he was greeted by unprecedented crowds wherever he went'.¹⁰⁰²

An international Church: Community Aid Abroad

Dargaville was by no means a lone voice: many in the Anglican Church in Australia recognized that bettering the lot of poorer people would assist in the fight against the spread of communism. Father Gerard Tucker had a lifetime of experience in dealing with those in need. His Brotherhood of St Lawrence (BSL) organisation was founded for just that cause.¹⁰⁰³ Tucker's aim was to establish a brotherhood of celibate Anglican missionaries to

¹⁰⁰⁰ 'The Resolutions from 1958', *The Lambeth Conference Official Website*, available online at <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1958/>, accessed 14 April 2009, used By Permission, the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council 2006.

¹⁰⁰¹ The Revd Dr Clive Barrett, 'The Lambeth Conference - a Vehicle for Christian Peacemaking', in *International Peace Research Association* (Leuven, Belgium: 2008).

¹⁰⁰² 'Billy Graham Down Under', *Compass*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 15 February 2009.

¹⁰⁰³ See I. R. Carter, *God and Three Shillings: The Story of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1967); Ruth Carter, 'Tucker, Gerard Kennedy (1885 - 1974)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 12 (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1990); Colin Holden, and Richard Trembath, *Divine*

work with the poor. Father Maynard at St Peter's is credited with encouraging Tucker coming to Melbourne from Newcastle in 1933, as did the archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Head. Certainly Maynard was accommodating with assistance in the early years in Melbourne.¹⁰⁰⁴ While Tucker had been curate to Father Maynard at St Peter's Eastern Hill even after shifting to St Mary's, Fitzroy, where he was Missioner, he did not share Maynard's enunciation of socialist values in the context of an increasingly international framework.¹⁰⁰⁵ For Tucker was concerned more with local matters. A shift to St Cuthbert's in East Brunswick gave the Brotherhood a centre of their own close to the city, and enabled Tucker to continue his work with the poor of the surrounding area. A major shift came when the Carrum Downs settlement was started during the depression of the 1930s, for poor inner city families to escape the slums. The housing of long term unemployed men at the Carrum Downs settlement drew communist opposition, which Tucker blamed for its failure.¹⁰⁰⁶ After the war Tucker, whose great weakness was instituting schemes without proper infrastructure and planning, decided that his concept of the Brotherhood as a religious community was no longer possible. By the end of 1947 the organisation developed as a social welfare agency, still with Anglican connections.

Tucker moved in 1949 into the settlement he founded at Carrum Downs. In 1952 he embarked on his new project, 'Food for Peace', which grew from a suggestion that residents at the settlement contribute, from their pensions, money to send a shipment of food parcels for a hospital in India. Supporting groups formed throughout Australia and in 1961, as Community Aid Abroad (CAA), they developed into a national organisation, with the Brotherhood still maintaining an interest. Tucker published pamphlets in support of the project and, in 1954, his autobiography.¹⁰⁰⁷ Tucker saw disaster for Australia unless the cry of the starving was heeded.¹⁰⁰⁸ Tucker's preaching helped inspire wealthy Anglicans such as Richard Austin to become involved. Austin heard Tucker preach at the local church at Lara.¹⁰⁰⁹ *The Anglican*

Discontent (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008). Father Tucker also wrote his autobiography; Gerard Tucker, *"Thanks Be": The Autobiography of Gerard Kennedy Tucker (Brotherhood of St. Laurence)* (Melbourne: Brotherhood of St. Laurence, 1956).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass*, 217.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Holden, *Divine Discontent*, 46.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Carter, 'Tucker, Gerard Kennedy'.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Carter, *God and Three Shillings*, 156.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Carter, *God and Three Shillings*, 157-158. The Austins were an influential Anglican family.

carried Tucker's message that the Food for Peace scheme could supply the means to combat communism, in line with the realisation of other Anglican churchmen that communism was an option embraced by those with no other avenue to follow:

Rev G. Kennedy Tucker, of the BSL, advanced the view that 'Australia has only six months to plan to prevent the catastrophe with which the world is faced—the hosts of the anti-Christ regime are on the march and bringing on country after another under their domination. The church and State are putting their heads in the sand. The 'Food for peace campaign' could help avert this crisis.¹⁰¹⁰

This clerical view of a religious Colombo Plan was supported by L. C. Rodd of Hunters' Hill, NSW, who felt that greater good would have been done by supporting Father Tucker in working for Food for Peace than supporting Billy Graham. 'Grahamism is the Acme of American Materialistic religion'.¹⁰¹¹ Rodd was not alone in his aversion to Billy Graham's evangelism, leading churchmen such as Bishop Burgmann were equally outspoken in their disapproval.¹⁰¹² Tucker's views on the Food for Peace Campaign were aired in the *Anglican* on 7 August 1959:

The Food for Peace Campaign could present the church with the answer to the cold war. It is a war between two Ways of Life, the Christian way and the anti-Christian way. Our salvation lies in our ability to prove the superiority of the Way of Life laid down by Him who said "This is the Way, Walk ye in it." The Christian world is being give a last chance. Do we really think that conferences and summit talks will change the Russian plan for world domination? He was asking for half million of the three million who call themselves Anglicans to give one pound a year and induce a friend to likewise. A million pounds. Others would follow the lead...to lead the world along the road to peace.¹⁰¹³

Further commendation of Tucker's initiative came from other parts of the Anglican Communion in Australia. The diocese of Carpentaria synod, which gathered from missions, islands and parishes, as far distant as Alice Springs to attend a synod which began on 23 August 1959 passed a resolution:

That this Synod recommends the attention of the whole diocese to the Food for Peace Campaign, so that all may assist wholehearted by prayer, fundraising and publicity,

¹⁰¹⁰ *Anglican*, no. 357, 12 June 1959, 8.

¹⁰¹¹ *Anglican*, no. 359, 26 June 1959, 5.

¹⁰¹² *Anglican*, no. 357, 12 June 1959. Churchmen such as Archbishop Halse of Brisbane questioned the oversimplicity of Graham's fundamentalist approach, see Hilliard, *Popular Religion in Australia*, 235, while others were disapproving of the 'forced emotionalism' of Graham's methods, see Rev. L. L. Nash, 'Forced Emotionalism in Religion', *The Bendigo Church News*, August 1956, 2.

¹⁰¹³ *Anglican*, no. 365, 7 August 1959, 10.

the work of its campaign and the leadership of its president, the Reverend G. K. Tucker, B.S.L.¹⁰¹⁴

Support for Tucker to combat communism in Asia also came from the meeting of all the Australian bishops at Gilbulla, where the newly arrived Archbishop Gough was elected the new primate in place of Mowll. The bishops discussed Peace, and Aid to Asia and issued a statement. Anglicans should 'intensify their prayers and work for peace of the world'. While advocating that 'nuclear tests be indefinitely suspended immediately until proper safeguards can be accepted by all parties' they warned against participation in the Congress of International Cooperation and Disarmament to be held in Melbourne the following month. 'This congress', said the bishops 'has no particular claim on the attention of Christians, because it is being largely planned and directed by a partisan group, whose purpose seems to be the dominance of Communism rather than peace based in freedom, truth and justice.' The bishops commended the 'Food for Peace' campaign to all churchmen 'in their condition of comparative plenty, to remember the millions of our fellow-men in under-developed countries whose plight is continual under-nourishment.' They urged 'support with Christian concern and liberality the work of Inter-church Aid' and commended the 'Anglican Aid for Asia' campaign launched by the Reverend G. K. Tucker of the Brotherhood of S.[St.] Lawrence 'as a recognised channel of this appeal.'¹⁰¹⁵ The Food for Peace campaign became an organisation with much wider aims apart from food aid in 1960s, Community Aid Abroad (CAA), with a full-time director. Tucker's vision to fight communism was an excellent example of Anglicans accepting their responsibilities as part of Asia, which eventually translated into a meaningful world-wide organisation.¹⁰¹⁶

¹⁰¹⁴ 'Thursday Island Synod', *Anglican*, no. 370, 11 September, 1959.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Anglican*, no. 377 30 Oct. 1959, front page, picture of Archbishop Gough.

¹⁰¹⁶ 'Our History in depth', Oxfam Australia, available online at <http://www.oxfam.org.au/about/longhistory.html>, accessed 19 April 2009.

Chapter 6 1959: 'God's Super-salesman' and another Peace Congress

Additional attempts to reinforce British hegemony in Australia had followed the Queen's visit in 1954. Prince Phillip attended to open the Olympic Games in 1956, the Queen Mother came in 1958 and Princess Alexandria in 1959. In 1959 two events occurred that were important to the history of Australian Anglican attitudes to communism. The first was the arrival in Australia of Dr Billy Graham in February 1959. His 'Southern Cross Crusade' nourished hope to those seeking a religious alternative to 'atheistic communism'. This tour included New Zealand, and culminated in Brisbane on 31 May 1959. The second was the next Peace Congress convened in Melbourne in November 1959 and organised once more by the Australian Peace Council. This event revealed that the peace movement itself was divided, and was less influenced than previous Peace Congresses by communist ideology. The Australian Anglican Church, especially those of an evangelical churchmanship, was supportive of the Billy Graham visit, but ambivalent toward the congress. Despite the best efforts of the new primate, Archbishop Gough, to discourage members of the Communion from attending the Peace Congress, some still did. Other individuals within the Anglican Church continued to attempt to influence Australian Anglicans to act against communism. Synod resolutions, particularly in Melbourne, served to emphasise the church's official stance against communism.

Billy Graham's visit to Australia

Considerable organisation was necessary before the man styled as the Rev. W. F. Graham by the *Crockford's Clerical Dictionary* reached Australia on 12 February 1959.¹⁰¹⁷ Dr Mowll, Anglican archbishop of Sydney and primate of Australia, had been the prime mover in instigating an invitation to Graham from Australian churches to conduct a crusade in Australia. Sydney has historically been Australia's most evangelical city. Many religious groups joined in this endeavour, although at first some Presbyterians were reluctant to participate.¹⁰¹⁸ Following Sydney's lead, invitations were also issued from other states.

There were some differences from State to State; in New South Wales and West[ern] Australia the invitation was issued by the heads of Churches; in Victoria by individual Churchmen and citizens acting in their private capacities. At a later date some of the major Victorian Churches passed resolutions pledging active support and full participation.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁷ 'Preface to Crockford', *Anglican*, no. 201, 15 June 5, front page, 9-10.

¹⁰¹⁸ 'Presbyterian Opposition to Billy Graham visit', *ACR*, 1 August 1957, 5.

¹⁰¹⁹ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 12.

The dean of Melbourne, Stuart Barton Babbage led a representative group of Melbourne churchmen who extended an invitation to Graham to visit.¹⁰²⁰ Babbage was an evangelical who had come from Sydney and also was head of Ridley College, an Anglican Theological college. Support came from Lieutenant General Sir Edmund Herring, Chief Justice of Victoria and Chancellor of the Anglican diocese of Melbourne who headed 'an invitation from the citizens of the city'.¹⁰²¹ In July 1957, Graham's right-hand man, Jerry Bevan, came to Australia to talk with those proposing the visit. He returned to America carrying invitations from 'Sydney, Melbourne, New Zealand and three other Australian cities', enabling 'tentative plans for the Campaign' to be 'announced in New York by Billy Graham'.¹⁰²² It was the first time Graham had received invitations from the churches acting unitedly together. By October Mowll in Sydney and Babbage in Melbourne had been advised by Graham that the invitations for a ministry of evangelism had been accepted, and that preparations for a visit to Australian in 1959 would commence.¹⁰²³

Born on 7 November 1918, Graham had risen from relative obscurity to great prominence in evangelical circles. He had been raised an Associate Reformed Presbyterian by his parents, later becoming converted at the age of 16 to the Baptist faith by the evangelist Mordecai Ham.¹⁰²⁴ His education at the local Sharon High School was not noteworthy; his biographer claimed he had an education 'almost as poor as that of Abraham Lincoln'.¹⁰²⁵ However he graduated with a Bachelor of Theology from the Florida Bible Institute in 1939 and went on to Wheaton College, graduating in 1943 with a Bachelor degree in anthropology. While at Wheaton Graham had become a Baptist pastor and preacher. He had also supported himself while at college by selling for the Fuller Brush Company, an occupation at which he excelled. Graham's first foray into media ministry was on 2 January 1944, a revamp of an existing program 'Songs in the Night'. This was achieved with the financial support of his

¹⁰²⁰ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 11.

¹⁰²¹ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 11. Herring was well known for his moral stance, and his involvement in the 'Call to Australia' emphasised raising the moral tone of citizens. Additionally it was recognised that Graham was inclined to court persons in positions of power to enhance his crusade appearances.

¹⁰²² Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 11.

¹⁰²³ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 12.

¹⁰²⁴ See Archives, Billy Graham Center 'Who led Billy Graham to Christ.....', Wheaton College: Illinois, available online at <http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/faq/13.htm>, accessed 23 May 2009; also Graham, *Just as I Am*, Chapter 2.

¹⁰²⁵ Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 18.

parishioners, a financial model that was to serve Graham well over his career as an evangelist. This venture also saw the lifelong union between Graham and George Beverly O'Shea when O'Shea became the director of radio ministry. Graham pursued his evangelism, together with other appointments, including presidency of the Northwestern College, a Christian college. His niche as an evangelist was forged in his 'Youth for Christ' (YFC) ministry during the 1940s. He was the first full-time evangelist employed by YFC, of which Torrey Johnson was president. When President Truman, after a YFC rally in Olympia, Washington, stated, 'This is what I hoped would happen in America', it revealed Truman's ambition for a broad religious base for the USA. Travel across the USA and Europe followed for Graham, who was judged by Johnson as 'the best evangelist we have ever had'. William Randolph Hearst supported the ministry in the early days of the YFC, instructing his papers to 'Puff Youth for Christ!'. Johnson observed that 'Maybe he [Hearst] saw a million people across the country coming to YFC rallies every week, and he decided to get in on the selling end 'to boost circulation of his papers.'.¹⁰²⁶

1949 saw Graham evangelising in Los Angeles, now having launched out on his own. His 'hell-fire' evangelistic vision of 'the communist-capitalist war for the soul of mankind' again attracted the attention of media magnate Hearst. Hearst now instructed his twenty-two newspapers to 'Puff Graham!'. Henry Luce's *Time* and *Life* also 'embraced' Graham.¹⁰²⁷ Other powerful backers enabled Graham access to privileges not granted to other religious leaders. Graham had very decided views on communism and how it should be fought: these views received publicity in papers across the United States. He claimed 'the only answer to Communism is Christ' and warned the nation against Godless communism.¹⁰²⁸ He had contact with Dr Fred Schwartz, a rabid Australian anti-communist who achieved a following in America and to whom *ACR* had given prominence by publishing his articles. Graham

¹⁰²⁶ See Robert Shuster, *Interview of Torrey Maynard Johnson*, February 13, 1984, Collection 285, T4, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Illinois, an oral history of Johnson, available online at <http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/trans/285t04.htm>, accessed 13 June 2009. Johnson founded *Youth for Christ* through which Billy Graham developed his skills and first travelled abroad.

¹⁰²⁷ See Gibbs and Duffy, *The Preacher and the President* for an examination of Graham's rise to a position of power with US Presidents. Luce's patronage and exposure of Graham on the front page of the *Time* and in *Life* magazines ensured he became well known worldwide.

¹⁰²⁸ 'Billy Graham warns nation against Godless communism', *Los Angeles Times*, 13 September 1950, 7.

requested him to address a dinner meeting which included many US Congressmen in 1953.¹⁰²⁹

Graham conducted the first-ever religious service on the Capitol steps, as well as receiving permission to conduct prayer sessions each day at the Pentagon while conducting a crusade in Washington in 1952.¹⁰³⁰ Graham's first brush with the White House was not an outstanding success. President Truman was angered when Graham revealed details of a meeting between them to waiting press men. Truman regarded Graham as a 'counterfeit', a mere publicity monger and had no more contact with him.¹⁰³¹ However Graham's close liaisons with powerful political figures saw him involved in the Eisenhower Presidency campaign. Sid Richardson, a wealthy and influential oil tycoon asked Graham to write to Eisenhower and then to personally visit Eisenhower in France in order to persuade him to run for the Presidency 'to save America from the sinful left-wingers'.¹⁰³² Although Eisenhower had joined the Army, he came from an active Jehovah's Witness family. His mother had previously been a Mennonite, but she remained a committed pacifist and Jehovah's Witness until her death. The family religious influence in his formative years continued for Eisenhower, just as it had for Graham. Eisenhower married Mamie Doud in a Presbyterian ceremony in 1916, but was not baptised, confirmed or a communicant member of the National Presbyterian Church until 1 February 1953, subsequent to his election as President. Indeed the National Presbyterian choice of denomination had been suggested to Eisenhower by Graham himself.¹⁰³³ Eisenhower realised the importance to the position of President of 'a

¹⁰²⁹ 'Expert on Communism Will Talk at Four Local Churches', *Eugene Register-Guard*, 13 June 1953, 13. See also notes 771 and 912 regarding Schwartz' activities in Australia.

¹⁰³⁰ Robert Sherrill, 'Preachers to Power', *Nation*, vol. 267, 13 July 1998, 11-14.

¹⁰³¹ Harold Bloom, 'The Time 100; Heroes and Icons: Billy Graham', *Time 2000*, available online at <http://www.time.com/time/time100/heroes/profile/graham03.html>, accessed 21 May 2009.

¹⁰³² Sherrill, 'Preachers to Power', 12; Graham, *Just as I Am*, 188-192; Frady, *Billy Graham*, 255-257; Roger Bruns, *Billy Graham: a biography* (Greenwood Press: Westport, 2004), 46-59. Dwight D. Eisenhower papers 'Eisenhower and Religion' offers an interesting study of the religious attitude of Eisenhower. A listing of the archive, including the letter and appointment for Graham to visit Eisenhower in Paris, is available online at http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/Research/Subject_Guides/PDFs/Eisenhower_and_religion.pdf, accessed 30 August 2009.

¹⁰³³ 'Faith Staked Down', *Time*, 9 February 1953. See also Graham, *Just as I Am*, xxvii-xxi; Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960*, 257. J. Edgar Hoover, as well as Dulles, was among the influential parishioners of the National Presbyterian Church, of which they had been elders. A close relationship grew

belief in divine providence and leadership', and 'had a clear, hard headed conviction about the role of religion in national survival'. This he shared with Graham.¹⁰³⁴ Eisenhower's faith had always been private; after his election he made it public.¹⁰³⁵ Following Eisenhower's election, Graham advised his radio audience that 'God is giving us a respite, a new chance'.¹⁰³⁶ Most certainly Eisenhower's election augmented Graham's ability to influence the nation. With Eisenhower setting the religious example Graham considered, significantly, that, 'We are not going to be pushed around by the communists'.¹⁰³⁷

Mamie Eisenhower had been active in her husband's campaign, as had Pat Nixon, the wife of Vice President Nixon. With the strategy of emphasising:

...the fifties themes of women's return to the home and the solidarity of the family as a bulwark against communism, Republicans successfully translated their campaign issues into concepts that appealed to American women.¹⁰³⁸

Graham also endorsed these values, especially those of the need for a religious base for the country:

As the menace of 'godless communism' and the threat of nuclear war with the Soviet Union alarmed the public (recall the chilling "duck and cover" drills practiced in schools to "save" children from atomic attack), the social themes of family and religion were combined and emphasized. Religion—not a denominational variety—was the bland amorphous 'church of your choice'. But family and religion continued as bulwarks against the communist threat. "The family that prays together, stays together" was a much-touted aphorism of the fifties.¹⁰³⁹

Graham's growing authority and celebrity in the United States was augmented by his association with John Foster Dulles, appointed Secretary of State by Eisenhower in 1953.

Dulles, like both Graham and Eisenhower, had impeccable religious credentials. His father was a Presbyterian minister; his grandfather had been a Presbyterian missionary. He also had equally impeccable political credentials, unlike both Graham and Eisenhower. Both his grandfather, John Foster, and his uncle Robert Lansing served as US Secretary of State.

between Eisenhower and the pastor, Dr Elson. Graham spent some time with Eisenhower during his campaign, Frady, *Billy Graham*, 256-257 outlines this period.

¹⁰³⁴ Gibbs and Duffy, *The Preacher and the Presidents*, 33.

¹⁰³⁵ Gibbs and Duffy, *The Preacher and the Presidents*, 41-43.

¹⁰³⁶ Sherrill, 'Preachers to Power', 12-13, 31-31.

¹⁰³⁷ Sherrill, 'Preachers to Power', 45.

¹⁰³⁸ Smithsonian Institute, 'History Wired: A Few of Our Favourite Things: Women and Politics in the 1950s' citing from Keith Melder, *Hail to the Candidate: Presidential Campaigns from Banners to Broadcasts* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 152-157.

¹⁰³⁹ Smithsonian Institute, 'History Wired'.

A long career as a lawyer did not prevent him maintaining his involvement in religious affairs. His moral and religious stance was admired by Eisenhower. Dulles' younger brother, Allen, was the first civilian Director of Central Intelligence, also appointed by Eisenhower. The religious attitude of the Eisenhower administration was displayed when the President approved the addition of the words 'under God' to the Pledge of Allegiance on 14 June 1954:

In this way we are reaffirming the transcendence of religious faith in America's heritage and future; in this way we shall constantly strengthen those spiritual weapons which forever will be our country's most powerful resource in peace and war.¹⁰⁴⁰

Eisenhower was connected to the very strong American Legion, and frequently addressed them via their radio broadcasts and at their national conventions. The Legion parade in August 1954 was the biggest they had held. 750,000 people watched as 125,000 marched through Washington. 'Rank upon rank, hour after hour, men of the American Legion paraded today in the national capital they had fought to preserve in three wars'. As Eisenhower told the Legion radio audience in 1955 'Recognition of the Supreme Being is the first—the most basic—expression of Americanism'.¹⁰⁴¹

Man was not 'born equal' (the French version) but was 'created equal' in the heroic phrasing of 1776. But it was the Cold War that brought these sentiments to the surface. On 30 July 1956, Eisenhower also approved the adoption of 'In God We Trust' as the official motto of the United States, a measure put forward by the 84th Congress. The same Congress had required the motto to appear on all coins the previous year. 'In these days when imperialistic and materialistic Communism seeks to attack and destroy freedom, it is proper to 'remind all of us of this self-evident truth' that 'as long as this country trusts in God, it will prevail'.¹⁰⁴² Claims have been made that both Truman and Eisenhower attempted to construct

¹⁰⁴⁰ For a useful history of the Pledge of Allegiance see: 'The Pledge of Allegiance' available online at http://www.homeofheroes.com/hallofheroes/1st_floor/flag/1bfc_pledge.html, accessed 23 May 2009.

¹⁰⁴¹ 'Remarks Recorded for the American Legion, February 20, 1955', *Speeches and Writings of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission, available online at <http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/quotations/quotesbydate.htm> accessed 16 June 2009.

¹⁰⁴² Steven B. Epstein, 'Rethinking the Constitutionality of Ceremonial Deism', *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 96, No. 8 (December, 1996), 2083-2174, quoting the peroration (abridged here) of the speech by Charles Edward Bennett, sponsor in the House, the only speech in either House of Congress on the subject. President Eisenhower and W. Randolph Burgess, Deputy to the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, had approved of the legislation. 101 Congressional Record, 4384 (quoted), 7796, (1955). For an image of the actual record see Congressional Record: Senate, 1956, 13917, Establishment of the National Motto of the United States.

an all-encompassing 'new 'civil' religion' with which to mobilize domestic support for Cold War measures, and with which 'to appeal to people of all religious faiths to unite against communism'.¹⁰⁴³ Under the Eisenhower Administration a National Day of Prayer was proclaimed on 22 September 1954. This represented an appeal for 'the peoples of Iron Curtain countries to join Americans in prayer for peace and was widely promoted by Radio Free Europe'.¹⁰⁴⁴ Already a 'Chief of Religious Policy' had been appointed by the Administration.¹⁰⁴⁵ This climate of religious righteousness was the one in which the Anglicans had held their congress in the USA in 1954. The WCC meeting which followed in Evanston was where Dr Mowll first met Billy Graham and which President Eisenhower also attended. Eisenhower had been invited to attend by Visser 't Hooft, the General Secretary. Eisenhower delivered a speech urging 'the whole world to pray'.¹⁰⁴⁶ This Assembly came at 'a time of heightened Cold War anxieties and represents the height of American interest and financial support'.¹⁰⁴⁷ American values were reflected in the WCC according to Englishman Sir Kenneth George Grubb, the influential founding Chairman of the CCIA, the non-governmental religious organisation attached to the United Nations.¹⁰⁴⁸ These values were also emphasised in Australia when Billy Graham came to carry out his crusade.

After initial caution, Graham gained the approval of the archbishop of Canterbury during his crusade in England from March to May 1954. American Anglicans [Episcopalians] were not actively supportive of Graham, but as a minority religious group this did not greatly affect Graham's American activities. However it was important for Graham to gain support from the Established Anglican Church in Britain if he were to succeed there with his ministry. The bishop of Barking, Hugh Gough, a priest with an evangelical background, had been involved in issuing the invitation for Graham to come to

available online at <http://www.nonbeliever.org/images/CR102-13917.pdf>, accessed 23 May 2009.

¹⁰⁴³ Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960*, especially 299-309. Inboden argues Graham was one of the 'disciples' of this religious war.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Inboden, *Religion*, 306-307.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Inboden, *Religion*, 302-303.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Inboden, *Religion*, 307.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ans J. Van Der Bent, 'WCC Assemblies', in Nicholas Lossky, et alia (eds.), *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 1090-1096.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Alan Geyer, *Piety and Politics*, (Richmond USA, John Knox Press, 1963, 123, cited in William McGuire King, Chp III – 6, *The Reform Establishment and the Ambiguities of Influence*, 122-140: 136 in William R Hutchinson (ed) *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge UK, 1989) See also notes 781, 782 p 167.

England.¹⁰⁴⁹ As Chairman of the Evangelical Alliance, which organised the invitation that resulted in the Greater London Crusade, he enjoyed international standing as a churchman, and had connections to both Graham and Foster Dulles. The *ACR* emphasised this connection by publishing a photograph of the three together, taken when Gough was in the USA as chairman of the Billy Graham Campaign Committee in Britain.¹⁰⁵⁰ The appearance of Archbishop Fisher to deliver the blessing on the final night of Graham's Crusade in London was an impetus for Anglicans to accept Graham's ministry.¹⁰⁵¹ Fisher recognised that Graham was scrupulous that 'converts' were handed back to their own church or the church of their choice. He also noted that the financial backing Graham received enabled his ministry 'to be organised and presented extremely efficiently', but also that did not account for its drawing power.¹⁰⁵² Graham regarded an invitation to afternoon tea with Fisher as giving 'tacit approval' to his work.¹⁰⁵³ Further recognition was achieved when Prime Minister Churchill asked him to call. It was stressed that nothing of the meeting must be discussed; Billy Graham had learned his lesson from the Truman incident and honoured this request.¹⁰⁵⁴ The involvement of representatives of the American government was obvious in Graham's campaigns. However, US Senators Symington and Bridges, who had travelled to London in 1954, thought it best not to appear on Graham's platform; the American Ambassador Aldrich also abstained, as 'it might not look right'. Graham returned to Britain for three months from March to May 1956 for crusades in Scotland and England. The Queen also invited him to preach at Windsor Castle, but it was stressed that the invitation be kept confidential.¹⁰⁵⁵ However, neither all Anglicans, nor indeed the public were so accepting of Graham. Some Anglicans of a High church persuasion were not convinced by Graham. The Preface to *Crockford's Clerical Dictionary*, a collection of biographies of all the Anglican clergy worldwide, was scathing of the Graham Crusade, in particular 'the conceited young Puritans

¹⁰⁴⁹ Graham, *Just as I Am*, 208-209. Gough was later to become chairman of the Evangelical Alliance.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *ACR*, 10 June 1954, 3. This association was of obvious import in Australia, where political connections were being forged with the United States, through Foster Dulles.

¹⁰⁵¹ Marcus Loane, 'Obituary: The Right Rev. Hugh Gough', the *Independent*, 29 November 1997, available online at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-the-right-rev-hugh-gough-1296980.html>, accessed 23 May 2009.

¹⁰⁵² *Anglican*, no. 96, 11 June 1954. 3: See also Graham, *Just as I Am*, 210. Graham had a budget of £50,000 for advertising in London alone.

¹⁰⁵³ Graham, *Just as I Am*, 227.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Graham, *Just as I Am*, 234-237.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Graham, *Just as I Am*, 251.

of Cambridge University' and the 'fundamentalists of the crudest type' who carried out Graham's 'follow up work' in London.¹⁰⁵⁶ Allowance was made that Graham himself, 'to the surprise of some', was a persuasive preacher 'without the external aids of trumpeters, bassolists, massed choirs, and soft music'. The unsparing application of the 'resources of modern advertising and mass amusement' to the presentation of 'part of the Gospel' certainly did not meet with *Crockford's* approval.¹⁰⁵⁷ In Australia Billy Graham could not rely on favourable comment in the *Anglican*, but as expected the *ACR* followed the evangelical line. It was critical of a booklet, *Anglicans and Billy Graham*, issued through the Anglican Truth Society by an Anglican priest, the Rev. D. G. Griffith of the diocese of Canberra/Goulburn. *ACR* regarded the booklet, which was available at many parishes, as an example of 'Anti-Evangelicalism'.¹⁰⁵⁸ It is significant this booklet originated from Burgmann's diocese, and illustrated the diversity of attitude towards Graham within the Anglican Community in Australia.

Such opposition was probably futile. The overwhelming success of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) in promoting Graham is reflected in the statistics claimed by the organisation of decisions for Christ over the many years of the Graham ministry in the official BGEA archives. Also featured are the minutiae regarding Graham's life, the most curious of which was him being made Admiral of the Fleet of the Navy of the State of Oklahoma. His honorary doctorates are listed, the first being from Bob Jones University in 1948, then Houghton College in 1950 and Wheaton College in 1956.¹⁰⁵⁹ Graham's own publications, many of them bestsellers, must be viewed with caution, since they seek to present a favourable picture of a contentious figure, whose skill was to advance the best argument to convince the listener. He certainly 'left the mark of the American revivalist tradition on every continent', while the BGEA 'enjoyed abundant financial resources and

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Anglican*, no. 201, 15 June 1956, front page, 9-10.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Anglican*, no. 201, 15 June 1956, front page, 9-10. *Crockford's Clerical Dictionary* was an influential Anglican source of information, published by yearly; in 1956 by Oxford University Press. 'Being a biographical and statistical book of reference for facts relating to the clergy and the church'. It listed all Anglican clergy worldwide. It was widely read by clergy and the later issues are now available online at <http://www.crockford.org.uk/index.asp?id=1>

¹⁰⁵⁸ 'Anglicans and Billy Graham', *ACR*, 5 March 1959, 6.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Wheaton College holds Graham's papers. See

<http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/bgeachro/bgeachron02.htm>.

employed the most advanced tools and techniques of communication'.¹⁰⁶⁰ It also enjoyed patronage at the highest level in the US Government. These elements all worked to favourably assist what was now to be known as Graham's Southern Cross Crusade.

Once Graham had accepted the invitation to visit Australia and New Zealand the machinery of the BGEA began to operate. Bishop Gough had visited Australia in August 1957, before Dr Mowll died; indeed some suspected he was being put forward by Mowll as a replacement for Mowll when the time came.¹⁰⁶¹ Gough was elected as Metropolitan following Mowll's death.¹⁰⁶² His new position as archbishop of Sydney enabled him to extol Graham's campaign by way of a letter to all Sydney diocesan clergy.¹⁰⁶³ He commended the Crusade 'with enthusiasm and stern warning'. He felt that his involvement in the British crusades enabled him to advise that the success of the crusade 'depended on the individual Churches'. He had seen the successful conversions of Billy Graham crusade referrals, when nurtured by the churches that received them from the crusade. Some converts he had met years later as ordination candidates. Gough had many years of contact with Graham. He had visited the USA before the London Crusade commenced in 1954 to see Graham in action. He wrote glowingly of Graham in the second issue of the *London Crusade News* in November 1953, a monthly bulletin published especially to 'reach the church-going public with a view to quickening their interest in the Crusade and calling forth their support'. His message was that 'God raises up special men at special times to do special work'.¹⁰⁶⁴ Gough's part in the Graham crusades in Britain was well known in Australia. His encouragement and personal message was a great impetus to local Anglican clergy which the *ACR* was glad to report among the extensive coverage it gave to the Southern Cross Crusade. Gough had issued a warning when in Sydney in 1957 that Australians would have to put their hands 'very deep in

¹⁰⁶⁰ Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: Vol 2, the Reformation to the Present Day*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: HarperCollins, 1985), 380

¹⁰⁶¹ 'Church and Nation', *Anglican*, no. 329, 28 November 1958. The article claims Gough considered a churchman should be interested in politics: 'Take religion into politics but not politics into religion'. Broughton Knox had also mentioned Gough to his father D. B. Knox in 1951; they were both highly influential clerical evangelicals in Sydney.

¹⁰⁶² The term metropolitan of New South Wales describes the archbishop of Sydney. The see of Sydney became the metropolitan see in Australia when the diocese of Australia was divided into four dioceses in 1849.

¹⁰⁶³ 'Notes and comments' An Archbishop writes....., *ACR*, 16 April 1959, 4.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Frank Colquhoun, *Harringay Story: A Detailed Account of the Greater London Crusade* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955), 44-45.

your pockets' for Dr Billy Graham's visit to Australia.¹⁰⁶⁵ Gough also visited Melbourne. His recurring theme was that Dr Billy Graham's work had 'stood the test of time' and evangelical life in Australia would greatly benefit from Graham's visit.¹⁰⁶⁶ The approval of such an influential Anglican was important at that stage of the preparations for Graham's visit. Graham needed the support of Australian Anglicans and the establishment if he were to achieve results in Australia.

While the *Anglican* did not entirely ignore Bishop Gough's visit, the tone of the paper was disapproving of the USA. Gough's connections to the US evangelicals such as Graham and the religious influence of Dulles made him suspect to men like Francis James. The Leader [editorial] for 12 July 1957 described Foster Dulles:

The unrealism of American foreign policy is the more serious obstacle to a *detente* today...The greatest obstacle between the West and Communist bloc is Mr J. F. Dulles. Like Molotov, Dulles is an uncompromising bigot and fanatic. Like Molotov, he has done more harm to his country and to humanity in these post-war years than any fellow-national. From the viewpoint of any Australian Anglican, concerned for the peace of humanity, and concerned particularly with order and peaceful progress in neighbouring countries, Dulles is a dangerous man.¹⁰⁶⁷

The *Anglican* did, however, report on Graham's New York Crusade, which was being conducted at that time. It would have been well aware of the bias of the campaign, which was toward individual salvation—the message Graham carried to the world. The *Rome News Tribune* recorded that:

Catholic leaders have warned their flocks that the theology preached by Graham, a 38 year old Baptist, is not the valid one. And certain Episcopalian priests deplore his failure to preach the 'social gospel' rather than individual salvation.¹⁰⁶⁸

This condemnation of Graham's theology was also expressed by Reinhold Niebuhr, the most important US Protestant theologian of the time. Niebuhr refused to ever meet Graham, deeming his evangelism 'too simple in any age, but particularly so in a nuclear one with its great moral perplexities...Graham offers Christian evangelism even less complicated answers

¹⁰⁶⁵ 'Graham Crusade will be costly', *ACR*, 29 August 1957, 7.

¹⁰⁶⁶ 'Bishop Gough talks on Evangelical Life', *ACR*, 12 September 1957, 15.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'May Dulles follow Molotov', *Anglican*, no. 257, 12 July 1957, 4. As previously advised, editorials in the *Anglican* were not attributed. The editor of the paper, Joyce James, took full responsibility for them. *ACR* also rarely attributed articles or editorials.

¹⁰⁶⁸ 'The Billy Graham Campaign', *Rome News Tribune*, Georgia, 25 June 1957, 3. PECUSA—the US Episcopal Church—still refused to sanction Graham's crusades, despite the approval he had won from the archbishop of Canterbury.

than it has ever before provided'.¹⁰⁶⁹ Niebuhr especially condemned capitalism, while Graham embraced it. Much of Graham's funding came from scions of the capitalist system and he was even involved in the making of a film praising free enterprise.¹⁰⁷⁰ Additionally Niebuhr was critical of Eisenhower:

A patriotism hoisted into the realm of the sacred was too reassuring; this was chauvinism, not faith, and counterproductive as well if it blinded people to the kinds of problems and injustice that had give communism its appeal in the first place.¹⁰⁷¹

Niebuhr also disassociated himself from Foster Dulles, who had originally been one of the Christian Realist group to which they both had belonged.¹⁰⁷² Their paths diverged: Dulles became increasingly regarded by the Realists as 'having hardening tendencies', particularly in the Asian area where American involvement did not fit the Realists' view of 'responsible' nationhood. John C. Bennett, a leading Realist, saw Dulles' attitude to the issue of 'nuclear holocaust' the end of 'give and take' between Dulles and the Realists. Dulles did invite Realist members and others to his house to explain 'massive retaliation' nuclear policy. A request to Dulles from the American National Council of Churches to suspend nuclear testing when the Soviets offered to stop in March, 1958, was refused.¹⁰⁷³

The significance of this divergence from former associates was reflected when Dulles summonsed Graham to come to Washington before Graham left for his tour of India on January 1956. Dulles had cultivated 'closer ties with the evangelical Graham' while 'his relationships with his long-time friends in the Protestant mainline' diminished.¹⁰⁷⁴ Graham had consulted with Dulles regarding his overseas crusades, including the Greater London

¹⁰⁶⁹ Graham, *Just as I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham*, 301.

¹⁰⁷⁰ See *The American Mercury*, January 1957, front cover. The owner of the magazine, Jerry Macguire was reputed to have contributed \$75,000 (US) to Billy's organisation. J. Edgar Hoover was a contributor of anti-communist articles to the magazine. See also Jason Stevens, 'Lest We Be Innocent: Reinhold Niebuhr, Billy Graham, and the Rise of the Christian Right', *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Studies Association* (2009), 5-24, available online at http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p114144_index.html accessed 2 June 2009.

¹⁰⁷¹ Gibbs and Duffy, *The Preacher and the Presidents*, 46.

¹⁰⁷² See Mark Edwards, "'God Has Chosen Us": Re-Membering Christian Realism, Rescuing Christendom, and the Contest of Responsibilities During the Cold War.', *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 1 (2009), 67-94, for a detailed study of the group and their involvement in the formation of the WCC.

¹⁰⁷³ Edwards, 'God Has Chosen Us', 90.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Inboden, *Religion*, 245.

Crusade, and was given encouragement and assistance from American Consulate offices.¹⁰⁷⁵ Graham immediately cancelled his engagements and flew to Washington.¹⁰⁷⁶ Graham was given a 'solid briefing' on India, together with a specific diplomatic commission 'to facilitate better relations with India's notoriously prickly Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru', whose nation was tending towards 'non-alignment' between the Cold War blocs and 'away from the American orbit'.¹⁰⁷⁷ The Quaker Vice-President, Richard Nixon, with whom Graham had developed a friendship after meeting him in 1952, was 'more than willing' to promote Graham's efforts overseas, to both India and in 1958 to Australia. The ambassador to Australia was instructed to assist Graham's advance BGEA team in Australia when they arrived' in any way they needed'.¹⁰⁷⁸ Graham found in his meeting with Nehru that espousing 'State Department cant' irritated Nehru. However his religious endeavours obtained a better result, as long as Christian missionaries avoided politics.¹⁰⁷⁹ Graham reported back to Eisenhower, Nixon and Dulles. Graham proved himself a willing ally in Dulles' desire to establish American anti-communism in the Asian area through religious means. Graham actually suggested that America should try to match the USSR's much vaunted gift of a magnificent white horse, which had gained front page publicity, while the fifty million dollars in aid offered by Dulles was only mentioned in passing. His suggestion of a distinctive white train or a Cadillac said much for Graham's instincts for 'sales and seduction' even in a worthy cause.¹⁰⁸⁰

It is significant that amongst Anglicans in Australia, those of an evangelical churchmanship were far more supportive of the Graham crusades. For them, like Graham, reliance on biblical 'inerrancy' and emotive evangelism to spread the Word was paramount, especially in Sydney. High ranking Anglican clergy and laity were involved in the Southern Cross Crusade preparations. As we know the more conservative evangelical Anglican Sydney Diocese was the driving force behind the original invitation for Graham to come to Australia. The preparations for the Australian campaign were 'unquestionably the most

¹⁰⁷⁵ Inboden, *Religion*, 244.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Time*, 23 January 1956, available online at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,861905,00.html> accessed 30 May 2009.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960*, 244.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Gibbs and Duffy, *The Preacher and the Presidents*, 65, for a discussion the complex relationship between Nixon and Graham see especially 56-62.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Inboden, *Religion*, 244.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Inboden, *Religion*, 245.

thorough we [BGEA] had undertaken to date'.¹⁰⁸¹ The distance from America necessitated BGEA operatives coming to live in Australia. Jerry Bevan and his family shifted to Sydney in May 1958. Walter Smyth, who had headed the BGEA film distribution, came to Melbourne. Bill Brown and Charles Rigg arrived by the end of 1958 to assist with the organisation. Counselling directors Charles Rigg and Dan Piatt were essential to the BGEA concept of those who made their 'decisions' at the crusades be processed and referred on to whichever church they chose.¹⁰⁸² For this to be achieved many thousands of counsellors needed to be trained, the task Rigg and Piatt addressed. 5,000 people enrolled for counselling classes in Melbourne alone, nearly as many from Adelaide's much smaller population, while in Sydney 9,000 church people responded to the invitation to serve in this manner.¹⁰⁸³ Fifty years later, in 2009, Ruth Lord, still a current worshipping member of the Australian Anglican Communion, who had responded to the invitation of her local curate to be a counsellor in 1959, remembered the experience of being involved as one of the highlights of her Christian life.¹⁰⁸⁴ The BGEA counsellors were persuaded by Australian clergy to institute counselling for children, which required special counsellors and material for children. Graham ensured that this innovation, as with most tried during the Australian campaign, was retained in later campaigns. Those clergy who received the referrals from the crusades had a difficult task, especially with the younger age group. Bishop James Grant, then a curate with the Murrumbena parish in Melbourne, recalled receiving referrals of eight and nine year olds.¹⁰⁸⁵

The BGEA films proved most effective in both publicising the coming crusade, and training the participants to operate in the BGEA style. In 1957, the Challenge Films organisation had been set up in Australia to 'sponsor the distribution of Billy Graham films

¹⁰⁸¹ Billy Graham, *Just as I Am*, 327.

¹⁰⁸² For a discussion of conversion in a Billy Graham crusade see Thomas C. Hood et alia, 'Conversion in a Billy Graham Crusade: Spontaneous Event or Ritual Performance?', *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 16, no. 2 (1975), 162-170 Those who came 'forward' or made a 'decision' were referred back to an existing church connection. Where there was none often the choice was to the Baptist church, Graham's own church.

¹⁰⁸³ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Private telephone conversation on 25 May 2009 between Mrs Ruth Lord and the writer. Lord had attended Strathmore (Melbourne) Anglican Church in 1959, where Rev. Michael Challen, who was the curate, was most supportive of the Graham Crusade. She became a counsellor as a result of his request.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Conversation between the writer and Bishop Grant at the Anglican Historians Meeting, 20 May 2009. Bishop Grant was at this time a newly appointed curate in Murrumbena. His priest organised buses each night of the crusade, to make sure 'they' [Baptists??] did not get our parishioners.

throughout the continent'.¹⁰⁸⁶ Graham had started World Wide Pictures (WWP) in 1951, a Christian studio that has been making Christian films ever since. In many WWP films, the protagonist's problems are resolved by finding Christ. In several of these films, Christ is found at a Billy Graham rally.¹⁰⁸⁷ The extent and range of the films was remarkable, ranging from documentaries on past campaigns to hypothetical situations resolved by the acceptance of Graham's version of a Christian life.¹⁰⁸⁸ The distribution of these films across Australia as part of the lead-up to the crusade had an electrifying effect on the Australian populace. The big distances between centres became irrelevant as films were distributed by parcels post. Ministers in Australia were able to counsel those prompted to make decisions for Christ following the 'overwhelming public response' to the public screenings. In a time when TV was beginning to make inroads into cinema audiences these films enabled 'the Crusade to reach out beyond the bounds of the church to the masses of the people'.¹⁰⁸⁹ BGEA had made films which allowed the specific targeting of audiences. For example Papua New Guinea also received special attention; tapes in 'pidgin English' were produced of services: 'Battleground Europe' was shown to the developing multicultural population and there were translations for those that did not speak English at the crusades.¹⁰⁹⁰ It was significant that 'Eastward to Asia' was aimed at the growing number of Asian students in Australia; it sought to establish an ecclesiastical bulwark against communist activity. Thus films were widely used in the 1950s to disseminate anti-communist propaganda.¹⁰⁹¹ Together with Graham's publications, they were especially effective in promoting his 'message of salvation through Jesus Christ'.¹⁰⁹² Each crusade generated another film: *Souls in Conflict*, which used the London Crusade as a background, was shown in Australia as publicity for the 1959

¹⁰⁸⁶ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 16.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See 'Billy Graham' available online at <http://www.nndb.com/people/561/000022495/> accessed 5 June 2009; see also Billy Graham Center Archives—Records of the BGEA: World Wide Pictures, Inc.—Collection 214, available online at <http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/214.htm#3>, accessed 6 June 2009.

¹⁰⁸⁸ 'Billy Graham'. See also http://www.billygraham.org/WWP_Index.asp, accessed 6 June 2009.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 16.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 16-17. See also Graham, *Just as I Am*, 327.

¹⁰⁹¹ See Phillip J. Landon, 'Films of the Cold War: 1948-1990', available online at http://userpages.umbc.edu/~landon/Local_Information_Files/Films%20of%20the%20Cold%20War.htm, accessed 5 June 2009; see also Tony Shaw, 'Martyrs, Miracles, and Martians: Religion and Cold War Cinematic Propaganda in the 1950s', *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 2 (2002), 3-22.

¹⁰⁹² James Stuart Olsen, *Historical Dictionary of the 1950s* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000, illustrated ed.), 114.

crusade.¹⁰⁹³ In the same manner *Shadow of the Boomerang* was made using the 1959 crusade to Australia as a background for further publicity for future crusades. Businesses within Australia made time available for their employees to watch Graham's films; prison chaplains used them to support their work; while 'as interest and expectation mounted, interstate passenger ships plying the Australian coast asked for Billy Graham films for ship-board screening'. The films 'played a vital and unprecedented role' in grooming Australians for the crusade.¹⁰⁹⁴ The films also made possible the collection of a great deal of money, with which to augment that provided by the BEAG organisation to fund the crusade. The response to fund raising endeavours was astonishing, and did not affect regular church donations. The 'Share Partner' system, whereby £1 a month was donated by those of 'small means' raised £22,000 in Sydney alone. Jerry Bevan described the vast sums donated as 'a provision beyond all our human comprehension'.¹⁰⁹⁵ The role of literature was also paramount. Janet Hunter was fourteen years old in England at the time of the Greater London Crusade. She attended with a bus load of worshippers from her Baptist church. She went forward and claims the crusade to be 'an inspiring event', fortifying her through a life 'where God never left her'. She was given a copy of *Hallowed Harringay*, an example of 'Christian fiction' outlining the journey of a journalist who was required to report on the crusade but found himself drawn into conversion.¹⁰⁹⁶ Hunter still treasures this gift from her counsellor, of which a reprint edition was issued. Likewise the 'official' account of the crusade, *Harringay Story*, saw four reprints made.¹⁰⁹⁷

The professionalism of the BGEA was obvious in all facets of Graham's ministry and nothing was left to chance. 'Operation Andrew', so named from the Apostle who invited his brother, Simon Peter, to meet Christ, oversaw approaches to the 'unchurched' to attend. Christian groups, both within and outside the workplace, threw themselves wholeheartedly into the task in hand. The Christian Fellowship Association of the Commonwealth Bank in Sydney was addressed a year before Graham arrived in Sydney by a Church of Christ speaker. Association members were exhorted to pray for the crusade, attempt to bring others, volunteer to work for the crusade, and to ensure there were no activities that might clash with

¹⁰⁹³ 'Billy Graham Film Here', *The Age*, 29 November 1958, 8.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 16-17.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 15.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Edward O. England, *Hallowed Harringay* (London Victory Press, 1955). I am grateful to Janet Hunter, a parishioner of St. Eanswythe's Anglican church for her memories of the event and the loan of England's book.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Colquhoun, *Harringay Story*.

the crusade.¹⁰⁹⁸ The network of prayer groups built up across Australia facilitated the organisation of offers of transport to and from venues as well as the reservation of accommodation at the crowded rallies.¹⁰⁹⁹ Prayer featured as a stimulus to the crusade preparations. Home prayer groups were organised in Australia, while across the Christian world, 'an unprecedented volume of prayer was offered'. The music which still resonates with some 50 years later was meticulously planned, massed choirs were recruited, so many that alternate choirs could be used on alternate nights.¹¹⁰⁰ Not all volunteers were welcome June Whittington of Melbourne had become a Mormon, and was told by her friend who recruited her that she should not identify herself as a Mormon on the form necessary to join the choir. Whittington did not go ahead with her application to join, but did attend the crusade. She still uses the free hymn and music book she was given to play the organ in her Mormon church each Sunday.¹¹⁰¹ This use of BGEA material of course ensured that the BGEA effort in Australia, together with the multitude of support, was publicised and received press attention worldwide once the crusade commenced.

The start of the crusade was deferred by one week when Billy Graham was afflicted with a serious eye condition. This news was featured widely both in Australia and the USA, as was the contact made with Graham by Vice-President Nixon, who urged Graham to rest.¹¹⁰² Graham finally arrived in Australia on 12 February 1959, and was welcomed in Sydney by Anglican Bishop R. C. Kerle, the chairman of the Sydney Campaign Committee. When interviewed on arrival Graham claimed he came only for Christian mission, and would not get involved in politics.¹¹⁰³ Unsurprisingly Graham followed the pattern that had proved so successful in previous crusades and sought to involve those regarded as leaders in Church and State. Mutual anti-communism provided a bond. The newly elected chairman of the

¹⁰⁹⁸ Graeme Chapman, *No Other Foundation: A Documentary History of Churches of Christ in Australia, 1846-1990* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Privately Published, 1993), 589.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 17.

¹¹⁰⁰ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 15.

¹¹⁰¹ Telephone conversation between June Whittington and the writer, 29 May 2009. Whittington recollected the crusade as a meaningful religious event in her life. However Whittington was and remains a practising Mormon. The music and hymns now associated with the crusade came from various sources.

¹¹⁰² For example: 'Billy Graham postpones Crusade', *Eugene Register-Guard*, 13 January 1959, 5. All the major US news agencies carried the story, as did papers in Australia; 'Crusade by Dr. Graham postponed', *Age*, 13 January 1959, 3; 'Dr Billy Graham in Mayo Clinic—delay by one week of Crusade', *Anglican*, no. 336, 16 January 1959, front page.

¹¹⁰³ *Anglican*, no. 341, 20 February 1959, front page.

Australian Council of the World Council of Churches, the Anglican archbishop of Brisbane, R. C. Halse, drew attention to the ideological 'struggle that is taking place worldwide for the heart and minds of men'. He drew a stark contrast between the 'divisive, atheistic and revolutionary forces which deny all spiritual values and seek to make man subservient to an all-powerful State' and 'a way of life of which Christian co-operation is one expression, in which men and women are recognised as children of God and members of his one family'. He gave Graham this blessing, he stated that: 'A divided church cannot win a divided world' and asked for prayer for the crusade. Halse was acting Anglican primate at this time. Halse's support, especially given his acknowledged Anglo-Catholic churchmanship—and his known anti-communist sentiments—was a significant boost for Graham.¹¹⁰⁴

Melbourne

Graham was welcomed to Melbourne by the Chancellor of the Anglican Diocese, Sir Edmund Herring, chairman of the Crusade general committee, and members of the Melbourne executive committee including the dean of Melbourne, Barton Babbage at Essendon Airport on 12 February. The Southern Cross Crusade opened in Melbourne on 15 February 1959 at the Festival Hall, also known as the West Melbourne Stadium since it was used to host wrestling and boxing matches.¹¹⁰⁵ 15,000 people attended, which Graham said was indicative of the 'spiritual need that is growing across Victoria'. Herring gave the opening welcome at the Festival Hall in the presence of Melbourne executive committee, Babbage, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Rt Rev. Farchney, and President General of the Methodist Church Dr A. H. Wood. In the same copy of the *Anglican* which described the opening were letters both for and against the Crusade, as well as a review of Rev. G. C. Griffiths' pamphlet, *Anglicans and Billy Graham*. The review asserted that Graham was

¹¹⁰⁴ *Anglican*, no. 341, 20 February 1959, front page. Halse was friendly with Roman Catholic Archbishop Duhig of Brisbane with whom he shared anti-communist sentiments. Friendships such as this in the secular times of the 1950s were not common. The evangelical Mowll and Cardinal Gilroy were certainly not close friends.

¹¹⁰⁵ John Wren built the Stadium in 1915. Wren was well known in Melbourne as an Irish Roman Catholic anti-communist and for reputedly being involved in questionable criminal activities. Communist Frank Hardy wrote a book, *Power without Glory*, which used pseudonyms but was unmistakably about the Wren family. Mrs Wren's attempt to sue Hardy failed. The Stadium burnt down in 1955, but was rebuilt in time to hold the wrestling and boxing matches for the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956. It was a popular venue for live bands and other entertainment.

'sincere, but sincerely wrong'.¹¹⁰⁶ Another Anglican clergyman, also critical of Graham's lack of theology, was disapproving of the 'professional fund raising'.¹¹⁰⁷ Graham was aware that his support in the Anglican Church was not wholehearted. However, despite the predominant numbers of Anglicans in the community he still drew enormous crowds in Melbourne.¹¹⁰⁸ Letters in the *Anglican* reflected both censure and commendation, exemplified by the synod in Armidale, where a motion for support for Billy Graham in NSW 'in every way' was challenged by some clergy who had doubts about unqualified support; whilst an amendment to ask for prayer only was lost.¹¹⁰⁹ Burgmann maintained his disapproving stance, he maintained that 'one text of the bible could mostly be matched by another' and considered the Bible was not infallible.¹¹¹⁰ Graham's Crusade in Melbourne was, of course, the litmus test. If it succeeded in Melbourne, without the unqualified support it could rely on in Sydney from the Anglican evangelicals, then success elsewhere seemed assured. The Melbourne experience exceeded all expectations. The motives of those who attended were mixed, some came to offer enthusiastic support, some to scoff, and others were intrigued. The greatest numbers, of course, were worshipping Christians already. Archbishop Woods had reminded Melbourne Anglicans in *The Church of England Messenger* that they were committed by a synod resolution to support the Crusade.¹¹¹¹ Some also came away disappointed, having attended because of the advertising material. Keith Guerin attended with some fellow airforcemen from the Point Cook RAAF base. They went 'because there wasn't much on in Melbourne at the time'. Guerin was not impressed with Graham, who reminded him 'of Elmer Gantry of movie fame'.¹¹¹² The packed arena meant that all could not gain egress.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Anglican*, no. 341, 20 February 1959, 6. This pamphlet created much debate, mainly dictated by the type of churchmanship professed by the correspondents. A negative review in the *ACR*, 5 March 1959, 6, labelled the tract as 'Anti-evangelicalism'.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Anglican*, no. 341, 20 February 1959, front page, 5-6, 10.

¹¹⁰⁸ 'Critics fail to halt Billy Graham Crowds'. *Los Angeles Times*, 2 March 1959, 8.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Anglican*, no. 345, 20 March 1959, front page.

¹¹¹⁰ *Anglican*, no. 344 13 March 1959, 3.

¹¹¹¹ Archbishop Frank Woods, 'The Archbishop's Letter to You', *The Church of England Messenger*, no. 3005, 6 February 1959, 19. This resolution was passed by synod in October, 1956. See Year Book of the Dioceses of Melbourne, Bendigo, Gippsland and Wangaratta, (Diocesan Registry, Melbourne 1957) 224-225. Graham's acceptance by the archbishop of Canterbury and the Queen was used as justification for support of Graham, 'even though his American ways could be irritating'.

¹¹¹² Correspondence between the writer and Frances Guerin, 15 May 2009. Elmer Gantry was a character from a novel by Sinclair Lewis, later made into a popular film. Gantry was a fast-talking, yarn-spinning vacuum

Complaints were received regarding lack of space for those 'outsiders' to hear the Gospel, one letter being signed 'Disappointed Sinner'.¹¹¹³ When the West Melbourne Stadium proved inadequate, there was a relocation of venues. The newly opened Myer Music Bowl near the centre of the city in spacious parkland surroundings allowed for large crowds, the Showgrounds being used once the Bowl became unavailable because the annual Moomba festival took precedence. Still Graham continued to draw crowds, even to the unattractive Agricultural Showgrounds, and despite some extremely inclement weather. A triumph was his Youth Ministry, an area at which Graham excelled.

Local evangelical staff was recruited in Australia. Pastor Norman Pell, a Baptist, joined BGEA in Melbourne as a young man. He was involved in the youth work for the crusade and then returned to America and worked there for twelve years for the organisation.¹¹¹⁴ He had participated in the National Christian Endeavour Union of Australia, an inter-church youth organisation. His work for BGEA involved him in working with Leighton Ford, Billy Graham's brother-in-law, whom Pell claimed was the intellectual of the group.¹¹¹⁵ Pell had no qualms in joining BGEA; and his admiration for the work of the organisation has not faded over the years. He regarded Graham as a humble man, who knew his Gospel, and who was central to the crusade. Pell revealed that Graham made no pretensions that he was an intellectual; he made sure that all knew his doctorates were honorary and insisted that all called him Billy.¹¹¹⁶ Graham campaigned against communism, which he regarded as 'Satan's religion' and a 'great anti-Christian movement'.¹¹¹⁷ On arrival in Australia Graham had said that the challenge of communism would only be met 'by a

salesman with the natural gift of persuasion who became an evangelist. Burt Lancaster portrayed Gantry in the film. The comparison is unfair, in that Gantry was intent on wooing the female lead, played by Jean Simmons, who was committed to establishing her own ministry. No taint of scandal was ever implied regarding Graham.

¹¹¹³ Babbage and Siggins, *Light beneath the Cross*, 20.

¹¹¹⁴ It should also be noted that evangelicals also travelled to the USA and joined Graham for specific crusades. Babbage was an Associate Evangelist for BGEA in the Greater Philadelphia Crusade in the year following Graham's Southern Cross Crusade. He stayed at Graham's home in North Carolina. See Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 119-120.

¹¹¹⁵ Ford and June, Graham's sister, were married by Graham in December 1953. Ford was important to the BGEA, and had joined the organisation in 1955. See Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 229.

¹¹¹⁶ Conversation between the writer and Pastor Pell, 24 July 2007.

¹¹¹⁷ See Kyle A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, Taylor Francis Group, 2005). Prologue xiii, 82-83

spiritual awakening and a new moral fibre in the lives of men and women'.¹¹¹⁸ Graham had softened his public statements against communism by 1959 but had maintained his stance.¹¹¹⁹ However Pell claimed Graham had no doubts that communism would fail; this was a statement he said Graham made in his final address in Melbourne. Pell described the community involvement before the crusade: the Rotary lunches, daytime meetings, mainly of women since they were the homebodies, prayer groups and rallies. Tickets, which were free, were distributed through the churches; finances were collected by making share partners who donated for the crusade. These measures were put in place up to six to nine months before the crusade started. Pell felt that one reason for the success of the crusade was that there was—at least—a base knowledge of the Gospels in 1959. The popularity of the Christian Endeavour movement in the first half of the 20th century ensured a high percentage of Australian children received a triple dose of religion every Sunday, attending church, Sunday school and Christian Endeavour.¹¹²⁰ Pell claimed that extreme fundamentalists from all denominations were opposed to Graham. Despite this opposition the Melbourne crowds that flocked to the Stadium filled the arena, and the annex. Graham talked from a soapbox outside as well as inside both the arena and annexe.¹¹²¹

Not all younger people were accepting of Graham. Following Graham's talk to students of the University of Melbourne there was discussion in the student paper, *Farrago*. Graham was described as 'The Gentleman Bushranger or The Unimpressive William Graham'.¹¹²² There was debate in the following editions of the paper, including a reply from Ian Siggins, involved in the Melbourne crusade and later co-author of *Light beneath the Cross with Babbage*.¹¹²³ The paper endeavoured to put the matter to rest by 7 April, in an

¹¹¹⁸ 'Crusade begins: Billy Graham in Australia', *ACR*, vol. 23, no. 3, 19 February 1959, 1.

¹¹¹⁹ See Bloom, *The American Religion*, 64-66: See also Bryan D. Gilling, 'Back to the Simplicities of Religion: The 1959 Billy Graham Crusade in New Zealand and Its Precursors', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1992), 233-234.

¹¹²⁰ 'Christian Endeavour, 'National Christian Endeavour Convention', in 27 National CE Convention, (Adelaide: 1958), available online at <http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=1084> accessed 5 August 2009.

¹¹²¹ Conversation between the writer and Pastor Pell, 24 July 2007. This is also acknowledged in the literature recording the event.

¹¹²² 'The Gentleman Bushranger or The Unimpressive William Graham', *Farrago*, 17 March 1959, 2.

¹¹²³ See various, *Farrago*, 17 March 1959; 24 March 1959; 7 April 1959. Siggins' letter appears in *Farrago*, 24 March 1959, 2. Siggins was a post graduate Arts student at this stage, after 4 years of medical studies, writing an MA thesis 'Causes of the division between the Lutheran & Reformed Churches', in the School of History in

article written to discuss the various letters and to defend the original claims that Graham was both a bushranger and unimpressive. The writer used 'the investigations of two newspapers, the Conservative 'New York Times' and the 'British Weekly' to establish that 'Billy Graham's Claims [were] 1,400 p.c. Exaggerated', to debunk those defending Graham.¹¹²⁴ This was a very different reaction to the resounding approval found at the highly organised crusade meetings. The influential Australian Student Christian Movement (ASCM) 'decided on an arms-length involvement' with the crusade but offered to follow up on referrals from the campaign. The Evangelical Union (EU) at Melbourne, however, was able to process referrals from the crusade more effectively and thus was able to grow. At University of Sydney the stronger EU organisation, according to Howe, 'further entrenched their position as the dominant Christian group on campus as a result of the Graham Crusade'.¹¹²⁵

Opposition to Graham's Crusade in Australia also came from the Roman Catholic Church. In the 1950s there was considerable sectarian feeling within Australian churches, especially toward the Roman Catholic Church. The evangelical Anglicans, whose views were expressed in the *ACR*, were opposed to any accommodation to the Roman Catholic Church. The Anglo-Catholic Anglicans, who used more ornate forms of church decoration, clerical dress and churchmanship, were more likely to be tolerant of Roman Catholicism.¹¹²⁶ President Eisenhower's aim for a civil religion was unlikely to bear fruit in Australia. The indomitable Dr Mannix, Roman Catholic archbishop of Melbourne, called a church parade of significance to rival Graham's success, especially with the young.

the University of Melbourne. Siggins had been editor of *Farrago*, as well being very involved in the Evangelical Union at the University. Babbage described Siggins as 'intellectually precocious' and hired him as tutor at Ridley. His varied academic career is noted by Babbage, see Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 103.

¹¹²⁴ Andrew Deacon, 'The last word:—Billy Graham's Claims 1,400 p.c. Exaggerated', *Farrago*, 7 April 1959, 4, 8.

¹¹²⁵ Renate Howe, *A Century of Influence: The Australian Student Christian Movement* (Sydney: UNSW Publishing, 2009), 296-297. The ASCM was allied to the World Student Christian Movement. Prestigious clergy such as William Temple were involved in the early days of the movement. Indeed Temple travelled to Australia in 1910. Bishops Burgmann and Moyes were extremely active, Maynard and Mertz also played a prominent part in Melbourne. Archbishop Woods of Melbourne had also been a member. Influential lay people such as Bob Hawke, Bob Menzies, Garfield Barwick were members in their student years. Doug Dargaville was also a member. There was great rivalry between the ASCM and the EU.

¹¹²⁶ See Mark Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4-5 for useful definitions of Anglicanism, to differentiate between Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism.

The American evangelist Billy Graham was holy rolling across Australia when the flower of Victoria's Catholic youth was ordered to assemble in Melbourne's CBD on Sunday, March 15, 1959, two days before St Patrick's Day.¹¹²⁷

While St Patrick's Day marches were a normal feature in Melbourne, this one, according to historian Damien Murphy, signalled 'an extra purpose: showing Melbourne that Catholic tradition had as much allure for its faithful as the whirlwind Pastor Graham had for Protestants'.¹¹²⁸ Dr Mannix was 95, but sat in the 'back seat of his American convertible' at the top of Bourke St to watch his young flock pay homage before they dutifully marched to Mass at nearby St Patrick's Cathedral.¹¹²⁹ Irish and school pipe bands provided the marching music for the uniformed school children. Meanwhile the Crusade finale was at the MCG. Not all schools could come to Melbourne:

School captain George Pell had just started his matriculation year at St Patrick's College, Ballarat. The school did not send its cadet corps to march before Mannix, but, in a special house set aside for Pell and other boys who had shown a desire for the priesthood, Christian Brothers spoke in muted terms about Graham's strange and glitzy success.¹¹³⁰

No sign of an encompassing civil religion here! Cardinal George Pell, of course, was to later rise to a position of power and eminence in the Roman Catholic Church.¹¹³¹

¹¹²⁷ Damien Murphy, 'On a Wing and a Prayer', Sydney Morning Herald-online, available online at <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2008/07/11/1215658130208.html?feed=fairfaxdigitalxml>, accessed 12 July 2008. This is one of many articles written to remember the 50 year anniversary of the 1959 Billy Graham visit, this article seeks to compare it to later religious events.

¹¹²⁸ Murphy, 'On a Wing and a Prayer'.

¹¹²⁹ Mannix was known for using the St Patrick's Day marches for public relations comment. See Siobhan McHugh, 'Not in Front of the Altar: Mixed Marriages and Sectarian Tensions between Catholics and Protestant in Pre-Multicultural Australia', *History Australia* 6, no. 2 (2009), 42.1-42.22, 42.9. John Wren, the wealthy entrepreneur who owned the Stadium where Graham commenced his Melbourne visit, coincidentally assisted Mannix to refute charges of disloyalty against Roman Catholics in the Great War by arranging ten Catholic Victoria Cross winners astride white horses in front of the first St Patrick's Day procession after the War finished.

¹¹³⁰ Murphy, 'On a Wing and a Prayer'. This celebrity aspect of Graham's crusade has been discussed by Smart, 'The Evangelist as Star'.

¹¹³¹ Cardinal Pell is presently Roman Catholic archbishop of Sydney. He is reputed to be on good terms with Anglican Archbishop Jensen, a circumstance not likely in the 1950s – when the evangelical Mowll and then Gough were Anglican archbishops in Sydney and Cardinal Gilroy the Roman Catholic archbishop. See Tess Livingstone, *George Pell* (Duffy & Snellgrove, Sydney, 2002), for a study of Pell's life. Obviously the ploy of isolating Pell in Ballarat worked; there is no mention of Graham in his memoirs.

The seminal factor that guaranteed that Graham became recognised as 'an agent of spiritual and moral renewal at home [America] and an ambassador of American goodwill abroad'¹¹³² was the last meeting in Melbourne. Graham had approached President Eisenhower for a letter of greeting to the Australians, which was supplied, with the warning that it must not seem that 'your efforts have some official connection with our government'.¹¹³³ No such caution existed for Vice Regal representatives in Australia, both Sir Dallas Brooks, Governor of Victoria, and Sir Eric Woodward, Governor of New South Wales, were pleased to be involved. Sir Dallas read the twenty third psalm to open the final gathering in the Melbourne Cricket Ground, the Chief Justice, Sir Edmund Herring was on the platform. Graham read the letter from President and Mrs Eisenhower to 143,000 people. This was the largest number of people ever accommodated at the MCG, or indeed previously at a Billy Graham meeting, 4,107 made their decisions to come forward at Graham's invitation, which signalled their acceptance of Christ as their saviour.¹¹³⁴ Babbage claimed that 'It was a privilege to be Chairman for the Melbourne Crusade and to be intimately involved in it'. This did not prevent him from giving a retrospective incisive analysis of Graham and the secret of his success. While admiring of Graham, his name dropping, canvassing for 'invitations to the White House', and his readiness to reveal intimate private conversations with Presidents, as well as his view that 'all a nation needs is 'Mr Righteousness" left Babbage with a distinct sense of unease.¹¹³⁵

The BGEA made use of several innovations on their Australian/New Zealand tour, which were then retained for future use. The use of film and television links to traverse the large distances was extremely effective. Another innovation was the use of associate evangelists to run sessions in differing cities and places that Graham could not, with Graham coming in to a larger meeting at the finish of the campaign. This was trialled very effectively in both Australia and New Zealand. It also allowed Graham to regain some strength after his eye illness. Use of these new innovations and the undoubted professionalism of BGEA, together with the international reputation Graham had nurtured, enabled Graham to succeed

¹¹³² Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960*, 276.

¹¹³³ Inboden, *Religion*, 276.

¹¹³⁴ There appears no way to ascertain how many of these 'conversions' were actually meaningful. For a comment on this, see Bruns, *Billy Graham*, 52. BGEA claims that the lives of 50 to 90 percent of those who signed cards were affected in some spiritual way.

¹¹³⁵ Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 120-121.

where other evangelists had either failed or had limited results.¹¹³⁶ Canon Bryan Green, a liberal evangelical, was described as 'the Anglican Billy Graham' and had visited Australia.¹¹³⁷ Green was a highly regarded English Anglican cleric, whom some in the Anglican Communion claimed was more worthy of support than the Baptist Graham. However, it is difficult to compare the two evangelists. Canon Green held parish responsibilities in England, though noted for his mission work at home and abroad.¹¹³⁸ Most certainly Green did not have access to the BGEA resources and entrée to the patronage on which Graham could rely. Green disappointed Dean Babbage when he came to Australia to deliver the Moorhouse lectures at St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne in 1951. Green later travelled to Sydney, and was critical of Sydney diocese's fundamentalism and the Calvinism of Moore Theological College; his remarks were 'tiresome, unhelpful and perverse'. To Babbage Green also displayed 'egoism...when he claimed Billy Graham had attended his Mission in the Cathedral of St John the Divine in New York in order to learn from him'.¹¹³⁹ An American evangelist with whom Graham was favourably compared was Oral Roberts, whose revival and faith healing meetings in Australia in 1956 ended in disaster in Melbourne, with Roberts fleeing back to America after receiving threats to burn down his revival tent

Sydney

After New Zealand the next port of call was Sydney. Graham was interviewed in Sydney on his return from New Zealand. He considered that his trip to New Zealand was the 'most profitable week in his ministry'. On a proportional basis New Zealand surpassed Melbourne on the presentation of the Gospel. Questioned on the claim that more church people than others attended his crusades, Graham said he believed the greatest area for evangelism today was within the church. 80 per cent of the American population were church members (both nominal and practising). Those 'on the fringe' needed to make a new commitment to Christ. US Protestant Episcopalians were the slowest to join his crusades, although individual

¹¹³⁶ Gilling, 'Back to the Simplicities of Religion', 223.

¹¹³⁷ See 'Obituary: The suffragan Bishop of Thetford, the Right Reverend Hugo De Waal', *Daily Telegraph*, 12 January 2007, available online at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1539223/Rt-Rev-Hugo-de-Waal.html>, accessed 21 August 2009; see also Peter Vaughan, 'Obituary: Canon Bryan Green', *Independent*, 20 March 1993, available online at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-canon-bryan-green-1498761.html>, accessed 21 August 2009.

¹¹³⁸ 'Leading Anglican Preacher Arriving', Literary Section, *Age*, 16 June 1951, 10.

¹¹³⁹ Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 81.

members had supported him. The Episcopal Church comprised only three million members, while his church, the Southern Baptist could boast twenty two million. There was a differing emphasis on the sacraments and a different interpretation on conversion. The work of the Holy Spirit could be discerned in the crusades, but preparation did help.¹¹⁴⁰ The need for the support in Australia of the numerically dominant Anglican church was self evident; Graham could not only rely on Baptists in Australia if his crusade was to succeed. The venerable British and Foreign Bible Society, which operated under Royal Charter from King George VI and had been in existence for 154 years, was happy to be involved with Graham. It gave away 30,000 copies of St John's Gospel at the Melbourne, and had 50,000 copies arriving for the Sydney Crusade. Sydney was to embrace Graham, regardless of the attitude of the US Episcopal Church. St Stephen's Presbyterian Church received so many referrals, 600 people, from the Sydney Crusade that they needed to employ another minister. As expected, the evangelical nature of the Sydney churches, the preceding publicity and account of the successes swelled the crowds. The Showgrounds and the adjoining Cricket Ground were utilised for the final meeting, replication made of the 1,000 voice choir, with the main participants, Graham, O'Shea and others commuting between the two grounds. In this way more than 150,000 people heard these main participants, surpassing the final crowd figures for the MCG.

The present Anglican archbishop of Sydney, Phillip Jensen, is one who credits Graham with changing his religious attitudes.¹¹⁴¹ He cites the professionalism of the Graham team as an important factor in this change; he attended the Sydney meetings no fewer than seventeen times.¹¹⁴² Jensen's wife and his brother also 'went forward' in 1959.¹¹⁴³ He also

¹¹⁴⁰ 'Billy Graham in Sydney', *Anglican*, no. 349, 17 April 1959, front page.

¹¹⁴¹ 'Billy Graham special completes filming in Sydney and Melbourne', *Journey Online*, Queensland Uniting Church, 27 August 2008, available online at <http://www.journeyonline.com.au/showArticle.php?categoryId=7&articleId=1667>, accessed 18 June 2009: Geraldine Doogue, 'Billy Graham Down Under'. Doogue used the term 'God's Super Salesman' to describe Graham, as she claimed the press had in 1959.

¹¹⁴² Johnson, 'Remembering '59'. The DVD includes the original Southern Cross Crusade film made by BGEA. A booklet, Mike and Nikki Thompson, *Remembering '59: A History of Billy Graham's Australasian Crusade – a history by Mike and Nikki Thompson* (Olive Tree Media, Kirawee, NSW), is also included with the DVD.

¹¹⁴³ See Archbishop Peter Jensen, *Centenary Book of Witness: Stories and statements of faith from fifty Australian men, A celebration of the centenary of the Anglican Men's society* (formerly the Church of England Men's Society) (SPCK Australia Publishing: Adelaide 2005), 39-41, 40. Others who made statements in this booklet claim that Graham changed their lives.

claims to meet many whose lives were changed for the better by the crusade. Not all who attended Graham's crusades report such a beneficial result. Paul Walsh attended the Sydney Showgrounds as a young child with his mother, father and his mother's best friend and her husband, at the urging of the best friend, Dot, who had become intrigued by the Graham Crusade advertising. The Walsh family was a typical Anglican family, although Walsh senior had been a Jew before marrying Paul's mother. They attended church sporadically, as did many Anglicans of the time. The other couple was not of any religious persuasion, but went forward and became lifelong, enthusiastic and judgemental Baptists. This religious difference then affected what had been a close and unquestioning relationship between the couples. The rift was perpetuated by the couple's children, who also chose to 'cut' Walsh as had their parents, since he did not meet the exacting standards of the Baptist Church.

The euphoric effect the Graham's crusades could have on participants was described when Mungo Wentworth McCallum discussed his family on *Dynasty*, a TV series giving the histories of influential Australian families. McCallum claimed his Aunty Mary also went forward seventeen times at the Graham Crusade in Sydney.¹¹⁴⁴ Typical of the reception Graham received, from both the Establishment and ordinary citizens, was seen on the day trip when he flew to Canberra during the Sydney campaign. 10,000 people attended the meeting at the Manuka Sportsground on a bleak day, of whom 1,029 responded to his invitation to 'declare for Christ'. He was the luncheon guest of the Governor General, Field Marshall Sir William Slim and Lady Slim, was received later by the Deputy Prime Minister of Australia, and was guest of honour at a reception hosted by the American Ambassador, William J. Sebald, at the Embassy of the United States.¹¹⁴⁵ The embracing of Graham by the Canberra Establishment was replicated by Vice Regal representatives across Australia, and duly noted in the press. The criss-crossing of the continent—even using the associate evangelists, and the machinery of the BGEA, by films, television and radio, was exhausting. All the places visited drew similar reactions to Melbourne and Sydney; adulation; and great response to Graham's mesmerising invitations to commit to Christ.¹¹⁴⁶

Some were able to resist. A lapsed Anglican, Margaret Reynolds attended the Graham Crusade in Adelaide, to oblige her mother, who was a committed Anglican and who

¹¹⁴⁴ Aviva Ziegler, 'The Wentworths', in *Dynasty* (Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2005), DVD. 26 minutes running time, colour.

¹¹⁴⁵ Babbage, *Light beneath the Cross*, 28-29.

¹¹⁴⁶ For an actual recording of Graham's invitation during a crusade, see Geraldine Doouge, 'Billy Graham Down Under'.

worked at the Crusade office. Despite her mother's concern that Reynolds needed to regain her faith, Reynolds managed, with difficulty, to resist the impelling call to 'go forward' even though this might eventually consign her to Hell, in Graham's terms.¹¹⁴⁷ Anthony Sell records a similar ability to reject 'the call', attending the Myer Music Bowl with his mother, as his younger sister and her friends needed chaperoning. Sell, a committed and attending Anglican, easily rejected Graham's invitation, while his sister was restrained from going forward by his mother. His sister's friends went forward, but their new found religion did not last; it lapsed within the year.¹¹⁴⁸ The Crusade was of interest to Anglican clergy; many such as Rev. Douglas Dargaville attended to observe, they found the presentations impressive but did not accept Graham's invitation to 'go forward'.¹¹⁴⁹ Other Anglican lay people also had a similar problem with 'going forward'. Archbishop Woods had 'expressed the wish that all members of the Church of England Men's Society' attend the Crusade.¹¹⁵⁰ The president of the CEMS in Melbourne at that time, according to Graham's biographer 'one of the most important posts that a layman can achieve', John Bishop, heard, and heeded, Graham's call to commit his life to Christ. But he could not bring himself to 'go forward'.¹¹⁵¹ Anglican Robert Coles, scion of the influential Coles family, answered the call. Graham invited Coles to travel to Brisbane where he gave his 'testimony to 50,000 people', which 'made front page news next day'. He and Bishop, who was Assistant Secretary of the Board of the Coles variety chain stores, founded the Coles Christian Fellowship group, a measure of the impact of the Crusade. Coles also committed himself to St John's Anglican Church, Toorak, where he served as secretary to vestry for many years.¹¹⁵²

By the time the Sydney Crusade was completed Graham was becoming tired. He decided to fly to Melbourne to join the *Dominion Monarch*, en route from England with Sydney's archbishop elect aboard. The Right Rev. Hugh Gough, whom Graham regarded as

¹¹⁴⁷ Telephone conversation with the writer, 18 March 2009. Reynolds vividly remembers Graham offering this bleak choice. Reynolds has remained an atheist. See also Robert Drewe, *The Shark Net* (Camberwell: Penguin Books, 2000), 160-175, for a similar account of a young man's experience of Graham's ability to impress the need to repent during the 1959 crusade in Perth.

¹¹⁴⁸ Telephone conversation with the writer, 20 April 2009. Sell is still an active member of the Anglican church.

¹¹⁴⁹ Telephone conversation with the writer, 20 March 2009.

¹¹⁵⁰ See Mr John Bishop, *Centenary Book of Witness*, 92-94, 92. Others who made statements in this booklet claim that Graham changed their lives.

¹¹⁵¹ Pollock, *Billy Graham*, 250-251.

¹¹⁵² See Mr. Robert Coles, *Centenary Book of Witness*, 89-91, 90.

a close friend, had identified himself with Billy Graham in England in 1954 and supported the London Crusade when no other Anglican bishop would do so. This situation changed when Archbishop Fisher gave Graham his blessing by attending the final meeting at Wembley.¹¹⁵³ Gough and Graham were able to spend the time from Melbourne to Sydney together on the boat. Graham left the boat in Sydney to rejoin his campaign, leaving Gough to be enthroned as archbishop of Sydney.

In June 1959, Australian Gallup Polls posed this question: 'Was Billy Graham one of the greatest Christian figures of the century'. The question was prompted by this claim which was made by the Rev. Professor James Stewart of Edinburgh University, a Presbyterian preacher, who was visiting Melbourne. 57 percent of respondents considered that he was, 24 percent considered he was not, while 19 percent had no opinion. In the same age grouping, from twenty to sixty years of age, 60 percent of women respondents, and 53 percent of men felt he was 'a great Christian, who did a lot of good out here, who was sincere and devout, who consolidated the churches, and caused a revival'. On the other hand, he was 'a business proposition', an 'orator', and an 'exhibitionist'. Within the major denominations 93 percent of Baptists questioned felt he was a 'great Christian', as did 69 percent of Methodists, 68 percent of Presbyterians, 58 percent of Anglicans and, surprisingly, 29 percent of Roman Catholics.¹¹⁵⁴ According to Frame, Graham's Crusade was 'an incredible phenomenon that went against the cultural mood...since belief in God had declined from 95 percent in 1949 to 85 percent in 1961'.¹¹⁵⁵ However, once Graham departed, the slide in church attendances continued, 'Australians resumed the life they had known beforehand', although Bible and theological colleges did see an increase in enrolment numbers which 'produced a ready

¹¹⁵³ See Loane, 'Obituary: The Right Rev Hugh Gough'. Archbishop Loane furnishes an assessment of Gough as 'pukka' English, an archbishop who was 'less accessible' to the ordinary clergyman. The sudden resignation of Gough from the Sydney see in 1966 is attributed by Loane to 'nervous strain' when others claim Gough's sudden departure was connected to Gough's personal relationships. See Humphrey McQueen, 'Primates are Human' Archbishop Gough, *Post War Australia*, available online at http://home.alphalink.com.au/~loge27/p_war_au/Soc-Cu/pwar_au_sc_archgough.htm, accessed 22 July 2009. See also 'Why did Gough go off like that', Richard Neville/Dean Letcher (eds), *Oz*, June/July 1966, Australia. This magazine is available at the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, ref. 94/185/22, Magazine. See also Hilliard, 'Church, Family...', 134-146.

¹¹⁵⁴ 'Billy Graham a Great Christian', Australian Public Opinion Polls 1400-1411, *Australian Gallup Polls*, June-August 1959.

¹¹⁵⁵ Tom Frame, *Losing My Religion: Unbelief in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2009), 66.

supply of evangelical ministers of religion and missionaries'.¹¹⁵⁶ Such a result would especially gratify the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church.

Archbishop Gough.

The appointment of yet another English bishop to be archbishop of Sydney in Australia also appeared as a significant acknowledgement of British dominance in the Australian Anglican Communion, despite Archbishop Gough's US evangelical connections and his friendship with Billy Graham. Rev. Keith Rayner, the holder of a Rotary Foundation scholarship, which he used for a full year's post graduate study on Church history at Harvard University, returned to Australia in 1959 and observed 'that we were undoubtedly being strongly influenced from America, in church life as in other aspects of Australian life'.¹¹⁵⁷ The extreme anti-communist stance of the USA was one facet of this. There were some who claimed Mowll had 'put forward' Gough as his successor when he invited Gough to visit Australia in 1957.¹¹⁵⁸ Gough had definite views on church and state: 'A churchman should be interested in politics. Take religion into politics but not politics into religion'.¹¹⁵⁹ Bishop Marcus Loane was an Australian bishop, and a more conservative evangelical than Gough, but was defeated by Gough in the election of a new archbishop for Sydney.¹¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless Loane was extremely loyal to and supportive of the new archbishop. Gough was interviewed on the *Dominion Monarch* on his arrival in Sydney on 29 May. The editor of the *Anglican* reported on the Gough press conference—Gough admitted 'Rev. William Graham's methods may not be perfect but it was up to the Church now to till the ground he had broken'. He was not so reticent about Billy Graham's ministry in his first sermon to his new flock:

These were days of great danger for mankind. The Church alone possesses the truth that can save the world. Through the ministry of Dr Graham the light of the Gospel of

¹¹⁵⁶ James Jupp, *The Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia*, 321.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Anglican*, no. 370, 11 September 1959, 3.

¹¹⁵⁸ As early as 1951 Rev. Broughton Knox, from a group very influential in the Sydney diocese, had mentioned Gough as a possible successor to Mowll to his father, Canon D. J. Knox: Loane was the son-in-law of Canon Knox, and Broughton's brother-in-law. See Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life*, 119. See also 'Church & Nation', *Anglican*, no. 330, 5 December 1958, 4.

¹¹⁵⁹ Church and Nation, *Anglican*, vol. 330, 5 December 1958, 7.

¹¹⁶⁰ The conservative evangelicals were in disarray in Sydney at the time of the election, splitting the vote between three Australian candidates, and thus empowered the less conservative element that supported Gough. See Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 265.

Christ has shone forth, perhaps more brightly than ever before in the history of this great city.¹¹⁶¹

Gough made clear that he was impatient with the synodical form of church governance, and 'never really adjusted to this democratic system'.¹¹⁶² He also did not wait long to display his views on communism. When Gough was welcomed to the Newcastle diocese he warned of three dangers to the church, the first of which was communism. It was, he said,

... absolutely atheistic and bitterly opposed to the Church. Communists are too clever to try to destroy the church by violence, but in countries they control they allow churches to exist under conditions which water down Christianity. The communists oppose the Church with subtle propaganda insinuations and doubts and the terrible thing called brain washing.¹¹⁶³

Gough was elected as primate of Australia at the Conference of Bishops, meeting from Friday 23 October to Monday 26 October, at Gilbulla, Sydney, and comprising three archbishops, and 25 bishops.¹¹⁶⁴ Those present resolved 'not to reveal voting figures and details of procedure'. There was also a Statement on Peace made by the conference, in which they 'called upon the members of the Church of England in Australia to intensify their prayers and work for the peace of the world'. The Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament (CICD) to be held in November in Melbourne was especially singled out for critical notice.¹¹⁶⁵ The Conference:

... expressed its belief that the Congress... has no particular claim on the attention of Christians, because it is being largely planned and directed by a partisan group whose purpose seems to be the dominance of Communism rather than peace based on freedom, truth and justice.¹¹⁶⁶

¹¹⁶¹ *Anglican*, no. 356, 5 June 1959, front page. The editor of the *Anglican* was Mrs Joyce James, whose husband, Francis, was the Managing Director of the Anglican Press. This Press was forced to close in July 1964, while the *Anglican* survived until 3 February 1970, when it also ceased operations.

¹¹⁶² Loane, 'Obituary: The Right Rev Hugh Gough'.

¹¹⁶³ 'Gough to Newcastle. Welcome from the Diocese', *Anglican*, no. 370, 11 September 1959, 12.

¹¹⁶⁴ There had been extreme rivalry for the position of primate of Australia. In 1935. Mowll had 'lost' the primacy by one vote as a new archbishop of Sydney. He regained the position for Sydney unopposed 1947; it was a relief for the Sydney diocese that Gough retained the position.

¹¹⁶⁵ The Australia and New Zealand Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation was most commonly called the ANZ Congress.

¹¹⁶⁶ Minutes of the Bishops' meeting—October, 1959. I am grateful to the General Synod office (Anglican Church, Sydney) for supplying me with these minutes. Gilbulla was the war memorial conference centre

This powerful condemnation of the Congress can be understood in the light of the activities of ASIO. In fact public debate regarding the congress had preceded the Conference. Those assembled at Gilbulla were already well aware of the congress, as Gough had been acquainted by Attorney-General Garfield Barwick of the 'facts' according to ASIO. This congress was to be noteworthy, as it signalled a greater involvement by diverse groups in opposition to the use of nuclear weaponry.

Australia and New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament, 7-14 November 1959

This conference was remarkable for the lack of consensus among both the participants and the wider community. The ALP did not boycott this conference as it had in 1950. However there was not the overwhelming support from the left for the congress. Opposition within the radical ranks came from those disaffected ex-CPA members who decried the activities of the USSR in Hungary and other places.¹¹⁶⁷ As early as 20 May 1959 the Minister for External Affairs, R. G. Casey, had advocated an inquiry into the conduct of the Congress. He felt 'the Congress sought to exploit the natural desire of all sensible and responsible persons for peace'. He claimed attempts were being made to enlist persons from cultural, educational, religious and industrial circles.¹¹⁶⁸ There was thus lively public debate regarding the congress. James Jupp, a political scientist of Labor persuasion recently arrived from Britain, wrote to the *Age* to claim that 'a pro-Soviet peace movement is like a teetotaler investigating the liquor trade. No one can attach much reliance to its reports'. He would need to see, he continued, discussion of the suppression in Hungary and Tibet to convince him this was a genuine effort to mobilise people against the hydrogen bomb.¹¹⁶⁹ This letter shared space

Archbishop Mowll had purchased from the Macarthur-Onslow estate in 1949. Donations to such war memorials were tax-free—an incentive to donation. See Judd and Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, 260-261.

¹¹⁶⁷ See John McLaren, 'Ken Gott: The Fashioning of an Activist', *Journal of Australian Studies* 92, no. 62 (1999); John McLaren, 'Peace Wars: The 1959 ANZ Peace Congress', *Labour History* 82 (2002), 97-108; John McLaren, *Free Radicals of the Left in Postwar Melbourne* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2003). While not discussing Anglican participation, this material discusses the disunity of the left and the ideological oppositions which hampered the Congress. For thoughts on this period also see Nicholas Irving, 'LEFT BEHIND, The Decline of the Communist Party of Australia and the Rise of the Australian 'New Left'', conference paper delivered at Peace Movements in the Cold War and Beyond: An International Conference, London School of Economics, UK, 1-2 February 2008.

¹¹⁶⁸ 'Mr Casey urges Inquiry into Congress' *Age*, 20 May 1959, 3.

¹¹⁶⁹ 'One-sided Peace Movements', Letters to the Editor, *Age*, 2 June 1959, 2.

with one from Anglican Canon Langley, which agreed with Anglican Justice Scholl's warning of Australia's un-readiness to meet 'Communist Imperialism'. Langley considered Christians needed to guide Australian youth to a 'resolute reform of life', taking as its guide the Book that all swear by and few now read'.¹¹⁷⁰ Not all Australians agreed with Casey and others critical of the Congress, with some advocating participation regardless of the known communist links. One notable sponsorship withdrawal was the dean of Melbourne, Barton Babbage, well known for his participation in the Billy Graham Crusade. Babbage was unwilling to participate in a Congress with avowed communists. Given the conservative bias of the Melbourne diocese, especially of its Chancellor, the Lieutenant Governor Sir Edmund Herring, it is not surprising Babbage withdrew.¹¹⁷¹ Archbishop Woods had called attention to the Lambeth Conference resolutions which required 'Christians to exercise political responsibility, to refuse to allow the Church to be identified with any particular political or social system...' but also that Christians should press 'through their governments...for the abolition by international agreement of nuclear bombs and other weapons of indiscriminate destructive power...'¹¹⁷²

It became obvious to all that the Government of Australia was not prepared to work with 'the ANZ Congress'. Rev. Alf Dickie of the APC called a press conference to discuss both Casey's condemnation of the Congress and Babbage's withdrawal. Dickie claimed that the Congress would only be communist controlled if only communists attended it. Mr Casey had refused to explain what had prompted his warning regarding the Congress; he also would not send a representative to the press conference or nominate someone to the organising committee. Dickie also explained that confusion had arisen regarding the Roman Catholic archbishop of Brisbane being named as a sponsor. To add to the confusion the Dr Duhig who

¹¹⁷⁰ 'Australia as a Fat Grub', Letters to the Editor, *Age*, 2 June 1959, 2.

¹¹⁷¹ While Babbage cannot be classified as a strident opponent of the CPA (he supported those in the church who opposed Menzies' attempts to ban the party), he had organised lectures on Christianity and Marxism by the vociferous anti-communist Dr Fred Schwartz at St. Andrew's while dean of Sydney. He acknowledged the assistance of Canon Maynard while he was dean of Melbourne, and mentioned theology as a common interest. No mention is made in his memoirs of the ANZ Congress.

¹¹⁷² Archbishop Frank Woods, *Charge to Synod*, Diocese of Melbourne, 29 September 1959. I am grateful to Trinity Library, University of Melbourne, for access to this material.

was listed as a sponsor was a member of the pathology department of the University of Queensland, not the better known archbishop.¹¹⁷³

The Congress was not without its public advocates. Retired Air Marshall George Jones, an Anglican living in Melbourne, wrote to condemn those church leaders unwilling to participate in 'an objective and impartial study' of the problem of disarmament. Jones did not 'advocate peace at any price' but considered that 'the way we have been heading until just recently must lead to the destruction of the greater part of our civilisation'. He further urged 'all who are loyal to Australia and the British Commonwealth and who endeavour to live up to Christian Ideals to support this congress'.¹¹⁷⁴ Jones was also involved in Labor's 'Atomic Week', organised to arouse better appreciation of the destructive power of atomic weapons. Dr Evatt and Jones addressed a meeting at the Hotel Federal organised by Victorian ALP Secretary J. M. Tripovitch, as part of the week's activities amongst all members of the community.¹¹⁷⁵ Tripovitch condemned Barwick's attitude towards the Congress in Parliament. Barwick had described the Congress as a 'Red Front', a statement Tripovitch vehemently denied—there would be, he stated, opinions from people who 'sincerely wished to live together rather than die together'.¹¹⁷⁶ The Congress was held in the aftermath of the historic visit of Khrushchev to the US on 15 September, which ended with a two-day summit held with Eisenhower on 28 September. Frictions between the two countries lessened to some extent following this summit. There had been pressure from American religious leaders, such as the controversial Episcopal Bishop James Pike, to ensure Khrushchev attended church while in America, an unrealistic concept. Bishop Pike telegraphed both Khrushchev and Eisenhower on 24 August asking for Khrushchev to attend the Grace Cathedral to worship on Sunday 20 September. The progressive mayor of San Francisco, George Christopher (later to become Khrushchev's personal friend), also requested that this

¹¹⁷³ 'Congress Leader Denies Charge', *Age*, 4 June 1959, 1. See also 'Statement to the Press by Rev. A. M. Dickie, Chairman, of the A.N.Z. Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament', 4 June 1959, available online at <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/pdf/a000719.pdf> accessed 19 June 2009. Dr J. V. Duhig was the only Queensland delegate to the Scientists' Conference and wrote the foreword to their report.

¹¹⁷⁴ 'Peace Congress in Melbourne', Letters to the Editor, *Age*, 3 October 1959, 2.

¹¹⁷⁵ 'Dr Evatt at Atomic Week Function', *Age*, 8 October 1959, 3.

¹¹⁷⁶ 'Backward Thinking says Labor Leader', *Age*, 8 October 1959, 15.

service be included in the Soviet Premier's itinerary.¹¹⁷⁷ Certainly no such conciliatory attitude was evident in the Australian Anglican community.

It is undeniable that the security services had been involved in acquainting sponsors with their suspicions regarding the Congress. It is also undeniable that the Australian Peace Council had attempted to distance itself from the CPA. Matters concerning the Congress were subject to scrutiny in both the Commonwealth and Victorian Parliaments. In the Victorian Legislative Council an amendment to the Address in Reply to the Governor, which would have assured the Governor of the support of the Parliament for world leaders' attempt to broker peace, was defeated.¹¹⁷⁸ The Hon. Mr Walton (Melbourne North) put on record his disgust at the decision by the Anglican Synod not to permit Anglican representatives to attend the Congress.¹¹⁷⁹ The Anglican Melbourne synod had met in September 1959, the month before the Gilbulla conference. This synod was an excellent example of the attitude of the Melbourne Anglicans toward both communism and the Congress. The Charge to Synod by Archbishop Woods carried a warning that:

Some of our most cool-headed and far-sighted statesmen tell us that the date set for the absorption of Australia behind the Iron Curtain is 1975, a mere sixteen years away. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance and Christian citizens have an even greater obligation to vigilance than those who can see the dangers less clearly.¹¹⁸⁰

Synod that year had some determined anti-communist members. Most virulent was Eric D. Butler, a representative from Pantom Hills.¹¹⁸¹ Butler was also director of the far-right League of Rights. He moved a motion regarding communism:

... that Communism constitutes a deadly and growing challenge to Christianity and nominated a committee to prepare a Report on its philosophy, objectives, strategy and tactics; the Report to be studied widely in the Church, especially in Church schools.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁷⁷ *Anglican*, no. 371, 18 September 1959, 2. Pike challenged Senator McCarthy when he claimed that 7,000 pastors were part of the Kremlin's conspiracy. Eisenhower backed Pike.

¹¹⁷⁸ This Address in Reply was hotly debated, and deferred several times. The Amendment was proposed by ALP member, the Hon. Buckley Machin (MLC, Melbourne West Province). See 'Address-in-Reply' Victorian Parliamentary Proceedings (hereafter VPP), Legislative Assembly, Vol. 258, 1 September – 12 November, 20-21: VPP, Legislative Council, 814-85. Machin was an Anglican.

¹¹⁷⁹ 'Peace Congress Row in Council', *Age*, 8 October 1959, 5.

¹¹⁸⁰ Woods, 'Charge to Synod', 29 September 1959.

¹¹⁸¹ To become a synod representative a member had to be elected by their home parish, the weighting of clergy to laity in synod is in favour of the clergy. Additionally the archbishop had the power of veto of any resolutions carried. At one stage Anglican James Killen was associated with Butler, as were some Anglican clergy.

¹¹⁸² Synod Proceedings, Diocese of Melbourne, 29 September 1959, 212.

A long and bitter debate ensued, with amendments being proposed. In a later session, the motion was redrafted to read:

... as Communism is absolutely incompatible with Christianity and constitutes a deadly and growing challenge, His Grace the Archbishop be requested to take such steps as he thinks proper to disseminate this opinion in the Church and elsewhere.

This was not the end of the matter. While some members of Synod, including Mr Justice Sholl, condemned the principles of communism, Canon Maynard challenged the motion as one that should never have come before an ecclesiastical synod. Maynard asked:

Can we know what Communism is? First we damn it, then we study it. Damaging to Christian missionary effort. The Church is alive in Communist countries. China has never had such a just regime as the present People's Government. A motion which the Chamber of Commerce would pass with enthusiasm.

Despite the many synod members who spoke and offered amendments, the original motion remained unamended and was carried.¹¹⁸³ The voting on the motion attracted attention from the *Church Messenger* since claims had been made the vote was more or less divided. In fact, the vote was 140—103, which reflected the 'uncertain attitude of Everyman' in the view of the *Messenger*.¹¹⁸⁴

Another contentious matter was raised by Rev. J. P. Stevenson of North Balwyn—the 'Peace' Congress. Stevenson was a close friend of Archbishop Frank Woods and had come from Perth to minister in the Melbourne diocese at the invitation of Woods. Stevenson had been active in commenting on the Congress. He fluctuated between wanting the church to send representatives and condemning the communist input—but his position changed after synod when he had decided it was best that he 'had nothing to do with the congress'.¹¹⁸⁵ His motion at synod October 1959 asked that:

...observers from the Diocese be permitted to attend the Churchmen's section of the ANZ Peace Conference to be held in Melbourne, November 7-14, 1959. He said the ordinary man feared war, longed for security. In international friendships values soon changed. Not enough to open soup kitchens in times of economic stress. A conference allows time for analysis.¹¹⁸⁶

¹¹⁸³ Synod Proceedings, Diocese of Melbourne, 29 September 1959, 212.

¹¹⁸⁴ Editorial, *Church of England Messenger*, no. 3013, 16 October 1959, 220

¹¹⁸⁵ Letters, *Anglican*, 6 November 1959, 5. It became obvious to Anglican clergy that attendance at the congress would not enhance their standing in the church. Newly appointed curate at St. George's Malvern, Rev. Douglas Dargaville, decided not to attend the congress for this reason.

¹¹⁸⁶ 'Peace Congress', *Synod Proceedings*, September 1959, Diocese of Melbourne.

Stevenson's motion was seconded by Rev. W. Carter, who 'pointed out that the religious section was quite separate from the political, and its findings could not be tampered with'.¹¹⁸⁷ Bishop McKie, whose anti-communist stance was well known, was 'completely opposed' to the motion. 'To reject the motion does not restrict liberty of speech, but safeguards the Church and authority'. This comment brought lively debate, from both clergy and laity, including Rev. N. R. Glover, and Messrs. E. D. Butler and F. H. Gaunson. The synod did not send representatives; the motion was defeated despite strong support from younger clergy.¹¹⁸⁸ Glover appears to have relinquished his involvement in the APC; his main contribution to Synod was to extol Graham's evangelism.¹¹⁸⁹ Canon Maynard, commenting in the *Guardian*, wished the Congress every success. He considered the Anglican synod decisions not binding, 'as they do not concern the doctrine of the Church'.¹¹⁹⁰ The same issue of the paper proclaimed the Anglican vicar of St. Mark's, Fitzroy, Rev. N. Hill, as a supporter of 'the No. 1. Fascist, Eric Butler'.

Stevenson had no doubts that the Congress was communist inspired and run. He cited the instance of organising secretary Sam Goldbloom, who had attended such meetings overseas. Goldbloom was facetiously labelled 'an expert' who convinced the Presbyterian State Assembly to send representatives. Stevenson was critical of those distinguished Australians whose names appeared on the Congress letterhead. His fear was that the congress was a trial run for a similar event to be staged in South East Asia. Stevenson denigrated clergy who visited South East Asia, calling such activities 'Gullibles Travels'.¹¹⁹¹ Stevenson appeared to have had a change in stance regarding the Congress; initially he advocated participation but then swung heavily toward a boycott of the Congress.¹¹⁹² He feared that without Anglican representatives it seemed that the churchmen's section would be largely dictated by a group of clergymen who were allegedly under the influence of Joseph Hromádka, the controversial Czech theologian, 'whose mystique of communism as an emanation of the Logos has brought him under heavy fire in his own and other countries'. Stevenson had intended to attend the Congress, indeed Archbishop Woods had announced

¹¹⁸⁷ 'Peace Congress'.

¹¹⁸⁸ 'Letters to the Editor', *Anglican*, 9 October 1959, 11.

¹¹⁸⁹ 'At Synod', *Church of England Messenger*, no. 3013, 16 October 1959, 221.

¹¹⁹⁰ 'Cold War Propaganda', *Guardian*, 8 October 1959, 3.

¹¹⁹¹ 'An Expert on Peace Congress', *Age*, 19 October 1959, 2. This theme was taken up by DLP Senator McManus and appeared to be central to R. G. Casey's endeavours to discredit the congress.

¹¹⁹² 'Peace Congress in Melbourne', *Age*, 6 October 1959, 2.

that Stevenson would attend the peace congress 'as a private observer', not as a representative of the Church of England'.¹¹⁹³ Once it became apparent that attendance at the Congress was not condoned by the Anglican Church, Stevenson suggested that perhaps Melbourne clergy should unite on a separate declaration on peace to be published internationally through the WCC or otherwise, at the time of the Congress.¹¹⁹⁴ Other lay Anglicans supported sending clerical representation to the Congress, but Anglican clerical involvement in the Christian Churchmen's Conference at the Congress remained as Dean C. W. Chandler from New Zealand and a priest from Adelaide, Rev. Norman Crawford.¹¹⁹⁵

Arguably the attitude of the Establishment, both church and state, caused Stevenson, as well as Babbage, to change their intentions regarding the Congress.¹¹⁹⁶ Babbage was criticised by Dr Cairns for his refusal to have anything to do with any organisation that had 'even one communist in it'.¹¹⁹⁷ According to the *Age* Babbage felt he, 'as an ecclesiastic, could not continue to sponsor a conference some of the organisers of which were pledged to overthrow the faith he professed'.¹¹⁹⁸ Following the synod, Eric Butler wrote to the *Age* to correct the misconception that his motion was designed to deal with the effects of communism *per se*. The intention was for an authoritative and comprehensive report on communist philosophy. Butler considered the leaders of the communists worldwide were recruited from the ranks of student intellectuals, who came from wealthy families.¹¹⁹⁹

'This Great Debate': Parliamentary examination of the ANZ Congress

Pressure had certainly been brought to bear on Professor A. K. Stout, Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy at Sydney University. Stout had been a sponsor of the Congress. He withdrew his sponsorship after a visit from the Director General of Security, Brigadier Spry.¹²⁰⁰ This visit brought condemnation from the media once it became general

¹¹⁹³ 'Clergyman for Peace Talks as Observer', *Age*, 15 September 1959, 18.

¹¹⁹⁴ Letters, *Anglican*, no 372, 9 October 1959, 5

¹¹⁹⁵ 'Churchman issue a statement on peace', *Anglican*, 20 November 1959, 1.

¹¹⁹⁶ 'Local congress function drew packed audiences', *Guardian*, 19 November 1959, 6. It became obvious to Anglican clergy that attendance at the congress would alienate them from their church.

¹¹⁹⁷ 'Local Congress function drew packed audiences', *Guardian*, 19 November 1959, 6.

¹¹⁹⁸ 'Freedom to think and to decide', *Age*, 28 October 1959, 2.

¹¹⁹⁹ 'An Anglican Resolution', *Age*, 19 October 1959, 2.

¹²⁰⁰ See David McKnight, *Australia's Spies and Their Secrets* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 116; David McKnight, 'Rethinking Cold War History', *Labour History* 95 (2008), 186-187; John McLaren, 'Peace Wars: The 1959 ANZ Peace Congress'.

knowledge. That condemnation can be traced back to question time in the House of Representatives on 6 October 1959, when the Liberal member for Phillip, Mr Aston, asked a question of the Acting Minister for External Affairs, Sir Garfield Barwick, who was also Attorney General. This question seemed an obvious ploy to allow Barwick to highlight the previous statements of the Minister for External Affairs, Richard Casey, when he labelled the Congress 'Communist inspired, Communist organised and devoted to Communist propaganda'. There was further interaction between Tom Uren (ALP, Reid), and Barwick relating to the statement of the Methodist Church minister, Rev Alan Walker, that the Methodist Church fully supported the Congress. Barwick claimed Walker had 'inadequate information'. Jeff Bate (Liberal, Macarthur) used question time to query the sponsorship tactics used by the Congress organisers.¹²⁰¹ The next day Jim Cairns (ALP, Yarra) took the opportunity to ask the press to give as much publicity to other 'opinions', as he termed Barwick's comments, he listed many who endorsed and supported the Congress. He accused Barwick of McCarthyism and trying to keep people away from the Congress. More debate ensued, with Jim Cope (ALP, Watson) citing Archbishop Mowll as one of the greatest men that Australia has seen, who was accused of being pro-communist because he visited 'Red' China and was not critical of what he saw. Cope considered Aston's original question an attempt to 'smear' the ALP and prophesied the longer the 'honorable members opposite keep this smear campaign going the bigger mess they will get into themselves'.¹²⁰² In the Senate, Senator McManus (Victoria) rose to defend his party, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), which had been 'attacked' by the ALP for not endorsing the ANZ Congress. He also identified the APC along with the World Peace Council and the Stockholm Peace Conference as communist sponsored, and claimed the British Labour Party had banned them. He drew attention to Rev. Stevenson's assertions that this Congress was merely 'a preliminary to a Communist-planned peace congress to embrace the whole of South East Asia and the Pacific'.¹²⁰³

By 27 October the Member for Melbourne Ports, Hon. Frank Crean (ALP) was asking questions of the Prime Minister, Mr Menzies, regarding Professor Stout's withdrawal as a sponsor following a visit from Brigadier Spry. Menzies passed these questions over to Barwick, claiming the Attorney General possessed particular knowledge of the matter.

¹²⁰¹ CPD, *House of Representatives*, Vol. 25, 6 October 1959, 1749-1750.

¹²⁰² CPD, *House of Representatives*, 7 & 8 October 1959, 1889-1897.

¹²⁰³ CPD, *Senate*, Vol. 15, 22 October 1959, 1156-1157.

Barwick admitted that Spry had visited Stout, but claimed that was at Stout's request. He also revealed that the archbishop of Sydney [Gough] and one of the Methodist clergymen had asked Barwick personally for information as to the true sponsors of the congress and that he had given the information to them.¹²⁰⁴ Dr Evatt (Leader of the Opposition) became involved at that stage, wanting to know why the same information was not supplied to Crean. Barwick said he would supply the information, if Crean requested it of him. After the Adjournment Crean did ask for information, and claimed he considered the security service was being used for 'purely political purposes' in this matter. That afternoon Professor Oliphant had also withdrawn, stating Stout's withdrawal and the objections of the Anglican bishops were two of his reasons. Crean had possession of a letter that the Acting Secretary of the Department of External Affairs had written to Oliphant on Casey's behalf on 20 August 1959, warning him about the Congress. This was the second letter Casey had sent to Oliphant on the subject. In Crean's opinion, Menzies had a 'case to answer' regarding the role of security service, and the nexus between the security service and the Department of External Affairs. Menzies' lengthy reply left no doubt that he believed the Congress to be communist inspired. He conceded 'in one exceptional case' information was give to one gentleman in Sydney, but made no reference to Barwick's admission that he had supplied information to Archbishop Gough and a Methodist clergyman. He regretted that some of the churches had 'been drawn into the organisation, when they had an enormous constituency and a powerful spiritual influence on the people of Australia'. He took the opportunity to highlight the participation of the ALP in this Congress, when they had condemned the 1950 congress. Les Haylen (ALP, Parkes) again raised the matter of the Director-General of the Security Intelligence Organisation's visit to Professor Stout—which Menzies had not directly addressed. Haylen also identified W. C. Wentworth (Lib., McKellar) as 'subverting the security service to his own ends'. He further claimed that by targeting Professor Stout and Professor Oliphant, the establishment

¹²⁰⁴ The Minister of External Affairs, R. G. Casey, for whom Barwick was acting, had aspirations to use religion as a weapon in the fight against communism. See Chris Waters, 'A Failure of Imagination: R. G. Casey and Australian Plans for Counter-Subversion in Asia, 1954-1956', *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 45, no. 3 (1999), 347-361. This article also reveals Casey's connections to both Dulles and Spry. Casey was the epitome of Anglicanism, but as well had American connections. See Carl Bridge (ed.), *A Delicate Mission: The Washington Diaries of R.G. Casey, 1940-42* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2008). See also Phillip Deery, 'Covert Propaganda and the Cold War: Britain and Australia 1948-1955', *The Round Table, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, no. 361 (2001), 607-621, especially 614, for Casey's involvement in 'dirt boy's stuff' with the Information Research Department of the British Government. Spry had long advocated 'propaganda' as a necessary weapon against communism.

was using pressure to make them retire as sponsors and so allow intimidation of 'the little men'. He finished by accusing Wentworth of 'creating a police state in this country'.

Wentworth used his time on the floor to justify his actions, not denying he had been instrumental in Spry visiting Stout. He claimed 'the most effective thing you can do with a Communist is to expose him'. Cairns again spoke to draw the attention of the House of the pressure that had been put on both Professor Stout and Professor Oliphant. He considered this pressure to be deliberate—organised by the 'connivance of a private member of the House'.¹²⁰⁵ He also considered 'this great debate' had broadened in scope and had taken the Congress 'probably into every home in Australia'. A reply was not given by Barwick to Cairns' questions until 10 November, by which time the Congress was almost over. But Barwick's lengthy reply merely re-iterated that which he had given on 27 October, with a long and detailed explanation of the genesis of the Australian Peace Council, directly linking it to the World Peace Council. The Melbourne Congress, he claimed, was planned after delegates returned from the Stockholm Congress and was first announced in the *Guardian*. The addresses for correspondence were changed in both Auckland and Melbourne following Casey's statement and Babbage's withdrawal. The Melbourne address had been that of John Rodgers, a well-known communist. Barwick also advised that a meeting of the central committee of the CPA was held at 52 Phillip St, Sydney on 24 and 25 October, called by E. F. Hill, primarily to discuss the congress. Hill took the opportunity to discuss a proposed attack on ASIO in view of its activities. Barwick's reply finished with a conclusion: that the current Congress was an example of communist techniques to use well known people and manipulate them to serve communist propaganda techniques. The Government's concern was to make those 'minded to associate themselves' with the Congress aware of the relationship of the Congress to the CPA, and 'in particular the World Peace Council, the Stockholm Congress and the Australian Peace Council'.¹²⁰⁶

Press reaction to the questions and debates in Parliament concerning the Congress was predictable, according to the political stance of the paper. As the affair unfolded in Parliament the Congress was undoubtedly subjected to the glare of publicity generated by the revelations. Barwick's comments that the Congress was 'truly a communist-front' and not a vehicle for discussion on a subject 'we are all most concerned about' were certainly

¹²⁰⁵ CPD, *House of Representatives*, Vol. 25, 2351.

¹²⁰⁶ For a discussion of Barwick's involvement in Spry visiting Stout and Barwick's role in sending similar information to 'other persons, who, it was thought, might find this information useful' see David Marr, *Barwick* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 1980, 2005 ed.), 147-149.

publicised.¹²⁰⁷ Also Barwick had conceded that the Federal Government was concerned to ensure that people who associated with the Congress should know of its relationship to the Communist Party. The *Guardian* of 29 October demanded the disbandment of the security services.¹²⁰⁸ A list of the 'political police apparatus of the most obnoxious types' from 1950 to 1959 received a double page spread in the same *Guardian* that outlined Wentworth's activities and the Government's embarrassment at having its activities revealed. Since the *Guardian* was hardly the paper of choice of the Establishment or the Anglican Church hierarchy such actions were of limited effect.

Wentworth's actions were embarrassing to the Government since allegations that the 'Security Service is being used to push the Liberal Party line on the coming Melbourne Peace Congress' were substantiated.¹²⁰⁹ The *Guardian* revelled in the fact that the affair embarrassed the Government, and that Barwick had 'suffered the humiliation of hearing his own statement publicly corrected by his Prime Minister'.¹²¹⁰ Also 'red faced', according to the *Guardian*, was 'well-known anti-communist [and influential Anglican] W. C. Wentworth'. Wentworth was also targeted in *Nation*, which claimed that: 'Most of Australia is to the left of Mr Wentworth, and that does not only apply to his views on Communism'.¹²¹¹ The enmity of the left towards Wentworth and his acknowledged interference in security matters was intense.¹²¹² The withdrawal of Stout can be understood as ASIO intervention organised by Wentworth. Although Oliphant was not visited by Spry, Stout's withdrawal and the intervention of the Anglican bishops influenced his withdrawal. A consideration for Oliphant was that the Anglican bishops had made a statement on the Congress.¹²¹³ In this regard Barwick had admitted that he himself had passed information he had onto the archbishop of Sydney. The decision of the Anglican bishops to label the congress as 'directed by a partisan

¹²⁰⁷ 'Backward thinking says Labor Leader', *Age*, 8 October 1959, 15.

¹²⁰⁸ 'Government's Unease at Peace Talks "Relationship to the Communist Party"', *Age*, 9 November 1959, 5.

¹²⁰⁹ 'For You Must Know Security', *Nation*, no. 29, 3-4.

¹²¹⁰ 'Red Faces in Security Debate: Menzies, Barwick flounder in contradictions', *Guardian*, 5 November 1959, 6.

¹²¹¹ 'Post No Labels', *Nation*, no. 30, 3-4.

¹²¹² For a detailed account of Wentworth's dealings with the security services see Lachlan Clohesy, 'Cold War and Collusion: ASIO and W. C. Wentworth', in Bobbie Oliver (ed.), *Labour History in the New Century* (Perth: Black Swan Press, 2009), 121-131.

¹²¹³ 'Second Sponsor out of Peace Talks: Sir Mark Oliphant withdraws', *Age*, 28 October 1959, 5.

group whose purpose seems to be the dominance of communism¹²¹⁴ must be considered in connection to Barwick's admission, since it came from the Conference of the bishops where they elected Gough as primate of Australia. It seems quite clear, then, that the Anglican hierarchy supported the Government's endeavours to limit participation in the Congress.

Melbourne became the centre of attention of both those for and those against the Congress. The *Guardian* published a full list of the distinguished speakers—Dr Linus Pauling and his wife, Mrs Ava Helen Pauling, J. B. Priestly and his wife, Jaquetta Hawkes, Dr G. Melkote of the Indian Congress party, Mrs Indrani Rahman, internationally famous Indian dancer, the Rev. Chap Fu-san, of the Chinese People's Republic, Mr and Mrs H. Hauser, from the German Democratic Republic, members of the German Peace Council and Mme Isabelle Blume, a member of the World Peace Council. A full page of the *Herald* was devoted to publicising the Congress.¹²¹⁵ There was a detailed list of sponsors, events and how the Congress would operate. There was also an invitation to contribute toward the costs.¹²¹⁶ Advice was given that the Congress sessions, except where designated, were closed to the public. The Education conference, held at the Arts complex at the University of Melbourne, was an exception to this rule, for the press had been invited.¹²¹⁷

The personalities involved at the Congress brought both acclaim from the left press and denigration from the conservative press. Jaquetta Hawkes, the wife of J. B. Priestley, and speaking on their behalf, attacked the Melbourne *Herald* which had presented the Priestleys as protesting the majority report presented by the Congress after its completion. Hawkes acknowledged the report at the Congress 'was democratically arrived at'. She described the Congress as being successful.¹²¹⁸ The wives of Pauling and Priestley were deeply involved in the anti-nuclear movement, and successful in their professions. Pauling openly acknowledged that it was his wife who sparked his interest in the peace movement. Hawkes was an outstanding archaeologist, Helen Pauling a scientist, but the mores of the time cast them as adjuncts to their husbands. Certainly the Anglican Church would not have approved of the Priestleys: J. B. had been married three times and Hawkes twice. Lambeth 58 was most explicit on 'our Lord's principle of life-long union as the basis of all true

¹²¹⁴ 'Statement of Peace', Bishops' Meeting—October 1959, 4. These minutes are kept by General Synod, Anglican Church of Australia, Sydney.

¹²¹⁵ *Herald*, 5 November 1959, 11.

¹²¹⁶ 'The World is gathering for PEACE', *Herald*, 6 November 1959, 11.

¹²¹⁷ 'Doors will be locked for talks on "Peace"', *Herald*, 7 November 1959, 3.

¹²¹⁸ 'Mrs Priestly raps the Press'. *Guardian*, 19 November 1959, front page.

marriage'.¹²¹⁹ Anglican condemnation of divorce was more implacable than their attitude to 'Modern Warfare'.¹²²⁰ Resolution 106 did call for 'for the abolition by international agreement of nuclear bombs and other weapons of similar indiscriminate destructive power, the use of which is repugnant to the Christian conscience'.¹²²¹ The problem for Australian Anglicans was that the Anglican hierarchy, advised by the government, was not prepared to trust the APC because of the taint of communist affiliation.

Many who had attended the 1950 Congress in Melbourne reappeared in 1959. Among these was Lady Street, still a member of the World Peace Council, and who insisted on the use of the title she gained when her husband was knighted in 1956. She obliquely referred to the problems encountered in the planning of the Congress and described the Congress as successful, 'a most courageous effort, surmounting every obstacle placed in its way'. She considered the Congress 'has given fresh vigour and confidence to the great peace movement'.¹²²² C. W. Chandler, now the Anglican dean emeritus of Hamilton, New Zealand, was also present, despite having renounced his peace work following the 1950 Congress due to pressure from his church. He was a strong supporter of Khrushchev's disarmament proposals and considered 'the Congress to be one of the most inspiring events of my life'.¹²²³ Chandler was well aware of the interest of the security services in the Congress: 'There are two gentlemen, fear and distrust circling about.' In a play on words on the ASIO chief's surname, he went on: 'They are very SPRY fellows.....Those who are the slaves of fear and distrust are disciples of the devil himself'.¹²²⁴ Not all Anglicans who attended were active in

¹²¹⁹ See Resolution 114, 'The Family in Contemporary Society - Marriage', Resolutions from 1958, Resolutions Archive, Lambeth Conference Official Website, available online at <http://www.lambethconference.org/resolutions/1958/1958-114.cfm>, accessed 12 August 1959.

¹²²⁰ The Bishop's Conference also came out strongly against Barwick's Divorce Bill, despite Barwick discussing it with both Archbishop Woods and Archbishop Gough prior to the conference. Wentworth also opposed it. See Garfield Barwick, *A Radical Tory: Garfield Barwick's Reflections and Recollections* (Leichhardt, NSW: The Federation Press, 1995), 119,123; Marr, *Barwick*, 142-146.

¹²²¹ Resolution 106. 'The Reconciling of Conflicts Between and Within Nations - Modern Warfare and Christian Responsibility'. Lambeth Conference Archive.

¹²²² 'Peace Delegates Have The Last Word', *Guardian*, 19 November 1959, 5.

¹²²³ 'Keep spirit going', *Guardian*, 19 November 1959, 5.

¹²²⁴ 'Quote from the Dean of Auckland', Fact and Fancy, *Anglican*, no. 381, 27 November 1959, Chandler is listed as Dean of Hamilton on the official Congress material, but as Dean of Auckland by the *Anglican*. He had been dean of St Peter's Cathedral, Hamilton, Diocese of Waikato. Historian David Hilliard remembers him as dean of Hamilton NZ during the 1950s, when Chandler wrote a column in the evening newspaper. Hamilton is

the peace movement. Typical of Anglican participants was Dr E. F. DuVergier of Balwyn—who considered the Lambeth 58 resolution 106 an injunction that Anglicans should attend the Congress. Anglicans should bring the resolution to the attention of government. He was an Anglican and secretary of the Education committee of the Congress.¹²²⁵ The main participant in the 1950 congress, Hewlett Johnson, was not in attendance. He was still involved in the World Peace Council, and had flown to Geneva from Britain on 12 July in an attempt to deliver a resolution to the assembled Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France, calling for the cessation of nuclear tests and a speedy summit meeting.¹²²⁶

The Assembly of Captive European Nations

There continued to be pressure applied to those who attended the Congress. The government's determination to undermine the Congress was displayed when a rally of refugee groups was organised in the Royale Ballroom in Carlton on Saturday evening 7 November attended by 3,000 people. Politicians supported them. Senator Hannan (Lib., Vic) was the chairman for the evening. Other speakers were the Minister for Navy (Senator Gorton), the leader of the DLP (Senator Cole), and the international president of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, Mr Ku Cheng-kang, from Taiwan. Also present were Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes (Lib., Chisholm) and Mr Bruce Wight (Lib., Lilley, Qld).¹²²⁷ A photographic exhibition '*Soviet Empire 1917-1958*' was opened on Saturday 7 November by the State Minister for Housing (Mr Petty), and sponsored by the Assembly of Captive European Natives.¹²²⁸ This exhibition displayed the abuses perpetrated by the Soviets towards their opposition. A march from Treasury Place to the Olympic Pool by 4,000 people for the official opening of the ANZ Congress on the afternoon of Sunday 8 November was described

very close to Auckland, possibly the reason for the confusion. (Private correspondence between the writer and David Hilliard 26 February 2010.).

¹²²⁵ 'Peace congress', Letters, *Anglican*, no. 378, 6 November 1959, 5

¹²²⁶ 'Red Dean flies to Geneva', *Anglican*, no. 363, 24 July 1959, 9. See also 'Red Dean Flies to Geneva', *The Hartford Courant*, Hartford, Conn., 13 July 1959, 24.

¹²²⁷ '3000 People Hold Freedom Rally', *Age*, 9 November 1959, 5. The Kent Hughes family was Anglican, Ellen Kent-Hughes (Wilfred's sister) lobbied for the Anglican Church of Australia to be called the Anglo-Catholic Church of Australia when it was decided to change the name from the Church of England. His other sister, Gwenda was deeply involved in the staff problems with MCEGGS early in Wood's episcopacy. Gwenda's husband, John Lloyd, had been a communist, Wilfred referred to her as 'my communist sister'.

¹²²⁸ 'Peace Congress shows Communist Technique', *Age*, 9 November 1959, 1.

as 'almost without incident' by the police, who expected disruptions from 'New Australians'. At the Olympic Pool speakers 'attacked people who had criticised the Congress's motives'. J. B. Priestley, who entered the Olympic pool to a roll of drums, considered the Australian political atmosphere 'a little out of date'. He reminded the Congress that 'Joe McCarthy was dead'. Scientist Linus Pauling described Australian politicians who had criticised the Congress as 'misguided or unscrupulous'. The animosity of the Congress toward the Anglican Church was displayed when the Anglican dean emeritus of Hamilton, New Zealand, C. W. Chandler, received the biggest applause when he said the Anglican bishops of Australia, in condemning the Congress, were 'contrary to the mind of Christ'. He considered Archbishop Gough was speaking in an un-Christian fashion when he appealed to his flock to boycott the Congress.¹²²⁹ Opponents of the Congress displayed their feelings outside the South Melbourne Town Hall, where J. B. Priestly was booed by demonstrators. After some persuasion by the police the crowd dispersed peacefully.¹²³⁰

The division in clerical ranks was shown when, following the Congress, two separate statements were issued from religious sources. The Christian Clergymen's conference report from the Congress sought 'the immediate cessation of all nuclear weapon tests and proceed through the U.N. with all urgency until universal disarmament has been achieved'. Rev. Norman Crawford, the other Anglican priest present at the Congress besides Dean Chandler, wrote the foreword to this report, and his denominational allegiance was highlighted.¹²³¹ The Declaration of Hope from the Congress carried a foreword by Professor Oliphant, who also acknowledged that the meeting he addressed in Camberwell, Melbourne, was 'a stimulating experience'.¹²³² While stressing the United Nations should be the forum in which any nuclear disarmament should be addressed, the various reports insisted that the admission of the Chinese People's Republic was necessary to achieve this aim. This contentious clause removed any likelihood of agreement with the Menzies' Government. A Declaration of Peace, made independently of the ANZ Congress was signed by ten Victorian church leaders, including:

¹²²⁹ '5000 Hear Leaders of Congress Outline Aims', *Age*, 9 November 1959, 5.

¹²³⁰ 'Demonstrators Boo Author', *Herald*, 6 November 1959, front page.

¹²³¹ 'Clergymen seek total disarmament', *Guardian*, 19 November 1959, 4. See also A. M. Dickie, *Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Co-Operation & Disarmament* (Coburg: Challenge Press, 1959), 13. At the time Crawford was priest in charge of St Cyprian's Church of England in North Adelaide, see *Crockford's*, 1969-70, 28.

¹²³² 'Clergymen seek total disarmament', 1.

... the Archbishop of Melbourne, the Most Reverend F. Woods; the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, the Right Reverend A. Crichton Barr; and the President General of the Methodist Church, Dr A. H. Wood. ... Other signatures are those of the Greek Archimandrite, the Lutheran President, a Baptist Church Leader, the president of the Congregational Union, the chief officer of the Society of Friends, a Churches of Christ Leader and the Salvation Army commissioner.¹²³³

This Declaration was to be sent to the heads of all governments in all countries with diplomatic relations with Australia. It emphasised that there was no connection between this Declaration and the Congress, and most especially that 'the Marxist ideology (like other materialist philosophies) is irreconcilable with the Christian interpretation of life'. It therefore endorsed the position of the Menzies' Government. The Declaration also noted that it was not 'the task of the Church to recommend specific methods of disarmament or arms control'.¹²³⁴

Even after it had finished the Congress still caused dissension. On 7 December there was a meeting at St Paul's Cathedral for four Anglican lay delegates to the Congress to give their reports to a meeting of Anglicans in the Chapter House. The dean of Melbourne, S. Barton Babbage presided over the meeting.¹²³⁵ At this meeting the Anglican primate, Archbishop Gough, was again criticised for the stance taken by the bishops, this time by Mr H. Speed. Speed had been a delegate to the Citizens' Conference and stated that as an active Anglican, a member of the ALP and an organiser of the Congress, he felt Archbishop Gough had been 'led up the garden path by Casey'. Babbage threatened to vacate the chair, but remained after receiving an apology from Speed. Myra Roper, a well known educator and principal of University Women's College, commented that she had visited China in 1958 and could see no sign of communist influence in the Congress, of which she was a sponsor. Dr E. DuVergier, from the Education Conference and Miss Jean Lilley, as a delegate to the Scientists' Conference, supported this statement.¹²³⁶ The criticism of the bishops was continued by the *Anglican*. The *Anglican's* summary of 1959 again referred to the decision of the bishops regarding the ANZ Congress as 'by no means adequate'.¹²³⁷ The Victorian Peace Council (VPC) issued a 'Christmas Greetings' pamphlet in December 1959, which invited all

¹²³³ 'Victorian Church leaders sign a peace declaration', *Anglican*, 13 November 1959, 1.

¹²³⁴ 'Victorian Church leaders sign a peace declaration'.

¹²³⁵ 'To Report on Peace Congress', *Age*, 7 December 1959, 5.

¹²³⁶ 'Dean in Row over Peace Report', *Sun*, 8 December 1959, 11.

¹²³⁷ See Editorial, *Anglican*, no. 379, 13 November 1959, 4: Summary of 1959, *Anglican*, no. 387, 8 January 1960, 11.

supporters to attend a Christmas Party at the Unitarian Hall. The Declaration of Hope was printed in full, together with a selection of statements from the various conferences held at the ANZ Congress. There was a paragraph which discussed the withdrawal of another major sponsor, Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, which she had done by way of a letter to the Congress organisers. She originally had endorsed the Congress but the article claimed she received a letter regarding the Congress findings which caused her to withdraw her support, as she was told the Congress 'concentrates its energy on disarmament on one side of the Iron Curtain and not on the other'. Her letter was printed in the *Age* of 25 November.¹²³⁸ The VPC claimed the efforts to discredit the Congress continued 'even now that the Congress has concluded'.¹²³⁹

Thus arguably there were attempts to impose hierarchical attitudes from the church onto the Anglican Communion in Australia which were in accordance with the Menzies Government's views. The influence from both the United States and Great Britain did carry weight, but the development of peace movements into broader anti-nuclear movements removed much of the anguishing for religious participants. Secular opinions on nuclear war were influenced from various sources. Especially influential in Melbourne was the film *On the Beach*, which was made locally using overseas celebrity actors, and offered a depressing scenario unless nuclear weapons were controlled. Linus Pauling was so impressed with the film that he organised a private showing for the ANZ Congress executive, prior to the official Melbourne premiere.¹²⁴⁰ Interestingly the showing was in the auditorium at Police Headquarters, whose Special Branch must have been grateful that their clients came to them. The announcement that the film would premiere simultaneously in 22 cities on six continents, including Melbourne and Moscow on 17 December 1959, was front page news in Melbourne. Stanley Kramer, producer and director of the film, believed '*On the Beach* to be the biggest story of our time because it reflects the hope and fear on the mind of all people today'.¹²⁴¹

¹²³⁸ 'A letter from Mrs Roosevelt', Letters to the Editor, *Age*, 25 November 1959, 2.

¹²³⁹ 'Christmas Greetings', *Victorian Peace Council*, December 1959, Sam Goldbloom Collection, University of Melbourne Archives, 103/2, Box 2.

¹²⁴⁰ 'Invitation: Private Screening of "On the Beach" November 13, 1959', Linus Pauling Day-by-Day – Special Collections, Oregon State University, available online at <http://osulibrary.oregonstate.edu/specialcollections/coll/pauling/calendar/1959/11/8-xl.html>, accessed 16 July 1959.

¹²⁴¹ "'Beach Premier here in December'", *Age*, 12 June 1959, front page.

Scientist Sir McFarlane Burnett had voiced similar sentiments, when he said 'he withdrew in protest against the Congress's means: he agrees with its end'.¹²⁴²

1959 in perspective

1959 was a year of challenge for Anglicans in Australia. They were faced with decisions to make concerning both Billy Graham's visit and the ANZ Congress. The *Anglican's* précis of the year contained some contentious claims. It asserted that the most outstanding feature of the year was the continued improvement of international relations, particularly between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. This was marred only by the failure of the West to affect anything of that '*rapprochement* with China which is essential to world peace in the long run'. British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was nominated as Man of the Year. 'This brave and serious Anglican showed consistently during 1959 that he really grasped the underlying principles upon which alone the Children of God might move forward'.¹²⁴³ Given the transparently hawkish anti-communist stance of the Government and the archbishop and primate, Gough, these remarks were provocative.

The paper's comments on the visit of Graham were equally confronting. The *Anglican* claimed it was placed in some difficulty since 'as journalists as we knew a great deal about Dr Graham'. The *Anglican* was aware that he was differently assessed by Anglicans in other places; and the differences in assessment had little to do with churchmanship. The manner in which he had been invited to Australia 'reeked strongly of the technique of the Communist Party, i.e. one or two who were enthusiastic about him organised the invitations'. The paper 'did not swallow' his claim and that of his sponsors that he had been invited by 'the churches' in Australia' and claimed this 'was simply not true'. While the paper knew of the favourable impressions Graham had made on the archbishop of Canterbury and others, 'we knew that the Protestant Episcopal Church regarded Graham with rather more than a lifted eye'. While the late primate (Mowll) and the dean of Melbourne (Babbage)—'for whose judgement we had similar respect'—thought his visit could do nothing but good, it was obvious that the *Anglican* held a different opinion. The press conference in Sydney for Graham was a disillusioning experience. Journalists who were used to interviewing and

¹²⁴² Graham Perkin, 'Men of Australia: Man versus Atoms; A Physicist Referees', *Age Wednesday Magazine*, 11 November 1959, 18. John McLaren claimed Burnett felt his research funding would be cut if he did not comply. See McLaren, 'Peace Wars: The 1959 ANZ Peace Congress'. Oliphant did attend one session of the Congress even though he had withdrawn as a sponsor.

¹²⁴³ 'Summary of 1959', *Anglican*, 8 January 1960, front page.

comparing 'plenipotentiaries' found Graham 'a little too handsome, a little too polite, a little too self assured, a little too smooth altogether to ring true'. He dodged 'curly' questions with diplomatic skill, a consummate actor, the spontaneity was obviously rehearsed. It was difficult for the team to remain objective, but only one of the twelve members of the *Anglican* staff was favourably impressed with Mr Graham. However, they did not entirely agree with either Bishop Burgmann or those who were very favourable.¹²⁴⁴ The précis certainly exposed the animosity felt by some on the staff of the *Anglican* toward Gough, as we shall see.

The arrival of Gough to replace Mowll in Sydney had brought a decidedly more militant anti-communist evangelical dimension into the Anglican hierarchy in Australia. Gough's election as primate gave his pronouncements greater weight. There were other Anglicans who were not prepared to work with the 'atheistic' communists under any circumstances. Some, such as the primate, inferred individuals were communists without any proof. He appeared to hold views that were congruent with the views of the Menzies' Government. One example of Gough's attitude occurred in Sydney in 1961. According to Babbage, Gough:

... precipitated public controversy by accusing certain professors at the University of Sydney of communist sympathies. He demanded their removal but was misinformed: the Professor of Philosophy, whom he named, was not a communist. Apart from errors of fact, the Archbishop seemed unaware that what he advocated savoured all too obviously of McCarthyism.¹²⁴⁵

Gough's sermon in St Andrew's to members of the Australian Legal Convention in July 1961 had created a furore. He argued that:

Atheism, because it rejected the divine moral law, led directly to communism and other bestial dictatorships...we have those who are shamelessly teaching in our universities these same soul destroying philosophies...To teach that there is no God and no Divine Law; to encourage self expression and free love; these throw the door wide open to Communism.¹²⁴⁶

The University defended both its staff and students (as it had a few years earlier against Menzies' attack in Parliament). Francis James had enabled Babbage to establish 'a constructive and rewarding relationship with the press' in Sydney.¹²⁴⁷ Although Babbage was

¹²⁴⁴ Comment on Dr. Graham's visit, *Anglican*, 8 January 1960, 5.

¹²⁴⁵ Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 135.

¹²⁴⁶ Hilliard, 'Church, Family...', 141-142.

¹²⁴⁷ Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 72. It should be noted here that it was the 'pernicious influence' of Professor Anderson that roused Gough. 'Andersonites' had a long history of debate with Christian organisations in Sydney University. See Howe, *A Century of Influence*, 189-190, 296, 299. Care should be taken to

resolutely anti-communist he wrote an article on academic freedom at the request of the *Sydney Telegraph*, in which he defined 'the great challenge to academic freedom today is McCarthyism...The accusation of Communism is one that is easily made'.¹²⁴⁸ Babbage admitted he was capable of 'unkind and ill-advised' comment. He had also been critical of the Australian Ecclesiastical scene, saying it seemed smug and middle class. Francis James took him to task and claimed Babbage had 'a sharp flair for rubbing people up the wrong way and getting under their skins',¹²⁴⁹ even though James himself wrote 'a thundering editorial' critical of Gough's actions.¹²⁵⁰ On the other hand Babbage considered James conducted 'a relentless pursuit' of Gough.¹²⁵¹ While Babbage made no direct reference to Gough in his *Sydney Telegraph* article, Gough considered the article 'a personal attack on himself'. Babbage was typical of many in the Anglican Church who refused to accept the 'atheistic' communism which threatened their faith, but was prepared to keep an open mind before condemning individuals. Personal advancement in the church was not likely for those who questioned those in power, as Babbage had questioned Gough. Clerics such as Dargaville were aware of the scrutiny their actions brought; attendance at the Billy Graham crusades was acceptable, attendance at the ANZ Congress was not. Eric Butler consolidated and extended his anti-communism activism into the 1960s, and some Anglican clergy became active members of his League of Rights. Anglicans James Killen and W. C. Wentworth also remained actively antagonistic toward the communists. The events of 1959, then, demonstrated that sections of both the conservative political elite, which comprised a high proportion of Anglicans, and the hierarchy of the Anglican church, were prepared to work together to thwart any inroads by communism, real or imagined, into Australian society.

differentiate between Professor Francis Anderson, an Anglican, and Professor John Anderson, a rationalist, who succeeded Francis. It was Francis whom Jessie Street consulted after her trip to Russia. John was the Professor attacked by Gough. John had examined communist theories and practice, but was certainly not a communist when accused by Gough. Professor Stout occupied the other Philosophy Chair at Sydney University.

¹²⁴⁸ Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 72.

¹²⁴⁹ Babbage, *Memoirs of a Loose Canon*, 134.

¹²⁵⁰ Hilliard, 'Church, Family...', 141.

¹²⁵¹ James' stance was reputed to be since Gough 'put him down' at a Sydney synod meeting.

Conclusion

The 1950s saw significant changes occurring within the Australian Anglican church. Although it jealously guarded its British origins and fiercely protected its status within the nation, the church was forced to confront, and adapt to, new challenges. Not least of these was the attitude the church should adopt toward the advance of communism. Despite earlier explorations by Australian Anglicans into whether communism and Christianity could co-exist, the effect of Lambeth 48 resolutions was dramatic: worldwide it hardened Anglican attitudes towards communism. This was consistent with American aspirations to use religion as a weapon in the war against 'atheistic' communism. However, sectarian divisions prevented Anglicans from uniting with Roman Catholics in a common fight against communism. Moreover, Anglicans were not under the same strictures as Roman Catholics to obey the dictates of the Pope regarding communism, and some Anglicans even continued contact with communists through the peace movement whilst remaining prominent in their church.

In Australia the Menzies' Government, which was voted into power in 1949 with a mandate to declare the Communist Party illegal, had the support of many Anglicans. There was a high Anglican representation in influential positions in the government, the military and the judiciary. These powerful elites were able to influence social opinion both directly and indirectly. Church papers that disseminated anti-communist news items from local and international sources were also powerful shapers of opinion. But there was not necessarily unanimity. Opposition to communism from the Anglican hierarchy in Australia was undercut by the concern of some clergy that the Menzies Government's actions in 1950-51 to ban the Communist Party violated civil liberties. Indeed, despite general support from the hierarchy for a Yes vote in the referendum, several leading Anglican clerics advised their flock to vote against the proposal.

The visit of Dr Hewlett Johnson in 1950 created further frictions within the Anglican fraternity. That a dean of the premier cathedral of the Anglican Communion could advocate communism as a way of life was an anathema to many within the church. Johnson's visit forced both laity and hierarchy of the church to consider their position. As in the UK, the Australian church, apart from a few clergy and laity associated with the Australian Peace Council, gave no support to Johnson and his fellow Episcopalian, Fletcher. Similarly, those clerics involved with the peace movement received no support from the church for their

activities. Yet there was support, from both clergy and laity, against any perceived abuse of civil rights; this occurred when Rev. Glover was refused a passport.

The dean of Canterbury also considered the USSR to be supportive of religion, often citing the position of the Russian Orthodox Church. A symbol of this naive belief was Johnson's wearing of the pectoral cross given to him by the Moscow Patriarch Alexei. A similar naivety was displayed in both the Anglican Church and the Menzies' Government's assistance to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, with an acceptance of the ROCOR's claim that the Moscow Patriarchy was controlled by the Soviet government. Agents such as Father Susemihl were able to exploit this situation to gain local support.

The visits of the archbishops of Canterbury and York to Australia following Johnson's visit further undermined Johnson's activities in support of the USSR. Their visits became rallying points for both clergy and laity in Australia. The early 1950s also witnessed an increased influence from the United States, in consequence of Archbishop Fisher's encouragement of Episcopalians' participation at the Lambeth conference and in other roles in the church.

The diversity within the Anglican Communion was also evident amongst the laity. Influential Anglicans Jessie Street, William Wentworth IV and Eric Butler espoused very contradictory opinions regarding communism. Street became a high-ranking figure in the communist-inspired World Peace Council. Her voluntary exile prior to the referendum in 1950 saw her live overseas for six years during which time her husband became Chief Justice of NSW and was knighted. On the other side of the conflict, Wentworth employed his considerable talents in attempts to combat the influence of any individual or group he considered pro-communist. He deployed church papers and organisations in this fight. However, his efforts to have Hewlett Johnson dismissed were rebuffed by Archbishop Fisher. Wentworth's targeting of Bishop Burgmann under parliamentary privilege earned Wentworth criticism from within his church. Eric Butler was another arch-conservative member of the laity who used the synods to condemn communism. Butler found support from both priests and laity, such as Rev. Norman Hill and the Hon. James Killen.

The public euphoria surrounding the visit of the 1954 visit of Queen Elizabeth II reinforced the position of the monarch both in the nation and the Anglican Church. The connection between Church and State in England was (wrongly) believed by some to apply to Australia. Queen Elizabeth II's coronation and visit emphasised both her position as Supreme Governor of the Anglican Church and the established position of the church in the United Kingdom. The invitation for her to visit Australia came from Prime Minister Menzies, he

and some of his Ministers were staunch Anglophiles. The visit gave both his Government and the Anglican Church increased prestige and popularity. This was nurtured by the generous publicity given to her long and costly visit. The attendance of Elizabeth at Anglican churches was extensively reported in both the Anglican and secular press. The later visits of Prince Phillip in 1956, the Queen Mother in 1957/1958 and Princess Alexandria in 1959 further reinforced the British hegemony in Australia. Arguably, the timing of the 1954 Federal election, with the story of Petrov's defection breaking shortly after the Queen departed, enhanced Menzies' re-election chances.

In 1954, the Mineapolis Anglican Conference and the Evanston World Council of Churches Congress was attended by both Australian clergy and laity and impressed the Anglican Communion of the importance of the US Episcopal Church. The reaffirmation of the Lambeth 48 resolution condemning communism signalled to the Anglican Communion there must be no slackening of the fight against communism. At the WCC Evanston meeting, Billy Graham met Archbishop Mowll, resulting in an invitation being issued to Graham to conduct a crusade in Australia. Increased American influence saw visits from American clergy. Australian clerics travelled to the United States to study, broadening the outlook of the Australian Communion away from the 'Mother Church' in the UK. On the other hand, the appointment of English bishops as archbishops to sees in Australia, and English educators to lead Anglican Church schools, helped strengthen British/Australian ties in the church.

In 1956 Archbishop Mowll sent an important signal given to the Australian church. He led a delegation to China which gave heart to those in the church advocating that the communist regime should be recognised. The entrenched anti-communist Anglicans were outraged, just as they had been appalled by the visit to Australia of the Czech theologian, Professor Hromádka two years earlier. The church, in the main, appeared unable to understand the position of those forced to live in communist countries. One who did was Father Tucker, an Anglican priest who attempted to fight communism by bettering the lot of the deprived in the Asian region. The development of Tucker's Food Aid plan was a practical measure from one priest intolerant of communism; some in the church considered this scheme far more worthy of support than the religious Crusade conducted by Billy Graham in 1959.

Substantial support from the Anglican Church in Australia was given to Graham for his Crusade to Australia in 1959. Apart from Mowll's endorsement, his Australian Crusade was assisted by the fact that the Queen, the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and the archbishop of Canterbury, had all met with him in England. Additionally, Bishop Hugh

Gough had visited Australia prior to the Crusade; his role as chairman of the Billy Graham Crusade in England contributed to the aura that surrounded Graham in Australia. Graham himself admitted that the Episcopal Church in the USA was not supportive of his ministry, but considered this insignificant since the Episcopal Church was numerically small in the USA compared to his church, the Southern Baptists. Rev. Douglas Dargaville's travel diary reveals that some members of the Southern Baptist church were ambivalent towards Graham, believing that he had exploited their church. The willingness of the Episcopal church to engage with Christian socialists, such as Bishop Debelius and Professor Hromádka, was one factor which caused the church to cross swords with the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Australian church was informed of these international events by the church papers, inciting debate and lessening the isolation of the Australian communion from the worldwide church.

The Graham Crusade revealed the extent to which the Australian church was prepared to co-operate with one whose religiosity differed in a marked degree to sections of the Anglican Church in Australia. While this situation can be explained by a desire to increase the dwindling Anglican congregations, fears regarding communism and nuclear warfare were also a consideration. The backing of Graham by the American Government underscored that Government's desire to use religion as a weapon against communism. The White House supported Graham's crusades, since Graham in turn supported Eisenhower's aim to counter communism by religious means.

Billy Graham found acceptance from many in the Anglican Church, especially from those of an evangelical churchmanship. There were some priests and laity, however, critical of his fundamentalist Evangelical ministry. Despite claims to the contrary, no substantial evidence exists that suggests his Australian Crusade produced a marked increase in attendance in Anglican churches in the long term. Nevertheless, there were an increased number of applicants to undertake ministry study, especially at Moore College in Sydney, which produced evangelical priests.¹²⁵² Moore College saw an unprecedented 44 male enrolments in 1960, and a record 104 total students in 1961. Every female student enrolled at Moore in 1961 had either attended or been converted at a Billy Graham Crusade.¹²⁵³

¹²⁵² James Jupp, *The Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia*, 321.

¹²⁵³ Mike and Nikki Thompson, *Remembering '59 – Billy Graham's Australasian Crusade*, Olive Tree Media 2009, 29

Graham's emphasis on individual salvation seemed attractive at a time when anxieties over nuclear war were escalating.

The threat of nuclear war was the backdrop to the next Australian Peace Council Congress, held in Melbourne in November 1959. Some Anglicans were eager to be involved, claiming that dialogue needed to be established with communists if peace were to be achieved. Lambeth 58 resolutions had endorsed the United Nations as the body to work for world peace, with input from the churches. It must be remembered that there was significant American influence in both the United Nations and the WCC since the USA had been in a better financial position than most nations at the end of WW2. But Lambeth 58 did recommend that Anglicans lobby their governments directly regarding the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The antipathy of the hierarchy towards association with communists meant attendance at the congress was actively discouraged. Advice given to the new archbishop of Sydney, Hugh Gough, whose anti-communism was pronounced, from Attorney-General Garfield Barwick, convinced him that Anglicans should avoid the congress. The Bishops' Conference, at which Gough was elevated to primate, condemned the congress. This earned the Church the derision of those Anglicans who resented such a directive. The new primate of the Anglican Church in Australia sought to impose stricter guidelines than Australian Anglicans had previously accepted.

The decade of the 1950s had commenced with a congress which alerted Australian Anglicans that the views on communism of the dean of Canterbury ran contrary to those of the hierarchy of the church. Archbishop Mowll did show tolerance of Anglicans such as Johnson, even though their views were differed with his own. His tolerance also extended to those Christians attempting to live and work in communist regimes. The possibility of any amelioration of Australian Anglican attitudes to communism receded when Archbishop Gough accepted advice from the government regarding the 1959 ANZ Congress. So the decade ended with an outright condemnation by the Australian hierarchy of another peace congress, a view especially reinforced by the Melbourne diocesan synod. The aim was the suppression of those who wished to work for peace alongside communists. However, the broadening of the nuclear disarmament movement in the 1960s enabled Australian Anglicans to pursue peace in accordance with Resolution 106 from Lambeth, despite the entrenched anti-communist attitude of the Australian Anglican primate.

The issue of communism, therefore, silhouetted tensions and occasionally produced divisions within the Anglican Church. These occurred at different levels, with varying intensity and with variegated outcomes. Just as the Cold War imposed strains on political

parties, public organisations and voluntary groups, so did it subject this central institution in Australian society in the 1950s—the Anglican Church—to divisive debates and stresses. These stresses were exacerbated by the advice given to the new Anglican primate of Australia, Dr Gough, by the Menzies' Government, which was sufficient to cause condemnation of the 'ANZ' Congress by the Anglican Bishops' Meeting in 1959. This interaction between church and state resulted in pressure on both clergy and laity within the church to adopt an anti-communist stance. It also illustrated a hardening of attitude by the church hierarchy to those who were prepared to defy their anti-communist stance.

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