



Christianity in Crisis: Queensland Churches During the Great Depression

by Brian Costar

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Like so many other organisations the Christian churches of Queensland were placed under severe stress by the economic depression of the 1930s. Never financially robust, the economic downturn pushed some of them to near bankruptcy. Despite straitened circumstances the Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches greatly expanded their social welfare operations to assist the growing army of unemployed and their families. At one time or another all the churches made public statements about the course of economic events but were unable to articulate original or workable solutions to the problem of unemployment. Instead, they generally restricted themselves to isolated judgments on the plans of others; they were commentators rather than innovators. The Anglican and Catholic Churches explained the economic collapse in purely secular terms whereas some of the Protestant denominations saw it as a visitation sent by God to punish man for his wrongdoings. Politically the Protestant and Anglican Churches were either defiantly 'apolitical' or gave tacit support to the conservative parties. The Roman Catholic Church was more open in its support for moderate, i.e., non-socialist, Labor but at the same time its Brisbane Archbishop became briefly attracted to Italian fascist solutions to the depression.

The churches of Queensland were never very strong financially since their major source of revenue was donations from their members, with investments providing some additional funds. Government assistance in the 1930s was negligible and the burden fell upon the laity. Anglicans were not possessed of a strong tradition of church giving since their position as the Established Church in

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England exempted them from such necessities. The Protestant denominations, while drawing on sections of the middle class for support, were relatively small in number and their financial capacity was limited accordingly. Roman Catholics were accustomed to donating generously to the upkeep of their churches and schools. While they were more numerous than the individual non-conformist churches, their membership comprised the less wealthy in the community which handicapped them financially. The result was that most parishes and dioceses of all denominations were continually in debt.

This indebtedness was often the consequence of church building projects, since the building boom of the 1920s extended into the religious sphere. The Anglican diocese of Brisbane was committed to an extensive and somewhat rash building programme in the late 1920s and early 1930s.¹ The finances of some Anglican parishes deteriorated so much that the church was required to launch a Financial Rehabilitation Scheme in 1933 in an attempt to salvage them. From the Catholic viewpoint the depression does not seem to have had such a restrictive effect on Archbishop James Duhig's building programme. In fact some Catholic clergy were aware of the fact that the depression was creating a price war among building contractors which advantaged those parishes which had adequate finance.² Furthermore, the depression years saw the commencement of work on the proposed Holy Name Cathedral in Fortitude Valley. Vigorous appeals for funds were launched and a stone works was set up in Brisbane to provide materials for the structure. However, the building was never completed showing that not even the Catholic Church escaped the rigors of the financial slump.³

Religious educational institutions were also hit hard by the depression. Some indication of the difficulties the religious schools faced can be gleaned from the following report to the 1932 Presbyterian State Assembly:

The year 1931 has been a difficult one in all our Secondary Schools, due to the falling off in enrolments, especially of boarders and the large amount of fees in arrears, both of which are attributed to the serious economic conditions of the State and Commonwealth. The result has been the decrease of earnings, which reductions in working expenses have not been sufficient to meet.

Were the experience of last year a mere temporary incident it would be pardonable to regard it without any misgiving, but as there is no immediate prospect of any relief and indications point to a long and difficult period of national recovery, it will be necessary to study well the Church's future policy in regard to these Schools.⁴

Again the Catholic Church was in a somewhat privileged position since it was not required to pay award wages to most of its school teachers. However, their schools were not immune from the financial difficulties of the day, and as early as 1929 their representatives joined with those of other denominational schools to ask the Premier, A.E. Moore, to distribute free school materials to church as well as State school children. The request was denied on the grounds that it was a radical departure from established policy and that the condition of government finances would not permit it.⁵

In an attempt further to reduce government expenditure Premier Moore decided to reduce the number of State secondary school scholarships. This provoked strong protests from most of the church schools,⁶ and as a result the number of scholarships was increased but their value was reduced by the sum of \$4 per student. These changes greatly angered the Catholic church which argued that the manner in which the economies were effected discriminated against their children,⁷ and described the reduction as “one of the cruellest acts of injustice ever inflicted on the Catholic people of Queensland”.⁸ Archbishop Duhig and the Catholic press were so incensed at the scheme that they used it to campaign against the Moore Government at the 1932 election, but they exaggerated their influence in claiming that Moore’s education policy caused his defeat.⁹

Thus the ability of the churches to carry on their normal activities was severely restricted by the economic crisis. In one traditional area of Christian endeavour, social welfare, depression conditions of mass unemployment and poverty required that some of the churches extend their reduced resources to breaking point.

INITIAL RESPONSE TO UNEMPLOYMENT

While successive State Governments wrestled with the problems of various intermittent relief work schemes, the religious charities carried on a campaign against the personal distress caused by unemployment. Church welfare services always operated on a rather ad hoc basis and on a shoe-string budget; they were neither designed nor equipped to deal with the extensive poverty which accompanied the great depression. Nevertheless, the Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches greatly extended their charitable mission to the unemployed during the 1930s. An appreciation of its extent can be gained from the fact that during the 1929 Christmas week the Church of England Men’s Society (CEMS) in Brisbane supplied 714 free meals to destitute men;¹⁰ in the week ending 24 December 1932 they supplied 2718 such meals.¹¹ The CEMS was the linchpin

of the Anglican Church's activities in regard to unemployment. It operated out of St Luke's Hall, Fortitude Valley, and its main aim was to give unemployed men at least one substantial meal per day. Any man registered at the Labour Bureau or at the Returned Soldiers' Bureau was, on presentation of his unemployment registration card, able to receive a meal. This service proved to be immensely popular, and by July 1930, 300 men were receiving a hot midday meal each day of the week.¹² During 1931 the organisation provided 98,357¹³ free meals, and from October 1929 to February 1932 it supplied a total of 197,000 meals at a weekly average of 1,850.¹⁴

As well as providing food, the CEMS distributed clothing to the unemployed, operated a boot repair service for those men who were 'on the move' searching for work, and provided shelter at two resident hostels. The most important of these was St Oswald's which was established at North Quay specifically to deal with the depression. Men staying in these hostels had a token rent deducted from their unemployment relief payments. The popularity of St Oswald's is clearly evident in the fact that as late as 1935 it provided 49,009 beds and 146,859 meals throughout the year. Additionally, 545 men made use of its boot repair service.¹⁵

The CEMS catered mainly for single men, and the Anglican Co-adjutor Bishop of Brisbane correctly pointed to their plight when he observed that 'the CEMS and kindred organisations doing social service had saved the situation as far as single unemployed men were concerned'¹⁶ In carrying out their activities the CEMS was forced to make repeated appeals to parishes and the general public for donations.¹⁷ The CEMS did receive donations in money and in kind, but the general economic situation placed severe limits on the capacity of people to donate to charity. Like the majority of voluntary charitable agencies, even in prosperous times, the demands on the CEMS always exceeded its resources.

The Central Methodist Mission carried on similar work to that of the CEMS, and faced similar demands on its services. In June 1930 the Mission was providing hot midday meals for 85 men daily,¹⁸ but by the close of 1931 this number had risen to over 340.¹⁹ During the eighteen months prior to November 1931 the Mission supplied a total of 140,000 free meals to the unemployed of Brisbane.²⁰ The Mission spent \$2552 during the 1930/31 financial year out of a total income of only \$2590 which included a subsidy from the Queensland Social Service league.²¹ Like the CEMS, the Mission engaged in the distribution of clothing to the unemployed and also operated a hostel at Spring Hill. The Mission attempted to aid the families of the unemployed by distributing food and clothing,

and was helped by farmers and business firms who donated produce and goods. The Queensland Railways Department assisted by carting goods free of charge.²² In addition, the Methodist Church in Brisbane took the rather imaginative action of writing to all its country clergymen asking them to enquire if any of their congregation were willing and able to employ casual labour. This list of potential employers was to be matched with a list of men out of work in the district. Unfortunately no evidence remains regarding the success of this scheme.

The Catholic Church also directed most of its activity towards alleviating unemployment amongst single men, and, in July 1930, a committee of Catholic laymen obtained a building to provide food and accommodation for about 100 men.²³ The major Catholic institution aiding the unemployed was the Saint Vincent's Hostel for Unemployed in Brisbane, operated by the St Vincent de Paul Society. It provided 600 meals and 200 beds daily, financed by a dual system of appeals and art unions.²⁴ By 1931 the St Vincent de Paul Society had thirty-three branches in Brisbane and twenty-six throughout the remainder of the State with an active membership of about 400. During 1932 it spent over \$7400 on relief.²⁵ The Catholic Daughters' of Australia (CDA) directed its reserves towards single women and families, and gave 3,108 garments to 510 families during 1931. The food distribution facilities of the CDA were not as extensive as those of other groups mentioned, and in 1931 they served only 223 meals and gave food to only thirteen families.²⁶

The charitable organisations generally had little success in their limited attempts to find employment for those out of work. For example, the CEMS placed only sixteen men in permanent positions and 106 in temporary positions throughout the whole of 1931. Even by 1935, when economic conditions had improved markedly, they could place only 177 men.²⁷ Similarly the CDA could find permanent employment for only eight girls in 1931.²⁸

While the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches were deeply involved in charitable work among the unemployed, some other churches did very little in that direction. The centenary historian of the Presbyterian Church was not overstating his case in writing that:

Social Service, by which a helping hand is extended to the orphan and the aged, to men and women fallen by the Way... has not been the 'forte' of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland.²⁹

The Presbyterian Church was certainly aware of the extent of economic distress in Queensland and issued a number of statements

expressing sympathy for the unemployed.³⁰ Yet, it was not until 1934 that the Presbyterian Assembly took the decision to establish a Committee on Unemployment. This committee failed to deliver a report in 1935 and its 1936 report gave little indication of any practical work among the unemployed by Presbyterians.³¹

Such lack of action brought a sharp rebuke from a former Organising Secretary of the Queensland Protestant Federation, J. Gillespie, who angrily declared to the editor of the *Presbyterian Outlook*:

Let me say, Sir... that while it is of utmost importance to preach the Gospel, and for people to believe its priceless messages, still they must have some measure of daily bread. The Master admitted this.³²

The editor replied that he had been advised that there were very few cases of distress among Presbyterians. He added that those who were unemployed needed to be given work not charity and that this exempted the church from any obligation to distribute charity amongst the unemployed.³³ It also appears that the Presbyterian Church had a great deal of difficulty in evoking a satisfactory response from its members whenever it made appeals for cash to be used for social welfare projects.³⁴ The Baptist Church also restricted most of its unemployment relief work to those of its own flock. Its Social Service Committee distributed blankets, and Christmas cakes amongst needy Baptists but there appeared to be little call on its services since it spent only \$90 during the year 1930/31 and it suspended operations in 1933.³⁵

QUEENSLAND SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE

The depression quickly revealed the inadequacies of private charity in Queensland. Wasteful duplication was a major problem and in October 1930 the Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane, John Dixon, approached Labour and Industry Minister, Hubert Sizer, and convinced him that an umbrella organisation was needed to co-ordinate the diverse groups that were engaged in charitable work amongst the unemployed.³⁶ Such a body was established at a public meeting, presided over by the Governor, in the Brisbane City Hall on 4 November 1930. In his key-note address Sizer explained that the aim of the Queensland Social Service League, as the organisation was called, was to relieve distress in the community by rationalising the activities of the major charities. The minister stressed that the QSSL was to be non-political in nature and was not to be under the direction of his department. The State Government agreed to subsidise the league on the basis of two dollars for every four dollars collected up to a maximum of \$10,000.³⁷

The QSSL set itself two principal objectives:

1. To deal with the problems of distress resulting from financial depression and from unemployment.
2. To co-ordinate the work of all existing bodies which are endeavouring to alleviate distress.³⁸

By 1931 there were twenty-seven metropolitan and thirty-one country branches of the QSSL. Branches were usually formed at public meetings but, because of their special nature, the Church of England Men's Society, the Central Methodist Mission and the Catholic Daughters' of Australia were permitted to affiliate as branches.³⁹ The major function of the QSSL soon became a charitable rather than a co-ordinating one. Donations in cash and kind were received from individuals and business houses. A boot repair service was established for the unemployed and dances and card evenings were arranged to raise finance. The wife of the Governor, Lady Goodwin, organised a regular sewing circle to provide garments for needy families. A Social Service brass band was formed and a yearly fund raising ball was held at the Brisbane City Hall.⁴⁰

Unfortunately the QSSL was unable to achieve its co-ordination objective and tended to duplicate the services provided by the existing charities. The churches and service clubs continued their operations without any real direction from the league. Some even expressed open hostility because they feared the QSSL would usurp their traditional functions.⁴¹ The league would not become involved in controversy surrounding the Government's unemployment policies and was keen not to appear as a political pressure group. The QSSL was also hindered by internal sectarian conflicts. Soon after its inauguration, the league received the gift of an automobile from General Motors. A suggestion that the car be raffled to raise money was immediately opposed by representatives of the Methodists, Baptists and Salvationists who argued that 'gambling is an evil, and it cannot be called "honest" just because the money raised is for the poor'.⁴² The issue caused strong animosity within the league's executive and almost led to the resignation of the organising secretary, Colonel Stansfield. It was not resolved until March 1931 when a motion was carried by thirteen votes to twelve to sell the vehicle.

The QSSL reached the peak of its operations in 1932 but thereafter encountered serious organisational difficulties. Paradoxically the league's initial success contributed to its decline. As its existence became more widely known the demands on its services became crippling. Soon after the change of Government in 1932 the league asked Forgan Smith if he wished it to continue in existence. The

Premier was most enthusiastic and pledged his Government's assistance.⁴³ In 1933 the Government illustrated this support by sponsoring a major advertising campaign on behalf of the league, which was to have unanticipated results. At the league's general council meeting in August many branches pleaded with the chairman to ask the Government not to repeat the exercise because it had produced an overwhelming flood of applications for assistance.⁴⁴

After 1932 the QSSL's financial situation steadily deteriorated. Bishop Dixon explained that funds were difficult to raise because the novelty of the organisation had worn off and because of the general economic situation.⁴⁵ In an attempt to conserve funds, the league re-drafted its eligibility provisions to exclude all but the most deserving cases.⁴⁶ Activities outside Brisbane were curtailed and top priority was now accorded to families. These last two developments provoked criticism from rural interest groups and the single unemployed.⁴⁷ The decline of the QSSL is clearly reflected in its branch membership figures. In 1932 there were sixty branches throughout the State. By 1935 this figure had declined to thirty-nine and in 1936 there were only fourteen branches in the Brisbane area and six in the remainder of the State.⁴⁸ The league managed to survive the depression (it is still in existence) but it failed to fulfil the co-ordination function for which it was established. Furthermore its ameliorative role was heavily constrained by an abundance of distress and a shortage of funds.

NO AGREEMENT ON THE CAUSE OF DEPRESSION

As well as attempting to alleviate distress, a number of churches made public statements as to the causes, effects and possible remedies of the unemployment problem. The Anglican Church was one of the most outspoken and as early as August 1929 called out in desperation:

Can nothing be done to remove what threatens to be one of the biggest blots on our modern civilization, the evil of unemployment.⁴⁹

Some sections of the church felt that the 1929 timber, coal and waterfront strikes were the cause of unemployment,⁵⁰ but the Archbishop of Brisbane, Gerald Stone, was perplexed by the problem and all he was certain of was that the causes were "deep", and would need deep solutions, rather than temporary expedients such as charity.⁵¹ In 1931, the Dean of Brisbane, Archdeacon Dixon, while stating that advances in science, which allowed machines to replace workers, were largely responsible for the present unemployment, admitted that he was ignorant of possible solutions, and said that "experts" would have to work out the real remedy.⁵²

The Protestant churches tended to be less vocal on the question of unemployment than the Church of England. However, the Baptist Church suggested to the Forgan Smith government that it extend its programme of settling the unemployed and their families on small farms.⁵³

During the depression years the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, James Duhig, maintained a consistently high profile as a commentator on economic and political events. He likened unemployment to “a destroying angel” which, as well as being financially disastrous, sapped manhood, undermined faith and led to degradation and despair. He was also deeply concerned that unemployment widened the breach between capital and labour, thus providing a breeding ground for Communism.⁵⁴

In reference to unemployment Duhig advocated the twin solutions of increased immigration and a sound land settlement policy as panaceas to lead Queensland to prosperity. He believed that Australia’s population of six million was far too small, and that the country needed at least fifty million persons in order to develop its resources to their full potential. He urged that if the country’s natural resources were fully developed then there would be no economic hardship.⁵⁵ Duhig was supported in his call for increased immigration by the Church of England Immigration Council, which argued against drastic curtailment of assisted immigration on the grounds that this would harm Australia’s reputation as a receptor of immigrants, and that when the depression ended there may not be sufficient Britons willing to come here to protect the White Australia policy.⁵⁶

When advancing economic solutions, the Catholic spokesmen drew heavily on the distributist ideas of Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton, and emphasised the need to develop small farming communities. These ideas later found formal expression in the National Catholic Rural Movement which was established in 1937. Duhig stated categorically in 1932 that “rural industries alone—agriculture, dairying, grazing and mining—hold the key to the solution of unemployment”.⁵⁷ Ideally, he wanted to see Queensland settled by small farmers, somewhat akin to the French peasantry,⁵⁸ and was pleased that one effect of the depression was to force people out of the cities.⁵⁹

In discussing the causes of unemployment the Queensland Catholic clergy spoke in secular terms and rarely, if ever, advanced the notion that the depression was sent by God to try or to punish his sinful people. Not all denominations shared this view with the Queensland Congregational Union arguing that the depression was due to the economic waste caused by man’s drinking, gambling

and excessive pursuit of pleasure, and called on Australian governments to recognize this fact.⁶⁰ Coupled with this, was the belief that because the depression was the result of man's inherent weakness it could be solved only by spiritual revival. As the Rev. N.S. Mullar of the Baptist Church said:

Amidst the tumult of voices it was the high calling of the Christian minister to proclaim that neither education nor politics, legislation nor economic adjustments, fewer hours nor higher wages, sober conservatism nor radical socialism could meet the needs or heal the wounds of sin-stricken humanity. Nothing was adequate to cure a moral dislocation and disease but the application of the gospel of the Holy Nazarene,...⁶¹

Sections of the Presbyterian Church shared this rejection of secular political action, and the editor of the *Presbyterian Outlook* informed his readers:

We are not disposed at present to discuss the financial situation. There are wild words aplenty, and pessimism is easily caught these days. We shall do well to seek to be hidden from the strife of tongues in the pavilion of God... we should trust and not be afraid.⁶²

The Church of England did not endorse spiritual/personal interpretations of the depression, and most Anglican clergymen explained the causes of unemployment in economic terms and put forward secular solutions. It is worth noting that the Church of England placed more emphasis on internal causes of the depression, such as easy borrowing and unwise spending, than did the Catholic Church, which tended to highlight factors external to Australia.⁶³

On the matter of party politics Queensland followed the Australian pattern with the Anglican and Protestant denominations inclined towards the conservative parties and the Roman Catholic clergy generally supportive of moderate Labor. On the eve of the depression Archbishop Duhig was in conflict with the McCormack Labor government over the refusal of the Premier to grant him freehold tenure on a piece of church land at Monto.⁶⁴ Duhig soon fell out with McCormack's successor Arthur Moore whose Country Progressive National Party government effected economics in the education budget in a way which Catholics perceived as discriminatory.⁶⁵ The Catholic press supported the Scullin Federal Labor government and strongly endorsed the State ALP at the 1932 election. Duhig was later to develop a close if unlikely personal relationship with the new Labor Premier William Forgan Smith.⁶⁶

A number of Queensland churchmen during the depression manifested what Peter Loveday has called 'anti-political thought'⁶⁷ in that they severely criticised the political party system. The editor of the

of the *Presbyterian Outlook* solemnly informed his readers that:

In high politics we must be interested if we are to remain Christian.
With party politics we have little to do here.⁶⁸

The Rev Hunt of the Baptist Church went even further than this and declared that “I never introduce politics into the pulpit”.⁶⁹ The Anglican Church was adamant that “on such matters as the moral issues of the depression and repudiation, our Bishops have spoken clearly without taking sides”.⁷⁰ Also, certain Anglican clergy harbored an intense dislike for politicians on the grounds that they pandered to popular passions in order to gain votes.⁷¹

These remarks were mild compared to those of Archbishop Duhig who managed to reconcile his support for the Labor Party with views which were anti-democratic and even “fascist” in tone.⁷² For instance, he argued that politicians should not be paid, and that they should not be able to get into parliament simply because they won votes.⁷³ He also expressed dissatisfaction with the system of universal, adult suffrage on the grounds that it allowed drunkards and idlers to have a hand in the governing of the country.⁷⁴ At one stage Duhig went so far as to say that he would like to see some statesman arise and do away with all State governments, and place the nation under one parliament with councils in each State.⁷⁵ The *Catholic Leader* disagreed with its archbishop and preached moderation to those who were expressing desires to abolish parliaments in Australia, and pointed out that they were bad days when Australia had no parliaments.⁷⁶

In conclusion it cannot be said that the churches in Queensland played a particularly important role in political affairs during the depression. None of them supplied any rational, novel suggestions for ending the depression, and they tended to confine their comments to ones of criticism or praise for the suggestions of others. The Catholic Church was somewhat more progressive in its reaction than the Protestant and Anglican Churches, but Catholic Church would support only moderate Labor and would have no truck with any ‘leftist’ party or group whose aim was to upset the existing social order. Furthermore, Archbishop Duhig’s attraction to the distributist ideology of Belloc and Chesterton led him into temporary support for fascist theory and methods. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, were either apolitical or regarded the Labor Party as extremist, and almost all were active supporters of laissez-faire economic theory. It is doubtful if the churches exerted any significant influence on the course of events during the depression beyond the valuable charitable work that some of them carried out among the unemployed and their families.

FOOTNOTES

1. Keith Rayner, *The History of the Church of England in Queensland*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1962, pp. 483-5, 494.
2. *Catholic Leader*, 15 October 1931.
3. For details of the Holy Name Cathedral saga see P Boland, *James Duhig*, Brisbane, 1985, pp. 229-41.
4. *Report of the 83rd State Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, May 1932, p. 76.
5. Moore to Heffernan, 11 November 1929, item 29/7572, PRE/A982, Queensland State Archives (QSA).
6. Church of England, Brisbane Diocesan Council Minutes, 2 October 1930, p. 310.
7. *Catholic Leader*, 28 January 1932.
8. *Ibid.*, 21 January 1932.
9. *Ibid.*, 16 June 1932.
10. *Brisbane Courier*, 4 January 1930.
11. *Ibid.*, 31 December 1932.
12. Report of the Executive Committee of CEMS, *Church of England Year Book*, Diocese of Brisbane, 1930, p. 194.
13. *Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1931.
14. *Ibid.*
15. CEMS Report, *Church of England Year Book*, 1935, p. 239.
16. *Church Chronicle*, 18 June 1932.
17. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 January 1931; 31 January 1931; 11 April 1931.
18. *Ibid.*, 14 June 1930.
19. Queensland Social Service League Draft Report, 21 November 1931, item 31/7477, PRE/A1039, QSA.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Methodist Times*, 17 April 1930.
23. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 July 1930.
24. Leaflet, 23 October 1930, item 30/6508, PRE/A1008, QSA.
25. Information received from Mr P A Tunney, Welfare Officer, St Vincent de Paul Society, September 1973.
26. QSSL Report, *op.cit.*, 1931.
27. CEMS Report, *op.cit.*, 1935.
28. QSSL Report, *op.cit.*, 1931.
29. R. Bardon, *The Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, Brisbane, 1949, p. 175.
30. *Report of the Eighty-Third State Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland*, May 1932, p. 49; *Presbyterian Outlook*, 1 December 1933.
31. *Report of the Eighty Eighth Presbyterian State Assembly*, May 1936, pp. 56-7.
32. *Presbyterian Outlook*, 1 April 1929.
33. *Ibid.*, 1 February 1930.

34. *Ibid.*, 1 October 1933.
35. Annual Report of the Social Service Committee, *Baptist Union of Queensland Year Book*, 1931, p./ 39.
36. Annual General Meeting, QSSL Minutes, 23 November 1932, p. 190.
37. *Brisbane Courier*, 5 November 1930.
38. *QSSL Constitution*, 1930, p. 1.
39. QSSL Report, *op.cit.*, 1931, p. 1
40. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
41. QSSL Executive Minutes, 7 December 1930, p. 14; 20 August 1931, p. 128.
42. QSSL General Council Minutes, 21 September 1932, pp. 507-8.
43. QSSL AGM Minutes, 23 November 1932, p. 191.
44. QSSL General Council Minutes, 2 August 1933, pp. 524-5.
45. *Ibid.*, 2 May 1933, p. 517.
46. Set of Guidelines, QSSL Minutebook, 16 February 1933, p. 516.
47. QSSL Executive Minutes, 30 January 1934; 20 February 1934.
48. Report of the Department of Labour and Industry, *QPP*, 1, 1936, p. 60.
49. *Church Chronicle*, 1 August 1929.
50. *Ibid.*, and 1 March 1929.
51. *Ibid.*, 1 April 1929.
52. *Daily Standard*, 29 April 1931.
53. Secretary, Baptist Union of Queensland to Forgan Smith, 4 October 1932, item 32/5305, PRE/A1059, QSA.
54. *Daily Standard*, 5 January 1931; *Brisbane Courier*, 17 November 1931.
55. *Brisbane Courier*, 4 May 1931; and *Catholic Leader*, 7 May 1931.
56. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 August 1932.
57. *Catholic Leader*, 22 December 1932.
58. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 May 1930.
59. *Catholic Leader*, 4 August 1932.
60. Secretary, Queensland Congregational Union to Moore, 16 September 1930, item 30/5719, PRE/A1006, QSA.
61. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 October 1932.
62. *Presbyterian Outlook*, 13; 9, 1 March 1931.
63. *Church of England Year Book*, Brisbane Diocese, 1930, p. 30; *Brisbane Courier*, 21 November 1932; and *Catholic Leader*, 7 May 1931.
64. *Brisbane Courier*, 18 April 1929.
65. *Catholic Leader*, 21 January 1932; 28 January 1932, see above p. 3.
66. Boland, *op.cit.*, p. 2259 f.
67. Peter Loveday, 'Anti-Political Political Thought', *Labour History*, 17, November 1970, pp. 121-35.
68. *Presbyterian Outlook*, 12; 4, 1 October 1932.

69. *Daily Standard*, 9 July 1932.
70. *Ibid.* While the Roman Catholic clergy (particularly Duhig) were prepared to be quite open in their partisanship, the Anglican and Protestant denominations preferred to express support for the virtues of orthodox economics and absolute honesty in regard to interest payable on the national debt, and only rarely endorsed or denounced political parties by name. See: *Brisbane Courier*, 19 May 1932; *Church of England Year Book*, 1931, p. 24; *Church Chronicle*, 1 June 1929.
71. *Church Chronicle*, 1 April 1932.
72. Support for the Italian brand of fascism was widespread amongst the Australian Catholic hierarchy in the 1920s and early 1930s. Archbishop Kelly of Sydney was quoted as saying 'if we had in Australia a Mussolini, ..., we would have no unemployment...' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 October 1930). Duhig's support of Mussolini was influenced by his advocacy of the cause of Italian migrants in Australia, see: Boland *op.cit.*, pp. 220-23, 243, 253; *Catholic Advocate*, 16 February 1933. Adulation of Mussolini was not confined to Catholics, see: *Methodist Times*, 18 July 1929. Duhig's enthusiasm waned as Mussolini and the Vatican came into increasing conflict over the operations of the 1929 Lateran Treaty.
73. *Daily Standard*, 2 November 1932.
74. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 December 1930.
75. *Daily Standard*, 17 August 1931.
76. *Catholic Leader*, 7 May 1931.



Men descending the Brilliant Extended Underlie, 2300 feet, Charters Towers, circa 1904.